

Perceptions of the Concept Moral Courage: The Stories of Religious and Secular Teachers in the Israeli Ethnocentric Educational System

Roni Reingold, Achva Academic College, Israel
Lea Baratz, Achva Academic College, Israel
Hannah Abuhatzira, Achva Academic College, Israel

The European Conference on Ethics, Religion & Philosophy 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Moral courage of teachers in Israeli education system has an additional value, because the Ministry of Education has complete control in determining policy and educational activities in the country (Baratz & Reingold, 2010).

Kidder formulates it: "Moral courage is the courage to be moral" (Kidder, 2005, p. 10). That is to say, moral courage is the bridge between talking about values and actually implementing them. In the teaching context, moral courage means that teachers must have the desire and the ability to discuss ethical issues in order to awaken their students' awareness (Klaassen, 2007; Kidder, 2005).

The purpose of the current study was to assess the dimensions of morally courageous activity within school life by qualitatively analyzing 61 Israeli teachers' defined self-narrative, which they felt could shed light on elements of educational moral courage.

The research population was composed of 17 teachers working in a publically-funded Jewish secular schools; 14 teachers working in a publically-funded Jewish religious schools; 10 principals working in a publically-funded Arabic schools and 8 Arabic teachers working in a publically-funded Jewish secular schools.

The findings indicated that the interviewees' responses expressed a profound understanding of the concept of moral courage. The findings also revealed that the interviewees from all the groups claimed that the Israeli educational system is characterized by instructional price tags for teachers' morally courageous behavior.

Never the less there is a fundamental difference concerning the willingness of the educators from the different groups to display morally courageous behavior.

Keywords: Moral courage, conformism, Israeli teachers, moral education

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

"Moral courage is the courage to be moral" (Kidder, 2005, p. That is to say, moral courage is the bridge between talking and thinking about values and actually implementing them, in situations in which adhering to one's values and beliefs might result in sanctions and/or penalties imposed by the governing system.

Teachers' moral courage is of special significance in the Israeli education system, due to the fact that the Israeli Ministry of Education has centralized control over most of the schools in the country, determining their educational policies and activities (Baratz & Reingold, 2010). Israel's 1953 National Education Act led to a situation in which the pre academic education system in Israel is comprised of four separate sectors: state-funded secular education for the Jewish sector; state-funded religious education for the Jewish sector; and an independent,–although state-funded–education system for the Jewish ultra-Orthodox sector (Reingold, Baratz & Abuatzira, 2013). The smallest sector, the Jewish ultra-Orthodox, is independent and controls its agenda and curricula, even though there have been from time to time some failing attempts by the Ministry of Education to enforce a very narrow core curriculum. In contrast, the Ministry succeeds in controlling the three other sectors. It controls the schools' curricula; approves textbooks; formulates the matriculation examinations; controls the teachers' initial education, teachers' authorization procedures, and teachers' continuing professional development. The state religious Jewish schools are given some organizational and ideological autonomy. The role of the teachers is to create a bond between the subject matter and the learners, thereby serving not only as educators, but also as role models for their pupils (Reingold, Baratz & Abuatzira, 2013).

In contrast to, the two religious Jewish educational systems, the Arab sector has no autonomy. In fact, the situation of the separate Arab education system is the most complex. The Arab education system is subject to a discriminatory separatism, i.e., exclusion, in addition to being under the control and supervision of the state (Jabareen & Agbarieh, 2011). Moreover, there is a required component of the curriculum in the Arab education system that focuses on the subject of Jewish religion and Jewish culture and history. Moreover, in contrast to the process of approval of Jewish school principals, which is exclusively the task of the Israeli Ministry of Education, approval of Arab School principals is the task of the Israeli security agency. In an interview to Haaretz (an Israeli newspaper) published on May 25th 2004, a senior member of the Israeli Secret Service claimed that the Israeli security agency determines the appointment not only of principals and teachers in Arab schools, but also of its janitors. Thus, since 1953 when the four sectors were established, the behaviors of teachers in the two Jewish religious education system are conformist in nature, because the teachers' beliefs coincide with the educational policies and norms of the sector. Whereas in the two other education systems, the Ministry of Education has been encouraging teachers' conformist behavior, to ensure alignment with the Ministry's policies (Reingold, Baratz & Abuatzira, 2013).

