



# CLOSING THE GAP

Increasing Access to Trauma-Informed Education for  
PCI/Arab Communities in Israel Through Waldorf  
Education

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



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Cover photo by Gal Mosenson  
of students at Ein Bustan bilingual  
Waldorf kindergarten in Hilf, Israel

**Many aspects of life in Israel can generate toxic stress for children.** While many Jewish Israeli children experience real hardships, most notably intergenerational trauma, compulsory military service in combat zones, and the persistent threat of missile attacks from hostile neighboring countries, a confluence of stressors merge in uniquely damaging ways for children who are Palestinian Citizens of Israel (PCI)/ Arab Israeli. These societal stressors—localized violence, communal poverty, regional instability, acculturation, and discrimination — affect the everyday mental state of PCI/Arab Israeli children and, if left unaddressed, can hinder their long-term development and later participation in Israeli society.

Research shows that the harmful effects created by these stressors, which the global health community refers to as Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), can be inoculated through trauma-informed education. In Israel, Waldorf pedagogy, which aligns with trauma-informed education best practices, is uniquely suited to provide much needed support to PCI/ Arab Israeli children. Unlike traditional schools in Israel, Waldorf prioritizes psychosocial development as an important developmental stepping stone before academic achievement. By embodying the principles of trauma-informed education, Waldorf seeks to repair the developmental processes disrupted by ACEs. Waldorf is also the most popular secular school movement in Jewish Israeli society today, alluding to its positive effects on Israeli children.

However, Waldorf is significantly less available to children in PCI/ Arab Israeli communities. While there are approximately 200 Hebrew Waldorf kindergartens, elementary schools, and high schools in Israel,<sup>1</sup> only three bilingual or Arabic-language Waldorf kindergartens and one Arabic-language Waldorf school exist, despite strong PCI/ Arab Israeli parental interest. The consequence is that PCI/Arab Israeli children, who have predominately high exposure to ACEs, cannot adequately engage with the benefits of Waldorf Education.

In 2020, reGeneration Education formed the Waldorf Arab Education Advisory Board to understand the cause of Arab Waldorf's struggle to scale in Israel. Despite its prolific track record of investment in Arab Waldorf, reGeneration Education watched with surprise as the movement's growth plateaued

## ON LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

The reGeneration Waldorf Arab Education Advisory Board interviewed members of the movement for Arab Waldorf that represent a broad spectrum of national identity in Israel, including individuals who prefer to be called Jewish Israeli, Palestinian Citizens of Israel (PCI), and Arab Israeli who were of Bedouin, Palestinian and Druze heritage.

In this paper, reGeneration will refer to the Arabic-speaking individuals seeking Arab Waldorf as both Palestinian Citizens of Israel (PCI) and Arab Israelis.

reGeneration will refer to the education movement that these individuals are building as Arab Waldorf. This is not to erase the vibrant and distinct heritages of Arabic-speaking Waldorf students, teachers, and parents. Instead, it is in consideration of nascent Waldorf school communities in surrounding Arab countries, who, over time, will likely reflect more Arab ethnoreligious identities than those found in Israel.

over the past decade. While many PCI/Arab Israeli parents tried to launch Waldorf schools in their communities, few successfully opened. The existing Waldorf schools for PCI/Arab Israelis seeded by reGeneration remained in operation but struggled to grow in proportion to parental demand.

The reGeneration Education Waldorf Arab Education Advisory Board began its investigation with a survey of the literature addressing the sociopolitical context in which Arab education in Israel unfolds. They followed their literature review with a qualitative study that employed semi-structured interviews with Arab Waldorf teachers, parents, and education leaders, as well as experts in Israeli shared society.

The Advisory Board's research illuminated the obstacles that Arab Waldorf schools in Israel face in vivid detail. Waldorf teachers, parents, and leaders shared that when they attempted to open more Arab Waldorf schools, they struggled to navigate bureaucratic obstacles and systemic discrimination. They also had difficulty finding trained teachers to replenish and grow their staff, which many leaders of Arab Waldorf attribute to the lack of affordable, culturally relevant, and language-accessible teacher training at accredited Waldorf teachers' colleges in Israel. PCI/Arab Israeli parents who wanted to learn more about Waldorf also struggled to do so, as there are very few Waldorf resources available in their native language. Throughout numerous interviews, Waldorf leaders also detailed strategies they believe will successfully support the movement's growth in PCI/Arab Israeli communities.



PCI/Arab Israeli children, who have predominately high exposure to Adverse Childhood Experiences, cannot adequately engage with the benefits of Waldorf Education.

The Advisory Board reported its findings, along with its recommendations for sustaining Arab Waldorf movement growth and advancing educational equity in Israel, in its comprehensive report, entitled: *"Closing the Gap: Increasing Access to Trauma-Informed Education for PCI/Arab Communities in Israel Through Waldorf Education"*

In this Executive Summary of the complete report, the authors first explain the uniquely detrimental environment in which PCI/ Arab Israeli children grow and how trauma-informed education can support their healthy socioemotional development. Next, Waldorf education is examined through the framework of trauma-informed pedagogy and in relation to PCI/ Arab Israeli parental interest that has propelled several Arab Waldorf kindergartens and schools to open. Finally, relying on the testimonies of Arab Waldorf practitioners and other interested parties, the authors outline persistent obstacles that prevent the Arab Waldorf movement from flourishing before concluding the report with the Arab Waldorf Growth Platform, a series of recommendations that will propel the movement forward.

# Growing up Stressed

As the ethnic minority within the Jewish State, PCI/Arab Israeli children officially have equal rights compared to their Jewish neighbors. However, a unique constellation of challenges plays out in the lives of PCI/Arab Israeli children that can negatively affect their long-term development. The global health community views these stressors as Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), a child development evaluation model that is the international gold standard for measuring the impact of childhood hardships on later-life health and well-being. In PCI/ Arab Israeli communities, the following ACEs often characterize childhood.

**LOCALIZED VIOLENCE** Half from crime has plagued PCI/Arab Israeli society in recent years. Recent murder rates represent the highest number in at least 20 years and an increase of more than 20 percent from the 94 murders in 2019; the murder rate in 2020 was nearly double that of 2015.<sup>2</sup> PCI/Arab Israeli civil society leaders point to a need for adequate law enforcement as the underlying factor driving the violence.

