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# Dialogue With Conflict

Jewish-Palestinian Educational Projects in Israel

**Anders Høg Hansen**

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Anders Høg Hansen, Nottingham/Copenhagen, Summer 2003.

## Abstract

The thesis explores the complications of dialogue between parties in conflict. The aim is to examine whether changes of perception and identity are occurring in particular educational co-operative projects in Israel, and to assess what is accomplished in the projects and by what means. It adopts the work of Bakhtin (1981 and 1994), Ricoeur (1983 and 1999), and Bhabha (1992), to analyse unfoldings of self and other and expressions of longing, belonging, space and power. The key-concepts upon which the investigation is structured are Bakhtin's *heteroglossia* and the *dialogic*, Ricoeur's *narrative* and *re-configuration* and Bhabha's *hybridity* and *third space*.

Field research was conducted at a few well-established co-operative settings in the country: The educational centre *Givat Haviva* and the School for Peace at the Jewish-Palestinian Arab village *Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam*. The empirical material concentrates on work between Jews and Palestinian Arabs with Israeli citizenship. Two projects of different duration and approach were chosen for closer investigation: a two-year junior high school project at Givat Haviva, and a short, three days long encounter project for high school students provided at both settings.

Narrative and oral history methods, drawing upon Portelli (1996), are used to analyse often compound and condensed narratives in interviews, and the concepts of self and other are addressed in relation to the role of historical narratives and memories in the formation of national identities.

The analysis is related to recent writing and research on contemporary Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel, as for example Nir and Galili (2000), on the historical construction of national narratives, e.g. Kimmerling (1998) and Khalidi (1999), and on the development of educational co-operative projects, e.g. Abu-Nimer (1998), Rustin (1998), Maoz (2000), Hall-Cathala (1989), and Halabi (2001). By this the thesis attempts to contextualise the close-up work at a few settings in a wider, diachronic/historical as well as synchronic/spatial and contemporary analysis.

The thesis, which builds on four visits to Israel over three years - before as well as during the second intifada - furthermore addresses pedagogical philosophies on the social nature of learning, and on learning as practice. The theories on learning and practice, Freire (1996), Lave (1991), and Bourdieu (1990), are used as a stepping stone to characterise and critique the educational methods.

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# Chapter 1

## Dialogue With Conflict

- Introduction

**The beginning revisited**

The editing of the first lines of the thesis takes place on a windy and wintry day in early 2003 while Ariel Sharon is winning the election in Israel and another brick is laid down in the wall, slowly being set up by the State of Israel to fence off the West Bank. The impetus to my work on Israel-Palestine came though at a time when most people thought Sharon was history and a wall as conflict-fence didn't seem likely in Israel-Palestine. This was in 1997, four years after the Oslo declaration, four years after the first intifada, and almost four years before the second one. I was sitting in a university campus kitchen ploughing through Edward Said's *The Politics of Dispossession* instead of doing the dishes.

This thesis investigates conflict coping activities in educational settings in contemporary Israel. My aim was from the beginning to head below the news headlines, the street violence and governmental and militant manoeuvres, to address some unusual and rare attempts to deal with conflict at the level of civil society. Although I hardly believed in these other ways as a significant leap toward a solution of the problem, I was nevertheless intrigued, and to some extent also impressed by the more peaceful ways of contact.

Spending seven years working with youths in a table tennis club in my hometown outside Copenhagen has provided a familiar backbone for me to pursue work in the area of civil society – and also some confidence in judging the impact such experiences can have for the people involved. But I wanted to move to quite different settings and contexts.

The sense of orientation towards work on the civil society level (the term dealt with in Chapter 4) undoubtedly provided the impetus in parts. My MA work - though largely textually orientated with modules on the Holocaust and the writing of history, the German *historikerstreit* and Orientalism - led me to Edward Said's work on Palestine. There was at least one place today where these issues were crossing each other, as we spoke in class and turned the pages: in

Israel! My MA dissertation investigated the representation of nationality and religion in Israeli and Palestinian political discourse. This generated further research issues that directed me to do field research and to address education and learning approaches that involved conflictual identities and alternative pedagogies.

The research was initially prompted by a question about the possibility of finding spaces that would enable conflictual parties to work towards a way of living, not only side by side, but also *together*, to reconstitute a kind community. These conflictual situations are fairly common - Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine being well-known examples - but the processes and mechanisms involved in moving beyond conflict are not well understood. At the early stage of the research, I examined the extent to which Bhabha's notion of *third space* and Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* could provide theoretical models for understanding such lived, real spaces. Further to this, I found the idea and practice of dialogic communication and participation in common activities as central problems to be investigated. The after-Oslo period with a rise in co-operative activity at the level of civil society, pointed towards the possibility to test the problems with field research. The sense of timing became more cruel than expected, since the later parts of the research in Israel took place after the outbreak of the intifada. In any case, issues about identity and its reconfiguration, and about the narratives that hold together a community (or tear them apart) seemed to be fruitful to research through a mix of interviews, visiting organisations and communities, and investigating real situations and activities (apart from reading texts). The early field research I conducted brought other problems to the surface, particularly about narratives of (be)longing, memory and the conditions for dialogue. Selected works of, for example, Bakhtin and Ricoeur proved to be useful (in combination with notions adapted from Bbabha) in providing concepts to interpret the data, as I shall discuss below.

What follows is an account of the different elements that map out the connections I have made and which also describe the scope and purpose of the research.

The next section, *Coping through dialogue*, is an outline of the research area, research questions, concepts and methodology, followed by *Settings, projects and contexts*, a presentation of the empirical focal points. Further sections are explorative and questioning in nature, allowing me to outline the core issues in terms of the theoretical apparatus and approach. *Tactics from below?* characterises the activities in projects that work against the stream. *Space for dialogue?* investigates notions of space, and the particular spaces researched. *Bakhtin and the dialogic?* and *Ricoeur and time and narrative* elaborates two core theoretical inspirations for the analysis, including key terms such as *dialogue* and *narrative*. *Dialogue as action for change* questions the possible outcome for agents and agencies and the re-configuring potential of such

projects. *Learning interactions* addresses the pedagogy of the projects, the particular forms of learning in these alternative educational settings and as well the pedagogy of the remaining thesis.

**Coping through dialogue**

My research investigates how representations of power, (be)longing and identity are being expressed, challenged, and developed, in educational projects for Jewish and Palestinian youth in contemporary Israel. This means that it addresses projects for Israel's Palestinian Arab and Jewish citizens only, not Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. This focus and limitation will be discussed in the course of the thesis.

In the line of the research aim above, the thesis addresses *educational* projects rather than cultural exchange or coexistence projects. The educational projects may easily 'coexist' with the cultural exchange, while not all cultural projects attempt to incorporate an educational element. Furthermore, the research is concerned with an approach to conflict, which deploys meanings of coping, rather than recipes for resolution. *Coping* with conflict is not a rare activity in this world, as opposed to the *resolution* of conflicts. By this, I hope to address projects that in their approach might be realistic or do not ignore reality. We may change *perception*, but we are not very likely to change the world, unfortunately. The word *coping* is, to begin with, understood in a very broad sense, not necessarily sticking to the commonsensical notion of coping as a peaceful and friendly getting-by-with, or handling of, problems that we are caught up with by accident, *force majore* or through our own actions. Coping is also understood as any other sort of *situated response*. Silence and separation, or arguments and talk, are all means of conflict coping that we do to engage in to get rid of, or work through, a problem. Conflict coping can as well be a bodily activity, not relying on recall, or reflection; a game of table tennis? A quick pint in the pub? But coping also emerges as forms of more direct *harm* - harming the other, or oneself, by means of different forms of violence; by deprivation of resources, by words and injurious speech[1], disrespect, direct and indirect labelling and racism, or by other means of physical violence: violence that harms a body as a direct consequence of an action, for example by throwing a stone at somebody, blowing up a nail bomb in a café full of people, or firing teargas, rubber bullets, or just plain metal bullets from a tank or machine gun, against a crowd, to name some of the most common forms of physical violence in Israel.

[1] The term 'injurious speech' is borrowed from Judith Butler (1997, introduction) indicating that language doesn't just assist violence, but can be a violent performance, with words, and that it can disable further language.

The emphasis is, as I have explained, on conflict coping, or dispute processing, under very complicated and unequal power relations where participants and facilitators are dealing with themes that are beyond their means of solution. I attempt to detect and discuss the possible learnings associated with such processes, and in order to conduct such an analysis it is not so useful to aim for conflict resolution theory. Instead I use cultural theories - including theory on dialogue, narrative and time - and theories from pedagogy (on the social aspects of learning) to address the expression of identity, the *I* and *other*, the production of meaning and the learnings around negotiations of identity. I have attempted to analyse in the contexts of history and power, and particular narratives of (be)longing.

Theories that address the concept of *dialogue* are thereby central, but it is not easy to find a way of writing about dialogue, to use the word 'dialogue' and apply theory and methodology - no matter its ability to illuminate and make sense of a difficult world. The situation is this: I am finding myself writing about rare dialogues and alternative attempts to address conflict, while the everyday experience of Israel for some doctors is the removal of metal remnants, rubber bullets, grenades and nails from dead children's bodies.

Some of the people who have participated in the projects have been on the streets rioting, as an interviewee told me (see interview with Shuli)[2]. Some of the participants are going to the army soon, almost half of them in fact: the Jews (see interview with Esther). Nevertheless, I am investigating to what extent some of the other forms of engagements with conflict, apparently non-violent in the physical sense, in a contemporary conflict ridden society is *dialogic,* if and how dialogue can be viewed as being integral to coping with conflict, and if and how these forms of dialogue and exchange can change, or remould, the people involved. Particular pedagogic forms mediated with sensitivity within particular contexts, carefully reflecting upon the histories involved, may have the ability to trigger re-configuration processes of persons and groups, thereby also affecting the interpretation of the context. For a start the possibility for a *durcharbeiten* (working through) after Ricoeur (1996) together with the *creation of new memories* could perhaps be a way forward.

Emphasis has shifted back and forth in the course of the thesis and left me bewildered and betwixt these two inseparable forms or means of 'getting on' with life: both needed and both major bricks in any *re-configuring* process (Ricoeur, 1983). A working through coupled with

[2] Shuli Dichter and Jalal Hassan, two former co-directors of the project *Children Teaching Children* appear throughout the thesis with their real names. They have not objected to this, and they have not asked for approval of quotes or transcript. I am also using newspaper articles where their names appear as well as primary text articles - analysed in Chapter 5 - which they have co-written. I often need to refer to this context of texts and utterances. I have for example commented on the relation between one point in the interview and one in a written text or newspaper article where the names are mentioned. All other interlocutor names are changed.

new memories might be a beginning for people who are not in a position to resolve, but only able to try other means, involving, committing and dedicating themselves, and maybe also friends, colleagues, families.

In terms of theoretical approach I am exploring the dialogic potential among oppositional speakers. The inherent *heteroglossic* character of language and speech (Bakhtin, 1981) may leave us with a grain of optimism on the beach of conflict: meaning appears, and disappears, in this tightrope-walk between individuals in time and context (to be elaborated in upcoming section on Bakhtin). This fluidity can, more profanely speaking, threaten the very possibility of plain communication but it also grants us the ability to recognise acts of speaking as often covering more than one lane of meaning. Meaning comes to life, orally or in written form, through a range of spontaneously memorised voices: the agency of the subject shouting, being constitutive, within a pre-existing structure, a structure already constituted. Furthermore, the agents circumscribed – no matter in how many different avenues of speech - may yet be encouraged to change direction or break barriers through the very pedagogies unfolded.

Terry Lovell, who draws upon Bourdieu, argues that *agency* does not come out of the blue. It is already circumscribed and supported, and thereby also dependent on forms of authority to feel able to go against the grain. Grounds for actions are prepared beforehand. The ability to transform or change lies in the "interstices of interaction, in collective social movements in formation in specific notes, rather than in the fissures of a never-fully-constituted self", Lovell writes (2003: 2). Our actions are thereby always caught in a double: mirroring conditions and structures that on the one hand limit action, but also provide basis for, or encourages, certain actions and speech.

In this attempt to come to terms with understandings of voice and meaning beyond the singular it is necessary to explain the use of the term *dialogic*. One aspect of *dialogue* is the level of conversation between two speakers, but in a particular form: two individual speakers affecting each other with *utterances*[3], a conversational ping-pong causing mutual adaptation, learning and change. This is one form of responsiveness in dialogue, as described by Bakhtin (1986: 91). Utterances are followed by other utterances or responses, spoken or written. There is no such thing as an isolated utterance or an utterance outside positioning. The utterance takes a particular position in a sphere of communication (1986: 91) and each utterance involves a speech plan or a will (1986: 77). However, we also need to recognise another sort of

[3] The marker of the *utterance* – in Bakhtin's definition – is its quality of being directed to someone. Words and sentences, on the contrary, are impersonal, and not addressed to anybody. Utterances have an author and an addressee, and the expectations of the author moderates the utterance and affects the choice of device and style (Bakhtin, 1986: 95).

responsiveness, also a core feature of the understanding of the dialogic in this thesis: this is the multiplicity of voices *within* single individuals, and particularly individuals who are part of a conflict, and who live in contexts of fear and threat[4]. The dialogue between different individuals also triggers an inner dialogue, an exploitation of the inner, often paradoxical voices, laid bare in the process of explicit conflictual dialogue between parties A and B, whether on a group level or an individual level. The inner dialogues and thoughts are as well the material to re-mould and change. A dialogue is inevitably made possible by some mutual ground which I would term *trialogue*, whether this be a form of shared interpretation, knowledge of a theme, or *dialogic overtones*, in the Bakhtinian sense. Monologues, on the other hand, do not necessarily rely on a trialogue, but can do: a monologue can make perfect sense and change your life, or it can be like listening to a language never heard before.