Theoretical Background

Moral Courage: The Term and Its Nature

Miller (2000) defines moral courage as “A willingness to take a stand in defense of principles or convictions even when others do not. People who exhibit moral courage are often subject to a number of risks associated with taking a stand, including inconvenience, unpopularity, ostracism, disapproval, derision, and even harm to themselves or their relatives” (p. 36). Moral courage is the ability of individuals to overcome fear and stand up for their main values and ethical commitments (Lachman, 2007), or as Kidder formulates it, “moral courage is the courage to be moral” (Kidder, 2005, p. He adds that moral courage can be identified by five basic qualities: integrity, honor, responsibility, decency, and compassion. Thus, moral courage is the bridge between talking about values and actually implementing them. According to Kidder (2005), moral courage is the area in which three elements intersect: danger, principles, and endurance.

Teaching Morals and Taking a Morally Courageous Stance

Teachers must have the desire and the ability to discuss ethical issues in order to develop their students' awareness (Klaassen, 2007, 2012). In some education systems, dealing with moral issues and promoting critical thinking is not the mainstream educational practice; consequently, teachers who consider the task of moral education to be a central element in their role as educators view themselves as capable of demonstrating great moral courage (Kidder, 2005). Accordingly, teachers' very perception of moral education as a central aspect of their work is, in and of itself, an expression of moral courage (Klaassen & Maslovaty, 2010). As Klassen claims, moral courage among teachers entails a mental challenge. Individuals who take this stance risk damaging their reputation, their emotional world, integrity, or self-image (Klaassen, 2007).

Nonconformity and Moral Courage

When individuals align their behaviors and opinions to existing social norms it is Conformity. Furthermore, there is conformity which stems from fear of being punished or ostracized by the group, as well as conformity motivated by a desire for a reward such as love or acceptance by the group (Lehman & Gonat, 2000).

For our purposes, avoidance of moral courage may stem from conformity because, by definition, taking a stand or acting with moral courage is based on the decision to act despite the knowledge that society is likely to impose sanctions against individuals who go against/ the norm. Moral courage is not necessarily an act of counter-conformism, because the counter-conformist performs an intentional act that is directed against conformity. Moral courage, therefore, is an act of nonconformity. This paper examines Israeli educators' perceptions of the notion of teachers' moral courage. Hence the Research Questions are do Israeli educators from different cultural groups have a distinct understanding of the concept of moral courage? Are there essential differences between the educators from the Jewish and Arab groups in terms of their willingness to display morally courageous behavior?

Methodology

Research Population

Sixty-one educators were interviewed for this study. The research population was composed of 17 teachers working in publically-funded Jewish secular schools; 14 teachers working in publically-funded Jewish religious schools; 10 principals working in publically-funded Arab schools; 10 Arab teachers working in publically-funded Arab schools, and 10 Arab teachers working in publically-funded Jewish secular schools.

The participant teachers were chosen on the basis of the researchers' professional acquaintance with them, or based on recommendations the researchers received from colleagues, who described these teachers as having had some say in the field of educational, i.e., each one had taken some form of action that was noticeable in their field. Therefore, these teachers were not chosen randomly and thus did not constitute a representative sample. Nevertheless, this was a diverse group of teachers, in terms of their educational sector affiliation, the school framework (and the teachers' level of experience (novice teachers with less than five years of experience and veteran teachers with a great deal of experience)).

