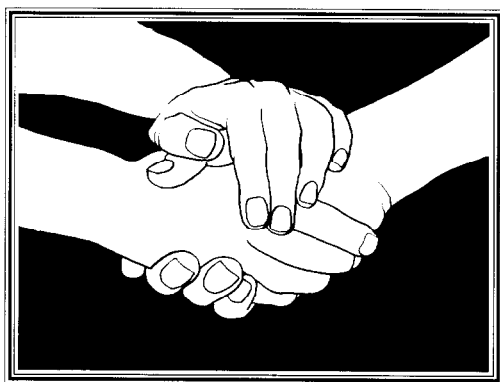


*SHAPING NEW ATTITUDES TO PEACE
THROUGH EDUCATION*



*Edited by Daniel S. Halpérin
for the Geneva Foundation*

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

TO LIVE TOGETHER:
SHAPING NEW ATTITUDES TO PEACE
THROUGH EDUCATION

Edited by Daniel S. Halpérin

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Preface

Ever since its creation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has been strongly committed to the development of a culture of peace. As is stressed in the present UNESCO Medium-term strategy, the Organization is now striving to promote the idea of 'a culture of peace' which was formulated for the first time at the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men at Yamoussoukro in 1989 and subsequently elaborated on and refined, particularly at the forty-fourth session of the International Conference on Education (1994). In the culture of war, conflicts are resolved by physical or symbolic violence. The culture of peace, on the contrary, is inseparable from recourse to dialogue, mediation, and recognition of others as being equal before the law and in dignity, whether in relations among States, social communities and groups, between governments and the people they govern, or between men and women. The culture of peace may thus be defined as all the values, attitudes and forms of behaviour, ways of life and of acting that reflect, and are inspired by, respect for life and for human beings and their dignity and rights, the rejection of violence, including terrorism in all its forms, and commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and understanding among peoples and between groups and individuals.

A culture of peace, as with every other form of culture, is part of the heritage we must enrich with our own experiences and transmit to the new generations. A culture of peace must therefore be taught and learned. This is the most important challenge to be faced by pedagogy at the end of the twentieth century. We find ourselves confronted with the imperative need to answer the question: How does one learn a culture of peace? Or, paraphrasing the words of the report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century:¹ how do we learn to live together?

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As can be gleaned from reading the works gathered in this volume, the answers are manifold and complex. This is even more so in a context such as the Israeli-Palestinian one where not only cultural factors but also political, economic and social ones are involved and where, moreover, the conflict has been continuing for a considerable time. In such a context, there are at least two lines of operation which have to be encouraged. The first one, of an institutional nature, consists in recognizing that there is *no unique* answer. It is therefore necessary to permit and promote the development of innovations relevant to the tremendous variety of existing situations, and to favour the creation of networks which allow for the exchange and gathering of learning methods among the various innovating projects. The second line, of a pedagogical nature, implies recognizing that an education dedicated to a culture of peace must go beyond one-dimensional approaches, and stimulate a very broad range of learning experiences: cognitive and emotional, individual and group, as well as formal and non-formal.

On this basis, UNESCO:IBE considers that the initiative of the Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War and of the Marcel Mérieux Foundation to encourage a programme of activities devoted to the promotion of peace between Palestinians and Israelis through education, is necessary and significant. This support is part of all the activities carried out in the region by UNESCO, at different levels and within the fields of its competence.

Obviously, nobody can take the place of the Palestinian or Israeli pupils in this enormous personal learning effort. However, it is the international community's obligation and duty to offer its help and solidarity in the tremendous task undertaken by Israelis and Palestinians, because the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the responsibility of all and every one of us.

JUAN CARLOS TEDESCO

NOTE

1. Delors, J., et al. *Learning: the treasure within*. Paris, UNESCO, 1996. 266 p. (Report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century—the Delors Report.)

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Introduction

Daniel S. Halpérin

The ‘To live together’ initiative was born at a meeting in February 1996 with Professor Emeritus Antoine Cuendet, a pediatric surgeon, former Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Geneva University, and chairman of the Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War (hereafter the Geneva Foundation). His foundation was in a process of trying to better define its scope of action within the large theme of ‘health and war’, and to identify areas of research that would deserve priority support.

We agreed that, at a time when politicians had entered an era of peace-making in the Middle-East, the situation might be suitable for Palestinians and Israelis to venture into joint research projects.

In particular, a potentially fruitful project could be to examine the effects of long term, protracted conflicts—such as the Israeli-Palestinian one—on the mental and social health of children. Little was known about how much of their anxiety, psychosomatic complaints, aggressivity, behavioural disorders or school failures may be linked with direct or indirect consequences of the conflict. What were the interventions or instruments that may counterbalance, or even correct such problems? Was there any kind of an educational programme, for instance, that might be demonstrated to be efficacious in counteracting those putative effects of the conflict; and that might prove of value in actually accelerating the healing of the traumatisms, while simultaneously strengthening the construction of peace?

‘TO LIVE TOGETHER’

That discussion, and subsequent meetings with a number of Swiss and French specialists in the field of education and psychology, led to the development of the ‘To live together’ proposal (see Appendix I). It was conceived mainly as a potentially useful instrument to test the global validity of an approach, and to explore the interest and motivation of academics and field workers in Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Territories for such a topic.

In June 1996, the project was formally reviewed by the members of the Geneva Foundation and of the Multi-faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action (MPHA) at Geneva University, and they requested a study of its scientific and political feasibility.

The project details were sent to, and reviewed by many people, mainly in Israel and in Palestine, but also in other countries—in fact wherever expertise, advice, and possibly concrete help might be available. The contributions received (see Appendix III) were all invaluable, and helped shape the project’s progress.

FINDING SOLUTIONS

An exploratory trip to the region revealed the many courageous endeavours of individuals, NGOs, and sometimes schools and universities engaged in action, in research, or both, in the field of peace and co-existence. In many instances, these remarkable efforts remained isolated, discrete, poorly supported, and at times even hidden or forgotten. There was a need not only to publicize them, but also—and above all—to bring people together, so they could share their experiences, successes and failures alike, and thereby strengthen their actions by integrating them with the efforts of others motivated by common concerns and goals.

Those consultations were also very helpful in identifying the theoretical and practical problems raised by the implementation of a project such as ‘To live together’. Yet, they were rarely sufficient to provide alternatives and solutions to those issues. It became clear that while such solutions certainly existed, they would be more likely to emerge from the pluralistic confrontation of people who might be, at the same time, adversaries and

complementary to each other, and competitors as well as potential partners.

Thus emerged the idea of a workshop, and at a meeting on 4 November 1996, in Jerusalem, Professor S. Aweiss, Professor G. Salomon, Professor L. Kremer, Professor S. Adwan and Dr R. Firer agreed to form a steering committee.

SEMINAR OBJECTIVES

The workshop in Annecy on 26 January-2 February 1997 had three objectives:

1. To review the relevant regional experience in the field of education towards tolerance, understanding, co-existence and peace between Palestinians and Israelis.
2. To enhance confidence-building between groups and individuals and encourage their efforts at becoming partners in collaborative projects.
3. To invite participants to design several action-research projects based on the lessons drawn from the review of the field and the perceived needs for the future.

TWO KEY ASSUMPTIONS

The workshop was built on two key assumptions. One was that 'emotional ties between human beings must inevitably counteract war'.

In the summer of 1932, as part of an exchange of letters between 'leaders of thought', encouraged by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, Albert Einstein asked Sigmund Freud the following question: *'Is it possible to so guide the psychological development of man that it becomes resistant to the psychoses of hate and destruction?'*

Although 'scared by the thought of (his) incompetence', Freud proposed the following reply: *'Anything that creates emotional ties between human beings must inevitably counteract war. These ties can be of two kinds. First are relations with a love object, even though without sexual aims. Psychoanalysis need not be ashamed when it speaks of love, because religion says the same: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'. This is easily demand-*

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ed but difficult to accomplish. The other kind of emotional tie is through identification. Everything that leads to important shared action creates such common feelings, such identifications. On them, the structure of human society in good measure rests.'

The other assumption was that shared feelings stem from shared action. The belief was that bringing together old enemies such as Israelis and Palestinians, and asking them to work together to develop common goals and action could well lead to creating common feelings and identifications. Indeed, this was the main purpose of the meeting, and it was hoped that the dynamics observed in this microsystem might become contagious or self-replicable, and expand on a larger scale.

THE POSSIBILITY OF FAILURE

The attempt was not without risk, even though this risk was somewhat attenuated by the recent—but so fragile—improvement in Palestinian-Israeli relations at the political level; and by the strong personal motivation of the selected participants towards dialogue and reconciliation. But at the same time, the risk was in fact majored by the very nature of the topic to be addressed: education.

In a setting of prolonged armed conflict, and of long-standing mistrust between the parties, trying to find a consensus on an issue that deals with the minds of children, and raises the immediate fear of manipulation and brain washing, constitutes a real challenge. Indeed, many joint ventures and co-operative projects have been officially launched between Palestinians and Israelis since the Oslo accords; most have been dealing with technical, commercial or scientific topics, and none or very few with educational matters.

Hence, several gloomy scenarios could be envisioned. A large number of participants (most likely the Palestinians) might cancel their participation at the last moment because of a sudden change in the political climate, of an irrevocable veto by some authority, or simply because of the closure of the borders between Israel and the Palestinian territories. Alternatively, participants might be present at the beginning of the workshop, but leave prematurely because of some dispute. Or, they might prove incapable of opening a genuine dialogue going beyond stereotyped political arguments. Also, a sincere dialogue might be attempted, but it would elude essential questions

and remain encrusted in politeness and superficiality. Finally, it all could end up with handshakes and smiles that would be strictly limited to the confines of Annecy and Geneva, and none of these attitudes would be exported back home, and even less put out to ripen for the future.

POSITIVE RESULTS

Fortunately, none of these scenarios proved valid. On the contrary, the workshop was positive in both its conduct and its conclusions. This was due to a number of factors: the *spirit of endeavour* provided by the Geneva Foundation; the *academic structure* created by Professor Timothy Harding at the MPHA; the generosity of Dr. Charles Mérieux at the Fondation Marcel Mérieux; the *thinking* provided by the steering committee; the *support and guidance* by politicians, specifically Ephraim Sneh and Jamal Al-Shobaki, as well as Mr. Guy-Olivier Segond and Mrs. Martine Brunshwig-Graf, of the Geneva authorities; and a *helpful political climate*—the signing of the Hebron agreement ten days earlier.

Most of all however, the workshop succeeded because the participants were determined to make it succeed.

They clearly had in their minds the words of the prominent Palestinian writer Emile Habibi, in what was to be his last essay—a short book, ‘The land of the two promises’, co-authored with the Israeli writer Yoram Kaniuk.

Habibi began by addressing his readers with the traditional Arab hospitality greeting of *ahlan wa-sahlan*, which means ‘a family and a flat land’; that is the family that the traveller is happy to meet after crossing a plain or desert.

He explained that before the Oslo agreements, while there had been reciprocal influences between Hebrew and Arabic, they had been essentially limited to Israelis using harsh insults in Arabic, and Palestinians borrowing Hebrew’s coarsest imprecations. After Oslo however, many Israelis started to greet each other with a short-cut of the traditional Arab salute, using the word *ahlan*, instead of their own *shalom*. An Israeli company marketed a new brand of *hummus* called *hummus ahla* (the Arab word *ahla* meaning something like ‘super’ or ‘extra’). Another Arab word, *sababa* (which has to do with celebrating the beauty of one’s beloved) was used to name several Israeli restaurants.

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Habibi thought these words, loaded with positive meanings, were the first swallows announcing the advent of peace. On 2 February 1996, he concluded his manuscript with the words: 'I remain convinced that the establishment of a rapport of equality between us (Palestinians and Israelis) is still possible. Only this can create a stable basis for the peace process, and for reconciliation'.

FROM PEACE-MAKING TO PEACE-BUILDING

Those at the workshop also understood very well, as one of them, Edy Kaufman, had written, that the time has come to move from 'peace-making to peace-building'. Political and military agreements are sufficient to *make* peace, but not to *build* it. That requires working on Habibi's two key themes: *equality* and *reconciliation*. Equality means recognizing the other in his or her humanity. Reconciliation means identification with the other, discovering common feelings, and shared action.

Participants shared something else in common: *concern*. In particular, they were concerned about the negative impact of the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the physical, mental and social well-being of children. As educators, sociologists, psychologists, and even as politicians, they were doubly concerned that children—their own children—brought up mesmerized in a black and white, Manichean and stereotypical vision of the other, may face great difficulties in maturing into adults fit for a democratic and mutually respectful dialogue.

One important aspect of the workshop was that while the participants were immersed in their intellectual endeavours, they also had to get to know each other better, build trust among themselves, and open bridges that would become both meeting and melting points for their polarized political, ethnic, cultural or religious convictions. This encounter had to take place if they wished to be capable of encouraging children to take the same steps.

ACHIEVING ITS OBJECTIVES

In meeting the demands of the situation, the participants ensured that the workshop achieved its objectives.

One, shared feelings became a reality. An illustration of this occurred late at night, on the sixth day, when a video tape was optionally added to the programme. The tape related the unique and highly emotional encounter that Professor Bar-On organized a few years ago between descendants of Shoah survivors and descendants of nazi criminals. Unexpectedly, all the Palestinian participants were present, despite the fact that many of them prefer avoiding this topic. The Shoah, as someone put it, may have been a disaster for the Jewish people, but it also brought a catastrophe to the Palestinian people. However, not only were all the Palestinians present, but when the film was over, and that was followed by a profound and silent moment of emotion, some of them took upon themselves to console those Israelis, who were the most affected by overwhelming feelings and reminiscences. The strength of those moments will not be easily erased. Another fact that demonstrates the quality of the bridging that occurred between people is the social get-together organized a few months later in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, for all the participants and on their own initiative, as if they had realized that it may be nice and comforting to be together.

Two, the relevant regional experience in the field of education towards tolerance, understanding, co-existence and peace between Palestinians and Israelis was reviewed—sometimes critically, sometimes less so. Those reporting on their experiences were precise, informative and modest; the ensuing discussions took place in a spirit of open-mindedness, and with the desire to learn from failure, as much as from success. As a result, this review helped to identify some of the main questions and issues to be addressed in future educational efforts.

Three, some degree of confidence was built both between groups and individuals. It became clear to the majority that their efforts at working together were realistic and could be promising.

Finally, the participants did respond enthusiastically to the invitation to design collaborative action-research projects. Within two months after returning home, they constituted small research teams and submitted half a dozen different projects in the spirit of 'To live together'. Each of these projects is now being evaluated by the scientific committee of the Geneva Foundation, to determine which one(s) will best deserve to be supported in its (their) implementation.

The responsibility is now in our hands to ensure that, despite the holes and bumps on the way, the walk along the road towards reconciliation continues.

CHAPTER I

A psycho-political perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

INTRODUCTION

Timothy W. Harding

The Geneva Foundation is concerned with promoting health in time of war. Its support for this activity is recognition that what the Israelis and Palestinians have experienced over the last decades is a situation of war, or armed conflict.

The fact that the University of Geneva is also supporting this activity, and integrating it into its new programme means it is not only an exercise that is concerned with this particular situation, but one which has universal implications. Armed conflicts occur all over the world, and one of their side effects is hatred.

In the cemetery at Thones, near Annecy, over a hundred resistance fighters were buried after the battle of Glières, in the last few months of the war. It was a battle between the resistance fighters, the German army and also the French militia from the Vichy government. Today, there are communities still torn apart by that conflict: there are families and neighbours who do not speak to each other.

Hatred is an aftermath, a secondary effect of armed conflicts—and it occurs all over the world, in Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, South Africa and Israel-Palestine. Hatred is transmitted from generation to generation.

Our concern is with the health of children: with combating hatred in children as a contribution not just to peace-keeping, but also to the mental and social health of individuals, and whole communities. That is the reason why Geneva University has invested so much time and energy in this activity, and why in particular, the Faculty of Medicine is so well represented.

THE ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW

Ephraim Sneh
Member of the Knesset

In order to discuss perspectives, we have to refer to the past—because to realize where we are today, we have to remember which way we have come.

The most relevant date in the recent past is 13 September 1993, which marks the psycho-political watershed of the Israeli-Palestinian relations; the day when Itzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands on the lawn of the White House in Washington.

Behind that moment were 100 years of conflict, thirty years of terror, twenty-six years of occupation and six years of Intifada—together with a huge charge of suspicion and hatred. That ceremony in the White House began the erosion of the hatred. The handshake looked like the happy ending of a film, but whereas on screen, the happy ending signals the end of the film, in this case it signified its beginning. It was the beginning of a process, of a very bumpy road to reconciliation; the film that started with this picture in the White House is a film not only of negotiations, but also of terrorist attacks, casualties, blood, and the like.

In the negotiations following the signing of the deal in Washington, hundreds of people from both sides, Israelis and Palestinians, were involved. This dialogue engulfed two establishments—the Israeli establishment and the Palestinian establishment. It was not only the politicians, the top level of politicians, who talked to each other; experts on water, in agriculture, military people, experts in education, in ecology and from all the walks of life were involved in this dialogue, and the fact that it was such a broadly based dialogue gave hope that reconciliation could be achieved. During those negotiations between all the groups of experts, human relations were formed.

One vivid example was in 1994, in Netanya, Israel, at the Bar-Mitzvah celebration of the son of General Yom Tov, one of the well-decorated Israeli paratroopers, and an army commander. Some of the tables were occupied by Palestinians, generals and colonels with their families, and they all felt at home. They enjoyed it. Even more surprisingly, General Yom Tov had appointed his father-in-law, a veteran of the Irgun (the pre-Likud under-

ground movement) and of Begin's and Shamir's movement, to be in charge of hosting the guests from Gaza. Asked: 'How is it for you, a veteran of Irgun, to host Palestinian generals and officials from the Palestinian police, the PLO, and the Palestinian Liberation Army?', he replied: 'You know, we must give it a chance'.

SHAPING THE NATIONAL MOOD

Thus, the notion of a possible Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation trickles down, even to those spheres of Israeli society that ideologically do not accept it. Unfortunately, what shapes the bottom line of the psychology on the Israeli side are the exploded buses and the terrorist attacks, such as those that occurred in the winter and spring of 1996. This is what defines the national mood, and it may bring the situation back behind the point that was reached after Oslo.

Another important date is 27 September 1996, the bloody day when sixty Palestinians and fifteen Israelis were killed. These events, the 'tunnel events', constituted very destructive blows to the trust that was slowly building up between the two nations. What the politicians heard from the people, on both sides, was: 'Is this the peace to which we aspire? Is this the peace?'

It is very difficult to explain to ordinary people that peace is not something you achieve overnight, but is an on-going process. They claim: 'For us, peace is total and instant peace'. We know it does not work in this way.

AT THE CROSSROADS

So what is the situation now? After the agreement on Hebron, what is ahead?

Despite crossing one junction, at Hebron, there is still another bifurcation of two roads. One is actually the continuation of Oslo road. It means implementing the interim agreements, carrying out the further redeployment, conducting a very patient negotiation about the final status. If this happens, the present prevailing atmosphere of fear of terrorism, tension and suspicion will subside. There will be economic improvement mainly in the territories, but also in Israel and Jordan, and there will be more optimism.

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Optimism in itself will bring in investments, tourism, and there will be a positive snowball effect as investments and tourism improve the current situation, and enhance the trust and the confidence in the process.

The other road leads to stopping the progress in the negotiations, to expanding the settlements in the West Bank, to bringing about stalemate after Hebron, and to signalling to the Palestinians that the interim agreement is actually the final agreement. If the first road leads to stability, prosperity and an atmosphere of reconciliation, the second inevitably leads to explosion, to a second Intifada, to violence, and to the total devastation of what has been achieved so far.

There is no third way, and it is mainly up to the Israeli government to determine which of the two roads it prefers to take.

AT ZERO LEVEL

It should be put very clearly that what shapes a nation's psychology is the political reality on the ground. Today, the psychology is at zero level. If it goes up, it can be transformed into internalization of reconciliation. But it can go down from the zero line to despair of reconciliation. Here again is a bifurcation point. The psychology can turn out to be essentially optimistic, and help both sides consider that reconciliation is possible; or it can be just the opposite.

A picture on television—five seconds of Arafat and Netanyahu smiling and shaking hands—is worth more than a hundred workshops on reconciliation. But one child killed, Israeli or Palestinian, destroys the effect of all those workshops.

EDUCATION AND BUILDING CONFIDENCE

Politically, the important thing is to build confidence; not through 'confidence-building measures', but through a confidence-building *policy*, i.e., a joint policy, an Israeli-Palestinian strategy. This can be achieved if three conditions are met.

One is a joint effort to combat terrorism, to continue the good co-operation between the two intelligence services and the military establishments.

The second condition is the improvement of the economic situation in the West Bank, and especially in the Gaza Strip; because people there should see the benefit of peace and should be able to live far better than they are living now. The third condition—and this is the role of the Israeli Government—is to avoid expanding settlements in the West Bank. If these three conditions are met, there will be a basis for greater trust and mutual confidence.

The role of education is very important because it can reinforce political advances. Indeed, the most important basis for future reconciliation is the change in the hearts and minds of the younger generations.

Children feel very sensitively and very deeply all the positive and the negative experiences. All Israeli children are exposed from the age of one or two to confrontations, terrorist attacks, and much more. Some meaning must be given to these events, but not all the parents can cope with it. It is surely the same on the Palestinian side. And since young children do not have the means to rationalize, in order to understand these surrounding events, or the images and representations of these events, they need people, other than the parents, to explain. This is where the role of the educator becomes so important.

FOCUS ON THE FUTURE

But to be efficient, education should avoid focusing too much on the past. Those meetings between Israelis and Palestinians are very easily swept into discussions about the events of the past. The past cannot be erased, or forgotten. But discussions which concentrate too much on the past will not result in an agreement. Rather, they are swept into ‘comparative victimology’, and nothing tangible, positive or constructive can come out of that. The key is to work on the future, when there will be no more victims on either the Palestinian or the Israeli side.

THE PALESTINIAN POINT OF VIEW

Jamal Al-Shobaki

Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council

The Holy Land was chosen by God to characterize His will of co-existence, tolerance and pluralism among people. Pluralism was born there, where three religions live together. It has resulted in the very concept of co-existence, the roots of which, although sometimes shaken, grow within this land and will always remain.

But pluralism and co-existence are not easily brought from the conceptual level to the ground of reality. The Palestinian people have a long history of tragedies. They have faced the loss of a place, violence and torture, and a desperate search for a national identity—living for hundreds of years without passports to identify themselves with. But they have kept a deep faith in a life that would be theirs, just like any other nation on Earth.

The Palestinian nation was the victim of a history which does not belong to it, or is not affiliated with it. Even if the Jews were the victims of nazism or fascism—the enemies of all nations and humanity—the Palestinians are willing to look ahead to an era and a life where these affiliations will remain rooted in the past, where they belong, and will no longer determine the present.

The Palestinian nation is still scattered around the world, and still does not have a chance to come together and live in its homeland. Until recently, it was denied the right to exist like any other nation, and its people suffered deportation, arrest, expropriation of land, destruction of houses and infrastructure, and confiscation of fundamental and human rights.

BRAVE LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE

Nevertheless, the nation has done much, and shown great initiative to achieve a comprehensive peace based on international legitimate resolutions. War requires a brave leadership, but peace requires a braver one. Such courage was found both in president Yasser Arafat, in the face of many obstacles and pressures, and in the late prime minister Itzhak Rabin.

The cornerstone to peace in the Middle East is clearly to admit and recog-

nize the legitimate national stride of the Palestinian nation in order to establish an independent state, with Jerusalem as its capital. That nation, through the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, has proven its commitment to peace, and accepted oppressive conditions that were very hard to accept. For many years, all international efforts had failed to get the two sides of the conflict to reach an agreement—until a small country, Norway, succeeded. Its foreign minister, Mr. Johann Holst, who played a major role in reaching the Oslo agreement, will always be remembered. This agreement is to be implemented in two stages, and is based on UN resolutions 242 and 338 and on the principle of ‘land for peace’. It was supported wholly by the Palestinian nation.

However, extremists on both sides refused such an agreement and fought it. Furthermore, they assassinated Rabin, the bold man who had recognized the PLO and the Palestinian nation’s rights, and who had not concealed his acceptance of the establishment of a Palestinian state.

RISKS TO PEACE

The peace process was also badly shaken by the election of the Israeli right wing coalition, which was reluctant to accept the accords and commit itself to them. Worse, this coalition tried to take things back to point zero, as it started expanding settlements in the West Bank at the risk of freezing the peace process.

In September 1996, the Palestinian people started a new Intifada, which was meant to defend and protect the peace process, to show the Israeli government that Jerusalem has a place in the Palestinians’ heart, and that this city, once the light of human civilization, has to become a place of tolerance and co-existence.

More recently, there was the redeployment in Hebron, but this is only one of tens of articles Israel has to implement according to the signed agreement between the two sides. Soon, there has to follow further redeployment by Israeli soldiers from the West Bank, as well as the creation of safe passages between Gaza and the West Bank, the building of an airport and a sea-port, the full release of male and female prisoners, and the commitment to stop the building of new settlements; all of which would open the path to fully engage in the final status negotiations.

Despite all the obstacles and the exceptional circumstances that the Palestinian nation has lived through, it conducted the first parliamentary election in its history, and the people freely elected the Legislative Council and the President, setting the cornerstone on which to build a democratic system. The results of the election prove that the Palestinian nation supports the peace process, despite the hard circumstances and great suffering. Building a Palestinian political and democratic state and system is only possible through the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; not just through a national authority that is surrounded by occupation on all sides. The final resolution providing a basis for peace and security in the region will not be achieved until all conflictual issues are settled. Building a strategic peace in the Middle East should be based on clear and solid facts.

STEPS TO A LASTING PEACE

A main issue is to recognize the Palestinian national right to self-determination, the right to establish and retain its own state on its land. A second is the return of all land occupied by the Israelis since 1967, including the Syrian and Lebanese land. Thirdly, the Palestinian concept of a state is that of a state built on a democratic system that respects pluralism and the rule of law, and is open towards Israel, without a 'Berlin wall' between them. Finally, peace is the real insurance for security. Occupation and control over another nation by power did not, and will not provide security for Israel.

Those looking at the future through the historical experience of co-existence between Arabs and Jews will recognize the possibility of co-existence with mutual respect; recognizing each others' rights is not impossible.

Although it is very difficult to draw a clear picture of the future because of its changing characteristics, there is guidance from other experiences of co-existence between nations, especially between those with longer and more violent struggles—in Europe and in other parts of the world. There, they are building joint economic, political, security and cultural institutions. Peace that does not accomplish joint interests will neither last nor continue. What is required is a peace that will serve all the interests of the

new generations. The Palestinian nation is not seeking a militarized state with tanks and warplanes, but a state where democracy, security and good neighbourhood prevail.

The key to peace is reaching a compromise concerning Jerusalem, which the whole world considers as historical, and where all civilisations have their roots and belong to. It is neither reasonable, nor acceptable for Jerusalem to be controlled by one side, as if it belonged to only that side. A Palestinian state without Jerusalem is like a body without a soul, and it cannot survive. There is a possibility of living with the State of Israel which is playing an effective role in the Middle East, if it commits itself to the requirements for peace. Then will it become a welcome neighbour to the Arab world.

A VITAL ROLE FOR EDUCATION

Education can play a vital role. Children, like soft dough, can be formed through education and shaped with patience. There should be a new orientation of education that would lead to elimination of hardship in the region. But education cannot erase, or contradict, the realities of life.

It is unfortunate that the Palestinians are still watching violent scenes. What they see in their life, or on the television screens are settlers and their weapons, and military personnel with their guns around them. Over a long time, there were children aged fourteen, sixteen, twenty, who were detained in jail because they were trying to even up the situation and have their rights respected. No-one can want today's children to suffer the same thing in the future. It is the responsibility of everyone to do much better.

CHAPTER II

Can we work together?

PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR MOBILIZING CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS

Edy Kaufman

The Truman Peace Research Institute has the longest record of research cooperation with Palestinians, e.g., with the Arab Studies Society and the Palestine Consultancy Group (PCG); and its research activity covers the most varied, and largest list of topics (from the psychological aspects of the peace process, or the future of Jerusalem, to issues of environment and recycling of sewage water). Peace education has recently taken a central place, shifting priorities from final status to long term investments.

The Peace Education Programme includes the project with Dr Ruth Firer and Prof. Sami Adwan (PCG), which is described separately; as well as the early stages of curriculum development and experimentation with teaching 'the common heritage of Arabs and Jews'. It thus focuses both on reducing the negative effects of conflict (stereotyping, prejudice) and enhancing collective identities (common heritage of religion, language, history, philosophy, literature and culture); an experimental programme of 'teaching English as a second language with a conflict resolution curriculum' has been developed for experimentation in a multi-ethnic classroom. Thus, there has been some preliminary consideration of a co-operative Israeli-Palestinian demonstrative and multifaceted project involving school children, teachers, parents and community in a gradual twinning experiment.

PEACE MAKING AND PEACE BUILDING

From a macro-political perspective, the types of conflict since the end of the Cold War have highlighted the existence of identity-driven conflicts. Now that the superimposed East/West ideological confrontation on real or artificial problems has nearly vanished, it is realized, more than ever, that peace-making among political leaders and diplomats needs to be accompanied with multiple tracks of peace-building—predominantly among the components of the civil society of the ‘partners in conflict’. The need to build sustained relationships across ethnic or national lines in protracted communal conflicts results from the nature of the adversarial relations that have confronted people vs. people, majorities vs. minorities, and nations vs. states (Ted Gurr).

From this perspective, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a classic ethno-political conflict, involving the rights of two nations, unlike the Israel/Syrian Arab Republic confrontation, which is predominantly territorial (as it was with Egypt). In identity-driven conflicts, one has to address the basic needs of the population (security, recognition, participation, access). Peace processes tend to be long, and often can be derailed by the acts of a few extremists. Hence, governments such as those of Norway, the United States and Canada, among others, have recognized the importance of ‘people to people’ levels of interactions. Public diplomacy needs to be complemented with ‘multi-track diplomacy’ (Diamond & McDonald); from second tracks such as the ‘Oslo channel’ down to exchanges among school children. Third party assistance is often necessary, not only at the level of financial support, and the nature of the intervention changes at different stages of the cycle; from early warnings and pre-emptive activities before violence arises (Macedonia), minimizing its impact (Red Cross), to escalating and de-escalating when the conflict comes to a state of ‘maturation’, through initial phases of negotiations. This is the present stage of the Israeli-Palestinian relations, which are now moving from temporary agreements into final status issues. The need to strengthen such a process through peace-building is self evident, particularly in democracies where majority rule has to legitimize such progress at the official level.

The changing nature of the international system, with the larger participation of an ‘international citizens lobby’ working towards the cause of

human rights, democracy and peace outside the confine of their own countries, has immensely benefited Israelis and Palestinians.

The Israeli and Palestinian civil societies have contributed to the advancement of peace by promoting second tracks of communication, such as the one that led to the Oslo agreement in 1993. In the current post-agreement stage, the aim is to advance the slow governmental negotiations with 'sectorial peace'; namely increased co-operation among peers from the two sides, helping them to move from pragmatic peace-making (*salam* in Arabic) to reconciliation (*sulha*), acknowledging past grievances, symbolic and practical. The Israeli position is to stress a 'secure and lasting' peace, while the Palestinians insist on a 'just' peace to redress their many grievances. It is not enough for the United Nations to pass a resolution supporting a 'just and lasting' peace; it is the role of professionals, academics, artists and concerned citizens of both sides to bridge the gap between the official positions.

Mobilizing the educational system in the societies towards peace will not only alleviate the current suffering and heal open wounds by proactive remedies, but can significantly contribute to strengthening the peace process, in itself a pragmatic goal.

PEACE-BUILDING THROUGH PROBLEM-SOLVING WORKSHOPS

What are the tools for working people to people in protracted communal conflicts? Often, theoretical ideas are not backed up with innovative techniques. Dynamics is important; even though it obviously cannot replace the substance, it is a necessary component of the dialogue. It provides an extra-mileage to the effort. The effectiveness of many Jewish-Arab co-existence workshops needs to be upgraded when dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict reduction. For that purpose, the rich field of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) may be extremely helpful. In general terms, it is a proactive intervention, moving from adversarial issues into the search for common ground, empowering participants to work together, and often inventing new options.¹ Some examples of interactive problem solving, of particular potential relevance for young adolescents, include:

- *Icebreakers* are useful at the very beginning of a meeting. For instance, everyone has to explain the origin and the meaning of his/her first and

family names. Alternative ‘games’ can be used, such as the ‘treasure island’ (where seven shared attributes/common characteristics, such as membership in scouts or youth movements, left-handedness, hobbies, sports, language and birthday are discussed), or ‘ups and downs’ (where participants sharing the announced attribute—e.g. women, first generation university graduates, vegetarians, parents of more than six children, etc.—are required to stand up, while the rest of the audience remains seated and claps hands).

- *Prejudice reduction* can be achieved through the reciprocal perception and analysis of negative and positive stereotypes.
- *Shared vision* is an unusual exercise, where participants are asked to look ahead twenty years from now and provide the best (alternatively the worst) possible—but realistic—scenario that could happen in the region (or country, group in conflict, etc.). Common denominators are easier to be found two decades ahead. Eventually, ‘back-casting’ is used to bring the scenarios down to ten years ahead, then five, and eventually help to prepare an agenda for discussions in the next few days.
- *Consensus building* can be approached by the adversarial, reflexive, integrative stages (ARI) which focus on: (a) the positions of the involved parties, and bring answers to the question: WHAT are the points you would like to make on behalf of your group?; (b) the needs of each side, and attempts to answer the question: WHY do you have such positions? and (c) the interests of each side, and tries to answer the question: HOW can one resolve the conflict?
- *Brainstorming* is a way of thinking creatively together. For example, this approach can be introduced during a particular workshop to try to achieve consensus in defining both objectives and instruments for research projects in the field of education for co-existence, but it may, of course, be applied to any topic.
- *Healing* the traumatism is of the utmost importance in protracted communal conflicts, not only in reference to past memories, but also in the face of real-time events, such as a Hamas suicidal bombing, or the massacre of Palestinians by an extremist settler. By introducing personal stories or using simulations, one should be able to find suitable means to acknowledge the suffering of the other side, and to act in order to facilitate the healing process and, at the same time, the long-term reconciliatory mechanisms.

Returning to the concept of peace-building, how can we prevent the extreme acts of a few fanatical individuals, Jews and Arabs, from postponing, or even derailing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process?

