MOTIVATED CARTOGRAPHY IN ISRAEL-PALESTINE

by

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Motivated Cartography In Israel-Palestine

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ABSTRACT

MOTIVATED CARTOGRPAHY IN ISRAEL-PALESTINE

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This research seeks to identify and analyze features of maps in Israeli curricula and academia to analyze the potential for maps to produce certain narratives. The paper will recommend amendments to certain functions of geography and cartography in the education systems that are antithetical to general notions of peacemaking. The methods of analysis will employ toponymyic, color related and border related frames that seem to be used as agents of narrative production on maps. The research relies heavily on theories of conflict relating to productions of geography. These theories represent differing takes on the role maps play in society and in conflict. While there may be many examples of maps creating conflict, this research seeks to reject the notion espoused by postmodernists and realists alike: the argument that geography and maps operate as harbingers of conflict. Could this weapon be whittled into an olive branch if utilized appropriately? This research seeks to demonstrate that if we rethink the way we draw maps in conflict zones, this could play a constructive role on conflict resolution.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout recorded human history, geography and maps, in their various manifestations have been constructed as tools to identify space and place. Many who have studied the relationship argue that disagreements over land between humans have historically been a major driving force for conflict. If maps are the tool used to show land how do maps come to influence conflict? Is it maps, natural topography or just the features people impose on maps that most influence disagreements between human beings?

In recent year's scholars have shown maps to transcend their classic role as a medium for spatial identification. Maps can be used as storyteller a joke or a weapon. They have come to be understood as part of a larger cultural process that includes the formation of a person's sense of who they are in relation to their surroundings and most importantly in relation to other people. This production of various narratives can solidify identity in a communal sense or pit groups against each other. This study is interested in how maps juxtapose group identities within school curricula and academia with using Israel as a case study.

Nearly every culture has used stories, or narratives, to help construct their identities and legacies. The production of maps is a continuation of this rich tradition. The Green's in their article "Chronological to Spatio-Temporal Histories," mention that:

"Mapmaking and storytelling share a similar process: mapmakers can create boundaries around space and label them "places" with meanings."[1] Yoram and Bruria Bar in their study of Israeli Geography curriculums, "To Tie the Cord Between a People and Its Land: Geography Education in Israel," mention this phenomena using the famous Lewis Carrol children's story "Alice and Wonderland":

> When Lewis Carrol sent Alice to "Wonderland" through the rabbit hole Alice feared she would lose her identity… To ascertain whether she was still herself Alice tested herself with exercises in mathematics and geography. Apparently in 1865, Lewis Carrol understood the importance of geography in relation to mans self made identity"."[2]

Geography can inform so much about an individual's sense of self. It can also do work to identify those who lie outside of the constructed identity group: "the other." Conflict resolution scholar Edward Azar in his "Protracted Social Conflict" theory states identity as a driving force in some of the most intractable conflicts in the world.[3] Geography is often at the focal point of war in both its conception and its resolution. Some realists and post modernists are united in the idea that maps create conflict either by socially constructing essentialist narratives by or re-enforcing national boundaries and interests. The present research will identify some of the aesthetic agents of conflict in maps associated with one such intractable identity conflict that is plagued by polarizing

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[1] Green, Lesley Fordred, and David R. Green. 2004. "From Chronological to Spatio-Temporal Histories: Mapping Heritage in Arukwa, Área Indígena Do Uaçá, Brazil." *Anthropology Southern Africa* 27 (1–2): 19–26. doi:10.1080/02580144.2004.11658012.

[2] Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

[3] Azar, Edward E., Paul Jureidini, and Ronald McLaurin. 1978. "Protracted Social Conflict; Theory and Practice in the Middle East." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 8 (1): 41–60. doi:10.2307/2536101.

cartography: The Israeli-Arab conflict. The following paragraphs in this chapter summarizes the content and goals addressed by each subsequent chapter.

The first chapter of this study focuses on maps being used a way to predict and in come cases facilitate elements of conflict. This includes the theories of writers like Robert Kaplan who reject the constructivist view of maps and are oriented in the positivist school of geography which could be described as more old school and to the book. These theories apply the understandings of maps in the traditional sense as trustworthy ways to show land. In *Revenge of Geography*, Kaplan describes geography as a permanent fixture, a natural force, outside the realm of humanity that has always and will continue be a harbinger of future conflict based how natural geography determines identity.[4] Other scholars recommend alternatives to classical geography entirely. They argue that classical geography isn't rooted as shared social practice because the production of maps and the content of maps are limited to the elite. These post modern thinkers would prefer something more akin to a mental map that they claim can really hold sway and make up the backbone of someone's identity.[5]

The second chapter of this study discusses the various literature associated with a new field of geography: constructivist. Examples include the work of geographers like Brian Harley and Jeremy Crampton wants geography to be understood as more of cultural practice and also understand that maps can be easily manipulated by elites or national narratives. Crampton deems cartography: "performative participatory and

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[4]   Kaplan.Robert. 2013. *The Revenge of Geography*. Vol. 1.
[5]   Dennis Woods. "How Maps Work." *Cartographia* 29 (3&4): 66–74.

political." This has several implications, first and foremost, the fact that the practice of map making is essentially a social construction that arises in very particular circumstances. This idea informs much of how scholars understand the field of critical geography which was founded by Brian Harley.[6]

The third chapter of this study provides a brief history of the trajectory of the Israeli geography curriculum: this accounts for a significant portion of data for the research. Prior to the founding of the state and in the early years of its existence Geography was one of the most important subjects for Israeli schoolchildren. Geography became a way for the early state to construct identities that were rooted in a new homeland. This chapter will discuss how many of the features in the map, while communicating obvious bias, were believed to be crucial for producing a unifying identity in a society of migrants speaking different languages. While geographically inclined identity formation was a useful tool in the states early stages of identity formation, Israeli Geography curriculums developed to introduce narratives antithetical to good relations with other groups in the area.

When groups construct an identity tied to contested land its helps if the map supports their claim in both a historical, narrative and spatial sense. This is not a uniquely Israeli practice but rather a mode of nation building used by many groups throughout history. Some examples of bias aren't obvious, but are embedded into maps include biased color schemes, subjects and labels. The manipulation of these three features of the map are

6   Boria, Eduardo. 2008. "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in Cartography." *Geopolitics* 13 (2): 278–308.

normally constructed for a target audience. Ironically, they end up targeting the groups that the maps weren't intended for. How does happen all from a map? Maps might not always create conflicts. That said, aspects of maps that fail to accommodate the identity needs of more than one group living in a specific space can pose some issues. Over time, authorities began to understand the crucial role that both geography and the facets of identity connected to space can play in the course of a conflict. This chapter goes on to identify the way's the Israeli Geography curriculum has evolved through time to accommodate a human rights approach after some of the more ethnocentric content was being called into question.

The fourth chapter will cover the methodology section of the project. Methodologically the study employs three frames of analysis for the maps: color, labels and biased subjects. Geography and cartography will be treated as a social construction, in accordance to the work of David Harley, Dennis Woods and Jeremy Crampton. These scholars employ a degree of skepticism on the influences that maps are prone to and therefore consider them susceptible to human manipulation. Maps will be assessed for their labeling of place marks, the omission of certain labels for political motivations and the color used to represent identity groups and the existence of a border that clearly defines Palestine as distinct from Israel proper. These are maps found in both Israeli and some American curriculums as well as history books and atlases that aesthetically perform space with maps.

The fourth chapter will comprise of the data and analysis. The chapter goes on to connect these trends expressed in maps to content in the form of language prevalent in Israeli and some American Geography curriculums that teach space and history in the

Middle East. These findings should reveal a steady progression towards accommodating international conventions and human rights represented in maps and extensively curriculum in Israel. The chapter goes on to argue that curriculum choices, especially in maps that show Israeli territory, that discount identity needs of Palestinians also alienates Israeli students and diaspora youth from legitimate discourse with the international community which leaves all parties at a relative disadvantage.

The fifth and final chapter will describe that the elements analyzed in maps in this research are not unique to Israel. Some maps produced by private and public entities, scholar's demographers that contain some of these same aesthetic agents of conflict. While this research looks specifically at the Israeli case study the hope is that reader employs the methodology used to recognize problems in other maps. Not everyone thinks that maps are productive. While this is the case maps are still salient in society as the main way to view the world from the bird's eye. There are so many ways in which maps can be problematic, this in part, is due to human imposition. If people can socially construct a map that compliments proliferation or a continuation of conflict why can't there also be maps socially constructed to accommodate as many stakeholders identify needs as possible? The following research seeks to identity the ways that we can improve our maps and our relationships with our neighbors around the globe. In order to come to the point where recommendations can be made toward this end its necessary to overview literature that traces the history of maps concerning conflict. The following section reviews literature with differing conceptions of what a map is and what it intends to do. Scholars from varying backgrounds have differing opinions on not only how maps work but also what they were

designed to do and what they actually do in the context of conflict. These differing understandings of cartography through years can prove to inform the contemporary discussion on the use of geography in the Israeli-Arab conflict by Israeli authorities.

Although the academic community of Israeli geographers is small, the numbers of publications and impact they have had is remarkably notable. Relative to other nations, geography appears to play a fundamental role in both the creation and continuation of Israeli society. That said, the practice of Israeli geography is hardly unified. To suggest that all Israeli geographers produce similar content and understand maps in a similar way is a misconception. The present research does not seek to argue that the tradition of Israeli geography is overtly colonial or imperialistic. This study follows and analyzes elements of Israeli geography but does not seek to make sweeping value statements about its moral authority as an institution. That mentioned, certain elements of the geographic tradition in Israel have contained traces of ethnocentricity and nationalistic content that may have served particular purposes at a time, but now, run may run counter to achieving a healthy democratic society.

Israeli Geography geography represents a field which is incredibly diverse in both its practice and study. For example, attitudes on the use of geography and incorporation of a human rights angle has developed over time to demonstrate a clear progression toward a less state-centric approach to map making to accommodate academic geographers producing content that is less politically motivated. Israeli geographers didn't always have the agency to create geographical figures that ran against the interests or motivations of the government. This was less from pressure from the government and

more a byproduct of the culture in Israeli geography departments. Much of the positive changes occurred after some groundbreaking developments in academic Geography and the incorporation of human geography and a departure from the more classical positivist view of maps that had dominated the field in the country for decades.

The general change to make maps that didn't cater to such a homogenous idea of what Israeli society should be was not always well met. n This divergence of opinion is also true in geography departments elsewhere. What's so abundantly fascinating about studying the way that Israeli geographers disagree with each other and how they conduct their field is so intrinsically linked to the trajectory of the state itself. The stages of Israeli cartography and the various movements within it demonstrate lots about the inner workings of Israeli society and identity formation through the years. Israel geography started as a practice rooted firmly and western hegemony and territorial normalization and has morphed and adapted to accommodate a slightly more cultural relative approach while still having lots of room to grow.

Many in the Israeli geography community who relied on state-centric constructions of spatial data were threatened by the "cultural turn" in Geography which occurred in the 1980's. It can be argued that this "cultural turn" in geography, the idea that a map can exist as a social construction, is one of the most important features in understanding the role geography plays in Israeli society. The present study hinges on geographic constructivist theory which rejects that the map *always* communicates truth.

Prior to launching into the details of the development of Israeli geography it is necessary to look further back in time to see how the two main schools of Geography

discussed in this study: positivist and constructivist. These two schools of geography have come to influence way people see maps. Theoretical approaches of both of these school of geography have not only led to massive amounts of scholarship on the potential for conflict with maps but also the way humans are portrayed on the maps and the ways this can come to inform structural or direct violence.

CHAPTER 1: POSITIVIST CONCEPTIONS OF GEOGRAPHY

Dennis Wood's article, "How Maps Work," expresses some of his ideas about the historical trajectory of mapmaking. Woods points out that before the specialization of labor and ability to produce surplus agriculture, maps were irrelevant. Essentially, the idea here is that only a developed society has an actual need for a map. This provides ideal justification for the phenomena of mapmaking societies being predominantly "advanced" using a western metric for industrialization. Woods thinks that before to the standard map of the world today, or even the more archaic maps of kingdoms of empires, there were other versions of spatial measurements that did the same thing as maps but probably didn't look the same as the globe that sits in most social studies classrooms today:

> "I believe people for millions of years have emitted map, and map-like, and proto-map-like artifacts as natural consequences of their spatial competence working itself out in the context of human discourse about the territory and what comes with it; but I also believe most most of these have been one shots, squibs, duds. Or they've made their point … but no one noticed. In neither case did they lead to mapmaking. Not until the demands of agriculture, private property, long distance trade, militarism, tribute relations, and other attributes of redistributive economies transformed the discourse environment in which these firecrackers exploded was the light they emitted apparent. But then maps must have seemed the answers to prayers *(why hadn't anyone thought of them before*?)."[7]

Woods is referring to the time period when humanity started to realize the full utility of the map. For generations, human beings have been making maps. Most

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[7]   Dennis Woods. "How Maps Work." *Cartographia* 29 (3&4): 66–74.

contemporary mapmakers owe these ancient adventurers a great deal of thanks even if their figures weren't based on exact science. The development of spatial technology and the ability to take exact measurements of space and place accommodated an obsessive attempt to make a world map that is most like the image seen from "the heavens." Geography, no longer seen as an art form, but an exact science. Did this shift really change the way people interacting with physical space? Did maps defining the parameters of space change the way they interacted with each other? Scholars who disagree with the basic definition of a maps would answer yes to both of these questions.

Maps in the new era of satellite imagery and geographic information systems are seen as trustworthy birds eye depictions of reality. When we see figures that communicate this reality it can be hard to distrust them: though some individuals, scholars included, do distrust them. Maps inform humankind about where we are, where we are going and where we have been. Maps are a tool developed by humans for humans. Maps have been wielded by people to find new trade routes, construct new buildings and agricultural projects and assist in the general development of the human condition. They have done just as much to disrupt it; maps have used for battle plans, redlining to promote ethnic separation and the production of propaganda designed to pit identity groups against each other. Maps have played in the development in the trajectory of human history. This being the case there is a considerable amount of literature that seeks to explain the connection between geography and human relationships between groups. Some of these theories of conflict and geography use maps to predict the potential for conflict with classical normative geographical renderings. Other's express more

hesitation at the use of these maps to describe conflict due to the potential maps has had to make certain elements of conflict harder to resolve.