The Research Instrument

The main research tool was the open narrative interview (Powell, Fisher, & Wright, 2005), in which the teachers were asked to tell a story or to describe a situation or experience that happened to them in the framework of their educational work, which in their opinion could shed light on elements of moral courage. The general nature of the question was nondirective, intended to allow the teachers a verbal response told from a viewpoint that reflects their daily interactions and presents their professional self-image.

Data Analysis

The research was conducted using a qualitative approach and data analysis followed interpretive qualitative principles, as described by Miles and Huberman (1994). The interviews consisted in a qualitative, 'self-defined narrative', in which the interviewees described a specific incident in their life story (Spektor- Marsel, 2011), which they viewed as a demonstration of courageous behavior in the course of the teaching process.

In the first stage of the inductive analysis all the data were read in sequence, to obtain a broad and general sense of the connections between the various concepts and motifs embedded in the data (Shkedi, 2005).

The second stage included grouping the verbal content of the interviews, in order to identify meaningful units in the text, units that were deemed representative of ideational meanings. This interpretive process led to the sorting of meaningful units into grounded categories, which could be used to discern additional meanings in the sections that remained.

In the third stage, the meanings that had been derived by identifying the interrelationships among the categories were re-evaluated, using the method of axial coding. Thus, a hierarchical system of categories was devised, by incorporating thematically similar categories (subcategories) within broader categories.

Findings

The findings from the qualitative analysis of the 61 Israeli educators' self-defined narratives are organized in two main sections: (a) Educators' understanding of the concept of moral courage and (b) The willingness of the educators from the different sectors to display morally courageous behaviour; hence, findings in this section are presented according to the educators' ethnic population group.

Educators' Understanding of the Concept of Moral Courage

In general, we found that the interviewees' answers expressed a profound understanding of the concept of moral courage. Teachers and principals defined the concept in ways that were compatible with the theoretical literature, as demonstrated in the following excerpted quotes: “in my opinion, that was moral courage: standing up for your truth, for your principles”; “you insist upon your principles and follow them”; “to defend others, or values that I consider sacred”.

“Honest behavior, -- not hiding behind sayings that are politically correct... [demonstrating] honest behavior in front of the students, even if it is against the institution's expectations. To follow your own personal morality, even if it is not compatible with the morality of the majority. “I define moral courage as honest behavior. Insisting upon your principles and adhering to them in front of the students, even if it is against the expectations of the establishment. A teacher that does not express his opinion is not morally courageous’.

In addition, the interviewees were aware of the fact that morally courageous behavior might come at a price, determined either by the school management or by other stakeholders in the field of education. They also mentioned this as the reason that many of their colleagues avoid morally courageous behavior. In the following quotes, interviewees addressed the issue of the cost exacted for such behavior. “To act in a way you would feel true to yourself, even though you know it might 'cost you’”; “morally courageous behavior has its costs; this is how teachers and principal feel. My husband tried to shut me up, my friends tried to shut me up, because they knew I would pay a price”.

The Willingness of the Educators from the Different Sectors to Display Morally Courageous Behavior

while the findings revealed a resemblance in the ways that the educators from the different sectors understood the concept of moral courage, the narratives revealed a fundamental difference concerning their willingness to display morally courageous behavior. The following findings are presented by the variant of the educational sector with which the teachers were affiliated.

Conformity and Compliance as Moral Acts –The Jewish Religious Sector

The only cultural group that presented an almost unanimous response was that of the teachers working in publically-funded Jewish religious schools. Almost all of them expressed an obligation to behave in a moral manner, and they considered the task of moral education as the core of their professional practice. However, these teachers attributed their moral behavior (including their efforts to inculcate moral values in their students) not to personal moral courage, but rather to their acting in conformity with the values and norms of the religious state school system. “Because I teach in a religious institution, I do not feel at all that I have to think twice before teaching the subject matter”. “The religious setting dictates a certain kind of behavior, to which we adhere, and [these dictates] are also factors that I take into account in my role as a teacher”. “As teachers, we are restricted, since the nature of the school is religious and

we cannot teach what we want to”. “What guides me is mainly the religious way, the religious behavior”.

