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Kontakt / Contact:

pedocs
DIPF | Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation
Informationszentrum (IZ) Bildung
E-Mail: pedocs@dipf.de
Internet: www.pedocs.de

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Catholic University of Applied Sciences

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Armin G. Wildfeuer (eds.)

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Editors' Preface

We witness a rapid and steady development in communication, interaction and cooperation among people from different countries and from different parts of the world. Space and time, distances and cultures are no longer considered to be impediments for engagement and participation. Certain ideologies, feelings of superiority and arrogance, self interests, selfishness and grieving for power and domination are still thought to be the reason for the lack of sufficient harmonical coexistence, stability and justice in some parts of the world of today.

Nowadays, there are so many necessities to develop a global understanding and coexistence, respecting and accepting differences, feeling comfortable living in a heterogeneous context and cooperativeness. This is not considered to be an achievement of the 21st century anymore, but a required ingredient to be able to solve natural and human problems and challenges. No nation, no group and even no individual can survive and live naturally these days alone and without any support or help from others. To survive well we should realize our limitations, pitfalls and weaknesses and consider what we could do with others to overcome them in awareness of interdependence and reciprocity. Life is an equitable balance between "giving and taking".

The history of human being witnessed certain levels of war, struggle, conflict, disagreement, disengagement and avoidance. These could be pushed and steamed by political or economical interests, by cultural and psychological differences or by religious principles and teachings to name only a few. For some, it is impossible to have a time and a place free from some sorts of conflict. This opinion is supported by some social and psychological theories and trends. That is why we found three types of strategies how to deal with conflicts: The first focuses on "prevention", the second on "intervention" and the third on "combining the first and the second strategies".

Ignorance, lack of substantiated information or claims based on subjective prejudices, ideologies or historically or culturally rooted realties and biasness lead to animosity, stereotypes, fear suspicions and "phobiaizm". People have to be empowered to resort to the communicative competences that Jürgen Habermas has developed throughout his critical theory for freeing man from any form of illegitimate power. They have to be willing to engage with others in a dialogical format that Paulo Freire has coined to empower others (the oppressed and the oppressors) and to move from practice to praxis. C.A. Powers proposed certain steps to question the taken for granted assumptions by creating culturally literate individuals. Hanna Arendt from the

other side dealt with prejudices and unjust reality by freeing man (man and woman) and enable them him/her to act their lives in a public space.

Education and intellectual formation play a significant role in the three mentioned strategies. Of course, it is much better to limit the role in prevention mechanism. However, education is needed to equip learners with peaceful skills and techniques on how to solve, manage or deactivate conflicts.

Usually in times of conflicts and wars, education becomes a tool for supporting the continuation of the situation through legitimizing self and own narrative and delegitimizing the other and its narratives, positively presenting self and negatively stereotyping the other, justifying the self wrong doings and accusing others of not being cooperative and responsive. It is important that education moves from being an agent that continues perpetuating conflicts to be part of the solution.

To do this, education and socialization processes at all levels should challenge the monolithic approach to reality which leads to dogmatism and self-centered term of reference. Education should lead the way toward multi-perceptivity according to a multi-narratives approach. Classrooms should be one of the places that teaching and learning take place in rather than to continue be the only place. Practice and experiential learning empowers learners to take responsibility as independent learners.

Global education and learning from each others experiences across different cultures is an effective means to positively affect learners to be open-minded, tolerant, keen to accept differences and live with the world. Such opportunities of education should be available for learners at school and university by exchange visits, engagement in workshops, discussion groups and field work. University teachers regardless of their discipline should set a standard for their students and be pioneers in doing so.

The exchange project between Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Cologne is a good example to learn from. It fully engaged teachers and students in learning and teaching processes. The publishing of this book which documents the experiences and the intellectual outcomes will serve as a good reference on a cross-cultural approach. It includes theoretical articles that could be used as a guide and basis for participation and reconciliation toward achieving justice. The practical articles document action research and real field work done during the years of the project.

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Sami Adwan – Armin G. Wildfeuer

Josef Freise

The Joint Project of Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Cologne

The Catholic University of Applied Sciences in Cologne and Bethlehem University have maintained ongoing relations since 1997. In 2001, this relationship developed into a form of partnership that has been regularly modified to assume an academic approach.

The starting point was the twinning arrangement between the Cologne and Bethlehem municipal councils, which commenced in 1996. In the early years, there were regular student meetings in Bethlehem and Cologne. When the German groups travel to Bethlehem, they stop first in Tel Aviv (another twin-city of Cologne) and/or Jerusalem in order to gain an understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the Israeli's perspective. During the Second Intifada only the Palestinian group was able to travel to Cologne. As most Palestinians are not permitted to depart through Tel Aviv airport, they had to come via Jordan to Germany. The German group for its part suspended their trip to the West Bank due to the events of the Second Intifada.

In 2005, the two partner universities organized their first joint conference in Bethlehem and the proceedings of the conference were published as a joint publication. Within the framework of the DAAD program for German-Arabic/Iranian Academic Dialogue, more innovative projects (an artistic project in the refugee camp, video conferencing, seminars, conferences and publications) were conducted. A new project on "identity and difference" was initiated as part of this program in 2006. This approach was used in interdisciplinary conferences with lecturers from both universities, in students' encounters and in practical development and research projects.

In 2007 a comparative research and development project concerning the situation of young people in Palestine and in Germany and concerning the subject area of life situations and the transmission of values to young people in Germany and Palestine was implemented. Lecturers of both universities had instructed their students to survey young people in focus groups in Bethlehem and in Cologne respectively before the exchange. The data collated in the areas of politics, religion, family, careers and also on strategies concerning interaction with conflicts, future wishes, concerning their assessments of their own life perspectives and their wishes with respect to youth organizations and society was transcribed, categorized and interpreted. The data and

results were exchanged in joint research seminars in June 2007 and again in Cologne in November 2007 and discussed against a backdrop of a great deal of controversy in some cases, but in an atmosphere of mutual respect. The research results were then presented in November 2007.

In 2008 the exchange measures were continued under the keyword of "Participation in a society marked by diversity". The twelve or nine-day student meetings respectively (in June 2008 in Bethlehem and in October 2008 in Cologne) addressed the issue of how individuals with different cultural and religious identities can participate in social processes. On the basis of the development of their own identities as Muslims, Christians and Agnostics, as locals or immigrants, as members of the society's dominant majority or minority group, as members and supporters of different political parties and groupings, the students discussed what chances they had of jointly shaping society and how social work can support people in terms of their participation opportunities. The contributions of lecturers of both universities on this subject area are documented in this volume as well as the project on Religion as an indicator of behavior among Palestinian and German youths for the project that was implemented in 2008. In 2009, a group of students drafted didactical material for a Christian-Muslim Dialogue with young people in Palestine and Germany. They will continue working on this project. The focal point of Justice and Reconciliation then marked the conclusion of this project in 2009. Contributions of the lecturers' conference are documented here.

The interdisciplinary approach of the whole project made it possible to tackle the issues of identity and difference, participation and diversity, justice and reconciliation from different angles:

In philosophical terms it can be proved that the Orient and the Occident were always interlinked with one another and dependent upon each other in their history of ideas; there are different developments and at the same time there is the discovery that their own identity is jointly shaped by the other respective history of ideas.

In theological terms – it principally concerns the relationship between Christianity and Islam, which have common roots as monotheistic religions of the book. The differences cannot be denied and conflicts must be resolved. The problem of fundamentalism reveals itself upon closer inspection as a problem that can arise in all religions in principle and which must be combated.

In political science terms the questions of globalization and the erection of civil society structures are to the fore. The underlying differences in the placing of emphasis, characterized by their own social experiences, of Palestinian and German political scientists are often controversial and for this reason the dialogue in this field in particular can be seen to be very important. Collective identity is in jeopardy in Palestine due to the absence of an autonomous national territory, in Germany a new European identity has to devel-

op alongside regional and national identities and this is of outstanding importance particularly in view of the feelings of xenophobia that young people also harbor.

Different questions can be posed in sociological terms: How is the modern age to be defined? If the modern age is viewed as the binding objective between the Orient and the Occident how much space remains for the particular traditions? How are multiethnic societies organized in the process of globalization? How do societies deal with the discrimination of women and with ethnic and religious minorities?

From an academic social work perspective, Palestinians and Germans do indeed feel they are faced with similar problems in individual sectors (support of families suffering from addictions, in the event of a mental or physical disability of a child) and simultaneously experience how greatly the resources of the respective societies differ in order to deal with these problems. In Germany the professional social work field provides resources, in Palestine the extended family does so if it is still intact.

In educational terms the question regarding development of an identity in adolescence (who am I and who am I not) can be addressed as a binding issue: In Palestine pressure from the extended family can potentially hinder an individual's personal development, in Germany pillars of support that potentially help to form a person's identity can be absent (peer group, family, role models).

In psychological terms the question must be asked as to what extent psychologically stressful experiences hinder the formation of a personal identity and lead to forms of self-loathing and hatred of foreigners. Palestine – as is also incidentally the case in Israel – is a collectively traumatized society. In Germany the increasing levels of anti-Semitism and the spread of xenophobia must also be analyzed in terms of their causes that can be explained in psychological terms.

The university exchange program between the University of Bethlehem and the Catholic University in Cologne has always had an intercultural dimension. We can say that the work we have carried out in the past four years as part of the program sponsored by the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) has brought us closer together as human beings and in academic terms. A sense of mutual trust has evolved. Dr. Eman Abusada and Dr. Inge Tiemann did a lot for this growing relationship. Dr. Inge Tiemann was an active part of the Civil Peace Work Program of AGEH at Bethlehem University which is financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Crucial aspects of mutual trust have to do with power. Who organizes the program? Who has access to financial resources? The German partner usually procures state funding for the exchange program. In doing so, the danger arises that the Germans will have complete control over the program's organ-

ization and finances. One of the main characteristics of dialogical intercultural communication, however, is that the partners address the issue of their undeniably unequal starting conditions. This is the only way they can agree upon mechanisms for coming to a fair, mutual arrangement for using the funds.

If this approach is not taken, the relationship remains asymmetrical. Then the project partners often follow very heterogeneous interests that are not spoken about openly during their cooperation. In the end, they part without having established a lasting academic, professional or personal relationship. But if the university partners trust each other, these relationships can even withstand academic, political and personal conflicts

We must thank all the participants that this has been achieved – those parties whose commitment has been clearly demonstrated due to the contributions they have made to this book and the many people who do not appear in this book but are very active in this exchange program. In this case we have to mention the names of Vice President Br. Robert Smith PhD, the former chairperson of the Department of Social Sciences in Bethlehem, Dr. Khader Musleh and Dr. Norma Hazboun, as well as the actual chairperson Nabila Daqaq who promote this exchange program for a long time; Ina Borkenstein and Melanie Bächle, who after completing their degree courses in Social Work organized significant elements of the exchange programs as academic assistants in the project office in Cologne, and – last but not least – Dr. Heidi Wedel, Ivana Olic and Bianca Schwarz, who made every effort to support us as contacts of the financial sponsor DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service).

I.

Debating “Participation”:
Contributions of the Lecturer Conferences 2008

Armin G. Wildfeuer – Christina Wirth

The Ideas of 'Active' and 'Passive' Participation. Some Philosophical Remarks on the History and the Presence of the Notion 'Participation'

The idea of participation seems to be a very modern one – an idea without a long tradition. In fact, the idea has played a very important role for about 30 to 40 years in politics, in social sciences, in education, even in the field of public administration, in economy and in social work. In these fields, the idea is very present, but defined differently.

- In *politics*, for example, participation means the active co-operation of citizens in dealing with common (political) affairs. The target of political participation is always to integrate all citizens into the political decision-making process.
- *In social sciences*, it means the integration of individuals and organizations into the shaping processes of a society. The main target is social inclusion and the avoidance of exclusion.
- In the field of *education*, participation means the integration of children and young people into the process of education and formation.
- In *economics* we speak about participation of employees by talking of shareholders value, corporate citizenship and participation in the market.
- There is the idea of participation in the field of *administration*, too – for example the integration of citizens in administrative decisions by hearings etc.
- Promoting the right to participation is one of the main principles of any professional code of *social work*. The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) declares in art. 4 (2) of its ethical code "Ethics in Social Work, Statement of Principles": "Social workers should promote the full involvement and participation of people using their services in ways that empowers them in all aspects of decisions and actions affecting their lives."

We see in all these fields that the main target or the result of participation is integration. And the way to be integrated is *active* participation. But if we take a closer look, one of the results or effects of integration again is participation, but in a *passive* form. Because the one who is really integrated, who is really associated with a certain society, will automatically and successfully

participate, but passively – we hope – in the goods of the society. In other words: *Passive participation is always the result of a form of integration*.

But the way to integration must always be active participation. We can say: Passive participation always presupposes active participation or: passive participation is the result of active participation. We all have the hope that there is really a strong relationship between both forms of participation. A participation-formula could state : "*Integration or passive participation presupposes active participation*". This formula works – I think – as a very strong motivation to promote participation.

Nevertheless, there are many fields in which integration and participation are claimed today, the modern idea of participation seems to be a *paradox*:

- On the one hand, the main characteristic of mankind in modern ages seems to be a kind of *fundamental disintegration*. The human being seems to be homeless. He feels that he isdisintegrated – disintegrated in society, disintegrated in politics, in economics, in administration, in nature, the environment and the world in which he lives in general. In this tragic situation, participation nowadays has become a notion or an *idea of hope* which serves to overcome the lost unity with society and all the above-mentioned fields.
- On the other hand, the formula "passive participation through active participation" doesn't seem to be true in modern times. In modern societies, for example, one can participate actively in the affairs of society, but it does not necessarily mean as a consequence that one can enjoy integration or passive participation. One can do nothing and is nevertheless successful; and, on the contrary, one can do a lot of things and still fail in society. *There is no automatism between active and passive participation*. And we have – it seems – annulled the formula by ourselves: You must not participate actively; you must not have certain attitudes or abilities to get passive participation in the goods of a society. The complete social welfare system seems to work in this manner annulling the hopeful participation-formula.

At first glance there does not seem to be any interesting question or connection withphilosophy or the history of philosophy. And indeed if we look for the idea in encyclopedias of philosophy or philosophical handbooks there are no articles about the notion 'participation', which would explain this paradoxica situation or which would explain at least the double meaning of the notion participation:

- As passive participation the notion participation means 'access to something' or 'having a share in something' as a passive process, when someone automatically participates in something as a result or effect of integration in a certain (for example social or economic) order.

– As active participation the notion means an active process when you do not automatically participate in a certain order, but rather have to do something first to be part of this order at all.

You have to keep in mind the difference between these two meanings of participation to understand my historical reconstruction in the history of philosophy of the above-mentioned paradox resulting from the modern understanding of participation.

In short: *The understanding of participation in philosophy has changed over the course of time from a primarily passive process which is founded in a strong and stabile metaphysical order of everything to a primarily active process in which the target is a self-given, and therefore not a stabile order*.

I will explain this change in some simple outlines.

If we look to *ancient philosophy* the idea of participation is firstly used by Plato in a metaphysical sense. With the Greek word 'metexis' (μέθεξις, translated in Latin with *participatio*) Plato reflects the participation of all things in absolute ideas. He believes that the material world, as it seems to us, is not the real world, but only a shadow of the real world. The pure ideas are archetypes, abstract or essential representations of the many types and properties of things we see all around us. The ideas are the models or prototypes of the individual things on earth which can only exist if they participate in the real being (the world of ideal forms or pure ideas). We can only recognize the essence of things by remembering these ideas which our soul has seen in a preexistent life. Knowledge is remembering.

Everything is integrated into a steady, given, natural order of the world and linked up at a place which is the special destination for it. The human being and all the other things of the material world are inferior to the absolute ideas. They should live according to and participate in the natural order, which is for the benefit of everyone.

Human beings can participate in the natural order of the world by using their mind. They can identify the natural order with their mind and because of this, they can live in it. Happiness in ancient times always meant living according to a given order which for human beings presupposes active participation. In contrast, things as well as animals participate automatically in the natural order on their own. This order exists forever. It has no beginning and no end. To follow this order and to be in this order is the main purpose of human life.

If human beings do not serve this purpose in an active way, they lose freedom, they lose happiness, they are *metaphysically disintegrated* and they lose all the benefits of the passive participation like personal, economic and social welfare.

In *medieval times*, this order of the world, which is the target of active participation and the origin of any passive participation, has an author, a creator. The order has its beginning in the ideas of the divine mind, in the

mind of God. The ideas in the mind of God – which are absolutely coherent, consistent, without any contradiction – are the origin of the order in the created world. The act of creation is understood as the process of transformation from the ideas in the mind of God into the real physical world. This order stands behind all things as a kind of matrix which can be explained in abstract notions. To live according to this order means to be free and to participate in the benefits of this coherent order: physically, spiritually, individually, socially, and economically. The one who does not live according to this order will lose personal, social, and material benefits of passive participation. At the very least he loses his freedom because the order regenerates itself by illness, unhappiness, and disasters. The one who does not actively participate will have to carry the burden and will lose all the benefits of passive participation. He is disintegrated in the natural order of the world.

Clearly, the participation-formula does not only work in the ancient world, but also in the Middle Ages under Christian preconditions: „for human beings passive participation always presupposes active participation".

The idea of a metaphysical order of the world is the dominating thought behind the idea of participation. For Plato, this order is a natural given eternal order, and, for Thomas Aquinas and the thinkers of the Christian scholastic, a divine rational order.

The concept of participation changes radically at the *end of the Middle Ages*. The reason for this change is a theological problem: the question of the real omnipotence of God. According to Thomas Aquinas, the mind of God is dominated by the reason (*intellectus*) and not by the will (*voluntas*). If God is completely rational and dominated by his *intellectus*, the order created by him will be completely reasonable too – without contradictions and completely consistent with the thinking of an absolute order. But subsequently, what about his freedom? Is the impossibility of God to think inconsistently not a restriction on his omnipotence and absolute freedom? These were the questions which the theologians and philosophers of the 13th and 14th century asked themselves. In order to save the freedom and omnipotence of God, they set the will of God higher than his intellect. The will must be God's most important ability. The will, however, goes onto the individual, not onto the general, not onto a general consistent order. The act of the creation of the world must therefore be understood in a new way, the so-called *nominalistic thought*: The act of creation is an act of creating individual things. Therefore, the world can only consist of individual things. God no longer creates a general consistent order, but only single things which could also contradict each other. In other words: There is no order in the world anymore. The world perhaps is full of contradictions and as a consequence the human being has not the possibility to find orientation in a natural or divine given order. And he cannot participate in such an order and its benefits.

The conclusion in *modern times* is that the social and political cohabitation has to be constructed, ordered, and created anew to give life a new orientation. The creator of the new orders – the orders of the social life, the economic market, the sciences, the state, and moral affairs – is the human being itself. It is the task of the human reason to create these orders in a self-given way because there is no other order.

The orders have to be redesigned completely. For the first time in philosophical history, the orders are temporary because they are within a permanent and continuing development. The new orders are products from human beings for human beings. As such they are contingent, transitory and completely under the responsibility of human beings. The concept of *autonomy* arises: Autonomy means to give oneself an order which is always a human product.

Under this new condition the idea of participation changes radically:

– Participation as *active participation means participation in creating new orders* – new political, social, economic orders and so on. This presupposes a lot of high-level intellectual, moral and social abilities. The idea of active participation is that if all human beings are supposed to live according to self-given orders they should also participate in creating them. On a political level, this problem was faced by the so-called social contract theories (from philosophers like John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and others). These theories think of a modern order of living together in a society. They deal with the topic of how it is possible to create a societal order if the basis is not the common insight in a given eternal order, but the equality and dignity of all human beings. Furthermore, they think about how individuals can participate actively in a new societal order and how they can take part in it. The predominant thought in this context is the thought of democracy. This form of governance allows every citizen of a democratic state to participate politically. – A reminder: The target of active participation in modern time is always integration – integration in a self-given order, which is not an absolute, but only a rational, and always renewable construction. Indeed such a construction is not able to fulfill the natural longing for stabile integration. The main characteristic of mankind in modern ages is really a kind of fundamental disintegration. There is not an absolute order, where the individual can be at home and in which the individual is located automatically. Therefore, the individual must feel that he is disintegrated. In this tragic situation, participation becomes really a notion or an *idea of hope*.
– But how has the idea of *passive participation changed in modern times*? Participation in the sense of passive participation – we can say – is no longer an automatic effect of a certain attitude in agreement with an objectively given order of the world. It depends rather upon a lot of accidental things: that the social, economic or political orders which are

created by human beings, really work rationally, that means – there has to be a strong relation between the attitudes of someone and the social or economic consequences, which follow a certain attitude.

The result of this new situation is that the participation-formula („passive participation through active participation") changes its meaning: In Ancient Times and in the Middle Ages, the formula worked very reliably: passive participation in the sense of receiving certain social or economic goods always consistently followed the kind of active participation someone exercised. *In modern times, the strong relation and the automatism between active and passive participation doesn't exist*.

I hope now you understand a little bit more fully that the idea of participation is a really complex idea. Its understanding depends on certain metaphysical assumptions. Nevertheless, participation is an important and indispensable notion of hope – a regulative idea: Knowing that we cannot fulfill it – we will have to simply adhere to it.

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Josef Freise

Education and Participation – General Considerations and Exemplary Consequences for Political Youth Education and Teaching at Universities

1. Criticism of traditional education

The Brazilian researcher and educator Paulo Freire described in his "pedagogy of the oppressed" a participatory way of education and he formulated one of the most comprehensive critiques of traditional education in school. He criticized the traditional system of education because of the relationship between teachers and students. The process of education is a sick transmission which is characterized by the teachers' knowledge as something static and unchangeable and the student as a recipient who has to deposit the knowledge in his head like saving in a bank. (Freire, 1972: 73-92). Teachers and students are two opposing poles and schools are run in the following way:

"The teacher teaches, and the students are taught. The teacher knows everything, and the students do not know anything … The teacher speaks and students listen obediently to the teachers … The teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the students are mere objects" (Freire, 1972: 75).[1]

This is a wrong way of learning and in this process the creative force of students is constantly eradicated. Paulo Freire was part of the leftist movement in Brazil in the 1970s, but he also criticized the left, when the leftist movement overtook the old and traditional methods of education, only changing the content and he said:

"The revolutionary society which practices the repressive education, is either misguided or it distrusts the people … You cannot liberate people through alienating people. True liberation – a process of humanisation – is not another deposit which is put into the head of people" (Freire, 1972: 83).

1 The quotations are translated from the German editions of Freire's books as indicated.

2. Education as a process of dialogue and participation

Paulo Freire described an alienating process of education and as an alternative he submitted a practice of dialogical education, through horizontal teacher-scholar relationship which is characterized by critical thinking and by common practical action.

Paulo Freire sees dialogical education as a process at various levels. First of all mankind is made up of dialogical beings. Each human being is in conversation with himself or herself, when he or she is thinking. Thinking is a dialogical act. Education is an encounter between people, their thinking and action concerning the world, "which is to transform and to humanize". From this perspective education can no longer be that fixed transmission of unchangeable ideas. Freire sees the process of education as a dialogue between teachers and students who reflect the world together in order to change and to humanize it. In this dialogue, both teachers and students exchange their views and they can learn from each other. Teachers are learning human beings, and students are teaching students. Their encounter is horizontal, contra factum: Of course, there is a "power gap" between teachers and students, but in the learning process free communication should rule. The educational dialogue is critical reflection. The world does not appear as unchangeable but as dynamic, changeable and as a reality that can be influenced. This is the main goal of the so called "problem-formulating method" of Paulo Freire: Teachers and students both participate in a process with the aim being to understand and to humanize the world.

In the old-fashioned way of teaching the teachers are the active subjects of the process and the students are passive objects. Teachers and students should be both active subjects in the dialogical way of education. They both ask questions and they both look for solutions.

3. The refusal of participation in the process of education

It is not only because of the teachers that the students are often objects and not subjects in the process of education. Sometimes the students themselves refuse to become subjects of the learning process. Paulo Freire described this phenomenon as "the silence of the internalized oppressor". Students have "learned" to be silent, because it seems to be the easiest way to live. They do not want to change the world or even to change themselves. From a viewpoint point of system theory the students have established their personal world and they do not want to change anything, because the process of change could be painful. It is important to challenge students.

The former social legislation in Germany saw unemployed people and even unemployed young adults as passive recipients of social care. They got financial support to survive but often they did not receive enough assistance to change their lives and to find work. Today, unemployed people and especially young people without professional formation under the slogan 'assistance and challenge' are invited to train their labour skills, and they receive financial support only if they are willing to take part in an educational measure. This is certainly a kind of pressure, but if it is well presented it can be seen as an impetus to further personal development.

4. Participation in political youth education

The report of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Commission of the European Union on the theme "participation of youth 2005" (BMFSFJ, 2005) highlights political participation as the best way to raise political interest among young people (BMFSFJ, 2005: 5). Political interest among young people in Germany has diminished rapidly over the last 10 years. It is reflected in the declining turnout of voters and first primary voters. In various studies the changes among youth with its impact on the political commitment is described: Nearly two-thirds of young people in Germany are no longer members of youth organizations, youth associations or clubs. Not even half of the 18-23 years-olds see the parliament and the institutions of the representative democracy as positive elements of the society. They do not trust these institutions anymore (BMFSFJ, 2005: 5). Participation of young people in society should help to raise political awareness. Municipalities have established youth councils as well as children's and youth parliaments. Schools encourage the establishment of representative organizations of students. In particular various opportunities for young people are being organized to volunteer in social, ecological and cultural institutions after school before starting studies at university or before beginning practical training courses. This period of voluntary work should help them to gain democratic skills and encourage participation in society (BMFSFJ, 2005: 9). Children and adolescents are also involved in planning processes which concern their lives: Children and Youth reports are no longer drawn up by experts without the participation of the younger generation. When new school buildings are planned, children and young people are involved as co-researchers in the planning. School life becomes more and more important for children and youngsters, because they spend more time in school also during the afternoon for recreational activities.

5. Participatory teaching and research at University

The good teacher lets his students know, as Freire says, that one of the beauties in our life as historical beings in and with the world is the possibility to get to know the world and to interact and to change the world at the same time. Our knowledge of the world is historical. Through interacting with the world we change the world and we also produce new knowledge. By producing this new knowledge we overcome old knowledge and this new knowledge will be overcome tomorrow. That is why it is as important to get to know the existing knowledge as it is to produce new knowledge. Teaching, learning and research are moments, stages of a cycle. In one stage we learn and teach existing knowledge and in another stage we create new knowledge which did not exist before. It is Paulo Freire's conviction that you cannot separate teaching and learning from research. "There is no teaching without research and no research without teaching" (Freire, 2008: 29).

Paulo Freire based his reflections on education on the idea that teachers and students share their views of reality, in order to reflect and to change the world together. They have different backgrounds and roles, but the same aim: to understand the world in a scientific way more deeply. From this point of view all courses must be scrutinized critically. Often the professors offer a fixed content of knowledge with a fixed substance which has to be reproduced by the students without showing any critical attitude. Teachers are asked to organise their curriculum as a problem-formulating curriculum with open questions. They should express their own open questions on the issues they are researching, and the students should participate in these open issues and express their own personal, critical ideas concerning these problems. For sure, students have sometimes to learn even by heart what is already thought and written about concerning the formulated issues. But it is important for them to know the research context and the open questions. To learn a foreign language, to learn methods of research like dealing with statistics, it is not good just to memorize contents by heart without any context. If you know the context, why it is good to learn a language or why you need an understanding of statistics, it is much easier to learn. This is what motivational research teach us: You learn a language e.g. in a better way, when you create real situations of communication like an international exchange program as e.g. between Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Cologne. At university students should participate in the process of the professors' research and as a result they are eager to learn more and to understand different scientific approaches. In the way Paulo Freire tackles the idea of teaching, there is no teaching without research and no research without teaching: no teaching without research, because the good professor does not see his task as transmitting a fixed closed shop of knowledge to the students, but to let them par-

ticipate in his research with all open questions; no research without teaching, because research is a dialogical process and students can contribute with their own viewpoints and experiences to the research programs. To link teaching and research at university is a challenge for all professors and teachers. Instead of simply relying on textbooks, it is desirable, that professors and teachers put their investigation and research at the centre of their teaching. The combination of teaching and research is an indicator of excellence at university.

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Huda Musleh

Participation in Education

1. Introduction

The target of this paper is to highlight the universal accreditation and acknowledgment of participation as a fundamental right worldwide. On the other hand, it addresses the obstacles faced by the Palestinian students which impede their right to participation in education. Further, it considers the term 'participation' in formal and non-formal education at schools and universities. And finally it puts forward some practical approaches for establishing meaningful participation in an attempt to achieve assurance and quality education.

A standard definition of participation as partaking in and influencing processes, decisions, and activities would be acceptable in most circumstances and contexts. (Rajani, 2001: 1). "Partaking includes the idea that every human being has the right to dignity, to self- determination, to respect, to be treated fairly, to have a voice and to take part in shaping the world around him. "Influencing" is a process of dialogue and exchange to prepare individuals to assume increasing responsibilities and to become active, tolerant, and democratic citizens. Similarly, Hart (1992: 5) places participation in a democratic context defining that participation is the "means by which a democracy is built". He sees participation as a means for preparing young people for their eventual entry into adult society (in Jackson 2005). The question here is what benefits are yielded and what added values does participation bring to human beings? The benefits could be summarized in the following: (in Rajani, 2001)

- Participation develops different kinds of skills; personal skills (ability to express personal convictions), group interaction skills (ability to make decisions), leadership skills (ability to persuade, negotiate, and resolve conflict), and social and political participatory skills (ability to vote, protest, and defend rights).
- Participation is regarded as a means of informal education in a democracy. Opportunities for participation in sharing decision-making and listening to different perspectives help children develop a critical appreciation of the democratic process. Such an experience helps young people deal with a variety of contexts including resolving conflicts peacefully, nego-

tiating conditions in difficult situations, and assessing political options when decisions are to be made.
- Participation builds civil society through involvment in teams, groups, clubs, committees, boards, unions, and other forms of associations. This type of involvement helps students know how the world works and how to make it better, which in turn, contributes to community development

2. Children's participation in international conventions

In 1989 the United Nations (UN) articulated the idea of children's participation as a fundamental democratic right. More broadly, it defined children's rights covering four main aspects of a child's life; the right to survive, the right to develop, the right to be protected from harm, and the right to participate. Here are some of the international conventions which address a child's participation as a subject of rights.

- The *Convention on the Right of the Child* (CRC) is the starting point for most discussions of a child's participation. Article 28 recognizes the right of the child to education and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity. Article 12 states that the child who is capable of forming his/ her own views has the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting his life; the views of the child being heard and given due weight.
- The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), article 26 states that "everyone has the right to education. Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial, or religious groups." (Alfredsson, 1999)
- The *United Nations Covenants on Human Rights* (CHR), article 4, states that "every member of the academic community shall enjoy, in particular, freedom of thought, conscience, religion, expression, assembly, and association as well as the right to liberty and security of person and freedom of movement". (Steiner, 2000)
- *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR), article 13 recognizes the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- The *Fourth Geneva Convention*, article 50 states that "all governments must facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children".

– The *World Conference on Education for All* (1990), was held in Thailand by the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP. Article 3 states that "the poor, the street children, the refugees, the people under occupation should not suffer from discrimination regarding access to learning opportunities".

In spite of the strong grounds for these humanitarian laws and the confirmation of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which emphasize that all rights should apply equally to all people without discrimination, the reality in our Palestinian Society is the stark opposite. Since The British Mandate (1920) education in Palestine has been subjected to difficult political situations, and consequently, the Palestinian children's basic rights to participate in education are ignored and violated over time, the only hope Palestinian children have for any future is to participate in a good education to prepare the young Palestinians for the challenge of building their fragmented society. Unfortunately, the ongoing extensive use of force has created difficulties for the Palestinian children and has impeded and paralyzed their participation in education to a great extent. Movement in the Palestinian Territories, for example, has been severely restricted and subjected to a variety of internal and external closures that have seriously inhibited the access of Palestinian children to their schools and universities. Further, the erection of the checkpoints between Palestinian towns prevents both students and teachers from reaching schools on time. The concrete blocks and military barriers have always been placed at the entrances to the Palestinian towns and villages forcing Palestinian children and teachers to risk their lives by walking around to reach their schools and universities. Also, the negative effect of the separation wall on education is increasing. The wall impedes not only the liberty of the Palestinian movement but also the exercise of their right to education. For example, the wall is situated right on the property of Al-Quds University. Many faculty members and students have to make a 50 minute trip around the area in order to get to the campus (normally 5-10 minute drive). So going to schools and universities is hard and risky and sometimes requires a special permit in order to pass through.

3. Participation in education

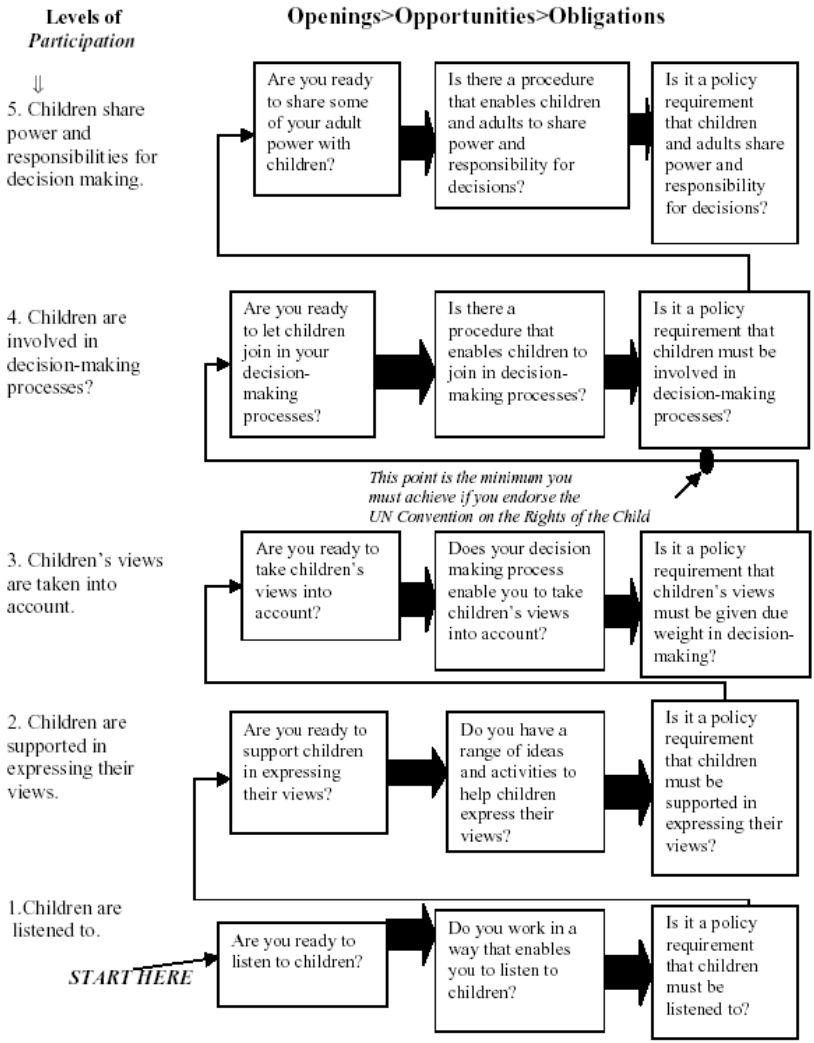
Participation can take place in a multitude of settings; at homes and in schools, as well as universities. These represent the most significant settings for the majority of the young since these are the places where they spend most of their time and where their relationships with parents, teachers, and peers are likely to be influential.

A study conducted by Cappelaere and Winter (1998) has shown that children who grow up in a participatory atmosphere at home, school, and university do better at schools, reach higher levels of moral development and become more socially informed with less psychological and social problems. Further, conventions acknowledge that children can express views from a very early age. This means that parents and teachers are expected to give guidance and advice to help children in this regard. They should provide them with opportunities for dialogue, to argue, to learn by doing and to practise what is taught. It is not enough for children to express their views and to have a say, the other side of the equation is that those views of the children have to be listened to and seriously considered. No genuine participation happens when children feel themselves neglected. For them, there is nothing like the feeling of being accepted or trusted, and finding others enthusiastic about their actions and being aware that their views are heard and given due weight. In this respect Shier developed a practical diagrammatic model which could be a useful guide to establish effective opportunities for participation. This model (shown on the next page) consists of five levels of participation:

1. Children are listened to.
2. Children are supported in expressing their views.
3. Children's views are taken into account.
4. Children are involved in decision- making processes.
5. Children share power and responsibility for decision- making.

At each level three commitments are identified, Openings, Opportunities, and Obligations. Besides, the model also provides a set of questions that could be used as a tool to plan and develop an effective policy that enables children to participate effectively.

Regarding participation at universities, students should be considered as competent, active and constructive partners in shaping university life. In formal education lectures need to be given in a way that foster independent critical thinking, encourage students' interaction and the sharing of ideas, and provide opportunities for in-depth discussion. Moreover, students should be given more responsibility to make presentations and lead the discussion. However, there are many ways of participating other than speaking in class, such as, coming to see an instructor during office hours, attending out- of - class lectures, attending a cultural activity on campus, participating in a panel discussion, getting involved in social or political articles, writing essays or response papers on an outstanding topics …. etc. These activities give students the opportunity to develop their talents, gain confidence, and experience tolerance, pluralism and democracy. In other words, to experience participation means to experience democracy and citizenship.



From Shier, 2001, cited in Howard et al. 2002

Bethlehem University is a good example in its commitment and awareness of the importance of students' participation through running academic and social programs and projects. For example "The Joint Cooperative Program between Bethlehem University and Catholic University of Cologne" is aimed at enhancing participation and cooperation between departments, lecturers and

students of both universities. All this is embedded in a process of intercultural learning and such topics are tackled in a multidimensional way by both lecturers and students, one of which is 'Participation'. Another kind of program is „Quality of Education for All Through Partnership". The mission of Bethlehem University is to foster community partnership by keeping in touch with the reality of local needs and make its resources available to outreach activities with local school teachers and students. The school teachers participated in many activities, professional forums, seminars, public lectures, workshops, and conferences sponsored by the Faculty of Education at Bethlehem University. Moreover, "The Science Fairs" show a high level of participation. Bethlehem University welcomes thousands of local high school students to the fairs during which the university students participate and share their knowledge and insights with younger ones. Further, the Online Course Evaluation System is another indicator of students' participation in university life. Every semester Bethlehem University uses this kind of evaluation to gain as much student participation as possible in evaluating the teaching learning process. Besides, students unions which are elected every year by the students themselves enhance the social function of education and develop students' ability to be active citizens in a democratic society. These are just some examples among many.

4. Participation in non-formal education

The following are some ideas to enhance participation in non-formal education:

Students Unions: They provide a visible opportunity to teach students about democratic structures. They teach graduates how to practise democracy through yearly elections, support their rights to have a voice, to engage in political debates, to vote, to monitor and evaluate**.** The direct experience of the democratic process of student union elections is of great value in preparing students for democratic morals in later life.

Youth Associations: provide young people with opportunities to come together, to talk about their situations, to learn new skills, to organize around mutual concerns and to take joint action. Further, increasing the membership and the types of youth associations increase the opportunities for meaningful participation through workshops, networks, and video conferences across countries.

Forums: enhance deep discussion of social programs and encourage students' interaction and the sharing of ideas. In classes the issues are touched on briefly, in forums students have the opportunities for in depth discussions where views are challenged and exchanged.

Face-to-face Seminaries: create an atmosphere for meaningful participation by tackling topics such as democratic principles; women's rights, citizen's role in a democratic community, technical information about election process etc.

Fairs & Exhibitions: provide opportunities for exchange visits between schools and universities to show off their work and to share what they have learned.

Civic Education Programs: these programs are effective since they create opportunities for direct participation by tapping into pre- existing channels and by working in close collaboration with local organizations. This kind of activity helps to link students directly in the democratic process and provide them with the opportunity to "learn by doing". Furthermore, levels of participation appear greater when civic education programs are able to link wide-ranging lessons about, for example, democratic values to the daily concerns and experiences of the students. These programs are most successful in changing students' attitude and behaviour. And they contribute to the development of more active and informed democratic citizens.

Role-Model Workshops: provide children with the relevant information; and train them to be self confident to speak in front of groups, to listen, to understand others, to negotiate, to argue, and to take a stand.

5. Approaches for meaningful participation

The following ideas can serve as practical approaches for meaningful participation (Rajani 2001):

1. *Start early:* patterns set in early childhood can have a deep impact in later life. The home and school are particularly important because children spend so much of their time there where they receive basic education skills and the necessary foundations for participation which nourish the essence of responsibility.
2. *Use as many participatory methods as possible:* Breakout groups, dramatizations, role plays, problem-solving activities and simulations are all more effective for imparting knowledge rather than more passive teaching methods.
3. *Enhance students abilities to participate effectively:* skills building for participation are essential. Young people need to practise listenig, reflecting, analyzing, asking questions, using dialogue and challenging in the process of learning.
4. *Believe in students and allow them to be responsible:* there is nothing like the feeling of being accepted and trusted. Students need to feel that teachers have faith in their multiple capacities to reason, to solve prob-

lems, to achieve something important and to make a positive difference in the community. Experiencing this in an environment of love and respect will give students a feeling of confidence and importance; it does not mean that everyone's idea should be used, but that every idea should be heard and considered.

5. *Allow students to take reasonable risks:* trying out new things, learning new skills, entering new relationships, and creating new projects, all these are full of risks with the possibility of something going wrong. To make mistakes and to learn from each other is a fundamental part of being human
6. *Make time for participation:* Learning new approaches and ensuring everyone's participation requires time, effort, and patience. It is hard to have meaningful participation in a hurry or as a "quick side activity".
7. *Focus on themes that are relevant to students' concerns:* sometimes, students become bored with participation because it doesn't relate to something that matters to them. For participation to work, focus on issues that are relevant to students' daily lives and needs.
8. *Pay attention to gender issues:* girls generally face greater obstacles to participation than boys in terms of cultural barriers. Programs that address these deep barriers to participation may be required to reduce the gap between both genders
9. *Be transparent:* in any participation the process, the purpose, the assumptions, the limits and the ground rules need to be clear to all. Involve students in all stages of a process, from start to follow-up to finish. They have to know why they are there, what the goals are, how it works, and what will come afterwards, since students are the best engineers of participation activities.
10. *Use an assessment system:* make sure you give students feedback and credits for their participation.
11. *Be democratic:* the process of participation needs to reflect the principles of democracy. These include the view that everyone is of equal value; has the freedom of expression and the right to participate, since both democracy and participation form one unit. You can't have one without the other and the struggle for participation is the struggle for democracy. Students who are aware of their own rights are more supportive of the rights of others.
12. *Have a good relationship with your students:* such relationships need to be characterized by trust, caring, safety and respect. The more those children are treated humanely, the more likely it is that they will actively participate.

To conclude, I think that participation must be more than a mission statement, theoretical principle or keystone of UN conventions. For participation to work effectively, it is important that it is part of the belief system and culture

of the organization. Since through participation, children develop skills, build competencies, form aspirations, gain confidence and attain valuable recourses which consequently contribute to the psychological well being of the local community as well as the wider society.

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Heinz Theisen

Participation in Times of Globalization

1. What is good about globalization?

> "Free Trade is God's diplomacy. There is no other certain way of uniting people in the bonds of peace." (Richard Cobden, 1857)

Some months ago, more than 1400 investors, among them 800 Palestinians from all over the world, met here in Bethlehem to discuss the chances of investments for Palestine. In sum, they intend to invest 1.4 billion Dollars and create 35000 new jobs. Most of the investments will come from the Gulf States. Globalization is coming to Palestine.

The beginning of the twenty-first century will be remembered, as Thomas Friedman says, not for military conflicts or terrorism, but for a whole new age of globalization – a 'flattening' of the world. The explosion of advanced technologies now means that suddenly knowledge-pools and resources have connected all over the planet, leveling the playing field as never before, so that each of us is potentially equal – yet competing with each other and competitor – of the other. The world is wired so that accountants in India working for software engineers can now share an idea, team their skills or compete head-on for work with their US or European counterparts. Professionals everywhere, from China to Palestine, can work from home as if they were in offices next door to each other.[1]

For most of the developing countries the processes of globalization help to find ways to economic growth and to a certain wealth. Nowadays five billion people are doing better than in former times and are living in societies which have profited from globalization. For the first time in history global poverty is decreasing.[2]

1 Th. Friedman (2005). The World is Flat. A Brief History of The Globalized World in the 21st Century. New York, 324f.

2 P. Collier (2008). Die unterste Milliarde. München.

But still one billion people don't participate enough in globalization. They don't need ideologies or fundamentalism; they need more participation in economic growth, in markets, in investments and in better education.

Modernization does not mean westernization any more, as India, China and the other East Asian countries have democrated. You can be modern and keep your own identity. You do not have to integrate but you have to cooperate with the Western world, in your case especially with Israel. The Western world including Israel still conducts the most advanced technical research and development and controls all hard currencies. If you want to participate in globalization, you have to cooperate with the western world.

There is a clash of cultures, of different religions and value systems, especially between Israel and Palestine. But what we urgently need in times of globalization is the cooperation of civilizations, of the functional systems like education, science, technology, law and trade.

It is not easy but it is possible because cultures can change, when their narratives and their visions change. Their narratives have to change from land, blood, religion and identity towards trade, information, investments and new technologies. This new vision would change the political situation as it did in Europe after World War II.

Market systems are depending on virtues not produced by the market, just as states are depending on virtues not created by the state. They are created in families, communities, friendships, voluntary associations – where people are brought together not by exchange of wealth or power but by the commitment to one another. We can call these associations the third sector or mediating structures, civil society and social capital. In summary – states and markets need a cultural basis which helps to develop a country. And they need structures, which connect them with the know-how and with the investments of modern economies, especially with that of more developed neighbouring countries.

2. What is bad about globalization?

But the dream that all limits to growth in the global free market will simply disappear has gone. Nowadays the limits to growth return as energy politics. Twenty-first century wars will be resource wars, made more dangerous and intractable by being intertwined with ethnic and religious enmities. Over the coming century, global warming may well overtake scarcity in energy supplies as a source of geopolitical conflict. In some areas it means desertification, in others flooding. Food production is likely to be disrupted. These changes in the physical landscape will trigger large movements of population, as people attempt to flee to zones of safety.

There is a tension between the two spheres of globalization. Free capital flows coexist with stringent restrictions on the flow of people. By the late nineties, this combination was leading to large-scale illegal immigration. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the pattern of global conflict is shaped by

- population growth,
- shrinking energy supplies,
- irreversible climate change,
- ethnic and religious enmities,
- the collapse or corrosion of the state in many parts of the world.

The monopoly of organized violence is the defining power of the modern state. But in many parts of the world this monopoly of violence has broken down. Weapons of mass destruction are at risk of leaking out of the control of governments. Hundreds of millions of people are living in conditions of semi-anarchy. In much of Africa, parts of post-communist Russia, in Afghanistan and Pakistan, in Latin American countries such as Columbia and Haiti and even in regions of Europe such as Bosnia and Kosovo, Chechnya and Albania, there is nothing resembling an effective modern state.

First we have to learn what we should not learn from each other. The spread of corruption is the antithesis to participation, competiveness and cooperation. Russia has failed to catch up with the West, but perhaps Russia is on its way surpassing the West. The transition from central planning to a western-style free market has failed, but the mafia-based economy that emerged from the ruins of the Soviet state has evolved into a hypermodern type of capitalism. Because of its origin in crime, Russian capitalism is well adapted to grow at a time when the fastest growing sectors of advanced economies are illegal industries such as drugs, prostitution and cyber-fraud. And Russia can exploit its energy resources for a new kind of superpower politics, as it has already done towards the Ukraine.

3. Ways to participation

3.1 Good governance

The global free market is not the result of competition between different economic systems. Like the free market that was created in England in the mid-nineteenth century, it was established and maintained by political power. Unlike its English precursor, the global free market lacks checks and balances. Insulated from any kind of political accountability, it is much too brit-

tle to last for long. Firstly, we need good government and that means a state under the rule of law.

Hernando de Soto believes that property rights are the mystery of capital.[3] But a state under the rule of law and good governance are no mysteries; they have always been the basis for development. Law is the instrument that fixes and realizes capital. It is law that detaches and fixes the economic potential of assets as a value separate from the material assets themselves and allows humans to discover and realize this potential. It is law that connects assets to financial and investment circuits. This model can fight against corruption. The right of access to property is recognized today in nearly every national constitution in the world.

Some years after the end of communism, only some 280,000 farmers out of 10 million own their own land in Russia. Land is probably Russia's most valuable resource, a resource upon which an entire economy and a democratic society could be based. The overwhelming majority do have products, but they lack the process to represent their property and create capital. They have no titles. It is impossible to explain why people who adapted to every other invention, from the paper clip to the nuclear reactor, have not been able to produce sufficient capital to make their domestic capitalism work.

In the West, by contrast, every acre of land, every building, every piece of equipment or store of inventories is represented in a property document that is the visible sign of a vast hidden process that connects all these assets to the rest of the economy. By this process the West injects life into assets and makes them generate capital. Without real property rights they are undercapitalized. The enterprises of the poor are very much like corporations that cannot issue shares or bonds to obtain new investments and finance. Without representations, their assets are dead capital.