An example of theories of human conflict that employ positivist constructions of cartography includes Robert Kaplan's in his book, *Revenge of Geography* and Samuel Huntington's article "Clash of Civilizations."[8] [9] Understanding the role of classical geography in the arguments these two authors are making is extremely important when discussing the larger picture of Israeli geography. The European practice of classical geography is firmly rooted in the concept that the map is entirely accurate regardless of any patron-client relationship. Israeli geography at its inception was said to be very similar to European positivist geography. The types of content expressed by Huntington and Kaplan show striking similarities between early forms of Israeli geography and classical European constructions of mapmaking.

Kaplan and Huntington argue that maps operate as static depictions of reality that can inform humanity on elements of people's interactions with each other: namely violent conflict. Kaplan and Huntington use visual and written understandings of space and place to come to these conclusions that have come to become some of the most popular uses of geography for neoconservative and neorealist political scientists and academics. Scores of political analysts have commended Kaplan and Huntington for the application of geography to modern human history. However, it's important to note that both authors

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[8] Kaplan. Robert. 2012. *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. New York: Random House.

[9] Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3): 22–49. doi:10.2307/20045261.

employ a version of geography that is mostly applicable in the western world. To a certain extent, it could be argued, that any use of a classical map is inherently Eurocentric.

Scholars like Dennis Woods, whose research was featured in the beginning of this section, has produced content that completely rejects notions of geographical determinism expressed by both Kaplan and Huntington. The argument that maps represent a western ideal is rooted in the fact that classical geography mostly came from Europe. Geographical renderings of the colonial world show that often times a map is only indicative of the conquerors reality. In fact, a map of the modern world today is characteristic of a spatial reality to some, but, not all individuals on the globe. The work of both Kaplan and Huntington doesn't concern itself with these victims of the map but instead choose to accept the the conventional constructions of geography to promote their arguments about the investable conflict between humans.

Despite this gloomy outlook, the work of Huntington and Kaplan stand out as two pieces of writing that really connect elements of geography to human conflict. Their studies on conflict aren't rooted in the field of conflict resolution but seem to be more inclined toward conflict prediction in a voyeuristic sense. As a study that examines the potential for geography in conflict resolution is important to recognize at these studies as a theoretical foil.

Early on in his book "Revenge of Geography" Kaplan establishes a theory that geography and maps are both essentially deterministic. [10] By the "determinism of geography," Kaplan is alluding to his belief that geography and the way it has been presented have come to be understood as clear science. Kaplan suggests that the forces of geographical reality has set the stage for the world's past and future events. In the following passage Kaplan is referencing the prevalence of globalism, regionalism and the corrosion of the concept of the nation-state:

> "Indeed, what is at work on the recent return of realism is the revenge of geography in the most old-fashioned sense… Mass communications and economic integration are weakening many states, exposing a Hobbesian world of small, fractious regions. Within them, local ethnic and religious sources of identity are reasserting themselves, and because they are anchored in specific terrains, they are all best explained in reference to geography." (Kaplan 1)[11]

Kaplan argues that geography has more control over people than people have over it. Because maps re-enforce the notion of a nation-state they also re-enforce the various identities that Kaplan argues are mostly attached to land: the land that falls within the borders of these nation-states. Kaplan, as a political realist, makes the nation-state his darling. He sees any attempt to dilute the power of the nation-state and national identity as a form of weakness and he believes geography plays a big role in re-enforcing national sovereignty and also in deteriorating it. Kaplan makes it clear that "geography" as a general concept is amazingly complimentary to proliferation. When Kaplan says that

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[10] Kaplan. Robert. 2012. *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. New York: Random House.

[11] Ibid

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geography always gets it's revenge he isn't talking about how humans manipulate geography for their own gain. He is talking about the way valleys, rivers, mountains, natural resources and borders come to influence the inevitability of conflict in certain areas. Kaplan might look at a study like this one, which seeks to use geography as a means for peace, as completely naïve. He cites several examples of why conflict is rooted in space and place: therefore, the main way humans display geography aesthetically, maps, can only aid in the so called "revenge" geography exacts on humanity.

In the quote featured below, Kaplan argues that as national identities become geographically conflated into regions there will be serious consequences. He compares the regionalism associated with the European union with the case study featured in this study: the geographical dimension of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He goes as far as to claim that geography is more applicable to the understanding conflict than identity because identity is connected to specific terrain. His argument is based on the premise that a person's identity is always tied into some national consciousness rooted in particular space and place. So if space dictates a person's identity it must be the most important catalyst in a conflict. Based on Kaplan reasoning, identity conflicts are using identity as a façade to promote interests that are territorially inclined. He demonstrates these arguments using the example of the regionalization and the creation of the EU compared with Israel-Palestine:

> "This new map of Eurasia- tighter, more integrated, and more crowded-will be even less stable that Mackinder thought. Rather than heartlands and marginal zones that imply separateness, we have a series of inner and outer cores that are fused together through mass politics and paranoia. In fact, much of Eurasia will eventually be as claustrophobic as Israel and the Palestinian territories with geography controlling everything and no

room to maneuver. Although Zionism shows the power of ideas, the battle of land between Israelis and Palestinians is a case of utter geographical determinism. This is Eurasia's future as well." (135)[12]

This quote contains several key ideas that will play reoccurring roles in the following research. Kaplan states several values that he seems to think lend themselves to security against the eventual revenge of geography: clearly defined separateness. By this he is implying that identity groups ought to remain geographically isolated to avoid conflict. Conflict, the geographical sense, according to Kaplan, seems to be rooted in this separateness being compromised. His warning to Europe is ominous: take head of your borders unless you want to become as "claustrophobic" and "paranoid" as Israel Palestine. By Kaplan's assessment it seems that Geography will always take its revenge if more than one identity group inhabits the same space. Kaplan understands natural landmarks and terrain to be intrinsically tied in with ethnicity. Making value statements on groups of people based on where they are from geographically isn't only archaic, it is morally questionable.

This dismal, but calculated assertion, is shared by many who believe that conflict will only be over when one side wins unilaterally by taking over land. If this project were to accept this theoretical premise it might end right here. Instead, the following theories are presented to challenge Kaplan's idea that territory is always more important than identity. It also challenges the ethnocentric notion that geography informs aspects of identity when the reality is far more nuanced. For example: "this person is from

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[12] Kaplan. Robert. 2012. *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. New York: Random House.

Palestine/ Israel therefore they must be a certain way." Geographies don't define humans. Humans define geography. In order to fully explore the connection between the human experience and geographical renderings it is necessary to go deeper into how relatively new national affiliations are so firmly rooted in territories and histories that span far back into human history. Some scholars have used these ancient histories to make geographic arguments that are rooted in the contemporary, among them, Samuel P. Huntington.

In 1993 Samuel P. Huntington published "The Clash of Civilizations." Huntington theorized that that the globe was splitting into several civilizations that make up cultural grouping values, interests and goals antithetical to each other. The biggest conclusion derived from this study was the development of what can essentially be summarized as a Jihad vs. Crusade theory in a geographically deterministic version of the future. Huntington, as early as 1993, wrote of a cosmic war between the soldiers of Muhammad and the soldiers of Christ. He believes the two faiths to represent divergent cultures, and also sit on different territories, that won't stop until the other has been defeated.

Huntington uses theories geographical determinism to come to the conclusion that the world is geographically and cultural fractured between the "East" and "West." Essentially, the argument here is that conflict is oriented (no pun intended) through the hemispheres. Huntington argues that the conflicts in the years to come will be informed by cultural allegiance to the "east" or the "west."

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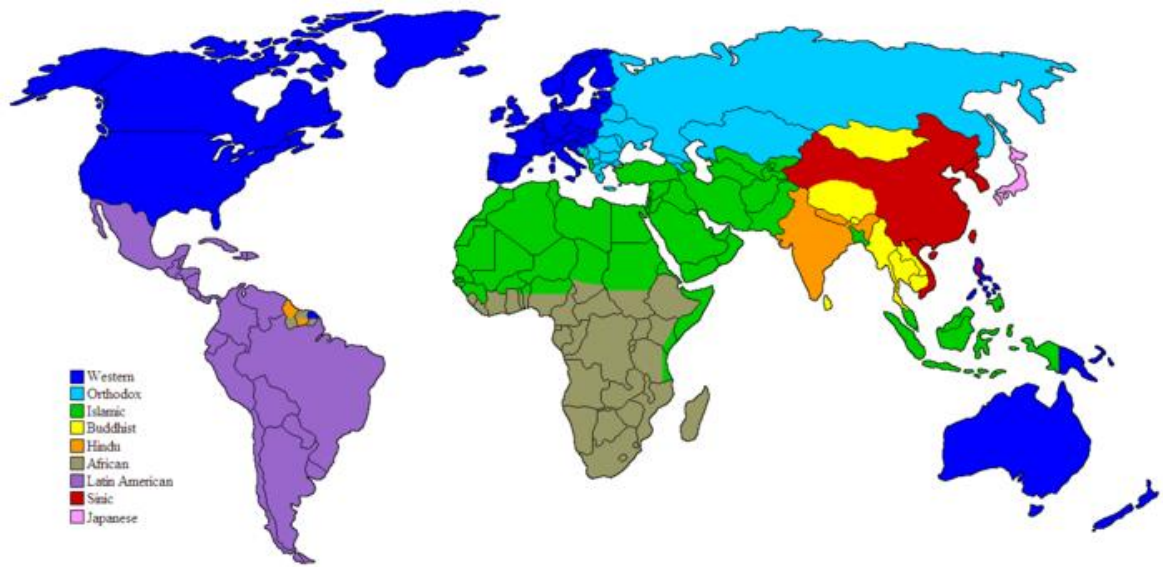
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Figure 1.   Samuel P. Huntington World Map

The map featured in the figure above is Samuel Huntington's geographical conception of world civilizations. Huntington splits the Christian world between "Western" and "Orthodox" and clearly colors Latin Americans, Muslims and Sub-Saharan African's as distinct from each other and especially distinct from those influenced by Roman, Greek and Christian culture in "the West." These figures show a new global paradigm after the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the bi-polar conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. Huntington uses classical geography invoke collective memory based on past grievances between these groups as a pretense for categorizing them. To a certain extent, Huntington's figures act as sort of a dismal

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[13] Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3): 22–49. doi:10.2307/20045261.

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self fulfilling prophecy. Two years after the study was published the crisis in Bosnia began to unfold in 1995. The conflicts between ethnic Serbs and Bosnians were based on age-old grievances and occurred directly in the position in the Balkans where Huntington's map shows the global cultures of eastern and western Christendom and Islam meet. Huntington's decision to use red to represent "Sinic" or Mandarin Chinese culture and blue to represent the "west" is very telling.

Huntington's work essentially highlights the supposed differences between "eastern" and "western" culture. His main focus is between the United States and China along with the Christian and Muslim worlds. Why is this important for this study? Huntington appears to use geographic terminology to justify generalizations about human conflict. His framing of east versus west is especially relevant given that the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is often framed in this context. For example, the invocation of a Judeo-Christian alliance against the forces of Islam is mentioned in reference to the conflict both inside and outside the region. In many instances this overtly binary framing oversimplifies the complexities of the conflict and have the real potential to exacerbate rifts between conflict parties. The implication of a global religious or cultural war can come off a little strong. Maps, particularly the use of color in maps, assist in the process of communicating this narrative without mentioning it as explicitly as Huntington. How does the simple use of color instantly facilitate such a sweeping yet primal story of inevitable conflict?

Charles Osgood's "Cross-Cultural Study of the Affective Meanings of Color" conducted a study on with American high school students as the sample population. These

students came from very diverse backgrounds and represented first generation immigrants from around the world in the California public school system. Osgood and his team of researchers set out exploring the question of whether different cultures had a different way of making mean of different colors. The study found a near universal recognition of certain colors with various themes that cut across cultural affiliation. Blue was universally seen as good, Red was bad, Green was good and universal, Grey was weak.[14] Based on these findings it isn't hard to discern what Huntington was attempting to communicate by shading "the West" blue and China and red. The problem isn't necessarily that Huntington is using scientific constructions of space to make a team sport out of global politics, which in hindsight is actually a serious problem for a conflict resolution practitioner, it's that he proudly sports a blue western jersey as he does so. He is far from the only scholar to self impose a biased view of geography all while relying on figures that are supposed to convey an undisputed determinist reality. Scholars like Huntington and Kaplan have used maps to make assumptions about cultures around the world and the way they interact with each other. As noted in some examples above, sometimes these conclusions contain bias antithetical good relations between different groups. The main issue that contemporary geographers with cultural affiliations have with Kaplan and Huntington's positivist use of maps is that they use geography to justify cultural statements while not recognizing the potential for maps themselves to be culturally rich specimens that are highly manipulated by a wide range of human opinion. The types of agents employed in both Huntington and

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[14] Adams, M Francis, and Osgood, Charles E. 1973. "A Cross Cultural Study of Affective Meanings of Color." *Sage Journals* 4 (June): 135–56.

Kaplan's maps are indeed examples of social constructions. By using markings to identify certain groups and make predictions about their relationships, Huntington and Kaplan assist in the constructions of their identities. Thus disproving their own This means that people, not natural topography, inform ethnic, national and other identity based staples in humanity. These revelations run in direct conflict with premise that geography is essentially deterministic. Geographical determinism, as employed by Huntington and Kaplan, means that natural geography informs conflict, culture and various other facets of identity. The counter-argument says it is not geography which informs these functions of humanity, but rather, the way people interpret geography.

The theoretical content in the section includes a summary of how mapmaking found its way into the mainstream human society. It is important to note that the maps that are used around the world today are a byproduct of a European practice and tradition and therefore are sometimes designed to promote this agenda over others. This is why it is notable when western scholars like Huntington and Kaplan employ normative geography to make conclusions about conflict's between "western" and "non western" entities. It is especially important to recognize when content that warns about a potential conflict can sometimes supports ideology that catalyzes conflict to begin with. This section seeks to recognizes the utilitarian importance of normative geography while recommending caution for readers not to take the map so literally. In fact, there's an entire field of geography that is devoted to urging map readers and makers to embrace constructivism over positivist determinism. One of the reasons for this was the rise in nationalisms connected to geographic practice. Despite the salience of the idea of the

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nation-state, like Israel, in both general society and geographical renderings: the phenomena is much newer than it seems.