**COMMUNAL POVERTY** Much of the crime-related violence in Arab communities is connected to high poverty levels. Every second PCI/Arab Israeli child is poor.<sup>3</sup> While poverty rates decreased over the past decade, PCI/Arab Israelis, who comprise about 21 percent of the entire Israeli population, still experience disproportionately high poverty rates. In a report released by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in 2020, nearly 90% of PCI/Arab Israeli communities are classified as “poor” compared to less than 20% of non-Ultra-Orthodox, or non-Haredi, communities.<sup>4</sup>

**REGIONAL INSTABILITY** Despite peace efforts, Jewish Israelis and PCI/Arab Israelis have endured decades of sporadic terrorist violence, both widespread and localized.<sup>5</sup> The stress of terrorism affects Jewish Israelis and PCI/Arab Israelis differently. After terrorist attacks, PCI/Arab Israelis are more likely to experience more significant post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depressive symptoms than Jewish Israelis.<sup>6</sup> According to a 2003 study conducted during the Second Intifada, over 50 percent of PCI/Arab Israeli children have PTSD.<sup>7</sup>

## ACCULTURATION AND DISCRIMINATION

The immense cultural distance between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority may impose stress on PCI/Arab Israelis who are adapting to Jewish cultural and social expectations.<sup>8</sup> The stress of acculturation is heightened by the chronic discrimination that PCI/Arab Israelis suffer. Recent studies have reported high levels of employment discrimination against PCI/Arab Israelis,<sup>9</sup> and discriminatory governmental laws also compound acculturative stress.

## PCI/ ARAB ISRAELI ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

Research shows that toxic stress from the confluence of ACEs impacting PCI/ Arab Israeli children can cause lifelong harm with detrimental consequences not just for an individual or single community but for the country as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

There is an urgent need to properly support and empower PCI/Arab Israeli children who experience ACEs and toxic stress, but few dedicated social programs in Israel exist to meet this particular need.

A spectrum of potential responses to ACEs can help children overcome toxic stress-induced obstacles to learning. While the ideal approach to ACEs *prevents* the need for all levels of services, supportive responsive relationships with a parent or teacher can buffer the effects of toxic stress and strengthen the building blocks of resilience.<sup>11</sup>

## ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

The global health community views the stressors impacting PCI/ Arab Israeli children through the lens of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), a child development evaluation model that is the international gold standard for measuring the impact of childhood hardships on later-life health and well-being.

ACEs and the toxic stress they generate critically interfere with children's executive brain function, which governs cognitive processes that include attentional control, working memory, inhibition, and problem-solving.

Children with high ACE exposure are also at a heightened risk of heart disease, diabetes, obesity, depression, substance abuse, smoking, poor academic achievement, time out of work and early death.<sup>1</sup>

When ACEs are not addressed in a nurturing environment, they can cause detrimental consequences not just for an individual or single community but for a country as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

The reGeneration Education Waldorf Arab Education Advisory Board analyzed trauma-informed education through a framework presented in the landmark research, *“Trauma-Informed Positive Education: using Positive Psychology to Strengthen Vulnerable Students,”* written by Tom Brunzell, Helen Stokes, and Lea Waters of the University of Melbourne Graduate School of Education.<sup>12,13</sup> The authors assert that trauma-informed education achieves the following three goals: repairing regulatory abilities, repairing disrupted attachment, and increasing psychological resources.<sup>14</sup>

## What is Trauma-Informed Education?

Trauma-informed education supports the ACE-exposed child's healthy, positive development and empowers them for a successful future.

### REPAIRS REGULATORY ABILITIES

Regulatory abilities allow children to manage their own emotions and responses to different stimuli; because of this, a trauma-affected child with underdeveloped regulatory abilities will have difficulties in practicing self-control – both in the classroom and outside of it. To mitigate these challenges, educational activities that focus on sensory integration, self-regulation, rhythm and repetition, and mindfulness applications to learning tasks can help a trauma-affected child develop their emotional regulatory abilities.<sup>15</sup>

### REPAIRS DISRUPTED ATTACHMENT

Similarly, repairing disrupted attachment — aiding children in creating positive relationships with their peers and adults — is a crucial component to trauma-informed education, which is based not only on the activities implemented in the class itself but also on the enduring relationships built between students and teachers that create a school community.<sup>16</sup>

**INCREASES PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES** Trauma-informed education helps children increase psychological resources through activities that teach them to hold on to positive emotions in times of distress; identify messages and characters that exemplify resilience in classroom materials; and develop their strengths.<sup>17</sup>

# The Trauma-Informed Waldorf Classroom

Although trauma-informed education presents a compelling response to the needs of ACE-exposed children in PCI/Arab Israeli communities, it has made few inroads into the prevailing educational models available in Israel. Both state-run schools, which the Israeli Ministry of Education refers to as “recognized and official,” and privately-run schools, which are categorized as “recognized but unofficial,” do not consistently utilize trauma-informed education practices and, at worst, compound societal stressors. Given this educational lack and PCI/Arab Israeli children’s enduring Adverse Childhood Experience exposure, there is an urgent need to implement such a pedagogical model.

Rudolph Steiner developed Waldorf pedagogy and curriculum in 1919 as a response to the trauma experienced by the general population as a result of World War 1. By the 1990s, Jewish Israeli parental interest coalesced around Waldorf education as a holistic educational alternative, and it would soon become an educational aspiration of some PCI/Arab Israeli parents.

In contrast to the traditional curriculum of state schools, Waldorf pedagogy is distinctly holistic and aligns with framework for trauma-informed education articulated by Brunzell et al in *“Trauma-Informed Positive Education: using Positive Psychology to Strengthen Vulnerable Students.”* Waldorf pedagogy achieves all of the author’s benchmarks and thus can be categorized as trauma-informed and appropriate for children with high ACE exposure.