The failure of the political leadership to continue with peace-making under such circumstances is not only a reflection of its own weaknesses; it also reveals the inability of the civil society to help reduce the negative and paralyzing impact of such violent events. With no dominant strategy to face extreme acts, governments mostly react with panic; it is often the external pressure (United States in particular), more than the domestic one (the positive impact of peace building), that can bring the leadership to agree on further action (as was the case in the Hebron agreement).

The concept of 'civil society' needs to be briefly clarified. According to R. Norton, the term refers to a mixture of associations, clubs, guilds, trade unions, parties and groups that come together to provide a buffer between state and citizen.

Often 'civil society' is idealized, and viewed axiomatically as functional, vibrant, participatory. It is, in fact, necessary to understand it as a *liberal* civil society; otherwise it would include sectors of the society that are mobilized for values that do not support democratic principles. Egyptian scholar Saad Adin Ibrahim excludes the Islamists when it comes to the Arab world, and Israel excludes some NGOs of settlers or city councils in the occupied territories.

Civil society has its negative sides too, and intellectuals have been often the originators of nationalistic and chauvinistic images and values. In most cases, the vanguard of our civil society includes human rights activists, religiously inspired protest movements, educators, artists, writers, professional groups of lawyers, doctors and engineers, who adhere to universal values of human rights, democracy and peace.

MOBILIZING FOR PEACE?

To what extent is the civil society in Israel and that of the Palestinian Authority mobilized for the cause of peace? Even if, perhaps more than in other protracted communal conflicts (Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka,

Cyprus), the interactions include only a minor segment of both civil societies. Furthermore, the Palestinian civil society which was vibrant at the time of the Intifada has, in a way, weakened and lost its functions and autonomy, as a result of the process of forming the Palestinian State. It clearly lacks solidarity with those who are trying to be watchful of abuses of authority and human rights violations.

Within the Israeli civil society, a remarkable but outstanding few hundreds of educators have been mobilized in the peace process, to the extent of making it a daily priority. Within the 'peace camp' can be found many going through the rituals, such as a once-a-month demonstration, once-a-year petition; but only a small hard core is really committed to, and involved in peace building and reconciliation.

Normally, people relate to the perceived need for change within one's own society (e.g., democratization, autonomous setting), but they know little about civil societies working *together* (and *not separately*) across ethnic national lines. This concept is crucial for the present impasse in the Israeli-Palestinian derailed peace process. It is important to understand that the principle that 'democracies tend not to fight each other' makes it imperative for both sides to fight simultaneously for both; or, alternatively, the lack of progress in peace-building deteriorates the nature of the Israeli/Jewish democracy and jeopardizes the chances of the Palestinians of becoming a democratic state.

Under such circumstances, as partners in the conflict, Israelis and Palestinians have a double burden. In addition to their struggle for democracy in their own societies, they need to build bridges across the ethnic division. Within this context, it is necessary to assess the potential contribution of Israeli and Palestinian educators to the peace process.

There is no point in waiting for the Israeli-Palestinian civil societies to work together only when the situation of asymmetry has changed. Rather, they must work now to change the asymmetry; it is difficult, but possible to work on an equal basis. The obstacles are formidable: from the banner of 'separation' advanced by some moderate or liberals; to the actual objective obstacles resulting from closures and separation; to the reluctance of most colleagues to devote time, energy and commitment to a cause that is often critically seen by their peers.

In other words, there is a predicament based on the premise that the Palestinian civil society can effectively bring into the Israeli society a num-

ber of strategies; and that the Israeli civil society can contribute to strengthening its Palestinian counterpart. This underlines the importance of making 'sectorial peace', by deeds which could then be transmitted through the use of innovative techniques to the schools.

A SOCIOLOGIST'S VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CO-OPERATION

Bernard Sabella

KEY QUESTIONS

Working together poses a range of different questions:

- What are the roles of Palestinians and Israelis separately, and as a group working together?
- What are the objectives and goals of the work? What is the motivation?
- Is it better to work with a specific group for a long period (two-three years), or to reach different groups for shorter periods of time?
- Which age groups need to be targeted, and why? Or, should the work be on a community to community basis? Are there any specific localities, institutions, private or public schools that should be targeted?
- What kind of relationships should there be with the official authorities? Do they need to be involved? Is it better to steer away from them? But with respect to legitimation and logistical questions such as access to schools, it may be necessary to establish formal contact with the official authorities. How does this affect the work and inter-group dynamics?
- Does the work need to be publicized in the media? If yes, who are the most likely co-operative journalists and media personnel? Can the work be publicized on an Internet website? On the local radio stations? On national radio and television?
- What are the Palestinians' and Israelis' priorities, taken individually and as a group working together? Priorities can involve political, social, financial, personal, institutional considerations. But it must never be assumed that the priorities are the same for everyone working on a project. This awareness can contribute to a healthy environment, but if the priorities are so much apart then it can point to the impossibility of working together or implementing the specific project.

TRAINING THE TRAINERS

It is also necessary to address the specific issue of 'training the trainers' in the field of group encounters and joint conferences. Teachers, social workers, community activists involved in inter-group work and relationships need skills development. It is possible that a project will not succeed because there are not capable facilitators and teachers to make it successful. Accordingly, any project should consider this aspect of skills development.

AN ETHICAL APPROACH

Everyone involved in relationships should avoid the tendency to patronize and to assume that what they do is the only way to advance peace and understanding. In this context, it may be pretentious to pretend that a particular project is a showcase of successful enterprises in the field. It is essential to keep to an ethical approach, and to point out the limitations and the possibilities of the undertaking. In other words, it is important to encourage a sense of objectivity in evaluating and assessing all steps in the project, and its results and effects.

A TRUE PARTNERSHIP

Another important consideration in Israeli-Palestinian co-operation for peace and living together is the relationship with the providers of funds. Some funders insist on the presence of Palestinians and Israelis together. Contact is usually established with Israelis first, and they are requested to find the appropriate Palestinian partner. Caution should be exercised to avoid this relationship developing into an asymmetrical patronizing one, such as: 'You do what I ask you to do, and together we benefit.'

Full partnership and independence of decision making, on both sides, should be encouraged. Israelis and Palestinians should learn how to work together as equal and full partners. It is also important that they can exchange freely and openly on each and every item touching on a common project. Otherwise, the project itself is doomed to failure, or to the service of one side's priorities and objectives over the other side's.

IMPACT ON COMMUNITIES

Finally, while engaged in the project, it is important to assess and evaluate its impact on those immediately affected by it, and on the wider communities in which it is being undertaken—because the lessons and conclusions can help those involved to evolve personally, as a group, and also can affect the methods used in future joint efforts.

But it is also important to be aware of the needs found in the communities when designing and setting out on a project. The socio-economic and other contradictions that exist between Jews and Arabs in Israel and between Israeli and Palestinian contexts should also be considered. In other words, the work should evolve towards professionalism, and away from sentimentalism.

Those involved are not ‘crusaders’ for a cause, but professionals, educators and experts, who are aware of the complexities and intricacies of the situation, and who set out to educate and to facilitate so that the drama in which they all live would start making sense. Hopefully, this would lead to at least some of those involved in these common endeavours to realise the difficulties involved in moulding a world of peace, and to help everyone in their sustained efforts to make a difference for that world of peace.

NOTE

1. Readers interested in this approach can obtain from the author a detailed paper entitled: ‘Innovative problem solving: a model program workshop’, 1996.

CHAPTER III

In the shadow of war

THE EFFECT OF THE CONFLICT ON ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN CHILDREN

Zahava Solomon

Israel is a small, stress-ridden country that has known seven organized wars, and countless other hostilities, during the forty-eight years of its existence. It has taken in immigrants from around the globe, and spent its formative years under constant threat to its very existence. Israel is unique also, in that it was founded as a national home after 2,000 years of exile. Its national history over those years is riddled with persecution, pogroms and deportations, culminating in the nazi Holocaust. The establishment of the state of Israel was envisioned as ensuring a secure existence, which unfortunately has not been achieved. The unremitting state of war has taken a heavy toll in both Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East.

Wars are fought by adults. However, children are inevitably exposed to its stresses, either directly or indirectly through their parents. The question that arises is what happens to these children? Does their emotional and cognitive immaturity make them unable to grasp, or anticipate the dangers, and shield them from the consequences of extreme stress from which adults may suffer; or does it make them more vulnerable, because they lack the defences and resources to cope with the threat?

This chapter discusses the psychological sequelae of war among Israeli and Palestinian children. More specifically, it reviews the findings of studies of the responses of Israeli children to the Gulf War, and of Palestinian children to the Intifada. Table 1 presents studies of Israeli children's responses to the Gulf War.

HIGH ANXIETY LEVELS

The studies indicate that Israeli and Arab children experienced elevated levels of anxiety during the war. A minority manifested varying degrees of morbidity, reflected in an increased frequency of stress-related behaviours and symptoms during the war, and by war-induced post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) afterwards.

ADAPTING TO WAR

The findings also show that most of the children were able to respond to the stress of war adaptively, even in areas where missiles fell close to home. Despite the high level of threat, pervasive uncertainty, external disorganization in their lives, disruption of normal routines, and loss of important sources of social support, most of the children who were sampled coped. They showed no more panic than adults. There were no published reports of reactive psychosis among children. As the war wore on, most of the children, like most of the country's adults, showed a pattern of habituation and reduced anxiety. After the end of the war, most stress responses apparently evaporated. Within months, the war was no longer uppermost in the children's concern. A year later, the long-term PTSD that was found was concentrated mainly among children in areas that had been hit by SCUDS.

The limited damage to Israeli children in the Gulf War can be explained by the limited nature of the war. The Gulf War was frightening because of the overhanging life threat, the danger of chemical weapons, and the perpetual uncertainty. However, there were almost no deaths or serious injuries, and damage to home and property was highly contained. In contrast to children caught up in other wars, Israeli children in the Gulf War were not exposed to any of the horrors of fighting. They did not see dead or mutilated bodies, and did not want for food or shelter. They suffered neither the personal abuse that attends man-made disasters nor the dislocations and havoc of natural catastrophes. After about three weeks, they were back in school; and, though most people stayed indoors after sunset, they went about fairly freely (though encumbered by their gas masks) during the day. Most of them remained with their parents, and enjoyed the warmth and protection of their families; the violence and destruction they saw was restricted largely to the TV screen.

TABLE 1: Israeli children in the Gulf War

Researchers	Sample	Results
Rosenbaum & Ronen, 1992	Preadolescents and their parents	All subjects reported a higher level of anxiety in week one than in week five. Greater anxiety at night than during the day. Mothers' anxiety was higher than their children's. Preadolescent's anxiety was similar to their fathers' during the day, but higher at night.
Klingman, 1992	Adolescents	The most frequent symptoms: fear of being hit, refraining from enjoyable activities and difficulty in falling asleep. A pattern of habituation was observed from week one to week four. Symptoms differed with age, gender, and level of exposure.
Ronen & Rahav, 1992	Preadolescents	Increase in number of stress-related symptoms during the war. Level of distress was related to age and pre-war problems.
Zeidner, Klingman & Itskovitz, 1993	Preadolescents	Almost all preadolescents expressed fear and anxiety, along with a sense of loss of control.
Solomon, Schwarzwald, Weisenberg, Waysman & Klingman, 1993	Preadolescents and adolescents	Most subjects reported feeling tense. Information seeking, monitoring, and assisting others were prevalent, along with wishful thinking. There were age and gender differences.
Solomon, Schwarzwald, Weisenberg, Waysman & Klingman, 1993	Preadolescents and adolescents	Decrease in stress symptomatology a year after the war. Age and level of exposure related to stress residuals.
Greenbaum, Erlich & Toubiana, 1992	Adolescents	Subjects from the West Bank did not differ in their reactions to the war than those from Jerusalem.
Israelshvilli, 1992	Adolescents	The war increased the subjects' readiness to serve in the army.

The Intifada—the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli occupied territories—was very different, and its stressors were both more prolonged and closer at hand. The Palestinian children caught up in it were frequent witnesses to, and sometimes participants in, violent acts. Their day to day lives were highly disrupted by frequent school closures, and Israeli-imposed curfews kept them in their homes. Not a few were separated from their fathers and elder brothers, who were imprisoned or detained. Violence became the unfortunate reality, as it was turned outward towards the Israeli enemy and inward towards political rivals, especially those suspected of collaboration with the Israeli authorities. Table 2 presents the finding of studies conducted on the responses of Palestinian children to the Intifada.

The findings show a striking mix of pathogenic and salutogenic outcomes. On the one hand, there were elevated levels of PTSD, anxiety, aggression, behaviour problems, and regressive conduct, testifying to the strong stress the children were under and its detrimental impact. At the same time, there were also elevated levels of self esteem, and the acquisition of mastery as revealed in active and functional coping. In some cases, negative and positive outcomes were found in the same children.

RESPONSES VARY CONSIDERABLY

Both sets of findings show considerable variability in children's responses to war stress. This variability may be explained by numerous factors. Most often cited are personality variables (e.g. cognitive competence, active coping style and self-efficacy) and social variables (e.g. stable emotional relationships, supportive families and communities). Yet another factor, whose importance has been pointed up in the studies on the Palestinian children, is ideology.

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY

Ideology is both a potent factor and, perhaps, more amenable to change than personal and social circumstances. It serves as a psychological resource by offering a world view that makes sense and gives meaning to experience, whether in political, religious, or social terms. Bettelheim (1943) noted that the inmates who bore up best in the nazi concentration

TABLE 2: Palestinian children in the Intifada

Researchers	Age of sample	Results
Garbarino, Kostelby, 1996	6-9, 12-15 years	Risk factors related to behavioural problems are: family negativity and gender and age.
Punamaki, 1996	10-16 years	Strong ideological commitment had a moderating effect on anxiety, insecurity and depression.
Baker, 1990	6-15 years	No serious pathologies detected. Noted: disobedience, disturbing, fighting, sleep disturbances, fears, depression and strengthened self esteem.
Macsound, Lawrence, 1996	10-16 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separation, exposure to shelling, victims or witnessing of violent acts, emigration—all vary with age, gender and status. • PTSD related to being a victim of violent acts, having lost someone close and being exposed to heavy shelling. • Separation from parents and witnessing a violent act increase prosocial and planful behaviour.
Punamaki, Suleiman, 1990	8-14 years	Predictors of children's psychological status were political hardships and mother's psychological symptoms.

camps were people whose strong ideological commitments sustained them against the day-to-day brutalities to which they were subjected. Similarly, the studies revealed here suggest that ideological commitment provided Palestinian children and adolescents with a modicum of psychological protection from the violence and disruptions of the Intifada.

But ideology is a two-pronged resource. While it clearly helps individuals to withstand stress, it may also have detrimental consequences. There is ample evidence that rigid and aggressive ideologies may truncate moral development, and encourage the dehumanization of the 'enemy' (Garba-

To live together

rino, 1991). In the political realm, the result is a vicious circle of victimization, violence, and further victimization and violence, all fed by an ideology that elevates violence to a value. Children may cope with the trauma of war by holding fast to an ideology that explains and justifies their sufferings; but when they grow up, this same ideology spurs them to continue the war, and subject another generation of children to suffering. It is thus not surprising that many of the world's conflicts are perpetuated from generation to generation.

PRIMARY INTERVENTION NEEDED

One of the challenges faced in dealing with children who live under chronic violence is to find ways of raising their morale and resilience, without spawning fanaticism and intransigence. For many diseases, epidemiological and clinical studies often recommend primary intervention over secondary and tertiary intervention.

Primary prevention is simpler, requires less sophisticated knowledge and technology, is more effective in easing pain and suffering, and is often more economical than intervention after the fact. Energy and resources must be directed into primary prevention, not only of physical and psychological illness, but also of political violence. It is only by preventing further violence that it will be possible to avoid the detrimental effects of war, and break the vicious circle.

The primary intervention called for here is to stimulate dialogue, encourage empathy, provide non-aggressive role models, and help children find meaning through beliefs which do not foster dehumanization.

**PALESTINIAN REFUGEES
DURING THE 1948 WAR AS REFLECTED
IN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN HISTORY
AND CIVICS TEXTBOOKS**
Ruth Firer and Sami Adwan¹

BACKGROUND

Palestinians and Israelis have lived over a hundred years of fighting and bloodshed. They both developed a culture of enmity, which their children have had to internalize through formal and informal socialization processes. Wars, hatred and hostility have built psychological, social and cultural barriers between the two peoples.

Unfortunately, children are the ones who are mostly affected by wars. They have to live in fear, anguish and disparity; they experience losses, are deprived from human rights, may be detained and physically, psychologically, mentally and socially handicapped. Both Palestinian and Israeli children, from this point of view, were unable to live a normal childhood.

However, Palestinians and Israelis came to realize that the continued use of power to resolve their disputes had failed, but had left them with many destructive images and structures. Despite all their differences, they decided to preach a new reality envisioned as 'peace'. Despite a political and social situation which is still complex and uncertain, this vision entails a challenge to both sides to exert all their efforts to lay the appropriate ground for peace to prevail.

Socialization processes shape the representations of oneself and of the 'other'. Both formal and informal modes of socialization have to be oriented in the same direction to avoid contradiction and misunderstanding. Psychological, social, cultural and political changes take time, and it is better that these domains of change be incremental rather than radical. School, with all its problems, is still the formal agent for education and for bringing changes. Students develop their personalities through interaction and exposure to textbooks, teachers' pedagogical approaches, and through their involvement and participation in various school activities.

PROJECT GOALS

The goals of this project are to analyze the current historical and civic school textbooks in use in Palestinian and Israeli schools, to find out how each party has been represented in each others' school materials, how each side has been presented in its own texts, where these texts converge or diverge, and finally to formulate conclusions and recommendations to both the Palestinian and Israeli ministries of education.

The overall purpose of the project is to influence both officials and experts to design and build up new curricula and textbooks that take into account the new context of reality pertaining to both Palestinians and Israelis today. Children of both peoples should be exposed to this new reality through their school textbooks, to allow them to start conceiving of each other as neighbours and partners bound to live together in the same region, and to change the fantasy of building one's identity at the expense of the other.

While Palestinians are working on developing, for the first time, their national curricula statements and school textbooks (as a result of the peace agreement signed in Washington on 13 September, 1993), the Israeli curricula are also undergoing review in the wake of Itzhak Rabin's assassination. This common and simultaneous exercise highlights the importance of this project, the results of which may be of considerable value to both sides. This is why Georg-Eckert Institute for International Research of Textbooks in Braunschweig, Germany, and UNESCO, have provided advice, consultation and partial funding.

SYNOPSIS OF THE RESEARCH

In a project that aims to cover the history of the Israelis and of the Palestinians from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the story of the Palestinian refugees during the 1948 war was chosen as the first pilot topic to be researched and assessed.

A sample of eight of the presently most popular history and civics textbooks for middle and secondary Israeli schools, as well as seven similar Palestinian texts have been analyzed and compared.

The structure of the research is:

- *Preface*: A short description of the peace process, its achievements and problems is used as an explanatory background to the research, followed by the highlights of the educational systems of both nations, and the characteristics of their curricula and textbooks. The preface concludes with some information about the institutions involved and the dynamics of the Israeli-Palestinian research team.
- *Methodology*: UNESCO recommendations and the guidelines of the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Research of Textbooks are the main means of analysis and comparison, together with other methodological sources such as: Apple, van Dijk, and reports of bilateral teams of Germans and Poles, Americans and Japanese, and others. Using these devices and categories, the apparent, as well as the hidden and missing texts of the Israeli and Palestinian manuals have been analyzed, evaluated and compared. The concluding recommendations are also based on international categories of reconciliation and tolerance education. It was agreed by both researchers that the Israeli and Palestinian findings should be presented separately, referring to the following issues:
- *The reasons for the flight of the refugees from the country*: Was the expulsion an Israeli-planned policy? Were the Palestinian leaders involved? Was it a result of the hardships of war? Dilemmas of internationalism and functionalism are part of the evaluation of these issues, as well as consideration of such issues as shame, guilt, fear, etc.
- *The human image of the Palestinian refugees*: Topics to be included in this chapter include the numbers of refugees and the deserted villages (or names). The question 'Do they have faces?' is dealt with by referring to descriptions of women, children and men, their hardship and suffering.
- *Pedagogical and didactic means*: Direct and indirect pedagogical leading through quantities, placing, usage of primary and secondary sources, media, etc. are evaluated and compared, as are homework assignments and guiding instructions for teachers and students.
- *Comparison between Israeli and Palestinian manuals*: This chapter, like the preface, methodology and recommendations, is prepared by both researchers and deals with differences between both kinds of textbooks at the level of structure, terminology, choice of facts emphasis, interpretation, etc. Topics which cannot be compared because they are not included in one or either of the materials are mentioned as well (for

example, the role of the British in the flight of Palestinians from the country is not dealt with in Israeli texts).

INITIAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of the modest scale of this research and the present sensitive Israeli-Palestinian situation, the recommendations are made with great caution in this pilot survey, and cover:

- (1) the legitimacy of differences in presenting historical stories, attitudes and beliefs;
- (2) the mutual need to uproot stereotypes, prejudice and hatred;
- (3) the need to bring into the texts some information that is not there at present; and
- (4) to improve pedagogical and didactical means, in the spirit of international (UNESCO) tolerance education and methods of conflict resolution as recently developed in the free world.

INITIATION

The project was initiated by both the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Palestine Consultancy Group, with which the researchers are affiliated. It is part of the peace-building process, and is expected to help in setting up more trust, confidence and tolerance among the children of both nations.

School children are the main long-term targets of this project, but at present, the project is principally targeted at policy makers and curriculum experts; teachers' training programmes, school teachers and school administrators will be the agents for implementation. Teachers from both sides have already been involved in all the stages of the project. They provide an input on the work and on its progress, give feedback and reflections on their pilot implementation in classrooms and, as practitioners, they share their views with the researchers. Teachers and schools were chosen based on their willingness to participate and to be involved in the work. In the future, more teachers will be trained in the field through workshops and seminars.

IMPLEMENTATION

Ultimately, the project is expected to be realized in classrooms, and may involve hundreds of thousands of Israeli and Palestinian students. Meanwhile, recommendations will be presented to the ministries of education on both sides, with the objective of influencing curriculum statements and teacher training programmes.

Project duration is expected to be four to five years, depending on the availability of funds (only seed money is available at present), and on the peace process itself.

EVALUATION

The evaluation is an on-going process. At this stage, two teachers are using and implementing some of the findings in their classes (pilot implementation), and they provide feedback. In this pilot phase, evaluation is mainly qualitative and depends on teachers' and students' feedback and on consultants' advice. Quantitative evaluation will be introduced at a later stage. Pre-, per- and post-implementation perspectives of students and teachers will be examined.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Much of the conflict lies in the terms used, and how they are interpreted. Therefore, language and acceptable terminology have to be defined, and agreed upon. On the other hand, it is extremely important that those involved in any peace-building project have a strong and deep belief in a just peace. Any peace project should be examined in its own context and reality. Hatred and enmity cannot be eliminated in a short time; therefore, those involved in such projects should bear in mind they have to go through a long and a painful experience, and may have to face many setbacks. Patience and strong motivation, as well as a real team spirit, are required.

NOTE

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CHAPTER IV

Past and current Palestinian educational efforts to promote co-existence and tolerance

THE *GESHER* NEWSPAPER AND OTHER INITIATIVES

Itaf Arafat Abu Zayyad

According to the dictionary, the word ‘initiative’ means an introductory or first step, or move. Is it easy for a frustrated and oppressed person to make a positive initiative towards his oppressor?

The idea of the ‘two-states solution’ and of the mutual recognition between the two peoples is difficult for people who are refugees, whose homes have been occupied, and who have had to live in a refugee camp. It is difficult for those who, as children, had to learn by heart how to draw the map of Palestine, the whole of Palestine, and who would write in English underneath it: ‘We will return’. Those children studied in detail about the large towns and the small villages, the rivers, the agricultural and industrial products—in short, everything a citizen studies about his country, especially the history.

Yet, Israel is a fact, even to those who deny its existence—just as the Palestinians are there too, despite the denial of some Israelis. Therefore, in spite of all their sufferings, many Palestinians came to the conclusion that the only solution is to recognize the existence of Israel, which, in turn, should also recognize their existence as a nation. Hopefully, future generations will find it somewhat easier to live, conciliate, and perhaps co-operate with the other.

OPENING A DIALOGUE

Despite the fact that the Palestinians have suffered, and still are suffering because of the creation of the State of Israel on large parts of Palestine,

there have been many positive initiatives towards opening a dialogue based upon mutual recognition and mutual co-existence; and trying to help each side understand the other.

One such initiative is the newspaper *Gesher* (Al-Jiser; The Bridge), which was launched in June 1986 by Ziad Abu Zayyad, who believed in the Israel-Palestinian dialogue.

As a result of talking to students in high schools and universities, and to people in kibbutzim and towns, he felt the need to introduce the Palestinian as a human being to the Israeli people, who thought of him only as an enemy, and a terrorist. *Gesher* was an attempt to change the stereotype of the Palestinian as a dirty person—ready to stab the Jew in his back—and to give a more realistic and humanized picture of him.

OVERCOMING OBSTACLES

It was not easy at first to obtain a licence. At the time, any kind of Palestinian activity was considered to be an activity of the PLO. After a year of continuous effort, helped by an Israeli lawyer, Ziad obtained the licence—only to run into troubles over censorship. Whole pages and whole articles were censored. *Gesher* tried to explain many things which had happened on the ground in the West Bank and Gaza, but were not mentioned, or were distorted in the Israeli media. In every issue, there were reports about Palestinian artists, painters, writers, poets, to show the human side of the Palestinian people, and to show that they are people who have a long history with their own culture, traditions and ethics.

Besides censorship, *Gesher* faced the problem of distribution. Since it was issued for the Israeli population, it had to be sold in shops in West Jerusalem, and inside Israel. But many Israelis refused to sell it in their shops; some of those who accepted had to keep it out of sight, or hide it under other Israeli newspapers, because they were threatened by fanatics.

Gesher continued until 1993 when the peace treaty was signed by Arafat and Rabin. At that stage, Ziad felt the need for a *Palestinian-Israeli dialogue* initiative, for a joint project with the Israelis. Thus, the Palestine-Israel Journal was issued with the Israeli journalist Victor Cygielman as a co-editor, and with the co-operation of Palestinian and Israeli writers.

So *Gesher*, the first Palestinian newspaper in Hebrew, was a pure initiative to promote understanding between the two peoples.

Gesher did not disappear totally. Together with other Palestinians, Ziad established Al-Jiser, The Palestinian Peace Information Center.

OTHER INITIATIVES

Another Palestinian initiative towards promoting co-existence and tolerance was carried out by Mr. Faesal Hussaini. In 1986, he invited Israeli lecturers to teach about the Israeli society, and a series of lectures were offered until he was put under administrative detention.

In 1995, the Arab Studies Society, in co-ordination with the Institute for Israeli-Arab Studies in Haifa, and the International Institute, held a course in East Jerusalem entitled: 'A course on the Israeli Community'. It was an academic course, aimed at teaching about the Israeli community, and given by Israeli lecturers, and a few Arabs from inside the green line who had more access to the Israeli society. The lectures were held once a week for eight months as an attempt to overcome the psychological and political barriers between Arabs and Jews. Topics included immigration to Israel, the role of the Israeli fundamentalists, relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, what is Israeli culture, and more. Some of the lecturers were from the universities, some were well-known writers. The audience consisted of a group of well-educated Palestinians, including doctors, teachers and lawyers. The lectures were advertised in the newspapers. The main difficulty was the closure of the border between Israel and the territories under Palestinian autonomy. People from outside Jerusalem could not come to attend, and the Israeli lecturers refused to go to Ramallah. However, those who did attend the lectures felt they had gained a considerable amount of knowledge about the Israeli society, not only from the lectures, but also from the interaction between the lecturers and the audience. Most of them said they would attend similar courses in the future.

In 1996, a group of people from Hebron, who believed in co-existence and in the importance of creating positive dialogue with the Israeli side, started making contact with the Israeli left (MERETZ and Peace Now). They held meetings with them to exchange ideas, and mainly to explain the situ-

ation in Hebron. Some of the Israelis came to Hebron to listen and learn about the real situation in the old city of Hebron and the water crisis there. Both sides organized a campaign to bring water tanks to the people living near the settlements, and suffering from a shortage of water. Similar meetings were reportedly held in Gaza, where many Israelis were invited to discuss the political situation.

The latest Palestinian attempt to organize a meeting between Israeli and Palestinian youth was in Qalqilia on 10 January 1997. Unfortunately, because of the 'closure', they were not allowed to cross the green line near Qalqilia, and both groups faced each other on both sides of the line, with the Israeli border police in the middle. It seems that the Government of Israel felt it would be very dangerous if those groups of youngsters met face to face and exchanged ideas.

So, there have been in the past, and there are currently, many initiatives towards talking with the other side. But, this is not enough.

DEVELOPING A JOINT CURRICULUM

The two States, the Palestinian Authority and Israel, should work together to develop a curriculum that would be taught in both countries, and through which children from kindergarten onwards would be taught to respect the other's differences in religion, tradition, way of thinking and style of life, to recognize each other's right to exist with dignity, and to treat each other as equals.

We need to speak of the *State* of the Palestinian Authority and of the two *countries*, because *equality is the essence*. Progress in dialogue and peace-making should go hand in hand with political progress. The end of the occupation and the establishment of the Palestinian State will be the first steps towards peaceful co-existence in the Middle East as a whole.

THE PALESTINIAN PEACE INFORMATION CENTRE

Nadia Nasser-Najjab

Informal meetings and joint activities between Palestinians and Israelis, especially with left-wing and pro-Palestinian Israeli activists, are by no means a new phenomenon. However, since the signing of the Declaration of Principles between the PLO and the Government of Israel in September 1993, they have increased dramatically.

This has led to a growing dialogue between the two sides, and resulted in the formation of many new non-governmental organizations (NGOs), with a common purpose: to initiate constructive debate, analysis and critique of the new era of peace—the political peace agreements, associated socio-economic and political changes, and the underlying principle of two states for two peoples.

Jointly undertaken activities have included critiques of the peace process from both sides, which has facilitated healthy and open discussions. These discussions, moreover, aim at offering frank and constructive commentary on the current political situation and the potential for its improvement.

RESPONDING TO THE SCEPTICS

However, some parties from both Palestinian and Israeli societies continue to call into question this form of joint action and remain sceptical with regard to its benefits. They claim that the ongoing hostility between the two sides means that little can be gained from these forms of dialogue, and even accuse the proponents of joint dialogue of wasting valuable time and resources.

Of course, we should consider the value of joint activities. But, in response to such challenges, and in response particularly to those who claim that Palestinians should not be forced to advocate to Israel what are inalienable rights in terms of international law, it is important to consider the following: the issue of joint meetings and dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis surpasses the legitimization of Palestinian rights to self-determination in the eyes of Israeli society.

This is, of course, paramount in the objectives of these activities, but it is

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not their only objective. Such meetings and dialogue can serve a much more profound purpose, which is to encourage reconciliation, to promote a strong and sincere communication between the two sides and thus facilitate genuine and comprehensive mutual understanding and respect.

In this way, the principle of two mutually recognized states is reinforced, along with the principle of peace through the elimination of common ignorance that leads to hostility and belligerence.

PROMOTING EFFECTIVE DIALOGUE

Agreements at government level may set the framework for peace, but without mutual trust and understanding between Palestinians and Israelis at a popular level, this peace framework is likely to remain fragile and short-lived.

The Palestinian Peace Information Centre (PPIC) is the product of an initiative by Palestinians interested in peace. It aims at contributing to the process of promoting effective dialogue, greater understanding and co-existence between the peoples of the Palestinian Authority and Israel.

The PPIC feels that to accomplish this task, there is a need to inform and communicate with both the leaders and the general public. It adopts a variety of methods to achieve this, including lectures, dialogue sessions, debates, tours, joint conferences and other appropriate actions for bridging the gap between the two peoples. The PPIC also encourages the use of electronic media, documentary reports, films and concerts.

The PPIC, as a people-oriented NGO, gives priority to interaction between the peoples concerned, at a popular level. It adopts and sponsors Palestinian-Israeli activities, as well as international activities that help fulfil its stated goals. All activities are co-ordinated with groups of Palestinians in order to represent the wide spectrum of Palestinian political and social strata.

MUTUAL RECOGNITION

The work of the Centre is founded on the concept of mutual recognition of the national rights of both peoples. This includes the right of each one to

determine its own future in its own state. The concept of a two states solution, as the ultimate goal of the current peace process, reflects a solution that is workable, and that both peoples can live with in dignity, independence and security.

The PPIC also maintains that the same principle of reciprocity and openness must be applied to tackling the issue of Jerusalem. The national rights of both peoples must be satisfied in any solution for Jerusalem, and the city must be kept open and truly accessible to all citizens of both states. The PPIC believes that the way to accomplish this seemingly impossible task is by adopting the principle of inclusion, rather than exclusion. To ensure a sustainable peace, Palestinians and Israelis must endeavour to share the city, rather than perpetuate the conflict through one-sided, hegemonic domination leading to the exclusion of the other party.

To date, the PPIC has gained a wide experience in implementing projects that fulfill its stated goals, and from which much has been learnt about the most effective forms and methods of Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. Some examples:

- *Al-Jiser*, one of the key ongoing projects of the PPIC, consists of the translation of the Israeli media for the benefit of an Arabic-speaking readership. In this way, the Palestinian public is provided with otherwise inaccessible information.
- As part of the PPIC's focus on youth activities, a youth week-end seminar on 'Education and Society in the Peace Era' was held in East Jerusalem for thirty Israeli and Palestinian university students. The Palestinian students, from Bir Zeit University, met with Israeli students from universities in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Beer Sheva and Haifa.
- Since its establishment, the PPIC has undertaken a variety of other activities that serve the general aim of improving public awareness of Palestinian and Israeli issues, and encouraging more dialogue between the two parties. These have included around 150 lectures that were co-ordinated with counterpart Israeli organizations. For example, seven Palestinians were invited by the PPIC to speak to a group of 200 new Russian immigrants, in Netanya, Israel. Discussions covered topics such as the influence of the immigrants on the peace process and led to a general exchange of information between the two groups; a conference was convened in Cairo, on 7-10 September, 1995, on the initiative of the PPIC, in co-operation with the International Centre for Peace in the

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Middle East, and funded by the European Union. Attended by Palestinian, Jordanian, Egyptian, Tunisian, Moroccan and Israeli journalists, it provided a forum for an exchange of opinions regarding the political process and the effects related to the situation in the region, and on the role of journalism in the attainment of a just and lasting peace between the peoples of the entire region.