1.1 Classical Geography and Nationalisms

Kaplan's presentation of national identities as being intrinsically tied to land is necessary for the purposes of this study. Based on the work of Hobsbawm in "Nations and Nationalism" the modern understanding of the nation-state is usually rooted in some ancient myth or legend even though modern states are infantile when compared with the larger scope of human history. What's also very new is the boundaries on which the nation states, like Israel and many others, inhabit. So if modern nations are so new why do its citizens hold on to these identities so tightly? Why do scholars like Kaplan praise the institutions that maintain the separateness of nations states and see attempts to globalize and integrate national identities as inherently dangerous? The ideology that promotes the importance of national identity isn't distinct to the work of Kaplan. Since the construction of the modern nation state is so prevalent to the foundations of Israeli geography and general theory of maps and conflict its necessary look into literature that unpacks the way nationalisms have developed. After all, what is a map but a series of nation-states?

Hobsbawm, in his book "Nations and Nationalisms since 1780: programme, myth," notes this trend: "The basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is modernity. This is now well understood, but the opposite assumption, that national identification is somehow so natural, primary and permanent as to precede

history, is so widely held that it may be useful to illustrate the modernity of the vocabulary itself." (Hobsbawm 14)[15]

Hobsbawm is making the point that the way nations construct their nationalisms, or national identities is rooted in ancient history folklore and narratives. In many cases, these national identities produce language and ideology based on these primordial conceptions of their identity which sometimes have way more to do with fiction that fact. There are countless examples of this trend in contemporary. Kaplan calls the spatial understanding of a national identity a "heartland" and applauds the nation states "separateness" as more secure than transnational inner and outer zones like the EU. [16]

As noted by Hobsbawm and implied by Kaplan, national identities are constructed in contrast to each other. This means that to a certain extent the French identity was created to juxtapose the English one just as much as French nationhood was an internal state process. Entities are defined just as much for who they who are as they denied by who they aren't. This is why nationalistic content works to counter goals professed by conflict resolution.

Nation-state creation had its inception in Europe where physical and cultural proximity to the European continent demanded an intensive identity formation process that attempted to distinguish national identities from each other. The cultural and geographic distance between members of the western European mainland aren't entirely

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[15] Eric Hobsbawm. 1992. *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780: Progreamme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[16] Kaplan. Robert. 2012. *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle Agaisnt Fate*. New York: Random House.

vast. This has spurred both a need for national entities to socially and visually distinguish themselves from neighbors creating an "us. vs. them binary." During and after the colonial era the process of "othering" human groups from other human groups persisted. In some cases, maps helped scholars and agents of nation state narrative perpetuate ideology that argued the argument "There is us and there is them. We are different and this will never change." Perhaps this is why Kaplan sees the increasing trend toward a decline in the classically homogenous nation state as a potential security threat: the exact identities that were designed to counter the national identity of the "west" now seems to have found itself within these nations.

This section has covered the connection between classical geography and nationalism: a phenomenon that is relatively new in the general scope of the history between conflict and geography but represents one of its most important themes. Up until this point, this study has only discussed how classical maps can be used to describe and proliferate elements of conflict. One of the main assumptions held by theorists like Kaplan suggests that geography comes to influence social norms and behaviors that go on to inform features of conflict between human groups. There is a separate group of scholars that would challenge this assumption. Scholars in this field argue that human beings actually have the power to influence the way we see geography by culturally imposing features unto maps. This means that the "revenge" of geography that Kaplan discusses isn't some intangible natural force but rather a byproduct of human cultural intervention. The following literature featured in the next section will explore the

different ways humans have the potential to manipulate visual depictions of space using

what scholars have described as "social constructions."

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTIVIST AND CRITICAL GEOGRAPHY:
A CULTURAL TURN IN ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY

Maps have the potential to give viewers far more insight than just indications of space and place. Sometimes maps don't even tell the reader about space and place and depart dramatically from the original intent of maps. Maps have come to embrace a much more diverse role since its inception into the human community. Constructivist mapmakers have sought to expand the definition and practice of maps to transcend their classic role as a medium for spatial analysis. They think the use of maps strictly indicates where people are, where they have been, and where they are going. Maps have huge temporal components and can be too slow to adapt to changes in the outside world they are supposed to be chronicling. Many academics are united in the opinion that many maps contain elements that work in opposition to general understandings of social progress and unity either by reinforcing national boundaries or constructed walls that separate groups. Other's argue that maps reaffirm primordial conflicts between cultures that are unavoidable.[17] There is even a school of geography which rejects classical geography entirely: stating that maps are "mappings of" and are too static. This argument states that maps are constructed by a population that is too small to accurately portray reality.

This field began when a small group of geographers in the United Kingdom became disillusioned with the patron client culture that dominated Geography

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[17] Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3): 22–49.

departments across Europe. This group also grew wary of the overtly nationalistic values imposed on geography departments by governments who saw them more as a utility to exploit than a service for society. Boria, in his article, "Geopoltical" Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in Cartography," mentions the beginning of what can be described as critical geography:

> Hence, despite continuous developments in theoretical geography, embodied in a succession of schools and approaches that renewed and invigorated the discipline, the perception of the geographical map as a neutral instrument representing reality has remained unchanged for more than a century. Only recently have stimulating, alternative views been put forward: from perception geography, focusing on the individual sphere, to the critical analysis of postmodern radical geographers. Among the latter, in the field of cartography, John Brian Harley, authentic "father" of the school of critical cartography, stands out with his extremely efficacious analysis of the map as a product of power. [18]

Brian Harley grew up in England in the years after its colonial hegemony over most the world. Harley isn't shy about some unsavory elements of the geographic tradition he was brought up in. English cartography represents an incredibly large swath of geographic tradition. It is very relevant to this study because modern Israeli geography in some part informed by the British geography of mandate Palestine. Borrowing terminology used by anthropologist's he studied like Levi-Strauss, he describes the process of Map-making in the British empire as more of a "ritual" than a scientific practice. Despite the fact that many of these British geographers who were plotting colonial holdings thought themselves to be

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[18] Boria, Edoardo. 2008. "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in Cartography." *Geopolitics* 13 (2): 278–308. doi:10.1080/14650040801991522.

simply plotting space objectively, Harley argues that British geography is rooted in cultural

bias and normative behaviors rooted in British colonial values:

> "The making and reading of maps by constantly recycling a normalcy in
> power relations is akin to a ritual, a ritual performed with knowledge and
> linked to attitudes and emotions widely held and expressed in English
> society. These included an attachment by patrons to their own class and
> nation, a love of ownership and property, a bellicose chauvinism, and a
> tendency to despise 'savages.'

Harley makes direct reference to the practice of separating the "gentlemen" and

the "savage." Though he doesn't elaborate exactly how, the suggestion he makes is that

the maps produced during this era communicated the narrative of British supremacy over

their subjects in places like India and South Africa. Harley was amongst the first to really

question the true "motive" of the map as a geographer himself. Harley was revolutionary

in challenging the assumption that maps were a static apolitical entity much to the dismay

of some of his more orthodox colleagues still clinging to geographic determinism. Still

Harley was resolute in his conviction that maps can have the potential to do bad things if

in the wrong hands.

Jeremy Crampton, in his article: "Maps: Performative, Participatory and

Political," uses a host of arguments that argue that maps are social constructed. This has

many implications for conflict resolution practitioners who may have anxiety over the

potential for entities to socially construct conflict-laden content. The idea of social

constructivism is a darling in the anthropology community but has also found its way into

the realm of human geography which combines studies of space and place with the study

of human culture. In Crampton's work "Maps as social constructions: power,

communication, and visualization" Crampton references the earliest challenges to

assumptions made by "normative" cartography by the groundbreaking work of British

geographer and arguably the founder of critical geography, Brian Harley:

> "Harley began to examine in more detail the question of how a map
> represents its territory through a remarkable series of contributions
> challenging cartographies communication oriented theoretical
> assumptions. As defined by the International Cartographic Association a
> map is a symbol image of geographical reality, representing selected
> features or characteristics." [19]

This very commonly accepted traditional definition of maps by the Cartographic

association would be challenged by Harley and his contemporaries that actually argued that

sometimes maps don't represent reality. How is this possible? The community of British

geographers during Harley's time had access to some of the best technology for

mapmaking. Even in the days before satellite imagery, cartographers were able to plot the

various curves and lilts of land and water to a tee. Who was Harley to make such a bizarre

claim that appeared to discredit the science of geography? Harley trusted maps: what didn't

he trust? The things people did with maps.

Maps may represent the reality of some, but not all. Harley was interested in the

root of this apparent problem in normative mapmaking. He started to develop an

alternative to the conservative establishment of cartographers by applying literature of

classical constructivist thinkers like Michel Foucault Derrida and Levi Strauss. [20]

Constructivist geography rejects deterministic views of Geography and sees the maps as

social constructions. Using the work of Foucault and Gramsci: Harley was able to discern

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[19]   Dennis Woods."How Maps Work." *Cartographia* 29 (3&4): 66–74.

[20]   Crampton, Jeremy. " Maps as preformative, participatory and political."

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that there was a power structure that existed in the production of maps. Certain institutions tied to governments or elites sought to perpetuate elements of mapmaking that didn't always represent the spatial reality of the masses. Crampton traces the trajectory of this filed in his article:

> "During the 1980's and 1990's cartographers began asking whether there was an analogous politics of representation of maps and mapping: can maps be usefully considered politicized documents, that it, as documents formed within a discourse? To be sure this, this was quite the leap; in any 'theory' was to be found in cartography at this time, it was safely located in the map communication model, or in structural accounts of the map as a semiotic system. [21]

This cultural turn accommodates the idea that national or private entities can employ the services of geographers to meet some of their goals. In years prior to this revelation maps were seen as non-cultural representations of space and place. Who could question what went on the map? The events of the 20th century spurred scholars from around the world to question the role of the map and its potential to set groups of people to action for better or worse. Crampton, while not explicitly targeting the determinist view of geography employed by Huntington and Kaplan, challenges their general conception of geography and how it relates to society. In the article Crampton applies the concept of social constructionism to geography. This idea is groundbreaking for the field of geography because it challenges the once firmly held conviction that maps communicated an untainted depiction of reality. This works started with Brian Harley who noticed some disturbing features of the geographic tradition he studied in England.

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[21] Crampton, Jeremy W. 2009. "Cartography: Performative, Participatory, Political." *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (6): 840–48. doi:10.1177/0309132508105000.

Luckily for the sake of this study, Harley as the father of the critical geography, was also thinking about the map in Israel- Palestine. In his work on the potential for maps do not represent everyone's form of reality he turned to some historical examples of populations who have been slighted by maps. His work has focused on Native American residents of New England after English settlement and Palestinian residents after Israeli settlement in the area. These two case studies, while exhibiting a tedious historical comparison, have some interesting parallels: both feature groups going to a new area in pursuit of religious freedom and territorial identity only to be met with indigenous civilizations. Harley's largest contribution to this topic was the revelation that social constructions on maps can comprise of features of maps that are added but also elements that are ignored are discarded. Harley called these groups not aren't represented by maps as: "Victims of the Map."

A study that focuses exclusively on when mapmakers omit labels, "Not on the map: cartographic omission from England to Palestine" by Peter Helleström references when Harley realized that this trend was something applicable to field of critical geography:

> Incidentally, Harley's study began as a conference paper entitled "Victims of a map", a title he borrowed from an anthology of contemporary Palestinian and Lebanese poetry. Discussing the implications of not representing Native American place-names on colonial maps, Harley quoted the Israeli historian and political scientist Meron Benvenisi, deputy mayor and chief planning officer of Jerusalem in 1971-–78, who described the process with which the Israeli State Hebraized the place-names of the country they had conquered: "Like all immigrant societies, we attempted to erase all alien names", Benvenisti said. "The Hebrew

map of Israel constitutes one stratum in my consciousness, underlaid by the stratum of the previous Arab map."[22]

Harley's work includes some very telling features of the types of cartographic omissions that where happening in the years following the Israeli annexation of the West Bank; or as it sometimes labeled for political purposes, Judea and Samara. Harleys use of Meron Benvenisi's quote on how he envisioned building a Hebrew map, over an existing Arab map, when going about the post war settlement process in Jerusalem is incredibly interesting because of his mentioning of how existing Arab cartography was fundamental in constructing a new Jewish geography of greater Jerusalem. Hellström refers to the actions associated with the Israel presence in the West Bank as "conquest." Benvenisi chooses not to use this terminology but instead self identifies and describes the other Israeli's at the time as an "immigrant," group. He has no false pretenses about the systematic re-naming and omitting done on the map but doesn't see anything peculiar about it: mentioning all immigrant societies do the same. "Immigrant" may be a slightly sympathetic term but the point still stands: what happened to map of the West Bank has happened to countless other places and figures through time as populations move and conflicts begin and end. The practice of manipulating feature of maps to promote a national agenda precedes the Israeli actions of 1967.

Harley's work, according to Eduardo Boria: a contemporary Italian critical geographer, can be extremely useful in recognizing when cartography can be used for the purposes of propaganda. Boria's research of Italian and German maps in the years prior and

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[22]   Boria, Edoardo. 2008. "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in

during world war two show that maps have the potential to socially construct propaganda with serious repercussions for human populations. This show's a major deviation from the understanding of maps in Kaplan's study in which geography can only be used to demonstrate reality: "Boria notes that in the early 1900's geography was viewed in a very positivist frame. Boria mentions that this case the case until relatively recently:

> "The map is not just a tool for the advancement of knowledge, but also a possible weapon of propaganda. Only recently, though, with the studies of John Brian Harley, has the close link between cartography and the interests of the power elites clearly emerged. Indeed, despite ample evidence attesting to the obvious limitations of cartography, geography as a science has long avoided dealing with the consequences of this state of affairs. Nineteenth-century geography, espousing the positivistic premises of determine- ism with regard to the existence of laws governing nature and human behavior, believed in objective knowledge, and thus considered the map a faithful representation of the land."[23]

Boria, Crampton Harley, and Pickles all agree that maps are a product of human creation and imagination. Boria is effectively calling Kaplan's theory of geography antiquated even though his study was published years prior to the "Revenge of Geography." Maps show much more about their maker and who ever is paying for the production of the map. Boria reveals certain elements of how a map can develop an argument that goes beyond giving the reader an idea of where places are and what they are called. Maps can also convince a reader to believe something in something bigger than themselves.

After the conclusion of World War, I there was a huge increase in a field known as "geopolitical" geography that began in Italy and Germany. These figures looked like the determinist model of geography but were also culturally rich artifacts. Maps in the

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[23] Boria, Eduardo. 2008. "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in

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fascist era of Italy and Germany unveiled former triumphs and glories of the two nations, ancient histories and future conquests. Some of these figures depicted reality while others were either aspirational or were developed with the aim of subjecting a population to propaganda in order to illicit fear, support and national identity.