The constitutional state is not a secondary condition for democracy and market economy. Instead, it is the precondition of both. The law is the condition of freedom. Without a constitutional state, there is no security for private property and investment, without an independent system of justice and a good civil service, there will be neither stability nor a sustainable development. A market economy without a framework put in place by the state doesn't mean freedom but rather anarchy. Not the best but the most unscrupulous will do well.

Real property rights only exist in constitutional states, in combination with the freedom rights of the individual and in combination with their protection by the state. The constitutional state is even more important than democracy. It is the framework for development. Therefore it is not enough to build up a semi-democracy like the Russians did. Democracies without rule of

3 H. de Soto (2000). The Mystery of Capital. Why Capitalism Triumphs in The West and Fails Everywhere Else. London.

law are mostly even more corrupt than dictatorships, because a lot of different parties are trying to exploit the resources of the nation.

Capital is therefore not created by money; it is created by people whose property systems help them to cooperate and think about how they can deploy their accumulated assets for additional production. The substantial increase of capital in the West over the last two centuries is the consequence of gradually improving property systems, which allowed economic agents to discover and realize the potential in their assets, and thus to be in a position to produce the non inflationary money with which to finance and generate additional production.

Good governance means the reciprocity between economy and the law. It is more than 'Good Government' by a good administration (this is only a small part of it) and it is not the romantic idea of the political left, that the common people are better and wiser than the elite, which is why everything has to be decided by the people.

In a World Development Report, delivered by the World Bank, it was shown that there is a connection between the rule of law and economic development. Those nations, which scored well in a survey of multinational companies, had the highest economic growth, while those without credit saw a decrease in their gross national product.[4]

Good governance means the reciprocity of the different functional systems of society, between the economy and law, religion and politics, science and state etc.

The ideal of good governance includes

- the separation of private and public interests
- the transparency of political decisions
- the universality of decisions
- the priority of efficiency and effectiveness
- cooperation instead of corruption
- control over and sharing of power in politics and civil service.

The wealth of a nation depends to a high degree on its organizational capacities and on its human resources. The richest nation in the world – per capita – is Switzerland, a small country of seven million inhabitants – without any mineral resources, with four different ethnic groups and four different languages.

There should be no either/or between socialism and liberalism, between state and market economy. States need to be rolled back in certain areas, but need to be simultaneously strengthened in others. The state-building agenda is as important as the state-reducing one. The problem of Neoliberalism lays in

4 World Bank (1997). World Development Report., Washington, D.C.

a basic conceptual failure to unpack the different dimensions of statehood and to understand how they relate to economic development.[5]

3.2 Good unions

Participation in globalization means that each person has to participate in rights and duties. Obviously this is more difficult within the processes of globalization because the national state is weakened in its sovereignty. It has to share its sovereignty with other states to develop new capacities within the processes of globalization.

After World War II the new Europe symbolized the cooperation of institutions like nations and supranational states. The European Union started with the economy. After endless political quarrels it was thought best to change the vision. First it was the economy. Afterwards political cooperation could start. The next step will be to heal the cultural wounds between the three religions of Europe.

After endless religious and political wars between Israel and the Arabic World, it is still not just the economy that is at stake. New visions are the only way to forget about old visions. We don't have to search for new victories between state and capitalism in the sense of either-or, but for the balancing 'as-well-as'. The new balance transmits the successful concept of the social market economy to political theory by freeing thoughts from one-sidedness and putting them into a supplementary correlation. After all, the complementary 'as-well-as' of the social market economy has succeeded in letting the class-welfare-polarization of capital and labour stand behind the benefit of consensus-oriented social partnerships.

Regarding our ideas of a knowledge-based economy and of good governance it is important that Israel gives back all territories in the Westbank. On the other hand the Palestinians must allow the Israelis to retain their property rights in Israel although it was Palestinian land in former times. In the knowledge-based society it is not so important whether the land belongs to Germany or Poland, to Israel or Palestine – if you work together in the field of economics.

But it is very important that the land belongs to an individual person with rights and duties. Without personal property rights there will be no ambition to develop the land. It is not important from which state you get your property rights. It is just important that the state is a constitutional state and that there is some kind of good governance.

We can learn from the European Union that former enemies can cooperate first of all in the field of economics and later in the field of politics. This

5 F. Fukuyama (2004). State-Building. Governance and World Order in the Twenty-first Century. London.

was possible although there were a lot of borders and even a wall, although they had different national cultures which were in former times as important as the religious identities of today and although they struggled for centuries over the possession of land.

When the Industrial Revolution began in Europe, governments were also plagued with uncontrollable migration, growth of the illegal sector, urban poverty and social unrest. They, too, originally addressed these problems piecemeal. Wherever the states outlawed and prosecuted extralegal entrepreneurs instead of adjusting the system to absorb their enterprise, economic progress not only was delayed but unrest increased like in the French and Russian Revolutions. Those countries that adapted quickly made a relatively peaceful transition to a market economy.

Nearly up to the end the 20th century had been an age of extremes which is the same as one-sidedness, of intolerance and distrust. On the other hand its better eras were based on negotiating and mixed programs. After World War II the European Union symbolized the cooperation of institutions like nations and supranational states, of state and society, state and market economy. This is in a certain way a renaissance of the old European dialectic of culture and world, idealism and materialism, religion and enlightenment, ethics and science, solidarity and profitability.

The European Union is not a democracy; it is "a government of governments, by governments, and for governments", to paraphrase the famous words of Abraham Lincoln about democracy. But it works. What does not work is imitating Westminster democracy in clan societies, divided by ethnic or religious cleavages and enmities.

Since it was born, in the rubble of World War II, the vision of a united Europe has grown dramatically from a coal-and-steel trading arrangement to a common market and from a community to today's European Union, a new kind of state in which the member nations have handed over much of their sovereignty to a transcontinental government in a community that is becoming legally, commercially, and culturally borderless. The EU, with a population of nearly half a billion people stretching from Ireland to Estonia, has a president, a parliament, a cabinet, a central bank, a bill of rights, a unified patent office, and a court system with the power to overrule the highest courts of every member nation. It has a 60,000-member army, its own space agency and it has a 22,000-person bureaucracy and an 80,000-page legal code governing everything from criminal trials and corporate taxation to peanut butter labels.

In the 1990s the EU became broader and more complex. Consequently On the deeper side, the member states agreed to the common currency, the single central bank, borderless travel, uniform food and health regulations, and numerous other changes that increased the power of the EU government in Brussels and reduced the power of the national members to govern these

issues individually. At the same time, the fifteen members opened their arms to their eastern cousins to make their union broader by taking in new member states. Now the EU is a big, but not a global market. With new members like Turkey, the Balkan states and the Ukraine the European Union is in a real danger of overstretching and of just being a branch of the globalized economy.[6]

The European Union developed out of the economic sector. After endless political quarrels it was best to change the vision. After endless religious and political wars in the Balkans and between Israel and the Arabic World, it is still not just the economy that is at stake.

The European Union seems to be on a good way for restructuring technologies, national economies, different nations and religions, which were divided over centuries. Nearly up to the end the 20th century had been an age of extremes. On the other hand, its better eras based on negotiation and mixed programs, which combined public and private affairs as well as state and society with each other.

In the late twentieth century Europe has been bound together by an extraordinary dense complex of international institutions: the European Union, NATO, Council of Europe, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and others. East Asia has nothing comparable except ASEAN; which does not include any major powers; has generally eschewed security matters, and is only beginning to move towards the first steps of economic integration. The APEC incorporating most of the Pacific Rim countries is an even weaker discussion club than ASEAN.

The revolutionary progress in the area of communication-technologies helped to bring down the Berlin Wall and the fences between the nations. Now the nation states of Europe are competing for know-how, for new technologies, new products and their distribution. This competition is hard but it is harder to ignore it like the socialist countries tried to do. If you are not involved in that competition you stand apart like the African countries today. But the European Union means both competition and cooperation at the same time, it means the cooperation of nations and a supranational state, of state and society, of the social state and the market economy.

The bloody conflicts about the possession of land between Germany, France and Poland could nearly have destroyed Europe. But the vision has changed. The Europeans are now more interested in the possession of knowledge and investments than in the possession of land. Now the Europeans want to become rich not primarily by the possession of land, but by scientific and technical progress. This revolutionary progress especially in communication-technologies helped to take down the Berlin Wall and the fences between the nations. The Berlin wall lasted only 28 years.

6 H. Theisen (2006). Die Grenzen Europas. Die Europäische Union zwischen Erweiterung und Überdehnung. Opladen.

Now the nation states of Europe are competing for know-how, for new technologies, new products and for their distribution. Paradoxically globalization is the only way to change the problems of globalization. Adam Smith taught us that the division of labour is the main cause of wealth. But this division of labour is limited through the size of the market. Globalization means the enlargement of the market and an increase in competition. You need the Israeli market for your products and Israel needs your market for their products.

3.3 Good culture

Like the combination of freedom and morality in the constitutional state as well as solidarity and profitability in the social market economy, we need a new balance between religion and politics, between culture and economy, between hardware and software. In the post-modern society and economy the old vision about the possession of land (like in the agricultural and industrial society) is less important than the possession of knowledge. Education is a precondition, and investments are the methods. In the long run, education and culture are more important for peace and development than politics.

In ancient times, wealth and power lay in the hands of people, usually slaves. In the feudal era they took the form of ownership of land. In the industrial age they were associated with the ownership of capital and the means of production. In the information age they lie in access to and the deployment of intellectual capital, the ability to master information and turn it to innovative ends. We can call it "soft power". The labour content of manufactured goods continues to fall. Huge profits go to those who have ideas. Education, not merely basic but extended, becomes a necessity, even a fundamental human right.[7]

In the materialistic Marxist or Neoliberal belief, economy is the basis of culture. But in the age of knowledge-based economies, it seems to be the other way around. Education and culture are becoming more and more the basis of politics and economy. As we can read in the book by David Landes, the cultural preconditions are decisive for the wealth and the poverty of nations.[8]

I would like to mention three examples:

– You cannot separate technical inventions from the liberty of thoughts and science.

7 J. Sacks (2002). The Dignity of Difference. How to avoid the Clash of Civilization. London & New York, 137.

8 D. Landes (1998). The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor, New York, 1998

- You cannot separate the declining birth rate in Europe from our individualistic lifestyle.
- Software is the most important precondition for a knowledge-based economy.

The modern individual increasingly has the task of making his living without the help of pressure groups. Education is the best protection against the often corrupt elite. Through market integration the rich lose the protection, behind which they can exploit the consumers and workers of their own country. Some of the poor are receiving a chance to sell their products on the global markets.

Education and good governance are the most important preconditions for investments. For cooperation between the subsystems of society and between different nations and for good government we need to have cultural preconditions i.e.

- good communication,
- good knowledge of each other,
- trust in each other,
- a new vision of the future.

Two aspects of culture are relevant for the economy. One is how outward your culture is: To what degree is it open to foreign influences, best practices and ideas? How well does it "glocalize"? The other is how inward your culture is. To what degree is there a sense of national solidarity and a focus on development, to what degree is there trust within society? Local cooperation in times of globalization is called glocalization. The more you have a culture that naturally glocalizes the greater the advantage you will have in a flat world. The natural ability to glocalize has been one of the strengths of Indian culture, American culture, Japanese culture and, lately, Chinese culture. They did not lose their identity by joining the process of globalization. They try to take the best and leave the rest.[9]

There will be more losers than winners as long as there are more market victims and market objects than participants. The hopes placed by free traders in the comparative advantages of competition are correct for those who are competitive, but not for the others. The modern individual increasingly has more and more the task of making his living without the help of ethnic groups or pressure groups. Education is the best protection against the often corrupt elite. Through market integration the rich lose the protection, behind which they can exploit the consumers and workers of their own country. Some of the poor are receiving a chance to sell their products on the global markets. China is using this chance in a way which is a real challenge for the competiveness of Europe. We cannot be cheaper than the Chinese workers, so we have to be better.

9 Th. L. Friedman (2005). The World is Flat. A Brief History of the Globalized World in the Twenty-first Century. London.

Are people market objects or market participants? Are people political objects or political participants? Education will decide. Education is more than information. We need knowledge and we need the wisdom of an old culture. A total separation of the subsystems leads to the kind of secularism which nowadays triggers a moral crisis. If there are no interactions between religion and politics, economy and ethics, science and culture, individualism and society, the sustainability of the culture is in real danger. A lot of people even in the West believe that this pluralistic culture is in a moral and cultural decline. But – compared to other regions of the world – the Muslim world is in an economic decline. If both pre-modern and modern societies are suffering from a feeling of decline, they should cooperate to find solutions which will improve their situation.

Culture can change. Cultures are not wired into our human DNA. They are a product of the context – geography, education level, leadership, and historical experience of any society. As those change, so can culture. New visions are the only way to forget about old visions. In the post-modern society and economy the old vision of the possession of land (like in the agricultural and industrial society) is less important than the possession of knowledge. Education and good governance are the most important preconditions for investments. New investments are more important than old identities.

The key problem of a pre-modern society in a knowledge-based post-modern world is the holistic perception of its elements. The functional systems of society like religion, politics, and economy etc. are not distinguished and not separated, so they can't work with their specific methods. They restrain each other, obviously between the Muslim religion on the one hand and democratic politics and market economy on the other hand. This leads to a limited adoption of modernity.

Only the Western hardware is accepted but not the software. But the software is the cultural basis of economy and politics. You cannot separate inventions from the liberties of science. The Internet Revolution will reinforce freedom of speech. The separation of hardware and software creates an inner confusion of the mind, a nearly schizophrenic love-hatred relationship towards Western civilization. The fundamentalist ways, which we can find in all world religions nowadays, are an attempt to heal the confusion by returning to the simple pre-modern times when everything could be explained by one book or one belief.

The pre-modern cultures are confronted with Western modernity, in which the subsystems of society often are much too distinguished and separated from each other, especially religion and politics, ethics and the economy. A total separation of the subsystems without correlations between them leads to the kind of pluralism which nowadays triggers a moral crisis. If there is no interaction between religion and politics, economy and ethics, science and culture, individualism and society, the sustainability of culture is in real

danger. Even a lot of people in the West believe that this pluralistic culture is in a moral and cultural decline. The modern world with its radical pluralism leads to a confusion of minds.

The Western culture has to learn from the Muslim culture as well. The new economy leads to an obsolescence of loyalty. The sheer pressure of change means, that jobs are no longer secure. Companies are constantly "downsizing", "deselecting" or re-engineering, shedding employees or putting them on part-time or project-specific contracts. It is hard to know who owes loyalty to whom, or whether the word has any relevance at all in the contemporary world.

In his book "Bowling alone" Robert Putnam describes a western society, in which the social capital is in decline. This could be seen not only in the breakdown of families and communities, but across a whole range of civic and social engagements. Fewer people are joining voluntary groups, church attendance is down. The young are markedly less interested than their parents in politics.

A total separation of the subsystems leads to the kind of secularism, which nowadays constitutes a moral crisis. If there is no interaction between religion and politics, economy and ethics, science and culture, individualism and society, the sustainability of the culture is in real danger.

Compared to other regions of the world – the Muslim world is in an economic and political decline. If pre-modern and modern societies are both in decline, they should cooperate to find solutions which will improve their situations. Therefore fundamentalism is not the answer; it just symbolizes a crisis of disintegration within the process of modernization. The Muslim world needs more modernization and the Western world needs more modesty and sustainability.

We can interpret the totalitarian answers to that confusion as an attempt to enforce the recombination of the separated ways. But this way, like fundamentalism, destroys the complexities and the chances for complementarities. It destroys pluralism. We can compare the fundamentalism of today with the totalitarian answers to failing modernization processes during the 20th century.

Islam, down through the years, has thrived when it fostered a culture of tolerance, as in Moorish Spain. But in its modern form, Islam has in too many cases been captured and interpreted by spiritual leaders who do not embrace a culture of tolerance, change or innovation. When tolerance is the norm, everyone flourishes – because tolerance breeds trust, and trust is the foundation of innovation and entrepreneurship. Increase the level of trust in any group, company, or society, and only good things happen. China began its astounding commercial and industrial takeoff only when Mao Zigong's intolerant form of communism was scrapped in favour of what might be called authoritarian laissez-faire.

Many of the Muslim countries do not globalize well, although there are plenty of exceptions – Turkey, Lebanon, Bahrain, Dubai, Indonesia and Malaysia. All of these latter countries tend to be more secular Muslim nations. In a world where the single greatest advantage a culture can have is the ability to foster adoptability, the Muslim world today is too much dominated by a religious clergy and by a system where men are more privileged from borth. This type of privilege, David Landes argues, simply because of being a male is even bad for the men. It builds in them a sense of entitlement that discourages what it takes to improve, to advance, and to achieve.

When Islam is embedded in authoritarian societies, it tends to become the vehicle of angry protest – Egypt, Syria, and Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan. But where Islam is embedded in a pluralistic democratic society – Turkey, or India, for instance – those with a more progressive outlook have a chance to get a better hearing and a democratic forum where they can fight for their ideas. These countries are much nearer to Europe than to the pre-modern world.

4. Globalization through participation

We have not yet discussed the territorial problems of Palestine and Israel. Millions of people are doing just that without finding a solution. At the moment there is no solution for the territorial situation of both nations, because each "solution" would provoke too much resistance. We can achieve peace slowly and step by step. The small steps of economic cooperation could broaden the ways to peace – no more and no less.

Local cooperation in times of globalization is called glocalization, the participation in world trade, in education systems and in Union states. The more a culture naturally glocalizes the greater advantage you will have in a flat world. The natural ability to glocalize has been one of the strengths of Indian culture, American culture, Japanese culture and, lately, Chinese culture. They did not lose their identity. The Indians take the view that the Moguls come and the Moguls go, the British come and the British go. The Indians take the best and leave the rest – they still eat curry, their women still wear saris, they still live in tightly bound extended family units. That`s glocalization at its best.

We can see more clearly now, that the wealth and poverty of nations, the question, why some are rich and some are poor, finds many answers in cultural and political preconditions. In political terms, this means, that good governance, good culture and the structures of Union States are the decisive elements for human development.

My thesis is: There is a necessity for the cooperation between Palestinians and Israelis. The participation in the modern developments of Israel is the only chance to help Palestine develop into a modern and wealthy nation. After World War II, the Germans needed the help of their former enemies; Israel even needed the help of Germany in spite of the Holocaust. The communists in China needed the help of their former capitalist enemies. The Palestinians need the help, the capital and the know-how of the Israelis. The Israelis need the work force of the Palestinians and both countries need peace.

Give young people a context where they can translate a positive imagination into reality, give them a context in which some with a grievance can have it adjudicated in a court of law and give them a context in which anyone can run for office. They don't usually want to blow up the world, they usually want to be a part of it, they want to participate. For the famous theologian Hans Küng the word "post-modern" does not mean the radical pluralism in the sense of post-modern philosophers, but rather the search for new synthesis, especially beyond secularist political ideologies and exclusive religious fundamentalism, beyond nation and globalization (European Union), beyond secularism and religion (enlightened religion), between efficiency and solidarity (social market economy), beyond patriarchy and emancipation (new partnership between men and women), and finally beyond individualism and collectivism (rights and duties for everyone).

Elise Aghazarian

The Arab Intellectual: Polemics of Participation in the Knowledge Society

Whether one is watching television, checking emails, reading a newspaper or even talking to friends in a café, one thing is certain: willingly or unwillingly, participation in a knowledge society is taking place. A knowledge society is a sphere involving exchange of information. Command of language, using a certain discourse, social and political perceptions, communication, technological skills, networking relations and access to new media are all factors affecting access to knowledge production. Knowledge is not merely a public good, but is also often a source of power and involves the public engagement in science and debate (Sörlin and Vessuri, 2007). The increased technological advancement, globalization and glocalization[1] of knowledge production today facilitates networking, and allows different voices to speak out, express their different narratives and connect to others. There is indeed a media boom in certain Arab countries in the Gulf and the Levant, and also a large number of educated Arabs and advocates working on social, political, economic, and cultural issues today. Yet, despite this, if we look at the numbers of internationally-distributed productions from the Arab world, center-periphery relationships are still reflected in terms of the distribution of international knowledge, with most information going from the North to the South. For example, when observing the dissemination of Arab cultural production compared to Arab demography and global distribution, one might start wondering: Why aren't the works of the many forms of Arab thinkers, writers and activists sufficiently heard of internationally? This paper looks more deeply into the polemics, projections and challenges affecting the participation and representation of Arab intellectuals, both locally and internationally, with a focus on cultural capital, political economy and relations of power.

In a world of speedy networking, we have the chance to know more about what certain writers, singers, and film directors produce and to engage in more debate and social change. More opportunities for free expression, lobbying and advocacy are available. Pages such as Wikipedia, Youtube and online lobbying groups (e.g. Facebook) make information about certain parts

1 A combination of globalization and localization, whereby people combine the global with the local (and sometimes also regional activities), for example, founding an online Arabic language website addressing local issues to a wide audience (see Friedman, 2007).

of the world that used to be considered distant, only a click away (at least virtually). Yet the "glass ceiling" is still there, and for certain people there are vague illusions of the possibility of participation with the existing global disparity being reconstructed. Together with multiculturalism and openness to others, different forms of racism, prejudice, labeling, Orientalism and Occidentalism still exist, and radicalization and exclusion are facilitated on different fronts. Many people often follow ideas that reiterate their previously conceived beliefs and reinternalize them, or adopt new ideas from a one-sided perspective, rather than probing into different conceptions of reality. Moreover, the plight of some social movements is often virtualized. Political and social borders are still increasing globally, "wars" are still going on, and there is still environmental "harm" with alarming consequences.

One must also not jump to conclusions with the presupposition that everybody is connected to the internet. A digital divide is still there, and as expressed in the 33rd Sorokin Conference (Cumeo, 2002):

"The gap between the disconnected is not randomly distributed, but has specific demographic, social, economic, racial, ethnic, gender, gerontological, and political characteristics that amount to a systematic bias of exclusion, often referred to as the 'digital have-nots.' Similarly, the connected are not randomly distributed, but possess particular demographic, social, economic and political characteristics making up what has become known as the 'Digital Haves'. The separation, chasm, abyss, canyon, gulf, or distance between the 'Digital Haves' and 'Digital have-nots' has become known as the 'Digital Divide'."

The "Digital Divide" is reflective of participation in a knowledge society. A demographic, social, economic and political hierarchy does exist indeed. In referring to the forms of capital, Bourdieu (1986) mentions that capital "can present itself in three fundamental guises": as „*economic capital*" (money, property, …), as *„cultural capital"* which he argues is "convertible on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications", and as "*social capital"*(connections, social obligations, networks) which convert in certain conditions into economic capital and "may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility." Assuming someone has economic capital and buys a machine, in this case, she/he needs a certain form of knowledge, of specific scientific or technical skills to run the machine, which requires a certain form of cultural capital. This relationship is important to look at in the context of the relationship with a power and knowledge society. When probing deeper into the nature of "Cultural Capital" according to Bourdieu (Ibid), we see that it lies in the:

"*embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state."

This is connected to the concept of "Habitus", which he develops (Bourdieu, 1977) (following Marcel Mauss, 1934) whereby an individual develops cer-

tain dispositions of thought, behavior and taste, in response to determining structures (hereditary relations, etc.) and external structures through social practice (action). In this sense, "taste" is not a given nature but is related to class hierarchy. Bourdieu (1986) also refers to the hereditary nature of the transmission of capital and to connections between free time and cultural capital. Someone from Yemen, whose family income and upbringing allows him to have a certain form of free-time and lifestyle, might have different opportunities than another person with a different style of upbringing.

When looking at the Arab cultural production today, one dilemma we come cross is whether there is a homogenous Arab culture, in the first place or whether it has ever existed. Arabism is, after all, another modernized construction. The contemporary history of the region reveals divisions between different Arab countries. At the same time, a number of cultural elements are shared between Arabic-speaking countries: the discursive dimensions of language, geographic relations, a shared collective imagination, a history of colonialism, encounters with Islam (and Arab Christianity in some Arab countries), the development of a common sphere of interaction of ideas, knowledge, culture, emotions and debates. This is shared more rapidly with modern technology facilitated by Classical Arabic (news, political and religious beliefs, music, films, soap operas, literature and different forms of information,…). Channels like Al-Jazeera (screened from Qatar), as well as the Arabic version of non-Arab channels like BBC Arabic or Russia today, and different online websites and printed journals in Arabic are just examples of a common production and consumption sphere of knowledge. An exchange is witnessed on the local, regional and international levels. Debates, clashes and confrontations are witnessed on various issues (e.g. the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, political reform, religion, etc). A glocalized sphere has been increasingly witnessed, raising new questions on what constitutes an "intellectual" and carrying different polemics on participation.

The notions of the "intellectual" and "intelligentsia", and their relations to consciousness, society and political engagement have historically concerned a number of thinkers. If we go back in time, we realize the significance of Emile Zola's *"J'accuse!"* (1898) with the Dreyfus affair, reflecting the debates about the engagement of the intellectual in public life. Gramsci, whose impact goes as far as Islamist thinkers[2], speaks about the role of the "organic" intellectual and counter-hegemony. In the United States, and with a strong influence on international social thought, C. Wright Mills (1959) speaks about Sociological Imagination (linking individual experience with social institutions and one's place in history), criticizing the American university system for its bureaucracy, privatization and failure to teach about the general struggle for power in modern society. More recently, Pierre Bourdieu

2 Cf. Browers (2004) on Gramsci and political Islamist thinkers.

(1990) discussed the importance of "intellectual autonomy", calling intellectuals to come out of the "Ivory Tower" into public life.

These characteristics and roles of the "authentic intellectual" have concerned many Arab movements and thinkers, like Laroui who speaks about the Crisis of the Arab intellectual (1976) Sharabi (1970) who discusses the relations of the Arab intellectual with the West, and, Edward Said (1935-2003), who produced numerous works touching subjects such as the intellectual and exile, as well as the question of Orientalism, an important issue related to Western knowledge production and projections vis-à-vis the Arab world.

In the Palestinian case, the question of "the intellectual", as well as "participation", has received a lot of attention, particularly since the late 1960s. Life under occupation, West Palestinians studying in Lebanon, Egypt, Europe, the United States and other parts of the world, the increasing establishment of colleges, institutes and Universities, debates between and among Palestinian political groups, and a heritage of Marxist and Neo-Marxist readings have all played a pivotal role in raising questions related to ideal forms of contribution in the social and political struggle, contributing in active participation in a knowledge society. Given the gradual changes in the social stratification system as a result of dispossession, refugees started to engage more in cultural, political, religious and social movements, and seek education and political and social capital as a tool of liberation and class mobility. They were faced with a mood of powerlessness with later transformations after the second Intifada, including the fragmentation of the Palestinian geography, walls and checkpoints, the despair of the existing leadership and the rising influence of Islamization, substituting the intellectual quest for a religious quest. Yet, even within Islamist groups, there has been an emphasis on the importance of active participation (e.g. Al-Aqsa media channel aired from Gaza). International NGOs and aid donors have worked on encouraging the youth and women to participate. At the same time, they have often substituted questions of culture and politics with social charitable services. A besieged people surrounded by walls, Palestinians have turned into mere guinea pigs for international information hunters. A Palestinian woman attempting to publish her work has endless difficulties and in the later decades, international researchers and solidarity groups have come to develop a tradition of "speaking for" the Palestinian people, who are either perceived as victims of the struggle, corrupt, ignorant, fundamentalistic or non-existent. This did not stop some individual intellectuals, journals and certain organizations publishing their different qualitative contributions, even in a reality of occupation (e.g. A.M. Qattan Foundation, Kanaan magazine, Muwatin, Bethlehem University, …). The Palestinian reality motivates Palestinian youth and intellectuals to ask themselves: how can I participate in a reality of occupation, walls and despair? How can I participate when I cannot even move? Who is the real intellectual?

The different debates on the role of intellectuals internationally and relations of power mentioned above, provide us with a framework and conception of the active role of an intellectual. This paper looks at intellectual participation in a knowledge society as those intellectuals with organic contributions or attempting to contribute organically in the production of knowledge, innovation and/or challenging social / political / economic / environmental / linguistic / knowledge / power structures. This should be done with awareness of power relations, digital divide and cultural capital.

In a context of debating participation, probing deeper into the polemics of knowledge production and participation is necessary for genuine intercultural understanding and engaging in intellectual activity. The major international and local challenges facing Arab intellectual knowledge production are summarized as follows:

1. International challenges

1.1 The politics of representation

> "Even the purest science is a 'social field' with its own distribution of power, monopolies, struggles, strategies, interests and profits" (Bourdieu: 1975).

The sphere of a multi-cultural knowledge society today often transcends cultural and political boundaries and goes beyond the notions of the "Orient" and the "Occident." At the same time, one cannot ignore structures of power and politics of representation within any knowledge system. In discussing the work of the Columbia University's "Subaltern" group[3], Spivak (1988) argues that Western intellectual production reinforces the logic of Western economic expansion. She criticizes the dependence upon western intellectuals to "speak for" the "subalterns", rather than allowing them to speak for themselves. The writer calls on subalterns to reclaim a collective cultural identity. In the Arab context, one notices that many international thinkers "represent" and "speak for the Arab world. This often makes it more challenging for Arab intellectuals to speak for their own societies. The voices of certain groups like women, villagers, as well as other groups often get excluded. One has to admit that labeling is a real problem and there is a high level of discrimination.

On the ontological and epistemological levels, when looking at the Arab intellectuals marketing their academic production, one may need to probe deeper into the projections held about the Arab intellectuals. Northern intel-

3 Subaltern (Gramscian expression) being the economically dispossessed/excluded from the lines of social mobility in the context of colonization (e.g. colonized women).

lectuals are often perceived as more "scientific", "objective", "enlightened" and "civilized" than Arab intellectuals. Muslims today are being projected as the cultural "others" of "non-Arab", "non-Muslim" intellectuals. Projected as being emotional, backward, aggressive, violent, leaning towards crime and delinquency, lacking gender sensitivity, time-organization, or objectivity. This is a field in which international citizens deem themselves superior. Most Arab countries have still not managed to stand on their feet with the culture of dependency following decades of of Ottoman centralization, Western colonialism and decolonization. This is a reality, not only in the Arab world, but in many other parts of the world that have undergone the bitter effects of colonialism, political autocracy, and corruption. Yet, the exclusivist labeling of Arabs and Muslims end up marginalizing Arab narratives in the global production of knowledge. The existence of some radical religious ideas re-emphasizes such generalizations. The problem here lies in the central question: "Who decides what is right and what is wrong?" The dilemma of certain international standards versus a large population of mother Earth thinking "differently" challenges presuppositions of "objectivity" and "neutrality."

One cross-cutting issue is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Arab intellectuals discussing the Arab-Israeli conflict are often projected today as "subjective", "pro-Palestinian", "Anti-Semite" and even, in some cases, as "Terrorists." In an atmosphere of self-consciousness, and in avoidance of such labeling, many Arabs focus on the Palestinian problem with a focus on international resolutions and human rights violations as well as expressing their emotions. If they manage to raise their concerns about the ongoing occupation internationally, a matter that requires a lot of ladder climbing, this still labels them as focusing solely on "self-victimization", and being "obsessed with the past." This often leads to different expressions of frustration and a snowball of renewed challenges.

1.3 Cultural/linguistic gap

– Arab thinkers and activists do not always have the same educational means or cultural capital as those in the Northern countries who are often capable of benefiting from the social welfare system. If you study medicine in a particular university which sometimes cannot afford the means to renew the curriculum or techniques used, then you end up lagging behind compared to other universities. At the same time, they sometimes have more incentives and less competition (than Northern countries) if they own certain levels of cultural capital up to local standards. The problem is that there is often some confusion regarding the terms "educated" and "intellectual", with the perception of the "educated/intellectuals" as being those who hold more information, titles and

prestige. The same applies to more "developed" countries whose large "educated" masses are not always "intellectual" in the real sense of the word. It would not be very meaningful to use analogies between the information acquired by Arab intellectuals and their Northern peers. In reality, structural, discursive, environmental, economic, and financial conditions are often very different. What is considered an intellectual activity in a certain context might not be described as such in another context. More relativity, cultural sensitivity, and contextual analysis is necessary.

- The delay in the translation and dissemination of internationally-published works into Arabic exacerbates the information gap in the Arab context. Arab book markets do not always afford translating or publishing certain genres of works due a lack of reading, and often end up focusing on what "sells" more. Many international publications only get translated and discussed in the Arab world after the discussion about them is already over in the North. The Egyptian magazine "Weghat Nazar" (Points of View) and the Kuwaiti-subsidized *Al-Thaqafa Al-'Alamiyah* (Journal of International Culture) and *"Ibda'at 'Aalamiyyah"* (Foreign Innovations) (under the auspices of the Kuwait National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters) provide incentives for the translation of international works. This is the case even for authors speaking openly and progressively about society, religion and politics (e.g. the works of Saeed Ramadan), or even names with international awards like winner of the Jury prize in Cannes Film Festival Elia Suleiman, often only known among certain Arab elite circles, with a large part of the Arab stakeholders not having heard of them. A large part of catching-up with works and debates is still lagging behind. At the same time, one might also consider cultural specifications and might wonder, "Who decides that what is discussed internationally is a debate that Arabs should also follow?"
- A gap and a certain schizophrenia is witnessed between Arab specialists addressing the local audience, and those targeting the "international" audience. Some Arab thinkers are based in the North, they publish for an international market and their works are often unknown in the Arab world. Moreover, themes discussed at local level are sometimes very different from those discussed globally, leading to a cultural gap and miscommunication. For instance, a literary club in Jordan might discuss some works by "Nizar Qabbani" or "Ghassan Kanafani" or even the issue of "Alienation", while a similar literary club in London might discuss the work of a Booker prize winner or, for instance, the works by an Indian writer like Vikram Seth or American writers such as Kurt Vonnegut or Philip Roth. In one case, a Syrian told me: "My friends and I have read different works by Collin Wilson. We know them very well. Yet when I moved to the Netherlands, I told many Dutch peers who are also interested in literature about him but no one had even heard about him."

- Northern academics, researchers and "specialists" publishing about the Arab world in English rarely address the research subjects involved. The difficulty of Arabs travelling makes it worse, with many Arabs unable to "travel" for financial, administrative and visa-related issues (a matter that has become worse with many Arabs suspected as "terrorist bombers"). This often contradicts the notion of "participation in change" and increases the alienation of local groups vis-a-vis their future. International information-seekers continue plundering treasures then going with the wind. A lot of work on the Arab world is not translated into Arabic. The *subjects* of the research and stakeholders often do not know what was written about them. Instead, they end up becoming mere *objects* of the white logo-centric intellectuals addressing other logo-centric peers from the global North, and excluding the targeted groups. The voices of targeted "multitudes", are often used to improve the profile and career mobility of northern academics and officials. In reality, the targeted groups, especially in countries like Iraq, have to face the consequences and ongoing struggles.

1.3 Political economy of knowledge / sponsorship politics

- The financial aspect plays a pivotal role in the dissemination of information. Global finances, politics of funding scholarships and local financial difficulties, and the need to sustain a living often lead to escapist situations by potential film-makers, painters, writers, musicians and theater groups, etc. The absence of a social welfare system exacerbates the problem.
- To have better opportunities, funds and scholarships, an Arab academic willing to "make it" globally, is often driven to specialize in "Middle Eastern studies" (as "experts" on the Middle East and receive scholarships), or to focus on themes determined by the global center, such as "Islam", "Arab democracy", "Civil Society" and "Gender." These subjects are not unimportant, but Arab academics often end up repeating similar Orientalist projections on the Arab world, rather than devising more analytical modes of inter-cultural communication or deeper innovation and analysis. Sometimes, some scientific themes are not sponsored. The situation also makes those interested in studying specialized forms of pure science, even other cultures unable to do so. For example, an Arab studying a certain epoch of European history, might give up. Being pushed to write about himself and not about others, has cumulative ramifications on inter-cultural understanding.
- Sponsorship and class are also connected to the "cultural capital" of the command of the English language. English being the lingua-Franca,

many non-English speaking, non-city dwelling intellectuals today often lag behind an linguistic expression. In certain cases like the Lebanon, where a significant number of University graduates speak some English or French, one witnesses how such graduates often end up being unable to raise their voices globally and often end up giving up and seeking escape to Europe, the US and Canada, leading to a significant brain-drain.

– Iraqis, Kurds, Moroccans, Egyptians and other migrants from the Arab world sometimes feel displaced in the new invironments, often being perceived as mere "outsiders," or "Arabs" and cannot always compete with European standards. Their participation is affected by language and information complexities, and dilemmas on where/how to participate, whether to be focused on their Arab circles or on the host society's historically-accumulated culture. Their earlier degrees, life contributions, and previous achievements are sometimes discredited. This leads to different dilemmas regarding how to participate in the new setting.

2. Local constraints

In addition to the difficulty of access to the global knowledge production market mentioned above, the Arab intellectual faces a number of local constraints, including:

2.1 Limited political and social freedom/censorship politics

Those criticizing the political or social system are often confronted with censorship policies based on political, religious, or cultural justifications. Many end up becoming silenced, marginalized, threatened and/or arrested, by the state, society or religious authorities.

2.2 Limited readership/printing challenges

Today the development of literature in places like Egypt for example follows the transformations in that field in the late 19th century, and the rise of a reading public, which, according to Hafez (1993), is an issue that was seminal to the birth of the Arab novel in the modern sense of the word. The existence of communication with an audience, and the exchange of debates is an important factor for intellectual activity. During the reign of Khedive Ismail in Egypt between 1863 and 1879, a plight for Westernization followed, which, together with missionary activity, educational and cultural endeavors, helped stir

new debates on various issues (e.g. tradition-modernity, Orient-Occident, religiosity-secularism, …). The number of students studying in Europe rose, reaching a total of 179 students, the first women's school and Opera House in the Ottoman Empire was established, journalism, printing houses and libraries were thriving, and many debates took place, affecting later developments (for example the Ahmad Urabi revolt). In the background, growing imperial interests in the region were witnessed. True, many of these transformations were confined to the upper class, but such a "movement" also included the immigration of intellectuals from the Levant to Egypt, and an internal Egyptian movement to Cairo as well as the rise of the Middle Class. There was a new reading public and an audience hungry for even more cultural events.

If we compare that with the reality of today, we find a different movement. The collective migration to the North has affected the knowledge production. There might be a growing level of communication through media channels in programs such as "Al-Ittijah Al-Mu'akes" (The Other Opinion) aired on Al-Jazeera Arabic channel, where debates concerning different issues take place with thousands of Arabs able to follow them. Otherwise, with the exception of the Koran and certain classics, such as the novels of "Ahlam Mustaghanimi" and "Paulo Coelho", the number of readers of analytical cultural themes is relatively low. This is also related to relations with printing houses, often lacking quality or even illustrative montage, as well as lack of trust by readers in the credibility of certain local authors. They often sell books on entertainment, religion, literature, humanities at the expense of pure sciences or technical topics like physics, chemistry, etc. Particularly in the pure sciences, there is a translation divide between the time a book is translated and the time new information replaces it. Moreover, many readers have not had the privilege of gaining the lexical terminology to follow the concepts or language used by certain Arab writers or weak translation. At the same time, one might argue that written forms of knowledge are not necessarily more "intellectual" than oral ones, if we go back to the definition we used. Although at the same time, we see lots of "non-intellectual" works published in the true sense of the word. Nevertheless, one still notices small book clubs and cultural groups ("Muntada") founded by progressive leftist and free-thinking groups across the Arab world, where the issue of participation is emphasized, but not always popularized.

2.3 Religious fundamentalism and/or social exclusion

With the rise of Islamist currents in the Arab world, an indirect tension is witnessed between liberals, Marxists and Islamists. Conservative Islamist thinkers today often present themselves and as "authentic", "productive" "more appropriate" to the local Arab population. In doing so, they tend to

marginalize secular, liberal and Marxist thinkers, presenting them as mere "modernists", "consumers of foreign knowledge", "followers of colonial powers", "inappropriate" and "alien" to the grassroots population. They often use religion to "get away" and "silence" their adversaries under the name of religious sanctity. Many so-called intellectuals often end up being submissive to conservative interpretations and try to negotiate their way through these doctrines, even if they do not agree with them. It is up to the more progressive and enlightened thinkers and genuine intellectuals both religious and non-religious, Arab, Muslim and on the international sphere, to redefine the scope of participation, diversity and intellectual debate.

2.4 Hierarchy of power/gender relations

Despite the large number of female University graduates, a woman aiming to publish her work has to face a number of challenges and hierarchies (personal and social circumstances, lack of a social welfare system of maternity and child-care rights, male-dominated academic spheres, …). Many women find it to be too much of an uphill battle. Religion, political factions, gender, colour and ethnicity often affect access to opportunities, with minorities or people with disabilities discriminated against and giving up the struggle. In certain cases, it is the other way round, where certain minorities and people with disabilities receive more attention, gaining more access to expressing their voices. Sexist projections of women in a lot of the Arab knowledge production are still highly visible. Apart from female reporters, and women speaking about fashion, the typical image is of women and childcare, and despite the high level of education of Arab women, traditional gender roles still prevail. At the same time, Arab New Media is also used by certain women to level criticism on their different struggles.

Another issue is the problem of copyright, where many researchers lose their voices due to losing their copyrights to their bosses or other "figures" with more political or social stamina.

2.5 Financial problems

Many Arab intellectuals today publish their work on their own or get their work published by centers covering only the printing of their work, without giving them financial credit. An individual in the Arab world cannot always earn a living from intellectual activity. As a result, many suffer from financial problems and end up having to work in other fields and often wasting their energy. Those aiming to challenge social structures need funding for their projects and have to comply to the funding conditions and topics covered by

donor agencies, having to spend a lot of time writing proposals, reports, budgets and log-frame documents.

2.6 Civil society work/reports versus academic production

With international funding targeting civil society organizations in the South, and with efforts to be more socially-engaged, several Arab academics work in civil society organizations. They end up producing project reports that are redundant or repetitive instead of more analytical work.

2.7 Universities not engaging sufficiently in the knowledge society

The large influx of students and limited university budgets today, result in most Arab universities not producing sufficient intellectual and academic thought. The responsibilities involved in teaching high numbers of students and their low salaries consume a lot of their energy, being unable to achieve their personal academic interests. A perception of education as being a tool towards earning degrees, social prestige and power exists, rather than challenging existing structures. Many students end up being obsessed with marks. Yet we still find some faculty members and students challenging administrative hierarchies and they could be considered as engaged "intellectuals" trying to light a candle every day despite the many challenges.

2.8 General mood of defeatism/exile/alienation

Consquently and as a result of the above, Arab intellectuals resort to a general mood of exile and defeatism. We may need to question to what extent are Arab thinkers today challenging the knowledge hierarchies and participating organically in the reconstruction of the knowledge society both locally and internationally. More serious academic engagement is necessary.

This is a general summary of the situation facing Arab participation in the knowledge society. I have identified the main challenges and believe that these challenges require a personal, collective and structural interplay. In the context of a German-Palestinian exchange I would like to plead for more active participation by those who cannot afford to speak or participate or who "do not have the time for time" using the Darwish expression, I add a quote I like from Rainer Maria Rilke that reminds me of the plight of certain intellectuals coping with their daily struggles. My wish is another form of knowledge, one that is wide, free, critical and sensitive to power relations:

"I love the dark hours of my being.
My mind deepens into them.
There I can find, as in old letters,
the days of my life, already lived,
and held like a legend, and understood.

Then the knowing comes: I can open
to another life that's wide and timeless.

So I am sometimes like a tree
rustling over a gravesite
and making real the dream
of the one its living roots
embrace:
a dream once lost
among sorrows and songs."

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Ria Puhl

Participation – as a Central Right of Service Users in Germany

The topic of my article is "participation" from a sociological point of view. So I will first talk about what place this term has in sociology (1.). Then I will introduce some definitions, theories and criticism of participation (2.). The third part of my presentation concentrates on participation as a central right for service users in Germany (3.). On the basis of a study done with young people living in child and youth-care institutions I will then demonstrate how young people feel about participation (4.). This leads to the results of the study and provides answers to the question of how successful participation can be reached.

In sociology participation is not a central term. There are dictionaries which do not list it. Even some of the famous ones do not mention participation as a keyword. Nevertheless: participation has two meanings:

- Firstly: participation can mean "to take part; to identify with particular institutions, values and socially relevant powers of a society".
- Secondly: participation can be to actively get involved in political work and to take part in democratic processes and structuring. In order for participation to work, the socialisation of individuals has to follow a certain mechanism. Participation also needs specific institutional patterns, communication and power structures in organisations. Participation is seen as an indicator of democracy and insofar as a central component of democratization.

1. Definition of term

Participation comes from the Latin words pars (= part) and capere (= to take). The term "participation" is being used in the German language to describe extending and growing involvement in governance. The term is historically linked to the widespread civil emancipation efforts.

For Talcott Parsons, one of America's great sociologists, participation is connected to acclamation. Acclamation in politics is a vote by voice or ap-

plause. A group of people will decide on a matter or a candidate by shouting their approval.

Participation is a behaviour that preferably stabilizes the balance of a system. If people are indifferent and do not care about political decisions there is a lack of integration into the system. An example for a lack of system integration can be low voter participation in the case of an election.

In the 1960s in Germany the topic participation gained a more emphatic meaning and was strongly used in cultural revolutionary programs. Those programs insisted on general and equal chances for participation in decisions in all subsystems of society (Jürgen Habermas, 1981). Here the term participation moves closer to the term democratization.

2. Participation: forms, theory and criticism

During the past two decades supporters of the reform movement wanted "participation" in all areas of life. However, the term was used more often in connection with the attempt to democratize everyday life. In the Sixties in Germany citizen's groups particularly demanded co-determination and self-determination – a culture to criticize authority and a grassroots' orientation developed. Experiments with different forms of participation were carried out, for example flat-sharing communities, state independent kindergartens or independent schools. People also demanded more participative opportunities from public offices, especially in city planning and particularly in the area of redevelopment and new developments. Some of the demands were met in special advisory councils and citizens' forums.

With community development (Gemeinwesenarbeit) the attempt was made to mobilize underprivileged population groups. The demand for emphatic participation was entering almost all areas of society – such as schools, universities, the armed forces, theatre or church. Public authorities and institutions had to make allowances for that demand.

When the demand for participation rose in the 1960s social science debates about it were marked by scepticism. A famous German political sociologist, Claus Offe (2004), saw in the growing demand for participation not a cause of politics of reforms. For him participation was the follow-up conflict attached to politics of reforms. Public administrations use participation methods as a strategy to create loyalty. Or participation will become a symbolic gratification which does not change the powerlessness of those who are facing administrative decisions.

Taking part in decision-making processes is reserved only for those groups which are actively involved in the job markets and merchandise mar-

kets. The interests of other groups which act outside those areas are not aggressive enough nor can those interests be organized.

From the point of view of Claus Offe and other sociologists the demand for participation is failing, because of real power structures. Niklas Luhmann (1984) – who is another very important German sociologist – however, looks at participation from a perspective based on the systems theory and disagrees: For him participation just has to be structured differently due to a growing complexity. In a democracy, because of its complexity, it is not possible for every single person to really take part in political decision-making processes. Decision-making processes are characterized by selection – they also create more "no's" then "yes's". Generally it is most likely for decision-making processes to be opposed, the more rational and broader those processes are. Niklas Luhmann said: "To demand an intensive and committed participation of all people would lead to frustration (or disappointment) as a principle".

Today participation is implemented by law, in UN-Conventions and so on – and maybe it is more an obligation to take part than an option!! We will get back to this aspect later.

For a long time participation has been part of long-established debates on a theory of democracy, in which the demand for participation is connected to radical democratic concepts – as Rousseau had developed them. During the stage of reform in Germany in the 60s and 70s the idea of participation gained political importance. Since participation was demanded from the "bottom" of the hierarchy – meaning from the people – participation was a legitimate civic opposition that revitalized democracy.

Maybe, over the last decades, the fact was overlooked or perhaps was simply ignored that there has been a growing number of developments that have led to participation looking like enforcement. Especially if you look at all the areas of life that the government has been taking charge of with administrative rules. Nowadays, a deformation and colonisation of everyday life is highly visible. Apparently the oppositional culture that expressed itself through the demand for participation is changing. A culture of refusal is developing instead which begins to show in a "No" that it is disconnected from participation – which means a behaviour has spread that is just the opposite of participation.

To give you some examples of this development:

- Fewer and fewer people participate in elections. The voter participation has been declining steadily.
- Furthermore, in Germany there are fringe groups, like ethnic minority groups, which do not participate in our society. These people live in a so called "parallel society".
- And a last example for a refusal to participate: In the past young people participated a lot more in groups like youth groups and groups which

represented the interests of students in school or youth parliaments more than they do nowadays. That sort of involvement has decreased.

Those and other developments in society have led to a widespread range of artificial social and cultural attempts to initiate participation. I use the word artificially. In Germany one of these artificial attempts is the so called "Sozialraumorientierung". It means an orientation on social environments (Hinte & Treeß, 2006).

In Germany, professional social workers are currently debating the definition of the term environment as a sense of "social space". I will describe what this "orientation within social environments" aims to do: "Sozialraumorientierung" or the topic "social space" is very important in the newer German social work approaches or concepts – and it is a top-down instrument. Its main goals are to establish networks, to mobilize neighbourhoods, to strengthen a feeling of community in districts and streets. "Sozialraumorientierung" is an example for an instrument used by authorities to artificially create participation.