## WALDORF REPAIRS REGULATORY ABILITIES

Crucial curriculum components of Waldorf education incorporate strategies to regulate children’s emotions. Waldorf classes are designed with a natural rhythm in mind, and parents are encouraged to continue this rhythm when children are home during the weekend or over breaks.<sup>18</sup> In addition to curated daily rhythms, children familiarize themselves with new material through thoughtful rhythm and repetition that organically builds cognitive capacity. For example, verse recitation is a key component of instruction for pre-literate children in Waldorf classrooms, focusing on breath regulation and enunciation.<sup>19</sup> Another Waldorf activity that utilizes rhythm as a pedagogical tool is a subject called eurythmy, or the artistic, physical interpretation of language.

Waldorf also incorporates mindfulness practices into its activities, particularly in its approach to art, which helps students be aware of what they are sensing and feeling in the moment without interpretation or judgment. By incorporating rhythm, repetition, and mindfulness into the curriculum, Waldorf pedagogy has the potential to encourage positive growth and repair of regulatory abilities.

## **WALDORF RESTORES DISRUPTED ATTACHMENT**

Similarly, another area of development disrupted by trauma is the healthy attachment between children, their peers, and trusted adults. The relationship between teacher and student is actively cultivated through a practice called “looping,” standard in many Waldorf schools; in this practice, teachers are matched with a particular class for years at a time, often for the entire period that the class spends at a particular institution.<sup>20</sup> In a looping system, students often report decreased anxiety at the start of the new year. In a study conducted in Florida non-Waldorf public schools, students in a looping scenario tended to perform better on tests and attended class more regularly than their peers, not in a looping class.<sup>21</sup> In this same study, teachers who participated in looping reported that the experience allowed them to build stronger relationships with their students and more effectively individualize their instruction.<sup>22</sup>

Even the Waldorf approach to discipline supports the bond between student and teacher. Waldorf teachers can create a safe, nurturing environment through careful control of their classrooms that prioritizes positive reinforcement over punishment. If a student is disruptive in class, Waldorf pedagogy guides teachers to treat it as a more profound issue which will be alleviated by connecting with the disruptive student to understand the problem.<sup>23</sup> This approach to discipline is distinctly holistic and allows teachers to keep students on task while maintaining a positive and supportive classroom environment.

## **WALDORF INCREASES PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES**

Another critical component of trauma-informed education is encouraging the individual child's strengths. Children are encouraged to recognize and build their strengths within the classroom environment in Waldorf classrooms. The founder of Waldorf education, philosopher Rudolf Steiner, wrote, “Waldorf Education is not a pedagogical system but an art – the art of awakening what is actually there within the human being.”<sup>24</sup> Activities in Waldorf schools follow this ethos by encouraging curiosity in students through a varied, rich curriculum and a nurturing classroom environment.<sup>25</sup> Waldorf students report feeling that their curiosity and interests were supported through Waldorf education. Furthermore, the style of Waldorf education encourages resilience by giving students the opportunity for supported, creative problem-solving within a nurturing environment.<sup>26</sup> These activities build children’s self-confidence.

While Waldorf pre-dates the term ‘trauma-informed education,’ it closely aligns with this current pedagogical movement.

# The Rise of Arab Waldorf

Below are five different Arab Waldorf institutions that have, despite significant challenges, opened in Israel: Tamrat El-Zeitoun, The Orchard of Abraham's Children, Ein Bustan, Alsyndian - Tarshiha Waldorf Kindergarten, and Sonbulat Waldorf School, as well as one Waldorf institution in the Palestinian Territories.

**TAMRAT EL-ZEITOUN** The first Arab Waldorf School in Israel, Tamrat El Zeitoun was opened in 2004 in Shfar'am, a city of over 30,000 Muslim, Christian, and Druze inhabitants living approximately one-hour east Haifa.<sup>27</sup> Since its inception, Tamrat El Zeitoun has been a trailblazer in Arab Waldorf. After opening the first Arabic Waldorf kindergarten in 2004, Tamrat El Zeitoun expanded in 2009 to include a school. Nearing its twentieth year, this institution teaches over 300 Muslim, Christian, and Druze children from kindergarten to ninth grade.<sup>28</sup> This success sets Tamrat El Zeitoun apart from other Arab Waldorf institutions in Israel and throughout the Arab world.

**EIN BUSTAN** A year after Tamrat El Zeitoun opened, Ein Bustan Waldorf nursery and kindergarten opened its doors in Hilf, a Bedouin village near Kiryat Tiv'on in northern Israel. Ein Bustan curriculum incorporates Jewish, Muslim, and Christian traditions and heritage to enrich the classroom; classes are taught in Hebrew and Arabic.<sup>29</sup> Children come from the surrounding towns — Kiryat Tiv'on, a Jewish town, and Hilf and Basmat Tiv'on, Arab Bedouin villages — to attend. With no other Waldorf options, parents whose children graduated from Ein Bustan's kindergarten are stuck with an impossible choice: to send their children to the traditional Arab state school or to send them further afield, to Hebrew Waldorf schools in nearby Haifa or Kiryat Tiv'on, or to Tamrat El Zeitoun in Shfar'am, which is nearly an hour's drive away.

**THE ORCHARD OF ABRAHAM'S CHILDREN** Husband-and-wife duo, Ihab and Ora Balha, opened the Orchard of Abraham's Children in 2011. A Jewish and Muslim couple, they wanted to find a bicultural and bilingual school for their children, which also prioritized their social-emotional growth. Located in Jaffa, a city near Tel Aviv with sizable Jewish and Arab populations, The Orchard of Abraham's Children offers bilingual, bicultural education for ages one through six, taught by teachers from both Jewish and PCI/ Arab communities. The school operates six classes in Yaffa and two classes in a second location in the Galilee; approximately 120 children attend, and there is a long waiting list of parents hoping to enroll their children.<sup>30</sup>

## **ALSYNDIAN - TARSHIHA WALDORF KINDERGARTEN** In 2020, Raheel

Shehadi Meiki and her husband Rani Meiki opened the Alsyndian - Tarshiha Waldorf Kindergarten in Ma'a lot-Tarshiha. Located approximately sixteen kilometers from the Lebanon border, the Alsyndian - Tarshiha Waldorf Kindergarten offers Arabic language Waldorf education for children ages three through six. Raheel opened the kindergarten after finding the available options for her children's Arabic schooling lacking in inspired pedagogy. Despite the series of challenges imposed by the Ministry of Education, Raheel and Rani are committed to remaining open and providing educational choices for local PCI/ Arab Israeli parents living near the Lebanon border.