It is with these understandings and conceptions of language and social action as paradoxical, as oscillating between meanings, as healing and injurious, as defensive/defending but also as listening and open to re-moulding, that this thesis is founded and from which the theory on dialogue takes off. In summary, the facilitators and the teachers cannot *settle* the dispute, even though disagreement among the people who meet may be less than in mainstream society (especially the facilitators share many views which Chapters 5 and 6 will show). However, they might be able - through dialogue and particular pedagogic tools and ways of processing the dispute - to unfold reasons for 'how it came to this' and be able to discuss the issues, and suggest ways of living with it constructively. That is to say, to find ways of being able to live with the past as well as possible ways to move forward. At some point even society may be able to change. The important point here is that some change in perception is a condition. The settings may provide a new 'time', although the 'timing' never seems to be there - an issue to be explored when dealing with Bhabha's concept of third space and Ricoeur on time and reconfiguration later in this Chapter. These are important notions to hold together.

**Settings, projects and contexts**

The particular sorts of coping that have been the driving force of this work is civil society educational activities between the Jewish and Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel where groups of people negotiate difficult social and political barriers of conflict. The empirical work is concerned with Israeli citizens, not involving West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, though the theory and history throughout the thesis, particularly in Chapter 3, address the wider context, as the projects inevitably do as well.

[4] This argument will be unveiled in the course of the thesis, beginning slowly in this chapter, but with more detail, using field material, in Chapters 5 and 6.

These forms of projects, not only the ones to be presented and investigated here, are few and unusual, hardly attracting one percent of the total population yearly. However, in the organisations that promote these activities the level of activity can seem impressive, taking into account the presence of the conflict. In the 1980s and the 1990s the *coexistence industry* (Na'amneh, 2001), a phrase discussed in Chapter 4 and 5, had peak periods[5] with a proliferation of hundreds of projects in Israel between Jews and Palestinians, Palestinians from Israel as well as from the territories[6]. Only a minority of these could be defined as belonging to the category which is to be the focus in this thesis, namely, the professional educational programmes that, to some extent, also allows for an explicitly political negotiation. The *coexistence industry* was at that time largely made up of temporary cultural exchange activities. A more thorough history of these forms are dealt with in Chapter 4's analysis of the peace movement and educational co-operation.

The severe physical and mental separation of Jews and Arabs in Israel has over the decades, interestingly I think, manifested itself in very little violence between the different groups, such as the Arabs of Israel – which include Muslims, Christians and Druze - and the majority of Jews, whether *Ashkenazim*, of European descent, or Mizrachim, meaning Oriental (Stendel, 1996. See also Chapter 3). The violent encounters have been in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza or through suicide bombing, where it is most often an Arab who *enters* Israel from the territories to kill himself and surrounding civilians, in shops, on pedestrian malls, in buses and so forth.

The second intifada has made the remaining crossing much harder. The size of the country makes physical proximity inevitable, and the establishment of major Jewish settlements and cities in formerly Arab towns creates colonial situations of either islands within or mixed neighbourhoods. A classic example is Jerusalem, though this is one of the few places in Israel – alongside Tiberias - where the Jewish population can be traced back as long as the Palestinian. More illuminating are the early twentieth century settlements: Tel Aviv in 1909, alongside Jaffa, or the transformation of Haifa and Acre into mixed cities during the first half of the twentieth century, the transformation of Ashkelon and Ashdod into Jewish cities, or the establishment of

[5] There is an irony to the peak of encounters in the mid-90s, a period where the linguistic illusion of the 'peace process', apparently created a spin-off in the coexistence industry instead of appropriating the changing facts on the ground. The peace process was in reality a 'settlement process', an exploitation of an interim to hollow out the very principle upon which Oslo was created: a separation of the cake into two coherent parts. For accounts of the Oslo process, see e.g. Amira Hass, *Haaretz* 21 February 2001. The settlement process have been continuously reported on websites or/and newsletters from a range of NGOs, e.g. News from Within and the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions, Gush Shalom, The Alternative Information Centre and B'tselem.

[6] The New York based Abraham Fund has been one of the major foreign sponsors. In their annual reports, 1999 and 2000, they list more than 100 projects.

Upper Nazareth, the Jewish suburb to the Christian and Muslim Palestinian Nazareth, shortly after the 1948 war - also called *al-nakba/war of independence* (Palestinian and the Jewish Israeli name, respectively) - or the influx of Jews to the former Palestinian centre of Ramla. Apart from these more heavily populated areas, in comparison with villages and towns, the country has a series of mixed or physically proximate Jewish-Arab villages, or Jewish versus Arab villages along the Green Line (Rabinowitz, 1998, Roman and Weingrod, 1989, Boyarin, 1996 and Gonen, 1992. See also map before the bibliography).

**Tactics from below ?**

The interest in the particular educational projects is derived from a concern with the 'below', or the *emergent*, in this case as a means of coping, and to some extent also change. The emerging or emergent is not an island detached from a wider context, but a response to it. In the case of conflict education in Israel I will test a preliminary perspective and view the practices as *tactical* means (de Certeau, 1984) of handling or fighting against the prevailing atmosphere and relations in the region. The concept of *tactics*, as opposed to *strategies,* is used here to describe an *art of the weak* (de Certeau, 1984: 37): the means with which people attempt to turn a situation or context beyond their control into minor victories or advantages. It is a back-against-the-wall practice manoeuvring within limited options, grasping opportunities of the moment as a self-empowering endeavour. A *strategy* on the other hand is a planned, panoptic practice from a position of control, a thought-through action prepared from a plateau, outside the *modus operandi* of the everyday (de Certeau, 1984: 35-37, term from Bourdieu, 1990). One could also argue that the Jewish Israelis enter the projects from a position of control, able to perform *strategies* as a form of appeasement, a silencing of the enemy within Israel. Does this occur through talking as *symbolic violence*? These early assumptions will be investigated and claims refined, nevertheless it can as well be argued that the intifadas have temporarily brought these tactical and strategic practices to a halt over the last decades. But on the other hand, the projects exist because of the conflict.

I have been focusing on a few projects offered at two of the oldest centres for educational co-operation in the country. Firstly, the Jewish-Arab Centre, formed in 1963 at the educational campus, *Givat Haviva*, founded in 1949. *Givat* is the Hebrew word for a small hill, the second word, *Haviva*, is from Haviva Reik, a Jew who resisted Nazi occupation but who was killed when she parachuted into occupied Slovakia. Secondly, the School for Peace, established in 1982, at the small village *Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam*, meaning 'Oasis of Peace'. This is a community of approximately four hundred Jews and Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, approximately half of each, set up by an Egyptian born Dominican monk of Jewish extraction in

1972(!)[7]. The projects investigated are: encounter projects for high school students running at both settings and a two year long junior high school project running at Givat Haviva only. The encounter projects are headed by a joint team of Jewish and Arab Israeli facilitators who take the participants through a range of games, activities and dialogues in smaller groups - eight to sixteen people, explained in detail in Chapter 5 and 6 - as well as larger groups, bi-nationally as well as uni-nationally, over two to four days at the particular setting. The junior high school project is radically different since it is a two year long in-school project taking place in junior high schools and with occasional encounters at Givat Haviva between teachers, or/and pupils. Jewish and Arab facilitators follow or facilitate particular classes, respectively, and incorporates issues on identity (personal, communal, national and so forth), language, politics, religion, democracy and citizenship into the curriculum, issues that are as well addressed today in the encounter project . The two-year project YAMI, Hebrew for *yeladim melandim yeladim* is in English named *Children Teaching Children.* This name was initially given to the project when it had quite another format, focusing on Jewish and Arab children teaching each other Hebrew and Arabic respectively (See interview with Esther).

2001 was a turbulent year for most educational projects due to the impact of the intifada, and also for Children Teaching Children where directors and facilitators left or were fired, fewer schools participated, and the profile was adjusted. People I interviewed during visits in January and October 2000, and who had shaped and developed the projects for years, had left when I returned in October 2001. More discussion of this in Chapter 4 and 5.

During four field trips during the research I have been speaking to Jews and Palestinian Israelis, both organisers and participants, teachers and high school students, the latter the soon-to-be new generation of adults, challenging or maintaining the present political and cultural atmosphere in the country. As a way of introducing the wider contextual issues to be investigated in Chapter 3, I will shortly characterise the ethnic make up of identity in the country.

Israel has got approximately one million indigenous Palestinian Arabs with Israeli citizenship, amounting to circa nineteen percent of the total population, the territories not included. They live mostly separated from Jews and attend their own schools. The Palestinians of Israel are mainly Muslim, but there is also a minority of Christian and Druze. They are Arab and Palestinian - an issue of identity to be examined further in Chapter 3 - but they do not live in the territories and they have Israeli citizenship. They speak almost fluent Hebrew, a sort of

[7] Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam, situated between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa, was founded in 1972 on 100 acres of land leased from the adjacent Latrun Monastery. In the first years it was mainly a meeting-place and campsite. In 1977 the first family came to reside. See a resident oral history of the village in chapter 5.

stepmother tongue, and English as a third language. Arabic is their mother tongue. The Jewish population is a mix of *Ashkenazim*, i.e. of European descent and *Mizrachim*, Oriental Jew. In both groups there are secular as well as more traditional and orthodox groupings. In particular Jews descending from Arab countries tend to be more religious. Furthermore, a minority of black Jews from Ethiopia entered the country in the early decades of statehood. In the early 1990s a large number of Russian Jews began to arrive after the Soviet bloc collapsed. Both Jews and Palestinians are, so to speak, groups with borders running through their tongues; multiple cleavages exist and they are constantly challenged with finding a home in a mosaic of possible and complicated allegiances, in terms of Israeliness, nation, ethnicity, religion, local and regional identity, to say nothing about gender, race and class differences. Issues that are, equally, fields of struggle in Israel.

Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam might, at their best, be able to mirror the spectrum of past and present histories, politics and social relations, and provide a setting that can become a microcosm from where one can study the constructions of identity, (be)longing and possible change. Anton, a Muslim Palestinian from Nazareth, frowned "Es reflectiert nicht die realität" (It doesn't reflect reality), when I asked him about the work at Neve Shalom (January 2000). He spoke better German than English. This quote represents a very typical suspicious attitude toward contact work. What is the use? And why talk if one part is so much more powerful? The irony is that the dialogues between mightier powers, though carrying a theoretical potential for change on a larger scale, has seemed worthless.

"I don't know how effective we are", an interlocutor sighed during an interview. 'You are probably giving people something', I responded, in an attempt to say something uplifting. The projects - whether effective or not and whatever their aim - are interesting because they attract large amounts of foreign sponsor money which helps them to stay alive. The human engagement is impressive too. These 'from below', or non-state orchestrated, attempts to bridge people in one or another way have over the last 25 years been tireless - despite a reality characterised by separation and unequal power relations, and a systematic oppression of Palestinian opportunities within the state[8].

[8] General volumes and articles on Arab society in Israel and Arab-Israeli relations within the state: Ori Stendel (1996) and Sammy Smooha (1978 and 1982) and Rouhana and Ghanem (1999). On civil co-operating attempts: The Abraham Fund, 1996, 1999 and 2000, a New York based organisation aiming to fund and maintain coexistence projects in Israel. See Chapter 4 for an assessment of the coexistence-philosophy.

**Space for dialogue ?**

I will from now on try to sharpen and specify the concepts at stake and to reconceive and specify the theoretical means with which I have tried to structure this journey.

The aim has been to find out how and if the projects worked as terrains for developing strategies of selfhood, singular or communal or post national. Are they innovative sites of collaboration and contestation? Through the focus on Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam[9], I have been looking for sites of mobile, shifting and inventive subject and group positions (Pile and Keith, 1997: 101-103) and possible *third spaces* (Bhabha, 1990 and 1994). Before elaborating a particular understanding of *third space* in the thesis, I will try to get to terms with the concepts of *space* and *place.* One illustrative entry point is to view place as space that has been *named*, or to which meaning has been ascribed (Squires et. al., 1993: xii). In the case of Israel, the Jews viewed it as a process of (home)naming by making the desert bloom, referring to the Bible, and in the period of the *Yishuv*, literally inscribing a home by ploughing the soil and settling the land. In this sense home can also be altered or erased: hundreds of Palestinian communities formerly located in, for example, the Ashdod and Ashkelon region and eastward into Negev in southern Israel were destroyed in the period after the 1948 war (Hass, 1996: 152). *Place* is not authentic or static, as Massey has argued (1994: 1-7), but something that is made, and un-made. It is inevitably moulded, but interestingly it is at the same time naturalised in its homeliness. It is made to look bounded. It *appears* to be a place of continuity and history. Massey argues for an understanding of the spatial as politicised and not as empty, or *stasis*, as she says (1994: 4). The search for place implies an imposition of boundaries and a need for security (Massey, 1994: 4). With this idea in mind I approach a terrain of possible compromise and contest, a domain of re-ploughing where *space* is understood as a ruptured ground, rather than the naturalised *place,* and this also has implications for understanding *borders* and *boundaries*, an issue I will return to in Chapter 3 when dealing with the narratives of and demarcation of the nation. In parallel to this adaptation of the concepts, I would also adopt a time and narrative perspective and view space as memories of a past, an interpretation of a present, and imaginations or visions of a future. Let me then move on to the *third* space before exploring the time and narrative dimension.