Similar concepts exist in other fields of social work (Thiersch et al:, 2002; Hinte & Treeß 2006; Adams 2008; Lüttringhaus, 2000). For example contribution and self-determination as required in child and youth care: Children and parents as service users of the child and youth care are asked to reflect on their behaviour – which they have never done before – and to make a right choice. In other words: participation therefore is artificial, because it is demanded and because it is being used as a tool to achieve involvement. This is the case especially in the care planning processes. I will come back to this later on in my presentation.

3. Participation as a central right

In the following I will emphasise one of the central rights of the United Nations: the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is the right to participate in each and everything that concerns oneself. I will outline – not in detail, but roughly – the perceptions, regulations and preconditions for the participation of children in Germany (Fatke 2008 and 2005). To narrow down this wide topic I will focus on children living in residential homes. My argumentation is based on an empirical study named "Participation as a quality Standard for Residential Child and Youth Care". It was initiated by SOS Kinderdorf, a German NGO, and the Internationale Gesellschaft für erzieherische Hilfen, the German branch of the Fédération Internale des Communautés Educatives".

For several years an intense debate on the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child has taken place – both on an interna-

tional and European level and on a German national level. The national legal framework for this right is the Child and Youth Services Act (KJHG). In this act the whole range of child and youth services is regulated: it addresses provisions of nursery care, youth work, socio-educational work, how to shape socio-educational services, their planning, responsibilities, finances and the co-operation between official social service agencies and NGOs as well as the participation of the service users.

The Child and Youth Services Act contains a number of regulations that specify options of service users' participation in the decision-making of the Social Services Department. Participation is demanded and emphasized as good professional practice. Specifically during the care planning process social workers urge service users to make use of their right to participate. There are cases, even if they are rare, when a judge would overrule a care planning process decision, because the relevant persons have not been involved enough in the process. At first sight then, the right to participate seems realised, just as demanded and guaranteed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, there are limitations. In practice participation is limited or even denied when a child or the parents are not capable of participating for various reasons. Regarding the child this could be the case when the young person is not mature enough to understand the care planning process. The parents can be denied the right to participate if they have severe problems like drug abuse or a history of violent behaviour. Only if the well-being of a child is in danger does the Social Service Department take action. Generally, though, the participation of parents and children and co-operation with the Social Service Department is aimed for.

The law specifies: "In accordance with personal maturity and development children and young persons are to be involved in all decisions of statutory services concerning them." (Paragraph 8 [1] KJHG)

4. Participation in practice – results of research

What does participation mean in a concrete and practical sense?

By searching literature a huge scale of models (from heteronomy to autonomy) can be found:

- self-government,
- self-determination,
- co-determination,
- contribution,
- to be assigned, informed,
- taking part,
- quasi-participation (alibi),

- decoration,
- heteronomy – to be determined by others.

A closer examination of this list prompts the argument that there could be different perceptions of participation. Taking part or to contribute for example means one thing for children and maybe parents, and means something completely different to social workers or so it seems. That is not very astonishing or surprising! – A big gap exists between the professionals´ perspective and the definitions and views of young people. Certainly, professionals identify a need for participation, but children and young people have a different and very clear idea about how they want to participate.

4.1 The study

The research study (Pluto & Seckinger, 2006; Pluto et al., 2003) I mentioned earlier aimed to find out how young people in a child and youth care institution define successful participation in regard to self-determination.

Here are the results:

Fifty young people aged 15 to 18 years from six child and youth care institutions were asked to describe what participation meant for them in their residential homes. Answering the question "What do you consider indicators for successful participation in your residential youth care institution?" they ranked the factors as following:

- to feel good/ good relationships (highest ranking),
- communication and discussion,
- freedom of opinion,
- privacy,
- confidence,
- honesty and friendly environment,
- open-minded care givers,
- interest in each others,
- rules,
- bodies of participation,
- own choice of food,
- freedom of religion (lowest ranking).

The young peoples' answers were strongly drawn from and affected by their everyday life and everyday experiences. The arguments were based on their experience with carers and peer groups in the residential settings.

4.2 Successful participation: how it can work

What do those answers tell us in regard to successful participation?

First of all: participation requires a specific climate. The views expressed by the young people can be grouped into three major indicators for successful participation in residential youth care from a user perspective:

- Atmosphere: as one young person said, "You have to feel good in your home".
- Social relations: as one young person said, "A good relationship with my carer is important for me to feel safe".
- General condition: as one young person said, "everything which supports participation is important and one thing complements the other".

The question is: how participation can be reached and what are the preconditions for the implementation process?

First of all, the process requires the involvement of all people and the right for all people to participate – no matter what their status or function in an institution is.

The study isolated three indicators for successful participation:

- Implementation needs a culture of participation.
- Implementation needs a professional and personally positive attitude towards participation.
- Implementation needs a climate of participation.

From this it is possible to extract recommendations and good practice examples as quality indicators for participation:

- Professionals leave the defining of participation to the children and young people and recognize them as recipients, users and also experts in relation to services.
- Professionals reflect the general educational principle of participation in their daily activities.
- Professionals inform children and youth about all relevant concerns and rights.
- Facilities in residential child care develop a participation culture.
- Facilities in residential child care develop a participation climate.
- Facilities in residential child care develop a participation model.
- Facilities in residential child care implement their general model of participation in a binding system requiring commitment to participation.

These are the results of the study.

At this point we can conclude: for participation the institutional preconditions need to be implemented and a structure has to be available.

I am almost at the end of my presentation. Almost! I would like to ask you a question now – just one: what about people who don't want to participate? Is it too provocative to ask that? – After all – participation is a core democratic value. Thus, should participation not be voluntary for the individ-

ual person? Should one not be able to decide whether he or she wants to take part or not?

But: to participate is a choice one can make – as a democratic right. According to democratic rights, though, a person should always be allowed to refuse participation. And then to bear the consequences, but that is another theme for another day!

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Eman Abusada

Participation between the Rhetoric of Western Donor NGOs and the Reality of Social Work and Social Development Practice in Palestine

1. Introduction

During the last two decades, a wide spectrum of international non-governmental organizations has launched different social development programs and projects to serve the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Most of the donor agencies, mainly European and American non-governmental organizations (NGOs), have expressed their goals to help the Palestinian people build the infrastructure of their social and economic institutions (Brynen, 1996); reduce poverty and relieve suffering; and to develop people rather than technologies (Farraj, 1995). The establishment of a diversity of Northern and local NGOs in Palestine has contributed to the emergence of a social services environment consisting of agencies with divergent philosophies, policies, practices, religious affiliations, and political orientations (Hammami, 1995). Especially with respect to the local NGOs, this diversity represents a strong element of political pluralism, which has been considered an important component in the emerging civil society (Bargouthi, 1994; & Muslih, 1995).

Before the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, NGOs in Palestine played a crucial role in carrying out different social services and social development projects. Historically, these organizations functioned at a time when there were no official governmental bodies working in the area, apart from agents connected with the military occupation whose services were limited to that of providing minimum social services to the Palestinian society. This social service environment has become more complicated ever since the Palestinian Authority's (PA) public social service agencies entered the service arena traditionally occupied by NGOs' following the 1993 Oslo Peace agreement between the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) and Israel. In most cases, many of these organizations (public as well as NGOs) work in parallel fashion and generally share the same beneficiaries (Hammami, 1995).

When compared to the public social service organizations foreign and local NGOs have introduced a new vocabulary, using words such as 'empo-

werment', 'capacity building', 'people's participation' and 'awareness raising' (Longland, 1994). They have argued that their social development programs are aimed at empowering people through involving them in their own social development; as a result, their programs are more participatory in nature than projects run by governmental organizations (Farraj, 1995). NGO staff believe that people's participation in social development projects is a very important and crucial dimension of their work and its success.

Despite the emphasis of the Northern NGOs and local Palestinian NGOs on people's participation in their social development projects, a number of questions have been raised and remain unanswered. Such as: what is the nature and definition of people's participation; in what ways are social development projects participatory; and in which way do the activities and practices implemented by NGOs in social development projects manifest participatory qualities. There is a lack of empirical research examining the work of Northern NGOs in Palestine and of local NGOs funded by Northern NGOs as well as a lack of research analysis of how people's participation is conceptualized and practised in social development projects. The discussions on this paper would shed light on the issues mentioned above.

The discussion in this paper is based on a study that the writer conducted between 2002-2003 as part of her doctorate dissertation. The overarching purpose of this study was to explore the way in which the concept of people's participation (or beneficiaries' participation) is defined, conceptualized, and understood by policy makers and administrators of international Northern NGOs and the way the concept is defined, conceptualized and implemented or practised in social development projects by their local Palestinian NGO partners whom they fund. A descriptive, non-experimental research design using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodlogies was applied in order to answer this question. In this study, the use of open-ended questions in phase one of the study has allowed the experts of Northern NGOs to provide their own definitions and conceptualizations on the concept people's participation in social development projects. In phase two, the extent to which actual NGO activities and practices exhibit participatory qualities – that is to say, the extent to which participatory practices and activities are implemented in the work of local NGO partners or in the local projects that Northern NGOs run themselves, were described. In this second phase this study tried to explore how social workers and development practitioners in local Palestinian NGOs perceive, define, conceptualize, and practise people's participation in social development projects.

2. The argument

The issues related to the impact of Northern NGOs and their local Palestinians NGO partners, as well as the extent to which they are really bringing about and fostering a participatory paradigm in social development in Palestine, are questioned and criticized by many. Historically, it is difficult to conclude that NGOs in the Palestinian context were established as a result of an assessment of the needs of the population, yet they were a response to the concrete needs of different sectors of society within the framework of mass organizations (Hammami, 1995). Some argue that they were founded as a result of top-down decisions made by foreign donors and/or local experts claiming to know the needs of the Palestinian society (Nimer, 1997). In contradiction to claims by Palestinian NGOs that they are people-oriented, it has been widely criticized that NGOs have become distanced from the wider community of which they were once an organic part (Hammami, 1995), and have begun to treat their target groups as passive "constituencies" rather than active participants. (Nimer, 1997). Moreover, there was criticism that they operate within a supply-led welfare system in which services and programs are determined by funding sources, rather than by the needs of the people (Hammami, 1995). Moreover, NGOs in Palestine were accused of not providing development services, since their services were never channeled to local and communal representatives. Instead, they were directed to individuals to encourage individualism over cooperative activities (Samara, 2001).

Nevertheless, a critical argument of the NGO group (Northern and local) in Palestine is their claim that they are more effective and efficient than government programs – an effectiveness that they argue comes from placing an emphasis on people's participation in social development projects. NGO personnel frequently voice the belief that people are situated at the heart of their development practices and activities, and not only at the receiving end of their services. At the same time, they claim that the public sector and governmental organizations usually fail to acknowledge the importance of people's participation in the different stages of the social development projects. Despite the claim that programs and projects conducted by NGOs (Northern and local) are participatory and people-oriented in nature, this has never been substantiated by empirical data. For many Northern NGOs and their local partners involved in the Palestinian context, the concept of people's participation in social development projects may mean different things. Moreover, Palestinian NGOs were accused of using this term as jargon (Farraj, 1995). There is no common approach to people's participation. The problem is in the lack of a clear, documented conceptualization among workers in the NGO sector on the meaning of the term „people's participa-

tion" as well as the absence of a clear, empirical investigation of how the notion of "people's participation" is actually put into operation in the field.

Despite the lack of a systematic understanding of the real impact that NGOs have on Palestinian society, many have argued that the Palestinian NGO sector is to be considered a civil movement, essential to building Palestinian society and promoting social development (Betz, 1995; Hammami, 1995; Longland, 1994; Nimer, 1997 & Sullivian, 1996). This civil movement is considered to be manifested in the local population's ability to participate in organizations supporting and nurturing their own community, a situation that has served as an antidote to the despotic military occupation and the activity of other official organizations aimed at isolating or excluding people from influencing policies that touch upon their own development (Hammami, 1995). Moreover, NGOs in Palestine have emphasized their ability to reach the poorest Palestinian communities and become actively involved in helping these communities to meet their needs. NGO personnel frequently voice the belief that people are situated at the heart of their development practices and activities and not only at the receiving end of their services. At the same time they claim that the public sector or governmental organizations usually fail to meet the needs of the remote areas, while NGOs are as a rule able to do a better job through their flexible structures.

3. The discussion

The discussions aim to tackle the issue of the conceptualizations and definitions of the respondents from donor NGOs in comparison to the conceptualizations and definitions of the respondents from local NGOs. Participation themes from phase one of the study, which investigated the conceptualizations and definitions of the concept of 'people's participation' as perceived, defined, and conceptualized by representatives from Northern donor NGOs, and from phase two, which examined how the concept is perceived, defined and practised in actual social development projects of local Palestinian NGOs, are combined or related in an attempt to understand how both groups deal with the concept. The aim is to reflect critically on how and where both groups of respondents coincide, how they understand each other or depend on each other to make decisions, and how they therefore influence the actual practices of participation. The discussion will be presented in the following categories:

3.1 Participation: a process vs. short-term activity

Respondents from Northern donor organizations who considered participation as entailing full involvement in all phases of the project – needs assessment, decision-making, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and follow up perceived this as a continuous process. While continuity was considered a main feature, respondents from Northern donor organizations were less clear about the nature of this continuity, and how this would be manifested. If continuity means long-term and sustained involvement, it becomes essential to address in which ways the internal structure and characteristics of a specific organization may facilitate or hinder such involvement. This would help to establish the basis for truly realizing participation at the project level as a means of empowerment. In this regard, when involvement of the beneficiaries is conceptualized as a continuous process in the project cycle which is lasting and permanent, it is proposed that this should not be left to coincidence or to the personal judgment of the organizations' staff. In order for this continuous involvement to be genuine and conducive to the whole process of beneficiaries' or/and communities' empowerment, it is necessary for the organization to create structures to facilitate such involvement in a meaningful way to the beneficiaries. Without such structures, involvement may well be perceived as a burden on the organization and as obstructing the implementation of projects. Since power is enhanced when people have the opportunity to work towards desired goals (Sullivan, 1994), participation as a means of empowerment may be put into operation at the project level when the organization's structure allows the beneficiaries and community members to directly influence the decisions on how a project is run; or when the organization's structure also allows beneficiaries the power to change the direction of the project when they consider it to better serve their needs.

In contrast, the respondents' definitions from the local Palestinian organizations were less abstract and more practical regarding participation. For example, respondents from local organizations addressed the function that beneficiaries' involvement has for the project. In this respect, participation plays a role in facilitating the staff's work and their smooth entrance into the community. Hence, beneficiaries become advocates for the project and mainly disseminate information about the project to the community, which helps to achieve the predetermined goal of project objectives. This is a clear indication of a system-maintenance function of participation, which according to Smith (1998) may be termed passive participation: passive in that it does not tackle the issue of power people usually lack when not involved in the different decision-making processes. In addition, respondents from local organizations saw the best forms of participation as being two-fold: 1) when beneficiaries participate in identifying their needs, and 2) when they contribute to the project with their own resources. Respondents from local organizations

placed emphasis on how participation could be operationalized in a specific phase of the project in a way meaningful to them. Hence, participation is not perceived as continuous, but as a short-term activity, to serve the predesigned goals of a project. Because respondents from local organizations have a different understanding of participation, they would therefore be excused from having to define the nature of this participation as continuity which respondents from donor organizations seemed to need to emphasize.

The different orientation toward participation on the part of both responding groups highlights their different points of departure. Both orientations appear to have shortcomings. While the emphasis on the continuity aspect of the process on the part of most respondents from donor organizations lacked a clear operationalization of the concept at the project level, the emphasis on participation as being a short-term activity on the part of respondents from local organizations clearly raises the issue of passive participation. These differences clearly outline the dichotomy between "idealistic vs. realistic" definitions. Nevertheless, a few respondents from donor organizations attempted to operationalize this continuous aspect of participation in the project by addressing the way they monitor how democratic values are embedded in the local organizations' own internal practices and strategies, yet without clearly defining what 'democratic' means and how it manifests itself in the project.

The dependency of local NGOs on foreign funding raises some contradictions for the rhetoric of participation. The current sector of local Palestinian NGOs working in social development face a problem of dependency; they are tied by different policies and structures imposed on them by different funding organizations (and those may be governmental as well as non-governmental). Because of this relationship, the choices these local NGOs have regarding their projects and how to run them are always tied to their funding organizations' requirements, which are believed to impose restrictions on genuine participation. This issue becomes problematic when Northern NGOs maintain the same procedures and policies as official organizations in terms of being a funding organization and ignoring their role as partners in development initiatives to promote different kinds of practices in development projects. In the Palestinian context this problem becomes obvious, as NGOs also seek official aid money and are not restricted to non-governmental funding. In this regard, Northern NGOs would face problems in implementing their rhetoric of participation if no agreement existed with their local NGO partners on clear ways to manifest participatory practices. Yet the dilemma that Northern NGOs are continually faced with in Palestine is how they should deal with the continuous emergent needs of the Palestinian population and avoid a dependency relationship. The respondents from Northern NGOs addressed the issue of dependency when stating how poverty creates a dependency relationship for the beneficiaries, yet failed to address the implications

of such a dependency relationship on the local NGOs themselves. In such a relationship, if participation occurs it would serve the system-maintenance and be far from transformative. In such a restricted view, what becomes idealistic is not the empowerment rhetoric which in this case is quite irrelevant but the expectation that poor people contribute to the project.

3.2 'Voluntary' resource contribution and the illusion of people's power

Both groups of respondents, those from the Northern donor organizations and those from local Palestinian organizations emphasized in their conceptualizations "the contribution of beneficiaries and community members to the project" as a viable form of participation. This is considered a very common use of the term (Smith, 1998). In fact, respondents from local Palestinian organizations addressed this issue at large and considered it a very crucial aspect of participation. Moreover, both groups of respondents considered this form of participation as crucial to a project's success. In this form of participation, the beneficiaries are expected to give cash or volunteer with their labor, or with other material resources.

The importance placed especially by the respondents from local Palestinian organizations on beneficiaries' material and resource contributions seems to underline the emphasis placed by the local NGOs as well as donor organizations on the need of local communities to be self-reliant and meet their needs with their own resources. In the experience of the researcher working with NGOs in Palestine, this issue was raised many times. When activities of the project are reported to the donors, the organization always made sure to report the amount of contribution of local communities and beneficiaries in the different project's activities. This practice was valued highly by the donors, and considered to be crucial to the project's success. Moreover, it seems that resource contribution by the beneficiaries and the local communities is perceived to indicate the operationalization of participation and is used to evaluate participatory activities in the project.

Moreover, the amount of contribution of the local communities or the beneficiaries is considered as an indicator of how much the communities and beneficiaries are able to be self-reliant and fund their own development. These ideals of self-reliance and autonomy, praised by both donor and local NGOs, may raise problems in the Palestinian context where the majority of the population lives in poverty, and much of the population lives in refugee camps barely able to sustain their daily needs. Added to this is the devastation of a whole Palestinian society by continuous violence, manifested in the ongoing confiscation of agricultural land and demolition of houses. Thus, it seems that both groups of respondents from donor and local Palestinian or-

ganizations seem to overemphasize the contribution of people as a crucial form of participation, overlooking the desperately needed external resources on the part of poor communities where, in most cases, communities' local resources are insufficient to meet local needs. Moreover, this emphasis on resource contribution disregards the issues of power and disparity largely existing in the Palestinian society.

Many argue that the mobilization of community resources is a step towards empowerment, towards increasing independence and self-reliance where dependency on external funding fails (Burkey, 1993; & Smith, 1998).

If the idea of participation is to involve people in the projects financially or with personal resources, certainly poverty prevents it. The problem arises when participation is limited to these ideas and conceptualization becomes misleading. In fact, this form of participation would be problematic when beneficiaries or community members are expected to contribute financially or with labor in a project they do not have much say in. Also, if beneficiaries and community members are not able to decide on what direction and how their efforts will be directed, such participatory methods would aim only, as Nelson and Wright (1995) described it, towards transferring project costs from an agency to the intended beneficiaries. This would fit very well in the system-maintenance function of participation described by Stiefel & Wolfe (1994), where 'voluntary' contribution becomes deceptive when people are expected to contribute to the project regardless of their exhaustion, continuous worries about sustaining their basic needs, and dangers. As Clark (1991) questioned, how much voluntary contribution is 'voluntary', when the poor are sometimes coerced to contribute to the project in the spirit of participation. In this sense, when voluntary contribution is expected, it is not genuinely 'voluntary' and it does not come from the people themselves. It becomes particularly problematic if it stands alone to express participation in a specific project, without spelling out the role of people in the different processes of the project cycle and the degree of power they have. Let us not forget we are talking about projects not initiated by the community or grassroots oriented, but about projects initiated by organizations that set rules for self-reliant development, considering it a form of empowerment to the communities without considering the lack of power these communities have in the project.

3.3 Participation as a means and participation as an end or as a goal

Some aspects of the definition expressed by respondents from Northern donor organizations encompassed ambitious elements, while some aspects of the definition expressed by respondents from local Palestinian organizations

included a view of participation much closer to how it is perceived within the framework of their social work practice. Respondents from Northern donor organizations perceive participation as an end in itself besides being a means of making projects function better. This approach to promote participation as an end in itself is discussed in literature extensively (Oakley, 1995, UNDP, 1997), and perceives participation as a process leading to comprehensive empowerment of the beneficiaries and community members. This may be achieved when people and local communities acquire the skills, knowledge and experience to take greater responsibility for their development. The ambitious part in this definition is that it is not operationalized in practice, with no reference to how it could be manifested at the project level.

At the other end, respondents from local Palestinian organizations view participation within the viewpoint of the social work profession as an informed value in the practice of the social worker, which is referred to as "clients' self-determination" in mainstream social work activities. This view acknowledges the right of the 'clients' to participate and decide on their individual intervention plans. In this specific instance, the respondents from the local Palestinian organizations use both concepts of participation and self-determination interchangeably, where participation is considered the same as recognizing the right of 'clients' to self-determination, while self-determination is expressed through giving the 'clients' the opportunity to participate. Within this point of departure, beneficiaries do not have much say in the decision-making processes of the project or its overall design. On another level, the mainstream social welfare system perceives 'clients' as having the possibility to decide for themselves if they want to receive the services of the project or not, and then having the possibility to define their own needs from the project as a result. This view is so much like a "provide-receive relationship" in that the established projects provide services seen by professionals as those needed by a target group who are at the receiving end in the relationship and who can decide on receiving the services or not, depending on how much it fits the 'clients' needs. In this approach, participation is no more than cooperation with the services and voluntary reception, and, to some extent, the choice of selecting from options provided by the organization.

Addressing participation and self-determination interchangeably in the conceptualizations of the respondents from local Palestinian organizations could be related to the fact that the majority of the respondents from the local organizations have social work training. Linking this to the emphasis put in social work training on the empowerment and strength perspective as a form of operationalization of empowerment of the most disadvantaged (Rose, 1992; Saleebey, 1990; & Weick, Rapp, Sullivan, & Kisthardt, 1989), the focus of the respondents from local organizations regarding this approach could be perceived as being closely related to their training in social work.

For example, an organization in Palestine targeting disabled youth states in its policy statement that "empowerment of the target group is a goal of the rehabilitation activities," in this sense, this organization uses the term empowerment to mean the increase of the 'clients' individual choices in life through training and rehabilitation. This empowerment approach parallels the commonly used approach connoting the ability of an individual to enlarge and use personal power, which is linked to the concepts of competence and self-efficacy (Sullivan, 1994). In this sense, participation of a client would be a means to achieve his/her individual goal, which he/she might actively design, and which may also be perceived as a means for his/her individual empowerment resulting from being active in designing his/her individual plan. The shortcoming in this approach lies in the fact that the definition of empowerment of the target groups is constructed around definitions usually established in the organization's objectives. These definitions of empowerment might not be consistent with the empowerment expectations and experiences of the target groups. Moreover, this approach deals more with individual empowerment than collective, and does not clarify how empowering a person individually to actively make choices in his/her own life can be channeled through collective action. The above example shows that the question is how are the disabled to be empowered on an individual level to influence policies and behaviors that discriminate against them as a group at the societal level?

The approaches to participation discussed above highlight the two different ways 'participants' or 'target groups' are framed. The approach expressed by the respondents from donor organizations emphasized empowerment at the collective level, framing the target group as 'actors' and the staff as 'facilitators' in such a process. On the other hand, the approach expressed by the respondents from local organizations emphasized empowerment at an individual level, and sees the target groups as 'recipients of services', 'clients' and/or 'beneficiaries', and the staff as 'professionals'.

These two different ways of perceiving the target groups would indicate different ways of interacting with them and the various expectations regarding participation, which may not be interchangeable or synonymous. Part of the issue is related to the context in which local NGOs work. The view expressed by the respondents of local organizations addresses the challenges that social development NGOs face in Palestine, which makes the rhetoric of participation irrelevant for both donor and local organizations. While, local NGOs are involved in development activities, the extreme poverty in Palestine makes it hard for development NGOs to move away from the charity mentality, which has characterized their work in Palestine for a long time. Moreover, the pressing basic needs of the Palestinian society in the last three years have reawakened this charitable approach, an aspect that respondents from the donor Northern organizations addressed when they discussed how the context obstructs participation. Samara (2002) emphasized that despite the claim of

NGOs that their work is focused on developing the Palestinian society, their activities appeared charitable. Even if they target the poor, as Samara argued, projects are based on charity. Therefore, it is not surprising that respondents from local Palestinian NGOs scored highly on seeing participation at most as a function of the need assessment phase of the project and least as a function for empowerment of the beneficiaries.

It is very important to place how respondents from donor organizations perceive participation as a tool for empowerment in the context of the literature on participation, which treats this issue extensively. Many authors and international organizations who have conceptualized participation have touched upon prerequisites for participation and have consistently claimed that participation requires 'profound and social structural change' as well as a 'massive redistribution of power (Oakley, 1995; Pearse & Stiefel, 1980; Stiefel & Wolfe, 1994; & UNDP, 1997). Respondents from Northern donor organizations have placed a lot of emphasis on participation as a process of comprehensive empowerment through increasing the ability of the poorest of the poor, the vulnerable, and the most marginalized to participate. They have also emphasized the removal of barriers (those could be related to the broader social power relations and dynamics) that might hinder their participation, through increasing their abilities to challenge their disadvantaged realities and structures in order to ensure the protection of their needs and interests. However, in spite of all this they have avoided addressing what a redistribution of power and social structural change might entail. Their approach to empowerment could well be described as accommodating the reality that exists in Palestine; and therefore, their approach is confined to: "people or communities having the awareness of their rights and what they entail for them as human beings without including how to "remove barriers related to the broader social power relations and dynamics."

As a result, respondents from donor organizations may tackle the issue of people's transformation from being passive receivers of services to real actors in the issues that concern them, but they fail to define how this can take place without undertaking structural changes in the society, and they do not deal with the power disparity in society and the structural forces working against such a transformation. Respondents from donor organizations recognized many obstacles in implementing participatory activities in the project, and referred among many other factors to the on-going political oppression and discrimination Palestinian society faces as a result of militarily occupation, as well as to the patriarchal nature of the Palestinian society, with its social inequalities between men and women and constraints on women's participation. They also referred to how power structures in the Palestinian communities exclude certain groups/individuals such as refugees and the disabled. These factors, closely linked to the issue of structural forces, were mentioned by the respondents from donor organizations as obstructing participatory activities,

and were considered hard to tackle in general. In this case, providing people with the information and the skills, enabling the Palestinian people to be actors and not subjects of development, would thus be even more relevant for donor organizations.

Respondents from donor organizations also perceived the traditional form of Palestinian community leadership as a potential problem for wider participation. Respondents from donor organizations saw these obstacles to participation as related to the interpersonal relationships arising in all communities, not only in Palestine, where communities suffer from conflicts, rivalries, and factionalism. Many respondents from donor organizations considered these problems to be real obstacles towards participation. This reflects a contradiction in the views of the respondents from donor organizations. On one level, their detailed consideration of the problems in Palestinian society obstructing participation might be perceived as value judgments. On another level, their failure to promote practices to overcome such obstacles makes their rhetoric about participation very idealistic. Why is it considered a practical option in development projects run or administered by these organizations to use authoritative structures if, in fact, they feel authoritative and patriarchal societies obstruct participatory practices? If donor organizations genuinely believe in empowering the poor, the vulnerable, and the less advantaged in society, as they have indeed formulated in their conceptualizations, why do they expect to have no resistance? If a women's project, for example, requiring women's participation in its activities were stopped because women face a different kind of oppression from a different source, what is the project's stance? Will the project's staff help the women increase their awareness of oppression and support them in advancing their role, jeopardizing the loss of their reputation and stance in the community, or are they going to compromise on a middle course that does not best serve the interests of the women, but rather makes the project more acceptable to the existing power structure, thus maintaining the status quo? These are difficult questions that the local NGO staff often raise. If, however, NGOs spend more time analyzing the obstacles toward participation than finding solutions, what is the goal behind the empowerment they preach? Should projects be neutral in their orientation and try to accommodate all parties in the community, or should they be clear on their stance in supporting the poor, for the poor and because of the poor?

Apparently, Northern NGOs cannot be perceived as part of the struggle of the Palestinian people, as they try to be neutral in delivering development activities and meeting the needs of the population. It is therefore hard to view them as transforming the realities of the Palestinian society and its political situation. They fund and conduct sector-oriented development activities, but they are far from being revolutionary in their practices of challenging and fostering structural change.

In conclusion, it is true that the respondents from donor organizations' conceptualizations on empowerment differ from that of the respondents from local organizations, yet both share the idea that empowerment is to take place at an individual level. It is far from being a form of empowerment that addresses the power relations in society on a collective level.

3.4 Empowerment in the framework of charity

Referring to the above discussion on the charitable mentality of development, it is important to discuss the obstacles that respondents from Northern donor organisations and local NGOs mention as obstructing participation due to the situation in Palestine. Both groups of respondents from donor and local organizations alluded to what they considered a detrimental factor for participation: the complicated socio-political and economic realities in the Palestinian society. In places like the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the alleviation of immediate suffering is the primary concern and development NGOs claim to find themselves obliged to fund relief activities. In this case, beneficiaries of social development projects become recipients of aid and participation rhetoric becomes irrelevant where the long term development goals are set back to allow relief efforts to dominate the work of local development NGOs. This problem is a continuous one in Palestine; time and again the Palestinian people are treated as an undifferentiated passive group with no control over their lives. This continuing rise of survival needs in the Palestinian communities, as a result of the political instability, determines the thinking and vision of the projects that claim to work directly with the poorest of the poor and with the most deprived sectors in the society. Such conditions seemed to have a great influence on the conceptualization of respondents from local organizations, and highlight the unfavorable attitude among the Palestinian social workers towards participatory development. In contrast, respondents from donor organizations considered these conditions as only obstacles to participation, obstacles that hamper promoting participation activities, which remain a priority task in their view.

Considering that the pressing needs of the communities constitute a major obstacle towards real participation, very critical questions are raised. Is participation a luxury component of development projects that disappears when pressing needs arise? Can participation coexist with pressing needs? If participation is seen to be a tool and a means to help the poorest and the deprived in the process of self-transformation and empowerment, why should it not coexist with pressing needs, when the assumption is that genuine participation cannot be achieved without helping the poor become more aware of repressing realities and providing them with the tools to change these realities? As Burkey (1993) puts it, the first step to achieving genuine participation is a

process in which the poor and the deprived become more aware of their situation, of the socio-economic reality around them, of their real problems and the causes, and of what measures they can take to begin changing their situation. For respondents from donor organizations advocating participation as a means of empowerment and addressing the issue of making people become aware of their reality, it is vital to recognize the pressing need to establish a clear policy on how their projects should attempt to remove obstacles to beneficiary participation. This should be a priority instead of continuously resorting to an aid mentality in a situation where political uncertainty is the norm and not the exception that Northern NGOs face in so many developing countries. How can Northern NGOs who fund projects in Palestine and their local Palestinian NGOs envisage a policy that is best described by Aung San Suu Kyi, a Nobel Peace Prize receiver in 1991:

> "If the people that aid targets are not empowered, it cannot achieve more than a very limited, very short-term alleviation of problems rooted in long-standing social and political ills. After all, human development is not intended to produce impotent objects of charity" (as cited in *Human Development Report, 2002).*

If Northern NGOs have less ability to envisage such a policy, what objective does this rhetoric about participation serve? In such circumstances, the difference between the rhetoric and the practice becomes even wider without a perspective for reconciliation.

3.5 Capacity-building and staff training

While respondents from donor organizations made a powerful case for participation, respondents from local organizations seemed less enthusiastic. Even though respondents from local organizations perceived that participation is somehow important to the project's success, their attitude, according to the scale measuring the value the respondents put on participation, was in general neutral – neither favorable nor unfavorable. Respondents from donor organizations, on the other hand, place a great emphasis on the issue of ownership and sustainability of the project as a result of participation. Their vision is that the community members' sense of ownership, as a result of their active participation, will insure the sustainability of the project beyond the donors' intervention, a goal to be achieved through more involvement of beneficiaries in all aspects of the project cycle. Hence, respondents from donor organizations consider the notion of capacity building as a very important component to insure sustainability.

It was argued that the concept of capacity building has been formulated by international agencies to denote the creation of procedures where people learn or are trained to conduct their own projects (Eade, 1997). According to

Eade, capacity building is often used simply to mean enabling institutions to be more effective in implementing development projects. A study by James (1994) (as cited in Eade, 1997) reported that nine out of ten respondents from Northern NGOs identified 'capacity-building' in the South as a core activity. According to the same study, fewer were able to define what it means in practice. This emphasis on capacity building was also mirrored in the conceptualizations of the respondents from donor organizations, also with little specification as to what it actually means in practice. In this regard, respondents from donor organizations placed capacity-building somewhere on a spectrum ranging from equipping "beneficiaries with the necessary skills" at the personal level or organizational level, to strengthening their partners' organizations capabilities through "exchanging ideas and collaborative and participatory approaches."

The passionate attitude of the respondents from Northern donor organizations towards participation did not prevent them from specifying the potential liabilities and real problems in participation related mostly to local organizations and staff. They argued that participation could be problematic if the process is poorly managed, and this could happen when the staff do not have the proper training or skills regarding participatory approaches, and/or when the organization's structure does not facilitate participatory activities. In contrast, only 30.3% of the respondents from local organizations reported having received any training in the issues of participatory development. Moreover, the neutral attitude expressed by the respondents from local organizations would not be very conducive to participation.

In fact, the issue of staff training in participatory methodologies is closely related to the issue of capacity building, and is much more likely to be a core issue. The emphasis that respondents from donor organizations placed on building the capacity of their partner organizations, and their expressed belief that a lack of staff training hinders participation, would lead one to assume that this issue would be well thought-out in the local organizations. It could be assumed that staff training on participatory methodologies would be crucial to donor organizations to the point that they would greatly promote and encourage training within the local organizations. On the contrary, this study showed that the majority of the respondents from local organizations (approx. 70%) did not report to have training in the area of participatory development or methodologies, and warrants the conclusion that respondents are not properly equipped to promote participatory activities in their projects. Moreover, training, if it takes place, is reported not to be continuous and only partial, and also not part of ongoing supervision.

Moreover, how can one expect genuine participation to be incorporated in the organization's structure without it being only a catchword or a fad among the donors and/or the local organizations, if the staff of the local organizations have an indifferent attitude towards the concept? Burkey (1993)

emphasized that participatory development activities rarely arise from within poor groups without any form of outside stimulus, and people are not expected to be involved in the projects on their own without incentives. Therefore, some external agents should best play this role, and those external agents are best represented by the staff of local organizations. Hence, how can one expect staff to promote participatory activities if it is not equipped with the proper and adequate training? In this case, it is more likely that genuine participation would not be feasible when the staff is not equipped with the proper awareness, understanding, and skills for participatory mechanisms. Therefore, it would be logical to conclude that participation in local Palestinian organizations takes place as a spontaneous activity, which means it is not practised through using what Midgley (1986) called interventionist strategies and techniques, which promote participatory activities in a deliberate way. This view is supported by the lack of sufficient evidence that donor organizations or their local Palestinian partners were able to provide that would promote the deliberate and systematic activities of participation in their projects, as well as by the fact that local staff reported having a neutral attitude and a lack of the appropriate training and skills to promote participatory activities.

3.6 Implications for donor and local organizations

The Northern donor development NGOs' approach to participation could be described as somewhat paradoxical. In their work in Palestine, this paradox is particularly evident in their orientation of funding sector-oriented programs or projects that have an individual service delivery approach, in which they stress the importance of participation and empowerment. If participation entails facilitating possibilities for the marginalized and vulnerable sector of society to participate in the decisions that affect their lives, Northern donor NGOs are required to reconsider this individual service and sector-based orientation and evaluate how much it facilitates participation. Within this frame of reference, Northern and local NGOs are challenged to examine the existing structural and institutional constraints that treat people as "recipients of services." The fact that local NGOs are financially controlled by donors and are restricted because of time to implementing the projects and reporting the products makes participation only a spontaneous activity in established projects. Thus, the policy of donor funding should be reconsidered, so as to understand how donors exert pressure to speed up implementation, thus putting local organizations in a critical position, which obstructs the encouragement of greater levels of participation in their projects.

Moreover, Northern donor organizations should be aware of the danger in their usual practice of sending Western experts to conduct research studies or to be engaged in the evaluation of projects in Palestine or other developing

countries. This issue poses special ethical concerns that Rakowski (1993) addressed. As Rakowski noted, the problem becomes clear when Western researchers try to apply Western theories and methods in evaluating or researching social issues to developing countries. This issue becomes even more problematic if donor organizations send Western researchers to evaluate participatory activities.

It becomes critical for donor NGOs to open up a dialogue with local NGOs aiming to help local NGOs to define ultimately practices and activities that promote participation in the projects as being explicit project objectives, and not to rely on spontaneous practices not incorporated into the structure of the objectives and activities of local projects. In this regard, donor NGOs should clearly discuss the objective of participation with the implementing local organizations and allow local organizations to operationalize these practices within a framework of dialogue. The latter should take the specific socio-economic and cultural context into consideration and participation would become more than the "print" in donor organizations' policy documents, and local organizations would be in a better position to find creative ways to implement participation in their activities. On the other hand, donor NGOs should have a more flexible structure to allow them to fund more grassroots initiatives than in projects established already.

Local Palestinian NGOs should be challenged to create internal structures to facilitate the design and implementation of participatory projects. Moreover, local organizations need to pay more attention to the issues of staff training and attitude. In this regard, Chambers (1998) acknowledged that in PRA experience, attitude and behavior change among facilitators is recognized as more important than methods. Therefore, participatory training that is experiential and interactive with staff would facilitate such a change in attitude.

3.7 Implications for social work practice and education

Social development as the organizing framework for social work, where it becomes possible for the social work profession to deal with human problems in a multicultural societal context, is a perspective that many social work scholars have addressed (Billups, 1994; Elliott, 1993; Midgley, 1991; & Sanders, 1986, to name but a few). The conditions in Palestine stress the importance of this. In the opinion of the researcher, this means that social work education and the practice of social work in Palestine should be reconsidered. This study emphasized the need for Palestinian social workers to be more grounded in social development and participatory approaches. Therefore, the following implications should be considered:

1. The failure of charity and aid-oriented activities of the social services in Palestine to eradicate poverty or achieve a minimum level of human dig-

nity for the Palestinians calls for the social work profession in Palestine to give serious consideration to its role. The social work profession should adopt a vision that takes an integrative model into consideration which not only focuses on individual work based on remedy and therapy interventions, but begins to closely work with people in their larger community groups and organizations and within a framework of social development (this is a social work issue addressed specifically by many social work scholars in their writings, Bernstein, 1995; Billups, 1994; Elliot, 1993; Elliot, & Mayadas, 1996; Estes, 1993; Midgley, 1994; Sanders, 1986 & Ragab, 1990 to name but a few).

2. Such a framework for social work practice draws attention to the type of education that social workers in the Palestinian local universities receive, which is basically focused on clinical casework according to Western models, and which do not suit the Palestinian culture and society. An issue widely discussed in different contexts, where many made the case that the case work method of social work practice developed in the West has not provided an answer to the problems that people in developing countries encounter (Adler & Midgley, 1978; Billups & Julia, 1996; Bogo & Herington, 1986; Brigham, 1982; Goldstein, 1986; Guzzetta, 1996; Hammoud, 1988 Hardiman & Midgley, 1982). In Palestine there is an urgent need to move social work education away from the clinical approach emphasizing individual pathology, towards the need to develop indigenous materials relevant to their social reality.
3. The reconsideration of the role of the profession should be manifested in reconsidering the education of social workers. As Kaseke (1990) and Billups (1994) maintained, social development orientation demands that social work practitioners have a deeper understanding of the impact of the political, social, and economic structures of poverty and underdevelopment, and must acquire skills in such areas as social planning, advocacy, and evaluation. The curriculum of social work education should not be limited to acquiring the knowledge and skills of direct clinical intervention, but should be expanded to provide students with knowledge and skills in the field of social development and participation. Curriculum must be geared towards providing students with the knowledge and skills of participatory methodologies, of planning participatory activities, community building and organizing, PAR and its variants, to name but a few.
4. Local development organizations should encourage and facilitate possibilities for social workers in local development organizations to document their experiences; and local researchers should organize these experiences systematically in order to create local models that could be used in social work education in the local universities.

4. Concluding remarks

The first UNDP report in 1990 emphasized, "People are the real wealth of a nation" (UNDP, 1990). This emphasis on people was largely adopted by NGOs, where people were perceived not only as beneficiaries of economic and social progress, but also as agents of development (UNDP, 2002). In the UNDP's report of 2002 and 2009, this emphasis was broadened to include participation at the heart of human development strategies, and to expand the scope of human development to include not only education and health, but to include more capabilities important in expanding human choices (Human Development Report, 2002, 2009). Many years have passed, and still the gap between the rhetoric and practice remains wide.

Each form of participation that Stiefel & Wolfe (1994) addressed – one that serves a system maintenance function and the second that serves a transformative function – yields different results for people regarding issues of power and knowledge. This research study, which is an attempt to examine the definitions of people's participation according to respondents from donor NGOs and their Palestinian partners, sheds some light on the actual practices of participation. To some extent, donor NGOs appeared to conceptualize participation as transformative, an aspect extensively emphasized in the literature, while respondents of the local organizations operationalized this approach in a more limited way to express what it means for them in practice. This study suggests that if people do participate, which is still not clear how, they do so in already established projects, but rarely have a say in the way projects are implemented or are rarely involved in the decision-making processes regarding what project is to be implemented. This suggests that if people have no access to power in designing their own projects, they become even further disempowered by "participation," as it could be used against them. How many more years do we need to wait to more closely fulfill this vision: „People should be at the heart of the development process."

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Gertrud Hundenborn

Participation from the Point of View of Nursing Pedagogy

First of all I must admit that I have had some difficulties in translating my scientific discipline, which we call in German "Pflegepädagogik". So I asked a friend to help me to find a corresponding term. He suggested: "You should paraphrase the title of your lecture like this: Participation from the point of view of education in all kinds of medical education and training apart from doctors themselves." So I did – but within my lecture I shall use the term "nursing pedagogy".

Please allow me to give you a brief introduction to my professional background, before I get to the main subject of participation.

It is now about 35 years since I finished my first vocational training as a nurse. After that I worked for 10 years in public hospitals and medical institutions until I started my professional training to become a teacher for all kinds of occupations in the fields of healthcare and nursing. Training and further education has been my main occupation for 12 years now.

15 years ago the first courses of studies in the field of nursing profession were introduced at German universities. It was then that I started my teaching career as a Professor at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences. I specialized in the fields of nursing-pedagogy and nursing didactic. Some courses of studies focus on the training and further education for nursing teachers.

As you can see my vocational experience covers all areas of work, training and possible experiences related to our reference points of nursing-pedagogy and nursing-didactic.

Nursing-pedagogy is a relatively new scientific discipline – we call it science in an integrational status[1] – with a variety of points of reference. These points of reference are based in the field of science as well as in the system of vocational training. In the area of science nursing-pedagogy refers mainly to nursing science and to educational theory. In the system of vocational training, it refers to both educational practice and to nursing practice. It

1 Cf. K. Wittneben (1998). Pflegekonzepte in der Weiterbildung zur Pflegelehrkraft. Über Voraussetzungen und Perspektiven einer kritisch-konstruktiven Didaktik der Krankenpflege. 4th. ed. Frankfurt a. M.; further U. Plaumann (2000). Umrisse einer Fachdidaktik Pflege. Didaktische, erwachsenenbildnerische, berufspädagogische und pflegewissenschaftliche Aspekte. Frankfurt a. M.; further B. Panke-Kochinke (2000). Fachdidaktik der Berufskunde Pflege. Bern/Göttingen/Toronto.

includes the training and education of teachers and trainers for practical nursing as well as nursing practice itself.

I would like to make some short remarks from various points of view regarding our topic of participation.

1. Participation in the field of nursing science and nursing practice

Discussions in these fields in Germany have been heavily influenced by two developments: one was the influence of Anglo-American nursing theories[2] and the other came from the strategies and programs of the WHO[3].

In nursing theories, the term of participation is less frequently used. It is more likely to use terms like independence, autonomy, or self-care when it is referred to the human relationship between the nurse and patient in the nursing process. I would like to make this clearer by briefly referring to the nursing theory of Dorothea E. Orem, an American nursing scientist. This theory has been well recognized also in Germany[4]. Orem calls her theory a "theory of self-care". The focus of her theory is the self-care of able and willing human beings who have gained the necessary competencies for self care in a social learning process. When the ability of self-care shows health or developmental limitations, we call it a self-care deficit. In this case, we look first to a dependent care system to help. This means looking for relatives, friends or neighbors who are able to compensate a self-care deficit by dependent care. Having self care- and dependent care deficits we are forced to call for the professional nursing care system. This theory consequently follows the principle of subsidiarity, which is known in the Christian philosophy, and is also part of the philosophy of our social system.

It is the decision of the professional nursing care – depending on the size of the self care deficit – which nursing care system must be installed.

2 Cf. A. Marriner-Tomey (1992). Pflegetheoretikerinnen und ihr Werk. Basel; further D. Schaeffer & M. Moers & H. Steppe & A. Meleis, Afaf (Eds.) (2008). Pflegetheorien. Beispiele aus den USA. Bern.

3 Cf. Europäische Kommission (1998). Beratender Ausschuss für die Ausbildung in der Krankenpflege. Berichte und Empfehlungen des Ausschusses während der vierten und fünften Mandatsperiode (from 5 Febr 1990 to 5 July 1998). Brüssel. XV/D8506/98. See further Europäische Kommission (1999). Ausschuss hoher Beamter für das öffentliche Gesundheitswesen. Beruf der Krankenschwester/des Krankenpflegers. Ausbildung, Zulassung zum Beruf und Berufsausübung in den Mitgliedstaaten der Gemeinschaft. Brüssel. XV/D8393/99-DE.

4 Cf. J. Fawcett (1998). Konzeptuelle Modelle der Pflege im Überblick. Bern.

If self care is impossible as would seen to be in the case of a patient who is unconscious, a compensatory care is be needed to take over the patient's self-care on his behalf. In the case of a patient being unable to move but able to express himself clearly, it is part of his decision to engage the kind of nursing care system he needs for example – a partial compensatory care system – he can also name a reference person if possible.

A supporting educating care system is installed when a patient is able to care for himself but lacks information regarding self care. This could be possible in certain cases of chronic illnesses, after accidents or other specific handicaps.

The picture of an incapacitated, passive patient for whom a third party has to make all the decisions regarding his self-care, was replaced in Germany in the 80s by the idea of a totally responsible and self determined client whose will has to be respected regarding diagnostical, therapeutic and care system measurements.

As you know technical developments all over the world have also taken over the medical environment and left us with – up to now – unknown possibilities in keeping patients alive – prolonging life on an almost unlimited basis. This started a political and ethical discussion – a so called "humanity debate". We totally had to reorganize or "rethink" our current guiding idea of healthcare.

In recent years an intensive discussion has started under a term called "patients order". The main point in this discussion is still the obligation of doctors to respect the patient's will regarding life prolonging measures when there is no chance of healing and bringing back the patients consciousness.

The term participation is used when we talk of the relationship between the patient and client towards the overall health system. Health is considered as an important treasure or value in our society. The possibility of the individual person taking part in this important issue is also called in Germany "Partizipation". How suitable the conditions of life are to allow or not allow a person to lead a life in health, depends also on access to the health system and the possibilities of making use of the offerings of the system. It's a question of participating in all offerings of the society.

The strategies and programs of the WHO (World Health Organization) "Health for all" or the following programs (Ottawa Charta of 1986 and the Declaration of Jakarta from 1997) are strategies and programs which call for participation. 30 years ago in 1978, WHO introduced in Alma Ata this required target of the world community. The demanding sociopolitical program is based on the knowledge that there is a connection between poverty and the health situation of the individual or respective groups.