CHAPTER V

A decade of structured educational encounters between Jews and Arabs in Israel

Ifat Klang-Ma'oz

There have been a number of educational projects of structured encounters between Jews and Arabs in Israel, designed to promote co-existence and understanding between the sides.

Indeed, during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, tens of organizations, universities, teacher training colleges, institutes and NGOs in Israel have been engaged in implementing Jewish-Arab co-existence programmes. A report prepared by the New Israel Fund towards the end of the 1980s counted more than fifty different organizations then involved in co-existence projects, many of them presenting a large volume of activities.

This report deals mainly with Jewish-Arab encounters conducted between 1983 and 1993 by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute (VLJI), a central organization in the domain of co-existence during this period. It describes the evolutionary development of the encounter activity and the different forms the encounters took, and also covers some fundamental characteristics and dilemmas of co-existence projects, as well as offering implications, conclusions and lessons for future projects.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used was mainly qualitative, and relied primarily on ethnographic research and discourse analysis, but also utilized quantitative data collected as part of the ongoing project evaluation. Approximately 100 sample observations of the teacher encounters were carried out; semi-structured and open interviews were conducted with some forty individuals con-

nected to the encounters at various stages; quantitative data from evaluation research were collected during the years of the encounters; some 200 documents related to the encounters were collected, classified, and analyzed.

The research was carried out in two main stages. The first involved active monitoring of the final four years of the project, through a formative evaluation. This stage was dedicated primarily to collecting ongoing material through observations, interviews and quantitative methods. The second stage, carried out after completion of the project, was dedicated to collecting and classifying the documents, conducting summary conversations with various individuals in the project, and classification, analysis and integrative study of the aggregate data.

JEWISH-ARAB ENCOUNTERS: BACKGROUND

Encounter activities evolved in Israel in the early 1980s in the harsh political climate following the war in Lebanon, when a series of public opinion surveys in Israel indicated growing right-wing extremism and increased anti-democratic and anti-Arab tendencies, which evoked concern about the democratic character of Israel.

The goal of the encounters was to reduce tension, to learn to live together, and to instil respect for the minority and its civil rights. The encounters sought to educate for a more complex perception of Jewish-Arab relations, and to promote co-existence and a shared civility between the sides.

The decision to use encounters to achieve these ends was based on theoretical assumptions derived from a prominent social psychological theory dealing with inter-group relations—the contact hypothesis theory (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). According to this theory, under certain conditions that include equal power relations or symmetry and co-operative interdependence between the groups, inter-group contact can be effective in reducing negative stereotypes and mutual prejudices.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ENCOUNTER ACTIVITY

The target population of the encounters was Jewish and Arab teachers. The encounter activity can be divided broadly into two main stages:

In stage one (between 1983 and 1988), the encounters were one-time events, carried out over two-three days in a hotel or guest house. The encounters focused mainly on a mutual clarification of attitudes and emotions concerning the political conflict, using psychological tools from group dynamics. Some 3,000 teachers from primary and secondary schools participated in these encounters. The transition to the second stage of ongoing encounters stemmed from dissatisfaction with the model of one-time encounters; or as the director of the project stated: 'Episodic encounters lead to episodic results'. It seemed that although one-time encounters managed to reach a wide range of teachers, they did not have lasting practical results. Teachers participating in those encounters did not tend to continue with their own initiatives for activities within schools; and in addition, they noted that they did not acquire educational tools to cope with the Jewish-Arab issue in the classroom.

Stage two took place between 1989 and the end of 1993. Groups of teachers from pairs of Jewish and Arab high schools met once or twice a month over the course of an entire year. In addition to the joint bi-national encounters, separate single-ethnic meetings for each school group were held periodically.

In the encounters, the teachers discussed educational topics, as well as topics related to the relationship between the sides and their feeling about the conflict. They prepared lesson plans and class discussions, and discussed subjects related to school life.

At this stage, some 300 teachers from about twenty-five pairs of Jewish and Arab schools took part in the encounters (about ten pairs a year), as well as thirty Jewish and Arab facilitators and project staff members and management. The two projects conducted in this framework were the current affairs projects (1989–90) and the task teams project (1990–93).

The current events project had the interlinked objectives of developing ongoing ties between Arab and Jewish teachers and developing skills for coping with current events in the classroom. It involved 100 teachers from fifteen Arab and Jewish high schools, located all over Israel, working in seven pairs of Arab and Jewish schools. Each pair of schools was led by two (one Arab, one Jewish) group leaders. The process consisted of three-four single ethnic meetings devoted to discussing teaching current events in the classroom and discussing Jewish-Arab relations, and two-three bi-national encounters devoted to mutual acquaintance, discussion of national and cul-

tural identities, and clarification of attitudes and emotions related to the conflict.

The evaluation results regarding the short-term effects of the current events project show that its highest perceived contributions were in the area of Arab-Jewish links or contacts. The highest contributions were in the categories such as 'better acquaintance with teachers belonging to the other ethnic group', 'better understanding of the positions and opinions of members of the other ethnic group', and 'a chance to express oneself freely in discussions with teachers from the other ethnic group'.

In addition, before-after comparisons revealed significant change in the direction of more positive attitudes in: 'I would like to get to know educators from the other ethnic group better', 'I would like to develop ties with educators from the other ethnic group', and 'it is possible to educate for common Arab-Jewish co-existence in the State of Israel'.

However, low to no perceived contributions were reported in the areas of teaching current events, and discussion of Jewish-Arab issues in the classroom. Results regarding long-term effects showed that sustained contacts between Arab and Jewish teachers were not significantly created, and that teachers did not tend to initiate classroom activities on issues related to the project.

The disappointment from the results of the current events project, as well as other reasons, led to the transition to the task teams project. This project introduced two important changes: (a) an emphasis was put on teachers dealing autonomously with educational work, being actively involved in creating learning materials and inserting them into the classroom; (b) discussions of the Arab-Israeli conflict was excluded on the grounds they were destructive to the aims of the project.

The goals of the task teams projects were to develop ongoing ties between Jewish and Arab teachers, and to jointly create a study unit on Jewish-Arab issues for use in both schools. A total of 136 teachers participated in the project, working in fifteen pairs of Arab and Jewish schools. Each pair (task team) was led by *one* Arab or Jewish leader. The groups' meetings were mostly bi-national. Teacher teams were generally to meet once or twice a month during one school year; in practice, in at least ten of the fifteen teams, the intervals between encounters were longer than planned, and lasted up to two or three months.

The planned work process included the following main stages: becoming

acquainted; choosing a subject for the learning unit; work allocation; gathering material on the chosen subject; subgroups working on preparing lesson plans; teaching the lesson plans in the classrooms; final preparation of the study unit as a whole.

In practice, only six of the teams went beyond the work allocation stage, and eventually produced a study unit. The remaining nine teams usually stopped meeting at the work allocation stage. Of the six teams that did complete the unit, only two went through all the planned stages of work, including teaching in the classroom. In the cases where final editing was completed, it was mostly done by the Jewish team members, who were generally more involved in the preparation for publication stage. It is interesting to note that all teams dedicated at least two meetings to dealing with the conflict, although this component was not included in the project plan, and was practically excluded from it.

As in the current events project, the evaluation results showed that the highest contributions of the task teams project were in the domain of Jewish-Arab ties, in such categories as: 'better acquaintance with teachers from the other side'; 'better understanding of the positions and opinions of teachers from the other side' and 'increasing my ability to work cooperatively with teachers from the other side'. Before-after comparisons revealed significant change in the direction of more positive attitudes with regard to 'I would like to develop ties with educators from the other side'. Relatively low contributions were noted in the domain of educational work. Most teachers expressed high satisfaction with the Arab-Jewish encounter component and less satisfaction and motivation for the task work component which, in some cases, was viewed as artificial and forced. This view was shared by some of the project co-ordinators, who felt more satisfied with the Arab-Jewish interaction than with the work done in the group.

Looking at the extreme ends of the continuum, it can be noted that the most successful teams—whose meetings and work process most closely followed the original plan, whose teachers and co-ordinators reported most satisfaction and whose product was of the highest standard—were pairs of geographically close schools, which included teachers who were acquainted beforehand, and had professional or other connections. These pairs worked and met for more than a whole school year. These pairs also included one or two dominant teachers, highly-motivated to push the work forward and overcome obstacles.

The following characteristics emerged from the problematic teams: involuntary recruitment of teachers to the team; insufficient or incorrect information given to the teachers beforehand by the school principal on the nature of the project; a big disparity between the teachers from each side in terms of socio-economic status, standard of living, and conservatism.

DILEMMAS AND CONFLICTS IN THE ENCOUNTER ACTIVITY

Looking at the whole evolution of the VLJI encounter activity, it is possible to point to a few prominent dilemmas, power struggles and conflicts that characterized this activity. The most fundamental conflict throughout the various phases of the encounter activity can be described as 'the conflict about the conflict'. This was the dilemma between dealing directly with political issues related to the conflict, and dealing with other, neutral subjects not related to the conflict, between inclusion and exclusion of the conflict from the realm of discourse of the encounter.

A chronological examination of the way the encounters evolved indicates a gradual transition from a psychological-dynamic probing into experiences and issues related to the conflict, in the first stage of the project, of the one-time encounters, to task-oriented activities concerning neutral educational subject matter—limiting direct focus on the conflict—in the later stages of the task teams project. This transition reflected a continuous struggle between participants in the project.

The Jewish management revealed increased opposition to dealing with the conflict—seeking to limit it by gradually changing the definitions of the nature of the project, and removing the issue of the conflict from the official agenda. In parallel, from the field—and primarily from the Arab teachers and facilitators—there was a strong, consistent need and demand to continue to address the political conflict within the encounter.

This dilemma about political discourse was closely related to the power relations and mutual influence processes that appeared between the Jewish majority and the Palestinian minority in the encounters.

The first process is the expected, and more frequent pattern in majority-minority encounters of pronounced dominance of the Jewish majority. This process can be considered a reflection and reproduction of the macro-reality of the outside world upon the micro-reality of the encounter. The Jewish

teachers tended to take more active stands, and had a greater impact on the proceedings of the encounter—they talked more, took more leadership roles, decided what would be done and how, brought new directions for discussion and activity, and had a greater effect on the nature and quality of the shared educational work.

Parallel with the dominance of the members of the Jewish majority, a tendency towards passivity, or lack of involvement was evident among members of the minority. The Arab teachers tended to show up late for meetings or not arrive at all, to have only part of the group show up, to cancel or postpone meetings without prior notice, not to prepare or to prepare only partially their allocated tasks between encounters, not to carry out their part of the joint educational work, or to do it with a minimal investment of effort.

This pattern of Jewish dominance and Arab passivity appeared primarily, and more saliently, when the groups dealt with neutral educational subjects, or carried out joint educational activity. However, a second and perhaps more interesting pattern of Arab dominance or power emerged when the teachers dealt directly with the political issues of the Jewish-Arab conflict. These discussions gave the Arab teachers a singular opportunity to actively express and emphasize their national identity, and to present the minority's point of view—the Palestinian, less legitimized version of the history and reality of the conflict.

The advantage to the Arab side in discussing the conflict stems from their often having more knowledge about Jewish-Arab relations. This additional information can catch the Jews by surprise (e.g., direct evidence of discrimination, and of Arab teachers being monitored by the Israeli security services). The Arabs are often familiar with both sides—Jewish claims as well as those of their own side—while the Jews are not familiar with the experience of the Arabs as a minority, and have been exposed less than the Arabs to the complexity of the Jewish-Arab reality, and to the many versions and claims about who is right and on what grounds.

Most Jewish teachers have been educated according to one monolithic version of history (which they pass on to their pupils), in which their side is presented as almost exclusively right. Additional facts and viewpoints brought by the Arabs that the Jews were previously unaware of (such as personal experiences of discrimination, a different view of the events around the establishment of the state of Israel and the national rights of the Palestinians, and new information about land confiscated from Arabs) can

catch them unprepared, thereby giving the Arabs greater power and influence.

The sense of power drawn from having an advantage of knowledge, and the belief in their ability to influence were expressed in the statements of Arab participants, such as the following:

- ‘The Jewish teachers don’t know enough about the Arabs’;
- ‘I always felt that I could convince them better than they could convince me’;
- ‘The Jews are slowly changing and we hope they continue to do so’.

The advantage of the Arabs in knowledge, their dominance and ability to influence, and their relative power in political discussions evoked concern among the Jewish management; what actually emerged was an interesting pattern of conflict-disagreement between the Jewish organizers of the project, and the Arab participants and leaders. Documents show a growing worry and concern about, and even sense of threat of the Arabs’ perceived ability to influence Jews and to convince them in important conflictual issues.

This concern may be the source of the ambivalence among Jewish management over direct discussion of the conflict, and may be a factor in its recurring attempts to focus the encounter on neutral and more general educational topics—so that, as noted before, towards the end of the second stage of the encounter project, a near total exclusion of political topics in favour of joint activity on neutral educational topics was exercised.

Parallel with attempts by the Jewish management to restrict discussion of the conflict, the forces in the field—Arab facilitators and participants—worked to continue such discussion. Arab participants expressed a lack of faith in and identification with the official goal of the project—advancing co-existence and fostering rapprochement between the sides. This goal was perceived by them to be forced, coerced by the Jewish majority and not reflective of the true reality of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. The Arab facilitators also expressed disagreement with the official goals of the project of co-existence, and worked in accordance with goals they believed to be more appropriate for the needs of the participants, and the reality of the conflict. This approach is revealed in the statement of one Arab facilitator: ‘My goal in the field is not friendship and love between Arabs and Jews, but that each side gets to know itself better, becomes closer to itself and copes with the feelings evoked by the reality of the conflict, the fears and anxi-

eties of the teachers and pupils'. This facilitator presented his fieldwork as directed towards helping teachers cope with the conflict, and helping Arab teachers cope with their minority status. This again opposed the official goals of the project, which sought to emphasize the common ground and to foster closeness between the sides.

The struggle between the Jewish management and the Arab participants and facilitators had a significant effect on the structure and content of the project, with the management pushing for greater formal restriction of direct discussion of the conflict, while the Arab participants and facilitators continued to express their goal of directly discussing the conflict—and, indeed, succeeded despite the various restrictions to use the encounters as a platform to voice the minority's version of reality and the events of the conflict. Because of the loose organizational structure inherent to the encounters, which did not prescribe detailed plans of action and left considerable space for free discussion in the groups (Ma'oz, 1995), there was space for the simultaneous expression of both agendas. Thus, throughout the project, while there was increasing official restrictions on discussing the conflict, it continued to constitute one of the significant elements of the encounter, and was defined by both Jewish and Arab teachers as the most important component and the one that made the greatest contribution to the framework of the project (Ma'oz, 1991; Ma'oz, 1993).

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE CO-EXISTENCE PROJECTS

The following recommendations can be made in regard to planning and implementing future co-existence projects:

- *Recruitment, selection and matching*: an attempt should be made to convey accurate information about projects to potential participants beforehand, and to enable them to make an informed free voluntary choice regarding their participation.
- *Asymmetry*: the possible dominance of one group in the encounter, and its implications for the process and the outcomes of the encounter, should be taken into consideration. In addition to the more expected phenomena of Jewish dominance, Palestinian dominance in political and social knowledge and the Jewish reaction to this possible advantage should be taken into consideration.

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- *The 'conflict about the conflict'*: this recurring dilemma in encounter activities should be acknowledged. Issues of how, and to what extent the conflict should be discussed, should be explicitly dealt with.
- *Language problems*: should be dealt with, including the advantages and disadvantages of various possible solutions such as simultaneous translation.
- *Technical issues*: such issues as the place and time of the meetings could be crucial in maintaining the continuity of the process. Baseline conditions such as restrictions of mobility and dates of holidays on both sides, should be taken into account in the planning of the process.
- *Scope of impact*: Is the aim to spread the effect of the project to the whole school/community in question? If so, in-built mechanisms for spreading and transferring the effect should be developed as part of the process.
- *Sustained effects*: Is the project expected to have long-lasting effects? If so, in-built mechanisms for preserving the achieved effects should be developed as part of the process.

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CHAPTER VI

Recent research and intervention activities in the Palestinian-Israeli context: an overview

Dan Bar-On, Shifra Sagy, Elia Awwad and Michal Zak

Our approach to the Palestinian-Israeli research area is based on an ethical commitment to promote understanding and the capacity to live together—Jews and Palestinians in the Middle East; and also on our previous studies about the after-effects of traumas, and on studying the social representations of the ‘other’ within oneself in the Israeli context. The assumption is that there is today a condensed interaction of conflicts, which have to be addressed simultaneously, rather than piecemeal. The research involves a variety of methods, including quantitative (Youth and History European project) and qualitative methods (biographical analysis of life-stories, children’s open responses to fables), as well as action research as part of intervention (working with Israeli Jewish-Arab students’ groups).

This chapter presents a short overview of five research projects:

1. ‘I am stuck with my own pain’: An Israeli Jewish-Arab students’ workshop.
2. ‘Youth and History’: Israeli and Palestinian examples from a European project on historical consciousness.
3. ‘Four countries, three conflicts’: An intervention and action research proposal, involving workshops with teachers on the results of the ‘Youth and History’ project, focusing on the implications to their teaching process. Greece, Turkey, Israel and the Palestinian Authority will be included.

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4. 'Who am I in relation to the other?': Interviews with young Palestinian and Israeli Jewish youngsters who were involved in the Intifada.
5. 'Who should leave and who should stay?' Fables told to 8-12 year-old Arab and Jewish Israelis, testing their solution to moral dilemmas and their relevance to the conflict.

'I AM STUCK WITH MY OWN PAIN': AN ARAB-JEWISH STUDENT WORKSHOP¹

The small group micro-process reflects processes that happen in the macro-context outside the group. This is especially true regarding the difficulties of both parties to represent the other as part of their own frame of reference and meaning. Watching the group's work reveals also that the peace process, while providing hope and renewed interest in each other (as potential partners), may create a severe identity crisis. This is true both for the Jews in the group, whose identity as Israelis was cemented through the Israeli-Arab conflict (perhaps in continuation, rather than in contrast, to the Diaspora Jews, who defined themselves through the anti-Semitism of their neighbours), and for the Israeli Arabs, whose identity received considerable empowerment from their role as mediators between the Palestinians and the Israeli Jews. Though the external-to-Israel Palestinians are not personally represented in these discussions, their images, deeds and presence in the area are constantly fuelling the discussions between the parties.

YOUTH AND HISTORY—A EUROPEAN PROJECT: VALUES IN TRANSITION²

'Youth and History' is a European project dealing with historical consciousness among teenagers. The research was carried out in the school year 1994–95, among more than 30,000 students from twenty-seven countries, most of them in the tenth grade, as well as with 1,250 of their history teachers.

Some 1,100 Palestinian students from Gaza and the West Bank answered the Arab version of the questionnaire. In Israel, questionnaires in Hebrew were collected from 1,138 (573 boys and 565 girls) Jewish tenth-grade pupils (mean age=15.89, standard deviation = .49) in fifty-one classes, which were randomly cluster-sampled from the list of classes and schools

of the ministry of education (including sixteen non-orthodox religious, and thirty-five secular classes). These represented 311 secular high-schools (about 53,000 pupils) and 184 non-orthodox religious high-schools (about 12,500 pupils). The 165 orthodox independent high-schools (about twenty percent of the population) were not included in the cluster-sampling, because they were not accessible for research. Three hundred and sixty Israeli Arab³ tenth-grade pupils from twelve classes were chosen to represent the different ingredients of the Arab population within Israel, e.g. a Bedouin high-school, high-schools of towns and villages in different parts of the country (the Galil, the Triangle, Wadi-Ara). They answered the Arabic version of the questionnaire.

Analysis of the results concerning the three samples (Palestinian, Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Jewish) are presented in part (Tables 1 to 3). Here, the focus is on two of the forty-eight questions in the questionnaire, as these seem to be the most relevant to education towards 'living together'.

Assessing values

The first is the 'values' question. The students were asked: 'How important are the following to you?'. The answers ranged from 1 ('very little') to 5 ('very much'). As evident from Table 1, there is some similarity between the three groups. All of them can be perceived as more collectivistically than individualistically oriented, more particularistic and ethnocentric than universal in their value system.

But there are also some clear differences among the three groups with regard to the components of their collective identity. First, with regard to the family value, all the three groups attributed the highest importance to this value, with the Jews scoring highest. With the state value, the Palestinians scored highest, the Israeli Arabs lowest. The Jewish Israelis and Palestinians were higher than the European average. With regard to religion, the two Palestinian groups scored higher than the Jews. Looking at the individualistically-oriented items (money for me) and at the universalistically-oriented items (democracy, freedom of opinion), the Palestinian group had the lowest scores, while the Israeli Palestinians were closer to their Jewish peers.

The Jewish Israeli adolescents seem to move out of traditional collective

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values of the past (during the 1950s and 1960s, and even in the 1970s and 1980s, the Israeli collectivity was clear and unquestioned), towards a special combination of individual-universal orientation, but without leaving their collective values.

The Israeli Palestinians seem to go through a similar process, whereas the

TABLE 1: How important are the following to you ?

Values	Palestinians		Israeli Palestinians		Israeli Jews		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
A. Family	4.44	1.03	4.42	1.02	4.76	0.61	47.88*
B. Friends	4.30	0.88	4.33	0.89	4.51	0.75	22.58*
C. Hobbies / personal interests	4.08	0.92	4.18	1.03	4.25	0.75	11.09*
D. My country	4.29	0.93	3.67	1.23	4.18	0.90	59.40*
E. My ethnic group/nationality	3.94	1.02	3.98	1.10	3.89	1.12	0.74**
F. Money & wealth for me	3.49	1.13	3.36	1.22	3.90	0.93	48.67*
G. Religious faith	4.30	0.97	4.16	1.08	3.41	1.28	169.51*
H. European co-operation	2.50	1.24	2.61	1.17	3.14	1.10	87.53*
I. Democracy	3.47	1.30	3.91	1.31	4.04	1.07	62.71*
J. Freedom of opinion	4.12	0.97	4.39	0.99	4.36	0.85	22.09*
K. Peace at all cost	3.29	1.47	4.21	1.15	2.87	1.41	121.19*
L. Solidarity with the poor in my country	4.22	0.88	4.28	0.96	3.51	1.04	170.88*
M. Solidarity with the poor in the Third World	3.66	1.13	3.71	1.18	3.04	1.15	84.46*
N. Welfare and social security (for my country)	3.87	1.05	4.05	1.07	3.68	1.06	15.02*
O. Environmental protection	4.40	0.88	4.41	0.93	4.16	0.93	19.60*

* $p \leq .001$ ** not significant

Abbreviations: M: mean score; SD: standard deviation from the mean; F: statistical ratio for the comparison of the three groups by analysis of variance; p: probability that differences observed are caused by chance. Values $\leq .05$ are considered statistically significant.

Palestinians (outside Israel) are now, naturally, in their collective-nationalistic phase. In any case, all three groups present a collectivistic orientation relative to most of the European samples.

Views on 'peace at any cost'

An item of considerable interest was that pertaining to 'peace at any cost'. The question had been formulated by the Europeans. Only the Israeli/Palestinian group considered 'peace at any cost' as important, and was in line with the European average (4.2). The Israeli Jews and the Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank scored the lowest average on this item in Europe. The Palestinian youngsters were higher than the Jews, and the lowest score was achieved by the religious Jews (Table 1).

Looking at the correlations of the 'peace at any cost' item with the other values helps to understand the pattern of the value system (Table 2). Among the Israeli Arabs, the value of peace is related to fulfilment of other important values (family, friends, my country). Among the Palestinians, peace is related to other values (democracy, welfare). Among Israeli Jews, however, peace is related neither to the state, wealth, nor democracy. The Jewish youngsters not only failed to indicate peace as important in their value system, they also failed to understand the connection between peace and the fulfilment of other values important to them. It seems that peace is a new value in the Israeli Jewish society, which still has no connections to the old value system. Are only war and enemy still integrated in that value system?

This picture seems to challenge the education system—especially in the Jewish sector, but also within the Palestinian National Authority—to work on changing the way of thinking of the youth with regard to peace and its possible applications.

Perception of 'my enemy'

The second question concerns the theme of the perception of 'my enemy'. More exactly, it deals with the perception of 'the enemy of my enemy'. The students were asked: 'What do you associate with Adolph Hitler?' The answers ranged from 1 ('totally disagree') to 5 ('totally agree'). Both groups of Palestinians scored the lowest on the 'Hitler as a criminal' factor, and the highest on 'Hitler as a leader' (Table 3). This pattern of conception can be viewed as a protest vote

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TABLE 2: Zero-order correlations between 'peace at all cost' and other values

Values	Israeli Jews	Palestinians	Israeli Palestinians
A. Family	.01	.03	.39
B. Friends	.05	.08	.41
C. Hobbies/personal interests	.10	.16	.35
D. My country	-.03	.04	.40
E. My ethnic group/nationality	-.13	.12	.29
F. Money and wealth for me	.09	.18	.21
G. Religious faith	-.16	-.01	.30
H. European co-operation	.18	.29	.21
I. Democracy	-.01	.31	.34
J. Freedom of opinion	-.04	.20	.39
K. Solidarity with the poor in my country	.10	.13	.47
L. Solidarity with the poor in the Third World	.26	.24	.23
M. Welfare and social security (for my country)	.08	.33	.34
N. Environmental protection	.11	.15	.44

against Jewish sensitivities and concerns, and as part of the feeling of being oppressed by the Israeli Jews. Hitler is being viewed positively as representing 'the enemy of our enemy'. Even so, such a 'negation of negation of negation' can lead to wrong psychological consequences, and run out of control.

Some key questions

The analysis of the Israeli sample of Youth and History brings up several questions:

1. Israel is a young state, but is based on people of the Jewish faith and tradition who go back to ancient history. During the first years of the State of Israel, youth was totally identified with its new 'Israel' collective identity. In the last decade, however, there have been several signs that the Israeli youth have become more critical towards these parts of their

TABLE 3: What do you associate with Adolph Hitler?

Values	Israeli Jews n=1109		Israeli Palestinians n=345		Palestinians n=1033		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
A. A cynical dictator and aggressor, guilty of genocide	4.67	.75	3.61	1.35	3.08	1.29	577.96*
B The leading opponent of Communism	3.46	1.10	3.52	1.12	3.08	1.08	37.76*
C. A puppet of German industrialists and imperialists	2.88	1.15	2.83	1.23	2.87	1.07	.27**
D. A gifted orator, organizer and leader	3.41	1.45	3.77	1.21	3.43	1.17	10.27*
E. A mentally ill, anti-social criminal	4.36	1.08	3.21	1.36	3.03	1.26	354.84*
F A creator of order, safety and national integration	2.29	1.42	3.27	1.26	3.15	1.17	144.74*
G. A fighter against cultural mixing and foreign infiltration	3.82	1.27	3.60	1.17	3.44	1.04	27.97*
H. The most notorious representative of totalitarian power and violence	4.31	.96	3.81	1.22	3.52	1.14	144.83*

* $p \leq .001$ ** not significant

Abbreviations: M: mean score; SD: standard deviation from the mean; F: statistical ratio for the comparison of the three groups by analysis of variance; p: probability that differences observed are caused by chance. Values $\leq .05$ are considered statistically significant.

identity, and prefer to identify themselves relatively more as Jews, or as private people. Unfortunately, there is only limited comparative data of Israeli youth's political and historical consciousness during earlier phases. An attempt will be made to identify some of their views toward their 'Israeliness' through the analysis of the present questionnaire, and to identify the shift towards individual values, or perhaps the conflict between individual values versus collective ones.

2. The wish for peace is not only a dominant dream of every Israeli. Paradoxically, if Israeli identity has been constructed on the self-determination through the Arab enemy, the peace process can bring about a severe crisis of this identity. Who are we, if there will be no enemy who

tries to kill us, thereby uniting us into one group? Are we secular or orthodox Jews, Western or Oriental, Russians or Ethiopians, what do we have in common? These questions may be relevant also for the Israeli Arabs (who until now had a mediating role between the Jews and the Palestinians) and the Palestinians themselves. The results of the last elections in Israel reflected the 'tribal ego' of the Israeli society, suppressed for many years by an overriding goal of confronting external struggles. Will the present analysis show such emerging internal gaps of political and historical consciousness (between different subgroups), or will it still reflect a unitary one, based on the threat from outside?

3. Most of the youth in the sample is the third generation of immigrants from many Western and Afro-Asian countries. Do they already reflect a shift towards a regional political and historical consciousness, or are they still embedded in the mentality of their forefathers? If the first is true, will there be a similarity between attitudes of Jewish and Palestinian youth, which is distinct from the European ones; or will the Israeli Jews be closer to the European attitudes, while the Israeli Arabs will be closer to the Palestinians and to other Muslim samples (Turkey)?

Conclusions

The project can serve as a good beginning for a regional research and intervention on historical consciousness in the Middle East. The issues raised by the study have vital importance for the development of a common perspective of the past, present and future, beyond the 'tribal ego' which preaches separate historical consciousness of each group. This is even more important after a long and violent conflict like the one experienced in the Middle East. It is even more important for young national groups, in which the common perspective is being formulated anew, according to the transition in values and in the political rearrangements within and between the ethnic groups and nations. But it should also be stressed that such a possible reorientation of historical consciousness develops slowly, along with positive common experiences and their educational facilitation.

‘FOUR COUNTRIES, THREE CONFLICTS’:

AN INTERVENTION AND ACTION RESEARCH PROPOSAL—
WORKING WITH HISTORY TEACHERS AND PUPILS⁴

The proposal is to work with Palestinian and Israeli Jewish and Arab teachers on the implementation of the results of the Youth and History study, cited earlier. The teachers would answer the questionnaire by themselves—then be provided with some of the results of the initial study. They would be asked to prepare a programme setting out what they believe is necessary to initiate such a shift from a negative vicious cycle to a positive one among their pupils. The programme could include curriculum changes, initiating discussions with their pupils concerning the Youth and History study, encounters with pupils of ‘the other side’, etc.

The aim is that through this process, the teachers will become active partners in a change process, concerning the intra-personal and inter-subjective aspects in the self-determination process of young Israelis and Palestinians in light of the peace process: ‘How to accept the enemy as a potential partner?’ ‘Who am I in relation to the changing other?’ After designing such a programme, it is hoped they would implement it in two or three of their classes. This process would have cognitive, emotional and behavioural components, which are not easy to identify or manipulate, but which are crucial for enabling the shift in self-determination in relation to the other nation—and a necessary condition for actualizing the peace process.

Self-determination processes can be identified by the way people reconstruct their biographies. It is likely that biographies are constantly being reconstructed in relation to changes in oneself and in one’s environment. The way people tell their life-story reveals which elements are emphasized or added, which omitted or reduced. The relevant questions are: ‘In what way will young Palestinian and Israeli youth reconstruct their biographies—and how will they relate both to the burden of the past and to the emerging possibilities of the future?’ It would be valuable to systematically examine how the young Palestinians and Israelis who took part in this programme developed these reconstructions, in comparison to certain control classes, who did not participate. Specifically, to what extent are they ready to favour realistic future possibilities of co-existence notwithstanding the old dreams of one-sided solutions or violent events which happened in the past, still occur in the present and may even occur in the future. While the

conflict supported individual biographies based on emotions and cognition of rights and justice, the peace process will require a different approach to reconstructing biographies: acknowledging the emotions, rights and justice of the other, as well as continuing to speak of one's own.

While identifying the critical aspects of this self-determination process through biographical analysis, it will be possible to identify three groups: (a) those young people who have successfully managed to establish a more differentiated perspective of themselves and the 'other'—the '*positive*' group; (b) those who are lagging behind in this process, though still open to move ahead—the '*in-between*' group; (c) those who are more resistant to the shift in self- and other-determination—the '*resistant*' group. It will be relevant to examine the extent to which the teachers' intervention stimulates and widens (or deepens) the first, 'positive' approach, versus the 'in-between' and 'resistant' groups.

The understanding gained from this study, together with the intervention programmes developed from it, could provide a significant contribution to the success of the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis.

'WHO AM I IN RELATION TO THE OTHER?':

INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI JEWISH YOUNGSTERS
INVOLVED IN THE INTIFADA

Interviews were conducted with young Israelis and Palestinians who went through the violent phase of the Intifada, and who are now facing the new possibilities of relating to each other through the peace process. An example of such an interview is provided in Chapter VII. It was not expected that they would be able to make this shift within such a short time span, because they were likely to continue to relate to each other within the context of the warfare they had been involved in. However, it was possible that the Intifada created more mutual respect, and an understanding that violent struggle will not achieve a solution, which has to be political, based on compromise and reached through negotiations. This complexity was well represented in the interviews themselves, reported during the Traumatic Stress conference in Jerusalem, in June, 1996.

‘WHO SHOULD LEAVE, AND WHO SHOULD STAY?’:

FABLES TOLD TO 8- TO 12-YEAR-OLD ISRAELI JEWISH AND ARAB CHILDREN⁵

The purpose of the project was to learn how young children relate to conflict in fables, and how they make the connection to real-life events.

For example, the following story is told: ‘A porcupine was looking for a home on a cold winter night. He found a cave but it was occupied by a family of mice. The generous mice agreed that the porcupine could stay, but as the cave was small the mice got scratched by the sharp quills. They accepted this for a long time, but finally asked the porcupine to leave. He did not agree because it was a very comfortable home for him’.

Most of the Arab and Jewish children thought the porcupine should leave the cave. However, they gave different reasons: the Arab children spoke of his strength and the mice’s weakness, and therefore the porcupine should be forced out; the Jewish children said that the mice were there first, and therefore they owned the home.

Both groups identified this fable strongly with the Arab-Israeli conflict, but they took opposite roles: for the Israeli Jews, the porcupine represented the Palestinians, while for the Israeli Arabs the porcupine represented the Jews. The Jewish children said that they were first here, and the Arabs would have to find themselves another place; the Arab children spoke of their weakness, the strength of the Jews and that peace and separation is the solution.

These results are interesting because they can be compared to other fables which did not bring up similar analogies. Also by changing details, the results were reversed; for example, when the porcupine is sick or injured, he should be allowed to stay, etc. Fables are a very creative means of discussing issues involved in the conflict and its solution.

NOTES

1. The collaboration of Rabah Halaby in this project is gratefully acknowledged.
2. The collaboration of Emda Orr in this project is gratefully acknowledged.
3. The Israeli Arabs are defined this way in order to identify them from the Palestinian sample. This is not a political statement. Most of the Israeli Arabs define themselves as Palestinians of Israeli citizenship.
4. The collaboration of Sami Adwan in this project is gratefully acknowledged.
5. The participation of Maya Zimmerman, Shahid Darawsha and Salman Abudur in this project is gratefully acknowledged.