[9] The thesis looks closely at two of the major settings for Jewish-Arab educational co-operation in Israel: Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. Among other lasting initiatives are e.g. Beit Hagefen in Haifa, a Arab-Jewish cultural centre, and two research centres also doing educational work: IPCRI, the Israeli-Palestinian Centre for Research and Information, the Van Leer Institute and the Adam Institute. A few bi-lingual school classes also run, for example in Misgav in the Galilee and in the Jerusalem YMCA.

The educational sites presented are spaces of staged struggle and representation, but a discourse is always already running beneath. It is sites where a symbolic, structuring violence, invisibly condition the tracks from where the discussion can proceed. It is a space of two peoples, on one land, but with funding from, largely, one people: the Jews, particularly Jews in US and Europe. Its Jewish Israeliness and its Westernness inscribe a certain affiliation. This limitation to the possibility for the creation of a *third space* furthermore signify the settings. Dualisms lead to the reproduction of power relations and power dichotomies, and often unequal ones. The third may blur or disguise inequalities that are exported into a new synergy or hybridity. The projects and settings are not places where power practices are balanced out between adversarial groups. The point is - and this could be the possible usefulness of the theoretical elaboration of *third space* - that the educational projects and the settings provide an entry into the development of new strategies, a repositioning and *ambivalent enunciation* (drawing upon Bakhtin, 1981), and furthermore a processual engagement with the past and the future in a *now* that may - as mentioned earlier in the chapter - have a *re-configuring* potential (concept from Ricoeur, 1983). The argument is that a sudden break, in the form of a new and different experience, may affect future life and maybe also the ways the past is interpreted. Narratives of identity and history relate to memory, and thus to a process of temporalisation. A *reconfiguration* is in this understanding seen as a 'new time' The question is the extent and the conditions in which a present event or process may cause a change in the perception of oneself in relation to a community, as earlier pointed out. Despite continuous tragedies and a deadlock in the conflict, something might, however, have changed? This is a point to remember when addressing the issue of *space*, previously introduced, and then *time* which will be in the next section. The two issues need to be connected. The issues of enunciation and re-configuration, partly through dialogue, thereby touch upon the issue of language and the change that this may have on speakers and listeners. This leads on to Bakhtin and Ricoeur.

**Bakhtin and the dialogic**

When theorising language Bakhtin is not starting from an assumed stability of the sign, but rather in the coming-to-life, situated use of the sign, in utterance and dialogue between people, which is where meaning emerges. Language gains particular meanings, and often contradictory meanings, in tight-rope-walking exercises of social interaction where utterances are coloured by circumstances, culture, power, the specificity of the situation and the individuals participating.

A word, or words, do not just come out of the dictionary with fixed singular meanings; they are double or twofold acts at least, becoming meaningful between the one who speaks and the one

who listens in face to face or imagined sets of communication. 'Understanding', as Voloshinov from the Bakhtin circle describes it, is reached in a shared territory as a *we-experience* (Nilsson, 2000). But how can we be sure that a *we-experience* is happening, if more than one voice leaves our mouths or pencils when we speak or write? Is it because this phenomenon, called social *heteroglossia* in Bakhtin (1981:263), rely on a structuring principle or a narrative-organisation that links it to other narratives? Bakhtin calls his phenomenon of structuration a *chronotope.*

Let me move closer to some interpretations of the term *dialogue* in Bakhtin. The dialogic is a form of *I* and *You* relationship, and furthermore a relationship where multiple conceptions of social life operate through utterances where no words are spoken without an evaluative accent, according to Simon Dentith (1995: 38). For Bakhtin, dialogue is an on-going, unfinished *polyphony* which does not lead to resolutions or endpoints, inherently conditioned by *nesavershennost,* an un-finishedness or openness, and leading to a view of cultural units, texts and speech as open (Holquist in Bakhtin, 1986: xiii). It is therefore neither leading to a Hegelian dialectic or a Habermasian *communicative understanding* or *action* (Hirschkop, 2000: 83-93).

So if dialogue is dynamic, and constitutive of self and other, I find it useful to add some theorising on *time* in this practice, apparently as moments of speech coming out of the body or the text in the run of time, packed with layers of other moments and times and as well with visions or indications about future moments. So if dialogue is time bound, what is said or spoken must be continuously re-ordered or re-*emplotted* and *re-configured* (Ricoeur, 1983, part 1, chap. 3).

I will call the *chronotope* a form of *emplotment*, and stress that what I am searching for is the organising, supporting principles for understanding the key-terms among the dialogues and texts I am investigating. However, these principles are changing in the course of time, dialogue and new experience, especially among new participants who may find themselves pulled up from *old roots* on to *new routes* (Gilroy, 1993: 133) where they become confused and unsettled. So, I think that the apparatus presented so far could serve partly as a methodology for analysing texts, oral communication and interviews[10] and histories containing ambivalent layers of speech or just confessions where speakers (or writers) are struggling with competing histories and painful experiences. What is still needed is some more theorising on *time*. Before developing this, I will ask: Is it sufficient to use Bakhtin when dealing with institutionalised and pre-orchestrated communication with certain ideologies and pedagogies structuring discourse?

[10] A thematic coding method, of key words, is employed here, before looking at longer extracts and discussing how themes are connected. It is explained and illustrated in Chapter 5.

Let us try to imagine *dialogue* as improvised, jazzy guitar and piano-duets (using some ideas from Phil Cohen, personal email, 25th June 2001). This may be a romantic conception, but it could nevertheless serve as an illustration of how two parties are following each other; adapting, taking lead, going wrong, coming back, and acting more or less freely within a space where the rules seem to disappear - *seem* (since jazz is as structured as language). This may be a space for discursive breakthroughs. Opposed to this, we have other sorts of dialogues or ping-pong structured or policed by more explicit rules and a pre-planned agenda. The point here is that the more personalised *styles* unfolded rely upon *speech genres.* Style and genre are linked, and historically and continuously moulded. Where there is a style there is a genre. The utterance takes up a particular position in a sphere of communication (Bakhtin, 1986: 91) and each utterance involves a speech plan or will (Bakhtin, 1986: 77). The utterance relies on relatively stable, although also inexhaustible, genres (Bakhtin, 1986: xvi and 60), and the speaker addresses a *what* (object of discourse), an *addressee*, and as well a *superaddressee,* a particular image in which the speaker model belief. This is *a priori* to speech, a third or hidden element, the already-said that members of a community share by virtue of having become members (xviii). The question of *superaddressees*, and as well *dialogic overtones* - what must be taken into account to understand fully (Bakhtin, 1986: 91) - are important features of the interview accounts and of conflict dialogue in general, as I will show in Chapters 5 and 6.

The project Children Teaching Children is definitely not jazz, but there are grounds for un-planned turns or space for improvisations. In these educational projects, facilitators and participants might get a fair chance, or even get encouraged, to take their styles further away from the genres of mainstream Israel - the Jewish Israeli and the Palestinian Arab Israeli national discourses. The organisations and projects do have a structure, though. They are institutionalised and run with certain ideologies and pedagogies. My aim is to begin to unpack these pedagogies, chronotopes and emplotments to understand what kind of dialogue it is.

What I need to look at, as well, is - referred to earlier as the *inner voices* - what Bakhtin calls *inner speech* (Bakhtin Reader, 1994: 49) which is also understood as a form of dialogue. This is not dialogue among persons, but internal dialogue - the presence inside one's mind of other voices and thoughts, which is the result of previous conversations and reflections. It relates to the ambivalent and the inherently dialogic character of opinion formation. Voloshinov argues how inner speech or impressions of utterances are joined with one another - and alternate with one another - according to evaluative and emotive correspondence in close interaction with the social situation and the historical conditions (Voloshinov in Bakhtin Reader: 57)[11].

[11] Vygotsky uses similar concepts, yet slightly different in meaning: inner speech is speech for oneself, while external speech is for others, quite simply (1962: 131). Vygotsky's approach is not explored here, but his simple distinction is returned to in the analysis of interviews.

To put it simply, there are in speech and dialogue, as well in the inner activities, two forces. Firstly the unifying, centre-pushing forces: *centripetal*, relying on a system of linguistic norms. Secondly there are at the same time the *centrifugal*, spreading, disseminating, unsettling forces of heteroglossia (Bakhtin Reader: 74-75).

I will now move on to search for a way of theorising how one word is formed in the atmosphere of the already spoken, as Bakhtin puts it (Bakhtin Reader: 76).

**Ricoeur on time and narrative**

Ricoeur seeks for a reconciliation of phenomenological and cosmological time, the former concept inspired by its use in Augustine and Merleau-Ponty. In these concepts I see an opportunity to reflect upon how dialogues are uttered, or happen, in the run of time, but also within qualitative experiences of time, paying attention to the significance of particular events, where narratives and meta-narratives serve as guardians of time. Narrative becomes the vehicle with which we open and heal rifts and with which we organise events (Wood, 1991: 2-13). It is through time and also through the act of telling and re-telling our selves, our communities and nations we become somebody or something specific. It is the stress on narrative, memory and time in Ricoeur - particularly working on adding a time-dimension to *plot* in Aristotle and narrative in Augustine[12] - I find useful to apply together with Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia and dialogue.

When people speak, memories are used to play with our human time, the phenomenological time, in relation to the time scale of, for example thirty five years passed in my life, where a few years here and there seems to be vague and distant (maybe repressed?), and a few days, years or months, some of them even long before the vague ones, are very present. The point is that human or phenomenological time pays attention to the fact that not every day of our life has the same significance. For Ricoeur, memory is a living, unsettling, changing, manipulating 'archive'. Not a traditional archive, but one where we, in telling, make re-arrangements or re-emplotments and create something symbolic, as in the case of the emergent national discourse

[12] Ricoeur elaborates on the time-dimension using Augustine's dialectic of the three-fold present where "the past is no more and the future is not yet" (Augustine, 1961: 264), yet leaving the *present* up to a question of interpretation or in an ungraspable state. Augustine says: "As for the present, if it were always present and never moved on to become the past, it would not be time but eternity" (264). Ricoeur then attempts to add a temporal dimension to muthos (emplotment) and mimesis (active process of imitating/representing), which he argues is missing in Aristotle. Plot is in Aristotle defined as "arrangement of incidents" (Aristotle, 1997: 11). Ricoeur says that "*Poetics* is silent about the relationship between poetic activity and temporal experience" (Ricoeur, 1983: 31).

for the Palestinians, and for Jews the homecoming and the creation of the state. So a narrative is harnessing time, and resisting it: to tell a story is to build something outside time, while time passes. To tell a story, and to get a response, or to address the stories and responses through particular activities, marks a possible new time in these troubled *third spaces*. Not troubled in the same violent sense as buses with suicide bombers or West Bank check points or buildings with Hamas leaders and innocent people, taking shots from Israeli war planes and tanks, but troubled because they may serve as soundboards or as space and time for an explicitation of the conflict in a 'peaceful' contact zone. It is a third space for negotiation by other means, a new time, or a sudden break of phenomenological time, in Merleau-Ponty's sense - a significant and very different stop (and experience) on the train of natural, cosmological time, one could say. This marks a potentiality, something to be realised, a departure of hope and maybe a step forward. A minor form of emancipation may be felt by taking the very step. The 'new time'[13] of the third space works as a sense of rupture and confusion in the natural flow of cosmological time where hope is limited or has disappeared. The settings, to be introduced, do in some sense provide a break with the repetitive problems of the everyday or with problems that have been repressed in order to offer another way of dealing with the conflict and life in general.

I interpret Ricoeur's writing on selfhood and agency in Oneself as Another (1992: 1-3) and the article Memory and Forgetting (in Questioning Ethics, 1999: 5-11), as a time bound search, a gradual adaptation and change, i.e. as an exploration of agency with *durcharbeitung* or working-through, an *ipse* - selfhood - opposed to a more circling, repeating or repetitive identity, lacking the ability to act, and thereby just re-producing the same, the *idem* - sameness. The idem is a repetition, a sort of denial, not open for change, and thereby, ironically, not working with memory. The ipse is an acceptance of being caught, and acting, in the run of time, adapting to demands and being untied and ready to go!

An analysis sensible to the productions of ipse vs. idem, working through versus repetition, and the articulation of ambivalent opinions and feelings, personal, national and other narratives, which change over time, are useful in my approach to oral sources. The questions that arises are concerned with the idea of a re-configuring agency and how projects for change fit with

[13] The Greeks offer some interesting conceptualisations of *time* which might be worth keeping in mind. *Kairos* indicate a break with the natural stream or flow of time. It is the time where something new happens, where eternity breaks in. It is a point it time. *Kronos/Chronos* (in English the word *Chronology* is derived from Kronos), on the other hand, is the natural stream or flow of time. It can be interpreted as a natural or expected time, a predictable ticking of the clock of life, not necessary understood as standstill or repetition or *idem* in Ricoeur's sense (could as well be neutral cosmological time in Merleau-Ponty or a more positive Kierkegaardian repetition, a source of happiness and comfort), but for people in Israel the natural time of confrontation and violence might cry for *Kairos* – a break. For definitions see, for example, www.philantropy.bm or www.thesolcafe.com

conceptualisations of *action* and the *impact* of the action. What sort of action for change are we talking about?