Paragraph VI of the declaration of Alma Ata says:

"Primary health care is essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and

families in the community through their full participation and at a cost that the community and country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination. It forms an integral part both of the country's health system, of which it is the central function and main focus, and of the overall social and economic development of the community. It is the first level of contact of individuals, the family and community with the national health system bringing health care as close as possible to where people live and work, and constitutes the first element of a continuing health care process."[5]

The concept of primary, community related health care strongly influenced the socio-political programs and the educational programs. In the future the education and training in healthcare professions should strongly focus on community related care of individuals, families and groups, giving priority to health promotion.

In spite of the new educational programs, this goal has not been reached in Germany. Sometimes I believe developments have taken a turn backwards. At the moment the whole system of social security and safety seems to be undergoing a deep crisis in Germany, which especially affects our complete health system. There is a fear that the future will bring a system of two classes of medical care depending on the financial abilities of the patients. Certain population groups – poor people, people without a fixed abode, and people without insurance – already have difficulties accessing the health care system.[6] Expensive treatments are delegated from one doctor to another, from one hospital to another, because of their budget related restrictions. There are already doctors who treat patients on an honorary basis without health insurance: Patients who otherwise could not afford medical treatments. A few days ago the "Kosmas and Damian Community" installed apartments for sick people in Cologne. This community takes care of people who are released too early from a hospital treatment and have no other home but the street. The gap between the poor and rich and the chance of taking part in an existing health care system is becoming a growing problem not only in developing countries.

2. Participation in educational theory and educational practice

Participation in the field of educational theory und educational practice is strongly connected with the process of democratization after the Second World War in the 60s.

5 Europäische Kommission (cf. note 3). XV/D8506/98.

6 Cf. H. Friesacher (2008). Theorie und Praxis pflegerischen Handelns. Begründung und Entwurf einer kritischen Theorie der Pflegewissenschaft. Göttingen.

Theories and concepts in the fields of educating science and didactics name for the first time self-determination, participation, solidarity and social responsibility as superior educational goals.[7] Teaching, learning and schools have become increasingly important in the process of democratization[8] – in the process of leading a life in democracy, teaching the rules of democracy. Led by this idea developments on various levels and fields of teaching have taken place.

The development of curricula is increasingly being taken awaymore and more taken away from centralistic government institutions and it now includes related groups. Government teaching plans which follow an inflexible system have become more and more flexible and have been replaced by open guidelines which give schools a larger responsibility in decision-making – following the idea of self-determination, students are now involved in a decision making process.

Teachers are required to reveal their teaching goals and bring tranparency in their teaching decisions and methods.

These developments mentioned above did not take place in the field of nursing and health care education until 20 years ago.[9] Until then the related schools had not been a part of the public educational system. Schools in the field of healthcare were closely attached to hospitals under the supervision of the ministry of health, while public schools were under the supervision of the ministries of education. Due to the developments in the 19th century the influence of medical doctors in the education and vocational training of students of nursing care has been extremely powerful. Nursing schools were led by doctors. The teaching itself was done by doctors. So the nursing personnel identified themselves with the guidelines of medical science, which in turn became their guidelines.[10]

Only after 1985 was it legal for a person with my educational background to head a school for nursing care professions. Administering exams is still a government responsibility and is headed by a doctor appointed by the ministry of health. As you might have noticed, it still does not allow the related vocational group any involvement in the access to this vocation.

20 years ago, the importance of including aspects of philosophy, psychology, sociology as well as scientific bases, in the education of non-academic medical personnel was slowly but surely recognized. All of the above areas are very important for a holistic view of a human being.

7 Cf. W. Klafki (1985). Neue Studien zur Bildungstheorie und Didaktik. Weinheim.
8 Cf. H. Giesecke (1976). Didaktik der politischen Bildung. 10th ed., München.
9 Cf. G. Hundenborn (2005). Standards in der Pflegeausbildung. Perspektiven der Curriculumentwicklung in Deutschland. Beitrag im Rahmen des Symposiums „10 Jahre Pflegelehrerausbildundung an Fachhochschulen".
10 Cf. A.-P. Kruse (1983). Die Krankenpflegeausbildung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Osnabrück.

Participation has and always had – from the point of view of the nursing-pedagogic – a double meaning. Being part of the health system the nursing care personal has on one side the responsibility to carry out the demanding goals of the declaration of Alma Ata, of Ottawa and Jakarta: To improve and guarantee "Health Promotion" for individuals, families and groups.

This goal has not been reached in Germany even 30 years after the declaration of Alma Ata. The nursing care personnel suffers most under this system. The self-determination in their profession, the participation in the decision-making process of socio-political and health-related political questions has been partially carried out, but there is still a long way ahead of us.

Nelly Husari

Innovative Participation: Teaching/Training Ten Students from Gaza to be Occupational Therapists

> "As an occupational therapist I have been amazed and delighted at the resilience of the human spirit, and the capacity to endure difficulties in order to reach a valued goal".

This was a quote from a speech by Barbara Lavin, an Occupational Therapist originally from New Zealand and the former coordinator of the occupational Therapy program on the graduation day of ten students from Gaza. Ms. Lavin was the person who established the Occupational Therapy program at Bethlehem University starting in 1996, until the fall of 2007 when she had to make the decision to go back to her home country. However, the administration of the department was handed over to a local occupational therapist who was qualified and trained as a professional in the field and was originally one of Ms. Lavin's students. Barbara wanted to add the graduation of these ten students to her achievements but unfortunately she could not attend the graduation day but had a part to share in this occasion and express to the students how very proud she was with their endurance and insistence to complete their studies. A big part of their whole learning was done through distance learning and so was the celebration of their graduation day. The celebration was made possible in March, 2008 by video conference having the administration, instructors, and guests in Bethlehem University on one side and on the other side were the graduates, their families and guests in the Hall of the Islamic University in Gaza. The event attracted several journalists from both sides (Gaza and West Bank). The ceremony marked the end of a long story of their educational journey which extended over almost five years.

However, although that was the end of the story what was the story and how did it start? This whole story started in Bethlehem University when the Occupational therapy department discussed the possibility of providing training for ten new students from Gaza Strip back in 2003. Bethlehem University of the Holy Land is a Catholic Christian co-educational institution of higher learning founded in 1973 in the Lasallian tradition. It is open to students of all faiths and traditions. Bethlehem University was the first Palestinian university established in the West Bank, and can trace its roots to 1893 when the De La

Salle Christian Brothers opened schools in Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt. It offers two Masters programs, seventeen Baccalaureate degree programs, and seven Diploma programs. Its mission is to provide quality higher education to the people of Palestine and to serve them in its role as a center for the advancement, sharing and use of knowledge. Relating to its mission and since Gaza Strip is a part of Palestine and its needs ought to be addressed as much as other areas, the university positively answered this need and opened its doors accepting ten students in the occupational therapy program so they can serve the people of Gaza Strip

Graduation of the ten OT students in Gaza

The Occupational Therapy in itself was a relatively new profession in the country. The program at Bethlehem University was established in 1996 and by the end of 2007 only six groups of students had graduated from it and now are working to serve people with disability in the West Bank and Jerusalem. However, to clarify the meaning of occupational therapy it is known as a health profession concerned with promoting health and well-being through occupation. Occupation here refers to everything that people do during the course of their everyday life (CAOT, 2003). The primary goal of occupational therapy is to enable people to participate in the occupations which give meaning and purpose to their lives (CAOT 2008). People in the Gaza Strip were in extreme need of such a service for political, social and health reasons.

Maps of Palestine, Selected Natural Resources, January 1994
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/natural_resources.jpg

The plan was that ten students from Gaza would be selected and brought up to Bethlehem city to live and study for 4 years, with a condition to return and to serve the people of Gaza especially as only two occupational therapists existed at that time in the whole Gaza Strip. For the reader to get a sense of

the situation and comprehend the reason behind this decision and why Gaza in specific, we need to describe Gaza Strip for those who do not know it. Gaza Strip is an area that lies on the coastal shore of the Mediterranean Sea. It borders Egypt on the south-west and Israel on the south, east and north. It is about 41 kilometers (25 mi) long, and between 6 and 12 kilometers (4-7.5 mi) wide, with a total area of 360 square kilometers (139 sq mi). The area is recognized internationally as part of the Palestinian territories (WHO, 2008). Being a part of the country, movement to and from Gaza should have been possible, but unfortunately the Isreali occupation of the area made traveling difficult and almost impossible for Palestinians and at one stage the Gaza strip was even completely separated from other parts of the West Bank.

In 2007 approximately 1.4 million Palestinians were living in the Gaza Strip, of whom almost 1.0 million were UN-registered refugees. The majority of the Palestinians are descendants of refugees who were driven from or left their homes during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The Strip's population has continued to increase since that time, and Gaza is considered one of the most densely populated areas in the world (PCBS, 2007). The percentage of disability reported in Gaza by then was 5.3%. A need emerged here for a profession like occupational therapy to emerge and take part in the joint attempt of many other health professions to provide services to people with disabilities trying to meet their own needs for a better quality of life. This became a necessity and with the existing figures, a higher number of therapists were required.

This situation worsened even more with the last two wars in Gaza. The internal conflict that emerged at the end of 2006 between the two political parties Hamas and Fatah struggling over power and control, left Gaza with hundreds of killed and injured people causing a rise in the disability rate. However following that conflict Israel's last brutal attack on the Gaza strip added to the catastrophe, not only in numbers of injured, killed or disabled people, but also homeless families struggling to live without shelter and other basic needs for their survival. This definitely increased the need for many more therapists than only the ten occupational therapists who had already graduated and were looking for a job at the time.

The need was quite clear and as a result Bethlehem University agreed to take responsibility in the contribution to the community and approved the decision to train ten students from Gaza Strip to be therapists. When these students started back in September 2003, they were planning to come to Bethlehem University and join the other 15 students from the West Bank who were accepted in this program. At the same time, the political situation started to get worse and the Israelis decided to close the checkpoint known as "Erez" that separates Gaza Strip from the West Bank and to forbid people to move in or out except with a special permission from its military authorities. Nevertheless, this situation was thought to be temporary one and emergency

plans were immediately drawn up in order to provide the students with alternatives. Partnership and participation (regional participation) with other universities existing in Gaza was one of the options to enable students to take some of the basic courses on their campuses. The first and second semesters of studying in Gaza universities were ended and permission for students to come to Bethlehem University was still not issued. However, the administration and the coordinators of the program were obliged to think of solutions to substitute the inability of students to be physically present on the campus of Bethlehem University, especially that it was the time that some major courses were to be taught to students.

The decision had to be made again and it was: "Participation". But, this time with international partners to help students to complete the remaining three years of their education. The possibilities were very few but worth exploring . Assistance from International colleagues was sought as a vital choice, since local people were forbidden to enter Gaza. A Norwegian Occupational Therapist volunteered to help and teach the introductory courses in Gaza. However, this required some changes and re-organization in the paradigm of study according to the availability of facilitation resources. In addition, the real presence of the coordinator- who was a major instructor in the Occupational Therapy department- and as a foreigner from New Zealand, was able to enter Gaza and teach students there improved the opportunity and the chance for the students to continue their education. This lady overcame all the challenges that she faced going in and out of Gaza, the long hours of waiting while trying to cross the checkpoints and the amount of humiliation she experienced during biweekly journeys through the horrible "EREZ" checkpoint with courage. This made it possible to successfully, complete all the required courses. This also made the students feel they were ordinary university students and were able to participate fully in their education in a health profession.

As Occupational Therapists, who are usually known to be holders of qualities like creativity and assertiveness, we strived to give these students in Gaza the best educational and training circumstances as possible. This led us to the idea of using Moodle which is the internet based (e-class) class system provided by the University. This is the third level of participation and this time it occurred using different forms of technology. This was used for input and supervision of clinical practices by discussion dialogues between instructors at Bethlehem University on the one side and the students in Gaza on the other side. Teaching then went very well and smoothly and students got used to the idea of being distance learners. Nevertheless, the need for clinical practice and direct hands on experience with the clients meant further setbacks. The instructors needed to supervise students while on their clinical practice and act as role models for them in implementing what they had to learn. By far this is a vital skill- based and needed in a profession like

occupational therapy. At this stage external support and some public actions were needed. As a result, there was a call for a case-trial against the Isreali government for its refusal to issue permission for students to come to Bethlehem and join their classmates. An Israeli Human rights Organization called GISHA took legal action against the Israeli government and worked on the case until the last minute to make this a dream come true. Unfortunately, they failed and lost the trial and the case was adjourned until the end of the fourth year of study.

People standing in line: EREZ Checkpoint

The clinical supervision of the students' performance became the new challenge for the coordinator and the teachers at the department. The first innovative and interactive learning method at this level to overcome this challenge was using videos, where students needed to video tape what they did with their clients and send it to their supervisors at the university for feedback. This method had its own additional challenges but it helped to improve the training of the students' practical skills. However, this option needed another level of participation at the community level once again. Local institutions and hospitals in Gaza were to allow these students into their departments for their clinical placements which in turn required a huge amount of coordination and administrative work. This was the fourth level of participation. Regarding these institutions, the program was most appreciative

of their participation. These institutions were: ALWafa Rehabilitation Hospital, The Swedish Organization for Individual Relief, and the Mental Health Community Program. Regardless of all these challenges and the extra work the team at the department was doing, the feeling was great when students were able to put their knowledge into practice and that was proven during their course work and the high standard of their achievements. The students achievements were even valued more with the active participation of instructors not only from the Occupational therapy department, but also from other faculties at the university by the method of video-conference. It is true that students felt frustrated several times with these technological approaches of learning, especially with the regular cut-offs in electricity which they used to experience day after day during video-conferencing due to the poor political and physical situation. But this was their ultimate means of communicating and meeting colleagues and instructors they could not meet with face to face.

The story did not end and the students were still not satisfied. They kept on asking for their right to be treated like human beings and achieve their dream to be well trained as occupational therapists equal to their peers in Bethlehem. Nor did the instructors feel satisfied enough with the students' level of knowledge and skills especially considering that no occupational therapists existed in Gaza to provide direct supervision of their work and they believed deeply that this issue was a basic requirement to the students' training. This provoked the team of instructors to think of another solution and so another creative idea was formulated. The students from Gaza and the instructors from Bethlehem would have the possibility to meet face to face with each other if they travelled to Egypt. And so they did. However, conditions were extremely unbearable at the end of the third visit to Egypt especially with the closure of Rafah border (which is the border between Egypt and Gaza) forbidding students to go back to their homes for more than one month. However, even with this experience this arrangement proved to be valuable and interesting but was not affordable or available anymore.

A replacement to this was the establishment of a special website with the cooperation of one of the occupational therapy instructors at the Norwegian college of Tromso. The so called "ERGONET" was uploaded with a variety of knowledge and skill-based lectures, videos, discussions, and links to other important websites for the use of occupational therapy students. These interactive technological methods of teaching and learning are accepted, defended and supported by most educational scholars these days.

It has to be said that the successful results, the experience gained and the achievements of the students would never have been possible without the financial support and advice the program received from organizations at

national and international levels. Funds were provided by NORAD[1], NETF[2], SOIR[3] and ABCD[4] through a variety of means to help these students continue their journey in education and finally be able to graduate as certified Occupational Therapists in March 2008. Support and collaboration between BU teachers and graduates has continued to make sure that these graduates feel safe, confident and stable in their practice and their profession as successful health service providers.

Gaza Strip students trapped on "Rafah" border on their way back to Gaza

This paper is a summary of my talk about the theme of participation in the lecturers conference that was held in Cologne as part of the exchange program project between Bethlehem and KatHO universities. Prior to the conference participation always meant to me as a professional "working with people who are marginalized in the community and have never been given the chance to take responsibility and choices of their own life to be able to make contribution in their society". For me it always meant "working with people with special needs in the community especially in a poor country like ours".

1 Norwegian Association for Development Cooperation
2 Norwegian Occupational Therapy Association
3 Swedish Organization for Individual Relief
4 Action Around Bethlehem Children with Disability

However, my own personal contribution to the success of this experience, and through joining the students, colleagues and the administration of Bethlehem University to make the journey of these students a successful one in a participatory experience at different levels, made me think that the meaning of the theme "participation" is much more than that and it is also different. Now, for me participation means "the synergy of joining forces, resources and giving involved parties the full opportunity to engage and explore options in thinking, implementing and evaluating steps and decisions in a complementary way without giving up on the goals or losing energy, hopes and motivation".

Nowadays, participation is not only limited to local but also international involvement as a need not as a commodity and cannot be utilized fully if technologies are not utilized well. Interdependency is a key theme when talking about globalization as we are now witnessing.

In learning, participatory approaches can include the participation with the community (Beker, 2003) and/or the participation of students in their own learning process (Flett, 2003). We witnessed and experienced throughout the experience in this educational journey of students from Gaza the full contribution of the staff at the Occupational Therapy department, the endurance of the students and their commitment to continue their learning process, and the sustainability of the Administration at Bethlehem university and its adherence to their local responsibility. In addition, participation was demonstrated in the different learning approaches that were initiated and used during the course of this four and a half year journey. It was an innovative and creative starting point by using and utilizing all available local, regional and international forces and experiences and being able to use modern technologies like: e-learning, videotaping, video conferencing, the designing of a special website, and the distance clinical learning placements.

Finally, participation is possible through genuine professional cooperation and the availability of financial funds and support provided by national and international individuals and associations. This experience in specific is a clear evidence based-case and situation, which involved the students, instructors, administrators and active participants in all stages. It was viewed by most of the instructing team at the university as "a unique, enriching, exploratory, and creative experience that added value to their personal development" It was a true life story of participation worth sharing with others through this publication.

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II.

Debating “Human Rights and Social Justice”: Contributions of the Lecturer Conferences 2009

Armin G. Wildfeuer

Justice and Reconciliation

There are complex relationships between individuals, groups, and peoples dealing with problems of justice, problems which are so complex that they no longer can be resolved in terms of justice. Such relationships are the result of complex historical faults, where it is no longer clear which side is guiltier. A fair compensation of the mutual claims and of the mutual liabilities is therefore not possible any more. Justice is no longer possible, either. The result is dramatic: the never-ending struggle for the restoration of justice continues, driving the parties into an even deeper conflict. A new beginning for a peaceful coexistence is not possible and no one has hope for a peaceful future between the conflict-parties.

The only possible way out is to reconcile the conflicting parties. Reconciliation is always necessary, I will argue, that where conflicts arise due to a very complicated history of conflict these cannot be resolved in terms of justice alone.

But what is the real meaning of reconciliation and how is reconciliation related to justice?

Below in a first step I will explain where the term reconciliation comes from and in what contexts it occurs. In a second step I will distinguish between two types of reconciliation and determine their application fields. It is clear that reconciliation is not static, but a procedural event. Reconciliation is a process that ends only when certain conditions are fulfilled. In a third step I will list seven conditions which must be fulfilled before reconciliation can happen.

1. The origin of the idea of reconciliation

Let's start with the first step: the origin of the idea of reconciliation.

It must be noted that in all religions and cultures something like the idea of reconciliation exists. Reconciliation appears as an overcoming of an experienced existential state of alienation in favor of a return to an original common unity with nature, the cosmos and God (or the Absolute). For example: Hinduism speaks of reconciliation with a view to the unity of individual AT-

MAN with the divine BRAHMAN. Taoism speaks of reconciliation with a view to the integration of all forms of human existence in harmony with all opposites and in coherence with the DAO (the path) of heaven and earth. Christianity speaks of the reconciliation of man after the fall in Paradise with God himself through the sacrifice of Christ.

We could call all these kinds of reconciliation objective forms of reconciliation call. Because there is something really reconciled and a new entity or unity is objectively and actually produced. But it must be noted as well that this kind of reconciliation is not done by humans, it does not arise from the will of the people, but always requires an intervention of a god, who really affects the unity of opposites. In other words: the unity of essential contradictions and essential opposites can only be produced by a divine absolute.

The idea of an objective reconciliation between man and nature, God and man, the finite and the infinite and so on was the principle of interpretation of the movement of history especially in the philosophy of German Idealism. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel diagnosed that the modern world is fundamentally divided and remains trapped in contrasts, opposites, differences, antithesis, and contradictions. Therefore, it is necessary to reconcile the stranger, the contrasts, and the separation from God to the original unit. The history of the restoration of the original unit must be seen, as Hegel mentioned, as a dialectical process of the removal of opposites. The removal of these opposites is not a human act. Rather, this process must be interpreted as a process of self-enforcement of the Absolute. God as the Absolute therefore is the unique active subject of the diverse steps of reconciliation.

As you all know, Karl Marx transferred the idea of reconciliation to historical social relationships. His diagnosis was: the social world is divided into classes and that is the reason why human beings are alienated. Society therefore must return to the original unit with the help of a class struggle that means society must be reconciled. In this sense, the reconciliation is a dialectical process, which aims, however, to remove social contradictions. History is no longer interpreted – like in Hegel – as a process of self-enforcement of the Absolute, but history is now mentioned as a necessary process of real class-struggle with the goal of reconciliation of the classes. Because this process is necessary and inevitable, and because the engine of this process is rather the individual and not the result of the contingent wills of individuals, Karl Marx represents the idea of an objective reconciliation, too.

2. Distinctions

2.1 Objective and subjective reconciliation

The idea of objective reconciliation can be applied to the reconciliation of opposites, to all forms of metaphysical dualisms and antagonisms, which cannot be brought together or unified or resolved to an original and objective unit by contingent human beings, but there must be an omnipotent, all-powerful absolute player, an Absolute, a God or an objective essential process like history. Such contradictions are given between freedom and necessity, the finite and the infinite, spirit and matter, God and man, life and death, good and evil, etc. You easily can see that the reconciliation of metaphysically based essential opposites needs a metaphysical absolute to work.

The idea of objective reconciliation was the original and first idea of reconciliation in the western history of ideas. But in this western history of ideas we come across another idea: the idea of subjective reconciliation. We talk about subjective reconciliation, if the desire and the will for reconciliation comes from the human beings themselves who are involved in an irrisolvable conflict. The idea of such a subjective reconciliation between people appears for the first time – at least in the thinking of the Christian world – in the Protestantism of the 16th Century. It was Martin Luther who transmitted the idea of reconciliation between God and man (a reconciliation made by God Himself in the person of Christ) to the relationships between man and man. The term "subjective reconciliation" can be understood as a reconciliation, which is made by the people themselves being in severe personal conflicts with each other. The process of reconciliation is due to the will of the people and is also done and affected as a whole only by the people. The subjects, who participate in the conflict, are also the actors of reconciliation. The subject of reconciliation can therefore only be what human subjects can affect, it is related to that what human subjects have separated, but what belongs together in a deeper sense by nature, by history and so on. In this sense we speak about reconciliation of the sexes, the reconciliation of peoples, the reconciliation of nations, the reconciliation of brothers, the reconciliation of friends, of enemies of civilizations, so on and so on. While the opposites in objective reconciliation are overcome in a final way, subjective reconciliation in the intersubjective areas mentioned is a permanent task of the participating subjects. There is no final status, no definite end of the process. Subjective reconciliation therefore is not a metaphysical definite status, but a permanent task, which is basically interminable and which will not come to a lasting stability.

2.2 "Nomos"- and "agape"-reconciliation

The idea of subjective reconciliation is discussed not only by Luther, but already appears in the writings of the Church Fathers of the fourth century with some important distinctions. Saint Augustine for example distinguishes between two types of subjective reconciliation: a type called "nomos"-reconciliation and a type called "agape"-reconciliation.

- The Greek term "nomos" (νόμος, law) means a lawful and fair compensation. Nomos-reconciliation is therefore called a reconciliation, in which the idea of compensation and reciprocity of claims and rights stands in focus. A nomos-reconciliation is destined to make up for injuries and harm. In other words: a nomos-reconciliation aims at justice and the compensation of claims.
- Already Saint Augustine had seen clearly and realistically that there are situations which arise as a result of complicated conflicts and which therefore can no longer be resolved in terms of compensation, fairness and justice. If a reconciliation of the wrestling parties should still be possible at all, there must be another type of reconciliation. Saint Augustine calls this an Agape-reconciliation. The Greek term „agape" (ἀγάπη), would be best translated with "mercy". Agape-Reconciliation can be understood as a reconciliation whose primary objective is not a reciprocal compensation, but a higher form of fairness and justice especially in view of the future coexistence of the conflicting parties. An agape-reconciliation draws a final line under the past conflict by a reciprocal and mutual act of forgiveness and mercy. The tragic conflict of the past cannot be resolved, but a common future in justice and fairness is only possible if the timeline of the conflict is interrupted and the coexistence starts in a new way. An act of agape-reconciliation is not the end, but the starting point of justice in view of a better common future. Reconciliation in situations of tragically and historically unsolvable conflicts is the most important condition which makes a future justice possible.

There are a lot of historical examples especially in the 20th century. I personally remember for example the reconciliation after the Second World War between Poland and Germany or France and Germany. Or I recall the story of reconciliation of the father and the lost son in the New Testament. At the same time, I would not deny that today there is a certain inflation of the speech of reconciliation so that the concept of reconciliation and the meaning of the term is rather vaguely addressed.

3. Conditions of the correct application of the concept of reconciliation

I will therefore outline seven conditions which must be fulfilled in order to apply the concept of reconciliation correctly. These seven conditions can be seen at the same time as steps in the process of reconciliation. My basic understanding of reconciliation is that it is not a status, but a process. This process is fundamentally and permanently interminably fragile. Only in an objective reconciliation would there be an end. Subjective reconciliation is therefore a necessary vision, but not a utopia. It is a regulative idea which means: an idea which we know we cannot fully transform into reality, but of which we know at the same time we cannot abandon.

3.1 First condition: existence of a primordial unity

A first condition is: there must be an original unity or common ground before the conflict. We are talking about re-conciliation that means: re-conciliation aims to return to a former common starting point as a common time of peace and peaceful coexistence. This common starting point can be a historic community, a shared history, a care unit, a natural unity, a common idea, which connects the conflict-parties, the belonging to a common essential fact like common human rights and so on.

3.2 Second condition: culpable destruction of the original unit with a continuing, increasing insolvable-conflict

A second important condition for reconciliation is: the original unit must have been destroyed by an initial conflict, which has produced increasing effects, because it was not resolved at a point with less dramatic effects. The causes of the conflict can be quite arbitrary: it may have been an unfair act from one side or from both sides to the detriment of the other, a conflict about resources, land, honor, or simply a misunderstanding. The conflict can be self-induced or externally-caused. It may be a natural or historical cause. What is important is the fact that an original unity or a previously existing relationship was destroyed and a state of existential alienation from the common ground began.

The destruction of the original unit must have been caused by a culpable conduct or misconduct, guilt as a trigger of the conflict. This fault or misconduct during the conflict remains permanently present and has not been solved.

Because the core of the debt consists of the cancellation of an original unit, of the separation of what belongs together in a deeper sense.

When we speak of guilt, which is present at the starting point of the conflict, it is clear that the conflict cannot be a fateful, inevitable conflict. Because only moral subjects, which could also act differently, can be guilty. Only moral agents or subjects can assume responsibility and be held accountable for their responsibility. The conflict was therefore avoidable in principle, and can be resolvable in principle, too. There is a way out, not as a fateful event, but through the active efforts of the conflict partners.

The difficulty in resolving the original conflict is that the conflict itself was very productive: the conflict generated further conflicts, new problems with increasing debt on both sides. In retrospect, it is no longer possible to determine which of the conflicting parties has accumulated more debt in the course of the conflict. The original conflict becomes more and more a metaphor in the long history of the increasing conflict. Even if the original conflict could have been solved, the problems and the debts during the subsequent conflict are so large that even the solution to the matter of the original conflict would not satisfy the warring parties. The conflict and the guilt on both sides increases more and more. We can speak of a conflict spiral, which no longer allows a fair solution. The status before the conflict can in no way and will never be restored or re-established. Therefore, the individual who wants to resolve the conflict in terms of justice and fairness will fail dramatically. This gives rise to the third condition: the necessary failure of traditional methods of conflict-management and conflict-termination.

3.3 Third condition: the necessary failure of traditional methods of conflict-management and conflict-termination

The existing conflict-situation cannot be resolved according to the criteria of justice. The original status before the conflict cannot be restored, except the fact that one of the conflict partners produces another debt. After all it is no longer recognizable, who the offender is or who the victim is. The conflict-situations become more and more complex. Of hyper-complexity are also the relations of debt. It is no longer clear which of the conflicting parties is guiltier. The escalation of the conflict increases. All methods of classical conflict-management or conflict-termination fail with the result that in the point of view of justice the conflict is not solvable. In other words: Reconciliation in the sense of a nomos-reconciliation, which seeks a fair compensation for the suffered injustice, is no longer possible. Whatever is done in continuing the old conflict no winner will emerge from this conflict, only losers. There is no possible resolution.

The conflict must be regarded as unsolvable. The original unit, the original status, can never be restored. To try it would be absolutely unhistorical. The conflictpartners can do what they want: justice is no longer possible. There is no fair compensation in view of the past injustice exercised by both sides. What can be done to still have a future in justice?

3.4 Fourth condition: insight into the insolubility of the past conflict and the desire to create an equitable future under conditions of prudence and justice

The fourth condition is: in order to end the conflict there must be an insight into the insolubility of the past conflict and the desire inspired by the memory of the original unity to create an equitable future under conditions of prudence and justice.

The parties involved must be aware of the tragedy of the increasing conflict coupled with the insight that by continuing the conflict the fairness-problem can become more of an issue. This insight presupposes high rational standards and the overcoming of emotionality on both sides. The insight that justice cannot be re-established by conflict and conflict is unfit to achieve the equity objective, may be called prudent. Prudence is classically defined by Aristotle as the ability to choose the right medium to reach a certain target. Prudence is a rational virtue of the mind.

Overcoming the emotionality is facilitated by the fact that the view is directed to the common origin and the common, previously existing unity. This view of the original unity is both emotional and rational. It becomes the "movens" or the motivational basis for reconciliation, knowing well that the former peaceful state will not be re-established in the same way again. Because the new unity may not cause the historical experience of the conflict to be forgotten it must therefore integrate it at a higher level. The conflict and the mutual positions are lifted up in a triple sense according to Hegels concept of "Aufhebung":

1. Lifting up in the sense of *conservation*: the conflict is not easily forgotten, but conserved because the warning memory becomes the movens? of the continuity of reconciliation.
2. Lifting up in the sense of *negation*: the conflict is actually ended in the new status of reconciliation. It is no longer exercised by physical or psychological violence.
3. Lifted up in the sense of *elevation*: because the issues of the conflict remain, the conflict is performed now on another level: it is performed within the medium of rationality, of negotiation, of contracts, of compensation, of the common memory, – and all this inside a new order.

The will for reconciliation requires – as we have mentioned – a high level of rationality in the sense of prudence. On the other hand, it must be motivated by the recognition that the future is more important than the past. Indeed, justice only in view of the past is not really viable. What happened has happened and is a historical fact. But what can be produced is justice with a view to the future. If the injustice of the past should not also become the injustice of the future, an interruption of the time-continuum in the transition from past to future is needed, a real historic break which is established by an act of reconciliation. This break is a real act of freedom. It breaks the dominance of the past and opens up a self-made future in freedom. Present and future overcome the determination of the past. He/She for whom the future justice is more important than the past injustice must set such a break. Reconciliation does not remove justice; it highlights it by establishing a new order of coexistence.

The willingness for reconciliation is therefore the result of a highly rational insight. But the desire for reconciliation itself must grow. There is a certain "kairos", the right moment, which is not planned, which can only be taken if it is present. The will for reconciliation, the desire for a break in the conflict-history is not an event that can be forced or produced. There must be a mutual readiness. In the history of monotheistic religions, it was the task of prophets to call to repentance. At the personal level, the conscience calls to peace. In the field of politics, there are organizations, activists and protagonists of peace and reconciliation, which have taken over this function today. Their main task is to promote rationality, insight and good will for reconciliation. It belongs to the rationality of this awareness that reconciliation is not unconditional: the readiness for reconciliation must be accompanied by the fulfillment of certain conditions.

3.5 Fifth condition: willingness of reconciliation and the virtue of forgiveness

The desire for a serious reversal, for the historical break and for reconciliation is manifested in the willingness to develop a particular habitus of reconciliation in which the following aspects must be present:

– Both conflict-partners must have sufficient rationality; they must be free in their decisions and capable of genuine repentance. This kind of rationality should not be limited to a rationality which is only used to its own advantage or to follow one's own interests. What is required is rather a rationality, which is orientated on common goals, on the common good, and which is ready to accept one's own disadvantages, too, to get a new coexistence in peace and justice.

- The objective or aim of reconciliation cannot be the production of the old past status, which existed before the conflict. The production of the new form of the original unity must be based on a historically higher level, which does not simply negate the history of the conflict, but integrates it in the new coexistence. Only fundamentalists and people who lack any historical consciousness want to preserve the old status exactly as it was. The future for them is nothing else other than a snapshot of the past, not the place of a new design in freedom. Even those who are convinced that not man, but God alone makes the history will not be able to shape the future or are incapable of reconciliation.
- More important for the common action must be the orientation on future justice rather than the focus on the past injustice. Admittedly, the conflict may not be forgotten. This does not mean that history should be forgotten in a form of historical amnesia, but the history of conflict must be accepted and recognized without determining the future.
- The willingness for reconciliation must be manifested in the knowledge that all parties of the conflict have become guilty during the conflict. Both parties must recognize their own guilt – for themselves own and in front of the public. The willingness for reconciliation may not target the discharge of the one'sown debt.
- The willingness for reconciliation must be accompanied by the will to have truth and honesty. No subject of the story may be taboo. The history of the conflict and all the guilt must be disclosed.
- There must be a willingness to forgive mutually the suffered injustice, but without forgetting this injustice in the future. The pardon makes the necessary memory of the suffered injustice in a certain way not dangerous for the common coexistence.
- The reconciliation-habit requires reciprocity: The willingness to reconciliation must be given by all involved parties in the same or a similar intensity.
- If all of these conditions are fulfilled, then the virtue of forgiveness really exists. Like all virtues the virtue of forgiveness does not fall down from heaven, it must be exercised on a long road, and trained again and again in many single acts of forgiveness in order to become a kind of second nature for the two conflict parties. Reconciliation becomes reality only through acts of reconciliation, which must be manifested concretely.

3.6 Sixth condition: existence of manifestations of the willingness for reconciliation

The mutual willingness for reconciliation must be manifested for letting mutual confidence grow. Such manifestations are tests for the reciprocity, for

reliability, for readiness of reconciliation and other reconciliation-skills. Such manifestations generate the confidence that the will for reconciliation is present permanently and not only on a short-term basis. They are also part of the catharsis, of the purification of the old thinking in categories of conflict. Such manifestations can be:

- *The continuing discussion of the common history of conflict in terms of truth* (for example by the creation of a "Truth Commission", as in South Africa)
- *The mutual compensation of what can be compensated*: punishment of the perpetrators, compensation for the victims, restitution of property, etc., that means: restoration of justice as much as possible in the sense of the above mentioned "nomos"-reconciliation.
- There must be an *agreement* about what should be compensated directly and what must be compensated indirectly.
- The *dialogue* between the former conflict-partners *must be institutionalized*.
- The new partners should make *contracts* about all these things which must be controlled and fulfilled.
- *Places and times for the common memory* should be created which ensure that the conflict as well as the reconciliation (institutionalization of commemorations) is not forgotten.
- The orientation towards the *common future* must be manifested through the creation of *common institutions* for the benefit of all.

3.7 Seventh condition: the act of reconciliation as an expression of a realistic hope

The step from the willingness for reconciliation to enforcing reconciliation is manifested at last in a formal act or ceremony of reconciliation. The memory of this formal act of reconciliation must be ritualized, that means: at fixed intervals, a collective memory of these acts of reconciliation must be established – by an annual holiday, a regular festival, and so on. The regularity of memory manifests the realistic hope that reconciliation will be a permanent status.

Reconciliation therefore does not end with a singular formal act. Reconciliation remains even after that act as a permanent task. The willingness of reconciliation is required permanently. The burden of history continues to influence the former warring parties so that there is always the risk that the orientation to the past again will dominate the will to shape a common future in justice. It is really difficult to be able to forgive and to establish a new order of coexistence and at the same time remembering the past injustice.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, I have tried to explain the idea of reconciliation and its necessary differentiation. I have avoided specific examples, which can easily be imagined. It was more important to demonstrate that the establishment of a new order in justice between conflict-parties always requires a rational act for reconciliation and that the virtue of forgiveness must precede. Therefore, a lack of willingness of reconciliation is always an intellectual problem which allows a deep insight into the rationality of individuals, peoples, and cultures.

During our visit in Palestine we heard the phrase "Justice is the condition of peace!" That is true! But there are the certain above mentioned cases – like an insolvable conflict – where it is valid to say: "Reconciliation is the condition of justice!"

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Josef Freise

Socio-Psychological and Spiritual Dimensions of Intercultural Learning and Peace Education

Intercultural and interreligious learning as well as peace education aim at building bridges between individuals and groups of different origin i.e. different languages, cultures, religions, and nations.

The following article stresses the point that learning processes must include the deeper socio-psychological and spiritual dimensions which influence those encounters: the taboo of committed crimes, the problem of individual and collective traumatization, personal and common experiences of suffering, black and white-thinking, and images of hostility.

The article will treat some socio-psychological aspects of individual and collective identity building, especially about what it means deep down to be a victim or a perpetrator. Collective traumatization, polarized thinking, and fixation on others as enemies will be discussed. I will then go on to show why resolving fear is such a crucial condition for mutual understanding and for the peace-building processes. Finally, concepts of intercultural education in connection with peace building and conciliation on micropolitical, mesopolitical and macropolitical levels are presented. My approaches are based on a specific humanistic and religious basic understanding of human personality.

I want to start with biographical approaches.

Three brief sketches of people who were confronted with suffering during World War II will serve as an introduction to this subject:

- The renowned German publicist Marion Gräfin Dönhoff and her family were displaced from their manor in East Prussia when she was a young woman. During the early 1970s, the German Chancellor Willy Brandt sought reconciliation with Poland and the Soviet Union. He signed the Treaty of Moscow, striving for a more normalized political relationship between Germany and its former enemies in the East. Marion Dönhoff supported the Treaty of Moscow and its goals, although it meant her losing all hope of ever regaining her family property. Willy Brandt invited her as a guest of honor to come to Moscow for the signing of the treaty. Two days before this historic date however she decided not to attend. She felt that going to Moscow would be too painful for her to endure.
- A Polish concentration camp survivor tells of the following incident: One day at his home in Poland the doorbell rings. When he opens the door, he

meets a German man, who asks if he may be allowed to have a look around the residence. He says he himself had lived there up until 1944, when he was displaced by Russian soldiers. The Polish tenant invites the German man inside and shows him around the flat. The German visitor looks at everything and compares it as to how it was when he lived there. They have a cup of coffee and the visitor asks his host where he comes from. The Polish man rolls up his sleeve and shows him the tattooed number on his forearm. He then tells his story of how he was deported to a concentration camp at the age of sixteen and how after he was freed he had been assigned this vacant flat. They sit together in silence for a long time. Finally they say farewell gravely but amicably.

- I myself was born six years after the end of World War II. Consequently, I did not suffer the agonies of war myself, but I have heard about the war from family members. One of the first impressions I had about the war was that of an aunt from Silesia, who was displaced as a young woman. While fleeing from the Russian army she frequently had to hide from approaching soldiers and once she only just escaped being raped. She must have suffered incredible fear. In my childhood, the main image that World War II conjured up was that of Russian soldiers who raped women. Only much later I realized how many Russians, Poles, French and people of other nationalities had suffered from German aggression.

These short stories show one thing very clearly: if methods of intercultural and interreligious education are to contribute to political mediation and reconciliation, they have to allow for the emotions that memories like these evoke. To really allow a profound change to take place, suffering, sorrow, angst, fury, hate, the loss of faith in humanity or God, all of these have to be given a place and a voice. Only then can they do more than merely scratch the surface. Only then can the gaps be bridged that divide people of different cultures, languages, religions and nationalities who are set against each other by a history of war and enmity, of oppression, suffering and loss.

1. Social-psychological considerations about individual and collective identity building

Some psychoanalysts and social psychologists have described these connections by drawing attention to the individual's capacity for peace as a condition for societies to overcome hate and violence. Every child's development includes distinguishing between the self and the surroundings, between what is familiar and what is strange. He or she has to learn how to discriminate between people belonging to a "we-community" and those who are strangers

and have to be treated warily and kept at a distance. The child learns to discern good and evil, first by taking over his/her parents' belief-systems, building a monolithic identity. Characteristics of that first, monolithic system of morals a child acquires are the clear-cut, static lines that split the world into good and evil, right and wrong, friend and foe. Fairytales often describe such a view of the world. Puberty can be a first chance to soften and differentiate these clear barriers. Norms and rules can be questioned in puberty. The young person realizes that there are different value-systems and learns about them. At this stage, adolescents can start to deviate from the value system their parents have taught them and develop their own complex and pluriform identity. To be able to develop such an identity the person in question has to have a certain inner openness to dialogue. He or she needs to learn how to weigh up different inner voices, different needs and wants, interests and emotions against each other. The young person needs to think these things over, not just judge them quickly against a precast set of rules that may not be questioned. These processes of internal discussion can be hindered by taboos and fears. If parts of one's self are being repressed or dissociated because confronting them would be too painful to bear, the amount and quality of empathy one can show someone else will be affected too.

To understand feelings of grief, rage and aggression in others, I first have to learn how to handle these emotions myself. When individuals do not process their own emotions adequately, displacement can take place: We punish others for the pain we have suffered (Gruen, 2002). Only if I explore the dark side of my own soul and face the abyss I find there, only then can I overcome polarized thinking that only allows me to see myself as good and innocent and the others as dark and sinister.

Dan Ban-Or, an Israeli social psychologist who developed a concept of Dialogue Training between perpetrators and victims of German National Socialism, said that every person needs to find a way to open a dialogue between his inner victim and the offender to finally transcend his concept of the enemy.

Dan Bar-On as well as Jürgen Habermas (1976) sees a clear connection between the development of the individual and collective identity. Societies too have monolithic phases, in which orientation to a religion (state religion), a culture or an ideology is made mandatory. In the age of globalization such a monolithic structure can no longer be upheld. Societies must pass through stages of transformation leading to a collective pluriformal identity. A complex, plurifomal collective identity that is capable of dialogue can incorporate the multitude of different orientations its members have. Basic parameters are given, but varying specifications by the different fractions of a multicultural and multireligious society are allowed.

2. Overcoming fear as a condition for understanding and peace building processes

Fear is a driving force in the emergence of violence and war. One main reason for the recent escalation of the Middle East conflict is that Israelis and Palestinians are afraid of one another: The Israelis are afraid the Hamas could ally with or support those forces, like the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, that aim to wipe Israel off the face of the earth. The Palestinians on the other hand, are afraid that Israel could start a war to drive all the Palestinians out of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into the neighboring Arab states.

In our German society global capitalism, too, frightens people, who cannot adjust to the changes it can causes. They are afraid that they won't succeed and lose their jobs and their place in society. Several social psychologists (Bauriedl, 2001; Gruen, 2001) see the obsession to buy and consume as an outward sign of angst repression. The obsession with buying things, with professional status and personal achievements blankets the fear we feel about our own inner emptiness. Instead, what is needed is a strengthening of the inner identity- individually as well as collectively, to combat fear. Spiritual and religious resources in individuals and society could help to overcome fear and develop empathy in others, even for political enemies. A spiritual tenor can transform fear into hope.

The following approaches of intercultural learning on the micro-, meso- and macro-level distinguish themselves by taking into account the spiritual and religious dimensions of human existence.

3. Intercultural peace work at a micro-level: compassionate listening, biographical learning and non-violent communication

Intercultural peace work on the micro level concerns itself with the strengthening of personal relationships between people from opposing political camps. Compassionate listening is a specific method of communicating that enables people to listen to one another without judging or condemning what is being said. The only thing that matters is the ability to put oneself in the other's position. The Buddhist monk Thích Nâth Han (2000) regularly invites Palestinians and Israelis to his Centre, Plumvillage in France. Before they start talking to one another they spend a few days meditating and getting in touch with their own experiences and feelings of hate, grief, suffering and

fear. Only after they have been "purged" do they enter into a dialogue. This pre-phase of meditation makes the participants sensitive and open for the perception and experiences of others.

The meetings in Plumvillage produce astonishing results in the way the Palestinians and Israelis encounter one another and open processes of real understanding between these to groups.

The meetings between victims and perpetrators of Nazi crimes organised by Dan Bar-On have already been mentioned. Meetings like this are an example of how this kind of confrontation can spark self-healing processes, helping individuals to shake off the traumatization that had a grip on their lives.

The American humanistic psychologist Marshall Rosenberg (2001) has developed a process of Non-violent Communication. With his methods, individuals learn to liberate themselves from cultural learning that is in conflict with communicating positively with others. Rosenberg sees polarised thinking, condemning others, denying our own responsibility because we see ourselves exclusively as victims, as forms of destructive communication. Instead of judging and condemning someone, we can learn to communicate our own emotions and formulate requests. This form of empathy towards our own emotions and needs corresponds to the empathy we have with the emotions and needs of others.

Nonviolent Communication teaches us to actively listen to the emotions and justified needs of others and to mirror our own perception of them. This way, appraisal and appreciation are conveyed and an honest dialogue can evolve. Marshall Rosenberg and his Centre for Nonviolent Communication offer training courses all over the world.

4. Intercultural mediation on the meso-level

The North-American peace researcher John Paul Lederach formulated the theory that diplomatic peace-building efforts are often unsuccessful because they do not sufficiently represent the real needs and interest of their citizens. He believes that information disseminators, for example teachers, local mayors or social workers, should be used on the middle level. As Intermediaties these information disseminators have connections to the local people that will be affected by change, but they also have a certain potential to influence politics. Political agreements have to be supplemented by reconciliatory work on the micro level. People must be prepared to see decisions made by politicians as leading to changes that will influence their life.

Lederach describes his idea of conflict resolution based on the example of the Nicaraguan Reconciliation Commission that helped mediate the con-

flict between the rebellious Misquito and the Sandinistic government in the 1980s.

> "It was part of our work there to sit at the negotiating table with high ranking officials the one day, and to go to along the jungle rivers through the villages of the east coast with them the next day. Because we saw the negotiating table as well as the villages that had been destroyed by war, we came to grasp the existence of multifaceted realities that were closely entwined, but nevertheless radically different from one another in their style and development: It showed us how big the differences are, between diplomacy with its hierarchical political structures of representation and the organical devolutions of reconciliation and re-building of life that had to take place among the relationships of the people that are the bread of the local village life" (Lederach, 1997: 45).

Hildegard Goss-Mayr (1999) and her husband Jean Goss have also worked in conflict and war zones all around the world. With a Christian mindset of active nonviolence they have practised reconciliatory work for over 30 years. The concept of conflict mediation through uninvolved third parties, who stand somewhere between politics and a basis on the meso-level, has influenced the idea of Civil Peace Services strongly. These Civil Peace Services are an important part of the German foreign policy and were instated in the late 1990s by the German government. Since then several hundreds of qualified volunteers have been sent to conflict zones all around the world.

5. Political conflict mediation on a macro political level

The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung has had a large influence on the Transcend-method, which deals with the structural and cultural causes of violence and war. This method is constructed on a complex theory of violence and peace (Galtung, 1998). Its goals are the reduction of direct, structural and cultural violence and finding solutions that are more than just compromises. Galtung's theory is rooted in the belief that violence can only be understood if the underlying dimensions of culture, society and human interaction are taken into account. He suggests that there are collective and unconscious underlying deep structures, deep cultures and deep needs that have to be taken into consideration in political negotiations. The Transcend method uses the creative potential of people to find solutions that lie outside the conventional borders of thinking and behaving.

To foster conciliation, the legitimate goals of each of the opponents have to be taken into account. The spiritual and religious forces that provide for our hearts must be mobilized. Johan Galtung was sent out as a UN-intermediator and was part of many negotiations concerning international conflicts. The Catholic NGO Saint Egidio too has worked with a similar ap-

proach to peace building mediation and has made a significant contribution to ending the civil war in Mozambique and Uganda

6. The inclusion of deep underlying mental and spiritual structures in the intercultural learning processes

In cultural learning processes within political mediation the mental and spiritual underlying deep structures that shape human behavior have to be considered. On an interpersonal level (the micro political level), relationships between members of antagonized nations or cultures can help to overcome traumatic experiences and to resolve enemy projections.

The German peace service Action Reconciliation Service for Peace (ARSP), Aktion Sühnezeichen / Friedensdienste in German, has been sending young Germans to countries that have suffered at the hands of Germany in the Second World War, to work as volunteers for almost fifty years now. The volunteers go to Israel, Russia, Poland and France for example. They assist elderly people in residential care. The elderly people reported gaining some relief from their traumatic memories of their experiences with Germans, after meeting and being cared for by German volunteers from the ARSP. Through meeting these young people theyhave experienced a different Germany than the one they remember. Intercultural encounters like these have a therapeutic character; they can heal. However, there is also the danger that clichés may be aggravated and that compassion cannot be fostered, and thatthese encounters will lead to revivifications

Someone who cannot properly get in touch with his or her own feelings of aggression and fury will find it difficult to find access to others' feelings. On a macro political level too it is important to consider the subconscious sides of a culture and to acknowledge the underlying deep needs for a collective feeling of self-worth. In Germany, the football World Cup in 2006 showed clearly, that there is a desire among Germans to show the happy and jolly side to their nature. However, it is only possible to be jolly and happy about one's national identity if all of this identity is acknowledged. Patriotism must not include polarized thinking and disrespect of other nations.