Performing a Morally Courageous Act While Knowing the Risk – The Jewish Secular Sector

As noted, the interviewees were not a representative group; Thus, it is not surprising that only a few (3) of the teachers working in publically-funded Jewish secular schools claimed that dealing with moral issues, or moral education in general, was not part of their task as teachers. The others, those who claimed that morally courageous behavior was an important part of their educational practice, described morally courageous behaviors that challenged the institution, the curriculum (planning the lesson and choosing the learning materials), their colleagues, and the students or their parents.

Confronting the management/institution.

The following excerpts are examples of morally courageous behaviors that challenged the institution. “I confronted the headmaster and the teachers told me that it was not a wise thing to do”; “there were also many cases of moral conflicts with the school management: the management had a certain idea, and I had another one. “I pronounce my opinions, my moral principles, on every occasion, and I follow through accordingly. Especially when facing the management, which does not stand for the same principles that I, as a teacher, stand for”; “I promised a pupil that if he would improve in his studies, I would give him a prize. A principal did something morally wrong to another teacher. He pushed her to the wall professionally, burdened her with tasks without any reason, and did not explain to her why she should behave the way he wanted her to. Moreover, being new, this teacher was afraid to respond. I explained to the teacher who suffered from the situation that this was not acceptable behavior and encouraged her not to be afraid. It's not that she did something against the law.

Planning the lesson and choosing the learning materials.

The following excerpts are examples of morally courageous behaviors that challenged the curriculum:

“I chose a book in which the Nakba is mentioned. There was much noise in the media about it and pressure was exerted on the school. The book was excluded from the school curriculum. “I have to examine it according to several parameters: as a professional teacher, as a homeroom teacher, and as a coordinator of the grade level. As a professional teacher, when I teach history and civics, I have a defined syllabus and an organized curriculum. I can present my credo, and I am not ashamed even to present my political agenda in lessons. We teachers frequently discuss whether [teaching one's political agenda] is appropriate. The following excerpts are examples of morally courageous educators that criticized colleagues. ‘I think that most teachers are not morally courageous... Here is an example of teachers' failure: teachers who are afraid to raise a controversial issue... for example, the teacher who oversees literature studies and who chooses to teach only subjects within the consensus. ““Other teachers pretend they do not see. They say, “I did not know, I did not hear””.

Confronting parents

The following excerpts are examples of morally courageous behaviors involving parents.

“Personally, I encountered a student whose parents abused her and the other teachers buried their head in the sand. “Activities with Arab schools. I don't know if it takes moral courage to do it. It is not supposed to be morally courageous, but at the level of implementation, it enters into the category of moral courage. In order to travel to an Arab village, we have to convince parents that it will be OK.”

On the Horns of a Dilemma- Serving Two Masters – Arab Principals in the Arab Educational Sector

Teachers working in publically-funded religious and secular Jewish schools were not the only ones who claimed that morally courageous behavior is an important part of their educational practice. The same claim was made by the principals working in publically-funded Arab schools.

However, Arab principals, as educational leaders, described situations that were even more complex than those described by their Jewish colleagues. They have to deal not only with teachers, students and/or students’ parents, but also with the contradictory demands of the Jewish authorities, on the one hand and those of the Arab community, on the other hand. Hence, they expressed two main trends: some principals preferred to follow the Ministry of Education’s instructions in a conformist manner, whereas others preferred to take the lead, and to follow their own beliefs, at least to some extent.

Choosing the safe side

Some of the principals of the Arab-sector schools opted to cooperate fully with the Israeli educational authority, although they knew that their own communities would perceive them as collaborators. The following is an example provided by an interviewee.

My son and I participate in the citizens' volunteer patrol, an organization that works with the police. I would like to educate people to respect the law, but people call me an “informer” or a “rat”.

Other principals explained that they do not cooperate fully, yet they do not allow themselves to openly confront the authorities: “We do not teach about the Nakbe, but at least we do not sing Hatikva (the national anthem)”.