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CHAPTER VII

Identity reconstruction of young Palestinians, Israeli Palestinians and Israeli Jews in the light of the peace process

Elia Awwad

Since the signing of the peace agreement between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority on 13 September 1993, there have been a number of joint Palestinian-Israeli projects in the field of mental health, research, and professional development.

One project, in partnership with Professor Dan Bar-On of Ben Gurion University, is to investigate the effects of the historical and socio-political events in the region on the perceptions Palestinian and Israeli youth have of one another. The aim of the research was to begin to explore ways of bridging the gaps between the youth of our two societies; indeed, this has led to a further planned project aimed at influencing and measuring perceptions in the school environment through control groups.

It is important to remember that regardless of the official agreements signed between the Israelis and the Palestinians, violent events have continued, and people are still far from sensing a comprehensive, just, and durable peace. This is in addition to the psychological trauma which the Palestinians have been suffering as a result of two wars, and a prolonged period of military occupation. Traumatic symptoms, if left unattended and unhealed, will be turned inwards to the self and the respective communities. Unhealed trauma has the potential of being far more devastating than the violence that initially gave rise to it.

The psychological impact which trauma can cause to individuals is evidenced from interviews with one of eight Palestinian youths aged 16 to 24 years, conducted for this project in 1994. The young man will be called Radwan.

At the time of the first interviews, Radwan was a 23 year old from the West Bank town of Beit Sahour. His father married his mother following the death of his first wife. The youngest of six brothers and five sisters, Radwan was imprisoned by the Israelis for political reasons when he was 17 years old, in the eleventh grade at school. After four years in Israeli prisons between 1985 and 1989, he was able to continue his education after his release, and obtain the national school certificate; but was then arrested for another year.

Radwan can only remember his father as an ill person confined to bed all the time. His mother was the breadwinner for the whole family. His father died when Radwan was 8. His mother, who suffered from cancer, died when he was in prison. During his total of five years' imprisonment, Radwan was transferred to almost ten different prisons.

'Double bind'

This Palestinian youth suffered from several traumas. The first major trauma was when he was imprisoned by the Israelis, and for five years he was exposed to life-threatening situations, such as interrogation, torture and other 'breakdown' techniques, which inflicted physical and psychological damage.

In prison, he experienced more than once what Hartman (1993) calls the 'double bind'; he was forced to choose between his physical survival and integrity, and his values, friendships, political organizations and life projects. Radwan had to deal with his physical and psychological anguish defensively, and in a framework of absolute lack of confidence and support. During the interview, he talked a lot about his feelings of confusion and a sense of disorientation whilst he was in prison. This state was accompanied by feelings of fear and anxiety, and a high level of distress.

Mother's death

The second major trauma in Radwan's life was the illness of his mother, and her death whilst he was in prison. He first heard about her illness when

he was in prison, and this led to strong feelings of guilt. As he talked about his mother, he became very sad. He still expressed regrets for being responsible for her suffering whilst she was very ill. He also talked about the impact of her loss, and the deprivation of his mother's love, warmth and care. Moreover, he was also deprived of his father's love and protection as a result of his long-term illness, and death when Radwan was 8. The death of his parents left him under the care of his older brothers and sisters until one year before the interviews.

The fact that the Israeli intelligence prevented Radwan from visiting his dying mother or attending her funeral was the third big trauma for this young man. At this point in the interview, Radwan expressed his anger towards the Israelis, as well as his deep sorrow for this tragedy.

Politically abandoned

His fourth trauma was in relation to his political faction. According to Radwan, the leaders of this group have now achieved high socio-economic status, and he feels himself abandoned. His sister said in a separate interview that their family had approached some people in his faction in an attempt to find him a job, but there was no positive outcome. Since his release from prison, Radwan had been working in construction, but at the time of the interview he was complaining of back pain and difficulty with his sight.

Radwan spoke of the lack of support he felt—not only from his political group, but from the community. This may explain his lack of motivation for involvement in social activities, and adds to his feelings of low self-esteem and loss of identity. Radwan described himself as 'a lost person with no direction'. This demonstrates that this tortured youth became something of a psychologically 'homeless person'.

Perceptions of Israelis

In view of these traumatic experiences, which caused him physical and psychological suffering, what were Radwan's perceptions of the Israelis? He said: 'As a human being, I perceive the Israelis as human beings. Both of us need peace and security. This attitude will continue as long as the Israelis are ready to give me peace, security and allow me to live as an individual with all of my rights. In the past, I was a blind person. I learned that I should hate and attack the Jews wherever they exist. Concepts, such as

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hatred of the enemy, revenge, sacrifice and martyrdom, were taught to us by our political leaders. Nowadays, these concepts have no meaning. Since our leaders are ready to coexist with the Israelis, I want now to be an observer, and to be like our leaders. I do not want to look back to the past and deal with them because of the way they treated me, particularly that they tortured me in their prisons and deprived me of seeing my mother before she died. I am ready to coexist with them and to accept the new reality.'

This interview (and others) suggests that the bond that unites Palestinians and Israelis in the peace process is the mutual need for recovery from trauma. It is realistic to acknowledge that unless both countries are healed of the trauma that pervades their psyche, neither country will be healed.

Changing perceptions

In light of events since those first interviews—the assassination of Yitzak Rabin, the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv bombings, the September clashes and other massacres, extended closures of the West Bank and Gaza, and the serious political and economic situation which the Palestinians are still living through—it was valuable to re-interview Radwan to see how—indeed, whether—his perceptions of himself or the Israelis had changed. This follow-up interview took place in early January 1997, before the accords in Hebron, but whilst this critical issue was being negotiated.

Radwan started the interview by talking about himself. He explained how difficult life had been for him since he got married last year. Radwan is now 27 years, and has a daughter aged three months.

Risk of re-arrest

He said that for more than a year he had been leaving for work at 3:30 a.m., to travel through the Fire Valley ('death road'), as he does not have a permit to go through Israeli areas. When he arrives at the work site in Israel, he stays there until 7 a.m., when the working day begins. Because he works without an Israeli military permit, he remains in a state of alert, scared of being discovered by the Israeli soldiers. He said: 'I remain the whole day on edge, asking the other workers whether they have noticed Israeli soldiers around or not'.

His request to obtain a permit was refused because he is an ex-political prisoner. Furthermore, to get a permit, he needs to be over 30 years of age,

and to have at least two children. Asked about the risks of being captured again by the Israelis for working without a permit, he replied: 'Look, what do you expect me to do to survive with my wife and little kid? I am renting a house and paying all the living expenses. Once you deduct my transportation expenses from my income, what is left is barely enough to live on. There is no other choice but to sneak around and find a way to live like other human beings.'

Asked about his free time after work, he said: 'There is no time left after work for other social activities. Besides, I do not have money to spend if I intend to go anywhere, and everything is expensive. Ironically, there are more checkpoints during the peace process than ever before, which prevents us from moving anywhere, even if I wish to do so with my wife'.

Radwan said: 'Can you imagine that I have not entered East Jerusalem for the last twelve years? I do not know how it looks now. There are no recreational activities in the West Bank, only in Israel. Even if you think about going to Ramallah, you have to go through the Fire Valley to avoid the checkpoints. But who knows, even that way you may get caught by a checkpoint—and if you are on the wanted list? The result will be administrative jail for six months.'

Radwan was also worried about his job security, and complained about his inability to keep adjusting himself to new conditions, such as the closures and lack of money to feed his family.

Pessimism about the peace

How does he view the peace process now? Radwan stated that he is pessimistic about the future of Palestinian territories. 'Before the peace process started, we lived under one authority, i.e. the Israelis. Today, we are living under two—the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority. Peace did not bring peace. It brought more gaps between people. We are living in cantons (small isolated pockets of land), and without permits, we cannot move from one place to another. Even tourists are sometimes prevented by the Israelis at the checkpoints from entering Bethlehem for what the Israelis call tourist security.'

Radwan explained that his political beliefs were shaken now because of the new realities and because of the new priorities. His top priority was financial. 'If you are jailed, no one can feed you or feed your family'. Radwan blamed the Palestinian Authority for not creating new jobs, or

establishing new projects. Once again, he criticized his political party for not looking after him. At this point, he became angry and said: 'I am lost, like most of the Intifada youth. Intifada youth are neglected. We paid a high price. Many were killed, disabled or injured, others jailed and so on. Who benefited from all of these tragedies?' He answered: 'The bourgeoisie. Even some of the youth who escaped from the Israelis, and who are now working with the Palestinian Authority, receive a very low salary.'

Can co-existence work?

What of his perception of the Israelis, and whether he can coexist with them? Radwan said: 'Although my personal contacts with the Israelis are limited, and only through work, I believe in co-existence. I marched on Christmas day in Beit Sahour with the Israelis in the candle march for peace. With those people, I am ready to live and work.'

On meetings with the Israelis and joint projects with them, he said: 'I support them. We only need freedom and security, and to live in an independent state. The peace agreements were signed by the leaders of the two nations. But with these agreements we suffered more, and people of the two nations are getting far away from one another. I expect a war to take place not only between Israel and the Palestinians, but between Israel and both Syria and Egypt. I am expecting that we will live in a war era similar to that of 1973, where Israel will reconquer the West Bank and Gaza again. The United States, which will fuel the war, will also put an end to it, and force a solution to the Middle-East crisis, the result of which, for the Palestinians, will be a confederation with Jordan. This will be the end of our Palestinian State, and this will be the end of us too.'

INCREASING VULNERABILITY

To summarize, the consequences of high levels of stress increase the likelihood of people's vulnerability. It is well documented that 'the greater exposure to traumatic events, the greater the percentage of the population with post traumatic stress disorder' (Herman, 1992). This means that, as the stress accumulates and continues, vulnerability increases, and adaptation must take place all of the time. However, successful adaptation to one set of conditions is not a guarantee of successful adaptation to others (Sarason & Sarason, 1984).

According to Herman (1992), 'traumatic events call into question basic human relationships. They breach the attachments of family, friendship, love and community. They shatter the construction of the self that is formed and sustained in relation to others. They undermine the belief systems that give meaning to human existence. They violate the victim's faith in a natural or divine order and cast the victim into a state of existential crisis. Traumatic events have primary effects not only on the psychological structures of the self, but also on the systems of attachment and meaning that link individual and community.'

This case study illustrates these points. As long as either the Palestinians or the Israelis remain traumatized, the peace process will be continually thwarted, or undermined. This is why it is imperative that each community works, not only to heal their own injuries, but to help the other heal theirs as well.

Academics and professionals should demonstrate to the people in both countries that a mutual and shared recovery process is the way in which they will not only heal the sufferings of the past, but also be able to build on the peace initiatives of the future.

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CHAPTER VIII

Initiatives for peace education

There are already a number of active projects designed to implement education for peace among Israeli and Palestinian schoolchildren and teachers. At the workshop, those involved reported on their work, and results.

THE NEVE SHALOM/WAHAT AL-SALAM SCHOOL FOR PEACE

Michal Zak

PROJECT GOALS

The School for Peace (SFP) strives to promote acquaintance, understanding and dialogue between the two peoples. It conducts courses and workshops dealing with the Jewish-Palestinian conflict in order to enable participants to learn about the complexity of the conflict, and about the roles that each play in it. This is the primary stage of the healing process of the societies, and reflects the school's concern to help find ways to make them more humane and democratic.

INITIATION

The programmes at the SFP were initiated by the staff—a joint staff of Palestinians and Jews, who together take full responsibility for the programmes.

DIFFICULTIES

The SFP has been conducting encounter workshops and courses for sixteen years. One of the difficulties is to maintain an understanding of the needs of each group in the conflict. These needs change constantly with the shifting political situation. The facilitators must be trained to be aware of the dynamics of the conflict, and of their own contribution to the learning process. Another difficulty is introducing the programmes to the Jewish public. It is hard to enter the Jewish school system since the dominant group is less motivated to meet the 'other' and to explore the situation.

The process of developing the rationale for the SFP's work has itself been ridden with conflict within the staff, and often because of resistance on the part of facilitators in training. It was, and still is a painful process of creation.

TARGET POPULATION: BASIS FOR SELECTION

The SFP has developed programmes for children (13 years old and older), teenagers (17 years old), teachers, and specific professional groups (lawyers, social workers, etc.). It conducts joint courses in three Israeli universities: Tel Aviv University, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Students who are working toward their Master's degree in social psychology, law and education are the main participants in these courses.

The SFP reaches approximately 1,500 participants each year through its various projects. The main criterion for participating in all the programmes is motivation.

IMPLEMENTATION

All encounters are conducted in small mixed groups, with similar numbers of Jewish and Palestinian participants.

There are two facilitators, one Palestinian and one Jewish, in each group. This is important because each facilitator is limited in his or her ability to understand and identify with the members of the other group. The decision to work with two facilitators in each group helps to create a secure environment for the participants, and also reflects the principle of equal representation which guides the work.

Uni-national sessions are conducted during the course of the encounter. In these sessions, each national group sits and conducts dialogue with the help of a facilitator from its own national group. This forum enables the two sub-groups to continue the process of understanding the relations between Palestinians and Jews in a setting that allows for more introspection and in-group discussions. Each group feels more at ease in the uni-national setting. In this forum, both Jews and Palestinians are more prepared to address the differences within each group. In the Palestinian uni-national forum, the participants are much more relaxed by being able to speak their own language freely—since in the encounter the dominant, if not the only language, is Hebrew.

RATIONALE FOR SELECTING THE INTERVENTION STRATEGY

The SFP developed a working concept which is based on three major assumptions :

1. The most important aspect of the work is the stress on inter-group relations. This means stressing the relations between Jews and Palestinians in the workshop—as opposed to the interpersonal relations, which may exist or develop between the participants. A focus on the interpersonal relations in the group preserves the status quo in society, thereby playing into the hands of the members of the dominant group. A stress on the relations between the two groups enables the oppressed group to discuss its aspirations as a group, and forces the dominating group to question the power relations.
2. The second theme in the work is the focus put on the conflict as the main

agenda of the encounter. Rather than dwell on the topics on which there is agreement, and the 'nice atmosphere' that can be created, it is important to confront the issues which are in dispute, and to talk about and explore the painful aspects of the conflict. Focusing on the conflict gives the participants a chance to understand better the reality in which they live. This is a rare opportunity in Israeli society for Jews and Palestinians who, if they meet at all, do everything to avoid confronting issues connected to national identity. Focusing on the conflict led the SFP to include a view of the political and social situation as part of its working philosophy. The situation in the context of the encounter is not symmetrical. The Jews are the oppressing group and the Palestinians are the oppressed. The dynamics in the groups are addressed accordingly.

3. The third aspect of the work relates to the interaction between the two sub-groups as a microcosm of society at large. The experiences in the workshop are used to learn about the relations between Jews and Palestinians outside. But since the workshop is a protected environment, where the Jews and the Palestinians feel more freedom to explore and express themselves, the group allows its members to look beyond the present reality, and to give everyone the possibility to learn about options for the future relations between Palestinians and Jews.

The SFP conducts workshops with children, youth and adults and working methods differ according to the groups.

The Palestinians and Jews who go through the programmes are very brave. Since the conflict is so painful, it is not an easy task to look in the mirror that each group presents to the other. People do not always like what they see. They ask questions, learn about themselves and about their role in the conflict, and the responses often leave people confused. But this process raises the awareness of the participants to their responsibilities, and leaves them with more knowledge about their options to maintain, or change the situation.

LOCATION

The SFP conducts all the encounters for children, youth and teachers at the community of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam (NS/WAS). As a Jewish-Palestinian community and base of educational activity, NS/WAS is proba-

To live together

bly the only place in Israel in which the two groups who participate feel both guests and hosts. Experience suggests it is almost impossible to open up dialogue about conflicts and painful issues when one is a visitor in someone's domain. The atmosphere at NS/WAS enhances the participants' ability to conduct dialogue. But even with these special conditions, the Palestinians report that they feel less at home in comparison to the Jews. The dynamics of the relations between the peoples cannot be neglected or taken lightly.

The courses conducted jointly with the universities take place on the campuses.

DURATION

Each of the programmes is different. The youth encounters are intensive four-day workshops. The children's programmes are three days long, once a week for three weeks. The facilitators' training course runs for 150 hours, over half a year. The teachers' programmes include weekend training courses, and on-going courses totalling 120 hours. The courses at the universities are regular, once-a-week meetings for the duration of the school year.

FACILITIES

The community of NS/WAS has a small hostel of 100 beds, and is equipped with a dining hall. The workshops are conducted in five classrooms. In one of the classrooms, there is a one-way mirror, which is used for training purposes. There is also a hall which can hold seventy people.

MID-COURSE CHANGES

Through the years, the SFP has made many changes in its educational approach. In the beginning, the staff based its work on a psychological approach, which put the individual in the centre. The SFP conducted encounter workshops between Jewish and Palestinian communities who were adjacent to each other, with the hope that the participants would develop friendships that would continue to blossom long afterwards. The SFP also

stressed the opportunity the workshops provided for the participants to vent their feelings. Eventually, it was necessary to ask whether the development of 'friendship' was, in fact, a measure of success in bringing the participants to address and understand the conflict. It was by no means clear that friendship between individual Jews and Palestinians is a force for change.

The working method today is based on cultural psychology and inter-group relations. The SFP stresses the process of critical dialogue between the participants, speaking in terms of giving them the tools with which to deal with the complexity of the conflict. An example of this is the attitude to language in the encounter. Hebrew and Arabic are no longer seen as mere tools for communication, but as meaningful representations of each group's identity. It is clear that the use of one language or the other is connected to the power relations between the groups. Therefore, instead of taking for granted the choice of the Jews and Palestinians to speak to each other in Hebrew, participants are challenged with the consequences of their choice in order to learn together about the quality of the encounter.

EVALUATION

The SFP youth encounter project was evaluated for four years between 1984 and 1989, by quantitative active research conducted by the Gutman Institute. Today, the projects are evaluated with qualitative methods. The staff meets with each group after a month, and hears from the participants how the encounter workshop influenced them, what happened to their identity and to their view of the conflict. Interviews are conducted with a sample of the participants in order to better understand their 'journey'. With the youth encounters, there is a second, very tangible factor of evaluation: a school's decision to participate in the programme year after year is an indication of success. It is the SFP's aim to make the programme part of the school's tradition.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

Having developed a rationale, and acquired much experience in implementing its programmes, the SFP is now prepared to conduct qualitative research. In fact, such research is overdue.

To live together

The aim is to understand fully the scope of influence of the encounter on the identity of the participants, and on their perception of the conflict. The assumption is that the members of the dominant group can allow themselves to take their ethnic and national identities for granted, while the members of the dominated group either suppress their ethnic or national identities, or are in a process of searching. The encounter between Palestinians and Jews sharpens the identity of each side, and enables the participants to enter a stage of exploration (a description based on Jean Phinney's work with youth). The assumption is that each group, through the process of the encounter, can accept its own identity, and hopefully accept the identity of the 'other' as an equal. The SFP needs to find out if this process takes place, for it is a necessary stage in the process of building a just society.

**‘CARE AND LEARNING’:
A PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI POPULAR
EDUCATION PROGRAMME
FOR PUPILS AT THE TIME OF THE INTIFADA**
Ali Habayeb

BACKGROUND

Historically, Palestinians have had the reputation of being highly educated, and viewing education as a means for survival and liberation from hunger and want.

Prior to the occupation in June 1967, education in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, was regulated according to the Jordanian Law of Education of 1964. During the Israeli occupation, it came under the jurisdiction of the Israeli military authorities and was administered through a functional unit, the Office of Educational Affairs.

The destruction of the education system during the occupation enhanced the role of private Palestinian institutions: associations, societies, foundations, endowments, as well as religious bodies, both Christian and Moslem, played a major and decisive role in the provision of educational opportuni-

ties at all levels. Despite this, many in the community were dissatisfied with school curricula, the system of exams and, more generally, with the poor conditions prevailing in schools under Israeli occupation.

The Intifada, which started in December 1987, can be viewed as the Palestinian response to the Israeli policy of collective closure of educational institutions for prolonged periods; many students actually chose to withdraw from the schools. The first years of Intifada, with its collective punishments and intensive repression, turned the children into victims and left them on the streets, deprived of schooling, away from family security, and condemned to ignorance and illiteracy.

The situation was particularly difficult in the Northern region of the West Bank, particularly in the neighbourhood of Jenin, with its 40,000 inhabitants and 10,000 refugees in a camp nearby. The district of Jenin, with its 150 elementary, preparatory and secondary schools (serving approximately 43,000 pupils, with a ratio of teachers to students of 1:34), saw twelve of its schools closed down by the Israeli authorities (which affected almost 5,000 children), and on and off disruptions of the schooling agenda brought the average school attendance down to around 100 days per pupil per year. Due to the abridgement of the school year and the ensuing reduction in the number of teaching days, pupils were able to finish less than half of the required curriculum; an average of 34% of the academic year requirements were completed.

Unlike other cities in the West Bank, Jenin could find hardly any resources and support to adjust to this critical situation. It is quite far from the institutional centres of higher education, and international communication centres and official delegations; and also far from Palestinian institutions specializing in work with children. These particular conditions may have contributed to a local initiative, which gave birth to a unique project: 'Care and Learning'.

'CARE AND LEARNING'

The idea was born in the Israeli prison of Meggido, located mid-way between Haifa and Jenin. Dozens of young prisoners, some of them young children, were imprisoned there. The Israeli 'Committee for the Defence of Children under Occupation' from Haifa, and the families of imprisoned

children from Jenin launched the ‘Care and Learning’ initiative—which was to lead to the development of street and alley activities, learning in private homes, and the creation of ‘neighbourhood child homes’.

To be together, to create together, to tell experiences, to sing, to write, to get excited together—these were the multi-meaningful experiences the ‘neighbourhood child homes’ offered to children of different ages; as a substitute for their disrupted school and family life, and an alternative to remaining inactive or unattended in their homes or on the streets.

The network of ‘neighbourhood child homes’ was directed and organized by teachers and volunteers from Haifa, Jenin and its refugee camp, who were integrated in an ‘instructors’ council’. The network involved hundreds of children, and over time has become a fact of life for the entire community of Jenin (see box below: ‘Deeds and Numbers’). The instructors’ efforts were focused on three priorities :

- creating and nurturing personal contacts with children and their families, and building feelings of interpersonal trust;
- training a team of multi-abled educators capable of dealing with conceptual and practical challenges, and with the skills to work with groups in a creative and dynamic approach;
- finding financial support to allow continuation of the activities.

‘Care and Learning’ Project : deeds and numbers

1. A ‘neighbourhood child home’ in Jenin refugee camp.
2. A ‘neighbourhood child home’ (named ‘Abu Jihad’) in the centre of Jenin.
3. A ‘neighbourhood child home’ in the East suburb of Jenin.
4. A workshop to provide guidance and enhance creativity for the instructors and teachers involved in the project.
5. A library in the Nusierat refugee camp in Gaza.
6. A ‘neighbourhood child home’ in the village of Fako’a (closed a few months later due to lack of financial and manpower resources).
7. Two central gatherings around socio-cultural events, with the participation of hundreds of children.
8. A summer camp for children in the village of Fako’a (the camp infrastructure was prepared for 1,000 children, but lack of funds obliged limiting the number of participants to 350).

As well as providing daily structured activities, larger meetings were organized. An example is the one named 'Knowledge and Freedom', which took place on 8 January 1993, after being postponed because of the blockade and the curfew. Its preparation involved over 800 children for a whole month. The children received information sheets containing quiz questions on language, arithmetic, history and general knowledge, as well as brain-teasing exercises. These sheets became the central preoccupation of the children from the third grade up to the intermediary classes. In the 'neighbourhood child homes', as well as in private homes, children received fifteen such sheets, suitable for different ages, and on the day of the meeting, group knowledge competitions were conducted. Many children were able to win prizes such as dictionaries, encyclopedias or atlases. Numerous children also participated in the artistic programme, and the platform was open to every form of creative expression: individual and group singing, duet and collective poetry reading, etc. The major problem was to find a hall large enough to accommodate several hundred children. Eventually, this was found in the village of Zababdi, half an hour away, and bus transportation had to be organized. Although the hall was still under construction, the children's drawing exhibition turned it into a magnificent palace.

Today, the 'neighbourhood child homes' are the children's second homes. Even now that schools remain open, children continue to visit them on a regular basis. There, they find a place where they can be assisted both academically and socially. The existing educational system, although no longer under Israeli rule, still remains very discipline-minded, and an apparatus of pressure and punishment. 'Neighbourhood child homes' provide a more friendly and supportive environment, which is of particular help to those children who grew up during the Intifada, and who now suffer from anxiety, disappointment, lack of motivation and lack of perspectives.

CONCLUSION

Real peace is peace between people, not between governments. One of the major tools to reach that peace is dialogue between the two peoples. The 'Care and Learning' project is the result of such a dialogue.

The Palestinian experience in this dialogue is rich and conclusive. Palestinians have had a very bad historical background, filled with killing,

arrests, deportation and occupation. It took great courage for them to open themselves to dialogue. But it must not be forgotten that the Israelis also experienced much suffering; it took as much courage for them to start that dialogue. It is hoped that this dialogue will not only continue, but develop even further into the common search for shared objectives.

**EDUCATION TOWARDS PEACE AND CO-EXISTENCE
AT THE JEWISH-ARAB CENTRE FOR PEACE
IN GIVAT HAVIVA
Sarah Ozacky-Lazar**

While it was always likely that there would be a political arrangement between Israel and the Arab world sooner or later, the real task was—and still is—to prepare the peoples to understand the meaning of reconciliation and peace, and to be able to live up to it.

This has been the driving force behind the efforts by Givat Haviva's Jewish-Arab Centre for Peace to try to educate, mainly the young generation, for the time peace arrives. It is not here yet, and the way to real and just peace is still long and frustrating—but things have obviously changed dramatically during the last three years, and affected people's lives and work.

The central components of the Israeli experience are: serving in the army; stories of heroic wars; collective pride and fears; the feeling of isolation and constant threat on the very existence of the state; and, deriving from this, personal insecurity. The Israeli Jewish society, so polarized and composed of so many different groups, has been strongly united in times of external threats. Some suggest that when these are solved, internal conflicts will emerge and threaten to split that society.

Educators are now dealing with the third Israeli generation, who grew up to believe that the only way Israel could survive is to have a strong army, and to be prepared for war any minute. And yet, peace has always been a goal, rather vague and mystical, a dream no one believed can come true. Everyone sang, talked and even fantasized about it, but only a few 'crazy' people believed it was realistic.

Recent political events in the region have changed all this dramatically, but history shows that political changes are not necessarily accompanied by social and cultural ones. Revolutions by political leaders do not always

penetrate to the hearts and minds of the ordinary 'men on the street'. It takes generations to change the people from within. Ironically, the politicians and the generals in the region are all men, whereas education is left for women. This fact also creates a gap between the political and social levels of peace.

PREPARING CHILDREN FOR PEACE

In Israel, the official educational system only started to prepare itself for peace just recently, and this preparation has not been intensive enough. But many grassroots groups and NGOs have been working in the field for many years.

Since there is a large Arab community within Israel, most of these groups focused on education for coexistence, understanding and tolerance between Jews and Arabs inside the State, and emphasized the meaning of common citizenship, democracy, sharing the same homeland and building together a pluralistic society. The fact that it has been possible to have direct contacts between the two communities within the framework of the schools has had an important impact on both.

The Arab community in Israel has believed that it could serve as a 'bridge for peace' between its state and its people. They speak both languages, and feel at ease with both cultures; it is yet to be scientifically proved that they have played an important role in the process of easing the tensions, and shaking the walls of alienation and fear between the two societies. Politically they have been, and still are weak and marginal in Israel and in the Palestinian establishment; at the second level—of 'social peace'—their contribution is very important.

This was not the case with the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Israelis could not meet them on an equal level, or could not talk about sharing citizenship; therefore, the interaction has been completely different.

THREE COMPONENTS

Givat Haviva is the oldest and the largest institute in Israel dealing with education for peace. The founders, Jews who were members of the

Hakibbutz Ha'Artzi movement and Arabs affiliated with the left-wing Mapam party, saw three ways of achieving their goal of coexistence: teaching, education and research.

Today, the Institute still follows in their steps by combining these three components: teaching the Arab language, culture, history and way of life to Jewish students and vice-versa; educating thousands of youngsters to accept the 'other' by taking them through a special educative process; and conducting inter-disciplinary research on issues related to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

DIRECT ENCOUNTERS

One of the methods used in the field of education for coexistence is the direct encounters between youth and adults. There are various ways to organize and handle these encounters, and it is essential to be very careful and sensitive to avoid the opposite results. The requirements are a neutral place, open atmosphere, professional moderators, small groups, preparation and follow up.

The encounter usually starts by identifying what people share in common, and by dealing with personal, daily, familiar matters, using games, group dynamics, arts, sports, etc. Then, the focus moves to dealing with the 'other', and how to accept him in different contexts. This is not necessarily limited to the Jewish-Arab context, but rather to expose the diversity that exists between human beings in general, even within one's own family, classroom or community. The encounters deal with fears and anxieties, fight ignorance, challenge prejudices; they cope with stereotypes and promote a more complex view of life and reality—to demonstrate that everything is not black and white, as young people tend to see.

SHARING KNOWLEDGE

Another level is knowledge: learning about each other; learning the culture, the languages, heritage and history by reading; listening to lectures; and listening to each other. Gradually, when some mutual confidence is established, the controversial issues are approached. Discussions are held in a

civilized way, with certain rules. There is an atmosphere of mutual legitimation, of trying to listen and understand, not necessarily agree; in fact, there are disagreements on some points, and the focus is on striving to reach agreement on other issues.

In short, participants are learning and teaching how 'to live together' and to accept the differences between them; to develop a dialogue within the context of an on-going conflict. The programmes aim to help the students come to terms with their feelings of fear, hatred, alienation and xenophobia, and equip them with tools to cope with the political reality. Through this long process of education towards coexistence, the hope is to promote pluralistic values among students and teachers, and to deepen their responsibility to democracy and understanding of citizens' rights. Personal contacts and acquaintance between Jews and Arabs help overcome barriers and stereotypes.

In education in general, it is hard, if not impossible, to measure results exactly. How can one evaluate success or failure in this work, especially when most of it is based on short-term meetings? Education is a process which never stops—a dialogue between teachers and students, and among the students and teachers themselves. It occurs at home, among peers, when watching television, or reading the papers. The Institute's programmes are just one small component in the long process of building the political awareness of young Israelis.

INTO THE CURRICULUM

After the famous handshake between Rabin and Arafat had taken place, the question was: is that handshake a result of hundreds and thousands of previous handshakes between Israelis and Palestinians, which had been going on in closed rooms, sometimes secretly and against the consensus of both peoples? Or, was it meant to happen anyway, due to political interests not dependent on previous efforts?

It is clear that no political arrangement can survive if it is not accompanied by strong and courageous official educational work. Private and voluntary institutions cannot do it all. The need is for the authorities to integrate 'education for peace and coexistence' in the schools' regular curriculum, and to train educators to fulfil this task every day.

**THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CO-EDUCATION
EXPERIENCE AT A TEACHERS COLLEGE
AND ITS IMPACT ON ENCOUNTERS
BETWEEN ISRAELI PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI JEWISH
KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN**
Hadara Keich and Muhammad Hourani

SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Jerusalem is a place where two separate education systems exist in the setting of an on-going ethnic struggle.

The reality—high fences of hatred, lack of trust, asymmetry, and various kinds of discrimination and segregation—is a difficult one to cope with. Arabs and Jews have a joint, but contradictory history. The beginning of the end of the Jewish diaspora was the beginning of the Palestinian exile. Happiness, joy and gladness on one side meant sadness, grief and sorrow on the other.

Each site, place, street and building in the city bears two different names, one in Hebrew and one in Arabic. So it is for the city itself (*Yerushalayim* or *Al-Quds*), as well as for the holy stories and prophets. Teachers work in the reality of duality and separation; walking around in Jerusalem in the evening, it is possible to actually feel and touch the differences and the gaps that exist between the two sides of the city. These differences contain the seeds of discord, and they may be a threat to the very idea of peaceful Israeli-Palestinian coexistence. But at the same time, they contain elements of hope, and should present a challenge to everyone to be creative in building up the foundations of a balanced, respectful and prosperous coexistence. Working in Jerusalem is like experimenting in a laboratory: the success—or the failure—of the efforts to promote understanding and reconciliation may well be determinant for the future relationships of the two peoples.

THE DAVID YELLIN TEACHERS COLLEGE

The Arab citizens of the State of Israel study in the regular government school system in Arabic, but with intensive study of the Hebrew language, which prepares them for higher education in Israeli universities and colleges.

The Arabs of East Jerusalem and the surrounding areas have the opportunity of acquiring Israeli citizenship if they wish, but their schools follow the Jordanian programme; if they plan to continue their training in Israeli higher education institutions, they must first attend an intensive Hebrew course.

The Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip had, until three years ago, separate school systems following the Jordanian (or the Egyptian) school curricula. Since the emergence of the Palestinian National Authority, a specific Palestinian school system has been put into motion. Hebrew is not part of the programme in any of these systems, and graduates can continue their higher education in one of the Palestinian universities, in institutions around the Arab world, but not in Israel.

The David Yellin Teachers College was established in 1913 as the first Hebrew seminar in Palestine. In 1974, the College, in conjunction with the ministry of education and the municipality of Jerusalem, decided to open a special department for Arab high school graduates in the Jerusalem area, in order to alleviate the shortage of teachers in Arab schools in and around Jerusalem. The first twenty two female graduates from East Jerusalem, who formed a single class in 1976, have now expanded into a group of 300 young men and women from all over the country, divided into seven classes. These young people (many are bachelors, but some are married and even parents) study alongside experienced teachers.

The contribution of David Yellin Teachers College and the Arab Studies Department is evident in Arab educational institutions all over Israel, and each year it receives letters from the educational leadership in Israel, praising the level of the graduates. Many of them have achieved significant positions as teachers, principals and even supervisors, in the educational system of the Arab sector in Israel. Five members of the faculty, who have taught and continue to teach in the Department, are today inspectors in the Arab school system in the country.

CHALLENGES

It would be a mistake to assume that creating and conducting an Arab department in a Jewish college is simple. The reality of conducting a department for Arab students who are a minority, in a Jewish college where the Jewish students are the majority, is complex and difficult to grasp, especially as it relates to Jerusalem and the intricacies of life there.