**Dialogue as action for change ?**

*Dialogue* in the way it is used in this thesis, specifically relating to conflict dialogues, emphasises the negotiation, change and multiplicity of voices inside and in between speakers. It is not just viewed as a progress to understanding and agreement between singular voiced speakers. Dialogue as action should therefore not, as earlier noted in the section on Bakhtin and the dialogic, be confused with the Habermasian *communicative action* (Hartley, 2000: 71-82), but rather as forms of action that recognise the strategic content that I would presume is inevitably inherent, since the system travels into the life world of encounter projects, where fierce strategies, injurious speech and symbolic violence easily could be confused with *verstehen*, an empathetic search and engagement. Furthermore, the Habermasian notion of communicative action implies that an interactive universalism exists in an ideal speech community. This community then gains validity from a common platform of justice, fairness and impartiality. This does not seem to be the platform for Jewish-Palestinian conflict work: it is rather a conflictual test of power and identity, coming to terms with questions of occupation and (be)longing. So can we call it ideal speech situations in a shared *lebenswelt*? No.

For a start, I leave the communicative action behind. Instead I will suggest that all parties are mixing a personal and societal level, and that they play out a game of (em)powerment where one party might gain superiority in one field and vice versa. For example, the Arabs speak Hebrew, while the Jews don't speak Arab. On the other hand, the Jews possess the land, resources and a strong Zionist education opposed to the weaker in-betweenness of being Arab, or a *trapped minority* (Rabinowitz, 2001: 64), in a Zionist state. These issues are all influencing the practices, in terms of confidence and power, as I will show (see especially analysis of text on encounter projects in chapter 5).

The idea of a space for the creation of new memories was one of my initial theoretical focus points. This idea was linked up with the use of the metaphor and concept *third space*, as I said earlier, in order to describe such a setting and to suggest the needed newness of such a space, a third one, which is not mine, not yours, but ours, social! The newness and the equality can nevertheless easily be denounced. There is first of all a danger of conceptualising using a term that can be used as an easy metaphor to encompass too many sorts of activity in space. Therefore, I will try to specify as I proceed presenting the settings, texts and interviews. Furthermore, the fact of the non-spontaneity of the set-up may be taken into account. These are

institutionalised, structured encounters, though not restricting the chances for spontaneous behaviour when people get started. Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam may create temporary, common sociality based on ideals of intersubjective action and agency, despite asymmetries. The institutionalised character of meetings will be taken into consideration and reflected upon as I go along.

A refinement of the initial question on dialogic negotiation of identity as carrying a changing potential could be put like this: Is there any chance that they can create a fruitful investigation into what can be seen as the several forms of 'trouble of double': (1) do they create room enough for a multiple rootedness, reconciling affiliations of apparently different and even contradictory allegiances, Palestinian/Arab and Israeli? Zionist? Are they advocating bi-nationalism? (2) does the unfolding of group versus group or individual vs. individual memories, angers, visions and differences provide a genuine educational and changing potential? Two distinct *roots* or what I could refer to as backpacks of culture, since they are at the same time the heavy load and the curiosity while walking new *routes*? (Gilroy, 1993: 133). The projects may provide an opportunity for addressing the private language of pain in a public setting (Benhabib, 1992: 93), and thereby also bridging the psychic and the social. This may be a condition for change.

With the use of the word *change*, I attempt to tie it up with *new memories* and *working through* to establish another narrative and step into a future, that wasn't in view before the *work*. The third space as the fiddling with the new in oneself and the dealing with an other in a new way, though it may still be conflictual, may as well be conceptualised as forms of initiation and association in public space (Arendt, 1958). This may be one way to think ahead, supplementing the concept of third space which can be (mis)understood as a romantic concept and not as a site of *constructive struggle for reinvention*, as I intend (which every romance in the end turns out to be at its best). The settings, and also other forms of projects, gatherings and NGOs[14], may work as grounds for *action*, where "men act together in concert" as an associational public, which is what makes the settings *public*. This is interesting, because the settings under investigation, and many other sites for Jewish-Arab encounters in the past are set outside the cosmopolis. They have been nurtured in the middle of nowhere, maybe because the 'acting in concert' elsewhere has been very conflictual, situated around tense mixed city borders, or just occurring in the process of trade in markets, not really providing ground for dialogical practices of action.

[14] The Adam Institute, IPCRI, Beit Hagefen, Gush Shalom, The Alternative Information Centre, The misgav bilingual school, mixed medical teams (as noted by Helena de-Silviya), the Suq on the border of Jaffa/Tel Aviv, and even the Knesset on a good day, just to mention a few very different examples.

*Action* is a central term for Arendt (1958). Used in this context it is interesting to think of it in relation to power, where human actions become a force produced together, an experiment, where unpredictable processes are pursued. A hill top village near Latrun, bordering the West Bank, and a semi rural kibbutzian countryside centre near the little triangle (see map just before the bibliography) has become the sites of action and power in another sense here. For the people involved it might not solve anything, but it may be a continuous engagement with processes of what we could call recovery and discovery - to express the process of working through and the creation of new memories in other terms. The fact that these settings are educational, however *alternative* educational settings, and thus framed by institutions that have some legitimacy and authority in the eyes of the participants, is also an important factor.

**Learning interactions - two narratives and an offspring of histories**

The learning processes set in play at Givat Haviva and The School for Peace at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam can broadly be viewed as learning in alternative or quasi-formal educational settings. The processes are to some extent deviating from the formal educational system, nevertheless similar to 'formal' or school processes of education in the appliance of a certain structure, an ordered process, which sets a frame for learning – though these are still clearly distinguishable from more informal learning processes in the youth or sports club, at the museum, in front of the television, out and about with the street gang, or in easy chairs with mates, Bob Dylan and a few drinks[15]. As a beginning let me here view it as learning *interactions*, recognising the social nature of learning through dialogue and confrontation in words and activities.

Michel Serres uses the figures of the harlequin, the swimmer, and the troubadour as metaphors for a voyage of learning as finding and inventing. Learning is seen as travelling, seeking and encountering. The swimmer abandons reference points. He is a lone voyager doing the passage of the middle. Nothing gives greater direction than to change direction, Serres says. This is the third instruction or estate, a body crossing, initiating or going through, and thereby learning. This process is a departure from the shore, and yet not an arrival. Whoever does not 'get moving'/set out on a journey learns nothing (Serres, 1997: 5-7). For Serres the learning, swimming voyage is affiliated with apprenticeship (163) and crossbreeding (163). I do, however, not necessarily agree with him when he states that "the game of pedagogy is in no respect a game for two" (Serres, 2000: 9). This goes against the emphasis on the social aspects

[15] See for example Paul Willis' study (1978) of subcultural learning interactions among hippies and bikers or Hugh Matthews' study (2000) of the street as third space for youths.

of learning dealt with in this thesis. Learning is also, importantly, a responsive, situated game, rather than just a lone voyage. Serres' voyage tend to encircle and enclose the self, although he points out that it is about putting yourself in another's shoes (13), to expose oneself (12). Serres nevertheless focuses on the notion of a *third* as a threshold of passage (9), an overlap (20), intersection (19) and crossing (20) and a third learning place as an ambiguous position (43) - which relates to earlier concepts from, for example Bakhtin as well as Bhabha. In this section I am slowly trying to think of *learning* in relation to *third space* as bringing into a state of indeterminacy, an openness to the other that prioritises questioning (Gadamer, 1975: 361-3). Understanding in dialogue can only happen when participation is transformed into a communion where participants do not remain where they were (Gadamer, 1975: 379). Here I would add *learning* to Gadamer's *understanding*. Ricoeur's re-configuration of meaning and narrative is here expressed in other terms. The change, learning or discovery may, though, very likely, be a painful one, where one suffers from the conflict and also tries to see beyond it, or suddenly learns something new about it. Using Wendy Patterson, a participant may easily find herself/himself going through the following process: entering with an 'at first I thought', then experiencing the project or encounter and then ending up with a 'then I realised'. Patterson calls this a *liminal zone*, a transit or threshold between past and future, a no-man's land. Patterson's concept is used here in relation to trauma narratives – here I use it as a way of describing either hope, despair, or points of view or ideas/knowledge in a process of change. The concept will be brought in when dealing with the empirical material in Chapter 5 and 6, particularly when discussing the *simulation game* in which high school students test and perform political negotiation processes as a part of the encounter projects (see chapter 5 and 6). The simulation games may be seen as "imaginary, prospective stories"(Patterson, 2002: 78) or as a "storehouse of possibilities" (Patterson using Turner, 2002: 79). In Ricoeur's terminology, they would refer to the context of new emplotments and the transformative work in mimesis. To this I would add that the limits of such endeavours would be revealed as well.

Before moving to the next chapter, I will give an outline of the thesis structure. Chapter 2 describes the method and all the main concepts with which the investigation is pursued, unpacking and linking the different methodologies and theory. Then I begin the actual investigation with a wide lens or perspective by trying to address some of the historical issues first. The sort of history I try to write in Chapter 3 oscillates between a distanced summary and grounded illustrations or examples. The chapter deals particularly with the emergence of two national narratives and issues of identity, but uses the thematisation of the mixed cities and the impact of the first year of the second intifada as a way of approaching the problems at stake in contact between Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

# Chapter 2

## Ways of Reading, Talking and Observing

- Methodologies

### Aim of field research[1]

The aim of the field research is to investigate educational projects involving Palestinian and Jewish Israelis, taking place and shape, at particular educational communities in Israel. Through the theoretical positions and hypotheses presented in Chapter 1, I intend to analyse and illustrate how roles, narratives and practices expressing the issue of identity, power, dialogue and conflict are presented – and put into discourse - in contemporary projects and by which pedagogic means they are addressed. This will lead to an assessment of the applied theory and methods. How far does the field research support or lead to modifications in the theoretical apparatus?

The analysis will unfold how the histories of the settings and projects are represented in their narratives as well as in historical/academic written sources, and it will also address the contextual interplay with Israeli society and social and political development in the region. I intend to investigate several projects and settings, and to debate how/if a range of ideologies and pedagogical means inform the projects, the stories and the different assertions produced in interviews. What ruptures are created, if any? Are the projects fuelling already established positions or changing them? Do they build trust or fear? Do they create understanding, for example through particular bodily/practical processes and cognitive processes? Taking the critique further; the overall political management of some educational settings could be viewed as means of symbolic violence: to keep particular groups, linguistic patterns or a particular language dominant (using Bourdieu, 1977), or to maintain a control system silently (using Lustick, 1980). The field research and the thesis will also question this critique!

[1] I use the term *field research* incorporating the work with all primary source texts, interviews, photography and observation. I have not used the term *fieldwork* to avoid confusion with standards and expectations within the disciplines of anthropology and ethnography. In some senses my work is ethnographic, as showed, but in other senses it borrows as well from textual readings from cultural studies - working with narrative, for example - and I try to built a method using both disciplines.

**Method outline**

To give the reader a brief overview of the different means by which I have tried to approach and analyse my empirical work, I will present a short outline that describes the main methods and their interrelationship.

The empirical material for analysis in my thesis is provided via a 'triangular'[2] method combining *interviews*, *primary texts* and *observation*. The interviews are aimed to provide an illustrative cross-section of the variety of players in the field. Initially, I explored written material from a range of organisations before selecting two settings and two types of projects. When the choices were made, I spoke to both Jews and Palestinians inhabiting different positions in the field; bosses of the particular centres, project directors and facilitators/ moderators working 'on the ground', teachers and student participants. Interlocutor names have been changed throughout the thesis, except for two former co-directors at Givat Haviva, as noted in Chapter 1 (See footnote 2).

I did four trips during the PhD, three with formalised interviewing or/and observation. This amounted to approximately twenty five interviews, including several informal talks during an encounter workshop and more than one talk with a handful of the interlocutors. The interviews were analysed in a three step approach using a keyword dissection principle. After this, larger chunks of a few interviews were analysed using Bakhtin and Ricoeur, with reference to *polyphony*, *time* and *narrative*.

Secondly, I have done a discourse analysis on a few primary texts; written essays, project descriptions and course outlines. These two forms of analysis are reported in Chapter 5. Thirdly, I have tested the 'saying' of the oral and written texts (primary texts and interviews) with an observance of the 'doing', including a series of informal talks, mainly working as commentary of the doing. This part of the work is reported in Chapter 6. The study as a whole is intended to provide a patchwork of different voices working as examples of positions in the field, this means: course/project material, interviews with all sorts of people involved, observation, other researchers accounts. This should work as an illumination of the problem, rather than providing a larger social 'scientific' sample of facilitator interviews, for example, for generalisation. I have then tried to disentangle narratives, assertions and actions , and to make comparisons.

[2] Triangulations are also mundanely known as mixed strategies or combined operations, e.g. involving methods and data that are different, but for e.g. Norman Denzin (in Burgess, 1984: 145 + 254) also several theories and investigators. Denzin outlines four types of triangulation. 1) *Data* including time spans in the research design, and *space*, as some form of comparative study, and level of analysis; *individual/interaction/collective* focus. 2) *Investigator:* use of more than one investigator. 3) *Theory:* alternative or competing theories. 4) *method triangulation:* use of same method on different objects or testing different methods on the same material.

The observation section is conditioned by a simultaneous limitation and advantage(!): a language barrier. Student group dynamics are less likely to be disturbed in a context where the participants are aware that the researcher knows little of the language spoken[3]. The researcher *appeared* for them to be 'blind' which 'naturalised' their behaviour. Furthermore, my blindness opened my eyes to other things. This 'observation' part was an experiment - an additional opportunity to grasp what ever possible in between informal talks with facilitators and participants. The language barrier motivated intense focus on non-verbal language. Work with actual dialogues and activities during observation relied on facilitator-summaries/translations, and talks with participants, during breaks, many times during the day. The thesis is intended to balance and compare these different forms or methods of intervention.