## **SONBULAT WALDORF KINDERGARTEN** In 2017, Fadi Souidan and Hadeel Younis

began the Sonbulat Waldorf Association to open the first Arab Waldorf school in Haifa. Both were struck by the lack of educational options for Haifa's Arab children, while the Jewish children were presented with five or six pedagogical choices. The municipality rejected their application, asserting that their new kindergarten would cause municipal kindergartens to close due to under-enrollment. When the Sonbulat Waldorf Association pivoted their plans to open a nursery school instead, hoping to open a kindergarten for the 2021-2022 school year, COVID-19 hit Israel, causing a restrictive nationwide lockdown, and Sonbulat Waldorf Association closed its nursery school in late 2020.

**HOUSE OF HOPE VISION KINDERGARTEN** Across the Green Line, one Waldorf kindergarten has opened. In 2014, House of Hope Co-Founders Milad Vosgueritchian and Manar Wahhab opened House of Hope kindergarten and elementary school for approximately 60 students enrolled in grades K- 5. The school is situated in Al-Eizariya and serves beneficiaries from Al-Eizariya, Abu Dis, Sawahrah a-Sharqiyah, and a-Sheikh Sa'd in Area C of the West Bank. In 2019, the Palestinian Ministry of Education recognized House of Hope Vision kindergarten as the first and only Waldorf kindergarten in the West Bank.<sup>31</sup> House of Hope also offers the only Waldorf teacher training in the West Bank. Experienced PCI/ Israeli Arab and European Waldorf teachers throughout the year visit the school to train dozens of Palestinian teachers.

# Obstacles to Arab Waldorf Growth

While the stories of each Waldorf educational institution are different, and the particular challenges they face are nuanced in relation to their organizational history and the municipality in which they are located, a series of common challenges act as persistent roadblocks to Arab Waldorf success.

Five key obstacles prevent the expansion of Arab Waldorf, which affect every stage of a Waldorf educational institution. These challenges show the difficulties in expanding holistic education in Israel and expose how the existing systems disproportionately negatively affect PCI/Arab Israeli citizens who attempt to expand educational options for their children.

## ARAB WALDORF GROWTH OBSTACLE #1

### Systemic and Individual Biases in Registration

Every new educational institution in Israel must navigate Israeli governmental bureaucracy and complete the registration process with the necessary authorities. Both processes for kindergartens and schools are littered with obstacles that impede — and at times, prevent — the successful opening of new Waldorf educational institutions, requiring applicants to exhibit acumen in the Israeli bureaucratic system to complete the process successfully.

The first step towards opening an Arab Waldorf kindergarten or school is registering with the Ministry of Education. The chief challenge of this bureaucratic process is not necessarily the difficulty of the forms to complete, but the bureaucratic insight and the time that it takes to navigate. Although the process is completed yearly, the necessary forms often change with little warning, and the Ministry of Education often records information incorrectly. Often the forms themselves change from year to year and, without a communications strategy to liaise with small private schools, administrators often engage in the process of trial-and-error.

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*Arab Waldorf kindergartens and schools encounter systemic and individual bias when seeking registration with the Ministry of Education and local municipalities.*

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The process is no different for Jewish, Arab, or bilingual schools, but the system is biased to disfavor PCI/Arab Israeli applicants, particularly those who do not speak, read, or write Hebrew fluently as every registration document must be completed in Hebrew.

However, even if the forms are satisfactorily completed, and a kindergarten or school is allowed to open, they must successfully navigate another bureaucratic process with members of their local municipality. The chief obstacle then becomes not systemic bias against PCI/Arab Israelis but the individual bias of the municipality officials against new kindergartens and schools that may compete with state schools for budget, PCI/Arab Israelis, bilingual education, or even Waldorf pedagogy itself.

The most basic cause of bias against new Waldorf schools is financial. Municipalities may be disincentivized to approve the application for a new kindergarten that could poach from their local state kindergartens or Waldorf schools that would require municipalities furnish a new school building and provide funding per student.

Even if the financial situation is not an issue, applicants must then navigate the individual attitudes towards Waldorf education or that manifest in relation to the power dynamic between PCI/Arab Israelis and Jewish Israelis. For example, when the Sonbulat Waldorf Association attempted to register a new Waldorf elementary school, the Haifa municipality told the PCI/Arab Israeli parents who had wished to send their children to the Sonbulat kindergarten instead to send their children to the nearby Jewish Waldorf kindergarten, called Aliyah — named for the process of Jewish people immigrating to Israel.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH OBSTACLE #2**

### **Fundraising in the Face of Communal Poverty**

Waldorf institutions in Israel receive between 60 percent to 100 percent of the total base-level state funding for kindergartens and schools. However, this funding is inadequate as Waldorf kindergartens and schools often require materials that are not common in other state schools, such as varied art products — including felt, wood, and musical instruments — and the curriculum requires additional teachers for specialized courses and lower student to teacher ratios.

Waldorf institutions must use other methods, such as funding for supplementary state programming and parent donations, to raise the remaining funds needed to operate a Waldorf institution. However, Arab Waldorf schools are uniquely disadvantaged to make up these funding deficits because of pronounced communal poverty and long-standing governmental funding disparities.

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*Hebrew Waldorf schools overcome insufficient governmental funding through municipality funding. PCI/ Arab Israeli municipalities have a lower tax base, reflecting income gaps between Jewish and PCI/ Arab Israelis, and cannot provide surplus funding.*

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PCI/Arab Israelis, on average, earn significantly less than their Jewish Israeli peers — and recent data shows that this gap is expanding. Of the nearly 2 million Israelis who live in poverty, PCI/Arab Israelis account for over 700,000 of those individuals or 35% percent of those in poverty, vastly exceeding their proportion of the general population.<sup>32</sup> This income gap negatively affects the additional funding Waldorf schools can garner from parent donations.

Hebrew Waldorf schools are often able to overcome the funding disparity through additional donations from the municipality, which supplements the base level of funding from the Ministry of Education — but this is only possible if the municipality has a strong tax base and possesses surplus funds, which precludes many Arab municipalities from making substantial donations to Waldorf kindergartens or schools.