The location of the Department and the composition of its students expose it to the issues of life in Jerusalem; during its short existence, it has been forced to cope with four military conflicts, as well as constant acts of violence and terrorism which affected innocent victims on both sides. Over and above everything else, it was forced to deal with the Intifada uprising for a number of years.

This struggle has continued every hour of every day throughout those years, and only those who live in Jerusalem can appreciate the dimensions of the effort which was—and is—being made to preserve a state of sanity in the delicate fabric of people's joint existence, as Arabs and Jews.

SEPARATE FRAMEWORKS

From its creation, the Arab Studies Department has been a separate entity in the college. This fact may seem incongruous in the light of the belief in coexistence, but this separation is what enables the Arab students to adjust gradually to the majority of Jewish students at the College.

From the beginning, the Department was aware of the differences in language, culture, customs, traditions, religions, social backgrounds, and even values. To immediately bring together people from two worlds so totally different would not be wise. Therefore, it functions in a spiral fashion to bring the student groups together, by creating separate frameworks, different courses and different opportunities.

The good relations among the faculty of the Department also provide an example for the students.

Three basic conditions are necessary for successful meetings between people of different cultures or ethnic groups:

1. A social climate supportive of these meetings;
2. An initial attitude which is not extremely negative;
3. A similar social status between the participants.

Coexistence must be based on equality both of students and of teachers. Each activity is conducted by an equal, or almost equal, number of participants from each group; an Arab teacher for each Jewish teacher, the same number of Arab and Jewish students, and an equal number of Arab and Jewish children who take part in the project.

CONCENTRATING ON EARLY CHILDHOOD

One of the frameworks established for teaching coexistence is the Janusz Korczak Educational Centre for Peace and Coexistence. Education towards coexistence is also education for tolerance, mutual respect, understanding the 'other' and respecting life as the ultimate value.

The centre tries to achieve these goals by helping the students first to understand themselves. Only a person who is proud of his own religion, tradition, culture, past and feels worthy as a human being, can appreciate the others and accept his own identity. Also, the more one deepens one's understanding of others, the better one can understand oneself.

Research shows that at the age of two or three, even before a child is capable of identifying different ethnic groups, he has already formed ethnic preferences. Therefore, the centre decided to concentrate on the early childhood age group, when the thought process is both concrete and generalized; when social images are dynamic, in a state of constant change, and not yet crystallized into permanent representations and stereotypes.

IMAGES

The social image of the 'other' is an internal picture which the child develops, and it is composed of interactions on three levels:

1. The collective image of the 'other', which the child has internalized as a result of various expressions of his environment. This is the collective ideological image, and it changes constantly—sometimes slowly, sometimes at a faster rate.
2. The imaginative element is the image, which is developed from elements of legends, myths and fantasy (the 'other' is absolute evil, a monster, etc.).
3. The personal image of the 'other' is developed as a direct result of the interaction of the child with the 'other'. The meetings work on this last level.

IDENTITY ISSUES

Focusing on the early childhood age group does not spare the teachers from working out identity issues with their own students. Therefore, a special

course was devised, called 'Israeli Society, Jews and Palestinians'. Its aims are: (a) combining subject matter, education and didactics; (b) education towards pluralism, openness, tolerance, mutual respect and the examination of prejudices; (c) becoming familiar, through joint study, with one's own identity and that of the 'other'; and (d) development and encouragement of educational activities in the younger age groups.

This is a two-part course. The first part is academic, theoretical; the emphasis is on social and intellectual dialogue. The second part is methodological, experiential. Mixed pairs of students, Arab and Jew, build an educational programme of their choice, for ages four to fifteen, to be implemented in two parallel school classes—one Arab and one Jewish; for example, a Jewish class from the Jerusalem neighbourhood of Ein Kerem, and an Arab class from the village of Ein Rafah. They then conduct the programme in the classes in two stages: first, with each class separately, and second, with the two classes in joint activities. Meetings between the two classes (at the level of kindergarten) are repeated over a period of two years, for a total of approximately six to ten encounters.

RESULTS

The programme results in the co-operation of the school teachers, administrative staff, the students, the children and their parents. The students form important bonds between themselves, and continue to teach the subject after they have themselves become teachers.

The children discover that the children of the other groups are children like themselves, and that they 'all like ice-cream', to quote Alouph Hareven. Anxieties and prejudices are then reduced.

The achievements of each meeting may be minor and difficult to measure, but they are real. For example, a positive association is created with the 'other', as a result of the pleasant shared experience with the other ethnic group.

The belief is that in the wake of difficult events which may take place in the future, as a result of the Arab-Jewish conflict, these positive associations will come to the fore, and counteract the impression that the 'other' is a murderer, a conqueror, etc.

For Jewish children, Arabic—which may seem so threatening because of

its association with the ‘enemy’—becomes, with time, more familiar, and associated with their newly made friends. Villages in which the project is conducted are no longer anonymous to them. Ein Rafah or Beit Zefafa change from dots on the sides of the road to places the children can identify, and point to proudly each time they pass them. These are now places they have visited, and where they know other children.

The meetings between the children also dislodge basic prejudices that are not connected to love/hate; slowly they discover that the ‘other’ also washes, goes to kindergarten, plays with the same games, may have a computer at home and likes candies. In short, the ‘other’ becomes similar, closer and less of a stranger.

In addition, the children observe the behaviour of the adults who accompany them to these meetings. Handshakes, hugs and joint meals between the adults of the groups, shape a new type of relations between Jews and Arabs, and serve as a useful behavioural model to counter-balance other models, such as the employer/employee, soldier at a roadblock/Arab driver, or conqueror/conquered relationships.

CONCLUSION

At the heart of the College’s educational commitment is the wish that it can spread its educational experiences to other countries. In Janusz Korczak’s own words :

*‘We are all brothers, sons of the same earth
Generations of a joint fate, and trouble, and a long road together.
The same sun shines on us, the same hail destroys our crops
and the same dust covers the bones of our forefathers.
If truth be told, we’ve had more tears than smiles
and there is no sole blame in you nor in us.
Let us begin working together.
If we are poor, let us give each other a shoulder.
If we are sad, let us comfort each other
And perhaps a happy fate will smile on us’.*

Let us just do that, and do it together.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF TALITHA KUMI SCHOOL IN EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Wilhelm Goller

Jairus' daughter being restored to life is written in the gospel of the Evangelist St. Mark: 'And Jesus took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her: 'Talitha kumi', which means: Damsel, I say unto thee, arise! (Mark V, 41)

The evangelical Lutheran Talitha Kumi School was founded by Pastor Theodor Fliedner and the sisters of the Deacon's home Kaiserswerth (Germany) in 1851—first as an orphans' home for Arab girls, and later as a full school. In 1975, Kaiserswerth gave over the responsibility to the Berliner Missionswerk, which covers more than eighty percent of the budget. At the same time, the German government took over the financial expenses of the position of the school principal.

The compound is situated on a hill overlooking Bethlehem, at the edge of Beit Jala. It contains the school, the kindergarten, the boarding section (sixty places), the guest section and the garden. It has 100 employees, and about 900 students (girls and boys), studying from kindergarten classes to *tawjihi*.

The school teaches languages through a special programme. The students learn English from class one, and German from class five; this is strengthened by correspondence with the United Kingdom, and a yearly students' exchange programme with Germany.

In keeping with its motto 'learn with head, heart and hand', the school places great importance on teaching sport, art and vocational education. Having a gymnasium helps to fulfil these activities. It is also used by associations in the region.

As a Christian school, the education of tolerance and loving each other is taught according to religious principles. There is also a stress on education to protect the environment. With the help of the 'European Preserving Nature in our Environment', it is planned to equip a centre where students could deal with the Palestinian homeland plants and animals.

Talitha Kumi is aware of its responsibility to build up the first autonomous educational system, and a 'Vocational Training Centre for Tourism Industry' was started at the beginning of August, 1995, with a course

for twenty-eight students. This project is realized with the co-operation of Otto-Benecke-Stiftung and the ministry of labour, and will be expanded.

Talitha Kumi also offers encounters with the world, especially with Germany. The guest house with nearly fifty beds attracts many visitors, and offers an opportunity for the students to meet with people from other countries. In turn, the guests have the opportunity to appreciate distinguished Palestinian hospitality.

The school also believes it has a moral and educational duty to promote tolerance and peace between Palestinians and Israelis; and has therefore engaged in a variety of peace projects (see below), and is open to developing other partnerships in this particular area.

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PROJECTS IN TALITHA KUMI SCHOOL

Ecology for Peace

- Partner:** Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI)
Target group: Science teachers with students
Title: Migrating birds know no boundaries
Description: Co-operation of students from Israel, Palestinian Autonomous Territories, (Jordan, Egypt) connected by e-mail/Internet to study the flight of migrating birds through satellite images.
Duration: Since December, 1996

Education for Peace

- Partner:** Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI)
Target group: Teachers for social studies in grade ten/Students grade ten
Title: Pathways into Reconciliation
Description: Development and implementation of a curriculum (twenty periods) for 'peace education' inside the normal school programme with eight schools in the pilot project from each country (Israel, Palestinian Autonomous Territories, Jordan)

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Duration: Scholastic year 1996/97: Development
Scholastic year 1997/98: Implementation

Dialogue for Peace

Partner: Congregation from the German Protestant Church in Garbsen

Target group: Students

Title: Dialogue for Peace: Religion and Culture

Description: Connection between young people of different countries by e-mail and Internet/Exchange of news about the daily life from the participating countries of Germany, Israel, Palestinian Autonomous Territories, Turkey, Syria

Duration: Preparation since December, 1996/Start: August, 1997

Partnership programme with Ironi Dalet School, Tel Aviv

Partner: Public School Ironi Dalet School, Tel Aviv

Target group: Teachers and Students

Title: Partnership

Description: Visits, exchanges, field trips of both schools

Duration: Preparation since December, 1996

UNESCO Schools Project

Partner: UNESCO—National Commissions from Israel and Palestine

Target group: Teachers and students

Title: Internet communication project (three schools)

Description: Using e-mail for connection between Israel and Palestine

Duration: In preparation

OTHER PROJECTS IN THE SCHOOL COMPOUND

The ten-hectare school compound has been used since 1996 by other organizations for meetings, seminars and camps between Israeli and Palestinian people, viz.

Falcon movement

Summer camp (1-10 August 1996/second half in Talitha Kumi)

Participants: 200 young people from Europe, Israel and the Palestinian Authority (one third each)

Intercultural Centre, Vienna in the name of the Austrian Government

Seminar (17-24 November 1996/second half in Talitha Kumi)

Participants: Thirty youth leaders from Europe (Austria, Spain, Sweden), Israel and the territory of the Palestinian Authority to discuss projects under the headline 'Dealing with conflicts'

Fatah Youth Movement

Winter camp (27 December 1996-1 January 1997)

Participants: 100 young people from Israel (Israeli Arabs) and the Palestinian Authority

International Summer Camp 1997

Summer camp: 17-24 July 1997 (in development)

Participants: young people (under fourteen) from Norway, Germany, Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Territories

**GAN HASHALOM/RAOUD AL-SALAM:
A MULTICONFESSONAL, BILINGUAL KINDERGARTEN
IN JERUSALEM
Daphna Ginzburg**

INTRODUCTION

Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam is a multiconfessional, bilingual Arab-Jewish pre-school within the framework of the Jerusalem International Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).

The Jerusalem International YMCA was founded in 1933. It has been 'a place whose atmosphere is peace, where political and religious jealousies can be forgotten, and international unity fostered and developed', as Lord Allenby said on its opening day. These words are engraved at the entrance to the YMCA, which is one the very few places in Jerusalem where Jews, Christians and Muslims gather for work, recreation and education. The YMCA reflects the fact that it is possible for people of great diversity to work, play, and learn together in an environment of peace.

The Jerusalem International YMCA pre-school started fifteen years ago. Its educational philosophy is child-centred, emphasizing flexibility and freedom of choice, self-experiencing, and self-expression of the individual. It respects each child's needs and individuality, and particularly encourages creativity.

The Jerusalem International YMCA's premises have the advantage of some unique facilities, such as the inner swimming pool and other sports grounds, as well as the special atmosphere of dignity and respect to all which permeates the entire institution and creates an environment of peace.

The goals of the pre-school are:

- To provide a high-standard pre-school education which stimulates children intellectually, emotionally, socially and physically, in the tradition of YMCA ideals of balanced spirit, mind and body.
- To facilitate coexistence between Arabs and Jews on a daily, on-going basis, as a normal part of life for children and their families.
- To expose the children to the 'other' and to the 'other's' culture, language and religion, enabling the development of tolerance and understanding while preserving the characteristics of each child and of each community. This is not modelled after a melting pot, but after coexistence of the diversities.

EXISTING PRESCHOOL PROGRAMMES

There are two programmes of coexistence in the pre-school: the 'integrated' programme and the 'Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam' programme.

In the 'integrated' programme, sponsored by the Abraham Fund, fifty children aged 3 to 5, half Israeli Palestinians and half Israeli Jews, are divided into two homogeneous groups according to ethnicity. Each group has its own teacher and assistant. For part of the day, the two groups work together, and for the rest they are separated in their own classrooms. In addition, special activities occur in the afternoons or evenings, either as children-parents workshops, or as parents-only meetings.

In the 'Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam' programme, launched in the autumn of 1996 (with the help of the City of Geneva, Switzerland, and the Swiss Association of the Friends of Janusz Korczak), twenty-four chil-

dren—half of them Arabs (Muslims and Christians), half of them Jews—are educated in the same classroom. They have two teachers—one Arab and one Jew. Both of them understand Hebrew and Arabic, but each one speaks her own language to all of the children. All activities are therefore held in both languages, including singing and story-telling. All holidays—Jewish, Christian and Muslim—are celebrated and explained, and parents are involved with their children in activities that include storytelling, arts and crafts workshops, concerts and outings.

EVALUATION

Evaluation of both programmes is an on-going process. It is based upon qualitative methods, such as :

- observational research-interaction between Jewish and Arab children;
- staff evaluation reports;
- parents' evaluations and involvement;
- assessment of linguistic competences;
- assessment of cultural exposure.

Observation of the 'Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam' class has been enhanced by the participation of trained and in-training educators from the Janusz Korczak Educational Centre for Peace and Coexistence at David Yellin Teachers College. They visit the class on a regular basis, and provide an external view that may prove very useful to the in-house team of educators.

DIFFICULTIES

A number of psychological and practical difficulties have to be faced in implementing the 'Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam' programme. They include:

- Finding parents willing to have their children join a mixed class.
- Finding qualified pre-school Arab teachers.
- The danger of overreaction of parents to perceived inequalities.
- The large number of Jewish holidays with symbols and concrete representations that appeal to children; there are fewer of these holidays for

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Muslims and Christians and therefore some asymmetry exists in the sharing of religious traditions. The need is to develop an inter-faith curriculum with peace-oriented resources.

- Socio-economic difficulties: the programme tries not to refuse children for lack of resources, but some parents, particularly on the Arab side, must seek financial aid.

SHORT-TERM OBSERVATION AND RESULTS

The mid-course results are very encouraging :

- there is spontaneous interaction between the children;
- there is an increase in joint parental activities: parents initiate meetings and discussions; there is an informal 'spill over' phenomenon of friendship developing among parents as a result of reciprocal home visits of their children;
- the children do speak both languages;
- the children are continuously exposed to the others' cultures through the sharing of holidays, stories, songs, ceremonies and language;
- the children do not lose any of their own identity.

IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS

It seems at this stage that to be successful, such an educational endeavour must rely on :

- a high quality programme and a motivated staff;
- a programme that fulfils real needs. Through common needs and goals, people from different cultures and backgrounds can meet;
- an egalitarian approach of the populations, along with multicultural awareness;
- an outreach policy based on personal contacts.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Plans for future activities include:

- continuing the 'Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam' programme, and further developing the building of coexistence within the 'integrated' programme;

- establishing a new class in the ‘Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam’ to allow the 3- to 4-year-old graduates of the first class to proceed in the same setting during their fourth and fifth years, thus extending the co-educational experience to a period of two full school years; similarly, to open a second class for newcomers aged two to three, thus doubling the total number of children eventually recruited in the programme;
- forming a ‘graduates club’ to allow for continued Arab-Jewish friendship between the children of ‘Gan Hashalom/Raoud al-Salam’, after they have left the preschool and joined separate school systems; such a club has been started for the children of the ‘integrated’ programme;
- ideally, the YMCA would like to support a joint Arab-Jewish school.

TEACHING PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN A WEST BANK PALESTINIAN SCHOOL

Hussein Ibrahim Issa

PROJECT'S GOALS

The goals of the Al-Amal Flowers School and Child-Care Centre for Palestinian children in the West Bank have remained the same since it began formal life in 1984 as a kindergarten: teaching the children a sound basic education; helping them to develop emotionally and psychologically into open-minded human beings; protecting them and satisfying their needs; helping parents to deal with children; and developing relationships among the children themselves as a basis for creating understanding among peoples in the world and peaceful relations among nations. These goals are pursued within the context of an educational philosophy dedicated to peace and democracy.

The goals were selected following needs surveys of inhabitants of the West Bank area of west Bethlehem and south Bet Jala, where social services were low, and the facilities for child care critically few. It was clear that many of the people could be doing more for their children's future for peace, and wanted to—if only someone would begin. The goals have been maintained because they have guided the school's activities in ways that were effective for educating the children, and the people.

INITIATION

The school was started during a time when there were fewer advocates for peace than today. As a result, the centre was born out of, and born into, many difficulties. But it was always conceived as a place for Jews and Palestinians to meet, to have actual experience of each other beyond the stereotypes that fear and ignorance had created.¹ The issue was how to solve the conflict, and how to make changes for the better in a non-violent way. The answer was to make them quietly, working person-to-person, to learn directly from the ‘enemy’—the Jews—how to resolve issues together. This point of view became a formative idea for starting the school. Openness, truthful encounters, relationships, caring for a good solution became the ‘change’ agents.

The target population was anyone who would come, based on the understanding that the school would have its special orientation toward peace, especially with Israelis as people.

But parents needed to overcome ignorance and fears in pursuit of peace. It took much convincing, over many months. The most serious ‘prerequisites’ were to educate the area’s parents—first and mainly the mothers—about the advantages of pre-school. Fears arising from experiences with Israeli soldiers during years of occupation, and from years of prejudice in ignorance of other facts, were common. Finally in September 1984, the school opened in one rented room with twenty-two kindergarten students.

IMPLEMENTATION

Establishing connections with Jewish groups in Israel proved important, and in spite of frequent disagreements, those who chose to participate were also eager to stop the occupation, and find solutions for a just peace. The goal was to involve Jews to come to the school to educate the children about Jewish life, and to develop mutual exchange. Uri Fakir, of Jews & Palestinians, Middle East Communications Face-to-Face, and Yehezkel Landau of Oz veShalom, were among those involved.

With Oz veShalom, the school held its first formal peace activity—a meeting between Jewish and Palestinian kindergartens for making drawings for peace. All the children had a wonderful time. In those days, the

event was so unusual that it gained coverage in the Israeli press. That was the beginning of one particular set of difficulties—suspicions among some Palestinians that the school's activities were as collaborators, a theme that dogged its efforts for several years. But the school continued, despite threats to property and lives, because it was clear that the work with the Jews was reducing fears, and creating better prospects for peace on both sides.

That is perhaps the main rationale for the 'implementation strategy'. This combination of focusing on a relationship within the schools, plus activities for a broader relationship outside the school, was already producing the required results. This approach was also chosen in order to educate a new Palestinian generation on open-mindedness, without attachment to religious or political dogma, and to encourage involvement.

Mostly by word of mouth through friends, and by chance, peacemakers from other countries began to become aware of the school's work. One special result of this development was that in late 1990, during the Gulf War build-up, a group of volunteers, which included many Jews, came with the Earthstewards Network from America (organized by the late Danaan Parry) to work at the school and to live for several days in the homes of Palestinians. The participants shared Jewish and Palestinian culture, food, dancing, and their concerns for justice and peace. Their presence among the community demonstrated for the children, and for everyone, the possibilities for living together.

Over time, the school has implemented many extensions of its philosophy of education for peace. Periodically, rabbis and other Jewish educators come to speak to the children about Jewish culture and religion. For several years—until 1996, when the border closure became too restrictive—there was an annual trip to the School for Peace at the Arab-Jewish village in Israel, Neve Shalom/Wahat al Salam, so that the children and also the Palestinian mothers could meet with Israeli mothers and children, to break the barriers of fear and ignorance. Since 1995, the school has been in a twin-school relationship with the Democratic School of Hadera, Israel, for exchanges of experiences and views between staff. Since late 1995, it has been increasingly developing its Hebrew language programme with a staff of Jewish volunteers, who also believe in its approach to peace-building. The most recent major addition to implementing the school's aims is its own series of workshops on peace education, the first for Palestinians

and Israelis in the West Bank, and meeting bimonthly since August, 1996.

There has been a positive response, evidenced by a constantly increasing enrolment. The school has expanded to accommodate this. In 1990 the child care centre added a first grade class, and one grade level per year through 1995. In 1996, completion of the basic structure to house the students qualified the school to become licensed as a full K-12 secondary school. The expansion programme is now directed toward developing Israeli-Palestinian student interactions, via regular correspondence and electronic mail.

The school has always been located in the south Bethlehem area, first in Doha, then, from 1994, in al-Khader.

DIFFICULTIES

Perhaps the single most significant difficulty has been that, as an independent school, with no formal political or religious affiliation, it has complete responsibility to support itself. Parents pay low fees when they have an income, except for the children of Palestinian martyrs, divorced mothers, and other social cases, who make up about one-sixth of the student body. Fund-raising has been somewhat successful on limited terms. But the school still has many unmet needs, and still seeks the kind of sponsorship that will permit a greater realization of its potential. It has received no regular support from the Palestinian Authority, whose attitude toward this approach has varied in its warmth. Before that, the Israeli educational authorities sometimes saw the school as a dangerous influence, and tried to impose regulations that would have closed it. Border closures have restricted activities for peace-building, and even maintaining the school—whose income depends on the fees of the parents, whether they are permitted to work or not. Unfounded accusations of collaboration, even by some Jewish friends, and increased societal violence during the Intifada have been other challenges.

FACILITIES

The school could not have continued without the practical, financial and spiritual support of many friends who teach peace, especially Jewish friends and others around the world.

MID-COURSE CHANGES

At the time of the Gulf War, the principal received verbal and physical attacks as a supposed collaborator, and both his car and the school bus were burned by Molotov cocktails one night in early June, 1991. Rather than ignore such accusations any longer, the principal took the offensive, and made an open defence of his views and the work of the school, in letters to the *Jerusalem Post*, the Palestinian press, and in an open letter to the PLO. Despite these experiences, the school is eager to participate in other experiments designed to produce reliable results, that can be a confident basis for the continuing efforts to live together.

EVALUATION

The experiment has produced many results, and the evaluation process has been ongoing for more than twelve years. The school is always looking to see whether it is nurturing and building trusting relationships among the children and across the cultural barriers, especially with Jews, while providing the quality of education in line with its goals. Qualitatively, there is now more openness among the students toward differences than in the beginning. Quantitatively, there has been a considerable increase in the number of students, in participation by parents, in the number of volunteers—now five (three teaching Hebrew), up from one only two years ago—and in the reports on the school's work in Palestinian, Israeli and international media. Another measurement was its ability to hold three workshops at the West Bank school, to which Jews from some peace-seeking settlements, as well as from inside Israel, have felt safe to come. Moreover, the school's participation is sought for other projects to build further on its work.

If not formal research results, they are substantial results. The school looks to more and improved results from even better methods.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

There are four lessons to be learned from the school's experiences to date:

1. Start—a thousand-mile journey begins with the first step.

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2. Use the time—it is very important, and should not be wasted. It is urgent not to waste a moment.
3. Do not wait for others to lead.
4. Trust enough to face the stereotypes, and move beyond them to real respect for the ways of the others.

NOTE

1. It was common to be taught—as an example of stereotypes prevailing in the community of Palestinian refugees—that Jews had long tails and red eyes.

CHAPTER IX

A peace education project for Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian school pupils using newly-designed curricula

Marwan Darweish and Nedal Jayousi

INTRODUCTION

Pathways Into Reconciliation (PIR) is a branch of the Israel-Palestine Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI). Its philosophy is that while peace can be signed by statesmen, it must be built between the people. The Israeli-Arab conflict is one of ignorance and mutual denial of legitimacy. Consolidation of the fragile peace talks demands working together on changing perceptions and stereotypes of 'the enemy'. It also means learning the skills to defuse, manage and solve conflict. Education is a powerful agent of change and socialization into society's major values. Unfortunately, it sometimes also acts as transmitter of conflict-producing, or sustaining myths. Hence, there is the need for a project that teaches conflict-solving values and skills.

PIR has developed the Education for Peace project as an attempt to enter the school systems of the three societies participating in the project; and to try and turn the classroom into a vehicle for international rapprochement. It is an innovative and unprecedented endeavour to develop, and experiment with, peace education curricula in Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian secondary schools.

The project's basic idea is based on the assumption that Palestinians, Israelis, and Jordanians will work together in creating model lessons for

tenth grade students (15–16 year-olds). The curricula will be designed by professionals from all the communities involved, meeting the needs of each community, and recognizing the uniqueness of each side. It will first be tested on a small sample of pupils (the ‘ambassadors’), and after a process of trial and correction, will run for half a year in a number of Jordanian, Israeli and Palestinian schools. Since the ultimate aim is to create a product that will be adopted and widely used by the education ministries of all three nations, it was necessary to actively involve all three ministries from an early stage.

The project is based on the belief that peace education implies not merely cognitive learning, but also an emotionally laden encounter with the reality of ‘the other side’. Hence, contacts between the project’s different target audiences—students, teachers, principals, curriculum developers, representatives from the ministries and from NGOs, from all participating communities—form part and parcel of the concept.

The Education for Peace project involves a five-stage process designed to take place over a period of two and a half years.

Stage I: In-house training and stock taking (March-October, 1996)

This stage focused on the selection and building of the Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian teams, together and separately, and providing the staff with skills and practice in conflict resolution. It involved:

- becoming acquainted with NGOs, individuals and systems working in the field of education towards peace and conflict resolution;
- staff members gaining familiarity with existing curricula in this field, both in the Middle East, and in other conflict areas;
- establishing and strengthening ties and co-operation with the Jordanian, Israeli and Palestinian ministries of education;
- selecting curricula designers and steering committees in each of the three areas;
- initial working relationship with the headmasters and teachers. Eight Palestinian schools and eight Israeli schools (six Jewish and two Arab schools) have been selected, and eight Jordanian schools will be added.

A peace education project for Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian school pupils

IN-HOUSE PIR AND IPCRI STAFF-TRAINING WORKSHOP

The aim of this one-day workshop, in May 1996, was to introduce PIR and IPCRI staff members and establish a working relationship between them, given the different cultures, backgrounds and expectations of the people involved.

TRAINING IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR PIR STAFF AND IPCRI PARTICIPANTS

This consisted of a four-day workshop, in June 1996, for the Palestinian, Israeli and Jordanian staff members. The first day was held in East Jerusalem and conducted by expert organizational consultants. The other three days were held in Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, and the training was conducted by an expert in conflict resolution and inter-personal communications from Harvard University.

STOCK-TAKING AND ESTABLISHING WORKING GROUPS

During July-October 1996, working groups were established in each of the three entities. Their aim was to establish different forums in which the participants can discuss and agree upon the basic values and concepts to be included in the curricula, and establish criteria for selecting schools and meeting with curricula developers.

A number of groups were established, with each country selecting them in accordance with the needs of their programme. One group included representatives from NGOs, who have experience in the different aspects of the programme (developing curricula, teacher training, international and inter-cultural meetings, peace and co-existence programmes) and representatives from departments in the ministry of education and culture, for example the Unit for Democracy and Co-existence and the Department for Curricula Development. Another group consisted of teachers, mostly those committed to participating in the programme, and discussed different techniques and models for implementing the curricula. A third group included academics from different disciplines, who discussed the framework and theoretical aspects of the programme.

To live together

During October, one-day seminars were held, in which the groups met separately and exchanged ideas about the project, and began preparations for the meetings with the other two sides.

Stage II: Curriculum development (November 1996–March 1997)

The aim during this stage is to develop curricula for peace education through a testing and feedback process used on sample classes. Meetings will be held between professionals and representatives of the education systems involved in the project in order to strengthen the working relationship between them, basing them on acquaintance, trust and co-operation.

A representative ('ambassador') class has been selected from among the eight classes of each of the three communities, to provide laboratory conditions for gaining feedback on the prospective programme, for the use of the curricula writers. During this time, the ambassadors will prepare a newsletter to be distributed in the three educational systems to provide a means of communication between the students.

CURRICULUM WRITING

Based on the results of the 'taking stock and working groups' stage, educators and curricula specialists will create a pilot programme to be tested in Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian schools. Throughout half a year, a curricula designer group will convene, once a month, in each of the entities, to conceptualize and produce curricula for classroom use in the different schools. The teams will work in local groups but also convene three times in plenary sessions.

The first meeting between curricula designers, principals and teachers of the pilot classes and the project staff took place on 26-28 November 1996. Two specialists from the United States shared their knowledge and experience with the participants. The aim of the meeting was to enable the three teams to meet one another, as well as representatives from the pilot schools, and work out common ground and differences in the future work of creating the peace education packages.

A peace education project for Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian school pupils

AMBASSADOR TRAINING

In-country ambassador meetings will be held during the course of the programme. These meetings will be used for testing classroom activities. At the same time, the ambassadors will undergo an affective process, during which they will become acquainted with one another, as well as develop group cohesiveness, and a greater commitment to the overall process.

CONFERENCE OF SCHOOL PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS
AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION REPRESENTATIVES

The main purpose of this conference is to provide a meeting ground for the representatives of the educational systems in Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority to formulate a framework for peace education and reconciliation between the three peoples. Three guest speakers will be invited from abroad to lead the discussion on peace education issues. The representatives will meet one another, as well as representatives from the three ministries of education, in order to become acquainted with the different education systems, establish good working relations between all of the participating schools and officials and stimulate a dialogue concerning peace education, leading to a common understanding towards implementation of the PIR project and also discuss the progress of the curricula development teams.

AMBASSADORS' MEETING

The final ambassador meeting will take place with all ambassadors present. In this meeting, the group will receive training in conflict resolution skills, non-violent communication, leadership training and content enrichment in peace education.

AMBASSADOR NEWSLETTER PROJECT

A number of ambassadors from each side will form a committee to produce a project newsletter, which will reflect the content and spirit of the project,

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as viewed by them. This newsletter will be used as an educational tool via Internet, and reproduced in Arabic, English and Hebrew versions for local and foreign distribution.

The project staff will seek funding for a sub-project '*The Virtual Meeting Ground Education for Peace, Internet Project*'. Hopefully, these funds will be raised so that the newsletter can be produced through the Internet project.

Stage III: Teacher and facilitator training

The teachers from the schools participating in the project will undergo a teaching process to acquire skills to cope with conflict between groups in the classroom. They will also acquire the necessary tools for their task as agents of change. The teachers will become acquainted with the programme, and their training will prepare them for instructing the material.

The facilitators from the three sides will meet for a two-day workshop. They will be introduced to one another, and receive common guidelines for their work, both in the separate frameworks they will facilitate in their home-countries and in the joint encounters between classes from the three sides, including the ambassador classes.

Stage IV: Implementation

The implementation stage will commence in September 1997, and run through the summer of 1998. Throughout one semester, students will be taught the education for peace curricula as developed in the earlier stages of the project. Follow-up and additional pedagogical, as well as logistical support will be provided throughout this period by the project staff, who will periodically visit the classrooms. External facilitators and advisors will visit the classes at least twice during the semester, and on special request if difficulties arise. Each class will participate in a peace-building exchange with classes from the other two nations. All in all, around 1,000 high school students will directly and intensively be touched by the project.

Stage V: Evaluation

The fifth stage will provide evaluation of the programme. At the conclusion of this experimental project, a conference will be held to assess results, determine desirable changes, and make recommendations to the ministries of education with regard to the adoption of education for peace as part of the regular school curriculum.

While the programme is being taught, it will be monitored and evaluated to determine its effectiveness. At the conclusion of the test-run, the results will be published and discussed during the conference, which is scheduled for the summer of 1998.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES

PIR's 'Education for Peace in Five Steps between Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians' formally began its activities in mid-February 1996.

The first stage was to select and train the core staff on the Israeli, Palestinian, and Jordanian sides. Accordingly, a project director was appointed by IPCRI's PIR programme, supported by two deputy directors, Palestinian, Jordanian and Israeli field co-ordinators, and an office manager. This staff has grown into an enthusiastic and close-knit working group, who are working together on a day-to-day basis. The core staff works from IPCRI's office opposite Jerusalem's Damascus Gate.

The immediate task of the staff members, together with the PIR Director, was to hold a number of brainstorming sessions, aimed at evaluating the project and making sure that the intended activities were both practical and feasible, given the difficult period in which the sides have found themselves. In April 1996, a one-day staff training workshop was organized to acquaint the staff members with one another, discuss the goals of the project and establish a working relationship between the staff members, as well as guidelines for activity.

The staff provides a microcosm of the likely future difficulties for the project. One member, a resident of the West Bank, was unable to obtain a permit to enter Jerusalem because of the strict closure enacted before the Israeli elections. Therefore, the workshop was held in the West Bank. It has

also been essential to discuss the team members' different expectations, arising from their different cultural backgrounds, the need to work in our one common language—English—and the need to respect each other's fears and attitudes resulting from their socio-political-economic backgrounds. In May 1996, the whole project team underwent an introductory training course in conflict resolution skills in Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, a joint Jewish-Arab community.

Co-operation was established early on with the three ministries of education, which committed their unofficial support to this project. Contact was made with a number of Israeli, Palestinian and international NGOs in the fields of education and conflict resolution. Steering committees and advisory groups have been set up to share their considerable experience and accumulated knowledge in the field of curriculum development. These steering committees have been generous in giving their feedback on the project's structure and content, and have been helpful in clarifying a common basis of values to underlie the education packages.

There have been contacts with, and visits to a large number of schools in all the involved communities, for meetings with school principals and teachers. The criteria for participation in the project were agreed upon, and eight Israeli (both Jewish and Arab), eight Palestinian (West Bank) and eight Jordanian schools were finally selected. An effort was made to create a geographic socio-economic, religious and gender distribution among the selected schools.

One of the most important criteria for choosing the schools was to include those whose principals indicated a high level of interest and enthusiasm in participating in the project, because their commitment to it could make the difference between its future success or failure.