I have sought to capture two different processes. Firstly a *prospective* process of learning and reporting caused by the nature of this particular piece of work: a moving, changing reality and four field trips with time to reflect in between and afterwards, and time to adapt to the context and assess theory as I go along. On the other hand I have had to present most of the material and learning in a form more accessible for the reader; from a *retrospective* point of view - though observing when and how a new route was taken, or when new theories or methods were brought into play.

The work is illustrated in the following diagram, and after this the ground pillars of the thinking are explained in ten theme areas (this is not an indirect reference to the ten commandments!) where my perspective and standpoints are described.

Read from left to right diagram A illustrates the development of the thesis over time from 1999 to 2003, marking main events/periods. Read from top to bottom, or bottom to top, that means vertically, the diagram shows the coincidence or synchronicity of certain events in Israel, the particular point of writing time whether I was field working or not and the particular theories used at that time. The method outline - and in particular this diagram - is not just an attempt to do a self-reflective map of the work process, but also to pay emphasis to a volatile and constantly changing context. The outbreak of the second intifada and cancelled encounter workshops were major turning points. See section on Israel/context.

[3] I have taken introductory classes in Arabic and can read, and reproduce some oral Arabic speech in writing.

**Diagram A. Mapping times and events in thesis work (four years)**

| | Spring 1999 > | 2000 > > | 2001 > > | 2002 > > | Spring 2003 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Theory, key authors, keywords/ themes | Bhabha, Bourdieu, hybridity, third space, civil society, contact, peace | Portelli, histories, Freire, Rabinowitz, Boyarin, Grossman | Bakhtin, Ricoeur, conflict dialogue, change | Arendt, pedagogy, history, nation | Serres, Connolly, Patterson, Vygotsky, learning |
| Field | Summer | Jan. and Oct. | October | | |
| Writing | Developing chapter drafts. Notes/draft papers on theory and method, report of first field trip written in autumn | Chap. 2 Transcribing and analysing field material Jan. and Oct. Taking Arab classes | Chap. 5 and 6 Trying Chap 1: no success.<br><br>Transfer to Nottingham Trent University (NTU), Jan., Research Practice Course, new home, new inspiration. | Chap. 3 and 4: historical chapters.<br><br>Winter in Denmark: writing Chap 3. Declining impact of NTU environment: New 0.6/0.8 job in the summer: focus on learning | Chap. 1 and 7 Writing up |
| Conferences | Sociology conferences in Tel Aviv and Al-Quds universities | Presenting initial field research (Jan.) in Cambridge in June (British Society of Middle Eastern Studies) | Presenting all 2000 material at SOAS, day after 11/09 (Dialogue and difference-conf.). Also Israel Studies conference in Washington DC. | Presenting last field material in Vienna | |
| Israel/ context | Barak elected, some optimism | Barak continues settlements, Camp David negotiation fails, Sharon on the temple mount, Intifada | 11/09, Sharon elected, escalation of violence, projects cancelled, facilitators fired. | Israel begins building of wall/security fence around West Bank | Sharon re-elected, much of the attention directed towards Iraq |

**Methodological and epistemological considerations**

I will now try to unfold the main methodological considerations in more detail. I have tried to clarify when different considerations were conceived and when changing thoughts emerged in a fairly clear and simple manner. Making the prospective and retrospective level of thesis' making' visible, is not an easy task, nevertheless, I see it as a worthwhile effort, for the reader, to make the process as transparent as possible.

The field research for this project was done over a two year period back and forth between the field and the desk, while new primary texts were published and the context just kept changing. This also led new means of reading the texts and the field research. Some methods and principles were laid down on how to approach and build material, i.e. *preparatory and data generating methods*. This was the case in the phase before and after the first fieldtrip (out of three). Other methods were brought in play when I realised what kind of material I had actually got. In other words: *how was I actually to analyse it?* Analysis is always under way while producing material, though. The preparation produced indications on how to analyse, as I will show, but in the aftermath I nevertheless needed some new angles initially not accounted for.

This method chapter will mostly deal with the first phase, outlining the tools, the aims and the techniques of reading, talking and observing to see what forms of data I could produce to explore the theory and to produce a sufficiently rich discussion, some answers and some new questions, as a response to my research questions.

The final section of the method chapter will shortly introduce a skeleton for the method of data sorting or data analysis that took shape after collecting most of the interview material. This is sketched out in more detail in chapter 5 where the analysis of interviews takes place.

The reflections below, subdivided in 10 themes of considerations, aim to establish and clarify my methodological position and techniques in a short and clear form. Most of it was written just before and after the first fieldtrip. I hope by this to make the early thought processes as transparent as possible. These themes inform the planning of the actual field research, which will be introduced afterwards.

1. The work is 'ethnographic'

I seek to understand a specific geographical setting, analysed as a particularity, rather than to use it for comparisons. This does not mean, however, that the work neglects the wider context, which would make it impossible to understand. The interplay between field and context is described in theme number 9. This with the intention to describe, through empirical work, how and why people act as they do and also analyse and comment on to what extent the particular setting is reaching its goals and to present a critique of these goals.[4]

2. Deconstructing the fixed and yet interpreting/fixing the dynamic!

The work relies on a view that recognises *identity* as a dynamic process of identifications and of *culture* as a complex network of roots and routes (Gilroy, 1993) where attachments are gradually defined and re-defined (Bhabha, 1994, Hall, 1990). Furthermore it views *space* as a sphere of gradual de- and re-territorialization (Røgilds, 1997, Patton summarising Deleuze, 1999) with meaning and histories gradually inscribed and re-inscribed. It is not intended to formulate general structural or semiotic rules about human behaviour or humanity - as in Levi-Straussian structural anthropology, for example - or to locate inherent and general social attributes of a specific gender, ethnicity or race. In this I also attempt not to confirm the usual dichotomies between the West and the East, Judaism and Islam, for example. In my focus on problem-exploring activities in the field research, I deal with the motivations and reasons, and with the practices and memories, *as they are produced.* This should also, hopefully, make me able to focus more on saying and doing and the interplay between these, rather than keep repeating the dichotomies 'Jew' and 'Palestinian' - which are also produced within the field. Youth negotiate identity around more fluid, changing and hybrid affiliations, and not just around some simple stereotypes, I would say before entering this field. This is not necessarily true, but it makes me able to enter the field with an 'open mind'. Youth might be able to combine and negotiate 'resources' of identity and affiliation in a subtle sense, select and vacate affiliations. See for example Les Back (1996) and Paul Willis (1978). In which case we might see to what extent identities, and identity negotiations, might not be as fluid in this particular state of conflict. This reminds me of Rebecca and Jalal Hassan - a Jew and a Palestinian who formerly worked at Givat Haviva - each repeating the same line 'We live in different worlds'.

[4] Even though these guidelines do not rely on Levi-Straussian structuralism, his distinction between ethnography and ethnology may be useful. Ethnography aims at recording as accurately as possible the respective modes of life of various groups, while ethnology utilises for comparative purposes the data provided by the ethnographer (Levi Strauss, 1958: 2).

I am, and will, inevitably provide a new sort of 'order' - in a context that constantly disorders itself - but only an order in terms of *tendencies*, *illuminations* and *possible clarifications*. This approach should not relativise the work, but rather make me able to avoid illusionary *scientific facts/results* and instead present a debate and an illumination as rich, adaptive and reflective as possible.

3. Oral History and Narrative Methods

The project uses *oral history*, the taped memoir, a method which pays attention to the personal, subjective narratives of history and personal experience. These histories are the first person testimonies in which subjects engage and arrange - and disarrange - their pasts and express their sense of themselves in history. (Portelli, 1991). These are verbalised through the vehicle of narrative, which then becomes an important genre in the conversation (Feuerverger, 1998)[5]. Oral history can reveal how history and memory is embedded in everyday life, and it can help the researcher - and the respondent(!) - to understand how, and to what extent, identity is negotiated in relation to the past. Oral history captures developments over time, which is important in subjective accounts of culture and identity.

Oral history helps one to get a sense of how identities are built and re-built. These stories may shape identity, and new stories may alter them. Furthermore, time remoulds and interrupts in the course of a life(time) changing the course of the tales told. My field research is not done in one block, but over a couple of years. The gaps may inform me about the contingency or continuity of tales, or just put me in a position to historicize better. This time span may be useful when talking to interviewees involved with the long term project, Children Teaching Children. Oral history can be a useful method to capture forms and changes, not only in terms of changed opinions and emotions, but also changes in focus and chronology, for example from political to personal considerations, religious to secular (Portelli, 1991).

With the oral history focus I can, in co-operation with my interlocutor, intervene directly with the personal account of events in relation to *H*istory, and collect/construct types of evidence which customary documentary material sources have not supplied, as Lummis points out (1991). However, I will then question if 'oral history' mainly is another word for historically rooted qualitative sociology where researchers try to connect event and time, past and present. The past is overdetermined in the present as Althusser said. And if it is so, pasts / past time

[5] Grace Feuerverger, who's done extensive work at Neve Shalom, doesn't use the term 'Oral History', though. But she emphasises the importance of narratives to express issues of identity. In *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence* p.490-514 ed. Eugene Weiner, Continuum, New York 1999.

flash up in new circumstances, new times[6]. This would be very likely in a heated encounter between Jews and Palestinians. The encounters may give word and phrasing to issues that usually are not spoken about or awake silenced histories.

Furthermore, I must pay attention to opportunities where the respondent(s) can reflect upon or react upon particular surroundings or artefacts to articulate their views and emotions. This will ease the emergence of oral histories. The opportunities could be familiar environments and localities or preferred rides or walks that over time have become sites where specific habitual practices take place. Memory is always crucial in qualitative work, and therefore I should place myself at the sites of memory with the respondents, and not just behind desks - which can be, of course, a site of memory for many, PhD students included! The artefacts could be the *stuff* of memory, e.g. written material, photos, drawings, buildings, and furniture.

The respondents are, however, not the only ones who are constructing the narratives of the interview. The researcher is also, via his research and narratives, creating a picture of himself (Riessmann, 1993), which generates a particular feedback. This means that the researcher must be prepared to deal with the creation of gaps or aspects of commonality and difference in relation to the respondents (Song and Parker, 1995). This relationship itself must be an object for objectification and analysis. Even when researching contexts that are foreign or different, he/she may have some experience that will be useful to present in some way in order to develop trust. In my situation there is, despite some knowledge of Arabic, a language gap. English is, however, a foreign language for all the people involved. For many of the Arabs, Hebrew will be their second language. As noted in Chapter 1, I have a background in youth- and club work over seven-eight years, and this may influence the researcher role and the researcher-researched relationship at the settings. I would not expect to be uncomfortable, and I would guess that the students and interviewees in general would not be afraid.

My field research investigates these different stories, processes and projects as they usually – in their unpredictability and variety - operate at two settings. One of my initial questions was phrased in a forward looking, social sense: is the ability to re-create or develop oneself as person, or the ability to develop as community, depending on the ability to create *new memories*? By using the word 'memory' I deliberately work with a word relating to the 'past' in a future-orientated sense. Therefore, I try to pay particular attention to old and new memories in the field research. Oral history covers the oscillation between vaguely known/remembered and well remembered. Collective histories are incorporated, such as national traumas that might be

[6] 'To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at ' a moment of danger' (Benjamin, 1992: 247).

difficult to separate from the personal. The Holocaust history worked, also, as a nationalisation of pain and a Durkheimian *conscience collective.* Many of these stories are also physical or embodied histories, soldiers' and civilians' everyday confrontations, gulf war blasts and everyday clashes and blasts, gradual visits in the protection chambers and so forth, which of course create another kind of impact on memory.

Comments after field trips / retrospective notes:

These reflections on conducting conversations are reflected in my talks in January, even though the oral history was downplayed, since the respondents were asked to provide a lot of technical information in order for me to be able to construct a general history and sociology of the projects and the actual community. Dan constructed several interesting narratives, reported in Chapter 4, especially some on the emergence and development of the village and the role of a key-figure in this process; the founder Bruno Hussar, a hybrid subject *par excellence.*

Jalal Hassan communicated strongly personal feelings about his role and about being an *object* of field research and he made some critical points (to put it mildly) on those kinds of encounters that are done for contact purposes alone: "and out of bringing them together [Jews and Arabs], bring something together...something good is coming out of it... I say it is bullshit". "peace work, peace work" [ironic] "good for the fans". Transcription symbols listed in Appendices. My role and opinions became a part of the discourse and in fact created a positive tension where the positions of the two subjects were put on the agenda. See comments on self-reflectivity and researcher roles later on. Finally, Amin questioned the power relations and the problem of symmetry. They are not creating a balance here, he said. 'We are *exploring* the asymmetry'. My underlining, and Amin's stress on one word.

As the field research proceeded, I focused more on narrative methods in general, as for example in the interview with Dan in Chapter 4. The narrative interview is not necessarily straightforward storytelling, or personal or historical. The analysis then focus more on how the interviewees impose order, structure and points in their tales. Furthermore, I have used the work of Bakhtin to read ambiguities and condensed meanings, since many interviews were relying on hidden narratives, rather than unfolding narratives. Instead certain assertions appeared on the surface level.