For Arab Waldorf to flourish in PCI/Arab Israeli communities, the vast majority of whom are composed solely of PCI/Arab Israeli residents, there must be another source of support. The current funding structure that relies on municipality contributions reinforces systems of inequality that disproportionately affect PCI/Arab Israelis and entrenches systemic educational disparities.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH OBSTACLE #3**

### **Hiring Difficulties for PCI/Arab Israeli Teachers**

Once a school or kindergarten is officially registered and has secured enough funding to operate a Waldorf institution, the administration or association must find appropriate teachers. However, as with the other steps outlined above, this process presents a series of obstacles for new Waldorf institutions that disproportionately affect Arab Waldorf schools.

Arab Waldorf schools must hire new teachers directly through the Ministry of Education, which has a long waitlist, informally referred to as ‘The Line’ of over 14,000 PCI/Arab Israelis waiting to become teachers. The Line is arranged chronologically: a teacher will come to the front of the line by order of when they registered interest in teaching positions. The phenomenon of The Line exists only in Arab schools run by the Ministry of Education; there is no equivalent in Hebrew sector schools.

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*The Line prevents Arab Waldorf schools from finding appropriately trained teachers and dampens the Waldorf aspirations of traditional PCI/ Arab Israelis teachers who cannot afford four years of additional Waldorf training. The hiring requirements caused by The Line do not exist in Hebrew society.*

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The main challenge presented by The Line for Arab Waldorf Schools is that it is a hiring *line*, not a hiring pool. When a school hires from The Line, they cannot select a suitable applicant for hire from the group of certificated individuals; instead, schools must hire whoever has waited in line the longest. This means that the individual rarely has any knowledge of Waldorf, much less exposure to its teaching principles, and often has little interest in engaging in the intensive training necessary to form a Waldorf teacher.

Arab Waldorf schools may circumvent The Line if the teaching applicant has a bachelor's of education and four years of Waldorf training at an accredited institution. However, it is rare to find PCI/Arab Israelis who possess this very specialized type of training due to affordability, language barriers, and the cultural competency of teacher training curriculums outlined in the next section.

The Line affects Waldorf educational institutions and the aspirations of PCI/Arab Israelis who wish to teach Waldorf but cannot afford the four years of additional Waldorf-specific training or wait in line for years as those before them are hired. Other individuals with sufficient Hebrew eschew Arab Waldorf and Arab education entirely and instead teach in Hebrew schools, where there is a teacher shortage.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH OBSTACLE #4**

### **Inaccessible and Culturally Irrelevant Teacher Training**

Arab Waldorf schools and kindergartens are challenged no matter how they hire their teachers: if they hire a teacher with a bachelor's of education through The Line, they must arrange for sufficient Waldorf training after the teacher's hiring. If they wish to take advantage of the second hiring pathway, they must locate a teacher with not only Waldorf training but from an accredited university which the Ministry of Education will accept.

Both challenges highlight a particular obstacle for the Arab Waldorf movement: a lack of suitable teacher training courses.

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***Waldorf teacher training in Israel is financially out of reach for most PCI/ Arab Israelis. The annual tuition at an Israeli accredited Waldorf teacher training program is near twice the average monthly salary of a PCI/ Arab Israeli worker.***

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In Israel, there are currently seven Waldorf training institutions. Only two are accredited: David Yellin College of Education and Oranim Academic College, which are well-respected programs that offer Waldorf training in conjunction with their bachelor of education program. However, the time commitment to attend a regular four-year university far from home is a challenge for many PCI/Arab Israelis, who remove themselves from the job market and eschew the possibility to help ease familial financial burdens in the short term, which is often quite a heavy burden, as many PCI/Arab Israeli families live near to poverty. Furthermore, even with its reduced cost compared to unaccredited institutions, university fees present a challenge as well: Oranim charges 12,500 NIS per year for the four-year degree, along with an additional 2000 NIS a year for a Waldorf training program for the last three years. This is near twice the average monthly salary of PCI/Arab Israeli workers.<sup>33</sup>

The other five — Urim School in Ramat Hasharon, Somer School in Ramat Gan, Korzack School in Beer-Sheva, Rimon School in Pardes Hana, and Shaked School in Kiryat Ti'von<sup>34</sup> — are unaccredited, which means that while a teacher might be able to gain foundational knowledge about Waldorf through their training programs, the Ministry of Education will not accept any certification from these institutions to skip The Line.

Furthermore, even if an aspiring PCI/Arab Israeli Waldorf teacher was able to attend these programs, there are no culturally relevant Waldorf teacher training programs in Israel. There are no Waldorf teacher training programs in Arabic. All of these programs are taught in Hebrew; the only unaccredited bilingual Waldorf teacher training program, Seeds/Boudur, closed during the COVID-19 lockdowns. Furthermore, while the schedule may accommodate a working teacher's commitments, these programs are often more expensive than accredited ones.

Tamrat El Zeitoun's Arabic collegium teacher training and Seeds/Boudur Bilingual Waldorf Teacher Training Institute have sought to fill this gap by providing Arabic language training for new or prospective Waldorf educators in the form of professional development sessions held after school or on the weekend, but these programs are labor-intensive for providers, who often are full-time

Waldorf teachers themselves. Additionally, neither teacher training program is accredited by the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless, they provide a vital stopgap measure for Arab Waldorf institutions who need their teachers to understand the basics of Waldorf pedagogy in their native tongue.

## ARAB WALDORF GROWTH OBSTACLE #5

### High Risk of Teacher Burnout

The deficit in funding and the lack of culturally appropriate teacher training programs for Arab Waldorf means that teachers in Arab Waldorf have the daunting task of trying to bridge the gap themselves: by doing the work of multiple teachers while also preparing culturally relevant Waldorf material for their students.

There is a glaring lack of readily available Waldorf resources in Arabic. There are currently only two books that can be used as instructional resources for Waldorf, which have been translated into Arabic: *The World of Childhood* by Gilad Goldschmidt and *Spelling Characters in the Land of Happiness* by Lana Nasrallah.<sup>35,36</sup> Both books were published less than two years before this report. There are no readily available Waldorf teacher workbooks, sample lesson plans, or even songs and games in Arabic.