Confronting the authorities.

The following excerpts are examples of morally courageous behaviors that challenged the dictates of the authorities.

In our sector, anything you say is a display of courageous behavior! I think it’s courageous to raise concerns, to express opinions, and to talk about cultures, and [I do this] in an educational way (not like they get it at home or on TV).

The Municipality wanted the school to follow the model of the Jewish school. Nevertheless, I stuck to my guns and didn't let them transform according to the way Jewish sector operates. For example, Friday is the day observed by [Muslim] Arabs. So, as an Arab, I wanted Thursday to be a shorter workday, instead of Friday/Tuesday, as it is in the Jewish sector. I'm the bad guy, but my work is guided by moral principles, seeking only what is best for the pupils. My battles have taken me all the way to court, and I won. For example, the local authority took funds and allocated them to organizations other than those for which they were originally

intended. The price I paid was that the Minister cut off the school's Internet connection. I'm well aware that the Ministry doesn't like people who poke around, publish what they see, and generally go against the system'.

Confronting Arab society.

The following IS example of morally courageous behavior that challenge the Arab society to which the participants belong.

"I [went against customs] that exist in the Arab sector, such as forbidding girls to perform in front of parents. The mothers didn't use to congregate [at the school], but we got them together and provided workshops on how to use the Internet. The religious authorities opposed us, but I think parents should be informed of their rights, just like it's done in the hegemonic society'.

Avoidance of Morally Courageous Behaviors – Arab Teachers in the Arab Educational Sector

None of the 10 Arab teachers in Arab schools claimed to behave in a morally courageous manner. Three described moments of hesitation before deciding to avoid such a behavior, five were constantly afraid of acting in this manner, and two openly opposed such behavior. "Moral courage is the ability to act differently than others. "if there are teaching materials that include principles which I perceive as immoral, I choose not to teach them. "I teach what I have to teach. So I was never in a situation of conflict in terms of teaching content"; "you might say I entirely avoid expressing political attitudes. I also tell my students not to do it, because I know it is forbidden at school"; "if a teacher were to discuss some issues that are not commonly acceptable, she might do things against the cultural legacy. It would be irresponsible of her".

I felt that it was better not to let this issue develop any further, so as to avoid problems. I said that we live in a complicated reality, and we should take into account that we are part of a traditional society that has preserved its values for many many years, and that it's difficult to change them today. I prefer to keep my job and to preserve the image my colleagues have of me, and so I know that for that I have to keep my mouth shut. Besides, in our culture, it's not appropriate to express opinions openly... You have to understand that this is something that is deeply rooted in our culture, and if I go against it, well it's like fighting against the culture I myself part of – and that's a situation I want to avoid.... I'll always think about my environment and what is appropriate in my society.

Courage --but not Always Moral Courage – Arab Teachers in Secular Jewish State Schools

Arab teachers in secular Jewish state schools claimed that by deciding to teach in Jewish schools they demonstrate courageous behavior. Never the less, in some cases, teachers' decisions were more a matter of chance: "I came because they offered me the position. They needed a teacher, and I decided to accept the offer"; "I didn't come here out of idealism, I was simply accepted the offer to teach in a school where a teacher was needed". Nevertheless, these teachers described conflicting situations, both in school and in their communities. Hence, some demonstrated moral courage, others acted in ways that can be described as simply courageous, while others chose to act in a very conformist manner. "I feel alienated. On the outside, no one would notice that I'm Arab, but the minute they find out – something changes". This teacher emphasized this, by stating "I am Arab, but I'm not a terrorist"; "I feel good [when I

consider] the professional side, but not when thinking about my relationship with my traditional surroundings”; “I feel that I am playacting, or, as I explain it to myself, I am the play. In class I introduce myself to the children as an Arab. When the children hear that I am an Arab woman they are in shock. They say that I don't look like an Arab. I myself do not express my political views publicly, because I know there are students that appreciate me as a teacher, and if I were to express views that are not compatible with their own or their family's worldview, it would damage our teacher-pupil relationship. About my being a teacher, it's actually in the Jewish school that I have a problem with the immediate environment: they don't approve; they believe there are not enough good teachers in the Arab sector and that I should be teaching there.