4. Semi-structured, qualitative interviews

The interview is a discourse which is created mutually, but it is mainly framed and orientated by the interviewer's control of purpose, agenda and questions. However the setting and time is also crucial. There is no such thing as free discourse in an interview. The oral history interview is in some writing confused with *life history.* In my interpretation oral history is seen as an umbrella term and it is less structured than other forms of qualitative interview, but nevertheless not the respondent's 'free narration', as argued by some (Marianne Horsdal, 2001: 44), not even when the interviewer keeps quiet. This raises other, more fundamental, questions on the inevitable intertextualitity and mimetic character of telling, an issue I return to, using Bakhtin and Ricoeur, in the analysis.

I will try to adapt to the rhythm or the modus operandi of the particular setting and to some degree participate in activities, and not just force them to have breaks for interviews and then leave. Instead some dwelling at the particular setting while the academic work is carried out is necessary. The advantage here is that I thereby force myself to adapt to their rhythm, to follow tracks and possibilities and receive more natural and spontaneous accounts and observations. This doesn't mean that the researcher-respondent relationship is blurred or that the researcher is 'going native', it is just limiting distance and it can help me to come as close as possible to an important ethnographic ethos: 'you shouldn't criticise a man until you've walked a mile in his moccasins'[7].

A more naturalised relationship between researcher and researched creates the illusion of primary experience and familiarity, like a common sense world (Bourdieu, 1977), apparently phenomenological, but in reality it is an entrance and participation which is structured.

This semi-structured, qualitative interview corresponds with oral history methodology. It is a loosely structured, conversation or interview. The researcher discretely employs a set of themes and topics with which he tries to influence the *directions* that conversations take. This should be balanced with an attempt to give the informants a chance to develop answers and narratives outside a structured format (Burgess, 1984). If a respondent is talkative and dominating, I could try to stimulate the talk to move into areas in which I can get my information. At my first

[2] Phrase used by a group known as the Chicago ethnographers, or School of Sociologists, founded by Robert Park and W. I. Thomas. They were in particular occupied by the investigation of 'strangers' in their own society, and by this they pioneered the interchange between social anthropology and sociology. They worked, for example, with methods for investigating American Indians and inhabitants of Chicago (Burgess, 1984: 16).

formalised interview appointments, in January 2000, I spoke with a handful of key people and used a semi structured format, not so much drawing upon oral history, but rather focused on getting an oral version of quite a bit of factual information, i.e. stuff that were as well presented in written texts, but which could be presented differently orally. Question guides are in the Appendices. Jalal Hassan turned out to lead me in other directions. But they were good for me. I just didn't know. And in the end we where both dominating and instead of a clash it became interesting in terms of data generation. For extracts and discussion of this particular interview, see Chapter 5 and transcript in the Appendices.

If the interlocutor is quiet and waiting to get instruction, the researcher should try to open for longer narratives. Amin was like that, and I didn't get that much out of him, because at that point what I needed was mostly factual information about the projects and settings. He has done many interesting articles on identity though, and I thought I perhaps could use his texts to make him talk more in a subsequent meeting. The challenge was to trigger this memory and stimulate the respondent to launch into stories that become important when talking about culture and identity and the development of new frameworks of co-operation and identification. The myths we live by? (borrowed from Raphael Samuel).

The methods of reading interviews, a thematic coding as well as an analysis of longer extracts, are explained in Chapter 5.

5. Self-reflectivity and researcher roles in action and in-between

From a point of view of *self–reflectivity* and the role(s) of the researcher my positioning are commented as I go along. Seen from a distance, if that is possible, my position (singular?) has been a feet-shifting dance allowing me to be involved in ways of reading, talking and observing from different stances, plateaus and anti-plateaus - the Chicago School, Paul Willis, Pierre Bourdieu, Roy Birch and Miri Song have all influenced the work. This has given me an opportunity to see how I as a subject and researcher interfere with and produce material in the different positions I adopt. There are, however, some immediate problems. A young, white, relatively well-educated, spectacle wearing male researcher from the West should be aware of what kind of dynamics his position, presence and questions are creating. If I was a native Palestinian I would be thoroughly critical about the 'findings' such a creature would produce in his academic report. Not only in terms of the repetition of what Jalal Hassan named 'Orientalism', see Chapter 5, but also in terms of adaptations and expectations: some interlocutors may produce answers that he/she might think I want to hear. There are three levels of objectification: the object (interlocutors, particular projects, the settings, Israel, the larger

geo-political reality), the researcher and the relation between the two (Weber and Olesen, 2001:37)

One ethnographic ethos is to *objectify the misrecognised material* (Bourdieu, 1993, Callewaert, 1997). I interpret this as a way of dealing explicitly with one's inner position and inherited visions and methods. It also needs to be in a dialogue, verbal and written, with the ideas and positions that emerge in the process of gaining new knowledge or getting ready for field research. This method of preparation can limit the half- hidden, spontaneous transportation of prejudice, which only dwarfs the ability to gain new insights.

Good theories emerge from grounded experience – this may seem a rather banal insight, but there is always-already a 'body' (deliberate twofold understanding) of habitualised theory imported, which makes me cautious about the idea of *grounded theory* (Glaser and Strauss). Glaser and Strauss have been criticised for a *tabula rasa* point of theory construction. Different interpretations exist here. The critique has been voiced by Bulmer, for example, as referred to in Burgess (1983: 81). There is no production from scratch, I agree, but grounded theory understood more pragmatically as the gradual production and reconfiguration of theory with an emphasis on adaptability makes sense. Habitualised or incorporated theory and methods create a condition for *reflex reflectivity* (Bourdieu in Callewaert, 1999), a spontaneous and 'learned' ability to manoeuvre and make quick choices in a *modus operandi* of field activity, the same way as a table tennis player in a split second returns the ball without going through years of backhand training in his head.

*Participant observation*, a well recognised position in ethnography (from Malinowski), is a problematic and contradictory word-pair. The researcher and the researcher have, by definition, different roles, but it is possible for parties to develop a feeling of, and a practice of, researcher participation. The word-pair, despite its illusive belief in the melting of observer and observed, frames a necessary oscillation between moments of insideness and outsideness, and in this pragmatic sense I find it useful to work with the concept. Ethnography is a hybrid activity of orientation, collection, a putting together of a collage, a process of writing, a journey into specific dialogues, an oscillation between loss and emergence (Clifford, 1988: introduction). *Loss and emergence* are here taken to mean dialogues on what is hidden an what is becoming/has become visible. What the method 'participant observation' may fail to capture is the commitment to objectification while carrying out the 'participating' work. An objectification of the researcher and his/her participation (Bourdieu, 1993) can be interpreted as 'forced' moments of distance while (or in between) carrying out the work. These 'moments' are used for evaluation, for adjusting targets, and for write-up or recording of an inner dialogue.

These objectifications are necessary, planned and gradually happening phases of detached consideration or response to the preparatory ideas and the actual experiences in the field.

My field research doesn't exactly submit to the Malinowskian *noblesse obligé*. In my case, the field research has been done in shorter visits, the largest chunks of the work being done in October 2000 and October 2001, and in earlier visits and work in July 1999 and January 2000. Some of the planned work in October 2000 had to be postponed after cancellations of project activities caused by the outbreak of the intifada. Remaining work was done the year after, despite the continuing unrest.

The back and forth movement has limitations, making my encounters more superficial, but it has made me able to reach moments of distance in order to rearrange, but also to have a larger time span for the investigation as a whole, and to become aware of changes and developments over a longer period of time: Approximately two and a half years and all together almost four months stay in Israel.

## 6. Tape recording and the space and circumstances of interviews and observations

Preparatory comments and notes:

I understand if respondents do not want to participate with a tape-recorder running. There is no need to cancel the talk. I would try instead to take breaks to make notes or dictate or record the information myself. Notes, while talking, can of course help when doing un-taped field research. But this depends on who I am talking to: some like to see their words being written down, other may think it slows and takes away intensity of a face-to-face interview encounter. Another problem may occur when some people speak in a manner and with a pace that would complicate notes. In those cases, coffee breaks may solve the problem in giving the opportunity to get things down while they are fresh in one's mind. The last option is of course to find solitude immediately after the interview and summarise.

Continuous and extensive reports through daily diaries, or at least diaries kept a couple of times every week, if staying for more than a few days, are also crucial. When staying in the field I have had difficulties in separating important from not important and actual field research from leisure life. Therefore to write, relentlessly, is important.

The technique of *face-to-face* interviewing is far from sufficient on its own, and it may be an inappropriate term, or serve as an obstacle which will make the desired 'situations of communication' and information unobtainable. The field research could therefore combine techniques and spaces, for example face-to-face conversations and group conversation - not just around a desk, but also during walks - observation of games and activities (or whatever the participants create 'outside' my influence) and analysis of texts and spaces.

Comments after fieldtrips / retrospective notes:

All formal interview sessions were taped, apart from two talks with a resident at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam, which took part in his car and the year after in his home. During the observational parts, including a range of talks, while walking, during smoking-breaks or lunch, the tape recorder was not used. I found it useful to try both ways.

7. Language, culture and interpreters

Preparatory comments and notes:

A lot of the work can be done through a common second language discourse, English, as long as the participants themselves feel that they can articulate their views and emotions fully in that language, or at least sufficiently (Galal and Galal, 1999). A common second language discourse itself creates a *third space* and links the researcher and the interlocutor on more equal ground. It becomes a new space for both - opposed to interviews where one party speaks in his mother tongue or opposed to translator-based interviews where an interpreter act a mediating link. An interpreter will always be, however, not just translating, but also negotiating cultural expressions, and interpreting *messages,* not only word-by-word (Galal & Galal, 1999). The interpreter is another string through which both parties are forced to play. It creates a distance, and disturbs the flow in the art of conversation[8]. So, if both parties feel happy talking English, I will do that and this does not make switching impossible. Some Arabic or Hebrew sentences and terms can be recorded or written down and discussed with interpreters later.

I will nevertheless have to use interpreters when the respondent feels unable to articulate the subject matter fully in English. The character of the agenda takes though, from now on, a high level of expressiveness on both sides - i.e. emotional, subtle topic, issues of identity etc. – and

[8] John Hutnyk notes that there exists a hierarchy between *anthropology* and *translation*, the former indicates authenticity, capturing the real by being able to speak the native language, while the latter indicates artificiality, a re-construction (Lecture, Nottingham Trent University, 8 May 2002).

perhaps the high school students (apart from teachers, facilitators and employees at Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom) would feel uncomfortable with an interview situation in English. The facilitators could be used as interpreters and explainers. They are not professional translators, but they have – more importantly - a knowledge and an awareness of the contexts and the terminology and all the issues relating to language in the particular setting.

The issue of language, and language-trouble, is a well-known problem in the encounters. A Jewish participant noted that translations of Arabic-voiced comments in a small group slowed the conversation. An Arab noted that the Hebrew speaking participants were better prepared for answers: time given to translate were also time for one party to think (Barbara Rustin, 1999). Language can be used to empower oneself. For example when Arabs suddenly switch to their mother tongue, which make the Jews more insecure and fearful (Michael Zak, 1999), or when Jews speak Hebrew faster and use more slang, to 'get ahead' of the Arabs (Barbara Rustin, 1999). Arabs generally speak better Hebrew than Jews speak Arabic, as noted earlier, but this will not always benefit the Arabs, because Hebrew will inevitably be used more[9].

Comments after field trips / retrospective notes:

Only once did I employ an interpreter. It was difficult to find a professional interpreter, and to make it possible for the one I cooperated with to move around during October 2001, when she was needed. An Arab Israeli professor at Haifa University recommended me one of his best English speaking students. I introduced her to the talk and the themes carefully. The interlocutor failed to show up, and she wasn't interested in re-scheduling. I had already postponed my return ticket once so I was not too eager to try to find another one, since the intifada made transport around the country unpleasant and difficult, particularly for some of the Arab teachers as well as the interpreter. The teacher who did not show up in Haifa was, however, interested in providing a written response in Arabic which the interpreter would translate. I therefore sat down with Hebe, the interpreter, and composed a questionnaire which relied on the open-ended questions. A limiting form of data generation, but it nevertheless proved to be useful. Extracts from this written response are dealt with in Chapter 5.

Arabic and Hebrew terms were brought in, but hardly any switching was used. See comment on switching in preparatory comments.

[9] As noticed by Barbara Rustin (1999) and Michal Zak in the Annual Report (Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam, 1999). See also the summary of a chapter from Halabi's (2001) *Identitäten Im Dialog* in Chapter 6.

8. Transcription and presentation of interviews:

Preparatory comments and notes:

At one of my meetings with supervisors after the January 2000 trip I was made aware of my attempt to cover different layers in the talk with Jalal Hassan. Apart from my words and his words, I had in a few sections verbalised fragments from other layers. These were the non-verbal (moving around in the chair, eyes, smile, hesitation, sighs etc) and certain circumstances/inflections around the verbal (shouting, ironic intonation, laughing out words etc.). Another level involves my thoughts about what to say, and about what just happened both verbally and non-verbally.

The problem with transcription - even though we should remember there are many ways of transcribing – is that it inevitably treats what happened as discourse *alone*.
In good literary prose, as a drama or a novel, the script describing a conversation between two or more people, we read a lot more than mere transcription. Somehow, I intend to try to capture and work more deliberately with other layers.

Comments after fieldtrips / retrospective notes:

A system of re-presenting extracts of interviews, including the researcher 'commentary' within transcription has been used in the final versions. Reading Bakhtin and Ricoeur encouraged me to read dialogic, ambivalence and narrative aspects of the interviews, as well as reading themes and ways of expressing and condensing meta-narratives. This seemed useful, since many talks around the conflict issues were centred on a particular phrasing of themes and keywords rather than an unfolding of a longer and clarifying tale. This led to an analysis of themes and layers within the talk, since the assertions rely upon narratives. This is all explained in Chapter 5.