These geographers, as noted in Boria's study, redefined the geographic tradition and took advantage of some of the more subjective features of the maps to put their own spin on it. This era of geography in Italy and Germany was far less concerned with positivist accuracy and far more politically inclined to accommodate national bias. Examples from Boria's study includes Italian maps that juxtapose the territory of the Roman empire with up to date versions of Italian geography. These maps used collective memory to invoke a nostalgia for the days of the Roman empire during a time when the nation of Italy lagging behind its northern European counterparts in colonizing and industrializing. Maps that show former glory of an identity group go way beyond giving a populace a history lesson. Former glory narratives can argue for a continuity between the past and present. The Roman map of Europe used by Mussolini was more much more of an end goal than a demonstration of power in years past. Hitler, in constructing a national identity of Germans, used maps to argue that the historically and geographically fragmented German-speaking populations were somehow all connecting to one cohesive elite legacy. Historically accurate depictions of Germany show a Germany in which each city-state had its own ruler. However, the historical reality wasn't going to serve the Nazi parties agenda so they needed maps that bent this truth.

German maps in the years between the world wars would highlight numbers of instances in which Nazi party members were supposedly assassinated by Communists and Jews. Most of these maps relied on fallacious data sets that were made to look legitimate by employing cartographic science that was legitimate. German maps paid very close attention to demographics and were very deliberate in the way they showed the number of German populations living outside German protection.

"One of the most widely used German school atlases of the time, for example, obviously engages in propaganda when dedicating a section to the "nationalist revolution." But its not the maps themselves that are the culprit here; the maps are in fact scientifically acceptable, factually correct: there are even legends and scales, the border of the Reich are marked correctly, and the events illustrated are real: the Führers travels, the results of elections, assassinations of members of Nazi party, Jewish migrations. It is the choice of the subjects that is biased, not the maps themselves."[24] (Boria 280)

Many of these figures acted as a pretense for military engagement based on notions of security, hegemony and ethnic continuity. Boria mentions how it is not the maps themselves that are biased: just way the maps are framed thanks to specific mechanisms. This era of mapmaking in these two nations was known for: "distorting information, emphasizing one topic, choosing place names, colors, titles and captions and excessive highlighting.[25]

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[24] Boria, Edoardo. 2008. "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in
[25] Ibid

Color as well as titles and captions (toponymy) and the subjects of the maps play a huge role in what makes Boria see maps of this era in these authoritarian regimes as so problematic. He also points out that maps that come out of Germany and Italy in the 1930's are far from the only example of biased maps with geopolitical aims. He references a Hungarian Marxist cartographer Alex Rádo whose maps, Boria mentions, are anything but partial and contained similar biased subjects.[26] (Boria 280)

This period saw a new generation of geographical figures across the "western world" that gained prevalence in public education systems. One of the main features that unites these maps from across the political spectrum is their use of color, toponymy and omission of certain place marks and borders to construct essentialist binaries that seem to suggest: there is us and then there is them. This cartographic trend is extremely unpopular thanks to the short lives of the regimes that fostered their creation. That said there was nothing specific to Fascism that complimented the proliferation of this type of mapmaking which has also been utilized by communist, private western and non-western entities.

Despite the potential utility of geopolitical cartography for national agendas, Boria mentions that in the years following the second World War that:

> "The initiatives of geo-politicians failed to obtain significant support from the leaders of an academic geography… The academic establishment tended to consider geo-politicians as good as planted agents of the regime, potentially capable of undermining academic freedom, intent on corrupting the noble and distinguished tradition of the disciple. The gap (in terms of views, approach method) and the misunderstandings

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[26] Ibid

separating the leading geographers of the time and the two founders of geopolitics in Germany and Italy, respectively Karl Haushofer and Giorgio Roletta are both rooted and reflected in the anomalous academic careers of these geographers, who started their academic teaching late, and were never fully accepted by the academic milieu."[27]

Boria notes how these academics in post war Germany and Italy were wary of these supposed "planted agents of the state," for good reason. That said, the use of Geography to assist in the creation of a national identity isn't always malicious in nature. In fact, some of the techniques used by German geographers in the education system became popular across Europe. An Israeli couple who have worked in geography departments in Israel, Yorum and Bruria Bar Gal, draw a connection between this era of European cartography and some of the earlier constructions of Israeli geography:

> "During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the teaching of geography in schools was influenced by another source: the rise of German nationalism and the spread of colonialism. Following these political developments, the importance of geography in the creation of a national identity for the child was recognized, and it was therefore inserted as an obligatory school subject in European states."[28] (Bar Gal 45)

Both authors mentioned in this section, Harley and Boria, use the classical normative approach to mapmaking to make their arguments. They don't seem to have any issues with the maps themselves: just the way they were labeled or not labeled, colored or biased. Harley's assertion that elements of maps contained hints of bias were met with heavy amounts of skepticism by many of his colleagues. That said, another group of scholars didn't think Harley took the constructivist nature of the map itself far enough.

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[27] Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

[28] Ibid

As noted previously, Harley was concerned with what people did with maps, not the maps themselves. Another school critical geography takes the critique of maps a couple steps further.

This section introduced a concept relativity new to the field of geography but incredibly important for the connection between maps and conflict. Constructivist geography marks a clear departure from uses of classical geography which, when applied to the study of conflict, is normally situated in the practice of predicting conflict and re-enforcing European concepts of national separateness. Instead, the field of constructivist or critical human geography sees the potential for spatially correct figures to contain social content that can be described as subjective. Examples of this content include labeling or purposefully omission of labels as mentioned by Harley, biased subject matter featured in Boria's study as well as Osgood's findings on biased color schemes. Literature like Harley's sees certain feature of mapmaking to be subjective: like labeling which is easily influenced by national forces. However, others, like Dennis Woods, scold Harley for not seeing the map itself as subjective. The following section unpacks this version of geography which recommend an alternative to maps altogether. Unlike Kaplan, Dennis Woods is rooted in the idea that its human maps, not natural geography, that reaps real revenge.

2.1   Maps as the Enemy

This project ultimately will explore the potential for maps to assist in a peacemaking process. However, how can this suggestion be made when some scholarship suggests that maps are the natural enemy of a collective consciousness? While this idea

may seem far-fetched: there is a group of scholars who have taken the ideas of Harley to new levels of constructivism. These ideas question to conventional use for normative map making in any context.

Scholars like Dr. Woods criticize Harley's interpretation of maps as not including vital information on the social nature of the map itself and how it comes to be. Woods thinks that Harley still employed the deterministic static conception of maps used by Kaplan, Huntington and some of the earlier constructions of utilitarian Israeli geography:

> "The problem for Harley remained the bad things people did with maps, and ultimately this left the maps themselves out of the picture. Insulated by an idealist conception of knowledge, Harley was never able to conceive of the map as other than a representation of reality; was never able conceive of the map as a discourse function; was never able to understand that the heart of the problem wasn't the way the map was wielded but the map function itself. His refusal to acknowledge the map as a function of social being- not just as something colored or shaped by this or that social vector- prevented him from seeing that map-making was not a universal expression of individual existence (like something we call mapping) but an unusual function of special social circumstances arising only with certain social structures."[29]

Despite the critique leveled by Woods, the work of Dr. Harley was fundamental in realizing that maps and the process of mapmaking is hardly a universally understood practice but more of an instrument rooted in some type of motive that's usually a product of client-patron relationship.[30] Wood's main problem with Harley's work that he was concerned with the problematic functions that people can impose unto maps. Wood's is more a component of "mapping," which represents a figure of space that can be tied to

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[29] Dennis Woods. "How Maps Work." *Cartographia* 29 (3&4): 66–74.

[30] Ibid

what Woods calls "a universal expression of individual existence." Instead of focusing on the problematic social constructions of classical maps and their tendency toward determinism, Harley was more interested in the particular features that people put unto classical maps. Classical maps aren't perfect: but they are still the mostly widely used tool for communicating space and place much to the dismay of post-modern geographers like Woods.

This marks the end of the literature review section. The theoretical approaches to how the intersection of conflict and geography is understood is extremely diverse. On one end of the spectrum sits the positivist practitioners of geography who see the practice of mapmaking as an undisputable form of spatial measurement. Since maps communicate reality, this logic presumes that maps can inform people about conflicts to come. When we introduce the concept that maps are part of a larger cultural process distinct to the societies they develop, in there are far different conclusions that can be derived. For example, if humans can socially construct maps for the benefit of those within their groups than can they socially construct a map more inclusive of diverse identities? The present study looks into the possibility of maps, which have played such a huge role in the formation of Israeli society, as a potential tool in striving toward a more peaceful region where multiple identity groups can inhabit the same space. In order to go about recommending changes to Israeli geography in the contemporary its necessary to go to the very beginning and trace its progression to the contemporary.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY IN ISRAEL: THE FIRST GENERATION

The introduction of this study featured the story of Lewis Carroll's Alice and Wonderland and how she tested herself with Geography to re-orient how she could understand her own identity in the rabbit hole, a geographic locale both hostile and foreign for Alice. The years following World War Two sent many young Jews into the rabbit hole, and some of them landed in Wonderland. Wonderland, however, was a mostly arid Ottoman province without clear borders or major infrastructure besides agriculture. Pre-state Zionist educators and early Israeli officials recognized the need to acclimate their constituents to a new and somewhat hostile land. Geography became one of the most helpful tools in this project.[31]

Israel represents one of the premier case studies to conduct a project dealing with cultural constructions of geography despites Waterman's assertion that cultural Geography is unpopular in Israel. Relative to other nations Israel has produced massive amounts of scholarship representing geographical content loyal to Israeli state policy and literature that recognizes problems in the general geographic discourse.

Elie Podeh in his study on Israeli curriculums and conflict uses some of Howard Mehlingers's study on textbooks to describe the role curriculums have in societies: "Textbooks, according to Mehlinger, are modern versions of the village story teller since they are responsible for conveying the youth what adults should know about the

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[31] Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

culture."[32] In the case of the early days of Israel: this meant an explanation to students what they were doing in this space and why. As mentioned previously, many of theses students were complete strangers in a new land. Educators under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund and the Yishuv government had very specific intentions centered around forming a constituency that could effectively absorb and spread the narratives and goals associated with nascent Jewish statehood.

Bar Gal mentions that the "Zionist movement was the flagship for territorial socialization" and that "The state itself continued to concern itself with territorial education in order to increase the citizenships identification with the territory."[33] (At first glance, the "identification with the territory" could mean that the Israeli government was concerned with general geographic knowledge of the area. While this may be partially true: their real goal was to create something more tangible than a student body able to identify cities and natural landmarks. They wanted to create an identity: "Geography was not only intended to convey knowledge about the land of Israel but also principally, to assist children's emotional absorption in the country, through the transfer of knowledge."[34] Benedict Anderson, in his groundbreaking text, *Imagined Communities,* describes some of the ways nationalism are created:

[32]   Podeh, E. 2005. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948-2000*. Bergin and Garvey. *https://books.google.com.mt/books?id=EtzwYmB41c0C.*

[33]   Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

[34]   Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

"My point of departure is that nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of the worlds multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artifacts of a particular kind." In the case of early Israel, these cultural artifacts that fermented nationalism came in the form of maps.

How did maps get so popular? Bar Gal references the: "Popular Geographers" who charted pre-mandate Palestine. Many of them were said to invoke biblical places and stories in the constructions of these figures. In invoking the biblical place marks these geographers created a sense of historical continuity as well a sense of justification for the presence continued Jewish presence in the area. These geographers worked with archeologists and in turn strengthened the emotional connection that European Jewry had with the space. Some even learned Arabic and imported the local folklore that had developed during the last 1000 years of Muslim presence in the area.[35] (Bar Gal 44) These geographers had a much easier time of constructing content than the German geographers that produced maps that marginalized their own community. Unlike the mostly fragmentary Germanic and Nordic mythology employed by geographers constructing figures of the fatherland, Israeli geographers had the Old Testament with all its geographic specificity and religious salience to literally re-create the Israel of yesterday in the contemporary. Much of the oral Geography in religious texts of the past informed the Israeli conception of how the present was going to be constructed and

[35] Ibid

visually depicted on maps. (Citation) Relative to other national identities, geography departments in universities and schools were extremely important

Stanley Waterman, his article: "Constructing Spatial Knowledge: Geography as a Discipline: A Critical Overview of the Evolution of Israeli Human Geography," suggests that Geographers in Israel played a huge role in society relative to many other places: Israeli Human Geography has constantly stressed a need to conduct applied research, a result of adopting a paradigm that views geography as a "practical" discipline and geographers as servants of the state."[36] (Waterman 20) Waterman worked in Geography departments in Israel for years. His article on constructing spatial knowledge provides some scathing criticisms on the way the geographic academic community has been utilized by the state. Waterman mentions that though he might sound accusatory at time; his work was never meant to single anybody out in particular. His main goal was to introduce a critical constructivist frame on analyzing the progression of Israeli geography as discipline with connections to government motive and educational goals. Waterman's study focuses largely on the language of Geography and less on the maps themselves.

Scholars like Waterman, Howard Dooley and evidence to suggest that elements of the Israeli tradition of Geography have historically possessed particular political motivations.[37] [38] However, in the early years of Israeli geography, territorial acquisition

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[36] Waterman, Stanley. "Constructing Spatial Knowledge: Geography as a Discipline: A Critical Overview of the Evolution of Israeli HUman Geography." *Israel Studies* 13 (1): 20–43.

[37] Ibid

[38] Dooley, Howard J. 1995. "Atlas of Arab-Israeli Conflict, Sixth Edition, Martin Gilbert." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 4 (1): 38–41.

in the military sense and communicating violent propaganda, like the subjects of Boria's study, wasn't the initial aim of the earliest Israeli geographers. Israeli geographers and educators, preceding the days of the state and the early days of the state, were concerned primarily with emotional absorption and establishing a connection to the land. To create a sense of belonging geographer's employed "collective memory." Rafi Nets- Zehngut, in "Israeli Approved Textbooks and the 1948 Palestinian Exodus" mentions: "A country that is involved with an intractable conflict has collective memory"[39] (Collective memory is) typically the dominant narrative of a conflict is biased in favor of the group that has adopted that narrative. Among these institutions that present the official memory conflict is the ministry of education." In the geographical sense, Israeli academics and educators were involved in a process that united the collective memory of people from dozens of nations and traditions into a cohesive identity tied to agrarian idealism and real emotional connection with the land of their ancestors.