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***There are currently only two books that can be used as instructional resources for Waldorf, which have been translated into Arabic. The onus to bridge this gap in resource availability falls onto the shoulders of existing and overburdened Arab Waldorf teachers.***

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The onus to bridge this gap in resource availability falls onto the shoulders of existing Arab Waldorf educators, who are required to translate existing Waldorf resources from Hebrew into Arabic and to adjust it to incorporate PCI/Arab Israeli culture. The difficulty surrounding translation is rooted in the dialect and other nuances within the Arabic language and the nuance of Waldorf pedagogy, which is loaded with concepts and terms that are difficult for a layperson to grasp. Concepts such as anthroposophy and eurythmy have no easy translation into any language for a translator or an audience that is not already knowledgeable about the ideas.

The pressures of the classroom — taking on the roles of multiple teachers while also building culturally and linguistically appropriate lessons — combine with societal pressures on Arab Waldorf teachers to create a highly stressful environment. Most Arab Waldorf teachers are women, and while

PCI/Arab Israeli culture is slowly changing, they are expected to observe family customs and the female role in the house-hold, including care of the children and older adults, once they are finished with their day jobs.<sup>37</sup> This leaves female Arab Waldorf teachers in an untenable position.

## **FROM OBSTACLES TO SOLUTIONS**

These obstacles affect Waldorf schools and kindergartens of all sorts, from the most established Arab Waldorf school in Israel, Tamrat El Zeitoun, to what would have been the newest, Sonbulat Waldorf School, which was never opened.

The effects of these challenges are not limited to stymying the professional ambition amongst potential Waldorf administrators and teachers — though this is also of grave concern, given high unemployment and communal poverty in PCI/Arab Israeli communities — but perhaps more seriously, these pervasive challenges prevent PCI/Arab Israeli children from accessing the type of education they need to address their persistent trauma.

To address the obstacles which impede the growth of Arab Waldorf in Israel, reGeneration Education proposes the Arab Waldorf Growth Platform, a multifaceted response rooted in the expertise and testimonies of existing PCI/Arab Israeli and Jewish Israeli Waldorf practitioners.

# The Arab Waldorf Growth Platform

The Arab Waldorf Growth Platform contains seven actionable opportunities derived from the needs expressed through the interviews conducted by reGeneration Education from March 2020 to September 2021. These actions will lay a strong foundation for scaling Waldorf in Arab communities in Israel and throughout the Arab World.

## ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #1

### Translate Waldorf Materials

The lack of comprehensive Waldorf materials in Arabic creates a disconnect between the extensive Waldorf scholarship — including teacher training manuals, parent engagement strategies, and teaching materials, amongst others — and Arab and bilingual Waldorf institutions in Israel, and with Waldorf institutions throughout the Arab World when the need arrives. More Waldorf materials translated into Arabic will support the growth of Waldorf in PCI/Arab Israeli communities and lessen the workload of PCI/Arab Israeli teachers.

## ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #2

### Offer Culturally Relevant Professional Development

The lack of material and training to centralize or integrate the Arabic language and Palestinian culture creates an additional burden on Arab Waldorf teachers, as they are then tasked with creating new activities or adapting existing practices to meet the cultural needs of their students. This need is not currently being met by the existing teacher training institutions in Israel. For many Waldorf teachers who have already received Waldorf training, this supplementary support will be best provided through professional development opportunities to supplement their existing training.

Two Arab Waldorf institutions — the school, Tamrat El Zeitoun, and the kindergarten, The Orchard of Abraham's Children — currently offer supplementary training for their staffs, but the need surpasses available teacher training resources as the only dedicated bilingual Waldorf teacher training institution, Seeds/Boudur, closed in 2020. Implementing additional professional development for PCI/Arab Israeli teachers about the intersection between Waldorf and Palestinian culture will allow teachers to learn new skills and provide them with the opportunity to collaborate between schools and kindergartens. This will ultimately provide greater institutional knowledge around Arab culture in Waldorf and lessen teacher workload.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #3**

### **Expand School Fundraising Capacity**

Given the pervasive poverty in PCI/Arab Israeli communities, Arab Waldorf kindergartens and schools will need to devise a strategy to ensure financial support from the community. reGeneration Education also believes that this fundraising strategy should reach beyond the traditional fundraising base of Waldorf institutions — parents — to other funding sources, such as philanthropic institutions in Israel or abroad.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #4**

### **Engage New PCI/Arab Israeli Parents**

For Arab Waldorf to truly flourish in Israel, the movement must better engage PCI/Arab Israeli parents who make the educated decision to enroll their children in Waldorf schools and kindergartens. A more comprehensive and effective parent engagement model would allow parents to more conscientiously engage with Waldorf; this strategy would assuage their fears that their children will not achieve conventional success by showing past success stories and conveying the intangible personal development that is a benefit of this type of pedagogy.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #5**

### **Create an Arab Waldorf Leadership Incubator**

reGeneration recommends the creation of a leadership incubator to grow the capacity of the greater Arab Waldorf movement. The Leadership Incubator will nurture young leaders to understand the important balance between visionary goals and everyday tasks that ensure long-term success by preparing a new generation of Arab Waldorf leaders. Participants may be teachers interested in taking on new administration tasks, existing administrators interested in further professional development, or individuals who wish to create new Arab Waldorf institutions. It will be based in an incremental team-based approach to leading the Arab Waldorf movement, which is what has made the existing Arab Waldorf school and kindergartens successful. We believe that these incubators will allow for PCI/Arab Israelis to more effectively engage with each other on the growth of Arab Waldorf and more effectively collaborate with Jewish Israeli Waldorf practitioners throughout Israel.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #6**

### **Engage Proactively with Municipal and Ministry of Education Authorities**

Many municipality and Ministry of Education officials are resistant to new Waldorf institutions, including those from Jewish Israelis. This challenge can be ameliorated by more proactive and consistent engagement through meetings with municipality authorities in cities and towns — and that this engagement should not begin with the application to start a new school or kindergarten but months earlier to lay an effective groundwork.

## **ARAB WALDORF GROWTH PLATFORM ACTION #7**

### **Scholarships for PCI/Arab Israelis to be Trained in Waldorf**

The dearth of Waldorf-trained PCI/Arab Israeli teachers presents a significant challenge for sustaining existing Waldorf institutions and the growth of the larger Arab Waldorf movement. Scholarships or a scholarship fund for PCI/Arab Israelis to study Waldorf at accredited universities will allow for the more significant Arab Waldorf movement to expand to meet the needs of this community.