9. The field and the context.

Finally, there is one problem inherent in all ethnography, but maybe almost viciously present in my case. We cannot find the explanation of what happens in the field, in the encounters, *inside* Givat Haviva or Neve Shalom, but only outside - or in the *interplay* between a troubled context and the rather unusual practices in these two settings. We nevertheless attempt, paradoxically, to undertake ethnography to get away from one's desk and understand a certain setting from within. The urge to look at it in isolation can be tempting, but since the activities are about

addressing the context at the setting, and inserting practices to deal with it, the context-field relationship almost automatically will be brought into the analysis. However, I have to remain acutely aware of what goes on *outside*!

10. Transcription symbols and representation of oral speech in writing

*See Appendices.*

**Diagram B. Process summary of field trips**

The work has been summarised in a simple graphic from below. A longer summary of field research activities is placed in the appendices.

| Time/Trip | Where | Who / Projects | Aim | Achieved (activities) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June-July 1999 | Visit for travelling, conference, informal talk with contacts and pilot visits to settings | Neve Shalom/ Wahat al salam (nswas), Beit Hagefen, Re'eut: Jewish-Arab youth organisation, Haifa, Jaffa, Nazareth, Yaffa, Peter Lemish | Information gathering and 'test' for further inquiry | Decision: Givat Haviva and nswas + informal talk and observation at nswas. Visiting Jew in Rishon Le Zion |
| January 2000 | Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom | Key personnel: bosses | Deciding upon projects | Children Teaching Children and 2/3 day Encounter projects. Visiting Palestinians in Nazareth, Jews in Netanya |
| Oct-Nov 2000 | Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom | Personnel continued and participants + observation of Encounter projects incl. informal talks | To analyse positioning and narratives in interviews. Observing of 'doing' in project activity | Most interviews conducted. No observation of activities as planned. Encounters were cancelled after outbreak of the intifada |
| October 2001 | Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom | Remaining interviews | Observing and informal talks | Remaining interviews/talks conducted, though one through written questionnaire. Observation of two encounter workshops. Visiting Jews in Tel Aviv |

**Question guides**

The question guides are lists of topics that outline the issues or areas to be explored when speaking with different categories of interlocutors. It's a *guide* rather than *a schedule*, using both closed/pre-coded and open ended questions (Gilbert, 1993). Hence it is not an exhaustive list. As soon as a theme is 'opened', a series of questions and probes for narratives can be put forward.

It contains firstly questions/themes where respondents are asked to provide factual information or express an opinion or feeling about a present situation or experience, and secondly questions – inspired by oral history methodology – where the interlocutor is asked to re-construct certain pasts, and past memories, and later on link/compare it to a present experience, which itself also should be opened up via a story. The substantial hooks on which memories usually hang, I thereby seek to engage with by asking for descriptions of past and present events.

With this in mind I attempt to deal with the qualitative issues by circling around it, beneath it (Bourdieu, 1999, Gilbert, 1993), not by running my forehead against a wall and asking; *is this a third space?* Instead I will try to deal with and touch upon the issues related to third space understandings.

I intend to focus more on producing accounts of 'what happened' - in situations a, b, c, and not to simply ask for a point of view or an evaluation of the particular situations/events a, b and c. The point is not to challenge accounts, but rather to develop as much information as possible that can be used for later research and for cross-checking and comparison.

*See question guides in the Appendices.*

# Chapter 3

## Identity, Power and Separation

- Jews and Palestinians in Israel

**Introduction: historicizing the conflict**

While Chapter 1 focused on 'dialogue with conflict', which is the foundational interconnection of terms and the research theme for the thesis, and Chapter 2 outlined *how* to investigate the settings and with which means, this chapter takes a wide lens and a diachronic as well as a synchronic approach. My aim here is to unfold the historical and internally conflictual construction of, roughly speaking, two national narratives; a Jewish Israeli and a Palestinian Arab, in the latter case with emphasis on Palestinian Israeli identity and history. In the line of this task I aim to illustrate with examples from the present. I will describe the complicated cultural geography of Israel, map the contemporary identities and power relations and recent historical developments, however with focus on present ruptures and changes that have affected the projects I have investigated. The theoretical focus in this chapter will be on the main identity formations – and the historical making of identities - as a context that surrounds and informs the work of the particular settings.

Chapter 4 takes a step closer to the settings again, zooming in, outlining the history of co-operative projects in Israel, and unfolding the development of the settings and certain pedagogies in the work.

Before taking a deep breath in order to approach the major tracks or histories of identity formation and identity conflicts, I will elaborate on the necessity of a synchronic aspect of the chapter as well. I have added conflicting voices and texts to illustrate the existing struggles on identity and belonging. In addition to historical sources, and my own field research, I draw upon contemporary ethnographic and journalistic articles on cleavages and developments in Israeli society, particularly these which cover the last few years. The chapter provides much of the

'unsaid', while Chapter 5 and 6 will address how narratives and examples draw upon the incorporated layers presented here.

The chapter contains the following sections: *The Holocaust, Israel, and the 1948 war* introduces core events for understanding present Jewish-Palestinian relations in the region. These events are still at the forefront of debate among organisers as well as participants in conflict education, as I will show in Chapter 5 and 6. The remaining sections dive below the formative events, in order to elaborate on their traces as well as internal splits, the Janus-faced character of these, and the diverse interpretations that surrounds these formative points. The chapter will through extracts from dialogues (Yehoshua and Shammas), texts (Jospe and Abu-Amr), elaborated anecdotes (Frog and scorpion story) and contemporary events and stories – from the media and personally encountered - aim to show some of the major juxtapositions framing the conflict in the past and in the present.

The next section, *Zionism, Kibbutzim and education,* describes the histories of these three state-building phenomena. *Whose land? Diverse narratives and cultural geographies* introduce core narratives and disagreements and illustrates contemporary lived experience through reports on the mixed cities of Israel. The chapter, though aiming to historicize, brings in examples from the present to illustrate how these relations are informed by a long past and as well as being painfully alive in contemporary Israel – and in conflict education. *Jewish Israeli identities and Israeli 'democracy'* presents and discusses the cultural and religious mosaic of the Jewish Israel and recent debates on democracy and nation. *Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian Arab Israelis* outlines the history of a broader Palestinian nationalism and its impact on the Palestinians in Israel. The particular form of Palestinian Arab Israeli identity is discussed here as well. Finally, *Identity – heads and tails* collects the points and attempts to provide a provisional conclusion and outline theoretical points in the light of the various histories presented in the course of the chapter.

**The Holocaust and the 1948 War**

The 1948 War (ended with a ceasefire in 1949) – by the Zionists referred to as the *War of Independence*, and by the Arabs named *al-nakba* (the catastrophe) - followed immediately after the declaration of the State of Israel in May 1948[1], when surrounding Arab armies invaded the

[1] See *The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. May 14, 1948,* for example at www.mfa.go.il "Eretz Israel (the land of Israel) was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped". These are the first lines of the main body text in the declaration.

newly proclaimed state. The state of Israel had received international recognition by the UN, a recognition that had gained renewed momentum in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Jewish Holocaust, which triggered another mass immigration to what was still the British mandate of Palestine[2]. This was at a time when the allies – at the beginning of the era of decolonisation – stood in a dilemma. On the one hand, they had the option of trying to integrate the vast amount of Jewish refugees, Holocaust survivors, in the new Europe after the war. They did not opt for this path. They also had an opportunity for a new form of covert colonialism in disguise to establish a new Western strategic spot, a Western Jewish homeland for all the survivors and Jews all around the world, in the Arab Middle East. Not surprisingly, this model was chosen. This was made possible by using the Holocaust tragedy as a way of solving the refugee problem and a legitimator for granting a land to a 'people' - as the Zionists envisioned it - who previously hadn't had a land or a state in the European sense (Holland, 1985, McDowall, 1993, Said, 1994 and Yuval Davis in Ephraim (ed.) [forthcoming]).

Seen from the plateau of ideology and discourse the persecution of Jews, that culminated with the Holocaust, provided Zionist leaders with a crucial event, which fitted perfectly with Zionist discourse – an issue to be explored below. For many of the people on the run after the Holocaust (opposed to some of the more ideological settlers of the Yishuv, as explained later), neither ideology nor discourse was at stake. It was about survival, about losses beyond comprehension, and about grasping the opportunity offered – to take an escape route - when most people were in such a physical and emotional state that they did not worry about Zionism, or any possible colonial intent from its leaders. The three chaotic years that followed the end of the Second World War left the British bewildered and challenged by Jews as well as Arabs, and they handed over the case to the UN (Keller, 1968). A new superpower did, however, emerge. The 1948 war left the heavily US-backed new state victorious, and slightly larger than in the previously allotted desktop UN partition plan, which for Ben Gurion, the first prime minister, was only seen as temporary[3]. The rest, he thought, would come later - and it almost has. The Jews accepted the partition, but the Arabs did not want to stick with less than half of the region

[2] The complexity of Arab, Jewish and British relations during the British Mandate is a history thesis in itself. A few major turning points can be mentioned. First of all Chaim Weizman's contribution to British technology during the 1st World War leading to Arthur Balfour's *Balfour declaration* in 1917 promising the Jews a homeland in Palestine (Keller, 1968: 174-178). The defeat of the Turkish Ottoman Empire lead to French and British Mandates in the region, a temporary quasi-colonial government meant to, in a gradually fashion, to establish order and hand over the land to the locals. Arab resistance in the late 1930s and the British White Paper of 1939 - Keller, 1968 and www.mfa.gov.il - put severe limits on Jewish immigration, crippled the spirit of Balfour, and motivated further Jewish resistance. Order was not close. In 1947 the British gave up and handed over the case to the UN who proposed the *Partition plan:* a separation of the mandate into a Jewish and a Palestinian state.

[3] The representatives of the Jewish Community in Palestine, the Jewish Agency, accepted the 1947 UN partition plan while the Arab states and the Arab higher committee rejected it (UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (II) on the Future government of Palestine (the "Partition Resolution", 29 November 1947 in Ruth and Lapidoth, 1992).

where they had always lived as an indigenous majority. The confirmation of the state of Israel in the 1948 war created the option of a future Palestinian entity side-by-side with the Jewish state. Close to a million native Palestinians were forced to flee. A large amount settled in the area west of the Jordan river, now under Jordanian rule until 1967, and the small south-eastern strip bordering the Sinai - now under Egyptian rule until 1967. Gaza is close to many of the former Negev villages where a large majority of indigenous Palestinians lived before they were forced to flee (Hass, 1996 using Benny Morris). The war created the Palestinian Diaspora.

The Holocaust trauma and the ideology of Zionism provided an arsenal of events and ideology strong enough to develop the old-new national identity of the Jewish people returning to their homeland. However, the Holocaust event needed to be 'kept alive' and nationalised , also for the Jews who were not directly affected by Holocaust, for example the *Mizrachim*[4], literally meaning 'oriental' Jews. See the section *Jewish Israeli identities* for elaboration on Mizrachim and *Sephardim*, terms that often are used interchangeably. The establishment of the state and the continuation of the Zionist aim of gathering of the exiles[5] work as a continuation of the Zionist project.

**Zionism, kibbutzim and education**

The Zionist movement, a common denominator for a cluster of 'branches' or Zionisms all concerned with forms of Jewish redemption, independence and 'return to Zion'[6] - often labelled Jewish nationalism - had its institutional birth at the first World Zionist Congress held in Basel[7] in 1897.

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[4] The terms Sephardim (literally 'Spanish') and Mizrachim ('Oriental') are often used interchangeably. The emergence and use of the different terms reveal the complexity of the historical routes of Jewish locations and identity and - as well, I would point out – the scattered descent of the non-Ashkenazi Jews, from the Iberian Peninsula's Judeo-Spanish speaking *Sephardic* Jews (expulsed from Spain in 1492, triggering immigration to Africa and Asia but also elsewhere) to the Arab speaking Jews of Iraq, more appropriately named *Mizrachi*. See also points from Hiro in the section *Jewish Israeli Identities.*

[5] The Zionist ideology is kept alive and appears today revitalised, despite all the fractions within Israeli society. Post-Zionism, a term to be used with caution because of its confusing potential, indicate on the one hand a 'move beyond' the initial Zionist stage of gathering of exiles and as well a rejection of the Zionist philosophy of Jewish nationalism, shortly speaking. Post-Zionist approaches influenced new ways of reading Israeli-Palestinian history in a *colonial* perspective instead of a *national* (see e.g. Ram in Pappé, 1999). A de-colonisation of Gaza and the West Bank, this means an abolition of the Jewish settlements, is though not necessarily the same as post-Zionism, as Kimmerling notes ((2002: 62). For accounts of post-Zionist debates, see e.g. Silberstein, 1999, Pappé, 1999, Kimmerling, 2002, or Yuval-Davis in Nimni (ed.) [forthcoming].

[6] Neshan Birnbaum, a Jew from Vienna, coined the term 'Zionism' in 1885. Avi Shlaim (2001) *The Iron Wall*, prologue. One of the hills of ancient Jerusalem was called Zion.

[7] The organisers initially preferred Munich, because of the Kosher restaurants, but the Munich Jews was not interested in hosting the congress arguing there was no Jewish question and that the congress would supply ammunition to anti-semitism. Shlaim (2001) p3.