The Russian monk Serafin of Sarov once said: "Try to find your own inner peace, it will lead thousands around you to find their own salvation" (quoted from Riccardi, 2003: 224) He does not simply argue that meditation and introspection are enough to save the world. He does, however, imply that there is a connection between the individual's mental state and the general state of the society surrounding that individual.

(Translation: Grace Krause)

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Heinz Theisen

European Values and the Social Market Economy

1. Limits to globalization

The global free market is not the result of competition between different economic systems. Like the free market that was created in England in the mid-nineteenth century, it was established and maintained by political power. Unlike its English precursor, the global free market lacks checks and balances. Insulated from any kind of political accountability, it is much too fragile to last for long.

The idea of a global free market is the offspring of a marriage of positivist economies with the American sense of universal mission. Positivism means the idea that mathematics is the model for every branch of scientific knowledge. In economics, this methodology finds expression in the idea of efficiency. American economists followed Positivism in thinking that productivity is the best measure of economic efficiency, but lacked their understanding that productivity alone does not make a humanly acceptable economy.[1]

Nowadays – even for the United States of America the global free market is no longer a priority. The Europeans recognise that China and Japan select the best of globalization and leave the rest. It is probably only a matter of time before trade will return to being a matter of bilateral negotiations among governments. At worst a tit-for-tat protectionism would be the other extreme to globalization and to a new nationalism, and new wars could be the result.

The Utopian dream that in a global free market all groth boundaries will disappear has gone. Nowadays the limits to growth return in the form of energy politics. 21st century wars will be wars over resources, made more dangerous and intractable by being intertwined with ethnic and religious enmities. Over the coming century, global warming may well overtake scarcity in energy supplies as a source of geopolitical conflict. In some areas it means desertification, in others flooding. Food production is likely to be disrupted. These changes in the physical landscape will trigger large movements of the population, as people attempt to flee to zones of safety.

There is a tension between the two spheres of globalization. Free capital flow coexists with stringent restrictions on the movement of people. By the

1 J. Gray (2002). Al Qaeda And What It Means To Be Modern. London, 48 et seqq.

late nineties, this combination was leading to large-scale illegal immigration. At the beginning of the 21st century, the pattern of global conflict is shaped by population growth, shrinking energy supplies and irreversible climate change, ethnic and religious enmities as well as the collapse or corrosion of the state in many parts of the world.

The modern state is defined by its monopoly on organized violence. But in many parts of the world it does not have the monopoly anymore. Governments are at risk of losing control of weapons of mass destruction. Hundreds of millions of people are living in conditions of semi-anarchy. In much of Africa, parts of post-communist Russia, in Afghanistan and Pakistan, in Latin American countries such as Columbia and Haiti and even in regions of Europe, such as Bosnia and Kosovo, Chechnya and Albania, there is nothing resembling an effective modern state.

First we have to learn what we should not learn from each other. Russia has failed to catch up with the West. But maybe Russia is on its way to surpassing it. The transition from central planning to a western-style free market has failed, but the mafia-based economy that emerged from the ruins of the Soviet state has evolved into a hypermodern type of capitalism. Because of its origin in crime, Russian capitalism is well adapted to grow at a time when the fastest growing sectors of advanced western economies are illegal industries such as drugs, prostitution and cyber-fraud. Furthermore Russia can exploit its energy resources for a new kind of superpower politics, as it already has done towards the Ukraine.

We should not learn from market fundamentalism of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As it does everywhere, the IMF demands fiscal austerity. However different the problems, are their solutions are always the same. The IMF aims to install the same sort of capitalism everywhere. Inevitably, given the diverse histories and circumstances of the countries that have been subject to its policies, this goal has proved an illusion. The failing economy and the political anarchy in some third world countries and the growing economy of China or Korea demonstrate that it is not enough to build new bridges and new institutions, to promote and to finance projects of the often corrupt elite or to ask for balanced budgets and to cut subsidies.

The spread of corruption is the antithesis to competitiveness and cooperation. Real property rights exist only in constitutional states, in combination with the rights of freedom individuals and in combination with their protection by the state. The constitutional state is even more important than democracy. It is the framework for development. Therefore it is not enough to build a semi-democracy like the Russians did. Democracies without rule of law are usually even more corrupt than dictatorships, because a lot of different parties are trying to exploit the resources of the nation.

There should be no “either-or” between socialism and liberalism, between state and market economy. The problem is that although states need to

be restricted in certain areas, they simultaneously need to be strengthened in others. The state-building agenda is as important as the state-reducing one. The problem of Neoliberalism lies in a basic conceptual failure to realise the different dimensions of stateness and how they relate to economic development.[2]

2. European values as a precondition of a social market economy

We can see more clearly now, that the wealth and poverty of nations, and the question, as to why some are rich and some are poor, can be answered if we look at the cultural and political preconditions. In political terms, this means that Good Governance, Social Market Economy, Culture and Education are the decisive elements for Human Development. We need to find a third way between the extremes of a Utopian Global Free Market and a new nationalism. I believe that a Social Market Economy and the European Model of a Union could be the solution.

The European culture is a good precondition for that, because at its core is the balance between the poles of idealism and materialism, individualism and solidarity, ethics and science, rights and duties, individual interests and commonalities, national and supranational interests, religion and enlightenment and last but not least, between the social state and market economy.

The Neoliberals of the post World War period in Germany (the most well known of whom was Ludwig Erhard), took the best prevailing ideas from the traditional viewpoints and transported them into a cooperative relationship incorporating competing ideas. The Social Market Economy takes the accentuation of the social aspect and the dignity of labour from Socialism, and the freedom of the individual and the coordination of decentralised decisions by the market from Classical Liberalism, the unempeachibility of a person, the subsidiary and the idea of property serving public interests from Catholic Social Teaching and from the Evangelical Social Doctrine the professional ethics and the thrift.

The putative contrasts should not be annulled by utopian dialectic, but should be supplemented in a tension-rich cooperation. The originality of the Social Market Economy finds its reason not in a specific idea, but in the mutual complementation of ideas regarded as incommensurable before. Instead of social conflicts cooperation becomes the prevailing organization form of both the economical and social spheres. Provided that there is an agreement

2 Fr. Fukuyama (2004). State-Building. Governance and World Order in the Twenty-first Century. London.

about the idea of the Social Market Economy, political parties as a result all move more closely to the Centre.

By losing the balance between the poles we become Utopians and those who try to implement this Utopia become necessarily totalitarian. We can interpret the totalitarian answers to that confusion as an attempt to enforce the recombination of the separated subsystems. But this way, like fundamentalism, destroys the complexities of and the chances for complementarities. It destroys pluralism. We can compare the fundamentalism of today with the totalitarian answers to failing modernization processes during the 20th century.

On the other hand a total neoliberal separation of the subsystems leads to the kind of secularism, which nowadays constitutes a moral crisis. If there are no interactions between religion and politics, economy and ethics, science and culture, individualism and society, the sustainability of this culture is in real danger. A lot of people even in the West believe that this pluralistic culture is in a moral and cultural decline. We have a lot of socio-cultural problems like stagnating and aging populations, huge government deficits, declining work ethics, social disintegration and drugs and crime.

3. Social values and good governance

The wealth of a nation depends to a high degree on its organizational capacities. For a Social Market Economy not mineral resources nor the amount of land or people are important, but the quality of human capital, and the human resources decide the quality of life. The richest nation in the world – per capital – is Switzerland, a small country of seven million inhabitants – without any mineral resources, with four different ethnic groups and four different languages. They must be doing something right.

Good Governance means the reciprocity between the economy and society. It is more than "Good Government" by a good administration (this is only a small part of it) and it is not a romantic idea of the political left, that the common people are better and wiser than the elite, which is why everything has to be decided by the people. Good Governance means the reciprocity of the different subsystems of society – between religion and politics, culture and economy, state and society, state and science, state and market economy.

The ideal of good governance includes

- the separation of private and public interests,
- the transparency of political decisions,
- the universality of decisions,
- the priority of efficiency and effectiveness,
- cooperation instead of corruption,

- control over and sharing of power in politics and in the civil service.

The constitutional state, property rights for the people and "good governance" are the most important parts of democracy. They are the framework for development. Good Governance calls for political and social reformatory efforts. It is a very complex task to develop a nation. It is not enough to reform the political system like the Russians did or to only install a market economy like the Chinese did.

Good Governance should combine aspects, which in former times were seen as contradictions. Like the combination of freedom and morality in the constitutional state and solidarity and profitability in the social market economy, we need a new balance between religion and politics, between culture and economy, between hardware and software.

In the knowledge-based society it is not of prime importance whether the land belongs to Germany or Poland – as long as they work together. It is important however that the land belongs to an individual person with rights and duties. Without personal property rights there will be no ambition to develop this land. It is not important which state grants the property rights; but rather that this state is a constitutional state and that there is some form of Good Governance.[3]

The constitutional state is not a secondary condition for democracy and market economy. Instead, it is the precondition of both. The law is the condition of freedom. Without a constitutional state, there is no security for private property and investment, without an independent system of justice and an effective civil service, there will be neither stability nor sustainable development. A market economy without a framework by the state means anarchy not freedom. Not the best but the most unscrupulous do well.

The relationship between capitalism and the state should not be an either-or, but rather a balancing "as-well-as" relationship. The new balance transmits the successful concept of the Social Market Economy to political theory by freeing thoughts from being one-sided and putting them into a supplementary correlation. After all, the complementary "as-well-as" of the Social Market Economy has succeeded in letting the class-welfare-polarization of capital and labour stand behind the benefit of consensus-oriented social partnerships.

The complexities of the modern world cannot be explained and arranged anymore by the one-sidedness of old ideologies. The putative contrasts should be supplemented in a tension-rich cooperation. We need the mutual complementarity of ideas that had been regarded as incommensurable before. We need the complementarities of rights and duties. We need the balance between them.

3 I taught this idea to Palestinian students, but they did not accept. In Europe we needed two World Wars to learn the new rules. See W. Mustafa & H. Theisen (eds.) (2006). Beyond Fundamentalism and Nationalism. New Visions for the Holy Land. Bethlehem.

Culture and economy should create a great coalition against premodern and modern ideologies. The modern national conflicts between Germany, France and Poland nearly destroyed Europe. The modern ideological conflicts between democracy and socialism nearly destroyed the world. In the new postmodern world we have to look for new correlations and complementary ways to balance the poles, we have to look for a new reciprocity between

- nation and globalization (European Union),
- secularism and religion (Enlightened Religion),
- efficiency and solidarity (Social Market Economy),
- individualism and collectivism (Rights and Duties for everyone),
- modernization and identity,
- technology and ethics,
- state and market.

4. The social market economy in the European Union

Since its birth, in the rubble of World War II the vision of a united Europe has evolved dramatically from a coal and steel trading arrangement to a common market to a community to today's European Union, a new kind of state in which the member nations have handed over much of their sovereignty to a transcontinental government in a community that is becoming legally, commercially and culturally borderless. The EU, with a population of nearly half a billion people, and stretching from Ireland to Estonia, has a president, a parliament, a cabinet, a central bank, a bill of rights, a unified patent office and a court system with the power to overrule the highest courts of every member nation. It has an army of 60,000, its own space agency, a bureaucracy of 22.000 and an 80,000-page legal code governing everything from criminal trials and corporate taxation to peanut butter labels.

In the 1990s the EU grew and its influence increased. On the one hand, the member states agreed to a common currency, a single central bank, borderless travel, uniform food and health regulations and numerous other changes that increased the power of the EU government in Brussels and decreased the power of the national members to govern these issues individually. On the other hand, the fifteen members opened their arms to their eastern cousins thus making the union broader by taking in new member states. Now the EU is a big, but not a global market. With new members like Turkey, the Balkan states and the Ukraine, the European Union is in real danger of overstretching and of just being a branch of the globalized economy.[4]

4 H. Theisen (2006). Die Grenzen Europas. Die Europäische Union zwischen Erweiterung und Überdehnung. Opladen.

The development of the European Union started with the economy. After endless political quarrels it was considered better to change the vision. First it was the economy, followed by political cooperation. The next step now must be to heal the scars between religions. After endless religious and political wars in the Balkans and between Israel and the Arabic World, it is still not just the economy that is at stake.

The European Union seems proride for the restructuring of technologies, national economies, different nations and religions which were divided over centuries. Nearly up to the end the 20th century was an age of extremes. On the other hand, its better eras were based on negotiation and mixed programs, which included public and private affairs as well as state and society interacting with each other.

In the late 20th century Europe was bound together by an extraordinarily dense complex of international institutions: the European Union, NATO, Council of Europe, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and others. East Asia has nothing comparable except ASEAN, which does not include any major powers; has generally eschewed security matters, and is only beginning to move toward the first steps of economic integration. The APEC incorporating most of the Pacific Rim countries is an even weaker discussion club than ASEAN.

The revolutionary progress in communication-technologies helped to take down the Berlin Wall and the fences between the nations. Now the nation states of Europe are competing for know-how, for new technologies, new products and for the sale of these products. This competition is hard but it is harder to ignore it like the socialist countries tried to do. Not being involved in that competition means standing apart like the African countries do today.

The European Union means competition and cooperation at the same time and it means the cooperation of nations and a supranational state, of state and society, of the social state and the market economy. In a way this is a renaissance of old European dialectic of culture and world, idealism and materialism, religion and enlightenment, solidarity and profitability.[5] We can learn from the European Union that former enemies can cooperate first in the field of economics and afterwards in the field of politics. strusseThis was possible despite everything – all the borders and even a wall, different national cultures which were formely as important as the religions identities of today and even despite the fact that they have fought for centuries for the possession of land.

5 T. R. Reid (2004). The United States of Europe. The Superpower nobody talks about – from the Euro to Eurovision. London.

5. The european balance

The modern world with its radical pluralism leads to the confusion of minds. We can interpret the totalitarian answers to that confusion as an attempt to enforce the reunification of separated ways. This way, like fundamentalism, destroys the complexities and the chances for complementarities, because it destroys pluralism.

The social values of Europe are rooted in the best tradition of our philosophy. The postmodern way is not the separation or reunification of the disunited elements, but the cooperation between them. In modern social science this paradigm is called the correlation of functional systems. The technical basis for the new paradigm is new communication technologies, the structural basis is new political confederations like the European Union and the economic basis is the interactions of globalization.

The complexities of the modern world cannot be explained and arranged anymore by the one-sidedness of the old ideologies. The putative contrasts should be supplemented in a tension-rich cooperation. We need the mutual complementarities of ideas that have been regarded as incommensurable before. Education is a precondition, and investments are the methods. In the long run, education and cultural social values are more important for development than political structures.

The Social Market Economy is a good example of this: The new balance transmits the successful concept of the Social Market Economy to political theory by freeing thoughts from one-sidedness and putting thoughts into a supplementary correlation. After all, the complementary "as-well-as" of the Social Market economy overrule the underlying class-welfare-polarization of capital and labour.

In the materialistic marxist or neoliberal theory, economy is the basis of culture. But in the age of knowledge-based economies, it seems to be the other way around. Culture is becoming more and more the basis of politics and the economy. As we can read in David Landes great book, the cultural preconditions are decisive for the wealth and poverty of nations.[6]

Here are three examples:

- You cannot separate technical inventions from the liberty of thoughts and science.
- You cannot separate the declining birth rate in Europe from our individualistic lifestyle
- Software is the most important precondition for a knowledge-based economy.

6 D. Landes (1998). The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor. New York.

Education and Good Governance are the most important preconditions for investments. For cooperation between the subsystems of the society and between different nations and for Good Governance we need to have cultural preconditions like good communication, good knowledge of each other, trust in each other and a new vision of the future.

Two aspects of culture are relevant for the economy. One is how outward culture is: To what degree is it open to foreign influences, best practices and ideas? How well does it "glocalize"? The other is how inward a culture is. To what degree is there a sense of national solidarity and a focus on development, to what degree is there trust within society? Local cooperation in times of globalization is called "glocalization". The more a culture naturally glocalizes the greater the advantage it will have in a flat world. The natural ability to glocalize has been one of the strengths of Indian culture, American culture, Japanese culture and, lately, Chinese culture. They haven`t lost their identity by joining process of globalization. They try to take the best and leave the rest.[7]

There will be more losers than winners as long as there are more market victims and market objects than participants. The hopes placed by free traders in the comparative advantages of competition are correct for those who are competitive, but not for the others. The modern individual increasingly needs to make his living without the help of ethnic groups or pressure groups. Education is the best shelter against the often corrupt elite. Through market integration the rich lose the shelter, from which they can exploit the consumers and workers of their own country. Some of the poor are offered a chance to sell their products on the global market. China is using this chance in a way which pases a real challenge for the competiveness of Europe. We cannot be cheaper than the Chinese workers, so we have to be better.

Education will be the deciding factor. We need education for a knowledge-based economy, for Good Governance and a Social Market Economy. Are people market objects or market participants? Are people political objects or political participants? Education is more than information. We need knowledge and we need the wisdom of an old culture. A total separation of the subsystems leads to the kind of secularism which nowadays triggers a moral crisis. If there is no interaction between religion and politics, economy and ethics, science and culture, individualism and society, the sustainability of a culture is in real danger. A lot of people even in the West believe that this pluralist culture is in moral and cultural decline. At the same time especially big parts of the Muslim world are in economic decline. If both premodern and modern societies are suffering from a feeling of decline, they should cooperate to find solutions which will improve their situation.

7 Th. L. Friedman (2005). The World is Flat. A Brief History of the Globalized World in the Twenty-first Century. London.

For a new Social Market Economy we need a renaissance of the European dialectic between culture and society, idealism and materialism, religion and enlightenment, solidarity and profitability. The balancing of those poles is deeply rooted in our best traditions. A Social Market Economy cannot mean the enlargement of the German or French social state towards eastern European countries. Rather, there are different sectors of public life following different signals and not only one economic signal for all of them. The different sectors of our public life should be in a sustainable balance.

We have to search for new compromises beyond flexibility and security (Flexicurity), beyond competition and cooperation (Coopetition) and beyond containment and engagement (Congagement). These new words symbolize, that the old "either-or" between progressives or conservatives, between liberals and socialists, between state and market cannot explain the complexities of the postmodern world. A new Social Market Economy should combine aspects, which are seen in modern times as contradictions in a complementary manner.

Ria Puhl

Human Rights and Social Justice and its Relevance for Social Work Theory and Practice

What is the role of human rights in the German social work theory and practice?

1. The work practitioners and their approach to human rights

Social workers are concerned with social problems, their causes, their solutions and their impact on society. Social workers work with individuals, families, groups and organisations, and are members of a profession which is committed to the well-being of the people. The practitioners can be found in a variety of settings: family, service centres, different interest groups such as disabled or elderly people and children, and in schools and in.

What does taking a human rights perspective mean for social work?

The paradox of the profession is that even though human rights are inherent in the mission of social work only a few social workers use this phrase in their practice vocabulary. That means that social workers may speak and think about human rights and social justice – but if they do so, it is in a more private manner – not related to their everyday social work (Staub-Bernasconi, 2009; Dominelli, 2007, 16-43).

2. Social rights in approaches and fields of the social work profession in Germany

This is quite a short point: In conjunction with the practice of social work in Germany human rights and social justice do not play a very big role, at least not explicitly. Because the German constitution is based on human rights, and because the legal framework of social work is based on the Basic Law, one

assumes that everything is somehow right – in a sense: all the work is already done.

3. Social rights as an issue in the discipline of social work

Regarding the issue of human rights and social justice in social work the theory is more complex. In recent times one speaks about a triple mandate instead of a double mandate (Staub-Bernasconi, 2007). What does it mean? The theoretical profession-oriented debate has been extended: the familiar so-called double mandate has become a triple mandate (the double mandate means the simultaneity of both the support for the clients and the control by the state (or authorised agencies). This additional third mandate is composed of

- a scientific description and explanation as a base for its methods, which are reliable to solve or prevent social problems
- an ethical base (especially a professional code of ethics which is – in the case of social work – explicitly oriented on human rights and social justice.

Both elements lead to an autonomously defined mandate by the profession itself and – if necessary – to the modification or refusal of mandates from the agency as well as from clients in ethical or / and scientific terms. The code of ethics with its reliance on human rights is also a base for the critical questioning of local, national and international laws. Are they just legal in a positive sense or also legitimate? (Just to mention the laws about immigration and illegal migrants – these children have not been allowed to go to school for a long time, but in recent weeks this law has changed in Germany)

4. What are the obstacles to enhance social rights in social work theory and practice?

4.1 A first view of the theoretical preconditions – human rights for all?

Historically, human rights are answers to experiences of injustice, powerlessness of individuals, groups or social minorities unable to change their situation in their interest. Experiences of injustice show us, that human beings have to be protected from other human beings and social structures and more precisely the dignity of human beings has to be protected from destructive

actions as the consequences of such actions might lead to structural violence for which nobody has to take direct responsibility (Mührel, 2008; Herrmann, 2009; Kappeler, 2008). Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ensuing conventions emphasize the universality, inalienability, natural character and inseparability of human rights So far so good – on the one hand.

On the other hand the field of Human Rights is certainly not without controversy.

Authors from Western and non-Western nations have different views on economic, social and cultural human rights issues (Reichert, 2006). Is it possible that the notion of cultural relativism could be reconciled with universal concept of Human Rights (Staub-Bernasconi, 2008)?

Do Human Rights truly promote economic and social development, or are they merely a tool of rich, Western societies in their efforts to dominate less economically developed countries?

4.2 Open questions

How does the social work profession integrate human rights into policies and practice?

How does gender relate to the realisation of Human Rights?

Of course, Human rights cannot be thought of without accepting the idea (or the ideal) of a global society, but that does not mean that individual and societal characteristics, especially ideas, values and norms exist for all, the whole world at any time and in any place – the Human right postulates would in this sense be ahistorical (and stupid) (Staub-Bernasconi, 2007, 17).

Thus, not only hegemonic universalism, but also fundamentalist cultural relativism is dogmatic. Both do not allow criticism, although for different reasons. Therefore one has to ask: Is it desirable to develop a debatable, moderate understanding of human rights?

4.3 Why are human rights part of the social work profession?

A primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help people to meet all their basic human needs, attending particularly to the needs and empowerment of those who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty (Reichert, 2007, 2). Social work principles are intended to ensure that a person in need never goes without shelter, food, or medical care. Defining a person as undeserving (dishonourable) because he or she is unemployed or lacks sufficient income to cover basic needs contradicts the very core of social work. Yet welfare laws (in Germany or the States) provide minimal leeway in dealing with the economic circumstances of lower-income

individuals. Social workers often have little choice but to obey the legal guidelines that essentially determine who receives a social benefit and who does not. An important question to consider is how social workers might tailor their profession to better fit their mission when social welfare laws continually challenge that goal (Kappeler, 2007). One option is for the profession to embrace human rights principles and lobby politicians to include those principles in legislation. The obvious starting point is for the profession itself to understand the meaning of human rights. Just in this case social workers can move forward into the legislative sphere of assisting legislative bodies to incorporate human rights principles into social welfare (Reichert 2007, 3).

4.4 Why practitioners do not speak about human rights in their everyday work.

An initial reason I assume, is that German social workers in general want to "help" but they do not want to ensure social justice. In other words, they do not *need* human rights.

This is because human rights are often associated with politics, political systems and the 'lofty' ideals of freedom of speech, and freedom of expression. While these are legitimate issues that need to be addressed, there is a need to mainstream the concept of human rights among social workers and realise that in the daily dealings with the problems of the clients, a human rights perspective is inextricably linked to how it has implications for social work practice (Dominelli, 2007).

Some of the issues are hotly debated now. Poverty, ageism and unemployment, are associate with the rights of the individual and of the community. While a discourse based on rights is sorely lacking in our society in general, this problem has greater resonance for social workers because of their commitment to social justice and the betterment of the lives of the clients they serve.

5. How to put the human rights´ issue into practice?

Human rights have become a mystical concept, and the fact that they have been avoided by social workers comes from the standard that social workers do not base their practice on the key UN documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various UN human rights Conventions.

In fact, many social workers may not even be aware of the fact that Singapore has ratified CEDAW (Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimation Against Women) and that the State is obliged to adhere the principles of these Conventions by and through legislative measures.

For political reasons, human rights principles based on UN standards are not integrated in the education of social workers. The education that social workers receive focuses rather on the developing micro level with direct service skills and counselling methods, with scant attention being paid to advocacy strategies, community organising, and critically exploring what advocacy and social action mean from the rights based perspective. The depoliticization of social work has been so successful that discussions of human rights will elicit blank stares from social workers and social work students.

The result of this is that social workers have become social administrators rather than social advocates – providing counselling, relief and practical help to the disadvantaged – rather than seeing how these approaches can be complemented with social action and advocacy. Problems, that clients face, are also the result of societal cultural norms, values and inherent social inequalities. Challenging these and affecting change through legislation and other means should be central to social work practice if social workers do not want to end up being just fire fighting – or even being laughed at.

Social workers need to adopt a structural stance and mindset to their practice, by taking a more active approach in intervening at a socio-economic level. Social workers have to look at social issues from a wider systemic perspective: maybe they have to take case work and counselling – practice methods which they are good at and be trained to deliver – to a level which influences public discourse and social policies. A fuller realisation of social work's obligation to human rights and social justice will only be achieved through a practice that combines micro and macro level approaches.

The polarity that exists between micro and macro level practice, direct service and advocacy, needs to be critically examined. It is important for social work practice to see these approaches as complementary and interdependent.

Social workers are in the best position to influence policy makers and create awareness of social issues because their micro level practice gives them an intimate knowledge of what is happening at the grassroots level of society. Social workers gather a wealth of information through their daily contacts with the person "looking for help".

Having a critical perspective on social issues, which is independent of the state, poses significant challenges for social workers given the fact that the government initiates and delivers many of the social programmes to its citizens.

Is self censorship inevitable regarding the fact that many social workers are employed by the state, or depend on funding from relevant state agencies (or huge welfare organisations) in order to run their programmes? To what extent is there a conflict of interest if social workers have to represent their

clients, while being conscious of their position as agents of the state or agents of institutions that have strong links with the state?

For example, how should social work institutions with government links respond to the rights of women and children and provide an honest critique of the government's policies if the institution that employs them defends the state's position (as before the policy: children of illegal persons cannot attend school to learn despite the fact that education is a basic human right. Another example: Dignity- in relation to homes for the elderly with dementia).

6. The way forward: beginning a culture of rights discourse

In my opinion social workers at the micro-level and conceptual methods at the meso-level have to create strategies and action plans for a discourse based on rights that brings social issues to the fore of public discourse.

According to the triple mandate one should not have to debate endlessly about the question, whether social work has a political mandate or not. Social work is thus capable of political intervention without an external political mandate. This does not question direct citizen participation, but is complementary to it.

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Minerva Qassis-Jaraysah

Killing Women under the Name of so-called "Family Honor"

1. Introduction

There are many forms of oppression, not only in Palestine but also all over the world. Many local and international studies have reported that women are subjected to violence in many forms and in different degrees.

Women are considered to play a weaker and less important role in society due to the domination of the patriarchal system where men own the majority of the resources and play powerful the part. At the same time women should follow men and have no power. Consequently, violence was considered to be a masculine characteristic and some women dealt with violence practised against them as being part of their fate but not a thing that violates their rights (WCLAC, 2001).

Accordingly, any attempt by women to change this situation was totally rejected and considered a threat in the ownership of men as women traditionally are considered as "a man's factory" where the whole tribe depended on her ability to bear children which affected the tribes reproductive power.

In this paper, I will elaborate on the "honor crime" which is also called a "customary crime", the murder of a family or clan member by one or more fellow family members, where the murderers (and potentially the wider community) believe the victim has brought dishonor upon the family, clan, or community.

This supposed dishonor is normally the consequence of adopting dress codes unacceptable to the family, wanting out of an arranged marriage choosing to marry by choice or engaging in certain sexual acts. These crimes result from the perception that the defense of honor justifies punishing a person whose behavior dishonors their clan or family.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) estimates that the annual worldwide total of honor-crime victims may be as high as 5,000.[1]

Even though the phenomenon is widespread has not recceived the required attention until recently when women movements connected women's

1 Cf. http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2000/enlish/ch03.html.

rights and human rights while considering violence against women as a strong violation of human rights.

Despite the fact that the phenomenon is universal, it does not mean that its reasons and causes are unified but there is a need to analyze violence in context taking into consideration the cultural, social and economic factors within the surrounding environment.

The socio-cultural roots of this phenomenon are so deep that the Palestinian legal system has failed to prevent it, blaming the victim rather than the perpetrator. "In the context of an ongoing struggle for the liberation and economic and political independence of Middle Eastern women, there are signs of resistance to socio-cultural norms that encourage violence against females" (Afshar 1993).

2. What does violence against women mean?

Violence against women is any hurtful insulting or aggressive behavior or action committed by any means against a women just because she is a woman causing her direct or indirect psychological or physical suffering such action could be committed by threats or harassment or force, forcing her to practice prostitution or insulting her and her mental and physical abilities. The violence could range from verbal insults to crime where it is practiced by individuals or institutions either systematically or unsystematically and it is a global phenomenon (WCLAC, 2001).

The scientific encyclopedia states that „violence is any action committed by an individual through hurting them verbally or physically and it embodies the physical and spiritual power". [2] If this concept is applied to domestic violence, then there is a pattern of aggressive behavior resulting from the non balanced relations in regard to power within the context of labor division between men and women according to the nature of the socio- economic system of the community.

It is the crimes committed against women in particular as wives, mothers or sisters. The degree of violence varies between discrimination and oppression resulting from the unequal relations between men and women on the level of both the community and the family as a result of the domination of the patriarchal system concerning the social, economic, and cultural systems.

Forms of violence used against women:

– Physical, psychological and sexual violence that takes place inside the family including beating, sexual harassment of the female members of the family and violence related to the conditions of the marriage (rape).

2 Cf. http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/what is violence.

– Physical, psychological, and sexual violence that is committed within the context of the community including rape, sexual harassment, and threats either in the workplace or in educational institutions.

3. What is honor crime?

Honor crimes are acts of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members against female family members, who are thought to have brought dishonor upon the family. A woman can be targeted by individuals within her family for a variety of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault, seeking a divorce—even from an abusive husband—or (supposedly) being disloyal. The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a way that "dishonors" her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her life.[3]

Killing a women because of so-called family honor in the Palestinian community is a crime committed against a woman once she is suspected of having had unlawful sexual relations or losing her virginity where this is a violation that there is no way to deal with it other than ounishing the woman.[4]

"Honor or customary crime" is a planned and organized crime commited by one or more of the family members or female relatives . The motivation behind this crime is based on social and cultural beliefs or values. The criminal point of view is that he/she or they are defending the family "honor" by murdering the woman because of her suspicious behavior (a sexual or emotional relationship with a man).

4. Why use violence against women?

In Palestine as well as in the Arab communities where the family constitutes the fundamental building blocks, family status is largely dependent upon "honor" which is the respectability of women in the family. The issue of using violence is a family business and it is an internal issue, it belongs to the family itself, it is based on traditional and tribal norms and not based on laws and regulations.

Moreover, taking into consideration the importance of the family unit in Palestinian life, such a tendency has remained in the Palestinian mentality

3 Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honor_crime.
4 Palestinian initiative magazine 2006.

even after they were expelled from their lands during the 1948 Nakba and establishing Israel on the ruins of Palestine. Abdo argues that 30% of the Palestinians who left their homes in the war of 1967 were afraid that their wives and daughters would be raped by Israeli soldiers (Abdo, 1999).

5. The explanations behind so-called "honor crimes"

The reasons that appear to provoke "honor crimes" vary from women exercising their right to choose a spouse, seeking a divorce, engaging in any behavior which violates family or community norms in particular norms concerning sexual conduct, but also, for example, simply being away from home. In this case it is often claimed that the woman has engaged in sexual intercourse or similar acts during her absence. Even being raped may be a reason for the family to kill a woman.

The perception of the loss of control of the woman's sexuality is expressed as a justification for an "honor crime". Maintaining the honor of the family is seen as the responsibility of its female members. Economic and social matters are reportedly also factors contributing to "honor crimes". The emphasis that is placed on the different elements of sexual control, patriarchy, or property, that generally lead to the commission of "honor crimes", varies depending on the context in which the crimes occur.

When reviewing the cases in Palestine, we found that marriage to a partner from a different religious backroung is one of reasons behind honor crimes. However, economic reasons also can be a cause of the crime of killing a sister especially in the case of divided inheritance where the sister is married to a man from another clan, which is one of the reasons behind honor crimes.

Perpetrators of honor crimes may be brothers, sons, fathers, uncles, nephews, husbands, lovers or ex-lovers. However, women are also sometimes involved in the "honor crime". In addition, "honor crimes" are sometimes carried out by under-aged males in order have the punishment reduced (Kevorkian, 1999).

The occurrence of crimes committed in the name of honor perpetuates the total subordination of women to men in society by forcing women to live their lives in fear. In this atmosphere, all of the fundamental human rights of women are compromised, for example, if death is the feared penalty, women cannot exercise their rights to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of movement. Women who fear for their lives are kept in jail in protective custody. Some women resort to suicide, voluntary or involuntary, for reasons of honor.

In different parts of the world, perpetrators of crimes against women committed in the name of honor, often go unpunished, receive reduced sentences or are exempted from prosecution on the justification of "honor". Deeply rooted social and cultural prejudices underlie the "honor" defense which is accepted as a clearing or justifying circumstance. Thus, while there are laws and legislation which protect the perpetrators of crimes committed in the name of honor, there are sufficient laws and procedures which protect women from these crimes.

6. UN efforts and initiatives to eliminate the "honor crimes"

Honor crimes are now located within the broad range of human rights violations, making it possible to address them with a human rights-based approach, which imposes on States an obligation under international law to exercise due carefulness in the prevention and investigation of crimes committed against women under the name of honor and in the prosecution and punishment of the perpetrators.

Both the Convention on the Elimination of discrimination against Women (CEDAW**)** and the Committee on the Rights of the Child have started to raise the issue of honor crimes in their work. Moreover, the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, the Special Rapporteur on the independence of judiciary and the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions have identified honor crimes as falling within their respective mandates. Each of these mechanisms has been emphatic in linking the activity of private persons (non-state actors) to the obligation of the State to protect, promote and fulfill human rights obligations through the exercise of due carefulness in the prevention, investigation and, in accordance with national legislation. The punishment of acts of violence against women, whether these acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons is articulated in article 4 of the Declaration on Violence against Women.

Article 4 of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW) requires States to condemn violence against women and stipulates that they should not invoke any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination. States should pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating violence against women and, to this end, should "exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation,

punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons". [5]

State responsibility under international law goes beyond a duty to enact and implement legislation and includes an obligation to adopt concrete measures for the modification of discriminatory cultural practices. For example, article 5 (a) of the Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women requires States to modify the social and cultural patterns of men and women in order to eliminate discrimination. [6]

Article 7 of CEDAW requires states to take steps in relation to culture, education, and the media in order to change prejudices which lead to racial discrimination. In recent years, "crimes of honor" have increasingly been addressed as a specific form of violence against women at UN level.[7]

The concept of "honor crimes" has been placed on the agenda of the political bodies of the United Nations. The crimes are mentioned in the resolutions on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions and on violence against women of the Commission on Human Rights.

In the Beijing plus Five 5 Outcome Document of the 23rd Special Session adopted by consensus by the General Assembly "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century", States committed themselves to continue to eliminate violence against women. In this context, more specific provisions were introduced in the result document to address issues not directly mentioned in the Platform for Action of 1995, including crimes committed in the name of honor and passion. The outcome document also formulates a set of concrete, new measures to combat the violations of the human rights of women which include: a call for the adoption and enforcement of laws and other measures to address negative traditional practices, including honor crimes (Beijing Plus five Conferences, 2000).

Moreover, at the Fifty-fifth General Assembly, Third Committee, in November 2000, the Dutch delegation decided to sponsor a resolution on "honor crimes" entitled: "Working towards the Elimination of Crimes against Women Committed in the Name of Honor" However, no consensus could be reached on the resolution and the text was adopted by a recorded vote of 120 in favor, none against and 25 abstentions. At the plenary session of the General Assembly on 4 December 2000, the same text was adopted, this time with 146 in favor, 1 against and 26 abstentions. However, the one vote against was made in error and should actually have been a vote in favor. The problems that arose during the negotiation of the resolution were largely related to the perceived linkage of "crimes of honor" with Islam and to the lack of clarity with respect to the definitions of "crimes of honor" (UN 55th General Assembly, 2000).

5 Article 4 of UN declaration on the elimination of Violence against women.
6 Article 5, CEDAW convention.
7 Article 7, CEDAW.

Finally, regarding initiatives at an international level, it is important to mention that the Report presented by the Secretary-General Kofi Anan (2002) had been requested and this report includes information on initiatives taken by the States to work towards the elimination of honor rimes. The Report was scheduled for consideration by the General Assembly at its fifty-seventh session in September 2002.

7. The socio-political status of women in Palestine

In Palestinian society, the struggle for women's rights for defense against crimes of violence has taken place against a complex backdrop of state-building politics and resistance against oppression. In Palestine, although the struggle against abuse of women began at the turn of the 20th century, it peaked following the onset of the Intifada (uprising) at the end of 1987 (Dajjani 1998).

Various women's and human rights organizations began to address the issue of women's rights, scrutinizing the existing legal code to determine its degree of comparison with the newly constructed sociopolitical atmosphere of respecting Palestinian national and human rights (Abdo 1999; al-Haq 1989).

Sayigh (1992:19) has argued that women's issues were politicized within the Palestinian national liberation movement: "Social changes adopted as part of national struggle are the main legitimating contexts for women's individual struggles".

Acceptance of Sayigh's thesis is related to the symbolic empowering image granted to females as the mothers of the nation – an image that has been reinforced by the cultural and political discourse of the Palestinian Authority (PA).

Abdo (1999) suggests in her research basic theories for analyses of gender-based politics in the PA that aim at constructing the Palestinian State. One of the hypotheses she suggests consists of a feminist structural analysis that considers the role of socio-economic and political forces in shaping gender relations and the state.

Proponents of this theoretical perspective are rather pessimistic about the potential for women's liberation and equality in the Middle East, arguing that the state and the elite (mostly male) economic and political power represses women's agenda, and often exploits that agenda to suit its own purposes.

Advocates stress that the low legal status of women, and their misrepresentation in politics and decision-making processes, has a negative effect on the position of women. A contrasting theoretical perspective is the agency-based approach (adopted by feminist activists), which focuses on the real life experiences of women, emphasizing the ability of the individual woman to

bring about legal, economic, and social change at institutional and structural levels.

An analysis of women's status in the PA reflects the effect of traditional patriarchy and its manifestation within political structures. The PA's political appointments are motivated by party politics involving allegiance based on clan or tribal affiliation. Such appointments have the potential to endanger the status, liberty, and equality of women.

Despite the political legacy of Palestinian society and the context of occupation, including the ongoing political struggle that makes the political legacy take precedence over patriarchal tradition, a breakthrough in women's sociopolitical and legal power does not appear to be on the horizon. Women remain "humanized" and subjected to the traditional structure of male domination and supremacy (Taraki 1997).

She looks at how the formal legal system in the PA responds to crimes that end the lives of females for the sake of "family honor", aiming to uncover underlying socio-cultural, patriarchal, and political factors that affect legal treatment of femicide cases.

In light of our findings, we can ponder whether Palestinian reformists can begin to promote national goals declared in the Proclamation of the Independent Palestinian State and grounded in women's human rights[8].

8. The Palestinian legal system

In the Palestinian West Bank, there has been no sustained attention paid to the issue of 'honor crimes', either by organizations or by the press. Most Palestinian jurists borrow their interpretation of "honor" and "crimes of honor" from the Egyptian or Jordanian legislations, making them models or points of departure. They use Cassation Court decisions to support their examination of honor without even bothering to question or attack it (Abu-Odeh 2000).

This legal system is further complicated by a legal system in which the formal state/civil law in respect to females is interlinked with the customary unwritten law and the religious shari'a law (covering issues of personal status, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance, etc.), where vested interests often determine which set of laws will be applied[9]. This practice has perpetuated the use of masculine patriarchal powers, undermining the political and social development that Arab societies in general (Moghaizel 1985), and Palestinian society in particular, are undergoing.

8 Issued by the 19th session of the Palestinian National Counsel, Algeria, 15 Nov. 1998.
9 For more details, see Wing (1994).

This has twice been put forward for cancellation by the government, but was retained by the Lower House of the Parliament, in 2003: a year in which at least seven honor crimes took place (Welchman, 1999).

Simultaneously, lawyers in Jordan representing various women's organizations worked intensively to redefine (increase) the punishment allowed in cases where an offender committed a crime related to honor.

In the 1990s, Arab human rights and feminist activists began to address the abuse of women (primarily crimes of honor committed against them) as an issue in need of re-examination at social, political, cultural, and legal levels. Consequently, major changes took place in the social discourse of Arab women and human rights activists in the mid-1990s (1995-1996). For example, efforts were made in Jordan to combat such crimes, by calling for changes in the reaction of the legal system (Abu-Odeh 2000).

Similar efforts were initiated by lawyers in the Lebanon in the mid-1970s, although their efforts did not bear fruit until 1998 (Moghaizel & Abd al-Satar 1999).

The family clan is very powerful in Palestine and they protect the murderer. Most of the crimes are simply registered as suicide, or even as a natural death with the cooperation of the family doctor. During the trial, none of the murders or other members of the family clan seemed to regret their actions (Salamah 2008).

Regarding the law implemented in Palestine which is the problem of the juridical system, the legislation in use comes from Jordanian law from the 1930s, which was implemented during the British mandate (Kevorkian, 1986).

Punishment is a jail sentence from three to thirty months based on the "law of reductive excuse" and "law of dispensation excuse". Article 340/part 1 and 2 of the Jordanian law that was implemented in the West Bank means that a man can benefit from this article if he commits a crime when he sees a married woman or his wife with a man outside of her family. It is considered an excuse for murder and the punishment is 3 months. Article 98 of the Penal Code is often cited alongside Article 340 in cases of honor crimes. However, "Article 98 stipulates that a reduced sentence is applied to a person who kills another person in a 'fit of fury'" (Al-haq, 1989).

It is important to mention that as Palestinians we still use the Jordanian criminal law article 16 from the year 1960 obliged in West Bank while the Egyptian criminal law article obliged in Gaza Strip and proposed to the Palestinian law article 18 in 2002.

A growing number of Palestinians find "honor crime" unacceptable, but the practice continues and no official statistics are available as of yet on this topic. However, below are some "informal" statistics from Palestine provided by women's organizations:

– According to the MIFTAH organization there were 31 cases in 2003.

- Between May 2004 and March 2005, 8 women were murdered in the Gaza strip while 11 women were murder in the West Bank[10].
- Only one case was registered in 2006 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Between March and November 2007, official police resources mentioned 35 cases of women murdered in the West Bank and Gaza Stip.
- In one of the West Bank cities, there was a case of a woman who murdered her sister-in-law "the second wife" in 2008.

Nevertheless and according to the Palestinian police research and study center there are "8 cases of women murdered in theGaza Strip and one case in the West Bank (2009).

9. Case study

A thirty-years-old single girl is the youngest sister of three brothers and five sisters, they all are married. All of her brothers have lived in the United State for many years.

She is living with her mother and older sister, her father has been dead for many years.

She started her working life as an employee in a sewing factory in a nearby village when she was fifteen.

She was suddenly pronounced dead with a heart attack. Everyone was surprised especially as her health was good and she had worked the day before she died.

What raised some doubts among the neighbors, the extended family and the people living in the same village was the fact that she was buried within a few hours, without the participation of her family and the people living in the same village attending her funeral.

What also caused more doubts was a report from a pharmacist who said that "a lady from the same village came and bought poison to kill a horse".

The investigation discovered that this woman was the brother's wife who had come just two days before the accident from the United States with the brother of this girl.

The security department issued an order through the court to open the tomb and exhume the body to determine the real reason of death.

The results showed that she was killed with horse poison. She was in her seventh month of pregnancy.

The brothers were accused of killing her, and they were arrested as well as her work manager as he was accused of having an affair with her.

10 Women voice, no. 215, 2005, 9.

10. What will happen to the family if they do not "kill their daughter / sisters / …"?

In general, families avoid making public their issues, therefore women decide to stay under threat and do not report about the violation against them.

The women's families also are rejected by society as they do not "wash the mortification" according to the customs and traditions. They are isolated and are "killed socially".

At a personal level, the victim will be blamed and rejected from her family and the society. She will feel ashamed and scared all the time, She lives in loneliness without any family or social support.

According to Salamah in her study of the level of emotional intelligence[11] related to "irrational thinking" on people who have committed "Honor crimes" in Palestine, she found that 85% of the 113 cases (in prison) of the women relatives who have committed crimes against women "all have a high emotional level" which means that they all are "aware of what and why they did so" (Salamah, 2008).

11. Conclusion

There are a number of reasons that could be essential in analyzing violence in general:

1. The historical natural and social division of labor and the emergence of the patriarchal system in the community.
2. The hierarchal structure of the patriarchal society is where a man represents the central power. The surrounding social, economic and cultural systems reinforce the patriarchal structure and the man's power. They represent the background that reinforces the patriarchal structure, traditions, habits and legislation alongside with the social and cultural heritage. This gives the man the right in a community dominated by males and where he is considered the master, to treat women as part of his property and to do with them what he pleases. .
3. The absence of law reinforcement and to some degree the legalized practice of violence against woman limiting their participation in the public life and the labor market. The lack of awareness for the presence of the law and the implementation mechanisms of the law is equal to the total

11 Emotional intelligence is the ability to deal with the information provided by other, person who has this high level of emotional intelligence that he is aware of what he did. Cf. Salamah, 2008).

absence of the law and it helps the spread of violence against women. The victims have no idea about the law and consequently, they can do nothing to protect themselves against the violence they are subjected to.

4. The socialization and the discrimination among males and females makes females feel that privileges that males have are more natural and they have to obey them as part of their role in life.
5. The Palestinian family is a social and productive unit that requires cooperation between its members, each according to his capabilities, gender and age. Such a unit is embodied in the unity of the identity of the family members where all are partners in the achievements and failure within such circumstances. Each member becomes responsible not only for his own behavior but also for the behavior of the other members. For example, the behavior of the girls is reflected on the whole family and this is the proposition that justifies the crimes committed in the name of so-called "family honor".
6. It is not possible to ignore the impacts of Israeli violence on the domestic violence in the Palestinian community. Both men and women are subject to Israeli oppression and insults to their dignity. Yet, men consider that there is a justification for the domestic violence they practise on women thus the phenomenon has spread in Palestine where occupation is the main reason for this. According to the Palestinian Center Bureau of statistics (PCBS 2006) violence against women at home has significantly increased since the beginning of the second intifada. The crime against women has increased by 12% since the last years.
7. Nevertheless, there are other reasons related to the nature of the culture and the cultural heritage that embodies the inferiority of women. The contradiction here is that the culture at the surface level deals with women as the shelter of the family and its guardians. Yet she is seen as beinginferior and taking second place. Despite that, the culture is only aware of the traditional role of women which is limited to delivering and raising children but not as part of the whole community structure. The community rejects the women's role in the social and economic developmental process but limits these roles only to men.
8. The weakness of law supremacy as a result of the destruction of the Security Bodies by the Israeli occupation caused the domination of the tribal Norms as an alternative to legal supremacy. The police forces are subject to social pressure once they try to protect a case and in many cases, the police headquarters are broken into with the purpose of killing the victim just to avoid publicity.
9. Women's human rights and civil society organizations should be lobbying and putting pressure on police departments in order to hand over the girl once she files a complaint against a perpetrator. Reports on the performance of the police departments have shown that they are powerless

in many cases and all they can do is just ask the family to sign a meaningless document that the girl would not be the subject of violence or crime.

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Iyad Amawi

Denial of the Right to Freedom of Movement (Leaving and Returning to the Homeland) and its Implications on Human Development

Introduction: the Palestinian case

This paper discusses the second paragraph of article 13 (2) from the human rights declaration that was issued by the United Nations in 1948 which says that *"Every one has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country"* (Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948).

In 1967, Israel started its war against the Arab countries and occupied the West Bank which was part of Jordan and the Gaza strip that was governed by Egypt, and the Golan Heights of Syria. Israel is considered as an occupying force from the world point of view and according to international law. This applies to all the international laws and articles including the Fourth Geneva Convention in 1949 related to occupation in general (2009, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_settlement).

The main question is: Is the second paragraph in article 13 implemented in the Occupied Palestinian territories (OPT) of 1967?

To answer the above question, I propose two related issues here:

1) Individuals who left the OPT with a permit from the Israeli military forces between the period of 1967-1989 and could not return to their homes because of the expiry date of the period that was given to them to stay outside the territories.
2) Individuals who are not allowed to leave the OPT by the Israeli occupation authorities due to their political affiliation or other special reasons from the Israeli point of view that makes their traveling a threat to Israeli security.

Before going through the discussion, I would like to point out that the Palestinians living abroad in the Diaspora are categorized:

1. Refugees due to 1948 Nakba and the establishment of the State of Israel.
2. Refugees who were forced to leave the country during and after the 1967 war.