Unfortunately, it has proven impossible to include Gaza schools—because of the difficulties in easy back-and-forth access that is part and parcel of project activities, and because few government schools function in Gaza (most post-primary education is provided by UNWRA schools, which do not extend beyond the ninth grade).

Numerous individual and group meetings have been held with potential participants in the project. On 17 October 1996, representatives of all participating Palestinian schools, NGOs and curriculum developers met for the first time in Ramallah. A similar meeting of Israeli participants took place on 30 October in Tel-Aviv.

Once it is running, the project will have responsibility for over 1,000 students in three countries. However, there was a slower start in Jordan, and the project co-ordinator is aiming to catch up on the lost time, hopefully profiting from active support from the education ministry, which is closely involved in the project.

In line with the original concept for the project, a three-day workshop for curriculum designers, pilot schools' principals and teachers, facilitators and project staff took place on 26–28 November 1996. This was the first meeting between participants from the three countries, and laid the groundwork for a larger transnational meeting of all teaching staff, pedagogical experts, and administrative and political personnel engaged in the project.

CONTENT

Planning the actual contents of education for peace, as it must take shape in the classroom is even more important than administrative preparation; and defining the ideals and introducing them into concrete educational work is as important as designing the lesson material itself.

This crucial phase of the whole project will be entrusted to outside experts, viz. the (Israeli) Adam Institute for Education in Democracy, a Palestinian curriculum developer team from the Noor Research Centre, Ramallah, and a soon to be established group of Jordanian experts. The success of the project will depend on what is happening in the classroom, and how this affects the individual student—tomorrow's citizen.

Broad agreement has been attained on several major points.

A consensus on certain **values** seems to be critical for peaceful co-existence and successful conflict resolution between the three peoples. Such values might include: equality of human beings; human and civil rights; democracy; pluralism; social justice; minority rights; tolerance; critical thinking; non-violence. However, it is recognized that while universal lip-service is paid to the above values, nearly all of them are to some degree problematic within each of the three societies concerned. For example, there is the tension between democracy and gender equality on one hand, and religion on the other—and indeed, 'peace' itself is a controversial concept within both Judaic and Islamic traditions. A skilful compromise between the desirable and the feasible will be required.

In terms of **contents**, students should be made aware of some elementary notions of the history of the conflict, and the national and religious identities of the warring parties. In Israeli-Arab affairs, history is, of course, the intractable (and possibly untouchable) hard core from which each side derives its legitimization. Yet, at the very least, pupils should be made aware of the existence of alternative discourses. Hardly less controversial are notions of peace (and how to attain it), justice, 'just wars', security (and how to define it), etc.

Again, what constitutes the optimum package, and what is barely acceptable will have to be carefully defined.

The programme has been adjusted a number of times to meet the needs of each population. For instance, Palestinian teachers suggested to add the words 'just peace', and to avoid using the word 'curricula', because it might be seen as an intervention in Palestinian affairs. It is important to note that it is the first time that Palestinians are working to formulate a Palestinian curricula, after many years of teaching Jordanian textbooks and under the Israeli censorship.

The Students' 'toolbox' of **skills** appears to be the least problematic area, perhaps because of its 'technical' nature; learning to defer judgement, to listen emphatically, to communicate efficaciously, and to co-operate, all seem indispensable. Furthermore, students should be taught how to recognize inter-group conflict, and attain some elementary feel for how to deal with it; such as, looking for mutually acceptable principles or criteria, and for common denominators and/or interests. In January 1997, a group of facilitators from Neve-Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, the Palestinian Centre for the Study of Non-violence and Wiam Centre met to discuss their working approach and techniques in a two-day workshop.

The above values (ethics), knowledge, skills, and emotional development should not be treated separately, but ought to be integrated as tightly as possible in order to achieve the best results. In view of the disparity of educational circumstances—not just between, but also within each national community—the materials should be prepared in a 'modular' way, so that teachers can choose a 'menu' according to their specific needs.

OBSTACLES

Working in a joint Israeli-Palestinian environment is a pioneering experiment; and the quality of the working group is a major resource in facing external obstacles. One of the advantages of close co-operation with knowledgeable experts is that it stimulates new ideas, such as the Internet and the video sub-projects.

In the light of experiences gained over many years of trans-ethnic encounters, it would seem to be prudent to precede direct encounters between students of different nationalities by more indirect preparatory work. Therefore, prior to their dialogues, students in participating classes will (with facilitation) communicate with each other through the Internet, and/or exchange video tapes, produced by some of the pupils. Video provides a means for common class work, as well as for presentation of self to 'other'. Each case may involve an interested group within each class. Contact has already been established with NGOs both in Israel and the United States, with the aim of creating an Internet project for the pilot classes. If realized, this will enrich the overall project and open an additional avenue of communication between pupils.

The project has had to contend with a number of 'political difficulties'. Islamist acts of violence in Israel in February/March were followed in May by elections, and by a change of government. The current Israeli government is less obviously committed to the 'Oslo' process than its predecessor, leading not just to the stalling of peace negotiations but also to a change of ideological climate domestically. This culminated in September in the violent Israeli-Palestinian confrontation following the opening of the tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City. As a result of deteriorating political circumstances, the relationship between the Israeli and Palestinian leadership, as well as between the peoples themselves, has become very strained. Neither is the Jordanian-Israeli relationship weathering the current crisis well.

Political constraints have considerably slowed down work on the project, and have caused otherwise preventable delays in the timetable, e.g. under more auspicious conditions, a more enthusiastic official Palestinian go-ahead might have been expected. After the latest confrontations, Palestinians have put a damper on all efforts at 'normalization' with Israel. Physical obstacles such as the closure of the Palestinian territories have, at times, made activities virtually impossible. Growing disillusionment and

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scepticism constitute major impediments: 'Peace, peace but there is no peace'—why bother to inculcate 'nice' values to children in a difficult situation, where Palestinians feel humiliated on a daily basis, and Israelis feel insecure? The international conferences and working meetings are also a means of raising morale among peace-loving educators, some of whom appear badly affected by the political crisis.

One of the biggest difficulties faced in organizing joint meetings has been to find a venue that suits both Israelis and Palestinians. Israelis could not come to Ramallah, and Palestinians have no permits to enter Israel. The geography of fear between the two peoples forced the meetings to be held in some rather unusual locations.

CHAPTER X

International perspectives

SCOUTING IS EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Fayeq Tahboub

Scouting, if summarized in one word, is education. It is voluntary, non-political, and open for all without any differentiation according to race, sex, or religion. It favours and sustains the integral development of personality—physically, intellectually, spiritually, mentally, and morally. Its purpose is the global development of youth to accomplish their full capacities as individuals, to become responsible citizens, as well as members in their local, national and international communities. All this is accomplished through the Scout promise and Scout law.

The Scout law and promise confirm that scouting is an education for peace, and an education for all, without discrimination. This education cultivates spiritual, local and national duties, principles towards God and others, all of which serve peace.

The Scout promise must be made by every Scout in front of his leaders, parents and peers. Carrying out the Scout promise means applying it towards others wherever they are, and without discrimination—co-operating with others and respecting their opinions and thoughts on the basis of love and brotherhood. These principles form the foundation for the concept of peace and co-existence, or ‘living together’.

The Scout Movement is developing day after day; a large percentage of the present generation joined the Scouts brotherhood. There are now approximately twenty-five million members, making it the biggest youth group in the world; it is estimated that at least 300 million young people have worn the Scout uniform since the Movement was started in 1907. Today, there is scouting in 216 countries and territories of the world. Scout brotherhood and friendship unite children, promote understanding, gather children in a way that often allows them to find solutions to complex, and sometimes terrifying conflicts. The harmony between the participants from different countries—friends and enemies alike—is strengthened by this spirit of brotherhood, and demonstrates the Movements commitment to peace.

United Nations observers who have attended World Scout Conferences have been very impressed by the friendly and non-political discussions that take place in the absence of any political interference, even between countries that are in conflict or do not share diplomatic relations. In Oslo, at the thirty-fourth World Scout Conference in July 1996, Palestinian and Israeli leaders were together at meetings and discussions, and when the Conference admitted the Palestinian Scout Association as a new member in the World Scout Organization, the General Commissioner of Israel spoke to the assembly and presented his congratulations to the Palestinian scouts.

In Lebanon, a dozen Scout associations—Muslim, Maronite, Catholic, Protestant, and others—have managed to keep their federation intact through sixteen years of civil war, during which time everyone around them was involved in constant battle. The same is true for Israel, where the national Scout federation includes Jews, Arabs, Druzes, Catholics and Orthodoxes, who work and ‘live together’ in harmony. In the territory of the Palestinian Authority as well, members of the association with different religions are ‘living together’ in harmony.

At a time when many youth are aimless and sometimes destructive, the Scout Movement is helping young people to become constructive, helpful, active, and healthy. The method used by the Movement is based on constructive discussion, instead of destructive criticism. On this basis, the Scout Movement won the first UNESCO Education for Peace prize, awarded in 1981 in Paris.

In 1996, in Oslo, the thirty-fourth World Scout Conference addressed the following resolution: ‘The conference recommends that the World Scout

Committee encourage the initiatives of Scout associations to review their programmes, to enable Scouts and their leaders to analyze information and the real causes of conflicts, to establish solidarity among communities, and to develop exchanges, understanding, peaceful co-existence and co-operation beyond ethnic, religious and cultural differences’.

This is the Scout Movement—a real school for peace and for ‘living together’.

**TEACHING RESPECT FOR DIGNITY:
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED
CROSS AND RED CRESCENT MOVEMENT**

Edith Baeriswyl

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement¹ (‘the Movement’) was born of the will to provide for the needs of suffering humanity, to make the voices of the most vulnerable and the victim heard through the din of arms and above the cries of hatred in armed conflict. This is an exceptional and extreme situation, characterized by the emergence of behaviour and attitudes, which deny that most fundamental human quality: physical and moral dignity.

The list of affronts to human dignity is a long and terrible one. From time immemorial, and to varying degrees, it has been the record of every human society and of all four corners of the globe. Now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, it continues uninterrupted.

In the humanitarian spirit of the Movement, bringing meaning to meaningless does not imply passively conceding that conflicts are inevitable, nor endorsing the motives of those engaged in conflict. It implies, above all, using action and discourse to preserve the notion of human dignity in times when everything conspires to deny or eclipse it.

THROUGH ACTION AND DISCOURSE

The Movement’s humanitarian *action*—indeed its *raison d’être*—is to: tend the wounded; feed the displaced who are far from home and lack the means of survival; bring news of loved ones to people separated from their

families; lend an ear to those who are locked up in prison or terrorized by threats; reach out to those who have been forgotten by everyone else.

The discourse underlying the Movement's work is the affirmation that, whatever a man may be, and whatever he may have done or is thought to have done, he retains one inalienable trait inherent in every human being, namely dignity. It is this affirmation which is expressed in international humanitarian law (IHL) through the enumeration of minimum rules to be respected in situations of conflict, with the primary aim of preserving the lives of non-combatants and limiting the physical, psychological and material damage caused by violence.

Leaving aside the hopes for a world of peaceful co-existence which everyone must all cherish and defend, the affirmation of human dignity remains acutely topical. Some might feel that this is a minimalist, or perhaps even a pessimistic approach, because it deals with the behaviour appropriate in situations of violence, rather than directly addressing the issues of non-violence and peace. Yet, it does offer a major teaching potential, which has not yet been sufficiently exploited. Indeed, discussing with young people the rules of behaviour to be adopted in situations where people are particularly prone to forget the moral principles taken for granted in peaceful situations, is very much in line with several different trends in pedagogy. For example, institutional pedagogy, civic education and the work of Korczak all aim to make the student discover rules as a function of the necessities of life in society, just as IHL is born of the necessities engendered by war.

IHL AS THE BASIS OF THE DISCOURSE

IHL is a body of law which virtually all the nations of the world have undertaken to respect, and see respected in times of armed conflict. It comprises a set of rules which, by laying down the rights and obligations of belligerents, seek to preserve the dignity of combatants and non-combatants alike. To maintain this dignity is the first and fundamental step to be taken if conflict is not to degenerate into mere carnage and savagery, which will remain indelibly imprinted on the collective and individual consciousness. Such a process is a sure way of perpetuating hatred and fear, and feeding the spiral of violence that is endemic in certain parts of the world.

The rules of IHL must first and foremost be known to, and applied by political leaders, and those who bear arms. However, faced with the emergence of a new type of conflict, in which civilians are increasingly involved in hostilities and violence, it is ever more important to make the population at large familiar with the principles of humanitarian behaviour laid down in this body of law.

ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG . . .

Young people, the future of every nation, must also be made aware of the humanitarian spirit, so that they may contribute to easing tension at their own level and, in due course, become responsible adults: absorb, together with the social, religious and family values of their educational environment, the minimum rules which States have undertaken to respect in time of conflict; measure current events against the yardstick of the principle of humanity rather than just in terms of political or economic criteria; become strong enough to resist feelings of impotence and indifference in face of world events, strong enough to reject acts which take account only of the end to be achieved and not the consequences; learn that, even in the heat of battle, not everything is permitted and that the dignity—the justice—of a cause can never be defended by acts of barbarity, any more than a worthwhile win at games can be achieved by cheating or by humiliating the opponent.

For many years now, the Movement has contributed to this educational effort, both within and outside the academic system, by involving young people, both in practical humanitarian action and in *reflection* on these issues.

The strategies adopted for working with young people have two general aims, which are achieved through means and messages tailored to local problems and cultures.

INVOLVING YOUNG PEOPLE IN TANGIBLE FORMS OF HUMANITARIAN SOLIDARITY

For decades, the Movement has sought to involve young people in practical ways, especially by establishing youth sections within national societies. The existence of these sections allows the young to take part in activities to

help the most vulnerable sectors of society, the suffering and the needy. They provide a framework conducive to consideration of the significance and the ethics of humanitarian action, with full respect for such fundamental principles of the Movement as humanity and impartiality. In several countries, these youth sections form part of the school structure and organize various activities. For example:

- In *Croatia*, the National Society, in co-operation with the ICRC, has been working since the end of the war to restore its youth sections. The aim is to help young people overcome the prevailing feelings of disillusionment and to draw them into humanitarian activities which will contribute to the task of psychological and material rehabilitation of their environment.
- In *the Philippines* a teaching file based on a comic strip was introduced into schools in 1984 as a vehicle for English lessons. The aim was to increase the involvement of young people in helping the victims of natural disasters and of the internal conflict.
- In *Colombia*, behavioural teaching materials designed to favour good relations and mutual help in society have been used since 1996 in seminars for young people both inside and outside the school system.

MAKING YOUNG PEOPLE AWARE OF THE HUMANITARIAN MISSION
AND OF THE PRINCIPLES OF IHL

In view of the proliferation of violent situations in which young people are often caught up, with tragic consequences, achieving this objective has now become crucial to prevent further escalation of violence. Young people are, by their very nature, vulnerable to propaganda and manipulation inciting them to violence. Moreover, prolonged exposure to real or potential violence can have a lasting impact on their personality. In response to the growing concern felt about the human tragedies affecting young people in conflict situations, the Movement has redoubled its efforts to make them aware of the various effects of violence and of human suffering. These activities focus, depending on the region in question, on infusing a spirit of solidarity and civic responsibility, and spreading awareness of the minimum rules of conduct which must be observed in all circumstances.

In the contexts of peace or relative peace, this is done by means of educa-

tional programmes designed to reach all young people through the school system. For example:

- In *the countries of the former USSR*, a programme has been incorporated in national literature textbooks to make adolescents reflect on the humanitarian principles enshrined in IHL and which inspire those working within the Movement.
- In *the Netherlands*, 1995 saw the introduction into secondary schools of an interactive programme on IHL, the phenomenon of war and the rules which govern it.
- In *Egypt*, the ICRC delegation in Cairo has been co-operating with the educational authorities since 1995 to include basic notions of IHL in various parts of the official curriculum, progressively when new textbooks are produced (biology, history, languages, etc.).

In situations of conflict or where there is a high potential for violence, the programmes are aimed primarily at young people who are or may become involved. For example:

- In Somalia, the 'Look before you leap' programme, combining song, theatre and comic strips, is intended especially for young people in the militias and tries to create certain reflexes in terms of conduct which must be respected even in this violent environment.
- In sub-Saharan Africa, the ICRC has commissioned well-known African musicians to reach young people by means of songs and videos, in an effort to combat racism and exclusion on ethnic grounds and to deliver a message of humanity.

NOTE

1. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement consists of three entities:
 - The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the founding body of the Movement and a neutral intermediary in the event of armed conflicts or disturbances. The ICRC strives to bring protection and assistance to the victims, mainly on the basis of the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols.
 - The National Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies act as auxiliaries to the public authorities in their respective countries; they assist the armed forces medical services in the event of conflict and engage in activities such as giving first-aid training, managing dispensaries, collecting blood and providing assistance for the vulnerable.
 - The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies supports the activities of the National Societies and co-ordinates international relief operations in the event of natural disaster.

CHAPTER XI

Guidelines for project proposals on peace education

Lya Kremer-Hayon

The proposed guidelines revolve around two axes. One concerns the target population. The second is a proposal for a model of intervention to introduce changes in attitudes and behaviour towards living together in peace.

WHICH TARGET GROUP?

The ultimate target population is of course, all the groups in conflict. But since this is impossible under present conditions, the question is: which group of people to start with?

Choosing them involves considering several criteria. One concerns the age group potentially most amenable and open to change. Another is availability. A third criterion is the potential impact on other groups, in the present and in the future.

Taking these criteria into account, it appears that a suitable group to start working with are school pupils in their fifth to eighth grades, aged between eleven and fourteen. At these ages, children are already aware of the political situation; their attitudes are not yet moulded, and they can engage in a variety of educational activities aimed at achieving the goal of living together in peace. Moreover, they are a captive audience.

However, there is one important condition for achieving the project's

goals: the knowledgeability and professional competence of the people who work with the pupils—the teachers.

They meet with the pupils on a continuous and systematic basis; they use the curriculum for this purpose; they have an influence on the pupils, and through them, on their parents. Moreover, a teacher who teaches a class of approximately thirty pupils can approach their parents, sixty adults: with twenty teachers, there is access to about 600 pupils and 1,200 adults in one year.

A word of caution is needed. Teachers are professionals in the field of pedagogy and didactics. Working on attitude and behavioural change is a very delicate topic in the context of Israelis and Palestinians living together in peace: it requires more than pedagogical competence. Teachers need to be specifically prepared for this purpose, and that includes the clarification of their own attitudes, perhaps even prejudices.

The analysis of unsuccessful projects previously carried out on similar topics identifies lack of preparation of teachers as the reason for failure. Therefore, the participating teachers must be carefully selected on the basis of their dispositions and potential leadership competence, which in due time will help them in disseminating the project to additional populations.

AN INTERACTIVE MODEL

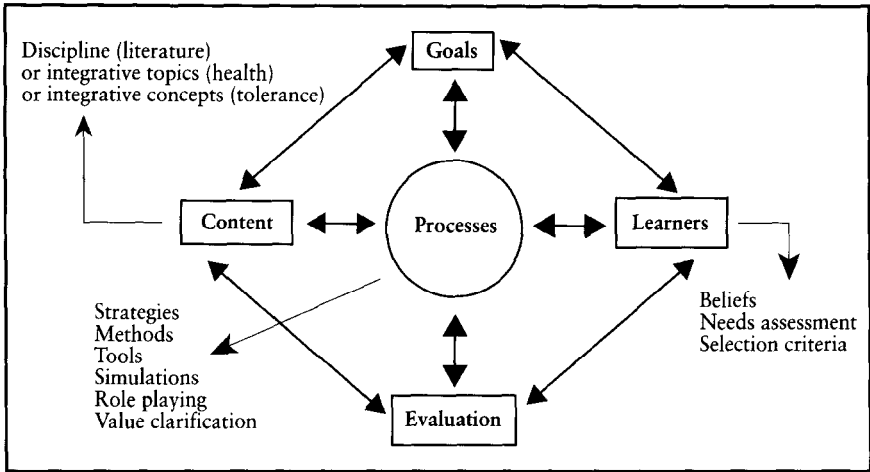
Every model of intervention has its advantages and disadvantages. What is needed is a model that is abstract, the elements of which are open to interpretation in more than one way—and which, therefore, can be applied to most situations, and is applicable to teachers as well as to pupils.

Figure 1 shows an interactive model composed of the main elements to be considered in planning educational intervention projects.

PROJECT GOALS

Since the project is aimed at changing attitudes and behaviour, a relevant strategy of change needs to be applied. The constituents of change include several aspects: cognitive, affective-dispositional and behavioural. All three must be present if the objective is a meaningful, lasting change.

FIGURE 1: Basic elements in project planning: a conceptual framework



For example, an illustration of a cognitive goal is: *‘Having basic knowledge and understanding of the main features of the culture, history and environmental conditions’*. An example of a goal in the dispositional-affective domain is: *‘Develop willingness to co-operate with members from another group, accept without judgement differences between groups, reduce stereotypes’*. An example of a behavioural goal is *‘Participate in a discussion fraught with conflict and stress in a peaceful constructive manner, looking for and suggesting ways of alleviating difficulties, with no physical or psychological violence’*.

CONTENT

The content of the project concerns the subjects for study or discussions through which the goals can be achieved. The deliberations in this respect include the topic concerning the educational potential inherent in the subject—the study of literature is one example of a subject with the potential to influence young readers.

Alongside such subjects are a number of topics more directly related to the ‘to live in peace’ project: environmental and social studies, the study of the culture of ‘the other’, the language of ‘the other’, etc. These topics can

be studied at various ages, providing the learning materials are adapted accordingly.

However, it is important to note that it is not only the content of the study that can help in achieving the project goals—it is rather the teaching-learning processes in interaction with the content that have the potential to make a difference in attitudes and dispositions.

TARGET POPULATION: THE LEARNERS

The target population is pupils and teachers—at the abstract level, it does not make any difference—whose baseline knowledge and attitudes must be considered in the selection of the subject-matter content and goals. The specific characteristics of the groups of learners, and the individual differences within them, constitute an important factor in the process of change. Failure to understand their interests and needs is a major obstacle in any educational intervention.

PROCESSES

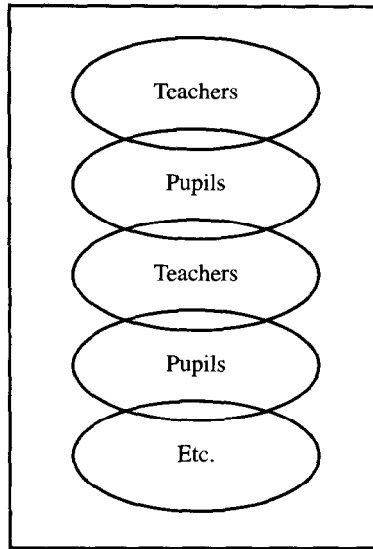
Processes concern the methods and ways of attaining the project goals. These must include cognitive, dispositional-affective and behavioural components.

Reading, debates and discussions focused on intellectual and reflective components of the mind illustrate a cognitive aspect. Value clarification and role playing illustrate activities with a high potential for arousing dispositions. Eliciting behaviours and skills such as listening, suggesting constructive solutions to conflict-related problems and expressing tolerance towards conflicting ideas exemplify the behavioural aspect of teaching/learning processes.

STARTING THE INTERVENTION

What is a macro-way to start these interventions? One approach is to start with teachers at a certain moment on a cognitive level, but also including

FIGURE 2: Feedback to adjust goals and strategies



behavioural aspects. Next, move to the pupils; then, having achieved some experience in translating knowledge and feelings into practice, return to the teachers. Based on this feed-back, it is possible to adjust the goals and strategies. It has to be an on-going process: teachers-pupils-teachers-pupils and so on (see Figure 2).

EVALUATION

Incorporating qualitative and quantitative methods of evaluation will complement each other, and provide a variety of forms of feedback based on written tests, discussions, interviews, observations and portfolios.

The suggested model generates a systematic line of questions to be considered for future work. For instance, in case of failure, the evaluator will ask a series of questions. Were the goals too pretentious? Were they not suitable for this group of learners? Were the learning materials well designed? To what extent were the teaching-learning processes implemented in the right way? Similar questions can be asked to pinpoint aspects of success.

Guidelines for project proposals on peace education

Finally, there are two important topics to be considered, and planned for in the process of setting goals and evaluation: the dissemination and the continuation of the project after the change agents leave the scene.

CHAPTER XII

Key questions needing answers: from confusion to focus

Gavriel Salomon

Based on the experience and the reflection presented in the previous chapters, there are many questions that arise concerning the conceptualization, design and implementation of action and research projects that are intended to bring Israeli and Palestinian children closer together. Before embarking on any such project, some twenty of the most important questions should be addressed—whether or not answers are available to them. The first ones pertain to primary considerations—the basic questions that need asking.

PRIMARY CONSIDERATIONS

1. What is the chance of a focused educational intervention succeeding? Are there any serious alternatives?

There have to be serious doubts about the lasting chances of focused educational interventions. What are the chances of some encounters or workshops in the face of one Baruch Goldstein? What chances are there in the face of one Friedman, of one bus blowing up in the middle of the street? It is impossible not to intervene, but it is necessary to remember that the chances of an educational intervention to attain lasting goals are not very high.

Are there any alternatives? Perhaps there are. Perhaps an intervention which has little to do with education, and intervenes through entirely different means—for example, through health care—should be considered.

2. Would it be better to adopt a systemic, multi-pronged approach?

Should consideration be given to focused, separate, intensive educational interventions, or from the very outset, to multifaceted, multi-pronged systemic approaches which would include schools and kindergartens, teachers and parents, community, commercial leaders, business leaders and the like? The difference is that with many small interventions, even if they have continuity to them, they do not necessarily connect to each other. Trying to plan something systemic is pretentious, but on the other hand the different components may combine together.

3. If it is to be a focused educational intervention, should it consist of a 'shot in the arm' or of the cultivation of 'gatekeepers'?

A decision in favour of a focused educational intervention presents another choice—between what has been called 'a shot in the arm approach' (like the episodic encounter which leads to episodic results, the shot in the arm of 200 mg. of peace, love, of peace studies), and training, educating, cultivating gatekeepers. But if the intention is to work through the teachers who will serve as gatekeepers, this raises the question: why only teachers—what about the community leaders?

4. If it is to be a systemic, multi-pronged approach, where do we begin?

This is a vexed question, because in a system where everything links with everything else, then comes the question of the chicken and egg.

STRATEGY

5. Should an intervention be directed intensively at selected groups, or deal extensively with a wide range of participants?

Working selectively with certain groups raises the question: how will it spread—indeed, will it spread? It is possible to create selected colonies for success in the best case situation, but is there any reason to believe it will have a 'ripple effect'? On the other hand, working extensively to spread the goods raises the question: Aren't we spreading the investment too thinly? This in turn leads to the question: what will be the true effect? The intervention may have been conducted with 2,400 youngsters, but what effect will it have since it was not really focused or really intensive? This is a crucial matter of choice.

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6. What are the most promising and feasible levers for change?

They may be the teachers. But it may be better to work through community leaders, or through other agents who will serve as true levers for change, not just as a target population.

RATIONALE AND GOALS

7. What are some desired and attainable goals?

Very often, we search for the lost penny under the street light, because that is where we have some light. Measuring what students have learned in terms of knowledge is measuring their attitudes. Yet, the importance of measuring the same things three months or a year later can be forgotten. More importantly, why measure attitudes? Is it only because they are amenable to analysis through the relatively simple use of questionnaires? The literature does not support the idea that attitudes should be attacked first. There are enough reasons to believe that someone can love foreigners but would not let their daughter marry one. So what are some of the obtainable goals? What should be emphasized: behaviour, attitudes, self-concept? It is one of the most serious issues.

8. Which goals are best attained with what age group?

Asking what age group to work with is the wrong question to ask. The question should be: what kind of goals can or cannot be attained with what age group? What can be tried with children of a younger age is different from what would be tried with children of an older age, where the objectives might be entirely different.

9. Is there a logical order for the goals to be attained?

If there are different goals, is the order: attitudes first, intentions second and behaviour third? Or, perhaps it is important to first change behaviour, expecting dissonance to take place afterwards, followed by attitudes. This also raises the question of the role of knowledge. What role does knowledge play, and should it be a goal to be attained? Teacher training programmes that have nothing to do with peace studies begin with introductory courses, introductory psychology, introductory philosophy, introductory sociology. This is a waste of time. Such introductions should be given at the

very end of the training, when they can be connected with some experiential underpinnings. So, the question remains: should we first attain the goals of better knowledge of love, of peace, of tolerance, better understanding of the culture of the 'other', of the language of the 'other'? Are these the first things to attain? The order in trying to attain goals is often no more than a traditional way of doing things, a routine which should be questioned and at least thought about again.

10. What existing models in the behavioural sciences are applicable to offer guidance?

Gordon Allport's theory has been questioned, for good reasons. The conditions that Allport mentions are simply unattainable for this area. Sherif and Sherif's paper (1953)—a wonderful piece of research—deals with a summer camp where they start to love each other after they have repaired the broken faucet. Nobody measured it six days later. Nobody cared to measure it. This was a beautiful experiment, but irrelevant to us. On the other hand, it is likely that in the literature, there is considerable experience to serve as both theories and models for the kinds of activities proposed in 'To live together'. It would be wise to search it carefully and to read it critically.

PROJECTS

11. How do we transfer from training to classroom and beyond?

This is one of the oldest questions in educational psychology, and one of the least promising in terms of the answers. Very little transfer takes place. There are two roads to transfer. One is deep understanding of phenomena. For instance, taking expertise in chess and applying it to planning a political campaign—transferring the strategy, not the chess game itself. The second road is automaticity: for example, in driving—when whatever wheel the driver takes in his hands, he knows how to drive. The usual position is on neither that first road (the 'high' road) nor the second, the 'low' road, but in-between—with neither deep understanding of some principles that are applicable, nor training towards automaticity. It is little wonder that teachers do not apply in the classroom what they learn in the workshop, and that children do not carry to any other site what they practice in the classroom.

12. Should there be separate peace studies, or should they be integrated into the curriculum?

If there is an intervention in school, should there be a separate peace study curriculum, or should curricula in general incorporate these ideas, in studying literature, history, physics, etc.? All these topics, save perhaps mathematics, offer an abundance of opportunities to deal with issues of relevance—history of course, and literature, as well as geography and economy. Perhaps the best approach is not to have a separate peace curriculum but to work with teachers, or other people, to incorporate it in an integrated way, into daily studies in school. In this way, it emerges every once and again in the classroom under a variety of topics.

13. Resistance of changes to (bad) current events: how?

The biggest threat to any project is of course, unpleasant, bad, terrible current events, political or otherwise, which may totally nullify whatever investment has been made. How can we build something that can inoculate the students against being swept off balance by any current events? Unfortunately, such events are likely to happen, and one explosion could erase five years of educational investment. So it is necessary to prepare in advance, and build a project that takes that possibility into consideration. But how?

14. Should teachers be curriculum writers?

Who is writing the curriculum? Whether it is an intensive or an extensive intervention, whether it is an integrated curriculum or a special programme, who does the writing? There is the difficulty of the dominance of one group over the other, the so-called ‘patronizing’, which is often a concern in Israeli-Palestinian relations. But there is also the relationship between those who know how to write a curriculum and those who have to carry it out. Previous experiences where teachers were supposed to write a curriculum unit were a disaster. However, can the teachers be handed down a ready-made curriculum, for them to simply carry it out like technicians? Is that how to regard teachers—as simply technicians? Because if they carry out the curriculum like technicians, this is exactly what they will be.

15. What is the role of knowledge?

Knowledge is not primary, but it receives primary attention. This is ques-

tionable. Where does knowledge belong? Should it relate to other things? One popular teaching topic is the 'other's' culture. Is it supposed to be knowledge? Does one fall in love with somebody else's falafel? It may be important to learn about the 'other', but how important? Where does it really belong ?

16. What is the role of encounters?

Similar questions can be asked about encounter groups. What is their yield supposed to be? How far will it transfer beyond the world of the encounter room? Again, efforts are often made to measure the cognitive effects of the encounters as if they were the most important ones.

17. When do you face the real conflictual issues and how?

This question, which comes up again and again, relates to the question: what goals are attainable with what age group? When should the conflictual issues be faced up-front? With what age group? Under what circumstances? And how? These are inescapable, unavoidable questions.

18. How far should one go with 'unity of purpose'?

One cannot work on any project if the participants do not agree fully with the goals to be attained. Half-hearted jobs provide half-hearted results. 'Unity of purpose', as defined by H. Levin in Stanford, is perhaps the first goal to be attained, long before entering any classroom. But how far should unity of purpose go? Teachers, but all the teachers, including those not involved in the project itself ? The principal? The superintendent? The parents? The community? The community leaders? Can all these groups be ignored?

19. The issue of spread.

The 'ripple effect', raised in the context of strategies, also applies at the level of the projects. How do we build something into the projects so that it will spread? There was a superb project, which failed for three years, but succeeded in the fourth. It was run in four schools, and it had nothing to do with peace. But it was stopped. The risk is that in pulling out of the school, it is a more or less a quiet, benevolent death for the project—because it is too costly to spread, and too much training is required. The question is: is it the responsibility of those concerned to see that what happened successful-

ly in four schools should happen in 40 or 400 schools? Or is it sufficient to show it is workable, the goals attainable and to let somebody else worry about the spread? This is a question that applies as well to academicians and to educators working in kindergartens. A project works wonderfully in one kindergarten; what about others? Who has the responsibility to see that something that is successful will spread?

RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

There are three assumptions to make about research.

A. Research which is designed to show whether something works or not, whether the goals are attained or not, needs to be conducted on a programme that works well. However, there is no point in evaluating a programme which is still being developed. It may very well be that when a project is designed, it will take four or five years before it deserves to be evaluated. Formative ongoing evaluation is good. But that is not what a foundation wants, because formative evaluation feeds into those who do the work, to help them along, like an oil gauge in the car. Even so, the ultimate question—have you attained anything?—cannot be asked the first, second, third and, sometimes, not even the fourth year. Patience is needed.

B. The second assumption is that there may be very interesting unexpected effects linked with the programme. For instance, children begin to telephone each other, or use the Internet to communicate with each other. That does not show on any questionnaire, but in fact it is the best behavioural manifestation of something that had not been considered. Or, there may be 'sleepers' effects: nothing happens for a while and then suddenly, months or even years later, the effects are eventually recognized. One example of this is the 'Headstart' programme in the United States in the 1960s. Millions of dollars were invested preparing at-risk, ghetto, minority children for school. The research setting was perfect, with experimental and control groups on 120 different sites. When these groups were compared immediately, when they entered school, the 'Headstart' children had a slight advantage. The second year, that advantage began to dwindle, the third year it vanished. It was concluded that 'Headstart' had no effect. Then, researchers went to study the same children fifteen years later and discovered that the 'Headstart' children had fewer police files, fewer teenage pregnancies,

fewer rates of drop out from high school, and higher college aspiration. It took fifteen years later (and a good measure of luck) to observe these 'sleepers' effects.