Jewish authorities in pre-Mandate Palestine knew it was easier to convince a group of people to farm arid land in hostile territory under the pretense that their ancestors had been doing this for thousands of years in the same place. Lobbying for the Jewish youth of Europe to grab this torch was partially the responsibility of the Geographers. (Bar Gal 44) To a certain extent, this remains the case in the contemporary. The information produced by Geographers using spatial analysis and collective memory

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[39] Nets-Zehngut, Rafi. 2013. "Israeli Approved Textbooks and the 1948 Palestinian Exodus." *Israel Studies* 18 (3): 41–68.

was then disseminated to civic curriculums in schools. This has made up a considerable source of narrative and identity formation for Israeli citizens through the years.

Waterman describes the lure of geography as being a no-brainer for many Israeli educators: "the lure of field trips and being outside the classroom, its contribution to nation building as a channel for attaching the people to the land, and, worryingly a more recent perception as an easy academic option." [40] Waterman references the professor coveted as being the "father" of Israeli Geography, David Amiran. Amiran was said by Waterman to have studied geography in central Europe during the early 1930's then moved to Palestine in 1935. After pioneering the department in Jerusalem Amiran spread the influence of Geography elsewhere in the early state. It wasn't long before the Israeli government recognized that Amirans work could be used to fulfill some of its goals: "early in his career Amiran was hand-picked to head several governmental and quasi-governmental organizations." Waterman also notes that Amirans work with the government unveiled a schism in Israeli geography that persists to this day:

> There is an ongoing struggle between Israeli academic geography, with roots in academe and intellectual connections with other academics, and those who see geography as a Zionist tool to draw Jews into an intimate encounter with the historic Land of Israel, thereby enhancing their attachment to the country and contributing to nation building. The intellectual font of Ahavat Ha'artetz (love of the land) fostered Yedi'at Ha'aretz (knowledge of the land) For some knowledge of the land is the only legitimate channel for studying geography and academic geography only justify its existence if it contributes positively toward these ends.

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[40] Waterman, Stanley. "Constructing Spatial Knowledge: Geography as a Discipline: A Critical Overview of the Evolution of Israeli Human Geography." *Israel Studies* 13 (1): 20–43.

These amateurs have both been the conscience of Israeli academic geography as well as its Achilles heel.[41]

3.1   Second Generation Israeli Geography: Early Days of the State

The process of Jewish settlers developing a cultural connection to land in Ottoman and British Palestine prior to the state of Israel is what Yorum and Bruria Bar-Gal call "territorial socialization." Geography became one of the premier ways to do this: as Waterman noted, "Ahava Ha'aretz" or love of the land, became a school of Geography that was attached at the hip to Israeli government narratives. Once the state came to fruition so did its parliament, also called the Knesset, which resides in Jerusalem. The Bar Gal's are quick to mention in their study on the progression of Israeli geography in schools that the ministry of education was keen on communicating some of its geographic values to students: "Symbolically, its national goals were emphasized in the first subject: "Jerusalem – the Capital of Israel."[42]

The Bar Gal's, Yorum and Bruria, have been at the forefront in the production of and analyses of Israeli Geography for decades. Their study, "To Tie the Chord Between a People and its Land," notes four major characteristics of Israeli geography that can be found in school curricula. The first of these major characteristics is localism vs. universalism. Localism, in the earlier grades, was a way to get students acclimated to their immediate surroundings. In High School, localism took the shape of educating older students about some of Israel's geographic

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[41] Ibid

[42] Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

tive production, going as far as to assertsame binary content that was so prevalent in the early days of the state.

problems and how it related to its neighboring countries. The Bar Gal's challenge the reader of their study to question why Israeli authorities facilitated educators to beat the bush on the local elements of geography at the expense of universal approaches.

They used the preface for the 1954 Israeli Geography curriculum to glean light on this question: "…to implant the children of the Land of Israel, the land of our fathers, the homeland of the Hebrew people, in which the State of Israel was renewed after 2000 years of exile."[43] It seemed that the ministry of education at this early and transformative time in the state building process knew that the geography curriculum had to reflect strong preferences on local geography and to overlook education of the geography of other places: this has the affect of making home seem like the center of the world.

One of the other major characteristics of Israeli geography in the Bar Gal study was coined "Popularization Agents." These represent fixtures in Israeli society that aided in the exposure of geography to the larger Israeli population. The Israeli Defense Forces are said to host an army-wide quiz contest on Geography. The military knows that geographic knowledge coupled with a strong identity with the land can only be an asset to their operations. Many American's joke that the only way new locations get into the national geographic consciousness is through military operations.

The parks authority was more concerned with the aesthetic elements of the development of Israeli geography: mostly in the environmental sector. They developed smaller projects that established the creation of various trailheads which made outdoors

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[43] Ibid

activities and geological tourist excursions a common practice for citizens. One of the more important agents of popularization became the "Land of Israel Studies Departments," based in Jerusalem which studied the geographic history of Israel. This topic wasn't merely just on the preservation of the land but also the continuation. There were several times when greater Israeli society thought that the continuity of their nation could be called into question. In the years after 1967, Israeli Geography was mostly an internal identity formation process that aided in new immigrant's emotional absorption with their new and strange land. After the Israeli military victory in the Six Day War, Israel's territory quadrupled. The West Bank formerly controlled by Jordan and the Sinai and Gaza trip formerly controlled by Egypt fell into Israeli military control and were considered "Israel proper" pending final peace agreements. Gaza and the Sinai were eventually relinquished to Egypt and Palestinian entities respectfully but the West Bank and East Jerusalem remained under Israeli control for security reasons. During this period of Israeli "occupation" as it is known across the world, many Israeli Jewish citizens either driven by religious aspiration or pricey coastal real estate, chose to settle the old biblical heartland which inconveniently consisted of the modern Palestinian West Bank. These "settlements" as they are now called are said by many in the International community to run in conflict with international law. More than anything, the presence of Israeli settlements directly compromises Palestinian geographic continuity and attempts to have a state of their own.

In the aftermath of all this change and turmoil in the area, the state was once toted as an underdog, began to be viewed as an aggressor and even an agent of bigotry. These

claims, when hurdled at Israeli's are too often laced with anti-Semitic overtones which make them futile at best. Israeli academics, including geographers, began a process to help students become able to defend Israel's moral right to defend itself: "Therefore in that period there was a consensus in Israel amongst education officials that the national education approach should be implemented in order to mobilize youth and to protect Israel's national image." In the protection of this image, many geographers and educators had to rationalize Israeli actions against Palestinian people. This included framing the military and civilian acquisition new territory as largely a security issue. This process perpetuated the kind of ethnocentricity discussed by the Bar Gals in their analysis of localism at the expense of universalism.

What the Bar-Gals don't talk about are some of the figures that depict "Greater Israel." These figure are not rooted in academia or curricula but represent an extreme example of a cultural artifact worth noting. They were largely disseminated by armed paramilitary groups that had roots in the partisan uprisings in German-occupied Europe. Among these groups were the Irgun responsible for the production of the image featured below.

Figure 2.   Irgun Map

The map shows a national aspiration held by a small group of hawkish partisans. The territory shown is the greater British colonial province of Transjordan. Irgun was interested in communicating the normalization of this land as belonging to the Jewish community as indicated by several features of this map. The territory the maps author identities with is marked in blue and all the writing is in Hebrew. This represents an extreme example of geography being used to create identify at the expense of someone else. Though elements of academic and geography curricula contain content much more egalitarian, the years leading following 1967 saw a resurgence of the type of narrative professed by Irgun geographers who authored the figure on the previous page.

3.2   Post-1967 Ethnocentricity in Israeli Geography

How have Israeli geographers communicated this complicated geo-cultural situation to its constituents in the post-1967 world? Many of them continued to elicit patronage from the Israeli government. The Bar Gal's have some lingering questions for some of the geography educators and professors who communicated government values in their work:

> "To what extent are they aware of their hidden ideological facts in the program that have influenced the emphasis laid on social and economic gaps or the utilization of resources. What is the political and ideological significance of using the (biblical) concept of "Judea" and "Samaria: or the alternative concept the "West Bank" in the geography study program? These are some of the questions that arise in connection with the moral rationale of the program or the subjects that appear in it." [44]

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[44] Bar Gal, Yorm & Bruria. 2008. "To Tie the Cords between the People and Its Land." *Indiana University Press* 13 (1): 44–67.

In the previous passage the Bar Gal's recognize some shortcomings of the ministry of education to employ non-biased geographies. The present study seeks to answer both of these questions. The Bar Gal's question the human rights emphasis in the curriculum that came after the incorporation of the West Bank and the types of information students were given on the status of Palestinian populations relative to Jewish ones. This is what the Bar Gal's called "social and economic gaps." Perhaps the most important critique leveled at state-sponsored geography content at this time was the use of "Judea" and "Samaria" to describe the northern and southern parts of the West Bank. The terms Judea and Samaria are ancient words found in the Hebrew, Torah, or Old Testament. The use of this language in a geographic context is participatory, performative and political to borrow Crampton's terminology.[45] In giving the areas names that hadn't existed since antiquity some Israeli geographers sent a message to new settlers: "this land belongs to us not them." Of course, this can also be read as: "This land is not yours. Its mine." These terms are still used to describe these two regions in the West Bank in most parts of Israel today. The vehicle that makes this geographical edition to the landscape so salient is known as: "collective memory." Collective memory is said by conflict resolution scholars to play an apex role in perpetuating conflict between two groups: "Collective memory is typically the dominant narrative of a conflict that is biased in favor of the group that has adopted the narrative.

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[45] Crampton, Jeremy W. 2009. "Cartography: Performative, Participatory, Political." *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (6): 840–48. doi:10.1177/0309132508105000.

Among these institutions (in Israel) that present this official memory is the Ministry of Education."[46]

It is important to note that the collective memory employed by the ministry of education and geographers in Israel wasn't understood to alienate any other population at the time. The main goal was to establish a Jewish connection with a space that historically hadn't been Jewish since biblical times and now had the opportunity to become Jewish again after 1967. The individuals responsible for peddling geographic and educational content that invoked collective memory to this end were firm in their convictions that they themselves, as well as their students and peers, were responsible for the continued Jewish settlement of these areas and where in fact the ancestors of those individuals to name the areas. This idea is powerful, and potentially dangerous, especially when communicated visually by a map. However, to say that the whole of Israeli society was on board with this concept would be an egregious mischaracterization. During the 1970's and 80's a new movement of Israeli historians known as the "New Historians," rose up to intellectual challenge the state-sponsored rhetoric of the days after the Six Day War. This movement found its way into the realm of Geography as well and saw a gradual increase in human rights into the Israeli geography curriculum.

Ghazi Falah, an academic at the geography department at the University of Toronto, published a study in 1994 titled: "The frontier of political criticism in Israeli

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[46] Nets-Zehngut, Rafi. 2013. "Israeli Approved Textbooks and the 1948 Palestinian Exodus." *Israel Studies* 18 (3): 41–68.

geographic practice." Falah claims that Israeli geographers are: "not prepared to raise basic questions and criticism about Zionism and the implications for shaping state spatial policy with regards to Arab geography."[47] To justify this argument Falah uses theories by Galtung on behavioral violence and theories on hegemony by Gramsci:

> "Israel can be interpreted as a social group in the Gramscian sense, which came into existence in 1948 in the form of the Jewish state. Similarly, Israeli-Jewish geographers are conceived to be one group among many other intellectuals who have benefitted from the creation of the state (at least economically), and regularly act so as to advance its hegemony. Gramsci (1971) postulated that the way the state gains cultural legitimacy involves the construction of hegemony via a process achieved largely by consensus (Johnson 1992, 171). How does the state promote and preserve hegemony, and who articulates its cultural content for the mass of the population? Gramsci suggests that hegemony is advanced through the role of intellectuals."[48]

Faris points an accusatory finger at Israeli Geographers. He argues that Israeli Geographers are complicit in constructing Israeli hegemony at the expense of Palestinians. He mentions the work of Stanley Waterman and Sofer as two examples of two Israeli geographers who have come the closest to being critical of their own national field: yet still, he sees their analysis at ultimately failing to level legitimate critiques. Faris characterizes the Israeli geography departments as an "ethnic guild."[49] Faris argues that ethnocentric attitudes are so deeply ingrained that Israeli geographers are incapable of creating constructive analysis of Israeli geography.

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[47] Ghazi Falah. 1994. "The Frontier of Political Criticism in Israeli Geographic Practice." *The Royal Geographical Society* 26 (1): 1–12.

[48] Ibid

[49] Ibid

Falah mentions that in social science departments: " research is not the product of laboratory experiment, it will always be open to various interpretation of spatial and social reality."[50] Falah commends the work of political geographers who have challenged some of this unavoidable content but doesn't see the Israeli academic community of geographer as being an example of unbiased geography. To justify this argument Falah compiles a list of Israeli academic responses to what he calls "non-Zionist." Of the authors featured in Falah's study one name that stands out particularly is Soffer-Bar Gal and Waterman who make up the core of this study.

Falah characterizes both the work of Bar Gal and Waterman as being mostly good intentioned but still rooted in a sinister "hidden agenda." This comes as a surprise to those who may be familiar with the work of Waterman, the Bar Gal's and Soffer who have produced content challenges even some of their own co-workers. Falah's issue is that he sees these authors as the frontier of criticism in the Israeli geographic community.

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[50] ibid

Table 1. Classification of spirit of writing among Israeli replies to non-Zionist studies

Type	Author	Reply to	Counter reply
Take and give	Kilot and Medzini (1985)	Falah (1983)	Falah (1985)
	Ron (1986)	Rowley (1986)	
	Boyarin and Boyarin* (1989)	Said* (1985)	Said (1989)
	Kilot and Waterman (1990)	Falah (1989b)	
	Yiftachel and Rumley (1991)	Falah (1989a)	
Take and attack	Soffer and Bar-Gal (1985)	Falah (1983)	Falah (1985)
	Soffer (1991b)	Falah (1989b)	Falah (1991b)
	Soffer (1992)	Newman (1992)	
Confuse and attack	Kilot (1988)	Rowley (1987)	Said (1989)
	Griffin* (1989)	Said (1985)	Rowley (1991)
	Berkowiez (1991)	Rowley (1989)	

* The author is not a geographer[51]

Falah essentially thinks that even attempts to level legitimate critique by Israeli geographers will fall short. Why? He argues that Arab geographers are uncommon in Israeli geography department: "Thus, the frontier of politics in Israeli geography starts with specific context of Jewishness. Enforced privilege is a political tool helping to maintain a guild of academics who are ethnically Jewish effectively promote such "local" geography."[52] Falah is correct in his characterization of the Israeli geography departments being predominately Israeli in its makeup. Falah sees the geography department as a

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[51] Ibid

[52] Ibid

living testament to ethnic and religious discrimination in the state. Farah's claims carry credibility and should be carefully studied by individuals in Israeli geography departments who wish to distance their trade from any "hidden agenda." That said, his work is chock-full of the same binary content that was so prevalent in the early days of the state.