3. Those who were deported after the completion of the census Israel carried out after the 1967 war or even after getting their Israeli military identity cards.
4. Some of the refugees in refugees camps in Gaza and Jericho were forced to leave the country in the early 1970s.
5. Individuals who left the territories and had a permit from the Israeli military forces and could not return on or before the expiry date. The last category of Palestinians is our focus in this paper.

1. Individuals who left the territories in possession of a permit but who lost their right to return home

In September 1967, the first and only census was carried out in the OPT. It included all the people living in the occupied territories at that time. Those present were given ID cards. The ID card serves only as a work and living permit. It does not mean getting citizenship. Therefore, those who would like to leave the OPT must apply to get a permit. This permit does not mean in any way a declaration of citizenship either. Nobody is allowed to travel outside the OPT with a special travel permit

Travel permits in perspective:

1. In the early years of the occupation, the process of giving permits for travel to Palestinians was determined by the occupation authorities and was limited for a one-month period only. But for university students the permit was for one year. This law was in effect until the end of 1972.
2. At the beginning of 1973, the Israeli military authorities did not have any conditions placed on traveling abroad and no prior consent was requested. But those who were not allowed to travel were returned from the borders. The one-year travel permit became renewable. Since, 1979, the validity periods of the traveling permit has become three years and can be renewed for one year only each time.
3. In 1977, the Israeli Military authorities imposed travel restrictions on male travelers only aged 16-25 years in which they were not allowed to return home before six months and then later it was nine months from their departure. Afterwards, males aged 16-35 were not allowed to come back before nine months. Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem were excluded from these restrictions.
4. At the beginning of the 1987 Palestinian Intifada, travel conditions were modified and it was necessary for Palestinians who wished to travel abroad to get permission prior to their departure (security clearance) from the civil administration and other circles, such as tax authorities.

These conditions continued to be in effect until the start of the Israeli Palestinian talks after 1991.

Palestinian citizens were allowed to travel through Al-Lud airport or and Haifa seaport as well as the Allenby and Damya bridges. To be able to do so they had to temporarily replace their ID cards with the Israeli travel document called Laissez – Passer). This Laissez – passer is valid for one year only and can be renewed. Upon their return, travelers had to return this travel document to Israeli authorities and regain their IDs. It was very difficult to obtain a Laissez – passer document. The Israeli military commander had to approve its issuance. Many Palestinians left the OPT using this document and could not return because it had expired and they could not renew it.

Individuals who lost their ID cards can be defined as "that group of people and their families who lived in the West Bank including Jerusalem and Gaza Strip during the census of September 1967 who obtained ID cards issued by the military authority to travel abroad whit a permit and stay more than the period of time allowed, consequently lost their ID cards and were not allowed to return home" (Mohammed, 1998: 6).

From the Israeli point of view, the main reason for losing the ID card is staying abroad after the expiry date of the period of time allowed and not coming back to get their ID cards from the border crossings. That is why they lost their right to return to their homeland. The Israeli bureaucratic system and the slow and routine way of handling this issue played a significant role in making people lose their ID cards.

The process of ID renewal required a number of documents and reports that proved that the individual was staying abroad. These documents were submitted with the permit to the civil administration. Very often, the processing of a request for renewal took so long that it, usually ended up with negative answers under many security claims and led to individuals losing their ID card for good.

Individual cases that exceeded the period of renewal are considered to be fewer compared to the ones who applied for permit renewals. Very few people had exceeded the period of the permits. Therefore, The Israeli policy, in many ways, helped the Palestinians lose their citizenship against their desire and will.

There are no clear statistical figures about those Palestinians who lost their ID cards due to exceeding their stay abroad. The World Bank in its report in 1992 estimated that 54000 of the West Bank citizens and 45000 of the Gaza citizens lost their ID cards due to the expiry date of their permits or travel documents and to their inability to renew them. Most of them were males aged between 21-35 years (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). Other researchers documented that those who lost their ID cards were between 88-100 thousand (Zureik, 1997).

The 100,000 Palestinian citizens who lost their ID cards were at the higher education stages. They left the OPT with one to three years permits. The Israelis did not approve the renewal applications of their permits which their relatives submitted on their behalf. Due to difficult economic conditions, students were unable to go back in time and consequently lost their ID cards. They continued their higher education and got senior positions in universities and research centers all over the world. However their country was badly in need to them and their expertise.

The issue of those who lost their ID cards is still negotiable as is the issue of the refugees. The Taba agreement signed in September 24, 1995, which followed the signature of The Declaration of Principles in Washington September 13, 1993, has an article that deals with the issue of those who lost their ID cards through a Joint Palestinian and Israeli committee. Anyone who lost his residency ID card because of absence could have a new one after certain procedures and with court support. This agreement was never implemented and the Israelis did not allow anybody to return except those who traveled between the years 1988-1989 to get their ID cards back. This means that those who lost their ID cards between 1967-1987 never got them back and they were in the majority.

2. Palestinians who have not been able to leave the OPT

Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip in 1967, there have been people who could not travel due to security reasons from the point of view of the Israelis. A significant number of those students who whished to complete their studies abroad in different disciplines and fields – Palestinian society needs to increase our staff in the various educational institutions – were unable to do so.

The exact numbers of those who were not allowed to travel abroad is not known by Palestinians, the Israelis are the only ones who know their exact numbers and have refused to allow this information to go public. The reasons for not knowing the exact number of Palestinians who were not allowed to travel abroad are:

1. Not all those who were not allowed to travel abroad knew that before they tried to do so.
2. Some of those who were not allowed to travel abroad approached human rights institutions while others did not.
3. Those who were not allowed to travel abroad usually approached more than one human rights institutions.
4. Some of the human rights institutions worked for some years on cases and then changed their work type without keeping records on files.

5. Some of the human rights institutions are not interested in statistics (numbers and categories) of those who are not allowed to travel abroad their concern is only on lifting the travel ban.

The director of Insan: Center for democracy and Human Rights in Bethlehem, Shawqi issa said that "the first step for the individual who cannot travel abroad is to give the power of attorney to the lawyer of the Center to process the case. The lawyer then sends a letter to the Israeli military consultant in Beit Eil in which he/she explains the citizen's complaints and his reasons for traveling abroad (e.g. study, treatment, work, visiting relatives). Very often, the consultant sends his reply within one to two months. His reply may have the following options:

1. Allowing the person to travel.
2. Allowing the person to travel for one time only for humanitarian reasons such as medical treatment.
3. Not allowing the person to travel at all since traveling abroad is considered by the Israeli consultant to be a threat to the Israel State security or for criminal reasons.

Shawqi adds to option number (3) "the lawyer usually tries to discuss the reasons for refusal with the Israeli legal consultant. If the refusal is not related to security, then it can be negotiated. If it is related to security, then it can not be discussed and the profile is confidential. Consequently, the lawyer will bring these cases to the Israeli High Court of Justice for appeal. About 90% of the cases were usually refused".

He adds: "The above mentioned procedures were valid until October 2008. After this date, lawyers were not allowed to directly interfere in issues of not allowing people to travel abroad. The new procedure requires that the person who is not allowed to travel can first hold an appeal to check the reasons behind the refusal with the civil administration. The answer for this may take six months or more. In the case of a refusal, the lawyer can then start the legal procedures of writing to the Israeli legal consultant".

Because of the inability to know the exact numbers of those who are not allowed to travel abroad, we can only discuss here some cases available at the following four human rights institutions/centers/organizations:

First*: HaMoked* is *The Center for the Defense of the Individual*. It is an Israeli human rights organization whose main objective is to assist Palestinians of the Occupied Palestinian Territories whose rights are violated due to Israel's policies" (http://www.hamoked.org.il/index_en.asp). Many Palestinians who are not allowed to travel approach HaMoked Center in West Jerusalem. Hamoked used to help around 200 Palestinians whose rights to exit the West Bank and go abroad to Palestine were violated by Israeli Authorities each year. According to the legal researcher in HaMoked Center, these are the number of the cases according to years.

Table 1:
Cases and percentages of those who approached HaMoked according to years and the results

Year	Cases approached HaMoked	Cases allowed to travel without court		Cases allowed to travel with court		Cases were not allow to travel	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
2003	200	100	50	--	--	100	50
2004	369	180	49	130	35	59	16
2005	200	92	46	72	36	36	18
2006	175	96	55	33	19	46	26
2007	163	46	28	36	22	81	50
2008	117	16	13.5	44	37.5	57	49
Total	1224	530	43.3	315	25.7	379	31

Second: *Al-Haq Institution in Ramallah*. This is a Palestinian human rights organization which received applications from those who were not allowed to travel from 1986 to 2005. Between 1999-2005 Al-Haq received 286 cases (see table 2). According to Rafeef Mujahed, the legal researcher for the AL-Haq Institution who stated that "the answers to the cases usually take at least two months". She adds that "usually about 40% of the cases requesting leave were approved, 40% were denied and about 20% got no answer".

Table 2:
Cases of those who applied to the AL-Haq Institution between 1999-2005

Year	1999	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005
Number	66	66	44	40	36	34

Third: *Al-Quds Center for legal Assistance and Human Rights in Ramallah*. It is a Palestinian human rights organization. "The organization was able to get very few permits for traveling between 2006-2008" according to Abdullah Hammad the legal researcher (see table 3 for more details).

Table 3:
Cases and percentages of those who approached Al-Quds Center:
Cases allowed to travel, refused travel, conditions for traveling, and no answers

Year	Cases approached Al-Quds Center		Allowed to travel		Refused to travel		Conditions for traveling		No answers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2006	348	42	122	35	123	35.5	19	5.5	84	24
2007	400	48	150	37.5	169	42.2	27	6.8	54	13.5
2008	87	10	34	39	19	21.9	32	36.8	02	2.3
Total	835	100	306	36.7	311	37.2	78	9.3	140	16.8

835 cases were dealed with by the Al-Quds Center between 2006-2008. Among them only 36.7% were allowed to travel, 37.2% were not allowed to travel, 9.3% with conditions for travel, but 16.8% got no answer.

Fourth: *Insan Center for Democracy and Human Rights*. It is a Palestinian human rights center located in Bethlehem and has been operating since 2004. Mr. Shawqi Issa, the Director of the Center, has provided us with details about those who approached the center between 2006-2008 (see table 4 for more details).

Table 4:
Cases of those who approached the center and reasons for traveling abroad

Year	Cases who approached the center	Reasons for traveling			
		for treatment	for studying	for working	for visiting relatives or pilgrimage
2006	2	1	0	0	1
2007	15	2	5	0	8
2008	10	0	5	3	2
Total	27	3	10	3	11

Out of 27 persons who approached the center only 8 (30%) were finally allowed to travel: three cases for working, two cases for studying, two cases for visiting relatives, and only one case for medical treatment.

The following information is based on interviews the author of this article conducted with Palestinians who were not allowed to travel in order to investigate the reasons behind the refusals:

- *Case one*: N., aged 39 years a university graduate in 1998 with a BA in Islamic Studies and an employee at the Islamic court since 1999. He tried to travel in 1999 to visit his relatives in Jordan, and was informed at the border crossing that he was not allowed to travel. Then, he enrolled at a local Palestinian University and got an MA degree in 2003. In late 2008, he got an acceptance for a Phd degree from a Malaysian University but was still denied travelabroad. He approached HaMoked Center for assistance. His application to HaMoked Center was rejected. Then a HaMoked Center lawyer made a deal with the legal consultant of the Israeli government which said that he was to be put under observation for six months for a security check. After the six months he was allowed to travel.
- *Case two*: O. is aged 43 years and has a B.Sc., majoring in engineering. He traveled to Jordan in 1984 with no problems. In 2007, he tried to visit his relatives in Jordan but was not allowed. In 2008, he received an invitation from the Paris Municipality, and was not allowed to travel again. He complained to the Hamokeed Center. After the intervention of the center he was allowed to travel without any conditions.
- *Case three*: B. aged 36 years.He is a dentist. After he completed his degree he returned to the West Bank in 2006 and was not allowed to travel abroad. He tried to visit Cyprus on a university visit but was not allowed. The, he tried to travel in 2008 and was allowed with no reasons given.
- *Case four*: M. aged 40 years. He has an MA degree in information technology and used to work as a teacher in a Palestinian university. He used to travel in the past. In July, 2007 he got an acceptance for a PhD degree from a Malaysian university. He was not allowed to travel so he approached Hamokeed. The Israeli government's legal consultant in Beit Eil refused his application and he was put under observation for a whole year.The year ended in September 2009. Finally, he was allowed to travel.
- *Case five*: L. aged 36 years. Got his BA degree in Islamic Studies in 1996. He tried to travel in March 1999 as a pilgrimage[1] guide because he

1 Pilgrimage (Hajj):The last of the five pillars of Islamic Religious duty is the pilgrimage or Hajj. This ritual represents one of the peak experiences in the life of a Muslim. The Hajj or Pilgrimage is made to the sacred places of Islam in and around Mecca. Once in a lifetime every Muslim, man or woman, is expected, unless it is impossible, to make a pilgrimage (a

works as an Imam (Islamic leadership position, often the leader of a mosque and the community). He was not allowed to travel. He approached Hamokeed in September 2008 and after two months, he was allowed to travel.

- *Case six*: A. aged 63 years. He is a retired teacher. He used to travel in the past without any problems. In May, 1995, he was not allowed to travel. In February, 2009, he traveled to Jordan without any intervention.
- *Case Seven*: M. aged 35 years. He has been working as an Imam since 1995. He has a BA degree in Islamic Studies. In 1996, he traveled as a pilgrimage guide, but in 1997 he was not allowed to travel to perform Umrah (a lesser form of pilgrimage to Mecca that is not obligatory for Muslims, unlike the hajj, and that can be performed at any time of year). After 6 months, he approached Hamokeed and he was not allowed to travel either. He appealed to the Israeli court of Justice but still has not been allowed to travel to date.

Only 40% of those – who were not allowed to travel – approached human rights institutions and were then allowed to travel. This means that they do not impose any security threat to Israel. Some of them were not allowed to travel but later were allowed without any intervention. The question is that if those who were not allowed to travel were then allowed as a result of just a letter sent from a lawyer of an institute surely this proves that the Israeli security claims were false. So, why are Palestinians denied their rights to travel in the first place? This is a question still awaiting an answer.

As for those who are put under observation for 6 to 12 months as a precondition to travel and those who are not allowed to travel at all for security reasons why do the Israelis not take them to court and have them punished or penalized. Not allowing them to travel is against all international laws and a clear violation of their rights of movement and traveling.

In summary, the full development of the human potential is one of the most important basic rights and should be the core of any developmental cultural and educational projects. The main purpose of development is to give people choices and to give them the freedom and the right to choose.

The most important challenges related to human development are those that are related to brain-drain. Therefore, people should have the options to travel, live, stay and return to wherever they wish and make all the necessary facilities possible available for them to be creative. Not doing so, will allow for brain –drain immigration to continue depriving the Palestinian society from benefiting from these experts.

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hajj) to Mecca. The pilgrim should be there during the sacred month Dhu-al-Hijja so as to enter with thousands of others into the annual mass observance of the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the Lesser and Greater pilgrimages, and the Great Feast. See http://1stholistic.com/prayer/hol_islam-pilgrimage.htm.

This is what happened when Israeli authorities did not allow Palestinians to go back to their homeland. This has a negative impact that is easily seen in the present and the future development in the Palestinian context where the loss of efforts, scientific knowledge and productive energies- that are needed in education and scientific research- are missed. Teachers and university staff provide a vital input in education. The number of teaching staff in the Palestinian Universities is decreasing in many specializations such as sociology and social work. It is worth noting that many of those who lost their ID cards are qualified enough to compensate for the university losses. Notwithstanding that, there were all those who were not allowed to travel in the first place and could not continue their graduate studies in many rare specializations abroad.

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Ingeborg Tiemann

On Rachel's Tomb: Some Considerations on Identity in a Palestinian-Israeli Border Area

1. Introduction

Rachel's Tomb is an interesting site to study, both for its historical relevance and for its location in a disputed area characterized by a separating wall and rapid landscape transformation.

The biblical figure of Rachel – the wife of the patriarch Jacob, being considered as one of the matriarchs – is an important female icon in Judaism and Christianity; also in Islam, she is held in high esteem. Her colorful story, mainly told in the Book of Genesis (Gen 25-49), impressed generations of Christian and Jewish believers: her love story with Jacob when she was still a shepherdess, her relationship with her sister Leah with whom she shared her husband Jacob, her suffering due to being barren for many years, finally being able to conceive, and then her death in childbirth on the way to the land of Jacob and to Isaac's home in Hebron. Regarding the site of Rachel's death in childbirth there are two different places which are discussed by scholars to mark the tomb: one is located north of Jerusalem close to the town of Al Ram. Although this assumption "is rather substantial", as Fred Strickert in his book "Rachel Weeping" writes (Strickert, 2007: 70), devotions and pilgrimages are mainly attached to another site very close to Bethlehem: the so-called "Rachel's Tomb" which is the focus of attention here.

This site is not only important because of its attachment to the biblical figure of Rachel and the adoration dedicated to her in this place. The same site comprises a Muslim graveyard with a mosque where the rites and prayers for the deceased used to be enacted. According to oral tradition, the first to bury their deceased here were members of a tribe of Bedouins, the Al-Fawaghreb tribe. The Al-Fawaghreb clan of Bethlehem remembers the site as a shared Jewish-Muslim shrine where the mosque of Bilal Ibn Rabah was located. Therefore, as well as the name "Rachel's Tomb" this site is partly known as "Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque" although the name "Rachel's Tomb" is predominant in the Bethlehem area.

It is this rich interreligious tradition connected to the area of Bethlehem which inspired some scholars at Bethlehem University to concentrate research on the area of Rachel's Tomb. The tomb, a site of major significance for

Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities all together, is now completely isolated from Bethlehem by a wall which penetrates deeply into the urban fabric and people's lives.

Despite being surrounded by the wall, the tomb still represents a landmark of Bethlehem, and even if physical access is forbidden at present, the quest for access to knowledge of its history and meaning among Palestinians should be persevered. The study conducted by the research group of Bethlehem University documents the history of the place with testimonies of people who still remember how it was in the past and who have witnessed how it has become. It is of importance to collect some of their stories and memories now, before they are lost. In addition to personal testimonies of interviewees the research group got access to photograph. In a situation when West Bank Identity Card-Holders are deprived of entering the site this may help to recognize Rachel's Tomb also as Palestinian heritage. The aim of the study is to strengthen and keep alive the rich interreligious tradition of Rachel's Tomb, if at the moment only in the memory. The research group considers this as being important also in the light of future co-existence among people living in the Holy Land.

The research on Rachel's Tomb was designed and carried out by the following scholars working at Bethlehem University: Elise Aghazarian, Andrea Merli, Lucia Maria Russo, and Ingeborg Tiemann. The research team was joined by the following students of Bethlehem University: Wala Amro, Nanor Arakelian, Nasim Abu Aisha, Fida Mousa, Hiba Najajrah, and Sheima Qabajah. We are very grateful that this study was made possible through Bethlehem University Internal Research Grants, this in close cooperation with AGEH, the Association for Development Cooperation, Cologne. The full study will be published in the near future as "Rachel's Tomb: An Alien in her Hometown? Perceptions from the Other Side of the Wall".

In the following considerations I will reflect on one aspect of the research we took up in our study: how some identity questions are expressed by our interviewees when talking about memories and perceptions regarding Rachel's Tomb. Passages of this text are drawn from the full research study quoted above. Other parts are further elaborations on the focus of identity. I am deeply indebted to my research colleagues. The ideas I elaborate on in this article are not at all exclusively "my" ideas. I consider them as results of the highly inspiring and rewarding joint discussions we had in our research team and by this as our common "fruits". I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to all our interviewees who entrusted us with their rich testimonies on Rachel's Tomb.

2. Historical Milestones

"They moved from Bethel, and when there was still some distance to go to Ephrathah, Rachel went into labour and her pains were severe. While they were on her, the midwife said, 'Do not be afraid, for this is another son for you'. Then with her last breath, as she was dying, she named him Ben-oni, but his father called him Benjamin. So Rachel died and was buried by the side of the road to Ephrathah, that is Bethlehem. Over her grave Jacob set up a sacred pillar: and to this day it is known as the Pillar of Rachel's Grave." (Gen 35, 16-21)

Fred Stricker (2007) elaborates on different stages in the development of the site of Rachel's tomb, often by referring to reports of pilgrims and travellers. Pilgrims stopped by at her tomb on their way to and from Jerusalem, on their way to and from Hebron and Egypt. A number of documentation sources are preserved, some of these documents mainly referring to inter-religious encounters which are listed briefly here:

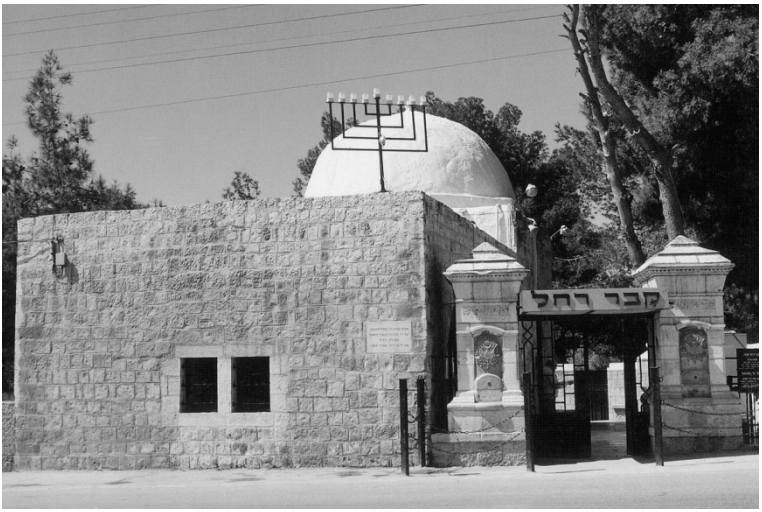
- *333 A.C.:* a pilgrim from Bordeaux is the first who reports to have seen Rachel's tomb "Four miles from Jerusalem, on the right of the road to Bethlehem, is the tomb in which was laid Jacob's wife Rachel." (Stricker, 2007:74)
- *670 A.C.***:** Bishop Arculf, a pilgrim from Gaul says that Rachel's tomb was "surrounded by a stone pyramid", had "no adornment" and "is of poor workmanship". "They point out an inscription giving her name". (Stricker, 2007:81)
- *746 A.C.:* A severe earthquake may have affected also Rachel's tomb.
- *Early 11st century:* pilgrimage of a presbyter named Jachintus: "next to a Christian cemetery is the tomb of Rachel" (Stricker, 2007:87)
- *7th – 11th century:* reports about Jewish pilgrims to the Holy Land
- *13th century:* the Moslem writer Yakut says "Moslems have never ceased to visit Bait Lahm in pilgrimage" (Stricker, 2007:88)
- *Second half of 12th century, Crusader period:* Rachel's tomb is covered "by a cupola, which rests upon 4 pillars". It is reported to be "a roofed building with a square vaulted structure" (Stricker, 2007:89 f)
- *End of 12th century:* Rachel's tomb came under Moslem control. The tomb was open to all faiths
- *Around 14th century* renovation of the tomb by Moslems
- *15th century:* reports that Moslems buried their dead around the tomb, especially to the south (Stricker, 2007:95)
- *End of 16th century* the first visual representation of Rachel's tomb done by the Franciscan Fr Bernadino Amico. In his description he speaks of a "basin built into the lower part of the wall, which … Moslems keep full of water almost always for the service of wayfarers". He also states "And

the place is held in much veneration, and they do not wish that the Christians put a foot inside". (Sticker, 2007:97)
- *1615:* renovation by Mohammed Pasha of Jerusalem: The arches of the tomb are walled up. The tomb is now resembling a weli (Muslim funeral shrine).
- *1837:* an earthquake may have affected the tomb
- *1841:* Moses Montefiore, a Jewish philantroph from London, carried out a major renovation of the tomb: a completion of the vestibule adjacent to the tomb. This second room was enclosed with an open, arched entryway. A Mihrab was added in the south wall for Moslems to pray.
- *1872:* report in a geographic survey of Conder und Kitchener: "A Modern Moslem Building stands over the site, and there are Jewish graves near it … The covered court … has a window and mihrab on the south …The court is used as a praying-place by Moslems. The inner chambers … of which the key is kept by the Jews, are visited by Jewish men and women on Fridays …" (Stricker, 2007:104)
- *Mid-19th century guide books:* in Baedecker guide book: "The tomb is revered by Moslems, Christians and Jews, and is much visited by pilgrims, especially of the last-named faith". (Stricker, 2007:104)
- *In Murray's Handbook Series:* "It is one of the few shrines which Moslems, Jews, and Christians agree in honouring" (Stricker, 2007-105)
- *1949:* Rachel's tomb with Bethlehem was incorporated into the West Bank of the Kingdom of Jordan.
- *1967:* control of the tomb was turned over to the chief rabbinate.
- *1995*: According to the Oslo II Agreement, falls under temporary Israeli security and civil control. It was meant to be transferred to the Palestinian Authority within 18 months of the inauguration of the Palestinian Jurisdiction Council;
- *2002*: The Israeli government announced to add Rachel's Tomb to the so-called Jerusalem "Security Envelope";
- *2003*: By Israeli military order the construction of the Wall started; the Wall enveloped Rachel's Tomb as well;
- *2005*: The Wall in Bethlehem is completed, and Rachel's Tomb is cut off from the city of Bethlehem;
- *2010*: In February, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced to include Rachel's Tomb, along with the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron, to the list of Israeli National Heritage sites.

To a certain extent, the evidence above is witness to the changes that Rachel's Tomb site has undergone over the years, from a pyramid-like building over many stages to the building it has become now. From the Bethlehem side you only see walls, the barrier which cuts it off, making it completely invisible

and thus turning it into a nearly virtual site. Rachel's Tomb is no more tangible and no more accessible for Palestinians, Christians and Moslems alike.

Rachel's Tomb in early 19th century



Rachel's Tomb, before enveloped by a new Israeli architectural construction and before cut off from Bethlehem by the Wall.

Rachel's Tomb, entirely covered by the Wall, as seen from the Bethlehem side.
Photographer: Andrea Merli, 2007.

The site of Rachel's Tomb now encircled by a complex wall structure
as seen from a house in Bethlehem. Photographer: Andrea Merli, 2009.

Entrance to the Tomb of Rachel, January 2010.
Photograph by Astrid Gilles-Bacciu.

The site of Rachel's Tomb within the Walls, January 2010.
Photograph by Astrid Gilles-Bacciu.

3. On identity

Identity enables us to give a meaningful interpretation of a situation and a context. It provides us with a collective sense of belonging – to understand who we are and who the others are. It is about similarities and differences between groups and between subgroups within a certain setting (Maalouf, 2000). This dimension of inclusion and exclusion which according to Ross (2009) is inherent to the concept of cultural identity may 'illuminate the contextual understanding that makes conflict so emotionally intense'. (Ross, 2009) Thus, in severe conflicts it is beneficial for its understanding to consider the aspect of identity. Particularly in contested boundary areas where questions of who is "in" and who is "out" are continuously at stake, identity questions are rampant.

In what follows, collective identity will be the main focus for the analyses of the interviews on Rachel's Tomb. As the discourse on Rachel's Tomb is highly charged with emotions and with efforts to give meaning to a situation which for Palestinians in the Bethlehem area has been deteriorating within the last eight years it can be estimated that this approach may help to understand in a deeper sense the emotions of the interviewees towards Rachel's Tomb.

As far as Palestinian identity is concerned, Nassar emphasizes that "Palestinian national consciousness … went through disruption and discontinuity as a result of the events of 1948, which Palestinians call the Nakba, i.e., the catastrophe." (Nassar, 2001/2002: 33f.). Thus it can be assumed that experiences of loss, of displacement and the marginalization of narratives became part of the Palestinian identity. In this study we also raised the question to what extent the rapid changes in the landscape around Rachel's Tomb experienced by Palestinians may possibly mirror a feature of Palestinian identity as defined by Nassar. Nassar also states that groups within the Palestinian society are affected by experiences of loss to a different degree. Considering this, we will here also pay attention to how different sub-identities within the Palestinian society in Bethlehem area disclose different perceptions of Rachel's Tomb. Among various affiliations to subgroups of the Palestinian community the most important in our context are identified here as belonging to a particular religion or religious denomination.

Rachel's Tomb is a sacred site which is of particular importance to Palestinians of different religions. As such it is connected to an old religious text containing narratives revolving around the character of Rachel and to a monument in a place which is connected to her supposed tomb and to a mosque called "Bilal's Mosque" as well. Both elements are apt to provide meaning, this partly in a complementary way, partly also in an opposing manner. Naming the site is an indicator for an underlying identity pattern which will also be considered here.

As in the Israel-Palestinian conflict land is very much at the centre of the struggle, religious notions and political power structures are inextricably intertwined also with regard to the site of Rachel's Tomb. Having this in mind, the religious meaning which our interviewees attribute to Rachel's Tomb will be a special focus of attention here.

Rachel's Tomb is a local site in the Bethlehem area. As we assume it is a place of identitification for many Bethlehemites. Perhaps more than that: as a location within a symbolic landscape its relevance may go far beyond Bethlehem's localities. It will be analyzed here how our interviewees see Rachel's Tomb as part of a larger map of Palestinian identity.

With regard to the identity concept its time dimension is particularly fruitful. The analyses of how the interviewees connect the past to the present and to the future and how they perceive themselves in relation to the time vector may give us some insight into how and why the importance of Rachel's Tomb may have changed over the time.

The strength of different narratives which are connected to Rachel's Tomb is striking. Filled with vivid memories of Palestinian Moslems and Christians, this site can be considered – what Ross coins in another context – as an "extension of identity into space" (Ross, 2009 p 283). Due to current power structures this materialized expression of identity is excluded from Palestinians' life and currently persists only in the space of memory. The analyses of the interviews regarding Rachel's Tomb may provide us with an insight into how Palestinians reacted to this physical exclusion from a part of their identity.

Against the background of these considerations the interviews will be analyzed under the following dimensions relevant to the identity concept:

1. Rachel as "we" – Rachel as "the other"
2. Naming the place
3. Mapping the site
4. Disruption and discontinuity
5. Economy
6. Trapped between the past and the future

From the interviews:

3.1 Rachel as "we" – Rachel as "the other"

For many of our Palestinian interviewees the figure of Rachel is a character they can easily identify with. This became obvious particularly in interviews with women as is expressed in the following quotation: 'She resembles us (Palestinians) in everything'. 'She was weeping for her children, so she is similar to us.'Although the narratives concerning Rachel are much stronger in

Christianity than in Islam the Palestinian layer of identity here is put first hence overriding religious belongings. The exile experience of many Palestinians, the experience of self-sacrifice, the analogy between Rachel as a shepherdess who is looking for her sheep with the situation of Palestinians in distress of looking for work are mentioned here. Here are some quotations from the interviews: 'When she (Rachel) was walking to Hebron on her way she died. In exile, like Palestinians. You know, many died or suffered in exile'. 'They are putting us in prison. But they are also putting Rachel in prison. I only discovered recently that there are three walls, not only one … So Rachel is in prison with us'. What is especially strong is the identification of some interviewed women with Rachel's motherhood: with her giving birth to children and with the suffering of children in existential situations. When disclosing their identification with Rachel our female interviewees were often very emotional. It seems the identification with Rachel's fate allows some Palestinian women to see in her a figure of consolation in situations of existential crises.

One of the interviewees also includes the Jewish Israeli into her identification with Rachel by referring to the religious background of the narratives. By describing her like a female Abraham she claims that there is a common ground for all three religions: 'Rachel is the mother of all'. By this the interviewee is positioning religion as a dominant feature for constructing identity which for her seems, at least in this context, to be higher in the hierarchy of identity than the Palestinian identity. This is echoed in a different way by another interviewee who also claims with a view to Rachel's Tomb a joint meeting point between different belongings, but he goes back to culture as a joint platform for the three religions: '… at that old time the three faiths had the same culture'.

Some interviewees stress the identity of Palestinians beyond different religious belongings as is expressed in the following sentence: 'Muslims and Christians, we are together, our culture, our heritage, our language, our tradition and eating are the same … there is no difference between Muslims and Christians, we are all Palestinians, we are suffering together … We are one body'. A complex picture of difference and closeness between the three religions is expressed by another interviewee: When talking about Rachel's Tomb she speaks about Jews, Christians and Moslems as being 'neighbors'. But she puts one condition as a prerequisite for such a way of living in peace: 'We have to have our freedom to live in peace with our neighbors'.

One of our interlocutors does not see any relationship between Rachel and Palestinians. He terms her the 'mother of the Jewish', by this he gives her the appearance of a possible counter figure to Palestinian identity, an embodiment of "the other". 'She is the first person from the Jewish side who entered Palestine", says another of our interlocutors. Here any joint heritage of the religious story connected to her is rejected. As a Jewish religious figure

she appears in the light of an occupier for the sake of Israeli policy and with this as being opposed to Palestinian interests.

The question of religious identity in connection with Rachel's Tomb is also discussed in the light of an assumed meaningful starting point of this heritage. Whereas some women refer to the old scriptural tradition of Rachel stating implicitly that the Jewish tradition was first the interviewees who prefer to talk about Bilal's Mosque when talking about the site partly claim the historical priority for the Moslem tradition: According to them the place became important when the Moslems started to bury their deceased here.

3.2 Naming the place

Some of the interviewees of the Moslem religion prefer to call this site 'Bilal's Mosque' instead of 'Rachel's Tomb'. They refer to the shared experiences of their ancestors who have buried their deceased in this site and who had the religious funeral rites and prayers here where Bilal's Mosque once was situated. One of the interviewees claims that the name was changed be Jewish people to "Rachel's Tomb": 'This is not Rachel's Tomb, … this is a site for a person whose name was Bilal!' Another interviewee suggests that the name "Bilal's Mosque" is sometimes preferred because of the Jewish connotations of the name "Rachel's Tomb". The statement of another of our interlocutors confirms this: 'For political reasons they said she died here and that they buried her here. This is politics: for a long time they wanted to make Bethlehem … an international area and add it to Jerusalem'. In this last statement it becomes clear that this contest over wording has also to be considered against the background of the political battle between the unequal political entities Israel and Palestine where – as Peteet shows in his study about Naming in the Palestine Israel Conflict – : '(w)ords circulate and acquire meaning and intensity in a field of power.' (Peteet, 2005: 155) By naming the site "Rachel's Tomb" or "Bilal's Mosque" our interviewees not only tie their own religious identity to the place, the different names also function 'as a public claim' (Peteet, 2005: 157) which is addressed implicitly to Israel.

There is a high price to be paid by Palestinians in this power struggle around words; this is expressed in the statement of one interviewee: She says the name "Rachel's Tomb" used to stand for the whole area around the site itself. 'This has nothing to do with Rachel as a figure but everybody knows this place. But now, we even tend to forget this place … We even forget the name "Rachel's Tomb". Now we say (instead) … we'll meet beside the wall, at the Checkpoint.' It seems the process of marginalization of Palestinian narratives, which Peteet states (Peteet, 2005: 154) affects the memory of Rachel's Tomb. With the receding of the name also the recollections are fading. In our interviews we sometimes felt that at the beginning of the inter-

views our interlocutors rarely had anything to tell about Rachel's Tomb, but in the course of the interviews it seemed old narratives were "awakened" to life and became even very vivid.

In connection with the preference of "Bilal's Mosque" as a name for the site a kind of genealogical map of Moslem identity in Bethlehem emerges: According to one of our interviewees, the first to bury their deceased here were the members of a tribe of Bedouins, the Al-Fawaghreb Muslim tribe. Much later, during the war with Israel Egyptian troups used the cemetery for a short time, but left soon again together with their dead comrades. Since three refugee camps in Bethlehem were established Palestinian refugees, especially those from nearby Aida Camp, buried and still bury their deceased in the part of the cemetery which is still accessible and which is adjacent to Rachel's Tomb. This mirrors different stages of identity in the history of Palestinian identity on the whole: from a tribal society to an overriding Arabic identity to a specific Palestinian identity – stages which are not bygone but which are overlapping in a multi-dimensional way till now. It also explains that the particular attachment to the site by Moslems we interviewed seems to be partly stronger than the one we found in interviews with some Christians. It is this connection to ancestors which is embodied and symbolized in this piece of land, lacking access to this is felt by some like a wound in one's religious identity.

3.3 Mapping the site

Several interviewees speak about Rachel's Tomb as a 'landmark' of Bethlehem, 'it's always been a landmark in the countryside north of the city of Bethlehem, greeting the visitors to Bethlehem … It was part of the tradition, part of the landscape, a landmark … It's closely associated with the existence of Bethlehem. It's been there.' It used to mark where Bethlehem starts and ends, as one interviewee puts it. Like other interlocutors he remembers it as a beautiful place, sometimes the wordings evoke almost a pastoral scenery. Since the site has been cut off now from Bethlehem the picture has changed dramatically: Interviewees speak about a 'neglected' area, a 'deserted' place. Another one refers to Rachel's Tomb area as 'a ghost town' – an expression which is sometimes also applied to Bethlehem: 'I believe ghosts are around these walls. I am afraid because it is too empty and we fear to go.'

The special importance of the site particularly for Moslem Bethlehemites may also be identified in an assumed historical event which one of our interviewees refers to: According to his knowledge part of the main Bethlehem mosque Al Omar had once been transferred to Rachel's Tomb and this became part of "Bilal's Mosque" on this site.

Several interviewees refer to the relevance Rachel's Tomb once had for Christian, Jewish and Moslem pilgrims as well. Rachel's Tomb – and with it Bethlehem – was a place half-way between Jerusalem and Hebron. In the context of such an overall pilgrimage map spanning over Palestine, Rachel's Tomb is situated nearly in the heart of the Palestinian religious landscape: It was, as somebody tells, 'the main place to stop, to rest before entering Bethlehem' or for continuing the way to Hebron or to Jerusalem. A water fountain (sabeel) is mentioned which provided pilgrims with the necessary water for cult practice and for drinking. Considering all this, Rachel's Tomb assumed significance beyond its importance for the Bethlehem area. It seems by its connection to Rachel's Tomb Bethlehem is pictured at the centre of an imaginary map of Palestine – but later, by the act of cutting off the place from Bethlehem area it fell from the centre to the margins, 'forgotten' and 'abandoned' as Rachel's Tomb itself, leaving a place of Palestinian identification 'deserted' like 'a ghost town'. 'It used to connect Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and now there is neither Bethlehem nor Jerusalem', as one of our interlocutors puts it. One woman discloses in the interview her strong bonds with Jerusalem, which is now tinged for her with sadness: 'I'm tied to Jerusalem … you see it's like a tree when the roots are taken off and it is thrown outside. I feel that I am dying from Jerusalem.'

Another of our interlocutors expresses a strong feeling that the map in this area has been distorted: 'It has became an isolated (area) now. The one who permitted putting up this wall "May God forgive him" … is it possible to separate the street where millions of people used to pass by? Is this fear? … "May God forgive him". Full stop and new line!'

3.4 Disruption and discontinuity

The clashes this place experienced during the Intifada constitute for most of our interviewees a turning point in the history of the Rachel's Tomb. There is a certain feeling that this place has been 'desecrated', as one of our interlocutors puts it, also words like 'pollution' and 'distortion' are applied in order to highlight the extreme decline the place underwent in the eyes of Palestinians. Another interviewee has experienced the area since the Intifada as being continuously in a state of crises: 'We are going from one crisis to another. For example when there was the massacre in Hebron, … we directly faced the consequences here … and our work will stop.' In his view, any crises which may take place in Palestine will spill over to the area of Rachel's Tomb.

The site is considered to be threatening: 'a scary place because of the emptiness' and – specifically in the imagination of one of the interviewees – there are ghosts looming around the wall of Rachel's Tomb. '… Even birds

can't infiltrate …', says one of our interlocutors, by this expressing the notion that the place lost its connection with mobility, with the movement of life.

All interviewees share the opinion that the incidents of the Intifada had a decisively negative impact on the place. In the eyes of a young woman we interviewed the events of the Intifada and its aftermath eclipse the religious importance of this site. The 'great story' of this place started only then, as she says; what happened then gave the place its unmistakable character.

Two of our interlocutors call the place 'a Nakba area' or state that the place 'has gone through a Nakba'. By this they allude to the traumatic event called 'Nakba – catastrophe' in Palestinian history when in 1948 around 700.000 Palestinians were expelled from their villages and cities. Notions like expulsion, dispossession and marginalization reverberate in this naming of the place, also the memory of a fateful defeat. Overlapping memories of Palestine in 1948 and of the events at Rachel's Tomb around the Intifada seem to intensify the feelings of our interviewees when thinking about their own feelings and attitudes facing Rachel's Tomb: Sometimes there is an emphasis on the feeling of being victims of this situation, showing helplessness and deploring that 'the law here is made for the stronger … we are victims'. Sometimes a position of resilience and steadfastness is displayed more praising Bethlehemites around Rachel's Tomb as people who live sumud (steadfastness): 'I am a sumud man. I'm working here because I want to keep my place.' Sometimes both positions are voiced by the same interviewee: 'Despite our sumud … we don't see any reward for it … we are suffering, but nobody is caring'. It seems that in such an unstable situation which is caught in a potential circle of violence people are prone to shift in their attitudes between different modes of resistance.

3.5 Economy

Our interviewees mention specifically one key area which is deeply affected by the closure of Rachel's Tomb to Palestinians: the economy. The emphasis on this is strong and its effects on other parts of identity described as being forceful. Therefore economy may be considered as being part of the identity of Bethlehemites living in the Rachel's Tomb area. 'We are workers', says one woman when talking about the economy in the area. But since the Intifada this place has been 'abandoned' and has become an 'isolated area'. Before, one of our interlocutors relates, 'it used to be full of flowers and lights to welcome the tourists', but now he experiences 'hopeless feelings' when facing the situation at Rachel's Tomb. Before it 'was an expensive area … After the construction of the wall it is not worth a penny.' Before, 'all along the road there were lively: restaurants, you know the "Balloons", souvenir shops. The husband of my daughter was a dentist, he had a clinic there, a lot of Jew-

ish people used to come to his clinic', one woman tells us. Another woman remembers that before the Intifada 'the Jewish used to come, and the Arab people came to sell. I am talking about before the uprising, before the wall. It was full of people, full of cars'. Another man focuses on the current situation deploring that 'people from Bethlehem are even afraid to come to the Restaurant (of Abu Zouz) … Always the area is full of soldiers … Now at 5 pm nobody is in the street because they are scared. People are scared because we are close to the wall, to the tower … and they can open the door any moment and kill us'. The ramifications for tourism in that area are also severe. One man tells us: '(When) important people, visitors want to come to Bethlehem they take them through a different way so that they won't ever see how the situation is in reality.' Our interlocutors relate stories of people who moved out of this place because business was slowing down. The question of who is to blame for this gets two different answers: On the one hand it is suggested that 'the Palestinian government didn't care about this place' and that the political turmoil between the Palestinians themselves contributed to this dismal situation. On the other hand – according to another interviewee – it is assumed that the Israeli Jews exploit the situation by taking advantage of this conflict between the Palestinians.

One interviewee expresses bitterness about his work in this area: 'There are 40 families living around the area and 60 places (shops) are closed, from here to the checkpoint. It was a famous and commercial area before. When I took this place … people were envious of me, but now they say: "Crazy man, why are you staying there?".'

One woman talks about an initiative to revive the area which is squeezed in between the wall of Rachel's Tomb and the wall at the checkpoint between Bethlehem and Jerusalem. By attracting people to come to a small newly opened restaurant it is hoped that this will have not only a certain income-generating effect for the owners. This initiative is also supposed to boost identification with the area of Rachel's Tomb.

3.6 Trapped between the past and the future

There is a certain nostalgia and a sense of sadness in the picture our interviewees draw of Rachel's Tomb from their memories. Some remember the beauty of the place, this in stark contrast to the current situation: 'I miss the little dome-building surrounded with olive groves. The concrete wall, with barbed wire on top, and the ugliness of the place now – it's no more a beautiful place. And I don't think it is a pretty place for the Jews who come in having to pray inside this building. I don't think they can appreciate this place anymore.' Others stress the liveliness the site once had. One of our interlocutors says, in former times she did not feel any fear around Rachel's Tomb, it is this

sense of safety that she is misses now. Recollections of a once striving economy are particularly strong in the answers: 'Israelis used to come in order to pray, and nobody used to harm them. Nobody, nobody, nobody.' Hinting at an assumed peaceful coexistence of all three religions at Rachel's Tomb one of our interlocutors speaks about his father who had been entrusted with the key of the site. 'It was not obvious who was Jewish and who was foreign. It was the time of the Mandelbaum Gate. My Dad would open the grave, take them around and let them visit it.' Against this background, he claims respect for the Moslem heritage: 'We Muslims … have been called and committed to protect the heritage and holy sites (maqams) of Muslims and Jews for 1450 years … '. One of our interlocutors stresses that the wall around Rachel's Tomb may probably also have an impact on the Jewish people: 'It is also a distortion for the Jewish people, they are also behind the wall. That is the effect of the wall.' In comparing the past with the present one of our interviewees expresses the fear that the reputation and the fame of the place in Palestine could have been gravely damaged: 'I wonder whether the Jewish are doing this to make us hate Rachel's Tomb.' (49) An affectionate relationship to Rachel's Tomb is displayced by another interviewee saying about the site: 'It's as if you love somebody so much but you cannot get it. We pray and die.'

In reading the transcriptions of the interviews one gets the impression that with its marginalization Rachel's Tomb feels also out of time. The past is receding into fading memories, the future is 'dark', as a Palestinian tells us, the present is overwhelmingly bleak, this is the picture most of our interviewees are drawing. The lack of accessibility turns the site virtually into an almost unreal empty place – an all but imaginary being which is ready to absorb intensive feelings of despair and disheartening imaginations. Under these circumstances it is difficult to express optimistic feelings for the future. 'It should become as it used to be' says one of our interlocutors. The statement of another one contradicts this completely: 'I don't think that it will be ever again as it was before.' Another man expresses his feeling like this: 'Yesterday was better than today, and today is better than tomorrow.' Another interviewee speaks about hope but at the same time explains why it is so difficult to stay connected to this hope: 'Yes, she (Rachel) gives … also hope to people nowadays. But we don't see her, because she is out of sight.' In spite of this dilemma, there is some perspective for the future to be recognized in the seeds of some economic activity, as one Palestinian tells us. '… The situation is changing a little bit now … Everybody is working to help this area to revive … There is … (one) old couple, in their house there used to live several families. They wanted to have a hotel and a restaurant there. But after the Intifada soldiers were on their roof, if somebody came to see them he was checked by the soldiers. The families left their own house … Still there is the old couple. They used to have a restaurant. Now when we organize something

with the Sumud House they prepare salads and a barbecue for us. In order to give them some hope and get life to this area, and to help the people and to help that they stay.'

4. Concluding remarks

The physical space of Rachel's Tomb reverberates in the emotional space of the Palestinians we interviewed. This emerges out of our interviews and gives evidence to the hypothesis stated in the beginning that the site can be perceived as "an extension of identity into space" (Ross, 2009). Due to the current situation of physical exclusion from Rachel's Tomb there is a strong feeling of being harmed in one's own collective identity. As this part of identity still persists in the space of memory, the physical loss – when remembered – is very painful for many Palestinians. What makes this connection between memory and place particularly powerful is the character of the site: Rachel's Tomb is a symbol for experiences of death, of birth and of sacrifice – experiences which are prone to mirror personal and collective tragedies and events as well.

The Palestinians we interviewed for our research associate different meanings to the experiences and perceptions they have in connection with Rachel's Tomb. With this, a map of diverse identity constructions emerge. As to religious identity, the attachment to one side seems partly to be stronger with Moslems than with Christians in the Bethlehem area. Especially for Moslems in the Bethlehem area a multilayered genealogical map of Tribal-Arabic-Palestinian identity emerges when talking about the site and signifying it with the name "Bibal Ibn Rabah's Mosque". For Christians it may be assumed that the strong position Mary has as a female figure in Christianity eclipses partly the relevance of Rachel and Rachel's Tomb. It seems that for Christians the site itself is predominantly relevant as a landmark and cultural heritage of the area, not so much as a religious site.

The figure of Rachel has for some of our interviewees the potential to bridge differences between different faiths, for others she is a dividing figure: On the one hand she is considered as being "the mother of all". On the other hand some see her as "the other", as an embodiment of Israel as occupier who took away Palestinian land. There is a third group among our interviewees for whom Rachel serves as a symbol for Palestinian identity. These interlocutors mention for example the suffering for one's own children, being on the way, being in exile and being walled in when talking about similarities between Rachel and their own Palestinian identity.

The Rachel's Tomb area reflects certain identity constructions which provide a collective sense of belonging concerning "who we are" and "who

the others are". These constructions are conceptualized in terms of inclusion and exclusion, "self" and "other"-relations, "inside" versus "outside". These differentiations mirror the current situation where one side has free access and the other faces a wall, electrified barbed wires, closures and checkpoints. By naming the place "Rachel's Tomb" or – even more evident in this context – "Bilal Ibn Rabah's Mosque" our interviewees not only tie their own religious identity to the place. These different names also function "as public claim" (Peteet, 2005: 157) which is implicitly addressed to Israel.