## **A SHARED SOCIETY APPROACH**

In a society shared between Jewish Israelis and PCI/Arab Israelis, it is necessary to empower every citizen to take ownership of their unique position in the ongoing educational inequality in Israel. Ultimately, the greatest progress for Arab Waldorf will be achieved when Waldorf practitioners in the state of Israel, be they Jewish or Arab, work together.

The Arab Waldorf Growth Platform will be implemented by four different entities, two of which must be created to foster the continued growth of Arab Waldorf.

## **THE SHARED SOCIETY WALDORF LEADERSHIP TASK FORCE**

This Task Force will be composed of around a dozen PCI/Arab Israeli and Jewish Israeli leaders within the Arab Waldorf community, including Arabic-language and bilingual institutions.

- Determine translation needs  
This will include selecting materials to be translated as a priority that will advance Arab Waldorf and lessen the pressure placed on current Arabic-language Waldorf teachers.

- Create curriculum for supplementary culturally relevant Arab Waldorf training  
This curriculum will be designed as additional professional development opportunities for Waldorf teachers to integrate Palestinian language and culture into the fabric of Waldorf in Israel.
- Determining fundraising strategy  
This strategy should address potential fundraising avenues beyond parents, including foundations and government sources.
- Create a new parent engagement model  
The model should envision engagement patterns and materials furnished to parents to increase their understanding of Waldorf.
- Create curriculum for an Arab Waldorf leadership incubator  
The incubator should foster skill sets that allow participants to gain both traditional leadership skills and those innately tied to Waldorf, such as empathy and collaboration.

## **THE SHARED SOCIETY WALDORF COMMUNITY FORUM**

The Shared Society Waldorf Community Forum will have a broader membership base than the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force. It will be composed of any who work in or wish to support Arab Waldorf, including Arabic-language and bilingual Waldorf institutions. There may be shared members between this forum and the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force outlined above. The purpose of this additional forum is twofold: to instigate the implementation of the programs and strategies devised by the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force and act as a source of community and support for those who practice Waldorf in the PCI/Arab Israeli context.

- Participate in culturally relevant professional development  
These workshops will follow part or all of the supplementary Arab Waldorf training curriculum outlined by the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force and will likely be implemented in the summer because of Waldorf teachers increased free time in this period.
- Implement fundraising strategy  
The Forum will use the fundraising strategy outlined by the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force to engage additional funding sources for Waldorf schools and kindergartens.
- Launch parent engagement campaign  
This campaign will allow existing Waldorf practitioners to engage new parents and new students in the Waldorf ethos.
- Participate in Arab Waldorf Leadership Incubator  
This incubator will aid interested individuals in assuming new leadership opportunities within Arab Waldorf.

## THE WALDORF ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL

The Waldorf Association of Israel is an integral source of support for new and existing Arab Waldorf institutions. The special dispensation for Arab Waldorf teachers to skip ‘The Line’ of unemployed PCI/Arab Israeli teachers and acknowledgment by the Ministry of Education of Waldorf schools as “recognized and official” is due solely to the lobbying efforts of this Association with the Ministry of Education.

- Recruit representation from Arab Waldorf  
As the leadership capacity of Arab Waldorf expands, it is vital that leaders from Arab Waldorf are integrated into the Waldorf Association of Israel, particularly within the leadership of this influential association. The Waldorf Association of Israel should proactively recruit more representation from Arab Waldorf and invite leaders to join the Board of the association. This will allow PCI/Arab Israelis to bring the perspective and vision of Arab Waldorf to an entirely Jewish Israeli association so that both may work together to further the growth of Waldorf throughout Israel.
- Raise awareness of Waldorf among municipality officials  
Given the experience of the Waldorf Association of Israel in working with the Ministry of Education to adjust regulations for Waldorf institutions throughout Israel, this organization has the experience and drive to proactively raise awareness among officials in municipalities where Waldorf may expand. Building relationships before the formal application to launch a Waldorf school or kindergarten is essential to build institutional buy-in for Waldorf pedagogy.
- Lobby accredited Waldorf teacher training institutions for PCI/Arab Israeli scholarships  
The Waldorf Association of Israel is best suited to this task because of the existing relationship between the two accredited Waldorf teacher training institutions — David Yellin Academic College and Oranim Academic College — and the Association’s leadership and membership bodies. The Waldorf Association of Israel may draw upon their previous experience in successfully lobbying these two universities to include Waldorf-training tracks within their bachelor of education course.

## REGENERATION EDUCATION

As the organization which has supported the compilation of this report, reGeneration Education has chosen to concern itself with the success of Arab Waldorf in Israel and seeks to act as a source of support for Arab Waldorf practitioners and institutions. The tasks outlined below are predicated on a continued relationship between reGeneration Education and Arab Waldorf practitioners. They frame reGeneration Education's efforts as supporting initiatives undertaken by the Shared Society Waldorf Leadership Task Force, Shared Society Waldorf Community Forum, and the Waldorf Association of Israel.

- Provide consultant support as requested  
reGeneration Education can act as a source of support to the different networks as they seek to implement the Arab Waldorf Growth Platform either in person or virtually while continuing to centralize the vision of local actors.
- Conduct international fundraising and awareness-raising for Arab Waldorf in Israel  
As an international organization dedicated to the support of Arab Waldorf, reGeneration Education is in a strong position to advocate for increased engagement between Arab Waldorf in Israel and international actors, such as the German Waldorf association Freunde der Erziehungskunst. Furthermore, reGeneration Education will proactively engage with international donors, including both private and public entities, to provide funding support to different Arab Waldorf initiatives, such as training, translation support, or a legal fund for schools to engage with authorities.
- Implement monitoring and evaluation of Waldorf as trauma-informed education  
reGeneration Education is prepared with the expertise and personnel capacity to conduct comprehensive monitoring and evaluation across multiple schools and kindergartens as required. By taking ownership of this task, reGeneration Education will ensure consistent data collection and prevent another responsibility from being assigned to oversubscribed schools and kindergartners. Effective monitoring and evaluation will allow practitioners to advocate for Arab Waldorf more effectively with data points that support central premises about the positive effects of this pedagogy on childhood development.