C. The third assumption is that there is no one single research approach, or research instrument that will suffice. Qualitative research is like repairing a car with a single screwdriver. The same, of course, applies to working with purely quantitative methods. Repairing a car or doing research properly requires a whole tool kit.

Over and beyond these assumptions, two more questions should be formulated in the context of research and evaluation.

20. When do you carry out what kind of research and evaluation, and for what purposes?

Different kinds of research serve entirely different purposes, need to be carried out in different points in time, and may vary for different kinds of measures. There is not one single time, nor one single instrument or one single approach that is appropriate.

21. What would constitute convincing evidence of goal attainment?

Whether or not instruments are available for the purpose of conducting a given research—and for attitudes, for example, a large number of ready-made questionnaires are at hand—it takes a serious effort to define *in advance* the type of convincing evidence of goal attainment that the researchers, or the sponsors, would find satisfactory. As difficult as it may be, this is the question to begin with.

CHAPTER XIII

Priority objectives and interventions

During the workshop, there were two brainstorming sessions led by Salem Aweiss and Edy Kaufman. The first focused on two central issues in the design of future research-action plans: (a) the objectives of the research-action projects, and (b) the interventions or instruments that might achieve these objectives. The second session addressed strategies to attenuate the effects of unpredicted outbursts of violence.

Designing future research-action plans

Of the many ideas concerning the design of future research-action plans, about twenty in each category were accorded a high priority. These are listed below.

PRIORITY OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH-ACTION PROJECTS

- Promote dialogue between cultures.
- Humanize the enemy.
- Enhance critical thinking (in general, but also with respect to the conflict).
- Learn how to deal with inferiority.

Priority objectives and interventions

- Address minority/majority relations.
- Strengthen understanding of others' needs.
- Provide and promote global vision.
- Advocate tolerance.
- Encourage flexibility.
- Reduce prejudice.
- Promote dignity.
- Relate with the other in a non-judgemental way.
- Encourage sensitivity.
- Get acquainted with the life of others, get to know them.
- Develop open-mindedness.
- Develop self-awareness.
- Provide training for multi-cultural classrooms.
- Build up co-operation.
- Build up relationships.
- Learn from others' experience.

PRIORITY INSTRUMENTS OR INTERVENTIONS TO REACH THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES

- Teachers' training for critical dialogue.
- Excursions, scouting.
- Exchanging visits.
- Joint environmental projects.
- Learning together.
- Helping victims.
- Joint leadership training.
- Working with parents.
- Learning together lifesaving methods.
- Making peace education compulsory for teachers' training.
- Joint school curriculum building.
- Development of existing projects.
- Writing a newspaper together.
- Joint students' commercial initiative.
- Public address by children to politicians and decision makers.
- Joint writing and publishing of narratives.
- Learning from the experience of others.

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- Treating the effects of the conflict (rehabilitation work).
- Joint survey of human rights violations.

The effects of unpredicted violence

This issue is seen as a major threat not only to life, but also to any peace project. Any violent event could 'totally nullify whatever we tried to do'. With this threat in mind, the issue was what could be done to limit the damage and impact of a given terrorist attack. Is it possible to have some sort of disaster preparedness scheme which could be activated if and when it comes to it?

Everyone draws from their own experience based on past events. The problem is compounded by the fact that these issues touch on subjects such as anger, grief and healing which, in the best of cases, are difficult topics. There are universal aspects to these, but there are also cultural aspects largely determined by religious affiliation. Also, the reactions to an ordeal largely depend on the individual's own resources and coping capacities, which makes it even more difficult to outline a strategy valid for all.

POTENTIAL STRATEGIES

Several proposals for strategies emerged during the session. They have been grouped into three categories: 'prevention', 'preparedness' and 'after the event', and are summarized below.

Disaster prevention

Educate the terrorists (!)

Disaster preparedness

- Specialists should prepare teachers for the eventuality, and help them help their students to cope with the event.
- Social workers, physicians and psychologists could be trained to fulfil specific tasks, and to intervene as quickly as possible, in response to a given event. Experience gained in Israel, where such teams are already in existence, and in use, show this approach to be working.

- Support groups could be created within both communities—to ease tensions, and create or maintain links with the other community.
- Each individual should draw on past experience, or imagination, and attempt to anticipate and prepare a list of possible answers. Placing an event into a ready-made time frame makes it easier to put some distance between oneself and the event, and thus helps to place the event in a wider perspective.
- An Israeli psychologist (Amos Lehman) has been working recently with mixed Israeli and Palestinian police patrols—discussing a variety of realistic scenarios, including shooting at each other (as occurred in September 1996). Such experience should be better known, and used in other settings.
- The ‘inoculation’ of youngsters against all kinds of evil (e.g. drug addiction) has been undertaken already. Similar techniques might also be used for this particular topic.
- Some initiative should be taken with the mass media, which all too often have a dramatizing and antagonizing effect on one or the other parties to the conflict.

After the event

- Writing letters of condolence, and visiting the wounded in hospitals.
- Expressing, privately or openly, feelings of solidarity.
- Using the media to express, jointly, the grief of both Israelis and Palestinians.
- Helping in the days of crises: this would be particularly appreciated by the Palestinians—though there could be difficulties linked with the closure of the territories.

CONCLUSION

Although there is no easy way to prevent violence, and no panacea for healing its traumatizing and disrupting effects, it may be possible to at least be better prepared to face, and adequately react to them.

While the manifestation of sympathy not only to the victims and their families, but also to their people at large, may seem simple and naive at first glance, it may well constitute a constructive way of preserving the high

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spirits and motivation of those who are involved in the field of rapprochement and co-existence building.

As a post-scriptum illustration of this, it is worth mentioning the feelings of some of the Israeli participants to the workshop who, on the very day of their return home, were struck by the news of the crash between two army helicopters and the loss of over seventy young lives. The immediate and empathetic messages they received from a number of the Palestinian participants left a profound imprint in their hearts and minds, and their sorrow was attenuated by feelings of gratitude and appreciation.

This is what it is all about, when foes commit themselves to becoming friends.

CHAPTER XIV

Ideas for research and action

At the end of the workshop, participants formed themselves into small binational work groups to consider possible interventions on the following target groups: school or pre-school pupils; teachers; the community at large; recreational (extracurricular) circles (e.g. scouts, youth movements); and children with health problems. This section summarizes their ideas, which will serve as guidelines for the further designing of fully detailed research-action plans.

School (pre-school) pupils

PRIMARY GOAL

To encourage, and help Israeli and Palestinian pupils to live together peacefully as neighbours, with mutual respect, recognition and understanding.

SECONDARY GOALS

1. Knowledge of oneself, of the 'others' and of togetherness.
2. Affective: attitudes and values relating to peace and human rights.
3. Skills: cognitive and practical.

METHODS

1. *Type of study*: research and pedagogical intervention.
2. *Target population*: pupils from pre-school up to high school (to be decided later).
3. *Sample size*: two experimental classes from each side and two control classes.
4. *Sampling method*: two schools chosen upon their willingness to cooperate and assign experimental and control classes randomly.
5. *Intervention*: designing learning material to be infused in existing curricula and in additional extra-curricular activities.
6. *Duration*: five years.
7. *Organization of study in the field*: (a) compose package of teaching material; (b) teacher training; (c) information to parents and obtaining consent; (d) secure co-operation of schools and obtain consent; (e) obtain permission of authorities; (f) recruiting/training personnel, counsellors, curricula writers, educators, etc.
8. *Potential risks*: (a) resentment on the part of extremists on both sides; (b) political blocks in the progress of peace process; (c) terror, violence from either side; (d) restriction of movement, etc.
9. *Potential benefits*: (a) an increase in self-respect and understanding among pupils; (b) acceptance of the 'others' in peace; (c) sustaining of peace efforts; (d) creation of a model applicable locally, regionally and internationally.
10. *Pilot study*: the whole project is to be conceived as a pilot study, with possible later wider implementation.

EVALUATION

1. *Measured variables*: (a) knowledge, values and attitudes; (b) cognitive and practical skills (behaviour; conflict mediation skills, etc.).
2. *Methods of measurement*: quantitative and qualitative.
3. *Foreseen biases of measurements*: (a) political opinions/orientations; (b) auto-stereotypes; (c) stereotypes; (d) cultural codes; (e) language (especially emotionally charged) interpretations.

STAGES OF THE PROJECT

First stage: assessment.

Second stage: producing learning material with teachers.

Third stage: intervention.

Fourth stage: encounters.

Fifth stage: evaluation, reports.

Teachers

PRIMARY GOALS

1. To prepare teachers for educating their pupils towards peace, tolerance and global vision. To engage them in critical thinking with the intention of transferring these cognitive and meta-cognitive skills to their students.
2. To equip teachers with the needed social and interactional skills essential for productive communication.

SECONDARY GOALS

1. To reduce prejudice.
2. To provide teachers with tools for multicultural education.

METHODS

1. *Type of study:* a systematic, well-planned intervention including needs assessment, goal specification, methods and instruments for assessment and evaluation that are qualitative and quantitative in nature.
2. *Target population:* social sciences, science (health education) and language teachers and their students aged 9 to 14.
3. *Sample size:* five Palestinian and five Israeli schools.
4. *Sampling method:* according to criteria to be agreed upon later but to include accessibility, size, needs, affiliation.

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5. *Intervention:* (a) summer camp—one-week joint intensive workshop; (b) monthly one-day workshop. The purpose of the workshops will be to plan and prepare instructional material, and to provide training for teachers in strategies and skills needed to implement the project and to facilitate transfer of knowledge. Feedback and assessment are an integral part of this ongoing process. Academics will advise on professional and academic issues.
6. *Duration:* four to five years.
7. *Potential problems:* (a) lack of governmental and official support; (b) volatile political situation; (c) restriction on freedom of movement.
8. *Potential benefits:* (a) achieving desired objectives; (b) enhancement of rapprochement.
9. *Pilot study:* four-five month pilot study to include teachers' needs assessment and test preliminary materials. One Palestinian and one Israeli school will take part in this.

EVALUATION

1. *Measured variables:* cognitive, affective, behavioural items including attitudes, beliefs, skills, teaching and interaction competencies, quality and quantity of inter-group relationships.
2. *Methods of measurement:* quantitative and qualitative: pre- and post-questionnaires, observations, interviews, discourse analysis and interaction analysis.

The community

GOALS

Dialogue between cultures; humanization of the 'enemy'; a more complex and differentiated thinking about the conflict and minority/majority relations; global vision; tolerance; prejudice reduction; dignity; non-judgemental relations with the others; sensitivity; getting acquainted with

the life of the 'other'; open-mindedness; self-awareness; co-operation; developing personalized relationships; and learning from others' experience.

METHODS

1. *Type of study*: action-research.
2. *Target population*: parents (especially mothers), civic leaders, professionals (including physicians, especially pediatricians), businessmen.
3. *Intervention*: exchange visits; joint environmental projects; working with parents; writing a newspaper together; joint students' commercial initiative; treating the effects of the conflict (rehabilitation of victims); and arts exhibition.
4. *Organization of study*: (a) training Palestinian and Israeli facilitators to obtain the necessary skills, take overall responsibility of the project, and design strategies for building trust; (b) feasibility study to detect the 'right' school, the appropriate local community with *a priori* positive or at least open attitudes towards peace education and civic leaders to support the project; (c) needs assessment of the school and community before setting up the detailed programme involving gatekeepers and agents of the community at large. The idea of twinning schools should be accepted in the wider sense to incorporate the diverse local elements of the community.

STAGES OF THE PROJECT

First stage (approximately one year): in Israeli and Palestinian schools to separately educate their respective students on the general objectives; develop materials and resources on the Palestinian side; form a steering committee (based on an existing organization and/or interested individuals); develop indirect communications links between Israeli and Palestinian children (e.g. exchanging letters/postcards or specially prepared videotapes); arrange meetings of the Israeli and Palestinian school principals, and perhaps introductory visits of the respective steering committees.

Further stages: joint projects (e.g. on the environment; a joint newsletter

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(in both languages); sponsoring and assisting children's performances, food tasting and other cultural activities; supporting a good cause outside the Middle East; scout leadership.

Recreational (extra-curricular) circles

GOALS

To achieve a better understanding between children, and to integrate practices leading to peace into their daily lives.

METHOD

1. *Type of study*: intervention (training).
2. *Target population*: twenty-five 17-year-old boys and girls involved in the Palestinian Scout Association, and twenty-five boys and girls representing all the associations (Moslem, Jewish, Druze, Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Arab schools) within the Israeli Scout Federation.
3. *Intervention*: four-day leadership training seminars, repeated four times a year.
4. *Organization of study*: discussions on peace education embedded in outdoor camping activities. Initially, separate (but nearby) camps would be provided for the Palestinian and Israeli scouts, with some common facilities (e.g., cooking) and activities being common to both. Progressively, more and more joint activities could be developed. All joint activities would be videotaped for later showing to, and as an incentive for other scout troops.

STAGES OF THE PROJECT

A preliminary five-day workshop for a group of twenty to thirty leaders (aged 25 years) from both sides. This workshop, depending on financial resources, could take place in a neutral location, such as Cyprus.

Children with health problems

GOALS

To establish a service in Gaza and the West Bank to detect mental and physical disabilities in 3- to 6-year-old children; develop local skills and tools, as well as two consultation centres to be integrated into the existing health care system in Gaza and the West Bank, using Palestinian, Israeli and international resources.

METHODS

1. *Type of study:* action-research.
2. *Study population:* (a) 3- to 6-year-old children who have no access to health problems prevention or detection services; (b) professionals willing to learn the appropriate skills.
3. *Intervention:* set a variety of programmes which will bring the state-of-the-art knowledge to this field; translate the material into Arabic; develop a service involving health professionals from the West Bank and Gaza, from Israel, as well as from interested foreign countries.
4. *Duration:* two-three years.
5. *Organization of study in the field:* (a) needs assessment; (b) identification of health workers as potential leaders and service providers; (c) preparation, selection of teaching material and translation into Arabic; (d) the search for locations to establish sites of consultation; (e) launching the courses in West Bank and Gaza; (f) on-going training.
6. *Potential risks:* (a) closure of borders; (b) political limitations.
7. *Potential benefits:* (a) creation of a new service capable of preventing serious mental and physical disabilities; (b) enhance peace efforts through the building of professional relations between Palestinian and Israeli health workers.

EVALUATION

1. *Measured variables:* (a) knowledge and professionalism of potential service leaders; (b) validity of translation (reverse translation); (c) identification of preventable or early detectable disabilities; (d) long-term reduction of those disabilities in the population.
2. *Methods of measurement:* to be determined at a later stage.

STAGES OF THE PROJECT

First stage (six to nine months): selection of professional team leaders; creation of an international team to develop the programme; finding a location for the West Bank and Gaza consultation centres.

Second stage (twelve to eighteen months): teaching basic skills through seminars and translation of material.

Third stage (twelve to twenty-four months): on-the-job and on-going training.

Fourth stage: evaluation and reassessment of needs.

APPENDIX I

‘To live together’: a project for evaluating a programme of peace education for Palestinian and Israeli children¹

Daniel S. Halpérin

It is only once it is realized that no one is altogether as black as a devil or as white as an angel, but that we are all as striped as zebras and as grey as donkeys and that the resultant practical conclusions have been drawn, that it is really possible to understand one's neighbour. J. Kunkel

Human history has become more and more a race between education and catastrophe. H.G. Wells

We must work to reconcile the two races of Ishmael and Israel. H. Dunant

INTRODUCTION

Any war implies violence and traumatization. Since Solferino, it has been seen how difficult it is to try and humanize war—is not humanizing the inhuman an impossible contradiction?—and protect its victims on the battlefields, and beyond. It has also been realized that war is a state of material and spiritual confusion, that it is born of confusion at the same time as creating it, and thus becomes a self-sustaining process through its cause and effects. This is why UNESCO declared in its Constitution:² ‘Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed’.

The project ‘To live together’ results from the same cast of thought, and is based on the idea that any attempt to aid

the participants in war, and the victims of war to overcome its traumatic effects must—if it is to go beyond immediate, temporary humanitarian action—bring to bear means of reorienting the minds of the opposing parties, so that they recognize and accept one another.

From this point of view, the only conceivable field of action is education for peace. Widely developed in the aftermath of the Second World War, the concept of peace education is today as topical and powerful as ever. Used in various ways, it is an element in a large number of private or government initiatives. For example, the rapprochement between France and Germany, far from being restricted to economic agreements, was strongly supported by the activities of the Office Franco-Allemand, which enabled thousands of young people to meet each other,

to learn each other's languages and to live several months in a country traditionally considered as enemy.³

The Multi-Faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action (ppAH) was established by Geneva University in 1995 'to provide pragmatic and effective support for humanitarian activities through means at the disposal of the university, i.e. teaching, research and evaluation'. It is based on collaboration between the faculties of medicine, sciences, law, psychology and educational sciences, and various university institutes and governmental and non-governmental organizations. Its research priorities are essentially 'to evaluate the needs and the measures taken and to devise new methods of evaluation adapted to crisis situations'.

The Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War (Geneva Foundation) defines its aim as 'encouragement and promotion of any studies, evaluations, training courses and researches concerned with the health of the victims of armed conflicts'⁴. The notion of health, interpreted in the sense given to it by WHO, includes well-being and mental and social health. The Geneva Foundation is thus directly concerned with the psychological ill-effects of war as they are described below, and with developing the means of preventing or attenuating them. Moreover, the Foundation aims at promoting 'collaboration between organizations with practical field experience and university groups',⁴ particularly by encouraging multi-disciplinary research.

Their terms of reference require the ppAH and the Geneva Foundation to combine meticulous studies with a willingness to engage in humanitarian activi-

ties with long-term, rather than short-term objectives. The project 'To live together' is exactly in line with this requirement, and responds to the challenge laid down by Garbarino⁵ that 'we must force ourselves to both think and feel about the children of war. We must be willing to engage in objective analysis, at the same time as we open ourselves to the pain and the horror.'

OVERALL SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

Psychological effects of war and its associated traumas

The psychological effects of war are better known in respect of combatants than of civilians or children.⁶ Yet, according to UNICEF, the ratio of soldiers to civilians killed in armed conflicts has evolved from 9:1 at the beginning of this century to 1:9 in recent conflicts.⁷

Roughly, and from a nosographic point of view, it is possible to group together the mental troubles observed among all categories of war victims, whether or not they are caused directly by war, and whether they manifest themselves immediately or later on, in the cohort of pathological manifestations connected with stress (post-traumatic stress disorder—PTSD).^{8,9} Among them will be found a whole range of disorders of a neurotic nature (anxiety, a feeling of helplessness, excessive and recurrent fear, sometimes accompanied by intrusive memories or attacks of panic, nightmares, feelings of shame, guilt, solitude and abandonment). To these may be added symptoms reminiscent of the psychotic type of psychopathology in which a dissociative picture predominates, with or without flight

of ideas, and delusions or hallucinations. The accumulation of these disorders may have various consequences:

- development of depressive problems (feelings of despair, aboulia, a prolonged or incomplete grieving process, suicide);
- loss of self-esteem (accompanied by self-reproach, learning difficulties, social marginalization and a tendency to self-destruction);
- loss of esteem for others and of a moral sense (vindictiveness, revengefulness, rage, hate or feelings of omnipotence, dehumanization of others or, yet again, identification with the enemy and his strength) which may end in hetero-aggressive types of behaviour or socio-pathic symptoms;
- psychosomatic diseases (in particular in children: secondary enuresis, abdominal pain, headaches) and disorders of sleep (nightmares, night terrors, insomnia).

All the above phenomena are universal in scope, but they can be approached only in a limited geographical context, and in a way that throws light on the theoretical causes. The approach must bring about a better understanding of the acuteness and depth of the stereotypes that create distrust and reciprocal fear—while helping to transform them into more finely differentiated and less demonized perceptions.

Moreover, while some of the psychopathological elements mentioned above may result from a single traumatic experience, whatever the cause, other elements or a combination of several take root in chronic and institutionalized violence such as is found in many conflicts. Rosenblatt¹⁰ recalls in this respect that 'there are places in the world [. . .] that

have been at war for the past twenty years or more [. . .]. The children in these places have known nothing but war in their experiences. The elements of war—explosions, destructions, dismemberments, eruptions, noises, fire, death, separation, torture, grief—which ought to be extraordinary and temporary for any life are, for those children, normal and constant.'

To what extent can a prolonged conflict induce in children (and in adults) types of social behaviour that, once peace has been restored, remain for a long time adapted to the time of war? To what extent does war bring about in children the notion that the solution of every conflict lies in violence?

What becomes of children, socially and psychologically, who actively or passively take part in the war-like process? What will become of those Palestinian children who, at the heart of the Intifada, were 'throwing stones, blocking roads, burning tires and spraying graffiti',¹¹ but also those (often the same) who suffered reprisals, the closure of their schools, the imprisonment of a near relation or indeed their own imprisonment? What becomes of those Israeli children, bombarded again and again, who live with 'a continuous sense of being alone in a hostile or indifferent world',¹² but also of those—and there are many of them—who have lost one of their family to the war, or to a terrorist attack, and to those who write wall slogans hostile to the Arabs?

Finally, what are the factors of vulnerability peculiar to children, and what protective mechanisms can explain the fact that some of them, although exposed to particularly traumatic events, seem capable of absorbing their impact, and

surviving without damage to their psyche?

An attempt to reply to these questions requires a reference framework that synthesizes the interactions of the numerous individual and social determinants of the impact of war on those faced with it. It is not a matter of engaging in a mere theoretical exercise. On the contrary, clearer specification of these determinants is of value principally for the light it throws on those who are the most realistically capable of being modified or strengthened by a targeted intervention, aimed at either attenuating the psycho-social effects of war, or sufficiently transforming the perceptions, reasoning and attitudes of the individuals or communities concerned, to make even the hypothesis of war less probable.

From ill-treatment to war: an ecological model

The ecological model which Belsky¹³ has developed in regard to ill-treatment of children is applicable to war, which is, in a certain way, an extreme and generalized form of ill-treatment. Belsky suggests that four systems of force, or influence, come into play in determining the impact of ill-treatment:

- *The individual* (ruled by his ontogenetic development). It is at this level that various factors of vulnerability, or resilience connected with the development of identity can be sought. Age, for example, may modify the impact of mentally traumatic events, but in this respect there are lively and numerous controversies.^{14, 15, 16} On the other hand, there seems to be some agreement that girls are less vulnerable to stress than boys.^{17, 18}

- *The family* (which constitutes the child's micro-system). It is obvious that how the family reacts to traumatic events conditions the child's ability to absorb and adjust. Here, when they can, parents act as shields. Anna Freud¹⁹ had already underlined this following the blitzkrieg on London, and Bowlby²⁰ confirmed that parental stress made a strong contribution to stress in children or the reverse, adding that stress itself is also accompanied by the effects of the separation of members of the family so frequent in wartime. The same observations were made in regard to the Vietnam War.²¹
- *The community* (exosystem). The extra-familial, or extended family network (for example grandparents) has a potentially considerable protective role to play. It may supplement the efforts of parents when circumstances make it impossible for them to give their children a feeling of reassurance and safety. Thus, the children in kibbutzim exposed to rocket fire or bombardments seem to show fewer symptoms of PTSD than children in the towns.²² The reassuring and structuring effect of cohesion and solidarity between children of the same age has, moreover, been underlined²³ in the case of children who survived the concentration camps. Schools and, above all, the teaching staff may also offer a second haven of security outside the family unit. According to Garbarino (quoted by Elbedour,²⁴) 'the role of the school as caregiving environment is critical [. . .]. After the family, schools represent the most important developmental unit in modern social systems'.
- *Culture* (macro-system). Analysis here

is at the level of political, or religious ideologies, the fundamental values ascribed to human life, violence, dignity, human rights, etc. The impact of these values on the ability to stand up to, or give way to the stress of war is not well known—even though it seems that the affiliation or identification of an individual with an ideological movement strengthens his capacities for resistance and recovery.²⁵ Eldebour²⁶ quotes the example of a highly religious Jew who, when interned at Auschwitz, was tattooed with the number 145053. Faithful to an ancient tradition, he added up these figures and, finding that they came to 18 (the Hebraic symbol of life), deduced that he would survive the test, and henceforward adopted a resolutely confident and combative attitude.

- To these four systems, Eldebour²⁷ adds a fifth: *the specific level of war*. Indeed, the characteristics of a war—duration, intensity, suddenness—are in themselves capable of modifying, or completely changing its traumatic impact. A long-lasting conflict may exhaust resistance, but may also engender habituation. Bombardments, acts of terror, collective punishments, arbitrary imprisonment and censorship then become facts of everyday life, and apparently can be relatively non-anxiogenic.^{28, 29, 30, 31} But this adaptation to, and acceptance of war as a normal state constitutes a pathological response of denial quite comparable to that described by Summit among victims of incest under the name of ‘accommodation syndrome’.³² In such children, even if there is no evidence of psychological damage, the suffering is often

deep, and there is a moral damage, which may definitively affect social values such as sense of solidarity and responsibility, empathy and altruism.³³

The school as an agent of peace

Since the end of the Second World War, the importance of the school as an agent for teaching peace, tolerance and diversity has been internationally recognized. UNESCO has made this one of its main concerns, and has developed various forms of partnership with this in view, viz. the Associated Schools and Programme of Education in International Understanding.

Unfortunately, the implementation of these teaching programmes cannot be imposed, either by UNESCO or by any other governmental organization, so that today, peace education is not a concrete reality—except where it is not really necessary, viz. essentially in countries at peace. A notable exception is Lebanon, whose government established in 1989, in collaboration with UNICEF and various non-governmental organizations, an education programme designed to replace the war culture by a culture of reconciliation. This programme, still in progress, is based mostly on leisure and holiday activities, and apparently does not include any form of evaluation.³⁴

Considerable efforts have also been made in the private sector (particularly the NGOs). Numerous associations are contributing. Among them are the International Peace Research Association, the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) and the Southern Poverty Law Centre in the United States, the Preparatory Commission for International Congresses

'Education for Peace' (CPCIED) in France, and the School as an Instrument of Peace in Switzerland. Even the universities are beginning to add peace culture or human rights to their syllabuses, as exemplified by Lund University in Malmö with its group 'Preparedness for Peace' (Prof. A. Bjerstedt), Padua University with its centre for teaching human rights (Prof. A. Papisca) and Harvard University with the Francois Xavier Bagnoud Centre for Health and Human Rights (Professor J. Mann).

In Israel, several organizations are active in various ways—The School for Peace in the Arab-Israeli village of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, the Buberian group Education for Peace Project at Ben Gurion University in Beer-Sheba, the Open House in Ramleh, the Jewish-Arab Centre for Peace at Givat Haviva, Beith Haguafen Centre, the Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information, and the David Yellin Teachers Training College in Jerusalem. Since 1986, an independent Palestinian initiative has been striving to promote non-violence and peace by means of a mobile library, which tours Palestinian villages, refugee camps and Bedouin communities.

The promotion of reconciliation by these groups through educational activities—organizing think tanks, documentation centres, training teaching staff, direct teaching of children, or their teaching through real cohabitation—bears witness to an admirable motivation. It seems, however, that in most of these initiatives—and in those undertaken by governments—efforts are mostly concerned with adolescents and young adults, and much less with children at primary school level. Also, in most

projects, there is no element of scientific evaluation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

Objectives

In the present state of knowledge of the effects of war on children, and of the supposed role the school might play as agent and framework for training for peace and prevention of war, more precise data are necessary on the methodology of peace education, particularly among young children; and on the objective impact of such an education in the short and medium term.

The primary objective of this project is to evaluate in the short and medium term the psychological impact at the cognitive and emotional levels, and the medical and socio-ethnological repercussions of a programme of peace education designed specifically for implementing over two to three consecutive school years among Palestinian and Israeli children aged 10 to 12 years.

The secondary objectives are:

- To evaluate the measurable effects of this education programme in relation to: (a) the traumatic events previously suffered by the participating children, and by their families; (b) the relative importance of these events; and (c) the perceptions and attitudes of the parents themselves in regard to the 'adversary' population.
- To establish a model of psycho-pedagogical intervention, which would serve as a basis for devising similar programmes adaptable to the regional and cultural conditions of other populations in conflicts and other forms of violence, including those in the west-

ern countries (inter-ethnic tension, racial incidents in the suburbs, etc.).

- To make political, scientific and educational circles aware of the problem, and also of the value of engaging, on a multidisciplinary basis, in projects with purposes and benefits that concern society as a whole.
- To assert and strengthen the place of academic groups as guides to, and critical observers of humanitarian activities by emphasizing the importance of rigorous evaluation of a project with humanitarian purposes.
- To promote the idea of effective teaching, not only to attenuate the effects of a long-lasting conflict but also to act as a means of prevention.

Overall approach

This is a research-action project, involving a special methodological approach, which combines the scientific rigour of research with the constraints of field action. Instead of following research, the action accompanies and interacts with it. This approach requires a great deal of flexibility, and continuous evaluation, to avoid the double risk of scientific bias or deviation from the objectives. It is based on mutually complementary activities by research workers and field workers, a concerted strategy, a clear definition of the specific roles of each person, essential prior training of the various partners, and on publicity for the efforts of all the partners through the publications resulting from it.

The project will be designed as a prospective, randomized single-blind study. Unlike the double blind method, in which neither the subject nor the evaluator know to what group the subject has

been randomly allocated, only the evaluators who have to conduct the psychological tests will work blind.

Subjects: criteria for selection

The pupils will be selected collectively by classes in the fourth or fifth primary years. The classes will be recruited from public schools in the Israeli and Palestinian school networks, according to local characteristics which have still to be determined. For example, more particular attention could be paid to the regions most troubled by socio-economic instability or military insecurity (Gaza and Hebron on the Palestinian side, Kyriat Shmona and other localities bordering on Lebanon or settlements established in Judea and Samaria on the Israeli side). Or, in an effort to ensure the feasibility of the project, attention could be paid to regions less directly disturbed by the conflict; or the work could be carried out in both types of environment together. The choice will have to be made in agreement with all the partners in the project, and will have to take into account geographical conditions, in order to make it possible for the Palestinian and Israeli classes to meet repeatedly without difficulty.

Size of sample

The number of pupils recruited will be determined once an agreement has been reached on the evaluation tools or measurement scales, and on the teaching programme. These two elements will define both the extent of the field work, and the statistical requirements to be observed. Account will have to be taken of the sensitivity and precision of the measurement scales, as well as the presumed prevalence of the subjects, who will be classi-

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fied by these tools as children psychologically 'at risk'. It is among these children that the impact of the teaching programme, i.e. its capacity to affect the risk detected, can or cannot be demonstrated; and it is the hypothesis laid down at the outset regarding the importance of this impact (for example, that the programme is able to halve the proportion of children at risk) that will make it possible to determine the size of the sample needed for the statistical demonstration of the impact.

Method of selection

As indicated above, the schools will be chosen on the basis of political, technical and scientific criteria. Thereafter, it will be necessary, for both practical and scientific reasons, to draw the participating schools (or classes) by lot, then randomize those to be exposed to psychological evaluations and the teaching programme (study group), and those to be evaluated without participating in the teaching programme, or possibly participating in another programme, for example on health, or again participating in a teaching programme but after a delay (control group).

Parental consent

There will be a strong emphasis on the importance of informing parents beforehand and formally asking for their consent. They have the right to be told of the study's purposes and methods, and their confidence in their child's school must not be undermined by an initiative with which they might disagree. Peace education begins with real discussion, and openness. Also, it will be absolutely essential to be able to question the parents themselves, to determine their own

perceptions and attitudes regarding the problems at issue; and to establish their own level of traumatization. It will be important to clarify this point in particular because of the influence it might have on the reception of the programme and its impact on the children.

Potential selection biases

The selection of the localities where the study will take place could bias the recruitment, and lead to the establishment of a sample of pupils unrepresentative of the population as a whole. However, global representation is not essential. The important thing is to obtain a certain similarity between the two ethnic or national groups studied. Furthermore, informing parents and obtaining their consent will probably lead to the exclusion of a certain number of children brought up in environments hostile to the idea of a rapprochement. The result may be that there will be a majority of children from politically and emotionally moderate sections, in whom the impact of the teaching programme would be more difficult to demonstrate. This risk could be reduced in two ways. The first is through randomization, which will make it possible to offer the teaching programme to only a half of the schools (or classes) recruited. The second is through the potential consequences of a refusal to participate; if this was to force a child to change class or school, it is possible that a number of parents would prefer to let the child participate in the study, rather than complicate his/her school career. Tactically, it will perhaps be useful to carry out the study only in small localities with just one school, and within that school, a single class only for each grade.

Measurements

Below are indicated various parameters which could be measured in children before and after their participation in the teaching programme. It will be necessary to make choices among them, or among others by agreement with all the partners.

- From the medical point of view, enuresis (existence of the problem, duration, frequency); nightmares (frequency); night terrors (frequency); abdominal pain (frequency, severity); headaches (frequency, severity).
- From the emotional psychological point of view: overall level of anxiety, depression, self-esteem and powerlessness, perception of 'the others' (distrust, tolerance).
- From the cognitive psychological point of view: moral judgement, ways of resolving conflicts.

Furthermore, in order to determine the necessary intrafamilial correlations, the same psychological parameters could be measured in the parents of the school-children, from whom a targeted history would have been collected with a view to estimating the degree of their own traumatization, directly or indirectly connected with the conflict, as well as that of their child.

Finally, qualitative socio-ethnological observations could be carried out in parallel.

The measuring instruments or scales will be defined with the help of experienced psychologists and educationalists. Measurements will be taken immediately before the beginning of the teaching programme (pre-test), and after its conclusion (post-test). An intermediate measurement half way through could be envisaged. Care must be taken to ensure

that these scales are as far as possible valid from the transcultural point of view, and have acceptable test-retest reliability.

Potential biases in measurements will be considered when the measurement scales have been finally selected.