Rachel's Tomb is linked with memories of the previous living together of Jews and Arabs which clashes now with the present reality of separation. The collective memory is largely based on a past of inter-religious respect and worship. The clashes this place experienced during the Intifada constitute a turning point in the history of the site. There is a certain feeling that the place has been "desecrated" by these events.

Interviewees' evidence shows that some Palestinians seem to be trapped in a time gap between the memory of a very positive past and a lack of fantasy about the future. For some people, the events of the dramatic changes of the site which took place in and after the Intifada seem to be mummified in an idealized past. This together with the current general insecurity of the place and a certain fear of a turn forthe worse makes it difficult to develop hopes and ideas for a viable future of the place. A sentiment of loss, accompanied by deep feelings of rage, feelings of being threatened by known and unknown forces and a lack of security is expressed in our interviews repeatedly.

Rachel's Tomb assumes significance beyond its importance for the Bethlehem area. Our interviewees picture Rachel's Tomb and with it the city of Bethlehem at the center of an imaginary map of Palestine – but by the act of cutting off the place from the Bethlehem area Rachel's Tomb and Bethlehem have fallen from the centre of such a Palestinian map to its margins. The tomb itself and with it Bethlehem is imagined as being "forgotten", "abandoned" and "distorted". Rachel's Tomb, the resting place for travelers of many centuries, has been turned into a security zone making Palestinians feel highly insecure. The area, being not only a site but more particularly a place of transition for pilgrims of all faiths has changed now for Palestinians into a place walled in. This leaves a place of Palestinian identification "disrupted" and "deserted". We may say that the Rachel's Tomb area and the radical changes it went through can be understood as a mirror for Palestinian identity, which – according to Nassar as stated above – is characterized by experiences of displacement, marginalization and discontinuities.

One of our interviewees cautiously voices some hope that around Rachel's Tomb there could be a future of peaceful living together between Palestinians and Israelis, between Christians, Moslems and Jews. This – according to her – needs one prerequisite: the removal of the wall. It can be safely

estimated that such a decisive event would have a strong impact on Palestinian identity – and on Israeli identity as well.

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III.

Results of the Projects and Evaluation

Ingeborg Tiemann – May Jaber – Eman Abusada

Debating Participation: An Interdisciplinary Pilot Project between the Catholic University of Cologne and Bethlehem University Based on Video Conferencing and Workshops in Bethlehem and Cologne – Spring and Fall Semesters 2008

1. Design of the pilot project

This interdisciplinary project was based on a new approach to Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning developed jointly by Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Cologne. As a Pilot Project it was conducted for the first time in 2008 in cooperation with both universities. The initiative was taken by Bethlehem University because Bethlehem University has the facilities and long-term experience with Video Conferencing. The Pilot Project has been made possible through funding by DAAD and through continuous support by a Civil Peace Work Program at Bethlehem University, commissioned by AGEH (Association for Development Cooperation).

The whole program comprised four modules:

- a Video Conference which took place over two weekends with about 11 hours input and discussions,
- a three-day workshop in Bethlehem on "Awakening Participation: Building Capacity in Decision Making and for Managing Participation",
- a two-day discussion circle on "Intercultural Lessons Learnt from the Video Conferences and the previous Workshop",
- Lecturer Conferences in Bethlehem and Cologne on "Creative Approaches to Participation on the Background of Different Academic Disciplines".

2. The topic

The overarching topic of all modules was "Debating Participation". This topic was chosen because it is considered to be thoroughly important for the further development of both societies: the Palestinian and the German one. Also this topic was estimated to be approachable from the point of view of different academic disciplines. Within this topic the following questions were thought to be relevant to tackle in this program: What is the meaning of participation in different societies and cultures? What are its chances, what are its limitations in different societies? What are preconditions for enhancing participation, what is likely to inhibit at and to encourage it? Who participates and who is excluded from participation under different conditions? Does participation rather raise or mitigate conflicts? How do we learn to participate?

3. Participants of the program

Lecturers and students from the following academic disciplines were involved in the program:

- Philosophy
- Education
- Sociology
- Social Work
- Religious Studies
- Health
- Political Science

Seven students from these different study subjects at Bethlehem University and seven from the same study subjects at the Catholic University of Cologne were chosen to take part in the program. Seven lecturers from each of both universities who represented one of those study subjects acted as mentors each for one particular student of the program.

4. Module: Video Conferences "Debating Participation"

Three days of Video Conferences covering on the whole about eleven hours were held in April/May 2008. Seven students from each university participated in this module. Two moderators on each side facilitated the discussion.

On the Bethlehem side the facilitators were Dr. Ingeborg Tiemann, Civil Peace Worker from Bethlehem University commissioned by AGEH, Cologne (Association for Development Cooperation), and Ms Mai Jaber, Dean of Students' Office at Bethlehem University. On the Cologne side facilitators were Dr. Eman Abusada, a Palestinian lecturer working at the Catholic University, Cologne, and Prof. Dr. Armin G. Wildfeuer, Dean of Social Sciences at the Catholic University, Cologne.

Each one of the students gave a presentation of 15 minutes on participation against the background of her/his study subject and by this reflected experiences in her/his own country. Each presentation was followed by a discussion, first among the students of "the other side", then between the students of both sides. Each day of Video Conferencing started with some "Ice-breaker" activities in order to help everyone get more familiar with each other. The last day of Video Conferencing ended with feedback from all sides. The Video Conference sessions were recorded. A DVD of about 12 minutes shows a short documentary of the sessions and its preparations and it gives some insight into the technical and methodical requirements of this way of collaborative teaching and learning.

The preparations for the Video Conferences started about two months in advance. Each of the students had an Academic Advisor who acted as a mentor by supporting the student in preparing her/his topic for the input into the Conference. The Academic Advisors did not take part in the Video Conferences.

Examples from the topics the students presented in the Video Conferences:

a) *from the German side:*
- "The concept of participation in philosophy – from antiquity to modern times"
- "Preconditions for participation in political issues"
- "Participatory Learning in the dialogue between students and teachers"

b) *from the Palestinian side:*
- "The Palestinian Women's Movement: a model for participation?"
- "Integrating people with disabilities in Palestinian communities – how much participation is already present?"
- "Differences between Fatah and Hamas during the election process and its relevance for participation"

Extracts from the feedback the students gave on the experiences of the Video Conferences:
- "I liked the way we were made to be involved in the discussions and how we integrated our experiences into each of our subjects." (Palestinian student)

- "I find most interesting the differences between the German and the Palestinian students in how they presented their topics." (German student)
- "This experience was truly unique, particularly because I understood by doing this that we have partly different styles of expressing ourselves and also different patterns of thinking." (Palestinian student)
- "It was sometimes difficult to express myself in English and not to be misunderstood." (German students)
- "Most challenging was to overcome in the beginning the silence between the Palestinian and the German students." (Palestinian student)
- "I found it challenging to know which topics for the Palestinian students were difficult to touch openly, like religious or political questions. And then: how can I word them without stirring up misunderstanding?" (German student)
- "It was not easy to always find the proper words to convey information about my society and country. Sometimes I think it was difficult for them to understand our background, I don't think they had a clear view about Palestinians." (Palestinian student)
- "I did not imagine the topic 'participation' to have such a profoundness." (German student)

5. Module: Workshop "Awakening Participation: Building Capacity in Decision Making and Managing Participation"

This workshop took place in Bethlehem University on three days in June 2008. The participants were seven students from Bethlehem University and the seven students from the Catholic University Cologne who took part in the previous Video Conferences. The workshop was conducted by Dr. Eman Abusada, Catholic University of Cologne, and Dr. Ingeborg Tiemann, Bethlehem University.

The workshop aimed at increasing the students' awareness of the benefits and value of participation in decision making, and strengthening the capacity and skills of the students in formal and non-formal techniques of participation in decision-making processes. The training incorporated both an awareness raising and skills-building approach. To achieve these goals, an experiential training approach was used; the aim being to facilitate the learning of the students to a maximum through a learner-centered and participatory approach. Through this kind of training, reflection and feedback from the participants the aim was to adjust the direction of the training to fit the learning needs of the participants. Since the participants were both Palestinian and

German students, it was important to draw comparisons from both cultures on the different issues that were discussed. In discussing the different barriers to participation in a different cultural context, it was interesting to find out that in both cultures the youth people feel that authorities in their country exclude them as young people from decision-making processes. While the German students felt that even though they have the chances to vote and make their voices heard, they feel that the system is excluding them in the decision-making process in issues that affect their lives. Meanwhile, the Palestinian students expressed their feelings of exclusion since decisions are always made on their behalf by older people.

The participation of women in different cultures was discussed at lenght. It was emphasized that even women in a German context have better chances to represent themselves, but still there are limitations to their participation in the decision-making process at a political level. Palestinians expressed that women's movements and the political situation have helped in improving women's participation at the political level, considering that women are less represented in many sectors.

It became clear that the students' agenda in the training was changing according to the discussions; therefore there were a lot of adjustments to the workshops to fit the needs of the students to enable them to learn from each other about the cultural contexts that the different groups of students were representing. One of the German students who was overwhelmed by the obstacles to the participation of youth that exist in Palestinian society which were emphasized by the Palestinian students, has felt that his society had given him better chances to participate. But then he gradually started to recognize the obstacles that exist in his own society when one of the Palestinian students asked him how he could explain the high percentage of young people who do not use their right to vote in Germany. The discussion about the responsibility for participation manifested how the different groups of young people in both societies deal with their responsibility to participate.

The feeling that the Palestinian society is a highly politicized one, overwhelmed the German students, but at the same time amazed them. The German students were astonished how the Palestinian students in Palestine are highly motivated to strongly represent themselves through different political and social organizations, despite the huge obstacles that exist towards participation. In comparison to German youths, their involvement in the society's political organizations is very limited despite the possibilities that exist for them.

The workshop gave the students the chance to develop different strategies for public participation for youth. Through setting case studies based on each culture the exercise has raised the awareness of the students on the obstacles, possibilities, and the chances or opportunities that exist in each culture for public participation. Playing the role of the outsider, and in the meantime

developing empathy with the culture, students helped each other to find solutions to the issues discussed. Moreover, the students worked intensively to develop a comparative list of the different techniques and methods for participation in each case which in turn shed light on those strategies and their potentials in each context.

In general, the workshop, based on the evaluation of the students has raised the awareness and the skills of the students in the analyses of public participation in the organizations that they are active in. In specific, the workshop has given the students a better understanding of the issue and an insight into the cultural issues that are related to public participation of youth people in their own society, its obstacles, and its opportunities.

6. Module: Discussion Circle "Intercultural Lessons learnt from the Video Conferences and the Workshop"

This discussion circle was held in Cologne during two days in October 2008. The participants were the Palestinian and German students who had previously taken part in the Video Conferences and in the workshops in Bethlehem and the Palestinian and German Academic Advisors who supported the students in preparing their input for the Video Conferences and for this discussion circle module.

In preparation of this discussion circle every student wrote a short essay about the presentation of one of the students of the other group (each German student about the input of a Palestinian student and vice versa) and before this meeting sent it to the partner student on the other side. Every student was asked to present during the discussion circles in Cologne her/his remarks on the essay of the partner student. When writing the essay on the presentation of the other students she/he should ask herself/himself the following questions:

- What ideas can you possibly take from her/his input when you try to apply this to your own society? Are there some new thoughts you find in it based on those ideas?
- What ideas in the text could probably be very different when seen against the backdrop of your own culture? What ideas might not be applicable for the situation in your society? You could explain why it would be difficult to adapt such ideas to your society.
- What could be interesting in her/his presentation for your major study? Are there any ideas you find especially fruitful?

The discussion circle took place by applying the method of an inside-outside circle. The presenter and her/his partner student together with the Academic Advisors and one moderator were sitting in the middle and in addition two

empty chairs were available for students from the outside circle to join and energize the discussion.

7. Module: Lecturer Conference on "Creative Approaches to Participation supported by Different Academic Disciplines"

For the first time this idea of Lecturer Conferences between the two Universities was applied. The participants were the lecturers of both sides involved in this Interdisciplinary Pilot Project "Debating Participation" and joined by lecturers involved in two other programs which are run in cooperation between Bethlehem University and the Catholic University: an Academic Exchange Program between both Social Sciences Departments and an Educational Research Program of both universities.

The idea of this new setting was to have deep discussions in a closed circle about a topic of academic relevance, thus hoping to enhance the academic exchange and to deepen intercultural learning also between the lecturers of both universities.

The lecturer conferences took place in June 2008 in Bethlehem and in October 2008 in Cologne. Some of the lectures which were held during the conferences are documented in this book.

8. Concluding remarks

By beginning the Pilot Project "Debating Participation" with the module of Video Conferences an intensive process of intercultural learning started off very quickly. It was remarkable that students were able to realize quickly differences of cultural patterns in how to approach topics, in the style of discussing and in dealing with conflicting views on the same topic. This is an obvious difference to many other intercultural face-to-face encounters when in the beginning it is more the similarities and not so much the differences between the cultures which are observed and talked about. This Video Conference experience enabled the group in the workshop which took place two months later to tackle in an unusually open way prejudices and intercultural taboos. One example should be mentioned here: Very often after a week of staying in Palestine some German participants of the Intercultural Exchange Programs feel uneasy and also frustrated that Palestinians mention time and time again "the occupation" by Israel as the reason for the intractable political

situation in the Middle East. Although this frustration is sometimes felt strongly it rarely is revealed to the Palestinian exchange partners and is turned rather into a taboo subject. In this workshop it was possible for the German students to come out with it, and it was also possible for the Palestinian students, surprised by this, to make efforts to understand why in their view this true description of the situation caused such strong negative feelings. This is one example of an intercultural learning process which took place, undoubtedly triggered by the experiences of the Video Conferences. The students understood that due to different living conditions and also due to a different history the perception of one and the same situation can vary between people from different cultures. The concept to start with a Video Conference between students followed by a face-to-face workshop where the students meet and work together intensively can be considered to provide a promising opportunity for intercultural teaching and learning.

The Video Conferences and the workshop were followed by a discussion circle which constituted a notable change in the setting: Now for the first time we had a module where students were joined in the large group by their Academic Advisors. This different setting entailed new challenges, mainly the question how to deal with the hierarchy between lecturers and students. Intercultural differences in dealing with authority influenced the group dynamics. By doing this the topic of loyalty was also brought up. The questions as to whether the students are more loyal to their University teachers or to the students of the other culture became a topic, which was only understood when reflecting on the process later. It seems the combination of teachers and students is apt in providing for a more difficult setting for an intercultural learning process.

As to the lecturers involved in this program, it turned out that this project was also a challenge for them, in different respects. First of all this project required working in an interdisciplinary setting which so far seems to be more of an exception to the rule in university life. Another strong challenge was the intercultural learning process which the lecturers also underwent in the context of this program. Irritation caused by colleagues of the other culture, sometimes followed by new insights into the specifics of the other society were repeatedly experienced particularly in meetings between the lecturers of both sides. It became clear that a deep understanding of another culture requires first of all trust-building among the participants for which it is of utmost importance to delve deeper into topics over a long period of time.

There was another interesting side effect of learning in the context of this Pilot Project: After this experience with Bethlehem University the Catholic University of Cologne also decided to purchase Video Conference facilities – an example how development cooperation also works in the other direction: from South to North!

The reflection with the students on the whole Pilot Project "Debating Participation" offered several insights into the learning process we went through, the ups and downs on the labyrinthine way of understanding differences between cultures. The whole process was very laborious, sometimes exhausting, but also highly rewarding for all of us, the students and the teachers alike. The DVD included in this book may give a taste of it.

We are deeply thankful that Bethlehem University, in particular Br Robert Smith, FSC, PhD, and the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Cologne, specifically Prof. Dr. Armin G. Wildfeuer, encouraged and supported this experiential Pilot Program. Also we are grateful to DAAD and to AGEH (Association for Development Cooperation, Cologne) for its continuous support through a Civil Peace Work Program at Bethlehem University, financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, and to The German Association of the Holy Land" for their help in the realization of the Video Conference. We sincerely hope that this program will continue to be developed by the experiences of students, teachers and also the management of the universities.

Debating Participation – Experiences of Students

1. Our Journey in the Video Conferencing Program (by Ronza Al-Madbouh)

I think that the Interdisciplinary Video Conferencing program is a special program because it included two new creative ideas. The first creative idea is discussing the term "Participation" from different aspects such as education, politics, philosophy, health, sociology, religion and social work. The second creative idea is tackling "Participation" via Video Conference meetings which took place between Bethlehem University students and Catholic University Cologne students in April 2008.

These Video Conference meetings gave us - the Palestinian and German students - the chance to become familiar to each other before our first face-to-face meeting in June. They also gave us the opportunity to extensively discuss "Participation" from different perspectives. Furthermore, they made it possible for us to move from discussing "Participation" in the different fields of society into having effective workshops on how to encourage citizens to be positive participants in their societies. These workshops helped us to widen our vision, and to realize that all humans have the same needs despite their different backgrounds, languages and cultures.

Nevertheless, some differences and misunderstandings between both cultures appeared when we discussed the political system, religion and women role in both societies. We were, however, able to overcome these misunderstandings throughout the discussions we had on the Video Conference meetings and the workshops we had in Palestine and Germany. For instance, we had to create role plays in which a Palestinian student had to think in the German mentality, and a German student had to think in the Palestinian mentality. Such plays contributed in solving the misunderstandings we had about each other's cultures. In addition, when our German friends came to Bethlehem, they could see the Palestinian reality, which we described to them, with their own critical eyes, and we managed to build closer relationships among each other. Furthermore, we, the Palestinians, had the chance of visiting the beautiful city of Cologne through this program, and to have a better understanding of the German society. I believe that this program was so beneficial for us all because it succeeded in building a safe bridge between the two different cultures, the Palestinian and the German culture.

2. The Analysis of I and Thou – a Journey into Identities: How friendships can change unfamiliar thinking into understandable (by Raphael Nabholz and Christina Wirth)

"The origin of all conflict between me and my fellow-men is that I do not say what I mean and I do not do what I say." (By Martin Buber)

When we first met we were strangers, and as we parted, we were friends. In between there was an exemplary process of how intercultural learning can be implemented.

Our first meetings via Video Conference were characterized by the attempt, to make our heritage and culture comprehensible to the Palestinian students - a journey into our own identity.

Quickly we recognized that it is not as easy as we expected. Our first meetings were shaped by conflicts and misunderstandings.

In preparation for the Video Conferences we planned our presentations as scientific inputs on the overall topic "participation". During our lectures it was obvious that the discussed topics were very sensitive and for this reason the following discussions were held on a very emotional level - our different ways of thinking separated us and sometimes they even hurt the feelings of the other ones. Although we could see and hear each other, we still felt separated. Therefore, at the end of the last Video Conference, the anticipation of meeting personally increased.

During our first meeting in Bethlehem we recognized not being strangers anymore, but acquaintances. Despite the distance in the Video Conferences, we felt closer as we thought before. We began to understand what our partners wanted to tell us in their presentations… What does it mean to live in an occupied territory? How does it feel to be surrounded by high walls? What problems result from such a situation?

What we have heard in the Video Conferences became visible and comprehensible, based on face to face conversations and shared experiences in Palestine – a journey into the other ones identity.

Through the joint work in our workshops we developed personal relationships very quickly. As a result our way of communication changed completely. Exemplary for this process were role plays in which we tried to immerse ourselves into the life of the other ones. During the role plays we discovered that we could empathize with the other ones easily and it was not really possible to differentiate between reality and fiction anymore.

Due to that we realized that we learned a lot about the other ones and ourselves: we understand that the values of another culture have the same legitimacy as our own ones, for example. We came to appreciate and to re-

spect the other culture and began to know what our conversation partner meant by saying something.

During our meetings misunderstandings decreased and mistrust changed into trust. We discussed about topics which seemed to be a taboo before and asked questions which we never dared to ask before. The initial meeting between apparently different cultures ends up as a meeting between individuals who have similar aims, dreams and wishes for their future. By the sincere wish to understand the other ones, strangers became friends who meet each other with respect but also honest criticism.

Accordingly expectations for our third meeting in Cologne were high. We faced a new challenge because our lectures, who prepared the presentations with us, joined our workshops for the first time. As a result, the personal meeting and the individual learning from each other wasn't the priority anymore but the scientific discourse. Again we focused on the differences of our cultures and countries of origin because the discussions were shaped by the scientific contributions of our lectures.

In a concluding conversation we were able to reflect the ongoing process and by entitling our differences we found our common basis - again we said what we mean.

3. Reality Living and Learning (by Sanaa Al-Muhtaseb)

It is a unique experience, stepping out of the plane for the first time, asking for directions, streets, and places - at that moment you realize you are far away from home. It is a rush of new sights, sounds, faces and places. Challenging yourself to be with people who may talk, dance, eat, drink, think and generally live in ways you have never been through in your home country. How different EVERYTHING is!

It is a total immersion learning (emotional and cognitive) where I am directly involved with explanations and human differences. Learning about myself and at the same time learning about a whole different culture. Broadening personal perspectives through experiencing life from a different point of view, all that could not have been taught from any textbook. It is just amazing!

This kind of creative connection builds bridges of understanding and gives opportunities to learn and better understand, respect, and tolerate differences in cultures and people outside one's own country. In addition, it widens the chance of improving language skills and broadening social horizons. For me it was an opportunity to experience a true Germany.

If you do not go, you will never know! It is a great big world beyond the borders of Palestine. It is the time of your life in which it will give you stories and memories for a life time. Going overseas without one's parents and stepping outside an existing social network, develops responsibility, initiative, and accounting for one's own actions. The whole experience will help you to appreciate the differences of the Palestinian way of life you temporarily leave behind. This unique experience inspires you to take home with you something of value that will enable you making a contribution to your society and to develop your potential as an effective leader.

Certainly, visiting another culture is more than the seeing of sights; it is a change that goes on, deep and permanent, in the ideas of living.

4. Learning by Meeting Each Other (by Juliane Dahlheimer)

Participating in the academic exchange program between the Bethlehem University and the Catholic University Cologne was an unforgettable experience that influenced my personal development in many aspects.

I would like to mention why the Video Conferencing program was such a many-sided learning process which has deeply impressed me.

First of all there was the technical aspect I was confronted with. I have never taken part in a Video Conference before. Therefore, it was a completely new experience for me to get to know people via video and working together on a topic without sitting next to each other. At the beginning this was a big challenge because it was not possible to immediately see the reactions of the other participants in Bethlehem. Moreover, the little time delay caused by video transmission made it difficult to directly comment on a statement, but we got more and more used to it and presented our topics very well.

The second aspect I want to mention is the interdisciplinary, explicitly the intercultural and interreligious aspect. It was amazing how the Video Conference was characterized by the variety of topics, departments and people with different backgrounds, religions and ways of living. The exchange with the Palestinian students and the members of the German group, too, gave me new ideas about the treated issues and thoughts. It caused me reflecting on my own roots, my beliefs, my culture and my attitude towards different things. On the one hand, there were many reasons which separated the Palestinian and German students, but, on the other hand, there was the human aspect which showed us that beside the differences we had a lot of things in common as well. We got to know students with similar hopes, fears, aims and dreams which gave us a basis for our discussions, raised mutual respect and under-

standing, and let us find agreements. I began realizing that focusing on common grounds will bring people closer together instead of mentioning the differences, and thus creating friends instead of enemies. If this idea was the basis for political and religious decisions and actions, it would be one big step towards a peaceful world. This thought includes another aspect that has changed my point of view by the exchange program – the significance of the Middle East conflict, and its effects on world-wide politics. Before I participated in the exchange program I had not cared much about political issues. However, while preparing my text about "Preconditions for a Participation in Political Issues" and discussing this topic, my interest in this problem raised.

Furthermore, the visit in Bethlehem was my first journey to an Arabic country and gave me a better understanding of the Arabic people, their culture and mentality. Meeting the students and their families, the lecturers and the Palestinian people on the streets was a very emotional experience. Although the situation in Palestine is very hard and people are faced with many restrictions day by day, most of them are very open and friendly. Their hospitality is incredible and their dancing, singing and spending time together showed the hearty atmosphere between them and I noticed that their difficult daily life stick them together. My visit in Palestine and the meetings I attended taught me much about neighbourhood, support, vitality, confidence and strength.

I want to thank my new friends in Palestine, their families who invited me to their houses, and all the people who answered my endless questions and who let me feel that I was really welcome. Furthermore, I want to thank the universities, all lecturers and other persons who where involved in the preparation and implementation of this exchange program. Especially I want to thank the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst- German Academic Exchange Service) for supporting this program financially.

I hope that this exchange will still be continued for a long time enabling many students to take part and profit from it as much as I did.

Josef Freise – Sami Adwan

Values and Value Education among German and Palestinian Youth

Introduction and background

The research project focuses on the prevailing values and value development among German and Palestinian youth in their respective societies[1]. This project included the following phases:

The first phase of the Project consisted of research on the theoretical discussions of how adolescents develop their values and how educational values are facilitated in German and Palestinian societies and in their educational systems. In Palestine the main theme of research was the area of conflict between tradition and modernity on one side and in the Palestinian and Israeli conflict whereby Palestinians still continue living under the calamity of the Israeli occupation on the other side (see Adwan 2007). The research in Germany was mainly focused on volunteerism in an individualised society and in the EU context (see Keupp 2000).

In the second phase, participants[2] were introduced to the methods of focus group interviews. Focus group interviews are a method that was first developed in the United States of America and used in qualitative market research. It enables the interviewers to get as much information as possible from interviewees in a short amount of time. Focus group interviews can be compared to methods of qualitative empirical social research (see Mayring 1999: 58-61). The objective of a focus group interview is for the interviewees to talk in depth about personal experiences and attitudes.

1 This paper is based on research on values among German and Palestinian youth that took place in Germany and Palestine in 2007 by the authors as part of an exchange program. The project was financed by the German Academic Exchange Program (DAAD) and it would not have been successful without the cooperation of colleagues, assistants and students, e.g. Dr. Eman Abu Sada who trained the German students in using the Focus Group Method. Dr. Inge Tiemann trained the German and Palestinian students in intercultural awareness. Ina Borkenstein was responsible for the organisation and the successful functioning of the exchange program.

2 Participants included seven Palestinian students from the faculty of education in Bethlehem University who were studying to be school teachers and seven German students from the KatHO in Cologne who were studying to be social workers. Participants include German and Palestinian Muslims and Christians.

The third phase consisted of working on a compendium of questions to be used in the interview with both the German and the Palestinian focus groups. The set of questions was first produced in English then translated into German and Arabic. Validity of the translation was checked through back translation. The set of questions focused on values related to the thematic concepts of family, friendship, religions, politics and future and job opportunities.

After the conclusion of the compendium, the fourth phase included students practising discussions to develop their own skills in moderation, facilitation and observation of the interviews. After that, the real interviews were held and transcribed. Each interview took about one and a half hours. The results were divided into the central thematic categories.

Finally both groups of students presented and discussed their findings in two workshops held in Bethlehem in June and October 2007 in Bethlehem University and KatHO University respectively.

It will not be possible to describe the whole research project and all its results in this paper. The following will merely be a short overview of the central findings of the interviews from Germany and Palestine about the values of juveniles, as well as the consequences for the future of the education of values in Palestine and Germany.

Furthermore this paper will take into account the discussions that arose between the German and Palestinian students about the research results in the above-mentioned workshops. These will concern the similarities and differences of the values in the four main thematic areas: family and friendships, religions, politics, and the future and job opportunities.

It is worth mentioning here that the results cannot be generalized to include either the whole German society or the whole Palestinian society but could be seen as indicative.

1. Family values

The Palestinian youths mostly portray their family as a safe haven for themselves. For them family is what defines life, gives it colour and fills it with joy. Without family society would have no basis for tradition or moral orientation: “Family is the most important part of society like the core to the cell. It determines the well-being of the society”. Family supports their needs and gives them advice to choose the best. They feel that their families give them a sense of happiness and serve as a source of comfort to them.

Discussions showed that the Palestinians associate the word “family” much more strongly with the extended family than the Germans.

Members of the extended family, especially those in villages, intervene regarding the individual behaviour when another family member deviates from fixed norms or expectations. Especially young Palestinian females mention that there are negative family-values as well positive ones. They describe restrictions concerning clothing and everyday behaviour, such as being banned them from going out with friends unsupervised, that limit their personal freedom.

Segregation on the grounds of sex is generally seen as a good thing by Palestinian men as well as women. They argue that if male and female youths stay segregated, everyone is more comfortable. The interviews in the urban areas of Bethlehem and Jerusalem showed that Muslim girls feel they are more strongly regulated by their family than Christian girls.

In the refugee' camps the interviewees report, that they often have to take up responsibilities that are usually carried out by grown-up members of their families. They take up these responsibilities because family-members who should be carrying them out have been killed or imprisoned or have became handicapped by the Israeli military armies. Female and male pupils who lost the emotional support of their mothers and/or fathers find it difficult to deal with others when they get older. Usually, males take the role and responsibilities of their fathers in their absence and females take the mother's roles.

Like the Palestinians, the German youths describe family as a place of security and trust. But unlike the Palestinians they define family more often as "nuclear family" just with father and mother and their children – not taking into account the grandparents and uncles and aunts.

Most of the German adolescents say they want to marry some day. Those however, who visit "Gymnasiums" (schools of higher education) stress, that they would only want to start a family after they have gained some success and security in their professional lives.

While this is strictly taboo for the Palestinian juveniles, the German youngsters think it quite normal to have intimate relationships between males and females before marriage and to have several partners consecutively.

A few of the German interviewees voiced their concern that families are endangered by divorce and the mobility that a lot of jobs require.

Germans from "Gymnasiums" often describe their relationship to their parents as amicable. Students in other schools, especially with a background of immigration describe a high family pressure to perform, concerning their behaviour and performance in school. On the grounds of the shared conviction that family is extremely important and defines culture by raising citizens of a society, interesting and intensive discussions arose between the Palestinian and German groups.

How can the change from a "nomological" to an "autological" education in Palestine be shaped, that will give more individual freedom to members of a family and diminish group-pressure?

How can family values be strengthened in Germany to counteract the pressure of job-related mobility and the over-important role work takes in many people's lives?

Discussions around these questions do not only arise in the formal sessions of the workshops but also take place afterwards in personal and social meetings.

2. Religious values

Most of the Palestinian adolescents view religion as a regulating force that controls their behaviour, for example the Islamic rules forbidding alcohol or pre-marital sexual relationships. Religion is seen as something that strengthens family bonds and is the foundation for the responsibility to care for ones elderly parents or grandparents. Only a small number of Palestinian interviewees viewed religion as something private, as the intimate relationship between individual and God/Allah. Their criticism was that religion has such a big influence on people's everyday life (for example which clothes they are allowed to wear). "If God/Allah will judge us after we die, why do others have to judge us now"? They believe it is enough that religion gives them rules for the important things in life, like separation and divorce. They do not however think it is necessary to use religion to influence decisions like what people have in their sandwiches.

Here again, women feel more strongly influenced by religion than men. As examples, they mentioned regulations about wearing a headscarf or about not being allowed to go out with friends. Rules concerning everyday life like these are often justified with religious reasoning.

The Palestinian juveniles see religious practice as something calming and empowering in times of emotional hardship. One interviewee had spent 18 months in an Israeli prison on suspicion of actively resisting the Israeli occupation without being charged. Asked, how he spent his time in prison. He said, "I used to read the Quran and became a faithful man".

Some of the German youths of Muslim faith take their faith seriously and go to Friday prayer regularly but others do not feel that religion has a great influence on their everyday lives. In the groups of Christian interviewees too, there are those who do not participate in religious practice at all and those who pray and visit mass regularly. It is notable, that only in the group of Christians who attend Gymnasiums there are interviewees who describe themselves as atheists. This may be due to them having learned about the ideas of Marx, Feuerbach and Nietzsche in school. Confronted with the findings of the German students some of the Palestinians reacted fiercely: They cannot understand how people can live without religion. "…We are not ani-

mals after all …" One very religious Palestinian participant said he would very much like to meet an atheist to learn more about atheism and especially on which sources they base ethical behavior.

Religion has a very different meaning for young people in Palestine and Germany. Christians as well as Muslims in Palestine let religion influence their lives very strongly. For them, religion is strongly intertwined with culture. Religion is used to judge males' and females' behavior and it defines what is acceptable and not acceptable. Muslim females feel they are much more restricted by religion than males when it comes to the way they dress and their freedom to go outside the homes and travelling alone. Religion does not affect German youths the same way. They see religion as a personal matter, which does not influence everyday life significantly.

At the end of the first meeting between the German and Palestinian students it was agreed to delve deeper into the problems that arise from the cohabitation of Christians and Muslims: for Germans the question arises how religion and spirituality can be incorporated into children's education. For the Palestinian students however it is important to find a way to teach religion whilst still allowing for individual freedom and to discourage group-pressure that is fuelled by religious reasoning and can lead to religious fundamentalism.

3. Political orientation

It is not possible not to be politically involved in Palestine. Everyday life is strongly influenced by politics. The occupation, the killing and injuring of innocent civilians, the destruction of private homes, the checkpoints, the overall extensive charges and restrictions Palestinian civilians suffer at the hands of the Israeli military make it impossible not to be interested in politics.

Consequently most of the Palestinian adolescents want to politically support the liberation of their country. Interestingly enough, most of the interviewees from Jerusalem refuse to talk about politics. They feel oppressed by the Israelis and have difficulties expressing how they feel about their role in the Palestinian Israeli conflict. As citizens of Israel (they hold Israeli ID cards), they feel treated as second-class human beings. They do however take advantage of the Israelis wealth and are therefore better off than the people living in the West Bank.

Those interviewees who live in the refugee camps around Bethlehem suffer significant restrictions to their freedom: they have difficulties travelling abroad and cannot even move through the Palestinian Territory freely. Furthermore, they feel they are being treated unjustly because they are not allowed to reclaim the houses and land their parents and grandparents were evicted from by the Israeli military. They also complained about the lack of

security and privacy. As the USA support Israel strongly, the Palestinian students blame them for the continual suppression of their people.

The young women who were interviewed said they were encouraged to vote, but not to become active in politics themselves. They feel being women handicaps them in taking political responsibility.

All of the Palestinian interviewees feel safer at home and in their schools than in public spaces and roads.

Politicians are perceived as having no connection to the people of Palestine and who only speak to their people when elections are coming up. All Palestinian juveniles interviewed agreed that they lack all kinds of freedom: Freedom of movement and travel inside and outside their country, education, expression, play, survival, and the return of refugees to their original lands. This is because of the continued Israeli Occupation and Israeli policies. They also lack safety, security and privacy.

Concerning the correlation between socio-economic status and the level of political engagement Palestine and Germany portray oppositional pictures. While in Palestine the poorer and underprivileged adolescents tend to be more politically active than the richer ones in attempts to improve their degrading situation, in Germany the opposite is true: The richer juveniles with a higher education show a stronger interest in subjects or politics like compulsory military service, global warming, or military assignments abroad. They discuss the different political parties' programs for government. The male interviewees seem more interested in discussing foreign politics while the female ones are interested mainly in local politics.

Both German and Palestinian samples are not happy with how their politicians deal with their needs and interests. They both agree that politicians are far removed from their constituents except in election times.

The young people from schools with lower education on the other hand seem much less interested in politics. Youths with a background in migration claim they do not know enough about politics to form their own opinion.

One fierce discussion arises between Muslim males and females. While the young men believe a "suppression of women without violence" is justifiable, the young women demand an equality of rights for men and women.

The informal conversations between the participating students from Palestine and Germany about politics and other sensitive topics proved to be at least as important and productive as the official discussions. The situation of oppression and confinement, the overall difficult political circumstances Palestinians find themselves in leads them to a form of polarized thinking and to perceiving the world in simple categories of being either fully with them or against them.

The Palestinian students describe the conflict between Hamas and Fatah as a catastrophe for the Palestinian people. One female Christian interviewer gave voice to her fear that she herself could become a victim of this polariza-

tion and could be seen as an enemy by the people who should be on the same side as her. “The prime enemies are the Israelis. But, now Hamas and Fatah regard each other as enemies. All this could lead to people one day see Christians as enemies of our country.”

In regard to German politics the only topic that concerns the German group personally is compulsory military service.

Discussions about politics display the biggest deviations in the German and Palestinian students’ attitudes. The implications that arise in relation to politics and educational values were discussed and understood in more depth during the second meeting in Germany.

4. The future and job opportunities

The political circumstances in Palestine lead most of adolescents there to view their vocational future pessimistically. Chances to find a job and earn a livelihood are slim, even for university graduates. Those who can will emigrate. Others will work in family businesses.

Male youths voice the opinion that as more women enter the workforce, the employment market is becoming more competitive and male unemployment rates are rising further. In Palestine people get hired mostly not because of their qualifications but because of the connections they have. “To get a job you need a connection” they stated. “It is not what you know it is who you know” they added. “Around 75% of the vacancies filled are based on favouritism and nepotism”.

The interview results from the German group are split. This same division is portrayed in the Shell Study: While young people with lower education or a background in migration believe they have little hope of finding a satisfactory vocation, those who attend schools with higher education have a more positive outlook on their vocational future. Pupils from middle range schools see their future as uncertain, despite their qualifications from school. However, they do not give up on their future as do the pupils with less education.

There is a considerable distinction concerning geographical mobility in Germany and Palestine. On the one hand the Germans feel they have to be willing to move to another city or district to find a job, the Palestinians on the other hand can only find work in their hometowns: the security measures imposed on them by the Israeli military make it all but impossible to commute to another part of the West Bank. There are also reasons not to move far away from the family which plays an important role in their lives. Economically, they can be independent family members but depending on each others support to survive.

A Palestinian sample indicated that their future salary will not be enough (not paid well), job security is very weak and compensation is not up to standard. Therefore, some think they should have more jobs and get married with a working spouse. The German sample from the other side, also feels that it will be hard to get a permanent job that generates enough income to cover their basic needs and they may need to work at more than one job at the same time in the future.

5. Practical implications for value education in youth work

The purpose of the first research meeting in Bethlehem was to inspire innovative approaches in youth work that respond to the results that were produced in this project. In Palestine two initiatives were designed: Several students founded a youth parliament that offers young people a platform to voice their wishes and demands concerning politics. The founders of the youth parliament are Hamas as well as Fatah supporters. They refuse to be divided by the quarrels between the two parties.

Another group of students started an art project in a refugee camp. They encourage adolescents living there to express their individual feelings and attitudes through writing and photography. The students asked the young people to let themselves be photographed in an environment that expresses how they feel about their life. They were then asked to write a text about their situation. The pictures were enlarged and put together in an exhibition that was also shown in Germany.

The students in Cologne have started organizing meetings for juveniles of different faiths. In these meetings they compare their different belief systems and get the chance to learn more about what people from other religions believe. Christian youths partake in Friday Prayer in a mosque, Muslims are invited to visit a catholic parish for a youth meeting. The meetings are documented through participatory observation and interviews with participants.

6. The importance of students in international research projects

What impact do students have in an international research project? Paulo Freire (1975) described the traditional school-like concept of learning as the "Bankers Concept". New information is transferred and deposited into an empty head. Students who do research themselves however will probably be

able to read scientific literature with a more critical eye and to compare what they learn with the experiences they themselves have made while conducting their research. This way they will be able to develop a discerning mindset. Discussing results with other students, who come from a background that is very different culturally, economically and politically, widens their horizon even further.

Both groups of students experience irritation as they realize how different their respective views of reality are. Confronted with these discrepancies, with the fact that what was taken for granted is suddenly up for discussion, the irritation becomes an impulse for learning. These irritations can be especially productive when the Palestinian and German students like each other personally and at the same time experience each other as very different in terms of thinking and feeling.

One central objective of this research project is to integrate students in international and intercultural research as part of the university's teaching.

Through projects like these, students learn to link empiricism and theory early on. They will be able to develop a certain level of sensitivitie, consideration and respect for differences and feel confortable with being different. This will widen their perspectives to become globally literate in international politics and economic and cultural values. They will become critically willing to question assumptions which are often taken for granted and become active participants and more socially, professionally and globally responsible citizens.

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Sami Adwan – Josef Freise

Palestinian and German Youth with Islamic and Christian Backgrounds: Religion as an Indicator of Behavior. A Comparative Study

Introduction and background

Young people all over the world have similar aspirations and wishes for their future, but the different circumstances of their life, their cultural and religious backgrounds influence their concrete behavior. The research we describe here was aimed at exploring how German and Palestinian youth with Christian and Islamic backgrounds integrate religion in their everyday behavior. The study was part of the teaching in Bethlehem University and the Catholic University in Cologne and part of the exchange project between both universities which was funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst DAAD). Seven German and seven Palestinian students from these universities were involved in this project as field researchers[1]. These students interviewed young people in the Bethlehem area and in Cologne area and asked them to what extent religion shapes their day-to-day lives using a focus group approach.

The first step of the project was the discussion of theoretical aspects concerning the youth situation in Germany and in Palestine. This step is not reported here.[2]

1 The seven German students who took part in this study were Wilma Ehlers, Maria Grace Krause, Simona Liese, Verena Meyburg, Veronika Schmidt, David Clement and Selcuk Celik. The seven Palestinian students are Rita Mumar, Faten Dabash, Maram Ibaidallah, Manar Thaljieh, Rawan Abuhanak, Vivian Bahnan and Mira Awad.The results of the study presented in this article are based on their contribution. We are grateful for their commitment to this study. Without their great work the goal of the study could not have been achieved.

2 For further details of the research see: S. Adwan & J. Freise (2008). Religion as an indicator of behavior among Palestinian and German youth with Islamic and Christian backgrounds: a comparative study. In: The influence of education and media on Christian-Muslim Relations. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Bethlehem University in the Holy Land. Palestine October 15-17, 2008, 50-98

1. Research focus and objectives

This research focused on exploring the levels of understanding of Palestinian and German youth groups (Muslims and Christians) of the position of their religions and how that affects their behavior towards their own religion and the other religion.

The research attempted to achieve the following objectives:

- To inquire how the German and Palestinian youths (Christians and Muslims) themselves understand the position of their own religion and how they see the position of the other religions.
- To explore in which way religion is influencing the behaviour (in daily life) of the German and Palestinian (Muslims and Christian) youth groups in the Cologne and Bethlehem areas
- To compare the results of the Christian and Muslim youth groups in Germany and Palestine.
- To draw recommendations and a conclusion in order to develop best-practicemodels for interreligious youth work as steps for creating interreligious understanding and respects

2. Research questions

A number of open –ended questions were designed to guide the interviews of the focus group sessions and to meet the above-mentioned objectives.

The questions revolved around exploring the levels of understanding among German and Palestinian youth on the position of their religion (Islam and Christianity) in relation to gender relationship, praying, community, religious occasions and feasts, conflict resolution and finally politics and how that influenced their opinions and behaviours towards their own religion and the other religion (see Appendix: Questions of the focus group interviews). These questions were considered as a general guideline in which the interviewers may have had to re-phrase (adjusted) them and change their requests when needed based on the developments of the sessions. Firstly, the questions were devised in English, and were then translated to German and Arabic. To validate the translation, they were translated back to English.

3. Methodology

A descriptive qualitative research approach was followed in this study. The focus-group interview was used to achieve the purposes of this research study.3 The focus-group interview is a structured process for interviewing a small group of individuals, usually between 8-12 (Iowa State University Extension, 2001). It is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment (Ashenfelter & Krueger, 1994). The participants in the focus group usually are brought together to discuss a clearly defined topic and have the possibility to discuss their ideas in depth (Iowa State University Extension, 2001; Kitzinger, 1995).

In this study the purposes of the interviews were to obtain in-depth views and information from the youths themselves regarding the issues addressed. It is argued that in the social and human sciences, focus groups allow interviewers to study people in a more natural setting than a one-to-one interview. The focus-group approach is a particularly useful procedure for exploring levels of understanding of youth and to draw upon their attitudes, feelings, beliefes experiences and reactions, precise issues that may be unknown to the researcher beforehand or may not be feasible in other methods such as observation, one-to-one interviews or in a questionnaire survey. In combination with observing participants, researchers can gain access to various cultural and social groups' settings and raise unexpected issues for exploration (O'Brien, 1993).

Since this study is concerned with exploring attitudes and feelings and to draw out precise issues that may be unknown to the interviewer, the focus group interview was particularly useful in this research (Kitzinger, 1995).

Seven German (Christian and Muslim) students from the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Cologne and seven Palestinian (Christian and Muslims) students from the Faculty of Education at Bethlehem University were selected to conduct and facilitate the focus group interviews after they were trained to do so by the main researchers (authors of this paper). The training included sessions of theoretical background, practical simulation and role play. The focus group interviews took place simultaneously in spring 2008 in the Bethlehem and Cologne areas and each interview lasted about 2 hours.

3 A special thank goes to Dr. Eman Abusada who was the first to introduce the Focus group method in the exchange program between Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Cologne.

4. Samples and procedures

A purposful sample of German and Palestinian youth (Christian and Muslim) age 15 to 18 years was selected. Parents' consents were secured before conducting the interviews. All focus group interviews involved between 8- 12 particpants in each.

The research teams in both countries announced their goals and the purposes of the study to the organizations and schools and to the selected youth. Then they explained the nature of the research and arranged a time and terms of reference to conduct the sessions.

The rights of the youths were strictly maintained and protected through out the research, the use of the data; privacy and confidentiality of the information was strictly observed. Before the interviews started, the youth were given the chance to either participate or refuse to participate in this research. Participation in the focus group sessions was completely voluntary.

The German sample and background on the organizations:

- This study deals with Christian and Muslim youths in Germany who belong to different social backgrounds in the Cologne area. For the purpose of this research, secondary schools of both a high and a low educational standard, a group of Christian altar servers and a social organization were contacted. It was planned to interview Christian and Muslim groups of youths with higher and lower education levels. Therefore, the organizations were chosen to present these variations.
- The interviewers who are students in social work and social education in the Catholic University of Applied Sciences – initiated the contacts with the organizations for their approval and to select the youths aged 15-18 years who showed willingness to participate and whom they thought would meet the criteria of this research. Many youths showed an interest in participating in the study. Among them only 34 youth were selected: 18 Christians (12 females and 6 males) and 16 Muslims (9 females and 7 males).

The Palestinian sample and background:

- The Palestinian Christian and Muslim samples were from the Bethlehem and Jerusalem areas and were selected from the public, UNRWA and private schools. The majority of the Christian samples were selected from the cities only since a very limited number of Christians live in villages and refugee camps in these areas. They included males/females and from different denominations: Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Assyrian and Lutheran.

– The Muslim samples were selected from cities, villages and refugee camps (Dehaisha, Aydeh and Azzah camps) that are located in Bethlehem area and included males and females. Most Muslims in Palestine in general and in Bethlehem and Jerusalem in specific follow the Shafiee Doctrine[4] in worshiping. Sixty three Muslim and Christian youth were selected: among them 31 Christians (16 females and 15 males) and 32 Muslims (19 males and 13 females).

5. Limitations of the study

The aim of this study was to collect in-depth information from Christian and Muslim youth about topics of interest. Therefore the aim was to get a varied sample of German and Palestinian Christian and Muslim youths who belong to different backgrounds. Although there are variations in the sample, the sample is not meant to be representative, and it is not perceived in that way. Therefore, a broad generalization of the results of a larger population of Christian and Muslim youths in Germany and/or in Palestine was not intended and is not possible in this study. The researchers could not include a Jewish youth sample for political and logistical reasons.

The field researchers in Palestine documented the discussions in writing only because youth groups refused to be videoed or audiotaped during the interviews but they agreed to be photographed. In Germany three of the four group sessions were audiotaped, but some of the German youngsters did not like to be photographed. Due to limited time and resources some parts of the group discussion (like warming up) were not transcribed and only those parts of the discussions that were directly linked to the research topics were transcribed. The interviewquestions were based only on the issues of gender relationship, prayer, community, religious occasions / feasts, religion and conflict resolution and politics. Some questions were seen differently in each country or in each religion and had to be asked or explained in different ways like the meaning of gender relationship.

Though the study could be the basis for a larger study of youth, it could still stand as it is as a qualitative study of young people within the specific organizations in Cologne and the specific schools in the Bethlehem areas in

4 Shafi' School: The four schools (or Madh'hab) of Sunni Islam are each named by students of the classical jurist who taught them. The Sunni schools are Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'I and Hanbali. The overwhelming of Palestinian follow the Shafi' school in worshiping but the Islamic courts follow Al-Hanafi school (Al-Jabari, 2009) and since Palatine was under the Jordanian rule Al-Hanafi school also, followed in Palestinian Islamic courts (Ayiash & Assaf, 2002).

which different groups of youth from those organizations and schools were studied.

In order to get more in depth information and to increase validity and reliability of the study, it is always recommended to hold as many sessions as possible of focus groups.

6. The results of the research

The research teams in Cologne and in Bethlehem transcribed all interviews immediately afterwards. Each research team which consisted of 2 students, a facilitator and observer, met and coded the transcribed interviews, then a list of categories were developed based on the guided research questions (Mays & Pope: 1995). Several meetings were held among all the groups to compare and contrast the categories and as a result a number of concepts were agreed upon to represent all categorised data. They were derived from the interviews.

The German and Palestinian research teams presented, exchanged, compared and discussed their results with each other in two workshops; each lasting one week. The first workshop was organized in Bethlehem University in June 2008 and the second workshop was organized in October 2008 in the Catholic University in Cologne.