Discussion

“If your standards fit those of your school, then I wouldn't worry”. This statement, by one of the teachers, reflects the basic framework of the current paper. Teachers in the religious Jewish school sector attributed their involvement in moral education (including teaching their students values) to their obligation and willingness to conform to the guidelines, values, and norms of the Jewish religious school system, rather than to a demonstration of moral courage on a personal level. By contrast, the behaviors reported by teachers from other educational sectors were much more varied. Teachers' descriptions reflect their awareness of the difficulties of implementing their ethical and moral perceptions and beliefs when these conflict with the spirit of the educational institution in which they teach, with the general spirit of the educational sector, or even with the spirit of Israeli society in general. Thus, the price they are liable to pay for expressing opposition becomes a dominant issue.

The fact that teachers affiliated with the Jewish secular schools discussed the price exacted for morally courageous behaviors may indicate that the organizational system conveys to them –albeit in a covert manner– that in general it is opposed to change. However, given that the teachers participating in the current research were chosen because they were perceived to have a say in the educational field, only a few declared that they tend to avoid either taking a stance on moral issues or demonstrating morally courageous behaviors. The remaining majority described their behavior as morally courageous.

A different reality emerged in regard to the Arab schools, where the price to be paid for morally courageous behavior was conveyed through overt and explicit messages. For the most part, the Arab teachers in the publically-funded Arab schools were either afraid to demonstrate moral courage, or were openly opposed to such behaviors. The responses of the Arab principals in the Arab sector, who saw their role as educational leaders, reflected greater complexity. They expressed two main trends: some principals preferred to follow the Ministry of Education's instructions in a conformist manner, whereas others tried to follow their own beliefs, at least partly. Hence, their actions can be considered somewhat morally courageous.

Conformity is reflected also in the stories of the Arab teachers who chose to teach in the Jewish secular educational sector. These stories uncover their explanations for choosing to teach in Jewish schools, describe the problems and conflicts they experience in the schools and in Arab society, and outline the unique intercultural relationships that they develop. In addition, they reveal that some individuals demonstrate moral courage, while the actions of others are examples of general

courage. The professional guidelines are clear, given that the teachers are obligated to follow the curriculum; however, in terms of their own personal identity, the teachers find themselves in a conflict with the hegemonic surroundings. The starting point of the analysis of the findings of the present paper was based on the circles of Kidder (2005). The three characteristics guiding this behavior are principles, dangers, and endurance. These characteristics underlie morally courageous acts, represented in gradual stages, whereby endurance is the crucial element that ultimately determines whether a teacher is considered morally courageous.

According to the findings, the choices made by the teachers from the different educational sectors differed in situations that involved danger, in these cases, a threat to their professional status. Under such threatening circumstances, these educators were forced to choose whether to act on their personal principles or to yield to the dictates of the institution, authority, or society.

The findings of the current have an added value in the Israeli context, where it is currently unclear whether the Ministry of Education will grant teachers greater autonomy or will allow the professional unions to formulate an ethical code for the teachers in Israel. Hence, it is the responsibility of teacher education institutions to integrate the development of moral courage as one of the professional objectives. This should be done in the framework of initial teacher education and accreditation, as well as in the framework of continuing professional development. However, it should be noted that the promotion or development of morally courageous behaviors among teachers is of essential importance not only in the Israeli context, but also in the international context, if one wants to introduce humanistic ethics and democratic civics into the schools. The findings reveal that when teachers feel aligned with the values and norms of the school, they demonstrate moral behavior, but not morally courageous behavior. This policy advocates the transfer of values and subject matter in the teaching process (Lamm, 2001), for the purpose of leading a movement of social assimilation, based on clear guidelines. In other words, the moral behavior of teachers in those schools was not a reflection of a critical perspective, a selective thought process, or a re-examination of the curriculum, actions which, in our opinion, are the preliminary conditions for providing a democratic education.