Teaching tools

The teaching tools designed to promote reconciliation and peace will be developed with specialists locally, and in Switzerland. They will be bilingual (Hebrew and Arabic), as will the measurement scales. Technical co-operation with the International Bureau of Education (IBE) could be envisaged. The chosen teaching tools could include:

- regular meetings between children for joint games, walks, etc.;
- showing video films (cartoons, for example, in the American Sesame Street series—a version specially designed to bring together Palestinian and Israeli children is now being developed);
- role-playing games (based, for example, on conflict resolution tasks);
- learning the language of 'the others';
- discovery and sharing of the religious festivals of 'the others';
- meals together in order to discover the culinary traditions of 'the others';
- puppet shows or other forms of dramatic performance;
- readings of stories;
- creative activities in the workshop (on themes connected with the relations between the Israeli and Palestinian communities);
- courses on the history of the region, much simplified to take into account the age of the children, but based on a search for shades of the truth. These

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would provide useful benchmarks for the exercise of a more critical and less stereotyped judgement, and to bring out memories of traumatic events that have been experienced, so that they can be seen as part of a more complex social reality.

Alternatively, the teaching tool could take the form of a project which the children would have to carry out jointly. This idea (put forward by Professor M. Huberman) is more difficult; it would necessitate real collaboration, and therefore lead to possible tensions, or conflict. However, it would have the potential merit of leading to more profound, restructuring effects. While the final choices will be left to discussion between the research partners, possible joint projects include:

- renovating or restoring a place, site or building;
- creating a network of meeting clubs for Palestinian and Israeli youth;
- producing an artistic show, such as a theatre play, circus show, or concert;
- creating a local independent radio station broadcasting for Palestinian and Israeli children;
- editing and distributing a children's newspaper (possibly jointly prepared by means of fax or e-mail communication between the classes);
- building-up an actual or virtual project through a computer network, with or without the assistance of video-conferencing.

Development of the study in the field

In view of the great number of partners and participants in the field, the study will have to be managed extremely carefully. The need to develop a bilingual programme will require meticulous attention

being paid to translations. The following phases will have to be undertaken once the essential question of political feasibility has been resolved, and the scientific design decided upon.

Information for the educators. The objectives of the study and its implications, not only for the participation of the teaching staff but on the normal programme of the classes, will be tackled in each school involved. The responsibility for the progress of the teaching programme will, so far as possible, be entrusted to the usual class teacher—because he/she will be the best guarantor of the quality of his/her work; and also because knowing his/her pupils, he/she will be better able to fine-tune the programme to the individual needs of pupils, or of the class as a whole.

Information for the parents. Information meetings will be organized for the parents of the children. In addition to general information on the study, the confidential and anonymous nature of the data collected, and the possibility of refusing to participate will be discussed. These meetings will be held in the presence of the headmaster or headmistress of the school and the teaching staff concerned, and with the support of partners with a good knowledge of the concerns of the families involved and belonging to the same ethnic or national group.

Training of educators and evaluators. The educators will be given specific training on the chosen teaching programme. The evaluators responsible for administering the tests, and chosen from among experienced psychologists, will also undergo training on the tests

selected and the techniques of test marking.

A *pilot study* lasting three to six months will be organized before launching the general study. The pilot study will cover a restricted number of classes and will aim in particular at:

- determining the problems concerned with the marking of the test (pre-tests only);
- determining the problems connected with the launching of the teaching programme;
- evaluating the acceptability of the project, or resistance to it, through a questionnaire to be completed by the educators and the parents. This questionnaire will be concerned with their own views on the subject, but also with those of the children as they will have been able to observe them;
- at the end of this pilot study, the enquirers will analyze the questionnaires, hold interviews where necessary with the educators and evaluators to discuss possible modifications to the project, and give their conclusions to the academic, political and scientific authorities with a view to obtaining formal permission to continue the study.

Duration. In total, the study should last about five to six years, as follows:

- Analysis of political feasibility: six months.
- Final establishment of the project in accordance with scientific and teaching plans: six-nine months.
- Information and training of the educators and evaluators, information of the parents: three months.
- Pilot study: three-six months.

- Implementation of the teaching programme: two-three years.
- Analysis of the data, drafting of the final report: one year.

Supervision and intermediate analyses.

The project leader will have the task of bringing together the scientific, academic and political partners, and planning and co-ordinating their activities; and also supervising, or having others supervise, the progress of all operations. Meetings between the project leader and the principal partners in the field will be held at regular intervals, in turn, in Geneva, in Israel or in the autonomous Palestinian territories. One or more intermediate analyses will be carried out for the benefit of all the partners and the sponsors. These analyses will not deal with the results of the tests, which will be communicated only at the end of the study.

Data analyses

The methodology for analyzing the data will be determined with the assistance of experienced epidemiologists and statisticians. At this stage, it is proposed to allot this task to university staff participating in the ppAH of Geneva University (Professor T. Harding) and particularly members of the staff of the Institute of Social and Preventive Medicine (IMSP—Professor A. Rougemont) and the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences (FPSE—Professor P. Dasen). Other research workers from Israeli and Palestinian academic circles may also be associated with this work.

Publication of the results

Once the data have been analysed, the main results of this research will be

reported in a scientific publication, under the prime responsibility of the project leader and the main Israeli and Palestinian partners. People who have contributed directly and significantly to the design and practical progress of the study will be associated as co-authors. Further partners, consultants and the political authorities concerned, as well as the sponsors, will be identified. This will also apply with other scientific articles that may be written subsequently, dealing with various aspects of this research.

A simpler report will be drawn up in English, Hebrew and Arabic to provide information for all the partners in the project, including the participants themselves and their families, as well as the sponsors. In itself, this information effort could provide considerable incentive to develop this type of initiative more widely in the region concerned.

It can also be assumed that the study, which deals with numerous distinct and complementary fields, will interest various sections of the public, when reached through exhibitions of photographs or videos taken in the field, conferences, round tables, seminars, etc.

Ethical considerations

The project's objectives are positive, and the approach used fully respects the principles of human autonomy and dignity. Some might see in the randomization of the classes or schools a disadvantage for children not given the benefit of the teaching programme. However, to the extent that the effectiveness of the programme has still to be demonstrated, it seems completely justified to use the only approach that will guarantee the scientific validity of the results.

More specifically, the following ethical issues must however be considered:

- *Informed consent*: the consent of parents or legal guardians is envisaged.
- *Confidentiality*: the data collected from children and parents will be treated confidentially. The results of the tests will not be communicated either to the educators or to the school authorities. The data obtained from the parents will not be communicated to the children, and vice versa. Only the overall data, without individuals being identified, will be published at the end of the study. When all the files with the results of individual tests, and names of the children or the parents have been brought together, they will be matched (pre-test-post-test and child-parents) and coded numerically. All mention of names will then be erased or shredded.
- *Negative effects to be envisaged*: the very objectives of the project may put certain participants—children or adults—in an uncomfortable position in regard to themselves or their family or social group. If this unease gives rise to too much conflict, they will be entirely free to refuse their participation. It is to be hoped, however, that a positive, respectful and open approach will calm down such feelings. It cannot be excluded *a priori* that the teaching programme itself will not have a paradoxical impact, perhaps provoking among certain people reactions or attitudes of rejection or entrenchment of identity, reinforcing ethnocentrism instead of attenuating it. Inversely, it may reasonably be hoped that the evaluation of the children and their parents, and particularly the exposure of the children to the

teaching programme, will have a positive impact on some or all of the participating families, and on the community environment in a wider sense, in particular the teachers. The gradual increase in open-mindedness among the children, and their progressive release from the stereotype straight-jacket, may bring about in their families a similar greater awareness; an advance in ideas tending towards those of the children or the freeing of certain mental blocks.

- *Possibility of withdrawal:* ending the participation of a child, or its family will be guaranteed throughout the study.
- *Guarantees of scientific independence:* the political authorities will be expected to guarantee scientific independence. They must also agree that data giving names may in no circumstances be consulted by the school or political authorities, and that they will have no right of veto or censorship over publication of the results. These results will be discussed before publication with the authorities, whose advisory opinions will, if necessary, be taken into account by the researchers.

SCIENTIFIC, PEDAGOGICAL AND LOGISTICAL PARTNERSHIPS

Provisionally and without excluding others, scientific, pedagogical and logistic partnerships may be considered with certain of the following institutions:

- **Geneva:** ppAH (Prof. T. Harding); FPSE (Prof. P. Dasen); IMSP (Prof. A. Rougemont); International Bureau of Education (BIE, UNESCO—Mr J.C.

Tedesco); International Committee of the Red Cross (Mrs E. Baeriswyl).

- **Israel/Palestinian Autonomous Territories:** Tel-Aviv University (Dr R. Zuzovsky); Haifa University (Prof. G. Salomon); Jerusalem University (Prof. M. Ma'oz); Ben-Gurion University, Beer Sheba (Prof. D. Bar-On); Bir Zeit University, Ramallah (Prof. S. Aweiss); Bethlehem University (Prof. B. Sabella); An-Najah National University, Nablus (Dr. A. Habayeb); David Yellin Teachers Training College, Jerusalem (Dr I. Zimran, Mr M. Hourani); The School for Peace, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam; The Open House, Ramleh (Mr Y. Landau); Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information, Jerusalem (Dr M. Darweish).

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATION OF FEASIBILITY

Everyone so far informally consulted about the project agrees on the need to give concrete support to the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, while realizing it will be a long and arduous task. Rather than providing scattered assistance in small areas, this project could offer a stimulating and promising field of action to those bodies in Switzerland and the rest of Europe that wish to be involved.

Political feasibility

From both the psychological point of view (climate of détente and mutual recognition; the turn towards the future and useful projects, particularly in economic matters and scientific co-opera-

tion), and from the point of view of international law, the rapprochement between Israel and the Palestinians represents a major factor in weighing up the chances of success of this project.

The principle of peace education is specifically included in the provisional Israeli-Palestinian agreement on Transjordan and the Gaza Strip signed 28 September 1995. In chapter IV ("Co-operation") of that agreement, article XXII, para. 2, states; 'Israel and the Council (term designating the interim Palestinian autonomous authority) shall ensure that their respective educational systems contribute to peace between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and in the whole of the region, and abstain from introducing any matter that might be capable of damaging the reconciliation process'. Even though these provisions seem to be concerned chiefly with abstention from the use of propagandist methods in the educational systems, and do not explicitly mention active teaching of peace, there is clearly on both sides a declared and legally binding willingness to work for reconciliation through education.

New political realities may arise following the rightwards turn of the new leaders of Israel, and a hardening of positions may be feared. However, this pessimism should be allayed by recalling that projects for peace education—and particularly the activities since 1979 of the School for Peace in the Arab/Israeli village of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam—have over many years received the support of successive, including right-wing Israeli governments. Moreover, the peace process launched between Israelis and

Palestinians has been accompanied by a considerable number of bilateral commitments ruled by international law, and it will not be easy for either party to evade those commitments. The economic stakes should also act as catalysts for peace, and the new Israeli government may also paradoxically be quite willing to broach the subject as a fairly safe means of demonstrating its open-minded and peaceful position.

TIMETABLE

- 01.10.96–15.11.96: Consolidation of the scientific part of the project, particularly the measurement tools and description of the teaching programme. Simultaneous establishment of contacts with the political, educational and scientific authorities on the two sides and continued development of basic scientific documentation.
- 16.11.96–31.12.96: Visit to Israel and the autonomous Palestinian territories by the project leader with a view to meeting the Israeli and Palestinian political, educational and scientific authorities and working out with them a mode of co-operation acceptable to all.
- 01.01.97–15.03.97: Recapitulation in writing of any agreements obtained previously or, in their absence, continuation of negotiations. Another journey may prove necessary. In parallel, continuation of the establishment of the scientific and educational partnership.
- 16.03.97–31.03.97: Summary of the approaches made and their results; presentation of a detailed report to the Geneva Foundation. The remainder of

the timetable will obviously only be justified if the project is accepted politically.

- 01.04.97–21.12.97: Final definition of the scientific, educational and financial aspects of the project. In this phase, the project leader will go several times to the area to organize, or supervise the recruitment of schools and classes, and to meet the heads and teaching staff concerned. The distribution of tasks, selection of evaluators, and the modes and places of training for the teaching programme will have to be settled. In parallel, the project leader will draw up a precise overall budget, and ensure that the funds needed for financing the project are obtained.
- 01.01.98–31.03.98: Information and training of educators and evaluators, informing parents, obtaining of consents.
- 01.04.98–30.06.98: Pilot study.
- 01.07.98–31.08.98: Summary of the pilot study, interim report, discussion with the partners of possible modifications to the project, final agreement from the political authorities.
- 01.09.98–30.06.00 (or 01): Implementation of the teaching programme over two to three consecutive school years. An annual report of activities will make it possible to monitor progress.
- 01.07.00 (or 01)–30.06.01 (or 02): Work on the data, including coding the files, introduction of the data into a computerized database, statistical analysis and global qualitative analysis of the project. Beginning of presentations of the results at scientific meetings, drafting of the final report and of the main scientific publication.

FUNDING

At the moment, it is not possible to draw up a precise budget for all the research, since it will have to take into account elements that are as yet unknown, such as the cost of measuring instruments, the cost of the periods of training of educators and evaluators, their possible remuneration, the size of the sample (on which the number of educators and evaluators will depend), needs for equipment, etc. Therefore, it would be better to wait for the political feasibility of the project to be demonstrated before tackling the financial aspects head on.

However, in the opinion of several experts, such a study should easily obtain the support of local or international foundations, such as the Jacobs Foundation (Switzerland), the Mérieux Foundation (France), the Ford Foundation and United States Institute of Peace (United States of America), the Adenauer, F. Ebert and Volkswagen Foundations (Germany), the Clore Foundation (United Kingdom), the New Israel Fund (Israel), the Van Leer Foundation (Netherlands). If necessary, there is also the option of requesting subsidies from the Swiss National Fund for Scientific Research and/or from European governments or from the European Community itself.

SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

Scientific scope

The development of a methodology for peace education and its rigorous evaluation constitute an original and important project from a scientific point of view, because it will:

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- obtain precise and credible information on the effectiveness and psychological impact of a programme of peace education in a context that really involves an old and long-lasting conflictual situation;
- undertake short and medium-term evaluation of that impact on a very young population;
- provide better knowledge of the psychological profile of two populations in conflict, including parents and children, which will make it possible to try to establish correlations between the histories of traumatization linked with the conflict, the degree of psychological disorder, family perceptions and attitudes in regard to the other side, and the effects of the teaching programme.

General scope

Over and above the scientific aspects the project will help:

- To promote peace education in general, and encourage its practical implementation on a wider scale.
- To promote a better understanding between Palestinian and Israeli children, with the hope that this understanding will spread out in concentric circles to involve, little by little, a growing number of children, parents and educators.
- To demonstrate the advantages of a multidisciplinary approach, and a scientific, political and teaching partnership.
- To show the role of school and teaching staff in a training, which not merely aims at the acquisition of knowledge, but may also strive to promote fundamental values.
- To provide school authorities with

teaching data applicable in other fields of learning.

- To help certain children and/or their families to understand in a more open-minded and more detailed way their conflictual problems, and perhaps to alleviate the risk of certain children developing mental disorders and/or aggressive or antisocial types of behaviour.

Windows on the future

Whatever its conclusions, the research will open windows towards new prospects, in particular:

- if its effectiveness is demonstrated, the utilisation of the teaching programme as a model that can be adapted to other places or to other age groups;
- if it should prove ineffective, a search for explanations that may lead to the devising of new work hypotheses and hence new experimental paradigms.

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APPENDIX II

Workshop participants

Participants from Israel (I) and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). (Names marked with an asterisk indicate invited chairpersons.)

- Ms Itaf Arafat ABU ZAYYAD, Women Community College, Ramallah (PNA)
- Prof. Sami ADWAN, Faculty of Education, Bethlehem University, Bethlehem (PNA)
- Mr Jamal AL-SHOBAKI, member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Hebron (PNA)
- Prof. Salem AWEISS*, Faculty of Education, Birzeit University, Birzeit (PNA)
- Dr Elia AWWAD, Director Child and Family Consultation Center, Jerusalem (PNA)
- Prof. Dan BAR-ON, Dept of Behavioral Sciences, Ben-Gurion University, Beer Sheva (I)
- Dr Marwan DARWEISH, Director, Peace Education Project, Israel-Palestine Center for Information and Research, Jerusalem (I)
- Dr Ruth FIRER, Truman Institute for Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (I)
- Mrs Daphna GINZBURG, Director, Kindergarten, International YMCA, Jerusalem (I)
- Mr Wilhelm GOLLER, Principal, Talitha Kumi School, Beit Jala (PNA)
- Dr Ali HABAYEB, Dean, School of Education, An-Najah National University, Nablus (PNA)
- Mr Muhammad HOURANI, Head of the Arab programme at David Yellin Teachers College, Jerusalem (I)
- Mr Hussein Ibrahim ISSA, Director, Al Amal Flowers School, Bethlehem (PNA)
- Mr Nedal JAYOUSI, Peace Education Project, Israel-Palestine Center for Information and Research, Jerusalem (PNA)
- Dr Edy KAUFMAN*, Exec. Director, Truman Institute for Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (I)
- Mrs Hadara KEICH, David Yellin Teachers College, Jerusalem (I)
- Dr Ifat KLANG-MA'OZ, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Jerusalem (I)
- Prof. Lya KREMER-HAYON*, School of Education, Haifa University (I)
- Mrs Nadia NASSER-NAJJAB, Director, Palestinian Peace Information Center Al-Jiser, Jerusalem (PNA)

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- Dr Sarah OZACKY-LAZAR, Jewish-Arab Center for Peace, Givat Haviva (I)
- Prof. Bernard SABELLA, Faculty of Sociology, Bethlehem University, Bethlehem (PNA)
- Dr Shifra SAGY, Center for Dialogue between Populations in Conflict, Ben-Gurion University, Beer-Sheva (I)
- Prof. Gavriel SALOMON*, Dean, School of Education, Haifa University (I)
- Dr Ephraim SNEH, former Minister of Health, member of the Knesset, Jerusalem (I)
- Dr Fathi SOBH*, Director, Tuffah Educational Development Center (TEDC), Gaza (PNA)
- Prof. Zahava SOLOMON, School of Social Work, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv (I)
- Dr Fayeq TAHBOUB, International Commissioner, The Palestinian Scout Association, Ramallah (PNA)
- Mrs Michal ZAK, The School for Peace, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam (I)
- Dr Samir ZIARA*, Director, School Health Services, Gaza (PNA)
- Mr Morris ZILKA, General Commissioner, Israel Boy & Girl Scouts Federation, Tel Aviv (I)

Participants and observers from Switzerland

- Mrs Edith BAERISWYL, Cooperation-Diffusion Division, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
- Prof. Emer. Antoine CUENDET, Faculty of Medicine, Geneva University, and Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War
- Prof. Pierre DASEN*, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
- Dr Daniel S. HALPERIN, Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War, and Multi-faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action, Geneva University
- Prof. Jean HALPERIN, Department of Philosophy, University of Fribourg
- Prof. Timothy W. HARDING*, Director, Multi-faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action, Geneva University
- Prof. Emer. Michael HUBERMAN*, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
- CC Philip JAFFE, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
- Mr Jacques MOREILLON, Secretary General, World Organization of the Scout Movement, Geneva
- Prof. Luc PAUNIER, Faculty of Medicine, Geneva University, and Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War
- Prof. Micheline REY*, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
- Mr Eric ROETHLISBERGER, Vice-President, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
- Prof. André ROUGEMONT*, Institute of Social and Preventive Medicine, Geneva University

- Dr Rémi RUSSBACH*, International Committee of the Red Cross, and Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War

Guests at the opening session

- Mrs Martine BRUNSCHWIG-GRAF, Minister of Education, Geneva State Council
- Dr Peter EICHENBERGER, Military Federal Department, Chief of Health Affairs, Bern
- Mr Paul GROSSRIEDER, Director General, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
- Mr Charles MERIEUX, President, Marcel Mérieux Foundation, Lyon (France)
- Mr Guy-Olivier SEGOND, Minister of Health and Social Action, Geneva State Council
- Mr Juan Carlos TEDESCO, Director, International Bureau of Education, Geneva
- Mr Michel VEUTHEY, Assistant to the President, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva

Members of the Steering Committee

- Prof. S. ADWAN, Bethlehem (Co-chair)
- Prof. G. SALOMON, Haifa (Co-chair)
- Prof S. AWEISS, Birzeit
- Dr R. FIRER, Jerusalem
- Prof. L. KREMER-HAYON, Haifa
- Dr D. S. HALPÉRIN, Geneva (Co-ordinator)

Local Organizing Committee

- Prof. Emer. A. CUENDET
- Dr D. S. HALPÉRIN
- Prof. T.W. HARDING
- Mrs E. NYFFENEGER
- Prof. L. PAUNIER
- Dr R. RUSSBACH
- Assisted by Mrs J. CAMU of the Marcel Mérieux Foundation

APPENDIX III

Behind and beside the 'To live together' Project

The following list includes the names of the many people who, in one way or another, participated in the construction of the project 'To live together'. Some of them may, in fact, have been critical of the project, or even opposed to it, but their arguments and analyses were as necessary to its development as the support of others. Although most of the listed people could not be invited to the workshop, it is the feeling of the organizers that their names should be associated with it, as well as with further efforts to help building peace in the Middle-East.

Name, first name	Title	Affiliation/institution/activity
Abed, Yehia A.	Dr	Director-General, Research, Planning and Development Center, Ministry of Health, PNA
Abeysekera, Gamini	Dr	Special representative, UNICEF West Bank and Gaza
Abraham, Ada	Prof.	School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Abu Zaida, Sofian	Mr	Director, Israeli Desk, Ministry Planning, International Co-operation, PNA
Abu Zayyad, Itaf Arafat	Mrs	Women Community College, Ramallah
Abu Zayyad, Ziad	Mr	Chairman, Palestinian Peace Information Center Al-Jiser, Jerusalem
Abusharr, Rizek	Mr	General Manager, Jerusalem International YMCA
Adwan, Sami	Prof.	Faculty of Education, Bethlehem University
Al-Shobaki, Jamal	Mr	Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Palestinian National Authority
Alkan, Mickael	Prof.	Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Soroka Medical Center, Beer Sheva

Amir, Rehavam	Mr	Former ambassador of Israel and President of David Yellin Teachers College, Omer, Israel
Amireh, Omar	Mr	Teacher, Aida Refugee Camp, Bethlehem
Aphek, Edna	Prof.	Open Thinking, The E. Alternative, Jerusalem
Aweiss, Salem	Prof.	Faculty of Education, Birzeit University
Awwad, Elia	Dr	Child and Family Consultation Center, Jerusalem
Babaooff, Arash	Dr	University of Cincinnati, United States of America
Baeriswyl, Edith	Mrs	International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
Bar-On, Dan	Prof.	Center for Dialogue between Populations in Conflict, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva
Bar-Tal, Daniel	Prof.	School of Education, Tel Aviv University
Bardin, Hillel	Prof.	Computer Center, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Bargal, David	Prof.	School of Social Work, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Baruch, Ilan	Mr	Director, Palestinian Autonomy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem
Baskin, Gershon	Prof.	Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information, Jerusalem
Basta, Samir	Mr	Former Director, UNICEF Geneva Office
Berger, Rony	Dr	Buber Center for Continuing Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Bertrand, Dominique	Dr	Multi-faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action, Geneva University
Bitton, Michael	Mr	Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
Bodmer, Gaspard	Mr	Former Ambassador of Switzerland in Israel
Bouvier, Paul	Dr	Institut de médecine sociale et préventive, Geneva
Brand, Eugene L.	Dr	Lutheran World Federation, Geneva
Braverman, Avishay	Dr	President, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva
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Brun, Bernard	Mr	Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War
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Cuendet, Antoine	Prof.	President, Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War
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Dumbleton, C.W.	Mr	Translator, Newmarket (United Kingdom) and Geneva
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Einstein, Shlomo	Prof.	Psychologist, Jerusalem
El-Ghoul, Fathma	Mrs	Principal, Sawaha School for Girls, East Jerusalem
Elbaz, Shlomo	Prof.	The East for Peace (Hamizrah El Hashalom), Jerusalem
Emmanuel, Shoshana	Prof.	Open University, Tel Aviv
Enoch, P. D.	Dr	Tel Aviv University, School of Social Work
Eppler, Elizabeth	Dr	World Jewish Congress (retired), Jerusalem
Eskidjian, Salpy	Mr	Executive Secretary, International Affairs, World Council of Churches, Geneva
Eytan, Walter	Mr	Former Ambassador of Israel, former Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem
Ferlut, Fabrice	Mr	Centre culturel de France, Ramallah

Firer, Ruth	Dr	School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Freiberg, Reinhard Yoav	Dr	Truman Institute (formerly Director UNICEF, Geneva Office), Jerusalem
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Gabay, Mayer	Mr	UN Administrative Tribunal (formerly Director-General, Israel Ministry of Justice)
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Grossrieder, Paul	Mr	Assistant Director Operations, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
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Hareven, Alouph	Mr	Co-Director, Sikkuy, Association for Advancement of Equal Opportunity, Jerusalem
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Kainan, Anat	Dr	Research Department, Kaye College of Education, Beer Sheva
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Klang-Ma'oz, Ifat	Dr	The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute
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Milgrom, Jeremy	Dr	Rabbi, Director 'Rabbis for Human Rights', Jerusalem
Monod, Ninette	Mrs	Swiss Embassy, Tel Aviv
Moreillon, Jacques	Mr	Secretary-general, World Organization of the Scout Movement, Geneva
Mu' allem, Naseef	Mr	Director-General, Palestinian Center for Peace and Democracy
Nasser-Najjab, Nadia	Mrs	Palestinian Peace Information Center Al-Jiser, Jerusalem
Nusseibeh, Sari	Dr	Palestine Consultancy Group, Jerusalem
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Ornstein, Shosh	Mrs	David Yellin Teachers College, Jerusalem
Ozacky-Lazar, Sarah	Dr	Jewish-Arab Center for Peace, Givat Haviva
Paunier, Luc	Prof.	Former Vice-Rector, Geneva University
Paz, Shaul	Dr	Director, Unit Education Democracy and Co-existence, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem
Peaucelle, Christophe	Mr	Consul of France, Jerusalem
Peretti, André de	Prof.	Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, Paris
Polla, Barbara	Dr	Environment and Health Programme, Geneva University
Prywes, Moshe	Prof.	Editor-in-Chief, Israel Journal of Medical Sciences, Jerusalem
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Raiser, Konrad	Dr	Secretary-general, World Council of Churches, Geneva
Rey, Micheline	Dr	Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, Geneva University
Ringart, Igal	Mr	Bond Blades International, Nazareth
Roberfroid, André	Mr	Regional Director, UNICEF, Office for Europe, Geneva
Roethlisberger, Eric	Mr	Vice-President, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
Rougemont, André	Prof.	Institut de médecine sociale et préventive, Geneva University
Rubinstein, Amnon	Mr	Member of the Knesset, former Minister of Education, Israel
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Sagy, Shifra	Dr	Department of Education, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva
Salomon, Gavriel	Prof.	Dean, School of Education, Haifa University
Sandretto, Gene	Mr	Hope Flowers School and Al-Amal Childcare Center, Al-Khader
Schnabel, Ora	Mrs	Teacher, Municipal High School 'Harishonim', Herzlia
Schwartz, Bertrand	Prof.	Formerly at Université de Paris-Dauphine and President CNUCES
Segal, Yehuda	Mr	Former Director, ORT Centre d'éducation de base, Kfar Saba
Segond, Guy-Olivier	Mr	President, Département de l'Action sociale et de la santé, Geneva State Council
Serero, Mathias	Mr	Director, Institut Maïeutique, Lausanne
Shapira, Adina	Mrs	Teacher, Jerusalem
Shilo, Rachelle	Mrs	Executive Director, Abraham Fund, Jerusalem
Shoket, Avi	Mr	Ambassador of Israel, UNESCO, Paris
Sirat, René Samuel	Mr	Grand Rabbin, Président Académie Hillel, Paris
Sitbon, Claude and Ayala	Mr/Mrs	Jerusalem Foundation/Ministry of Education, Jerusalem

Smaga, Daniel	Dr	Division de Médecine psychosomatique, Hôpitaux universitaires de Genève
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Sobh, Fahti Ahmed	Dr	El Azhar University and Tuffah Educational Development Center, Gaza
Solomon, Zahava	Prof.	School of Social Work, Tel Aviv University
Sonnenschein, Nava	Mrs	School for Peace, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam
Ta'amri Saleh	Mr	Member of the Legislative Council, PNA
Tahboub, Fayege	Dr	Director General, Ministry of Youth and Sport, PNA; National Commissioner, Palestinian Scout Association
Tal, Nava	Mrs	Teacher, Ramat Moriah School, Jerusalem
Tartir, Ziad	Mr	Educational advisor, UNICEF West Bank and Gaza
Tedesco, Juan Carlos	Mr	Director, International Bureau of Education, Geneva
Tomkiewicz, Stanislaw	Dr	Hon. Director of research, INSERM, Paris
Tschoumy, Jacques-André	Mr	Former Director, Institut romand de recherche et de documentation pédagogiques, Neuchâtel
Tschoumy, Thierry	Dr	Médecins du Monde (former delegate to the West Bank and Gaza)
Tsur, Goni	Mrs	Jerusalem Foundation
Vannotti, Marco	Dr	CERFASY, Neuchâtel
Veuthey, Michel	Mr	Assistant to the President, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva
Vichniac, Jacques and Isabelle	Mr/Mrs	Political analysts, correspondent to 'Le Monde' in Geneva
Viviani, Marilena	Mrs	Educational advisor, UNICEF West Bank and Gaza
Warchawsky, M.	Mr	Former Chief Rabbi of Strasbourg, 'Rabbis for Human Rights', Jerusalem
Weber, Luc	Prof.	Former Rector, Geneva University
de Weck, Jean-Baptiste	Mr	Swiss National Commission for UNESCO, Fribourg
Wubbels, Theo	Prof.	Interfacultair Instituut voor Lerarenopleiding, Utrecht University
Yakir, Ruth	Prof.	School of Education, Tel Aviv University

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Zak, Michal	Mrs	School for Peace, Neveh Shalom/Wahat al-Salam
Zarmi, Shulamit	Mrs	Iyumin Bitkhumat Israel, Sde Boqer
Zaru, Jean	Mrs	Teacher and peace activist, Ramallah
Ziara, Samir	Dr	Director, School Health Services, Ministry of Health, PNA
Zilka, Morris	Mr	General Commissioner Jerusalem, Israel Boys and Girls Scout Federation,
Zimran, Ithay	Dr	Dean, David Yellin Teachers College, Jerusalem
Zmora, Ehud	Dr	Director, NICU, Soroka Medical Center, Beer Sheva
Zughayar, Ghaleb A.	Dr	Pediatrician, Makassed Hospital, Jerusalem
Zuzovsky, Ruth	Prof.	School of Education, Tel Aviv University

APPENDIX IV

Profiles of sponsors

The *Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War* (Geneva Foundation) has been in existence since 1994. It defines its aim as ‘encouragement and promotion of any studies, evaluations, training courses and researches concerned with the health of the victims of armed conflicts’. The notion of health, interpreted in the sense given to it by the World Health Organization, includes well-being and mental and social health. The Foundation is thus directly concerned with the psychological ill-effects of war or of protracted conflicts—particularly as they pertain to children—and with the development of means of preventing or attenuating them. Moreover, the Foundation, according to its by-laws, aims at promoting ‘collaboration between organizations with practical field experience and university groups’, particularly by encouraging multi-disciplinary research.

- Geneva Foundation to Protect Health in War
6, route de Ferney
1202 Geneva, Switzerland
Telephone : +41.22-733.74.00
Fax : +41.22-733.74.12

The *Multi-Faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action* was initiated in 1993, and officially established by Geneva University in 1995 ‘to provide pragmatic and effective support for humanitarian activities through means at the disposal of the university, i.e. teaching, research and evaluation’. It is based on collaboration between the faculties of medicine, sciences, law, psychology and educational sciences, economic and social sciences, and various university institutes and governmental and non-governmental organizations. Its research priorities are essentially ‘to evaluate the needs and the measures taken and to devise new methods of evaluation adapted to crisis situations’.

- Multi-Faculty Programme for Humanitarian Action
Centre Médical Universitaire
9, avenue de Champel
1211 Geneva 4,
Switzerland
Telephone : +41.22-702.56.00

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Fax : +41.22-789.24.17

E-mail : timothy.harding@medecine.unige.ch

The **Marcel Mérieux Foundation**, created by and named after one of the closest collaborators of Louis Pasteur and presently chaired by his son, Dr Charles Mérieux, has been known not only for its widespread activity in the field of vaccination and immunotherapy (which, in the last decades, has had a profound impact on the immunization status and health of Palestinian children), but also because of its involvement in public health and in humanitarian action. Privileged working relationships have been launched with the Institute of Social and Preventive Medicine at Geneva University, and the Foundation has recently initiated a Mediterranean public health network, the success of which, it considers, is closely tied with the establishment of a lasting peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

- **Fondation Marcel Mérieux**

Centre des Pensières

55, route d'Annecy

74290 Veyrier du Lac,

France

Telephone : +33-450.64.80.80

Fax : +33-450.60.19.71

Founded in 1925, the **International Bureau of Education** (IBE) became an intergovernmental organization in 1929 and, since 1969, has been an integral part of UNESCO. The mission of the IBE is to strengthen the capacity of the Member States of UNESCO in the fields of curricular reform, teaching methods and teacher training. It fulfils this function through: educational information and documentation; comparative research on education; and political dialogue.

- **International Bureau of Education**

P.O. Box 199

1211 Geneva 20,

Switzerland

Telephone : +41.22-798.14.55

Fax : +41.22-798.14.86

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Internet: <http://www.unicc.org/ibe>

Any war impacts material and spiritual confusion—form of confusion—which becomes a real learning process through its causes and its effects. Any attempt to aid the participants and victims of conflict to overcome its traumatic effects must—beyond immediate humanitarian action—redirect the minds of the opposing parties so that they recognize and accept one another.

Little is known about how much anxiety, psychosomatic complaints, aggressivity, behavioural disorders or school failures are linked with the direct or indirect consequences of conflict. In what way could such problems be counterbalanced, or even corrected? Is there any kind of educational programme that could offset the cohort of pathological manifestations connected with stress, simultaneously strengthening the construction of peace?

At a time when politicians were entering an era of peace-making in the Middle-East, it was thought that the moment might be ripe for Palestinians and Israelis to venture into joint research projects. One potentially fruitful project was an examination of the effect of long-term, protracted conflicts on the mental and social health of children. The 'To live together' proposal was conceived as a promising instrument to test such an approach, and to explore the motivation of academics and field workers in Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Territories for peace education.



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