In the process of analysis and interpretation we discussed the results of every single focus group with the German and the Palestinian students who undertook the group interviews. This had been done separately in the Palestinian and the German contexts and was done together during our exchange meetings in Bethlehem (June 2008) and Cologne (October 2008). Here we can only report on some key points of the discussion.

6.1 Gender relationship

We found out that there are different meanings of the concept "relationship" among German and Palestinian youth. On the Palestinian side it could also mean sexual relations and not only friendship while on the German side it contains both meanings.

The Palestinian youth regardless of their religion see that relationship between genders should be based on respect and friendship and sexual relationship is not allowed at all before marriage. But, this relationship could develop to a relationship of love that later on leads to engagement and marriage. It is much easier for Palestinian Christians to go out together before an engagement than for Muslims. In some cases, Palestinian Muslim females could not or are not allowed even to speak with even some of their relatives. The Ger-

man Christian sample did not exclude sexual relations but it is not linked with religion any more while the Muslim German sample seems to exclude sex in younger age groups but it is possible later at the age of marriage though without intercourse.

Marriage is the aim of all Muslim youth in Germany and in Palestine and it is important to Christian youth. Both Muslim groups in Germany and Palestine mentioned that their future wives should be virgins while virginity was not mentioned by the other groups. The Palestinian Muslim sample added that their future wives should be beautiful, well-educated, open-minded and clever while Palestinian Christians said that they should be of high morality, loving, generous and educated.

Homosexuality is forbidden in any situation and it is not acceptable at all by all Palestinian (Muslim and Christian) samples as it is against God's will and even German Muslims oppose it. Though some of them accept it, if it is not in their families. The German Christian sample sees homosexuality as a controversial issue and it seems that young females accept it more than males in this age.

Both Muslims in Germany and Palestine agree with the position of their religion that divorce is permissible in certain circumstances and the Palestinian Greek Orthodox sample have the same position while according to Catholics in Palestine and Germany divorce is forbidden and only separation is allowed.

6.2 Prayer

In general and across the samples, some of the youth pray while others pray occasionally and the rest do not. But praying is seen differently in both societies because the German society is described as a secularized society where there is separation between religion and the state while Palestinian society is described as a religious society and there is no separation between religion and the state.

Praying according to Islam is the most important pillar of Islam and youth consider it as a duty and very important. The German Muslim sample feel if they do not pray they might get in trouble with Allah and through praying they can get a place in Heaven, while the Palestinian Muslim sample feels that praying helps them to become united with Allah's presence and it gives them inner comfort and security and is a kind of physical exercise for the body.

A Palestinian Muslim sample from villages and refugee camps shows a greater interest in praying than youth from the cities. But praying is seen by youth in villages as more a family and community matter while in the cities it

is seen as more of a personal matter. Male Palestinian Muslims seem to be more devoted to praying than females.

The Palestinian Christian sample stated that their religion encourages them to pray but never obliges them to do so. They see religion more about morality rather than about praying. Most Catholic sgo to mass on Sundays and some pray daily but others seldom. Those who pray said that they pray when they like to talk with God and they feel comfortable when they pray but others said that "praying says nothing to me". Those who pray from the German Christian youth are in the minority and for them praying is an individual choice. They pray alone and in communes and they pray when there is a need and when they feel that praying is good for them.

6.3 Community and feast

It seems that the Palestinian and the German samples do not know much about each other's religious feasts and a very limited number of them have participated in each other's religious feasts, either because they do not have a link with people from the other religion or because they live in a monoculture town. Many of these were not invited before or they do not know how to behave and act at the feasts of the other religion or because they do not like or accept what happens at such feasts; like drinking or too much drinking at the Christian feasts as seen by a Muslim sample. Christians and Muslims in Palestine know about each others religion more than in Germany. The majority of the sample however would like to participate in the other's religion feasts in the future if they are invited.

There is a notion among some of the samples that they feel much more comfortable and they benefit from living or and working only in a community of their own religion. Many reasons behind this notion were mentioned by the samples: for example, Palestinian Christian sample said it is because: Christianity is a religion of love and forgiveness and not a religion of killing and fighting. We have the same thoughts; some Muslim men harass Christian women. Palestinian and German Muslim samples said they feel more comfortable in a community of their religion because they have the same customs and habits and because of drinking in Christian community.

on the one hand, more prejudices exist among the Palestinian samples toward other religions than among the German samples and on the other hand prejudices among the Palestinian samples from Jerusalem are more than the samples from Bethlehem in general either because they do not know much about the other religion or that there is some kind of stigma or for political reasons resulting from the Israeli occupation. Palestinians in Bethlehem in general are more united on their national identity than those in Jerusalem. For example, some of the Palestinian Christian samples view Islam as a religion

of deceit, killing and fighting and Muslims do not respect women. A minority of the Christian samples from Jerusalem is willing to accept Muslims but others with limits. At the same time, most of the Palestinian Muslim sample respect Christianity as a divine religion but others do not because they claim that some Christians do not accept Islam or because they consider Jesus as God or the Son of God.

6.4 Religion and conflict resolution

Concerning the issue of religion and conflict resolution young German Muslims acknowledged that some of them sometimes used violence in their groups in peer conflicts, but they know that this is forbidden by their religion. They see the use of violence as an element of transition. When they get older, they become more reasonable and do not use violence any more.

One of the questions was whether you ever criticized your own religion or the religion of others. Most of the German Muslims said that they do not criticize Islam, because Islam is perfect. Some of the Muslims criticized Christianity, because Christians changed the Holy Scriptures.

The Christians in Germany criticized their own religion, but they also criticized Islam. Some of the less educated Christian youngsters felt threatened by the "strong groups of Muslims". The better educated young people referred to the building of a representative mosque in Cologne, and there was some confusion concerning Islam as a religion and political Islamist movements.

Muslim males from the city and refugee camps in Bethlehem did not criticize the principles of their religion but they criticized the people who wrongly practise and apply them. Islamic rules respect women and the Muslims should respect women in the same way. All females and males in the Bethlehem district agreed that "they never criticized their religion because it is perfect". But one of the girls from the refugee camp was criticized because she doesn't wear a head scarf and she regretted it.

Most Christian students agreed that "there is a freedom in Christianity", and their religion is being criticized by them. Few of them said that "they criticize their own religion, but not in front of Muslims".

Most of the Muslim sample (females and the males) in Jerusalem said that "they have criticized their religion in the past". Christian students were divided into two equal groups. The first said that "they never criticized their religion, and that they were satisfied with it". The second group said they "criticized the story of Adam and Eve, the priests, and the various sects in Christianity but never criticized their religion in terms of faith".

Most Muslims (males and females) said that they have criticized Christianity in the past. They said that "they criticized Christianity because it doesn't allow religious men to get married and they considered that a strange rule".

Both females and males criticized the freedom that existed in Christianity regarding womens's clothes, drinking wine and the attitude toward Muslims. They also criticized Christianity because it says that "Jesus is the Son of God and that He was crucified while Muslims believe that Allah rescued him and took Him to Heaven". A few of them did not criticize Christianity because everyone has the choice and is free to choose his religion.

The majority of Christian students said yes, they criticized Islam, and they gave examples concerning personal experiences like: "They accuse Christians of being atheists". On the other hand some students were against this and said that "Islam is a religion that has its own beliefs and no one has the right to criticize it."

Most Muslims are satisfied with the role of their religion in conflict resolution. They agreed that Islam solves conflicts and fights among people in a fair, logical, rational and a positive way. They also said that "Islam always calls for peace" and they stated that the "Prophet Muhammad ordered Muslims to avoid conflict and fighting among themselves".

Moreover, they said that "Islam forbids killing people of other religions" but they stated that "Islam orders Muslims to fight people who are fighting them and their religion".

In conclusion we can say that there is a need for better understanding concerning conflict issues between Christians and Muslims in Germany as well as in Palestine, but in different aspects: In Germany the Muslim minority sometimes feels identified with an extremist political Islamist movement, and indeed some young Christians are confusing Islam as a religion with Islamistic fundamentalism.

In Palestine we saw a difference between the groups interviewed in Jerusalem and in the West Bank. In the West Bank there were some critical remarks concerning customs in Islam; in Jerusalem we felt more tensions and conflicts between young Christians and Muslims.

We need more interreligious education as preventative work against enemy-images. We need to teach that the other religion is different, but not bad, and we have to speak about the different interpretations of religion.

6.5 Religion and politics

Concerning the issue of religion and politics, young people were asked what is the role of religion in relation to war, peace, justice, environment and if they were satisfied with the way Islam and Christianity dealt with political issues.

The Muslims interviewed in Germany said that they learn about politics in school. The more educated Muslims asked for a better understanding of Islam in school and in society. They asked for religious education in school which does not yet exist. The Muslims interviewed – all of them had a Turkish background – followed Turkish politics on television, and even more than German politics. This is something interesting, as most of them were born in Germany and sometimes even their parents were born in Germany, but they still feel strongly connected with Turkey as their mother-country.

The less educated young German Christians said that religion has nothing to do with politics and religion and should be kept out of the field of politics. The Christians interviewed with more education had a different opinion. They asked the churches to do more for human rights and peace in the world. But for both groups the issue of politics was not very important in the interviews.

The Muslims in Palestine said that politics has an important role in Islam. War is forbidden in Islam, but it is a must, if people of other religions fight Muslims. Islam is seen as the religion of justice. Many of the interviewed Muslims were not satisfied with the way the other religion deals with political issues.

The Christians in Palestine see how politics affects Christians: There is a limit placed on the building of churches and Christian schools; they are forbidden to go to Jerusalem to pray by the Israelis. They criticize their own world-wide community: "Christians forgot to defend their land and Christians have to prove that they care about Christians in Palestine."

Most of the Christians are not convinced with the way Islam deals with political issues ("since they fight with stones and martyrs").

In conclusion we can say that Christians see Christianity as a religion of peace and Muslims see Islam as a religion of peace.

We discovered that Christianity is identified with Bush the former US president by some Muslims and Islam is identified with Bin Laden by some Christians. This makes the demand for a better political education which distinguishes between true religion and the false and manipulated use of religion seem necessary.

7. Recommendations as a conclusion

In their search for faith and in their prayer life, young Christians are often on their own. Churches as well as Christian communities and organizations are called on to make youth religious education appropriate to their age and cultural background which helps them to get introduced to spirituality, faith, praying and to celebrate faith itself. Here it is important to mention that many

communities and groups are trying to present such offers but that there is big competition in this big market of leisure time offers, partly commercial ones.

Muslim youth are deeply rooted in groups that are orientated in religious ways. The non-Muslim observers notice a high orientation regarding obligations (e.g. "You must be religious in order to secure your place in heaven."). At the same time the less educated Muslims do not seem to have differentiated religious knowledge. The reason for this could be found in poor religious education and in missed religious classes.

It can only be speculated about the quality of the respective Koran classes attended, since concrete findings about these classes are not available.

The more educated Muslim group is poorly informed about the missing Christian freedom of religion in Turkey. Surely the Turkish media have something to do with this. For young Muslims it is necessary to offer academically based and government controlled religious classes.

Sometimes it was alarming which reservations and prejudices were communicated during the research, especially by the Christian youths. Other research confirmed the same results for Muslim youths. They are turning away from local young people and their Christian orientation partly because they have experienced discrimination. Therefore there is an urgent need for young Christian and Muslims to encounter each other in an educationally supervised and organized environment. Such meetings could help to reduce prejudices, to perceive differences not as a threat but as an asset and to discover a common ground. There is also a need for youth to know more about their own religion and others. This could be done by preparing pedagogical religious material and teaching it to youth of both religions together. This recommendation was suggested as well by Giacaman and Mustafa (2006: 12) in their book when they said "The need to improve and develop these educational materials and to make changes in order to adapt them to the Palestinian curriculum".

Finally, there is an urgent need to clarify the positions of religions for youth and to invite them to participate in each other's religious feasts and to train current and future teachers and social workers on how to deal with their students and clients of different religions.

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Appendix:
Questions of the focus group interviews

Palestinian and German youth were asked the following questions during the focus group interviews according to different areas:

A. Gender relationship

1. How does your religion define the relationship between men and women (before marriage)?
2. How do you describe your relationship with the other sex?
3. What is the position/role of religion in your relationship with the opposite sex? Please give examples.
4. What are the characteristics of a good spouse (husband and wife)?
5. What is your religious position in relation to marriages/divorce and homosexuality, etc
6. How do you yourself perceive marriage/divorce and homosexuality?

B. Prayer

1. Do you pray? How often?
2. What is the status of praying in your religion?
3. What does praying mean to you personally?
4. Is praying a personal or community/family issue/ request?
5. Describe your feeling (what is your feeling) when you pray?

C. Community

1. In what religious community do you feel more comfortable?
2. How would you describe your relationship/benefits from being in your religious community?
3. How do you perceive the community of other religions?

D. Religious occasions/feasts

1. What are the most important religious feasts for you?
2. How do you participate/engage in your religious feasts?
3. Do you know the feasts of the other religion (Christianity/Islam)?

4. Have you attended/participated in a religious feast of the other religion?
5. If yes. Please describe your feelings.
6. If no, why not?
7. Would you be willing to attend/participate in a religious feast of the other religion in the future?

E. Religion and conflict resolution

1. How free do you feel to criticize your religion?
2. Have you criticized your religion in the past? Please give examples!
3. Have you criticized the other religion in the past? Please give examples
4. How do you see the role of your religion in conflict resolution when the conflict is among your religious group and when the conflict is between your religious group and other religious groups?
5. How do you imagine the role of the other religion in conflict resolution?
6. Have you experienced/heard a conflict among your religious group or between your religious group and other religious group? Please explain.

F. Politics

1. What is the position of politics in your religion?
2. What is the position of your religion in relation to politics: war, peace, justice, environment … etc?
3. Are you satisfied with the way your religion (Islam/Christianity) deals with political issues?
4. Are you satisfied with the way the other religion (Christianity/Islam) deals with political issues?
5. In your opinion, what should be the role of your religion in politics?

Sami Adwan

Evaluation of the Inter-Cultural Exchange Program between Bethlehem University and the Catholic University of Applied Science

Introduction and background

Bethlehem University (BU) and the Catholic University of Applied Sciences (KatHO NRW) have engaged in exchange programs since 1997. This program includes exchange visits of students and lecturers from both institutes. These exchange visits included: Workshops and discussions on issues related to the field of studies of students like human rights, participation, educational values and religious status: Field visits to social organizations and schools in both countries to learn from their experiences; Social activities and sightseeing to help participants understand the social, political, geographical and economic contexts; engaging in research activities and finally, conferences for lecturers only to contextualize practices into theories and vise versa. Sometimes the visits included meetings with officials from both sides and in some student visitors were hosted in homes and families.

First, the exchange program started with students and staff from the social departments in both institutes. Staff and students took part. The programs of the visits included field visits to social organizations insides, meetings and discussions in a workshop format and sightseeing.

In 2005, the program was expanded to include lectures from different disciplines and departments. They engaged in a three-day conference and as a result a book titled "Modernism and Post modernism: North-South Interaction, Reinterpretation, future Prospects "was edited jointly by Palestinian and Israelis and was published in 2005.

Based on the success of the visits and the conference the administration of both institutes and the leaders of the program felt the need to expand the program to benefit more students and decided to include as well staff and students from the Faculty of Education from BU and students from the social work department at KatHO. Students were actively engaged in field research using focus group techniques to collect data from Palestinian and German youth. First they focused on "Value and value Education among Palestinian and German youth". In the second exchange visit they focused on" Religions

as indicators of behavior among Palestinian and German youths". Students presented, discussed and compared their findings and results. The exchange visits for this group included field visits to schools and social organizations, meeting with officials and sightseeing. In the second year, students hosted each others in their homes and developed one-day activities by themselves.

Later in 2008, an interdisciplinary approach was introduced by Video Conference and one students and one member of staff from different fields joined the program. In the once-off visit they focused on the concept of "participation" from the perspectives of their field of study (education, health sciences, sociology and social work, humanities and religions).

In 2010, the exchange program again will be limited to participants from the social departments in both institutes due to financial reasons. The focus will be on the experiential learning from experiences on both sides in the field of social work and sociology.

Now, the leaders of the education program will be joined by a colleague from Finland who was invited to their workshop in 2009. They are now working on preparing a joint project to focus on developing religious pedagogies and material that could be used by social workers (in Germany), school teachers (in Palestine) and deacons in Finland). The aim of this project is to prepare future generations to understand each other's religions, respect them and accept them. They hope to start this project in 2011, if funds are available.

1. Aims of the exchange program[1]

The aims of this international exchange project can be seen on three Levels for: students, lecturers / professors and the participating academic institutes. In specific the aims are to:

1. Provide opportunities for Palestinian and German students to learn from each other in scientific, professional, personal and intercultural contexts.
2. Give the lecturers/professors from both institutes the opportunity to exchange and discuss their academic and professional views and positions in an atmosphere of trust, confidence and in a constructive manner.
3. Enhance the ability of both institutes to be "learning organizations" able to utilize technologies and the normal ways of teaching and research in international contexts.
4. Engage the cooperation and the expanding relationship between both lecturers and their students at horizontal levels

1 Input from Prof. Josef Freise, who was the initiator of the ex-change project in late 1990s and is considered its Godfather.

5. Widen the global understanding and develop respect for differences among students and lecturers to become more tolerant and open minded.

Research papers, articles and books were published as a result of this project. This book also came out as a result of this project. Participants were invited to different local, regional and international conferences and meetings to present and share their conferences in the exchange program.

Each year the project included two exchange visits. In June, the German participants visited BU and in October, the Palestinian participants visited KatHO. In the last three years of the project, video-conferences organized prior to the visits so participants from both sides could get to know each other personally, their background, to introduce the concepts and the topics to be focused on during the visit as well as deciding upon the visitors program. Each side organized many meetings for the participants to prepare them for the visit. This included information on and about the cultural, political and social aspects of the other. Pictures and videos from the other side were shown and discussed. All details and logistics needed for travel international were observed and considered (visas, invitations, document, reservations, arranging for schools and social organizations visits. Discussions were held on the expectations of the participants. Participants were also prepared psychologically and personally on how to deal with and behave in other settings and with others and to be aware of and sensitive to cultural issues and differences.

Each visit started with official openings and various ice-breaking activities so participants could get to know each other personally and to be introduced to the setting easily.

An evaluation session was organized at the end of each visit for participants to give their opinions and feedback on the visit and its activities orally (open discussion) and in written forms. The purposes of the evaluation are to know the levels of satisfaction of the participants and their opinions on the program, their benefits, what they liked and disliked most and how to improve the activities of the next exchange program.

A special questionnaire was developed for this purpose (see appendix 1). The questionnaire consisted of 21 close-ended items and five open-ended questions: 11 items from the close-end items are related to the logistics of the program and 10 items related to the content of the program. Participants were requested to respond to a Likert scale of five levels: Very satisfied: 5, satisfied: 4, uncertain: 3, not satisfied: 2 not satisfied at all: 1. The five open – ended questions related to the benefits of the participants for participating in the exchange program, what they liked and disliked most, their suggestions for modifications and finally any other comments. Demographic data was limited to the nationality of the participants, their gender and profession.

This evaluation report is limited only to the exchange program of 2009, where 8 lectures and 40 students participated from both sides (see tables 1,2, and 3 for more details)[2].

Table 1:
Participants in the exchange program in 2008*

Institute	Students	Lecturers	Total
BU	21	9	30
KatHO	21	9	30
Total	42	18	60

* One civil peace worker from BU and one administrator from KatHo took part in the year exchange program this year

Table 2:
Participants in the exchange program in 2009*

Institutes	Students	Lecturers	Total
BU	20	3	23
KatHO	20	5	25
Total	40	8	48

* One civil peace worker from BU and one administrator from KatHO took part in the year exchange program this year

Table 3:
Participants in the exchange program in 2010*

Institute	Students	Lecturer	Total
BU	8	3	11
KatHO	8	3	11
Total	16	6	22

* This exchange program will take place in June and September 2010 and includes participants from the Sociology departments in both universities

2 Input from Dr. Inge Tiemann a consultant for participatory learning at BU for 5 years and engaged fully with the ex-change program at all levels.

2. The results

The results are presented here according to the nationalities of the Participants, their gender and their profession. The results of the close-ended items are presented first then the results related to benefits and finally the results of the open-ended questions.

2.1 Results of the close-ended items on logistics and contents of the program

a) Results according to the nationalities of the participants

The over all results show that participants of both nationalities were very satisfied with the logistics and the content of the exchange program. However, German participants were slightly more satisfied than the Palestinians (table 4).

Table 4:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics and
content of the program in General and according to Nationality

Nationality	Logistic	Content	Mean total
Palestinian	4.01	4.17	4.09
German	4.16	4.29	4.22
Total	4.08	4.23	4.15

The results show that the levels of satisfaction of the participants on the *logistics* of the program according to nationalities are very high regarding the welcome, the quality of the multimedia equipment, the comfortable of the meeting rooms, the suitability of the preparation and the organization of the program and the transportation, the quality of accommodation, the preparation of the groups before the visits and finally the meals. Though, the level of satisfaction was just good on the sufficiency of the time allocated for discussion, the suitability of the timing of the exchange visits and finally the sufficiency of the allocated time to different topics. The German group was slightly more satisfied than the Palestinian group with all items except with items relating to comfort of meeting rooms, the quality of accommodations and the preparation for the visits where Palestinian were slightly more satisfied than the German group (table 5).

Table 5:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics according to Nationality

no	Item	Palestinian	German	Total
1	The welcome was satisfactory	4.69	4.80	4.74
2	The preparation and organization of the program was suitable	4.06	4.44	4.25
3	The timing of the program was suitable	3.31	3.50	3.41
4	The time assigned for the different topics was sufficient	3.31	3.36	3.33
5	The time allocated for discussion was sufficient	3.47	3.63	3.55
6	The meetings rooms were comfortable	4.44	4.36	4.40
7	The quality of the multimedia equipment was satisfactory	4.33	4.53	4.43
8	Transportation was satisfactory	4.19	4.38	4.28
9	The quality of accommodation was satisfactory (for Palestinian group only)	4.25	4.00	4.21
10	The meals were satisfactory	3.88	4.13	4.00
11	The preparation concerning the exchange program before the journey was satisfactory	4.25	4.13	4.19

The results show that the levels of satisfaction of the participants on the *contents* of the exchange program according to nationalities were very high. The fact that German participants were a little bit more satisfied than the Palestinian in relation to the program helped them to be more tolerant and respectful of differences (open-minded), the interaction among the German group only, the interaction between the Palestinian and the German groups, with their language level in understanding the meetings and the discussions and finally, with the contents of the programs that were detailed enough and comprehensive. However, the Palestinian group were slightly more satisfied than the German group in relation to the clarity of the program, the constructiveness of the discussion (Germans were only satisfied), the levels of interaction among the Palestinian groups and finally with the overall program. But both sides were equally satisfied with the suitability and the relevance of the extra curricula activities, such as visit to organizations or schools or meeting with important figures on both sides (table 6).

Table 6:
Level of satisfaction with the content of the program according to Nationality

no	Item	Palesti-nian	German	Total
12	The content of the program was clear	4.44	4.14	4.30
13	The content of the program was comprehensive (detailed)	3.81	4.27	4.03
14	The discussions were constructive	4.13	3.73	3.94
15	The extra curriculum activities were suitable and relevant (field visits … etc)	4.13	4.13	4.13
16	The overall program was satisfactory	4.31	4.27	4.29
17	The level of interaction between the German and Palestinian participants was satisfactory	4.13	4.33	4.23
18	The level of interaction among the Palestinian group only was satisfactory	4.00	3.88	3.96
19	The level of interaction among the German group only was satisfactory	4.21	4.47	4.34
20	I have no language problems in understanding the meeting and discussions	4.25	4.33	4.29
21	The program helped me become more tolerant and respectful of difference (open minded)	4.25	4.73	4.48

b) Results according to the gender of the participants

The overall results show that participants of both gender were very satisfied with the logistics and the content of the exchange program. Though, male participants were slightly more satisfied than female ones with both the logistics and the content of the program. Females were only just satisfied with the logistics of the program (table 7).

Table 7:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics and content of the program in general and according to Gender

Sex	Logistic	Content	Mean total
Male	4.36	4.38	4.37
Female	3.96	4.16	4.05
Total	4.08	4.23	4.15

The results show the levels of satisfaction of the participants on the *logistics* of the program and that males are more satisfied than females with all items. Both, are just satisfied with the timing of the program, the time allocated for different topics and the allocated time was sufficient. While males are very satisfied with the meals the females are just satisfied. The levels of satisfaction for both gender on the remaining items related to logistics was very satisfied (table 8).

Table 8:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics according to Gender

no	Item	Male	Female	Total
1	The welcome was satisfactory	4.80	4.71	4.74
2	The preparation and organization of the program was suitable	4.30	4.23	4.25
3	The timing of the program was suitable	3.70	3.27	3.41
4	The time assigned for the different topics was sufficient	3.56	3.24	3.33
5	The time allocated for discussion was sufficient	3.78	3.45	3.55
6	The meeting rooms were comfortable	4.75	4.27	4.40
7	The quality of the multimedia equipment was satisfactory	4.89	4.24	4.43
8	Transportation was satisfactory	4.22	4.30	4.28
9	The quality of accommodation was satisfactory (for the Palestinian group only)	4.67	4.00	4.21
10	The meals were satisfactory	4.44	3.82	4.00
11	The preparation concerning the exchange program before the journey was satisfactory	4.56	4.05	4.19

The results show the levels of satisfaction of the participants on the *contents* of the exchange program according to their gender that males are more satisfied than females with most of the items except the suitability and the relevance of the extra curricula activities and having no language problems in understanding the meetings and discussions where female are more satisfied.

Both males and female were very satisfied with the clarity of the program, the overall program, the levels of interactions between German and Palestinian groups and among the German groups only, having no language problems in understanding the meetings and the discussions and finally, the program helped both to be more tolerant, respectful and open-minded. Males were just satisfied with the suitability of the extra curricula activities but females with the constructiveness of the discussion, the comprehensibility of the program and the level of interaction among the Palestinian groups (table 9).

Table 9:
Level of satisfaction with the content of the program according to Gender

no	Item	Male	Female	Total
12	The content of the program was clear	4.56	4.19	4.30
13	The content of the program was comprehensive (detailed)	4.33	3.91	4.03
14	The discussions were constructive	4.30	3.76	3.94
15	The extra curriculum activities were suitable and relevant (field visits … etc)	3.88	4.23	4.13
16	The overall program was satisfactory	4.44	4.23	4.29
17	The level of interaction between the German and Palestinian participants was satisfactory	4.40	4.14	4.23
18	The level of interaction among the Palestinian group was only satisfactory	4.00	3.94	3.96
19	The level of interaction among the German group was only satisfactory	4.50	4.29	4.34
20	I have no language problems in understanding the meeting and discussions	4.11	4.36	4.29
21	The program helped me become more tolerant and respectful of difference (open minded)	4.67	4.41	4.48

c) Results according to the professions of the participants

The overall results show that in general participants of both professions were very satisfied with the logistics and the content of the exchange program except students who were just satisfied with the logistics (table 10).

Table 10:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics and content
of the program in general and according to Profession

Profession	Logistic	Content	Mean total
Students	3.95	4.15	4.04
Lecturers	4.49	4.49	4.495
Total	4.06	4.22	4.13

The results show the levels of satisfaction of the participants on the *logistics* of the program and that both lecturers and students were very satisfied with all items of logistics except the suitability of the timing of the program, the

sufficiency of time allocated to different topics, the time allocated for discussion and finally the satisfaction withthe meals.

Lecturers were very satisfied with all items of the logistic except the meals while students were very satisfied with all items except the meals, the timing of the program and the assigned time for the different topics and for discussion (table 11).

Table 11:
Level of satisfaction with the logistics of the program according to profession

no	Item	Student	Lecturer	Total
1	The welcome was satisfactory	4.75	4.83	4.77
2	The preparation and organization of the program was suitable	4.08	4.67	4.20
3	The timing of the program was suitable	3.13	4.17	3.33
4	The time assigned for the different topics was sufficient	3.04	4.20	3.24
5	The time allocated for discussion was sufficient	3.35	4.33	3.55
6	The meeting rooms were comfortable	4.38	4.75	4.43
7	The quality of the multimedia equipment was satisfactory	4.43	4.80	4.50
8	Transportation was satisfactory	4.17	4.75	4.25
9	The quality of accommodation was satisfactory (for Palestinian group only)	4.14	4.67	4.24
10	The meals were satisfactory	3.88	3.80	3.86
11	The preparation concerning the exchange program before the trip was satisfactory	4.17	4.00	4.14

The results show the levels of satisfaction of the participants with the *contents* of the exchange program according to their professions and that both lecturers and students were in general very satisfied with all items of the content of the program except in relation to the interaction among Palestinian groups where they were just satisfied.

Both professions were very satisfied with the suitability of the extra curricula activities, the overall program, the interaction among German group only, no language problems and finally with helping them to become more tolerant, respectful and open-minded. But, lecturers were very satisfied with the content of the program and constructiveness of the discussion and the interaction among Palestinian groups only while students were just satisfied. Students were very satisfied with the clarity of the content of the program and the level of interaction between Palestinian and German groups while lectures only satisfied (table 12).

Table 12:
Level of satisfaction with the content of the program according to profession

no	Item	Student	Lecturer	Total
12	The content of the program was clear	4.29	3.80	4.21
13	The content of the program was comprehensive (detailed)	3.69	4.40	4.03
14	The discussions were constructive	3.83	4.40	3.93
15	The extra curriculum activities were suitable and relevant (field visits … etc)	4.09	4.20	4.11
16	The overall program was satisfactory	4.17	4.80	4.28
17	The level of interaction between the German and Palestinian participants was satisfactory	4.29	3.80	4.21
18	The level of interaction among the Palestinian group only was satisfactory	3.76	4.50	3.90
19	The level of interaction among the German group only was satisfactory	4.30	5.00	4.38
20	I have no language problems in understanding the meeting and discussions	4.17	5.00	4.31
21	The program helped me become more tolerant and respectful of difference (open minded)	4.50	4.75	4.54

2.2 Results relating to the benefits of the exchange programs

Participants were asked to respond (in percentages) to the question on how much they benefited from participating in the exchange program at personal, social, knowledge and skills levels in general and in accordance to their nationalities, gender and professions.

The overall level of benefits was satisfactory. Participants benefited more at a personal level (66%), then at a social level (61%) then at a knowledge level (51%) and the least was at a skills level (50%) (table 13).

Table 13:
Percentages of benefits in general ranked order

Benefits	%
Personally	66
Socially	61
Knowledge	51
Skills	50

In general, the benefits according to nationalities were mostly at personal (67%), then social (61%) then knowledge (51%) and finally skills levels. Germans seem to benefit slightly more than Palestinians in all aspects (table14).

Table 14:
Percentages of benefits according to nationalities

Benefits	Personally	Socially	Knowledge	Skills
Palestinian	59	54	44	50
German	75	69	58	51
Total	66.9	61	51	50

In general, the benefits according to gender are rank-ordered from the most to the least: personal (67%), social (61%), knowledge (51%) and finally skills (50%) levels. Females benefited slightly more than males at personal and knowledge aspects while males benefited more at social and skills aspects (table 15).

Table 15:
Percentages of benefits according to Gender

Benefits	Personally	Socially	Knowledge	Skills
Male	65	66	43	51
Female	68	59	54	50
total	67	61	51	50

Finally, the level of benefits according to the professions of the participants were rank-ordered from the most to the least : personal (66%), social (62%), knowledge (50%) and finally at skills (49%) levels (table 16).

Table 16
Percentage of benefits according to profession

Benefits	Personally	Socially	Knowledge	Skills
Students	67	62	53	51
Lecturers	58	60	33	35
Total	66	62	50	49

2.3 Results of the open-ended questions

Participants were asked to respond to five open-ended questions related to what they mostly liked, disliked, recommendations to improve and modify the next exchange programs, special wishes for the next visit and finally any other comments they would like to give or share.

Participants very much liked the topics and the issues they researched and discussed in workshops, groups discussions and in the seminars, the field trips and visiting the social organizations, societies, religious places and schools on both sides. They liked as well the socialization processes- among students – they had with each other, the free time, knowing about each others religions, culture, traditions and social political problems, hosting each other in homes, relaxing and feeling comfortable during discussions, the official welcomes, working together and in presenting their opinions. The video conference meetings and the exchange of short biographies on each participant before the visits.

Participants though did not like: not having enough time for discussion and the many topics presented and could not fully discuss them in depth, not having prior and enough information on the organizations they visited, the location of accommodation especially in German (youth hostels) was inconvenient for some participants, how students were selected to be hosted by other students from the other side, the rules of the guest house in Bethlehem that did not allow Palestinian students to stay in the rooms during the day, the time of the exchange visit (June in Bethlehem and October in Koln), the weather in Germany, sometimes the tension between students, some students being late for meetings, the separation between the groups (social and educational groups), and that the program of the visit was too full and condensed.

Most of the participants requested more time for discussions, reflections and more free time for themselves, the visits to be longer and that the visits to Germany should be in June and to Bethlehem in October. Other requests were that students should have more time and liberty to organize their own activities and presentations, to know more about social life in both societies, more ice-breaking activities at the beginning of the visits, participants to know more English and more time for students to socialize with each other in an informal way

Participants mentioned special wishes that include: to staying longer, visiting Muslims families in Germany, and visiting historical and religious places in Germany

Some participants stated that this was a very good opportunity for them. They had fun and it was an interesting and eye-opening experience for them. Their minds became more open, they became more tolerant, understanding and able to respect their differences. They were able to develop personal and professional relationships.

Many expressed their deep appreciation and thanks for the administration of both universities, for those who funded the project especially DAAD, and the teachers and staff who supervised and planned the exchange visits.

3. Discussions

The results clearly indicate that the levels of satisfaction among participants on both the logistics and the content of the visits programs were mainly ranged mainly from very satisfied to satisfied. However there were slight differences in the average levels of satisfaction with some items according to some variables but they are not statistically significant.

At the logistic level, we found that both institutes offered all their facilities to serve the exchange program and that helped the gradual improvement and the success of the visits. The meeting rooms with all their facilities, the available communication and media centers were utilized fully by the participants prior to and during the visits. Local transportation and the international traveling arrangements and the preparation of the programs of each meeting was carefully and professionally organized.

The arrangements and the preparation for welcoming the groups by both sides were taken very seriously. The administration of each institute was always prepared to warmly welcome the guests and expressed their professional and genuine support for this unique international learning experiences and professional cooperation. The welcome included different social and personal activities to introduce participants to each other, break the ice and was used as and easy introduction to the social and political context.

The level of accommodation got a lower level of satisfaction from the participants. On the one hand the Palestinians were not used to living in guest houses and even in Palestine the accommodation for them was not comfortable as they were not allowed to spend a few hours during the day in the guest house in Bethlehem to relax and refresh. Using guest houses for accommodation in the exchange program was only for financial reasons.

The time of the exchange visits due to the academic programs in each institute was planned for June in Palestine and October in Germany and the participants preferred to do it the other way around for weather reasons. Of course participants expressed their needs to have more time for discussion or to reduce the number of topics to allow more time for discussion. Some of the participants felt less satisfied with the meals. This could be because they have certain different tastes or the quality of food was not up to the expected level. For, some it was their first time eating the other side's food so they were not used to it.

It is worth mentioning that much success in the logistics part of the exchange program came as a result of the full cooperation between both sides, their experience in arranging and planning meetings and conference that included local and international travel and finally for the role that one German colleague (Dr. Inge Tieman) played in mediating and supporting during the processes. She serves as a good bridge between the two sides with her experiences as a German and as someone who has spent a few years in Palestine.

The results show that there was a high level of satisfaction among participants in relation to the content of the program in general with slight differences among them according to demographic variables. Participants found the content of the program was clear, detailed and comprehensive. This may be due to the full engagement of the participants both lecturers and students in the planning and preparation of the program of the visits. Usually, the planning used to start at the end of the previous visit which allowed enough time for modifications and adjustments according to feedback and suggestions. Participants as well were asked to present their ideas, desires and suggestions for the next visits. The programs of the visits were discussed as well during video-conferences and email exchanges and discussed with students in meetings.

Most participants were satisfied with the constructive level of the discussions. Participants were able to focus since they had prepared the topics well before the visits and exchanged material so each side had the chance to read the material of the other side. The lecturers gave all the support, advice and suggestions needed to the students. Therefore, students felt comfortable and confident during the sessions.

To contextualize the learning and experiences, the exchange program included visits to social organizations and schools, meetings with experts and political, social and religious leaders. Visits to historical monuments, religious places and different cities were also included whenever time allowed. The aims of such extra-curricula activities are to help participants to realize the social, cultural, political contexts, be able to compare and contrast their different professional approaches and to enable them to develop their abilities to be more tolerant, respectful of differences and open- minded which the exchange program succeeded to achieve according to their responses.

The level of interaction among the German groups was much more satisfactory than the communication among the Palestinian groups (from the social department and faculty of education). From the other side, the level of interaction between the German groups from one side and the Palestinian groups from the other side was also less satisfactory than the interaction among the German groups. This could be because of language difficulties faced by the Palestinians, the German groups are from the same program while the Palestinian groups are from different disciplines; there was alack of administrative structure on the Palestinian side, the presence of a third party and finally, the

cooperation and coordination between the German groups was much better than the Palestinian groups where competition was felt. Other reasons may be related to cultural differences, political situations and the levels of security and personal expectations.

Finally, the exchange project has achieved all its objectives. Participating students from both institutes were able to enrich and deepen their learning experiences. The exchange project furnished participants with a fruitful and rich intercultural experience in encouraging and friendly settings and contexts. Participants learned from each other's experiences, immersed themselves deeply in each other's settings. This surely helped them and their personal, professional and intercultural skills and understanding.

The program of the exchange project included plenty of time for lecturers and professors from both sides to present, discuss and elaborate on their academic and professional views. They were able to compare and contrast their intellectual, practical approaches and strategies in their professional fields. Two books (this book is one of them) and a few research papers were published as a result of this exchange. Engaged lecturers and professors participated in conferences and workshops where they presented their experiences and scientific products. Some of them have expanded their professional relationships to go beyond the exchange program to initiate other level of cooperation.

Both BU and KatHO were able to enhance their infrastructures and abilities as learning organizations and to expand the opportunities for learning to go beyond the traditional way of teaching and learning, classrooms and national boundaries to the field and the international contexts. Students were fully engaged in observations and field work, research, analysis and discussions with their teachers and this allowed both students and lecturers to be "learners" and "teachers" at the same time. This strengthened the horizontal and reduced the vertical learning/teaching structures. Meetings and conferences between participants were organized via video-conferencing, skype and telephoning.

Participating lecturers and students were able to widen their global understanding, became more tolerant and open minded. This goes along with the role and objectives of the educational institutes which aims at preparing the future generation to become globally engaged and responsible.

It is wise to say that such a level of success and achievement came about because the people in charge of this year's exchange program learned from their experiences during the past and were able to modify and improve accordingly. Finally, it is worth mentioning the importance of joint leadership but it is equally important to highlight the charismatic characteristics of the initiator and the Godfather of the exchange program as was described by one Palestinian leader (Prof. Dr. Josef Freise) who took on much of the responsibilities of fund raising, following details and reporting without losing his holistic vision

of the importance of such a project in creating harmony, peace and respect among and between others as a global servants.

4. Recommendations and future considerations

1. More time should be allocated to the discussion of the topics.
2. There should be fewer topics allowing for more in-depth discussion and within the available time.
3. The time of the visits should be modified so that Palestinians can visit Germany in June and Germans can visit Palestine in October for weather reasons. This is because Germany in October is rainy, cloudy and cold for most of the Palestinians and in June, Palestine is very hot for some Germans.
4. English language proficiency of the participants should be at the level that enables them to communicate easily with others, to understand the discussion and be able to express themselves well.
5. Participants should be prepared well before the visits through orientation sessions, readings, videos and films about the other side to reduce the cultural shocks.
6. Participants should have the opportunity to get to know each other before the visits through email contact, exchange of their short biographies and through video conferencing, face book and other electronic communication.
7. Preparation for limited translations should be considered and prepared for.
8. Enhance the level of communication among the Palestinian participants through meetings before they travel to Germany.
9. Engage more participants in the planning and preparation of the program and the visit.
10. Both sides should equally engage in the preparation, implementation and the evaluation of the exchange visits.
11. Prepare enough information on the schools, organizations and places that will be included in the visit and about the individuals they are going to meet.
12. Day accommodation for Palestinian participants- especially female- during the German visit to Palestinian should be planned for.
13. Make sure that the administration at the top level is aware of the project, support it and engage in its activities whenever possible.
14. Participants should know exactly and in advance what is expected from them and what their responsibilities and tasks are.

15. It is recommended to explore and search for different resources of funds and not to depend on only one resource to be able to expand the activities and to be more flexible.

List of Contributors

Dr. Eman Abusada holds a PhD in Social Work from the Ohio State University in 2003, Masters in Social Work and Family Therapy in 1991 from the University of Minnesota (USA), and a Bachelor degree in Social Work and minor in Psychology from Bethlehem University in 1989. She has started her work in the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Cologne in 2000, conducting seminars in the topics of gender, social development, and social work in different countries. Later she became involved in working in the partnership project between the Catholic University in Cologne and Bethlehem University through providing and implementing ideas to advance the mutual projects between the two universities. Dr. Abusada has worked also in Bethlehem University as a part-time lecturer in social work before leaving to the USA to continue her PhD. She also worked in a rehabilitation project for the traumatized youth. In her seminars she focuses in participatory approaches to learning and uses experiential techniques to maximize the learning experience of the students. Her PhD dissertation has focused on the concept of participation in the Northern NGOs and its implementation in the local NGOs in Palestine.

Dr. Sami Adwan is a Professor of Education and a teacher trainer at the Faculty of Education at Bethlehem University. He is the Palestinian director and cofounder of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME). His research focuses on Palestinian education, the role of education in building peace, and on religious education and co-existing between different religions and believes. He authored a book on: "The status of Religious Education in Palestinian Schools" (2001) and "Comparative Analysis of the Israeli and Palestinian Conflict in History and Civic Education" (2004). He is also co-editor of "The Role of Palestinian and Israeli NGOs in Peace Building, Victimhood and Beyond, and Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis" (three parts). He serves in many scientific committees and journals. Together with Dr. Bar-On he was awarded the Alexander Langer Foundation Prize, the Victor J. Goldberg IIE Prize for Peace and the European Association for Education of Adults Prize. Dr. Adwan was awarded the joint Legislative Resolution of the Senate and the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey in March, 2007.

Elise Aghazarian is a Palestinian Armenian Sociologist raised in Jerusalem. Following her studies in the Palestinians Territories and the Netherlands, she has worked on research and project coordination on themes related to cultural

politics in the Palestinian context, Jerusalem, youth, gender and social movements. She has worked as a teacher of Sociology in Bethlehem University on courses such as: Social Change, Social Movements, Civil Society, and Modern Sociological Theories. Her academic interests include: Cultural Politics in the Arab World, Sociology of Place in the Palestinian Context, Colonial Studies, Symbolic Interactionism & Alternative Education. She is currently based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Ronza Al-Madbouh, graduated from Bethlehem University in 2009. She holds a Bachelor degree in English Language and Literature. Now she is working in the PNGO Network in Ramallah in networking, coordination and development fields. She tackled the reasons that led to the conflict between Fateh and Hamas in the Video Conferencing program.

Sanaa Al-Muhtaseb, graduated at Bethlehem University. She holds a Bachelor of Science in Occupational Therapy. Since 2009 she has worked in the field of mental rehabilitation for youth in Beit Sahour. In the Video Conference she dealt with the topic "Participation of people with disabilities in the Palestinian community".

Dr. Iyad Amawi is Assistant Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social Sciences at Bethlehem University. His field of specialization is: Sociology of the Family, Development, Policies & Social Research. Main fields of research: Social Changes, Rural Areas, Marriage and Social Adjustment.

Juliane Dalheimer, graduated 2009 with a Diploma in Social Work and Social Pedagogy at the Catholic University Cologne. Now she is working with youth at IN VIA e.V., a catholic association for girls and women social work in Cologne. During her studies she participated twice in the academic exchange program. In spring 2010 she joint an exchange program between the theatre group of Bethlehem University and the German theatre group of the "Allerweltshaus", an intercultural centre in Cologne.

Dr. paed. Josef Freise, holds also a diploma degree in Theology. He worked for eleven years in the International Christian Peace Service EIRENE, before he became Professor for Social Work and Social Education at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences North-Rhine Westfalia in 1997 at the department of Cologne where he started the exchange program with Bethlehem University from the German side. He teaches especially Intercultural Social Work and Social Education and does research actually on International Voluntary Services and Interreligious Education. More information with articles and speeches also in English: www.Josef Freise.de.

Gertrud Hundenborn worked as nurse and nursing teacher before in 1997 she became Professor of Nursing Pedagogy at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences North-Rhine Westfalia, Department of Cologne, Faculty of

Health Sciences. Her field of specialization: care situations and qualifications as the basis for curriculum development in the nursing profession; scientific monitoring and evaluation of pilot projects as part of nursing education.

Nelly Husary is Program Coordinator of the Occupational Therapy Program, Faculty of Nursing and Health Sciences, Bethlehem University. She has a BS in Occupational Therapy from Bethlehem University and is working on her M.A. in Educational Administration from Birzeit University. During her 15 years of experience she has worked as a therapist and Occupational Therapy Head of Department in several local rehabilitation institutions mainly in the field of pediatrics. She provides training and consultancy services for therapists at a local level in addition to her main job as an instructor.

May Jaber was graduated with BA-degree in 1978 (second Alumni) from Bethlehem University majoring in Social Work/Sociology with a minor in Psychology. She worked between 1979 and 2000 as a medical Social worker at Caritas Baby Hospital in Bethlehem, then as a School Counselor at Terra Sancta School for Girls (Sisters of San Joseph) from 2000 to 2006. Since 2006, she is the Assistant to the Dean of Students at Bethlehem University. Her main job is to coordinate all students' activities, work in cooperation with different departments at the university and with different local organizations.

Huda Musleh is graduated with a Bachelor's degree in English Literature and Diploma in Education from Bethlehem University in 1991. For several years, she worked as a teacher of English in the Lutheran Schools in Bethlehem. During her work as a school teacher she earned a Master's degree in Education: Teaching English as a Second Language from Bir-Zeit University in 1998. Then, she became a part-time instructor at Al Quds Open University and Bethlehem University/English Department. Since 2007, she has become a full-time instructor at Bethlehem University/Faculty of Education in the SAT/English Program. Her main interests are teaching, human rights education and training schools teachers.

Raphael Nabholz, studied Social Work at the Catholic University Cologne. He graduated with a Bachelor degree in summer 2010. After he finished high school he volunteered in an institution for people with special needs in Jerusalem for one year. Throughout his studies he participated twice in the academic exchange program and led a study group "Israel and Palestine" at the University.

Dr. phil. Ria Puhl is a German Sociologist. Since 2003 she is Professor at the Department of Social Work at KatHO NRW Cologne. Her field of specialization: theories and history of Social Work in Germany, Comparative Social Work studies in Europe; empirical social research (qualitative and quantitative methods).

Minerva Qassis Jaraysah since 2006 holds an M.A. degree in Gender Law and Development from Beir Zeit University and a B.A. degree in Social Work (major) and in Psychology (minor) from Bethlehem University. She is a part-time lecturer at Bethlehem University since 2007 and a school councilor and supervisor since 2008 at Terra Sancta College for boys. Her main interests are working on empowerment of women, domestic violence and family issues, the role of individual and family intervention. She has extensive field experiences through meetings, media and dialogue.

Dr. phil. Heinz Theisen, M.A., is Professor of Political Science at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences in Cologne. Main fields of research are: European Union, globalization, limits to growth and intercultural relations.

Dr. Ingeborg Tiemann is since 2005 in a Civil Peace Work Program as Visiting Assistant Professor and Advisor for Participatory Learning at Bethlehem University commissioned by AGEH (Association for Development Cooperation), Cologne. Academic degrees: PhD from Rijksunversiteit Utrecht/Netherlands in Comparative Religious Studies; M.A. in Education; B.A. in Class Room Teaching. She has worked in different fields of family education and further education with women and with students on the whole range of topics connected with life dilemmas, tensions and challenges of family life and adult life. She has been working in different fields of project management and action research programs. For many years she was working with German Radio Stations focusing on diverse cultural and intercultural topics. At Bethlehem University her work is focusing on developing different methods and formats of interdisciplinary and intercultural learning, on conflict, advocacy and gender topics and on participatory teaching and learning methods. In her approaches she combines teaching topics with the experiential side of learning; as a background for this she draws on psychoanalytic and systemic thinking.

Dr. phil. Armin G. Wildfeuer is Professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences North-Rhine-Westfalia in Cologne. Main fields of research are: history of ideas, history of Modern Philosophy, philosophical questions of Ethics, Anthropology and Political and Social Philosophy.

Christina Wirth graduated 2008 with a Diploma in Social Work and Social Pedagogy at the Catholic University Cologne. The topic of her thesis was: "Women move Palestine?! The Palestinians women's movement: History, current situation and wishes for the future". Since 2008 she has worked as a research and administrative associate at the KatHO. Furthermore she gives lectures in the field of intercultural social work. She participated twice in the academic exchange program. Since 2010 she takes part in a Master program at the University of Maastricht/Netherlands.