It appears Falah is overtly dismissive any Israeli geographer who tries to accommodate a less Israeli-centric narrative. He believes that the Israeli geography organization can only benefit them and their constituents. Falah doesn't expect any of these authors to consider how Israeli maps attack Palestinian individuals. Falah is stubborn in this conviction and woefully unable to see that while the Israeli geography community produces content antithetical to peacemaking they also host a group of academics like Waterman, Sofer and the Bar Gals who are quick to point out problems and are at the forefront of recommending solutions. Understanding some of the positive features of the field is critical for analyzing its potential for peacemaking.

3.3   Incorporating Human Rights into the Geography Israeli Curriculum

The early education programs in Israel, including geography curriculums, reflected the trends also happening across Europe. Geography in the period directly following WWII was nationally inclined. In the beginning of its tenure, the infant nation consisted of a hodgepodge of refugees from around Europe and the Middle East who spoke different languages and belonged to different identities. The main job of the authorities in pre-Israel Palestine besides from establishing self-sufficient farms and protecting constituents was the construction of an identity tied to contested space.

"Cultural Geography is a relatively new field when compared with classical geography centered around maps and less about the people making them: unlike the study by Ghalah with almost exclusively focuses on the scholars behind maps. Cultural geographers find themselves more rooted in the anthropological end of the spectrum in a field known as 'Human Geography.' Stanley Waterman, an Israeli Human Geographer, published "Constructing Spatial Knowledge: Geography as a Discipline a Critical Overview of the Evolution of Israeli Human Geography," catalogs the history of human geography as an academic discipline in Israel and sheds some light on why Israel was slow to adopt this international trend.

Waterman characterizes Israeli geography at the forefront of national narrative production, going as far as to assert that some Israeli geographers view themselves as: "servants if the state."[53] Waterman goes on to mention a real tension between the geographers who did work for the sake of the subject and those who kept a political agenda in mind: "Yet with all its cultural diversity, Israel has not been happy hunting ground for cultural geographers. Simply put, with a geographical tradition of being utilitarian, most Israeli geographers, if they had cultural tendencies, kept them firmly in the closet."[54] (Waterman 32)While the cultural turn in geography may not be well met in some Israeli academic communities that cling to positivist utilitarian geography, the literature on the social constructions of maps is some of the best for understanding the

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[53] Waterman, Stanley. Constructing Spatial Knowledge: Geography as a Discipline: A Critical Overview of the Evolution of Israeli Human Geography." *Israel Studies* 13 (1): 20–43.

[54] ibid

role of Israeli geography and how it has come to inform so much of the conflict through the years.

There was a schism in Israeli Geography noted by Stanley Waterman. The arguments can be divided into two camps: those who saw themselves as beholden to geography as a field and practice and the academics who chose to employ their services to produce national narratives sculpted by state forces. Falah, in his study, appeared to label Israeli geographers in the latter category. The geographers who that worked on behalf of the government were generally more prone to produce geographic content that came into question by the international community and by local skeptics in Israel. However, more recently, the practice of Israeli geography has lessened its state-centric utilitarian approach to open up the possibility of geography as a human resource to strive toward a diverse and inclusive society as distinct from the ethnically homogenous arguments professed by earlier maps.

Neve Gordan, in the article, "Human Rights education in Israel, a case study, mentions that: "Human rights are linked, both discursively and practically to spatial and territorial contexts, not only because rights are always exercised in space or because struggles over space can be struggles over rights, and vice versa, bur because rights are often about access to space or space."[55] Gordon notes that in 1976 Israeli schools employed major changes in the way geography was taught in order to accommodate more

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[55] Gordon, Neve. 2012. "The Geography and Political Context of Human Rights Education: Israel as a Case Study." *Journal of Human Rights* 11 (3): 384–404. doi:10.1080/14754835.2012.702031.

of a human rights angle: prior to this, human rights was not considered to be a part of the geography curriculum. The new geography curriculum was much different:

> "Furthermore, 70 % of all schools claim to carry out some kind of civic education activity, either on their own or together with an NGO. Many of the elementary schools (36%) focus on environmental issues. In junior high school's pupils participate in school activities relating to multiculturalism (30 %), Jewish Arab relations (23%), Human Rights Education (20%)… It is, accordingly, apparent that civic education and indeed Human rights education have managed to penetrate the Israeli school system and pupils of different ages are being exposed to "right talk" and a universal world-view at different levels of their education."

Gordon's mentioning of the incorporation of a "universal" world-view is very reminiscent of the Bar Gal's assertion that earlier Israeli geography curriculum failed to incorporate a diverse world-view in order to fully construct a full local identity. Bruria Gal's also noticed a major shift in the Israeli curriculum that marked a serious departure from the earlier tendencies to stick to localism. Together with Sofer, Bar-Gal conducted a study on Israeli and Israeli-Arab student perceptions on geography education goals in relation to human rights. They were interested to see if the students actually thought that the motivation of the geography they were being taught contributed to general notions of peacemaking.

The findings of this study, titled: "Student perceptions of Geography instructional goals"[56] documents the progress of the second wave of purging ethnocentric content from the Israeli curricula in the late 1990's. This study sought to address several questions. One of the most important for the purposes of this research was whether or not students

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[56] Gordon, Neve. 2012. "The Geography and Political Context of Human Rights Education: Israel as a Case Study." *Journal of Human Rights* 11 (3): 384–404. doi:10.1080/14754835.2012.702031.

from different backgrounds in Israel had different ways of interpreting the goals of the geography curriculum. This is especially important since the original geography curriculum was tailored specifically to European immigrants with Zionist inclinations. Over the years, the ministry of education caught on to this shortcoming and took several steps to address it.

The research population for their study consisted of Arab and Jewish ninth graders ranging from ages 14-16 years old. There were 500 students in total, 270 of them being Arab and 230 being Jewish. The first stages of the research yielded four main categories: General knowledge of space and place, general navigation skills, values connected to peace or environment and knowledge of geographic principles which includes geographical causes for political disagreements. The findings for this portion of the study revealed that 6/17 recorded statements by students were on the topic the importance of geography and society while 5/17 recorded statements were on the topic of geography environment and peace."[57] One of the most interesting data points in this study posed the question: Is there a relationship between the subject of geography and developing tolerance toward others? Forty-eight percent of Jewish students answered that they believed this to be true compared with the 30 percent of Arab students that did.

This study conducted by Bar Gal was extremely relevant. They essentially asked both Jewish and Arab students about the potential for geography and peacemaking. Most Jewish students answered yes while most Arab answered no. While the Bar Gal's have

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[57] Sofer, Gal. 2010. "Israeli Students Perceptions of Geography Instruction Goals." *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education* 19 (2): 127–37.

contributed greatly to the process of answering the question of the relationship between geography and conflict in Israel they don't discuss something important: *maps.* Not just maps, but, important feature of maps that can start to shed light on why the Bar Gal's student sample answered the way they did.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS:
LABELS, BIASED SUBJECTS, AND COLOR

Many scholars who have researched elements of ethnocentric content in Israeli Geography focus mostly on the written content and oral geographic tradition. Or they talk about elements of geography using the written word. Very few of these studies employ the constructivist methodology of analyzing maps that see's the map itself as a potential agent of content. The studies conducted by the Bar Gal's, Stanley Waterman, Podeh, and Nets-Zehnghut all contain amazing written information about the patron client relationships between the geographic community and the state, the role geography played in identity formation, and the eventual acceptance of a human rights platform. Few of these studies talk specifically about the maps and the various imagery, symbolism and use of collective memory that ought to be employed or discarded to create a map for a more diverse population. The studies conducted by the Bar Gal's on geography in the education system and by Waterman on the geography department in Israel provide amazing insight into constructions of geography. However, methodologically speaking this project finds itself more situated in maps than geography. The fine line between the two may seem arbitrary: but the purposes of this study its extremely important to make a distinction.

Why does this research focus so heavily on maps instead of the general geographic favored by many of the Israeli scholars cited in this study? It seems that there is a small gap in literature on the types of things imposed unto Israeli maps that have spurred so much reaction. Many scholars have skirted the edges of applied critical and

cultural geography for the Israeli case study but as Waterman and Falah are quick to mention this is not a happy hunting ground for critical geography. The scholar who focuses the most on elements of maps while not actually featuring to many examples in his own study was Edordio Boria. Boria produced content that suggested that maps during World War Two had certain markings and elements that exacerbated hostile attitudes: color, biased subject matter and elements of labeling. While these elements of maps are prominent in Boria's study which connects the craft of geography to the manipulative practice of propaganda, he only mentions the examples of these incidents occurring without showing the map itself. He discovered the use of these tools on scientifically sound maps have been used to fulfill a political end. The findings shown in the section below contain examples of what Boria has described on actual geographic figures of Israel-Palestine.

4.1   Labels

Both Boria and Harley mention that many people underestimated the type of rhetorical power a scientifically sound map can have even if it is communicating relative falsehood. Politically speaking this can be incredibly hazardous. It's fair to say that many in the Israeli geography community would resent the assertion that some of their maps don't represent reality. When maps are labeled to the benefit of one group they portray a type of reality. This is the reality of dominant identity group. Israel represents a case study in which spatial reality and the means from which to communicate it are monopolized by the Hebrew speaking academic elite. Nothing about this fact is distinct to Israeli or Israeli society. Scholars like Boria and Harley have leveled similar criticisms at

governments including the colonial government in New England which omitted indigenous place names in order to clear the way for Anglo-Saxon settlers.

The labeling of a map is one of the most crucial ways the map can stop being a tool for space and start becoming an instrument for society. "Society" in this context is hardly an all-inclusive term. Scholars like Harley, Falah and Boria have noticed that mapmaking societies, more often than not, use geographers from the inside group in order to make the map labels indicative of group interest. This doesn't always have to be a negative phenomenon: national entities, identity groups, and ethnic groups have produced maps for internal purposes that don't have anything to do with outside groups or belittling them. In other cases, identity groups can manipulate labels of maps in order to create negative narratives about outside groups. In other instances, however, not including outside groups into the label of a map can lead to a problem. The practice of knowingly glossing over labels on maps that might serve as an inconvenience to national or political agendas is known to scholars as cartographic omission. This focuses not what's on the map but what is purposely left out which is arguably just as important.

The issue persists when maps deny groups key elements of their identity: the town their grandparents once lived in for example. Cartographic omission is also extremely hazardous in ethnic or identity conflict due to the perception of territorial aspirations. Not including a name of a place sends the message that not only is not important now but it never was important.

When nations or identity groups produce maps that communicate a particular narrative, those on the outside are lead to assume this narrative is predominant within the

state. As with some of the Huntington maps in "The Clash of Civilizations,"[58] some Israeli maps used in schools and other informational outlets have formed into somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophesy. When small segments of the Israeli elite decided to capitalize on the Hebrew place names that historically preceded Arab townships in West Bank a certain precedent was set. Maps, especially when they appear to be professional and spatially sound, communicate a sense of real legitimacy.

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[58] Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3): 22–49.

Figure 3.   Israeli Government Map 2006

4.1.1   Official map of Israel by Israeli government 2016

The map featured above is an example of classical cartographic omission. The map shows Israel with all the major highways that are available to its citizens. Jerusalem,

Tel Aviv, Haifa and the mid-sized city of Beersheba are labeled. What does not appear on this map is any indication that Palestinians exist at all. Places in the West Bank that are predominantly Arab like Hebron and Ramallah are not marked. Even Arab communities within Israel, like Nazareth, are omitted from this version of Israel. Someone reading this map wouldn't be able to where the border between Israel and the Palestinian Authority is: the line that defines this has been omitted by state-sponsored geographers. Just like the maps of Boria's study: nothing about these maps is mechanically wrong. This is, in large part, what makes them so effective.

Some authors of these figures may take major issue with the idea that their maps might by scientifically sound but represent marking and place names that deny the existence of prior settlement. There seems to be major cognitive dissonance that maps are instrumental in perpetuating. One could argue that the process of labeling to the benefit of one group and the omission of the other is an example of the destructive features of warfare that have transcended into and academic discipline. Most of these geographers and educators didn't necessarily see themselves as part of a process of cultural destruction and cleansing but rather a process of nation building.

Another argument for cartographic omission and re-labeling is security. The number one argument for the annexation of the West Bank was to create a buffer space between Israel and its neighbors which had attempted to invade. The argument states that the West Bank at its westernmost point is only a few kilometers from the sea and highly populated Jewish urban centers. To have that territory appear to be in hostile control absolutely creates a sense of real unease and paranoia that's almost contagious in a nation

the size of New Jersey. To this day, areas of the West Bank with Palestinian population centers that skirt the suburbs of Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv exist. However, in may figures, they are not represented. This has more to do with presenting an image of security for citizens and tourists than denying the presence of a marginalized population though these figures can do both.

Scholars that have focused on maps in the Israeli Palestinian conflict have included many examples of how cartographic omission, the process of excluding former place names, can lead to intractable conflicts. Essentially, denying the existence of certain areas also sends a clear message to the residents. What is discussed far less in these studies is when Palestinian populations *are* labeled.

Recognition of Palestinian place names and population centers have steadily progressed through Israeli history as a cultural and human rights element have firmly nestled themselves in the Israeli geography departments. Current road signs in Israel are shown in English, Arabic and Hebrew. Modern geographic studies on Arab population centers in Israel focus on socio economic and environmental issues. In the tumultuous years following the 1967 war and the Israeli control of the West Bank Palestinian population centers were charted in slightly less egalitarian terms. The government had interest in mapping Palestinian populations in the West Bank as what started as a security-minded project. Maps that show ethnic makeup don't always have to be malicious. If ethnic-mapping can inform people on the dispersal of populations in order to separate and marginalize then can't it also be used to desegregate and inform? When the use of color is applied to the practice of ethnic mapping the real problems start to

arise. Israel is not unique in its mobilization of a biased palette on maps. That said analyzing some of these figures can help us make informed decisions on what not to do with maps.