# Conclusion

Since the first Arab Waldorf kindergarten, Tamrat El Zeitoun, was opened in 2004, the Arab Waldorf movement has overcome enormous obstacles to impact the lives of PCI/Arab Israeli children and the broader communities in which these children live. As awareness of Waldorf has grown over the past two decades, more and more parental initiatives to start Arab Waldorf kindergartens and schools have started because these parents recognized the benefits Waldorf will have for their children. However, in light of continued difficulties with government ministries, municipalities, and the COVID-19 pandemic, the movement is currently at a plateau, and without timely intervention, it will stagnate.

As the Arab Waldorf movement stands at this crossroads — to either surmount these obstacles to expand the movement or begin to lose momentum as the movement rests in an uncomfortable holding pattern — Israeli and international society has renewed its interest in shared society and peacebuilding initiatives in the region. If properly mobilized, the Arab Waldorf movement is well suited to capitalize on the renewed interests and available funds for peacebuilding. A strong Arab Waldorf movement will not only build bridges between parents and educators across Jewish Israeli and PCI/Arab Israeli communities but will also impact the children in these communities who will determine the long-term success of any shared society initiative in the years to come.

The extensive research conducted for this report has shown the commitment and ingenuity of PCI/Arab Israeli parents and their Jewish Israeli counterparts to build a better society in which all children are equitably supported. In light of the current situation, it is now more vital than ever to build upon this foundation to support and expand Arab Waldorf to protect the socioemotional development of the greatest number of children in Israel-Palestine.

## About reGeneration Education

reGeneration Education is a U.S. 501(c)3 non-profit organization founded in 2005 to advance peacebuilding through innovative approaches to the education, development, and resilience of young children in crisis zones so they are able to imagine and create a better future. Over the past nearly 20 years, reGeneration helped launch numerous flagship Arab Waldorf schools in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, funded scholarships for aspiring Arab Waldorf teachers, and produced conferences on trauma-informed education throughout Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Learn more at <https://regenerationeducation.org> or [info@regenerationeducation.org](mailto:info@regenerationeducation.org).

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- <sup>7</sup> Sam Tyano, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Israeli Children," *International psychiatry: Bulletin of the Board of International Affairs of the Royal College of Psychiatrists* 1, no. 2 (2003): 7-8.
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- <sup>9</sup> Ariel Barak, Illanit Tobby-Alimi, Irit Cohen, Mazal Ben Ezra, Yafa Cohen and Gabriela Sosinksi, "Ethnic and Racial Employment Discrimination in Low-Wage and High-Wage Markets: Randomized Controlled Trials Using Correspondence Tests in Israel," *Law and Ethics of Human Rights* 9, no. 1 (2015):135.
- <sup>10</sup> James J. Heckman, "The Economics of Inequality: The Value of Early Childhood Education," *Education Digest: Essential Readings Condensed for Quick Review* 77, no.4 (2011): 31-35. The effects of Adverse Childhood Experiences can be mitigated if addressed strategically in childhood — and, in fact, are economically advantageous for the country. Nobel Laureate economic professor, James J. Heckman, and other prominent researchers report that investing in early childhood education provides massive social and economic returns, both at the individual and national level.
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- <sup>13</sup> M. Shelley Thomas, Shantel Crosby, and Judi Vanderhaar, "Trauma-Informed Practices in Schools Across Two Decades: An Interdisciplinary Review of Research," *Review of Research in Education* 43 (2019):422-452; Mathew White and Margaret L. Kern, "Positive education: Learning and teaching for wellbeing and academic mastery," *International Journal of Wellbeing* 8, no. 1 (2018): 1-17; Brian Cavanaugh, "Trauma-Informed Classrooms and Schools," *Beyond Behavior* 25, no. 2 (2016): 41-46; Basel El-Khodary and Muthanna Samara, "Effectiveness of a School-Based Intervention on the Students' Mental Health After Exposure to War-Related Trauma," *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 10 (2020) <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsy.2019.01031/full>. These are other key articles in the field of trauma-informed education.
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- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.
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- <sup>19</sup> Friedlaender et al., *Growing a Waldorf-Inspired Approach in a Public School District*, 28.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.
- <sup>21</sup> Peter J. Cistone and Aleksandr Shneyderman, "Looping: An Empirical Evaluation," *International Journal of Educational Policy* 5, no. 1 (2004): 48, 55.
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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> “6 Waldorf Principles That Can Help Your Family,” Waldorf Academy, October 2018, <https://waldorfacademy.org/waldorf-principles-that-can-help-family/>

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<sup>28</sup> “Waldorf School of Shfar’am,” Tamrat El Zeitoun, accessed July 8, 2021, <http://www.tamratelzeitoun.org/>

<sup>29</sup> “Ein Bustan,” reGeneration Education, February 16, 2021, <https://regenerationeducation.org/wherewework/middle-east-programs/ein-bustan>

<sup>30</sup> “Human First Education,” The Orchard of Abraham’s Children, accessed June 30, 2021, <https://www.bismilla.org/human-first-education>

<sup>31</sup> Thea Lavin, *2019 House of Hope Annual Report* (United States, Supporting Hope: 2020) 2.

<sup>32</sup> “About two million Israelis live below the poverty line — report,” *The Jerusalem Post* (Jerusalem, Israel), January 22, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-report-about-two-million-people-live-below-the-poverty-line-656317>

<sup>33</sup> Klingbail and Dattel, “Only 9 percent of Israeli Arab Men Complete Undergraduate Degrees.”

<sup>34</sup> Shaked School is unaccredited, but also works in conjunction with Oranim Academic College to provide their Waldorf coursework. This means that Shaked, while unaccredited, offers two tracks: the unaccredited track with once weekly meetings for current teachers and the accredited track, which is taken at Shaked but through Oranim Academic College as part of their bachelor’s of education program.

<sup>35</sup> Gilad Goldschmidt, *The World of Childhood*, trans. Markuz Halabi. (Haifa, Israel: Harduf Press, 2020).

<sup>36</sup> Lana Nasrallah, *Spelling Characters in the Land of Happiness*, trans Markuz Halabi. (self-pub., <https://www.lanasrallah.com/>: 2020).

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