In contrast to Israel, in other Western countries, schools enjoy more autonomy and teachers are provided with clear ethical guidelines; nonetheless, in cases in which certain moral behaviors constitute a clear risk, some teachers might not dare to adhere to their principles and values if these clash with those dictated by the social or the organizational environment. Hence, all over the world, teacher education institutions should foster morally courageous behavior among teachers. Dedicating an entire course or several segments of courses, such as philosophy of education or ethical education, to the issue of moral courage can help novice teachers become more aware of the experiences that they most likely will face at various points throughout their careers (Gu & Day, 2013).

For some teachers, the exposure to this topic in the course of their initial teacher education program will provide an adequate basis for transforming them into morally courageous teachers. Other teachers may gradually adopt moral courage in the course of their actual teaching careers, as they build upon their experience in the field. Thus, the fostering of moral courage should be a required component also in courses intended for teachers' continuous professional development.

References

- Baratz, L. & Reingold, R. (2010). The Ideological Dilemma in Teaching Literature process-Moral Conflicts in a Democratic and Nationally Diverse Society: An Israeli Teacher Case Study. *Current Issues in Education* 13 (3)
<http://cie.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/cieatasu/article/view/388>
- Gu, Q. & Day, C. (2013). Challenges to teacher resilience: conditions count. *British Educational Research Journal*, 39 (1), 22-44.
- Jabareen, Y. & Agbarieh, A. (2011). Education on Hold- Israeli Government Policy and Civil Society Initiatives to Improve Arab Education in Israel. Nazareth: Dirasat, Arab Center for Law and Policy.
- Kidder, R. M. (2005). *Moral courage: Ethics in action*. New York: Harper Paperbacks.
- Klaassen, C. (2007). *The moral role of teachers investigated. What did we learn?* Paper presented at the 2007 annual convention of the American Educational Research Association. Chicago.
- Klaassen, C. (2012). Just a teacher or also a moral example? In D. Alt. & 'Author 1, [details removed for peer review].' (Eds.), *Changes in teachers' moral role: From passive observers to moral and democratic leaders* (pp. 13-30). Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Klaassen, C., & Maslovy, N. (2010). Teachers and normative perspectives in education: An introduction. In C. Klaassen & N. Maslovy (Eds.), *Moral courage and the normative professionalism of teachers* (pp.1-12). Sense Publishers: Rotterdam.
- Lachman, V. D. (2007). Moral courage: A virtue in need of development? *MEDSURG Nursing*, 16, 131-133.
- Lamm, T. (2001). Values and education. In Y. Iram, S. Shkolnikove, & E. Shekter (Eds.), *Crossroads: Values and education in Israeli society* (pp. 651-664). Jerusalem: Ministry of Education Press (in Hebrew).
- Lehman. A. & Gunt, R. (2000). *Social Psychology*. Tel-Aviv: Open University Press. (In Hebrew).
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, I. (2000). *The mystery of courage*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Powell, M. B., Fisher, R. P., & Wright, R. (2005). Investigative interviewing. In N. Brewer, & K. Williams (Eds.), *Psychology and law: An empirical perspective* (pp. 11-42). New York: Guilford.

Reingold, R., Baratz, L. & Abuatzira, C. (2013). Conformity and compliance as moral acts: The Case of Teachers in Jewish Religious State Schools in Israel. *The International Journal of Education for Diversities*, 2, 41-61.

Shkedi A. (2005). *Multiple case narratives: A qualitative approach to studying multiple populations*. John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Spector-Mersel, G. (2011). Mechanisms of selection in claiming narrative identities: A model for interpreting narratives. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(2), 172-185.