4.2   Color

"Maps showing ethnic groups often follow color practices, similar to these uses of red and yellow, while attempting to not be overt propaganda pieces."[59]

Color plays a major role in determining the extent to which a subject on a map is biased: unless the map is black and white. Boria mentions that "color," is one of the main ways that people can impose value and bias unto maps. In this research he doesn't mention any particular maps used in Germany and Italy that communicate bias. However, there is ample evidence, thanks to the work of Charles Osgood, to suggest that humans recognize similar motifs To research how color has been used to communicate narrative the following section uses the findings of Osgood and his research team. Osgood and his team came to the conclusion that people, regardless of culture, had nearly universal associations with certain colors. The two that stand out and are most appropriate for the purposes of this study is the realization that blue represents good and red represents evil. This epiphany can facilitate the development of the critical geographic methodologies first developed by Harley and then employed by Boria. Several Israeli maps show

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[59] Jenny Marie Johnson. 2001. "Mapping Ethnicity: Color Use in Depicting Ethnic Distribution." Dennis Woods. 1992 *Cartographic Perspectives*, no. 40 (Fall): 12–30.

evidence of painting Arab and Palestinian populations in red and Jewish populations predominantly in blue like in this figure.

This map is an Israeli demographic depiction of clusters of Arab and Jewish populations [60]in the days following the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and the old city. The dark blue areas represent heavy Jewish settlements. The lighter blue is more sparsely populated Jewish settlement. The yellow space on the map represents sparsely settled Arab. Osgood's findings suggest that yellow is submissive color. The maroon shaded areas represent medium-level Arab settlement. He dark red represents thick Arab settlement. The color, according to Osgood's study and the human brain, is indicative of danger. Looking at this map and not knowing anything about the conflict it might be easy to make conclusions. The architects of this map probably weren't

deliberately antagonizing Arab populations by painting them red. Osgood's finding's weren't published three years after this map came out. This said, the maps color schemes compliment biased subject matter and fall under the color binary established by Osgood.

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[60] Ibid

Figure 4. Jerusalem 1968

Correlating Osgood's study with these figures aren't the only way to identify based on color schemes in Israeli maps. Jenny Marie Johnson, the author of "Mapping Ethnicity: Color Use in depicting Ethnic distribution," notes this phenomenon as a widespread tool across the geographic spectrum. She mentions a particular example discussed by Herb and Woods, both members of Harley's cultural movement, of a German map during World War II that strikes close to the heart of Boria's study:

> "Centers of Jewish populations were 'prominently depicted in yellow- an indication of what was on the mind of the Nazis' on a classified ethnographic map of Poland used by Hitler (Herb 1997, 144). In an example drawn from the late twentieth century road maps, Woods (1992),

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as part of a discussion of cartographic symbols that are used on map but no not appear in the legend, states that North Carolina is white while a "yellow tint is used for other other." (p.99) Yellow is an interesting hue choice for indicating "other" because it is highly visible as well as being of the better recognized hues[61]

Marie Johnson has effectively aggregated information that upholds Osgood's theory of color recognition and its applicability to biased map subjects. The use of yellow to recognize "the other" is not only a staple of the ethnographic maps of the second world war but also are prevalent in the work of Huntington, Gilbert and a generation of Israeli geographers patronized by elements of the government. Despite claims to compare the intent behind the Israeli coloring of Palestinians in red and the Nazi coloring of Jewish populations yellow served completely different motivations. Attempts to make a correlation between the modern State of Israel and the Third Reich have rarely been constructive in an academic or conflict resolution context. The purpose in juxtaposing the two traditions is to show how instrumental mapmaking can be in revealing issues of social inequality.

Marie Johnson uses a quote from Harley's main methodological frames of this study and gets the heart of what critical geography sets to identify "…While line weights, part shapes, color use, and symmetry are all 'extraneous to the scientific purpose of a map' propaganda producers exploit these elements to communicate a specific idea, regardless of its truthfulness."[62] The true power of using color schemes to communicate

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[61] Jenny Marie Johnson. 2001. "Mapping Ethnicity: Color Use in Depicting Ethnic Distribution." *Cartographic Perspectives*, no. 40 (Fall): 12–30.

[62] Jenny Marie Johnson. 2001. "Mapping Ethnicity: Color Use in Depicting Ethnic Distribution." *Cartographic Perspectives*, no. 40 (Fall): 12–30.

certain notions about populations lies in its sinister silence. Seeing the color red or yellow doesn't trigger a literal affiliation with negativity. Osgood's study, the thesis work of Johnson and the color schemes of some Israeli maps show that color schemes communicate narrative that, may be subversive, yet still do lots of work to mark a community from distinct from each other. Not all ethnic mappings can lead to structural inequality and violence. However, when biased color schemes are employed, the potential for ethnic mapping to manifest itself as an agent of violence is more serious.

Color schemes aren't the only elements of maps that have the potential to contain bias. As the Boria's study is clear to note the subject of the map itself is often the part of the map that bends the truth. Part of this process is rooted in the framing of the subject itself. *Frames of War* by Judith Butler describes how in a conflict, parties can frame certain humans as being inside and outside the frame of human recognition.[63] These means that in the act of conflict entities can employ various mechanisms to deem the "other" as almost not human. Boria's discussion is very complimentary to the premise of Butlers study because it shows how maps have the potential to carry out a similar framing process. The next section discusses a prominent example of biased framing in the Israeli tradition and also the most productive way to address what the Bar Gal's would call a "localist" tendency.

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[63] Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?*

4.3 Biased Subject Matter

Howard Dooley's review of Martin Gilberts "the Atlas of Arab- Israeli Conflict" contains familiar criticisms of the use potential shortcomings of politically motived geography in Israel. Gilbert, a historian, and geographer, has created sweeping geographic histories of both the Jewish people in both ancient and modern contexts. Dooley's review of Martin's geographic depiction of the conflict between the Israelis, Palestinians and the various other neighboring regions the state came into conflict with is hardly an endorsement:

> "The establishment of Jewish settlements from 1880 onward is lovingly charted, but the existence of hundreds of Palestinian Arab villages is not acknowledged until the text maps the events of the 1960's. Israeli names are given for Jewish settlements… Arab violence and Jewish victimization are major themes. More than forty maps trace incidents large and small from 1886-1992. The spotlight is on the Jewish body count, usually attributed to "Arab gangs" or "Arab terrorist." Arab victims are rarely noted, until the Intifada. Typical is the attention devoted to the Arab "riots" of 1936-1937: six maps provide a month by month chronicle of every Arab attack, even noting minutiae such as the 25 May 1936 destruction of the Jewish vegetable crop in Gaza."Palestinian" is not used until a map headed "Terrorist Raids into Israel, 1951-1956."[64]

Dooley's attack on Gilbert comes across as overtly hostile in this report and many could make the argument that Dooley's motivations are maliciously essentially anti-Israeli. Yet still, his criticisms of Gilbert's use of chosen trauma's, collective memory and a biased subject make some of these points valid for the purposes of this study while the tone may be unhelpful for peacemaking. The type of content expressed in the work of Gilbert that seeks to paint a very particular image of a set of events by using scientifically

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[64] Dooley, Howard J. 1995. "Atlas of Arab-Israeli Conflict, Sixth Edition, Martin Gilbert." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 4 (1): 38–41.

sound constructions of spatial reality with socially constructed impositions can be incredibly dangerous. This is especially true because Gilberts work is not only widely circulated but arguably aesthetically palatable even to a novice student of history

The anecdote about drawing attention to the destruction of the Jewish vegetable crop in Gaza is an incredibly telling snippet into Gilbert's hidden map tactic. The uprooting of various vegetable plants by Arab rioters on Jewish farms in Gaza prior to the state of Israel and the telling of this story serves several purposes for Gilbert and his intended audience. The event is clearly marked and dated on a map Gaza is well known to be a Palestinian area. Gilbert marks a group of Jewish farmers living there prior to the state of Israel: they are classic role models of the future state: making the sandy barren map green with vegetation to fulfill the Zionist prophesy of blossoming the desert. That is, until, their crops were said to be destroyed by Palestinian neighbors unhappy with their presence. These uprooted crops were to be some of the first of many casualties for both sides.

This event seems to be insignificant in the larger scheme of things but its inclusion by Gilbert speaks to a much larger set of issues narrative and geographic issues. Without saying it outright: Gilbert implicates the residents of Gaza as being anti-vegetable farm and thereby an enemy to one of the main tenants of Zionism. It's notable that Gilbert would choose to note an incident involving crop damage but omit data points on right wing Jewish paramilitary groups who targeted the British military and some Arab communities. These groups that include the Irgun and the Stern gang were said to damage more than vegetables but unsurprisingly don't qualify as notable for Gilberts maps.

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The danger of content in geography that somehow implicates swaths of Muslim or Arab populations as "terrorists" is not just a danger to those individuals the content is targeting. Individuals from within communities this information are disseminated are arguably at a relative disadvantage since these maps are, for the most part, internally circulated. Gilbert's maps have many flaws: however, they are still visually and at some points even historically sound pieces of geography. Gilbert does an amazing job of collecting huge swaths of data from years of Israeli military cartography as well as ancient Jewish history. Despite his competence as a historian and mapmaker the figures he features stand out as having biased subjects. As Boria mentioned before with earlier maps that made similar generalizations: the maps themselves aren't biased, but the subjects Gilberts chooses to put on them appear to be.

This is what makes leveling critiques at historical geographers like Gilbert so tedious. Dooley, in his vehement dismissal of Gilberts work, ignores the level of competence and passion Gilbert has for these figures. Dooley doesn't mention how Gilbert's work might have repercussions for it's target audience. While Gilbert does the Palestinian community a great disservice by incorporating maps that broadly suggests malicious Arab intentions, he also unwittingly puts the readers in the Israeli and Jewish diaspora community into a great disadvantage.

However its comforting to know that the type of content expressed in Gilbert's work hasn't been mainstream in Israeli curriculum since the late 1970's. (Waterman) Instead of informing students of the exact date and location of Arab crimes against

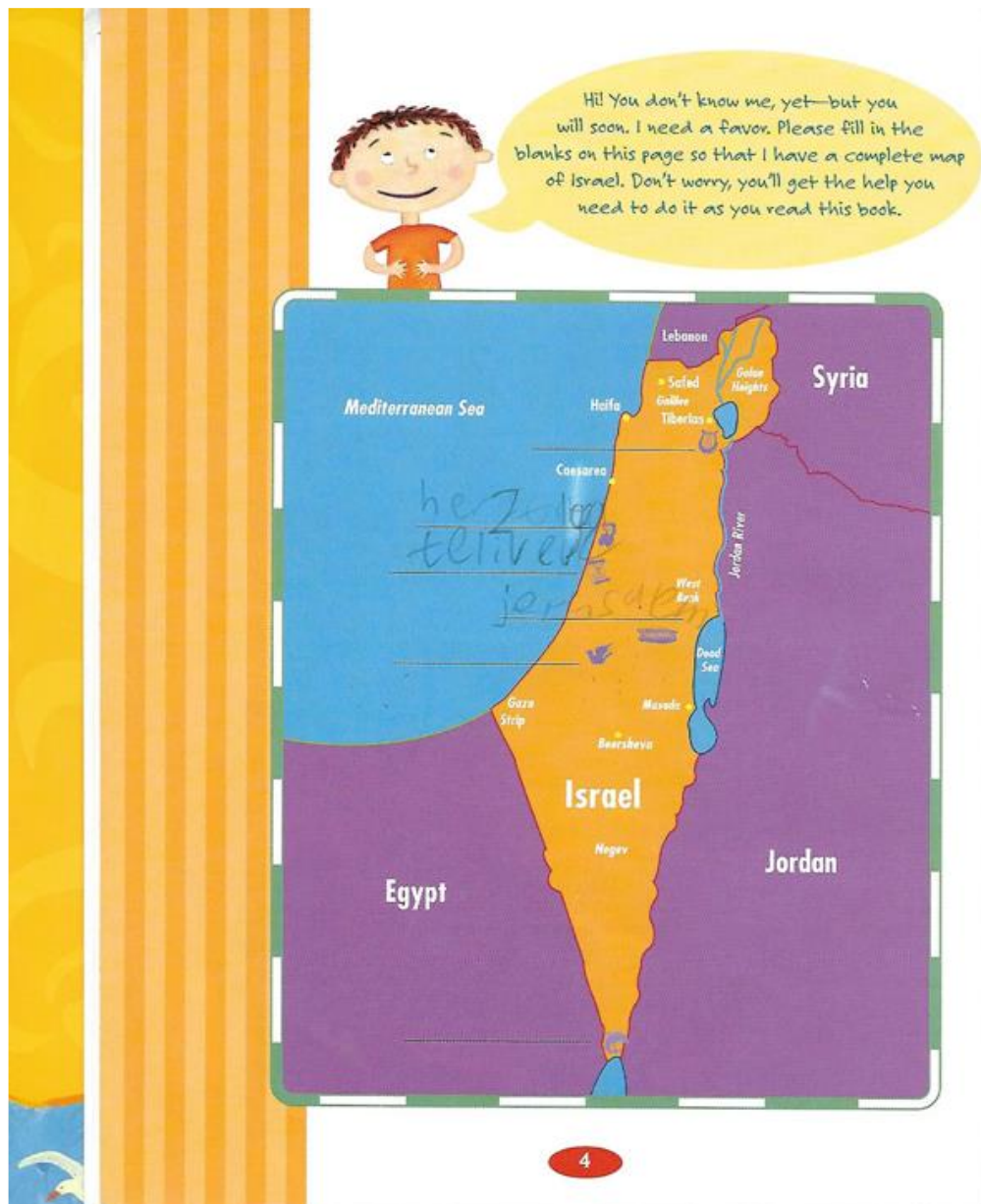Jewish immigrants the geography curriculum has grown to take on a much more egalitarian disposition.

Figure 5. Sunday School Map

The figure depicted above was taken from an English language history lesson book of Israeli geography from the late 1990's. The map shows Israel and the major Jewish cities. The West Bank and the Gaza strip are labeled: however, the border that defines them is not. The map contains the similar border-related, label-related issues that plague the other maps but biased color doesn't appear to present an issue. The most striking aspect of this map is its mobilization of collective memory and the type of primordial nationalism coveted by Kaplan and Huntington and despised by Hobsbawm.

Looking very closely at Jerusalem, the reader of the map can make out a clear depiction of the Ark of the Tabernacle: the most coveted object in Judaism. The ark is fabled to sit under the Al-Aqsa mosque, which unsurprisingly doesn't get a guest appearance on this map. Al-Aqsa, or, the Dome of the Rock is the third holiest place in Islam and is said to be where Mohammed ascended to heaven. The area, known as the Temple Mount, is one of the most contested spaces on earth thanks to its mutual importance for both faiths.

On this map the image of the tabernacle is hardly a suggestion. This figure in no way shape or form says: here is Jerusalem and here is where the tabernacle might be. Instead the entirety of Jerusalem is represented by this image which serves as a justification for Jewish presence in this space and a silent discrediting of Muslim claims to the space. Just like Boria mentions: nothing about this map is technically wrong, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa all appear on geographically sound locations.

Perhaps the most powerful tool employed in the use of this imagery on this map is the phenomena of collective memory. Even some secular Jewish individuals are familiar with the ark and what it represents. The ark was always kept in the Temple in Jerusalem: the pre- diaspora center of worship for Jews in the Kingdom of Israel. The modern nation state of Israel had ideologically positioned itself to ride the waves of the ancient legacy of the biblical kingdom. In order to do this, elements within its supporters: like the designers of this map that found its way into my early Jewish education; must justify the Jewish legacy both geographically and ideologically. This map's portrayal of the ark as the symbolic marker for Jerusalem effectively does both.

This practice is very similar to the work of Martin Gilbert. One of the most prominent things he did in his work was re-creating the ancient map of Israel and juxtaposing the image with the contemporary map. At first glance, the practice of invoking collective memory in this manner could be understood as a harmless historical exercise. It could certainly be argued that to lobby for the discontinuation of collective memory within Israeli curriculum material would, to a certain extent, be creating an attempt to dilute the connection between the modern state of Israel and the ancient kingdom. Indeed, the connection between the two entities that have the same names make it one of the most fascinating places on earth from a socio-political and cultural perspective. However, the juxtaposition of the ancient with the modern has had some serious implications: this can be said of Israel and the vast majority of European nation states

Geographers interested in recreating maps of ancient areas have every right to do so. The issues arise when ancient borders are imposed unto modern realities. The map shown in on the following page represents a legal version of the modern state of Israel and the Palestinian territories. This map looks nothing like the territory held by King David and King Solomon in biblical times. Their land ran deep through historical Judea and Samaria and the foothills around the foothills of Jerusalem which is now populated by Palestinians.

The figure shown below represents a map that better accommodates identity needs. Instead of omitting Palestinian communities and the borders that distinguish the Palestinian authority from Israel, the map includes both. This figure has been promoted by JstreetU, an American lobby organization devoted to influencing American foreign policy toward accepting a two-state solution for the Israeli- Palestinian conflict. The organization has proposed for all parties to use one map to avoid the types of identity conflicts that arise from cartographic omission.

Figure 6.   Internationally Recognized Map of Israel – Palestine

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

What can we learn from map making and mapping follies of those who came before us? Can we find any examples of a classical map that doesn't exacerbate identity or spatial conflict? Whose advice should we follow toward these ends? In answering these questions, we could refer back to the work of Dennis Woods who has voiced criticism of conventional maps as a whole. Is Woods correct to propose a post-modern alternative, or what he calls a "mapping" of, which better illustrates the greater spatial consciousness of Israel-Palestine? Or we could follow the advice of Robert Kaplan and use conventional maps to make conclusions about conflicts.

This section of the discussion is interested in establishing a healthy middle ground between the two arguments. On one hand: Woods is correct to distrust the motivations of certain maps. In fact, Woods was clear in his criticism of Harley's early work on the potential for biased state based patronage. Woods argued that the problem was much bigger than geographers being coerced into producing particular content but the process of the map itself. Woods seemed to think that the core functions of normative maps are rooted in Gramscian hegemony and he argues that Harley was unable to see this in his work identifying the impositions geographers perform on classical maps. Woods thought that Harley was unable to fully conceive the true subjectivity of all maps and thought him bogged down in an archaic irrelevant endeavor. The present project followed the theoretical methodology of Harley far more than that of Woods. Woods might look at this project: with its methodological emphasis on the biased subject matter,

The issue arises when searching for an alternative for the map. In the contemporary the map is still the main way to view space and place despite its downsides. Kaplan, too, is correct in putting his faith into the classical construction of the map like so many others before him. The issue arises when state and even non state actors manipulate the social nature of the map to fulfill a political goal. Kaplan spends a book arguing that maps can predict the future of conflict while scholars like Harley have demonstrated it's what people *do* to the maps that most influences.

Symbols that were discussed in this study like the Arc of the Covenant being used to represent Jerusalem, or red or yellow to color Palestinian and Arab populations or the use of biased subjects in the portrayal of the spatial content. This study chose to expand on elements of what Harley thought was important about constructivists geography: the human impositions on maps. For the sake of holism its worth revisiting the concept introduced by Woods as he takes constructivist geography to the next step.

Dennis Woods doesn't think its only the symbols that people impose on maps that can cause social fallout: he thinks the map itself is inherently flawed and thought Harley was wrong for holding on to the normative conception of Geography: what we all know as maps. This idea seems to be be far fetched. How can their be an alternative to the classic geographic map? What alternative could their possibly be other than the perfect way we measure space and place now. Aren't the thousands of years of technology and progress in math and science worth counting classical geography as a credible field. Woods argues that maps aren't situating as a shared social practice. Essentially very few people in the world get to decide the way that maps: particularly borders, are drawn.

Classical maps, used in reference to the Middle East, have rarely done the job they were set out to do by the architects of these maps. To Wood's point, mapmaking in the way it was understood in Europe was hardly applicable to a place like Palestine: "Palestine was more of a geo-historical concept rooted in historical consciousness than a defined stretch of land lying within clear geographic borders."[65] Wood's and the Green's prefer a most modern approach to mapping that is far closer to Biger's explanation of how Palestine was always thought of prior to the state of Israel. As mentioned previously, European geography is holy committed to the idea of a European nation state. This concept was at its very earliest stages in Middle East: the classical conception of Geography and ways to measure space and place were simply not applicable in these areas. Still, western maps and the ideas that came with them were imposed unto the Middle East and Israel can be seen as somewhat of an extension of this imposition.

Is Woods right? Should this study have abandoned all normative approaches to geography in favor of something that serves a collective spatial consciousness? Could we solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by using non-Western experimental maps that recognizes the needs of a collective identity? In a way, Wood's aversion to normative maps slopes around a horseshoe curve to meet up with Kaplan's cynical stance on geography and its supposed revenge on humanity. Both scholars fear the deterministic potential for maps to wreak havoc on human populations in the realist and post-modern sense. Wood's thinks that all maps are in the hands of the elite and real maps should be produced by the

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[65] Biger, Gideon. 2008. "The Boundaries of Israel—Palestine Past, Present, and Future: A Critical Geographical View." *Israel Studies* 13 (1): 68–93.

proletariat and this could prevent conflict. Kaplan thinks that all conflict is based on a deterministic global chess game intrinsically tied to the terrain which breeds divergent identities and self fulfilling ethnic and religious identification. In the world of these two, maps in the traditional sense, have more utility in the war room than the negotiating table. These two scholars who represent opposing ideologies would probably unite against the premise of this study which strives to use maps for conflict resolution. This is why conflict resolution practitioners might not benefit from their work. Both Kaplan and Harley have made significant contributions to the larger field of geography but their overt cynicism on the relationship between human conflict and geography makes much of their methodology a dead end. This is less true of Woods whose work contains many cautionary tales on the potential for maps to be seized by the elite. However, his distrust of maps has the potential to leave the conflict resolution minded individual at a loss for how to best communicate space. Why not find a healthy middle ground between the post modern aversion to all form of traditional maps and the calculated realist assumption that geography will turn us against each other? Harley is comfortable using the maps Woods finds so inappropriate while recognizing the various issues associated with human imposition on maps.

5.1   The Case for Harley

Harley presents an ideal model for the connection between human conflict and geography for several reasons. For one, with all their downfalls, maps are ubiquitous across the earth as the main way humans measure space and place. Concerns about the western hegemonic nature of maps may persist, yet despite this, normative European cartography is standard across the world. Hegemony works in funny ways. Faris used

Gramsci's idea of "hegemony," meaning to homogenize and take over in a cultural and spatial sense in reference to Israeli geography practices. This is an example of hegemony working in favor of conflict. While the imposition of normative European geography across the world may not be applicable in many places it does represent an opportunity. Maps as the visual means of communicating space are somewhat of a universal language. There is nothing wrong with maps. Just the things people do with maps as Harley was keen on arguing.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION:

Despite the downfalls of maps and their potential to mobilize social, financial, political and physical violence, they still serve convention in peacebuilding. Both positivist and constructivist geographers have made great progress identifying the progression of maps and the various roles they can play in society. While maps have been at the epicenter of many human conflicts throughout history their role in aiding or preventing proliferation has been overlooked by scholars until relatively recently. It is now possible to identify the types of behaviors and agents of conflict that can appear on maps. Israel is a very important case study for this topic because of the importance geography plays in its past present and future. As previously stated, ethnocentric content and biased subject matter are hardly distinct to Israel. Nations like the United States might employ the use of geographer to construct visual data to communicate propagandistic data. Identifying the various functions of the labels, subjects and colors and the arguments they making can help an otherwise unknowing victim of misinformation realize when a map is motivated.

This research project has examined the possibility of applied geography to peacebuilding. While barely scratching the surface of this topic which has the potential to fill volumes of books: the project managed to recognize theory of geography and conflict as well as some instances where elements of maps can lead to identity fueled conflict or alternately recognition of both parties needs. Early on in the project the question was posed: how do maps come to influence conflict? The case study of Israel and the

application of diverse geographic theories help to begin to answer this very cumbersome question.

Relying on the work of David Harley, Jeremy Crampton and Edordio Boria can lead an all challenge the status quo presented by maps while still operating with in its normative functionality as means for spatial identification, measurement and navigation. While Harley, Boria and Crampton all wrote about the societal implications of maps manipulated, their work was probably never intended to be absorbed by member of the conflict resolution community. While this may be the case their work is incredibly applicable for several reasons.

The first being: identity. Conflict resolution specialists, like Edward Azar and John Burton, have drawn a clear connection between someone's identity and the potential for conflict. Geographers like the Bar-Gal's have mentioned frequently in their work that geography can play a vital role in someone's self made identity: therefore the correlation between geography and peacemaking is tangible: the next step is looking into the application of peacebuilding and geography in unison. What does a peace and conflict resolution minded geographic figure look like? This study has been focused on elements of maps that have proven to conduct identities and fulfill certain political, national and spiritual motivations but also sometimes run counter to peacemaking. The conclusion of this project sets out to make recommendations towards the revision of certain constructions of geography: biased subject matter, motivated labeling, cartographic omission and the use of color.

Of all the recommended amendments to elements of Israeli cartography that might be considered "motivated" and therefore runs counter to goals set out by peacemakers, the correction to color is probably one of the easiest to resolve. The research noted in the previous chapters, conducted by Charles Osgood and his team, suggested a trend, not only in Israeli maps but around the world, of certain maps showing the population dispersal of certain minorities with colors that have been proven to carry intrinsic meaning even to the untrained eye. The work of Charles Osgood and his team, which established a color palette for bias, should be readily employed by conflict resolution practitioners to recognize when ethnic or identity groups are being "painted" in a negative light. What makes these figures effective and insidious is how much they say without using any words at all. Some of the most effective propaganda instillations have been so salient because they can be easily absorbed by large members of the population with varying education levels: maps represent such a possibility.

Labeling becomes a slightly more difficult issues for conflict resolution specialists, who, for example: might be interested in developing a new geography curriculum for inclusive of human rights like the actions mentioned in the Bar Gal's study on the Ministry of Education in Israel. This research focuses much more on the labels that are tacitly ignored than the labels that are included. A recommendation that generally follows the goals of conflict resolution might suggest including as many place names as possible to make as many identity groups feel as include as possible. Israel, more than most places, is extremely ill suited for this recommendation for several reasons. One of the major ones is space. While elements of maps are certainly socially constructed its impossible to

socially construct more space for text on a very crowded map. While this may be the case, making accommodations towards adding more place names, particularly non-Hebrew Arabic names, could begin a process towards making the shared space less contested.

Biased subject matter is most prevalent in an educational context. The maps featured in this study and in Boria's study that contained subjects that were biased were all trying to fulfill a certain goal. Students and scholars of conflict resolution would be well to question the motivation behind a biased subject in a map. Howard Dooley, in his critique of the biased subjects in Martin Gilberts maps, effectively identifies examples of bias ranging from how Arabs or Muslims are labeled in the work of Gilbert. Dooley, though not having much space since his argument is in the form of a book review, characterizes Gilberts motivations as maliciousness or one dimensional. While Gilberts practices are anything but helpful to conflict resolution they are rooted in symbolic and culturally loaded historical contexts. Gilberts figures are indicative of a post-holocaust attempt to reclaim the more positive aspects of Jewish identity: attacking them in the way Dooley did isn't productive in any way.

The study conducted by Ghazi Falah on many of the Israeli geographers featured in this study is extremely important. Like Dooley, Falah is overtly dismissive of not only the practice of Israeli geography but some of the less egalitarian aspects of Israeli society. The main point he makes in leveling this argument is the depressing reality that the academic community of Israeli geographer comprise of an ethnic guild of mostly Ashkenazi Jewish Israelis. In this situation we can apply to the work of Dennis Woods and Harley who believes that maps like the ones produced by this community in Israel can't be trustworthy since the means of production fall into the hands of the few. Falah's

remarks are very reminiscent to Harley's distaste on British geography being used as a platform to perpetuate certain British colonial values like land ownership and "hatred of savages." Would Harley been so hard on British geographers if they represented geographers from across the empire as opposed to the bread and butter oxford educated WASP variety? Perhaps Falah and Woods might be appeased by a more diverse community of geographers, not only in Israel but around the world. This way maps might reflect a more diverse interpretation of space and how to label it.

There is a lot of potential for a marriage of conflict resolution and geography, specifically, the identity laden features of maps. This runs counter to the attitude expressed both by Kaplan and Woods who seem to think that normative constructions of mapmaking will only lead to proliferation of conflict between and within groups. The present study finds this attitude to be cynical and suggests that normative map making and geography, while sometimes being susceptible to biased manipulation, is also potentially an agent of conflict resolution. If many conflicts hedge on disagreements over spaces and places and how best to share or divvy them up; perhaps, just perhaps, the map can be a key this puzzle. Not just any map, a map with cultural facets close to heart. A map without a biased color scheme, a biased subject and omitted labels wouldn't solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict but might start the process headed toward a direction more interested in accommodating the identity needs of both groups.

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BIOGRAPHY

Daniel Altman grew up in Louisville Kentucky where he always had extreme passion for maps and peacemaking. This project represents the synthesis of those interests.