The different versions of Zionism in play did not want to replace the idea or myth of Jewish redemption with other ideas. The Zionists aimed to interpret the idea and take it in certain directions: some focused more on intermediate practical action, such as Labour Zionism. Others were more clearly bound up with religious or political ambitions, for example Revisionism and the Herzlian European Zionism. The different branches will be presented soon. These actions and visions were more or less motivated, or forced, by the many ruptures in Jewish life in Europe and Russia during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, from the first Zionist Congress in 1897 to the declaration of the state of Israel fifty years later. In my presentation and interpretation I will adopt a way of reading that pays attention to the difference within the movement and relates different branches to other phenomena in the *Yizhuv* (the pre-state Jewish community of Palestine) and later in Israel.

One of the phenomena which I would like to connect to Zionism in this section is the *kibbutzim*[8], meaning collective settlements grounded on the principle of democratic self-government (Gjessing, 1967: 12). To invite the issue of the kibbutzim to participate in an uneasy dance with the headache-causing task of writing the short history of Zionism can today seem like an odd anachronism. But the kibbutzim were from 1910 to 1920, the years when kibbutzim had its breakthrough, and for the next forty to sixty years one of the main practical pillars of Zionism, and if it did not prove to materialise Zionist visions that would last the kibbutz remained for a long time a strong symbol of Labour Zionism and of Israel - despite never involving more than a minority of the population. If we look into the early history of Zionism we find a range of different branches. Theodore Herzl's Zionism, which led to the establishment of the movement at the first Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897, was a bourgeois and European form emerging from industrial, capitalist experiences. The Labour Zionism that Ben Gurion pursued when he arrived to Palestine in 1906, from Russian Poland, had its roots in Tzarist Russia where his parents came from (Thing, 1998). The philosophy behind Labour Zionism was to make the Jew a pioneering farmer working the soil, not a bourgeois capitalist tradesman or office clerk. It envisioned a socialist Jewish collective, making the desert bloom(!), where Jews shared and worked the land. The European Zionism that Herzl formulated before the turn of the century was largely a desktop practice with a future-oriented vision. In Palestine, on the other hand, Labour Zionism quickly gained ground control in day-to-day practical politics and initiatives. To develop the kibbutzim in the *Yishuv* the Zionist movement needed more Jews to settle in the country. The immigrants settling in 'a land without people for a people without land' - as uttered initially by Zangwill and a queue of Zionists throughout the

[8] The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (www.mfa.gov.il) defines the kibbutz as a collective rural locality where production, marketing and consumption is collective. The moshav, the kibbutz's little brother, is defined as a rural locality and co-operative society. It is though combining collective and private forms. Consumption can be private, for example.

twentieth century – have been viewed as a *colonial settler society*, see. e.g. Yuval-Davis in Nimni [forthcoming], Yiftachel, 1997 and Ram in Pappé, 1999. This broad term can trigger comparisons with Australia, US and South Africa which may not be that useful. However, this view – Israel as a colonial settler society - provides a powerful way of expressing what actually happened on the ground. It fails, however, to encompass how the desperate and deprived masses of Jewish immigration in the 1930s and 1940s, waves of dispossessed people, running away from one of most systematic slaughters in history, could turn out in the end to dispossess another people. The *colonial settler state* thesis views the problem from the point of view of desktop strategies[9] among leaders who happen to be able to enforce such a situation on the ground, which is, I would argue, not the impetus for people under threat. The irony of the fact that the Nazi persecution gave a green card to a final, powerful release of the Zionist argument, was mentioned in the first section on the Holocaust, Israel and the 1948 war. Let me instead move beneath the broad colonialist perspective and try to understand some of the Zionist positions and paradoxes in the course of the different waves of immigration.

The first *aliyah* (wave of immigration) taking place in the 1880s after the beginning of the *pogroms* in Russia did not aim for state building, according to Doron (1995: 198-200). It was an individualistic movement, happening before Herzl formulated Zionism. During the second aliyah from 1910 to 1914 Jewish life had been politicised and the ingathering of the exiles was now a collectivistic phenomenon. All the aliyahs were, in practical terms, directed towards agricultural settlement and strongly related to the establishment of kibbutzim through land purchase, via back up from the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund. The Jews, who in general previously had not been allowed to own land in Europe, bought land from Arab landowners trying to improve their private finances by selling. Between 1880 and 1920, 80.000 Jews arrived (Gjessing, 1967: 13).

Apart from the initial Herzlian Zionism and the second form, Labour Zionism, a third form existed as well. It was a revisionist and religious version advocated by Zeev Jabotinsky which nevertheless also came out of the Labour movement where several struggles took place. People such as, for example, Arlozeroff and Levon opted for more integrative solutions[10]. The

[9] See also discussion on *tactics* versus *strategies* (using de Certeau) in Chapter 1.

[10] In 1933 Chaim Arlozeroff, one of the Zionist leaders believing in integration of, and full co-operation with, the Arabs, was assassinated. He argued that the Zionists had to rid themselves of the Diaspora-inherited tendency to segregate from other people. Ben Gurion, on the other hand, favoured maximum segregation. Resistance to Ben Gurion had not ended though with Arlozeroff. In 1947, after the UN partition plan, the *Histradut* (the largest labour union) secretary, Pinhas Levon, demanded an integrative solution with equal status for the Arabs in the state and in the Histradut. Partly for security reasons he spoke against a Jewish vs. Arab bloc since he thought it would lead to discrimination and push the Arabs into hostile unity vis a vis a new Jewish state. Levon was later on, in 1954, for a short period minister of defence under the Moshe Sharett government where he worked for conscription of non-Jews to the army.

philosophy in Jabotinsky's revisionism was to put the class struggle and the socialist ideas aside and instead to form a Jewish national unity that fought the Arabs (Thing, 1996). While some fractions of Labour Zionism in the beginning, perhaps naively, believed that the Arabs could live side-by-side with the expanding Jewish community, most envisioned segregation. Jabotinsky opposed partition and thought the Arabs had to be driven away by force (see e.g. Shlaim, 2000: 11-19)[11]. He believed in an essential Jewish race[12]and was inspired by rule via a *führer*, a strong leader, and not as a socialist collective. The ironic rupture, as I would name it, emerged as a strange and urgent combination of these different ideological ideas after the rise of Nazism (in Shlaim, 2000: 11-19, described as Labour Zionism's accommodation of Jabotinsky's visions of an *iron wall*). Herzl had triggered the development of Zionism, though influenced by the earlier writings of Moses Hess and Leon Pinsker, and Ben Gurion used these early ideas to take the movement in another direction, relying on the revisionist militarism after the victory of Mapai in 1948 (acronym of *mifleget poalei Israel* meaning 'Israel workers party'. It was the former name of the Labour party)[13].

The Jewish thinking at that time struggled on several of the following axes: becoming the *same or one* with the majority vs. staying out as different[14]. The problems with assimilation were related to anti-Semitism, and several choices could lead to problems for Jews, or, as Jørgen Bæk Simonsen[15] very illustratively has put it; did the Jews go in ghettos to get protection and avoid persecution? *Or* were they persecuted and objectified because they went into the ghetto? Moses Hess challenged the assimilation strategy or tendency in his book *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862) where he suggested a revitalisation of Jewish tradition via a state specifically for Jews. It was at this time not geographically specific, but ideas of Jewish emancipation now mirrored European nationalism, and Leon Pinsker unfolded in 1882 his ideas of Jewish liberation and independence as a people. His book was called *Auto-Emancipation.* As was noted earlier, the third step, Herzl's *The Jewish State* from 1896 and the 1897 Zionist conference, brought crucial changes

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Some 4.000 Arabs enlisted voluntarily. In 1955 Lavon was dismissed and the new Minister of Defence and his General, Ben Gurion and Dayan, decided against minority conscription (Kafkafi, 1998: 347-357).

[11] One of the initial major differences between Labour Zionists and revisionist Zionism related to the use of force. Labour Zionism wanted to proceed toward statehood by immigration and settlement, while Jabotinsky emphasised military power as a key factor in the struggle for a state, see e.g. Shlaim, 2000: 16.

[12] The radical Zionist ideology found its gun powder from a general Western discourse in the nineteenth century asserting superiority of white over black or Europe over the rest of the world (see e.g. W.E.B. DuBois' account of American race history, 1903).

[13] Basic tenets of Zionism as defined by Ian Lustick; the ingathering of exiles (*kibbutz galuiot*), redemption of the land through intensive agricultural settlement (*geulat haaretz*), judaization of the Galilee (*yehud hagalil)* and consolidation of the Jewish proletariat (*avoda ivrit*) (Lustick, 1980:6).

[14] To understand this split within Zionism, and the later apparent consensus or combination of ideas, I find it useful to return to the issue of assimilation vs. segregation and the challenge to the rising *Aufklärung* philosophy affecting also the western European Judaism in the nineteenth century. The Enlightenment worked to unfold a modern Jewish identity based on the idea of assimilation of Jews into the states where Jews lived.

[15] Jørgen Bæk Simonsen is professor at the Carsten Niebuhr Institute for Nearoriental Studies, Copenhagen University, and currently working in Damascus. His words are from a lecture 13.10.99.

and finally chained up the *galut* (the Diaspora) with Palestine[16]. The use of the word Diaspora[17] discursively inscribes a link or consciousness toward a 'home' somewhere else. Here I will just try to point out that fear of assimilation, and the attempts to avoid it, and not the longing for a home - which Zionism brilliantly re-formulated in a timely manner - were nevertheless not modern phenomena[18]. In the early 20th century, in the Yishuv, Eliezer Ben Yehuda was under way with the restoration of the old, national language in the 'restored', new country . The written biblical Hebrew[19], which was not a 'living' language, was revitalised and then became the modern oral form of Hebrew called *Ivrit.* It had already been one of the national languages during the mandate in the 1920s. The development of *Ivrit* was based on the written grammatical roots, or basic consonant letters available. Most words in Hebrew are constructed via three basic roots from the full alphabet of twenty eight letters, as in Arabic. Before 1920, Hebrew was not spoken, commonly, outside the synagogue and in the *yeshivas,* the religious schools. In Palestine, oral Arabic dominated everyday life. Modern Hebrew did not only ease communication among the different Jewish groups coming from the European Diaspora; Yiddish (Hebrew letters, Germanic dialect)[20], Ladino (Hebrew letters, Spanish dialect), Russian, Polish, German, English and French, to mention a few, but it also worked as an invention of a common cultural vehicle which symbolically folded and transported the shared biblical Jewish past into the future of an old, but new nation (apropos another of Herzl's books *Altneueland* - Old-newland, a science fiction about a Jewish Palestine in the year 1923. It was written in 1902, shortly before his death (Thing, 1996: 8, and Shlaim, 2000: 4).

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[16] My presentation is based on Arthur Hirzberg (ed.) (1979) [introductions to the writers, and extracts from the three writings], and Morten Thing (1996).

[17] From Greek meaning 'dispersion'. As a noun referring to the spreading or dispersion of the Jews after their exile in 538 BC, but in general the term has been stretched and maybe weakened by describing general uprooting. Israel have over the last decades gained new inscriptions of place, from black Ethiopian Jews over Eastern European immigrant workers to Russian Christians/Jews trying to find, inscribe and import a past homeliness to the new home.

[18] They were a renewal or even continuation of an ancient attachment. It can be traced back to the Babylonic exile where the invention of the synagogue, meaning 'house of assembly', plays an important role. The Jews in Babylon invented the synagogue after the first Babylonian deportation in 599 BCE (Woolfson, 1980: 35). The Assyrians had defeated the majority of the Jews in the northern kingdom of Israel, Samaria. To prevent the same thing happening to the Jews in the southern kingdom of Israel, Judah, the synagogue was instituted as a 'safe place', not only to preserve the faith but also to sustain a mode of living, a Jewish culture. This was approximately one thousand five hundred years after the biblical figure of Abraham and approximately three hundred years after the heyday of Jewish rule in Jerusalem under David and later Solomon and Saul.

[19] The Torah contains approximately 8000 different Hebrew words. In the 1960s a Hebrew dictionary contained approximately thirty thousand words (Terkelsen, 1966).

[20] Yiddish was the Jewish language of the East European Jewry. The Bund, The General Jewish Workers Union of Poland and Russia, formed 1897, envisioned Jewish cultural autonomy within the Diaspora, promoted Yiddish as the national language, and sought to unite the struggle of Russian Jews with the general struggle of workers (Goodman et al., 1998). *Bundism*, the particular representation of Jews through the lens of Eastern Europe and socialist revolution, was defeated by Stalin in Russia, and by Hitler in Poland (Thing, 1996: 9). Now the Zionists could draw the boundaries worldwide, and they therefore adopted Hebrew as their national language (Nira Yuval Davis, personal email correspondence, March 2003).

The revitalised Hebrew served as one of the strong pillars in the building and maintenance of nationhood. The others were the kibbutz movement – a particular Jewish Israeli practice re-connecting the redeemed Jews to the old land, the Israeli Defence Forces, and finally the education in the Hebrew language[21]. The presence of Arabs in the new Jewish state presented the planners of state education with a problem. The Compulsory Education Bill of 1949 was not implemented in the Arab schools for a long time, due to a shortage in buildings and facilities (Al-Haj, 1995: 64). Such shortage remains. Programs for special case pupils have been run exclusively in the Jewish schools (Al-Haj, 1995:82). The educational system in Israel is a welfare state run system. Education is compulsory and free (i.e. financed by the state). Eighty percent of the schools are secular public schools while the rest are different forms of religious schools and yeshivas, including Muslim, Christian and Druze schools. The ultra-orthodox schools have full autonomy over their curriculum. Only a few classes and schools are bi-national, as e.g. in Misgav and at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam (more about these in the next Chapter). The educational system in Israel developed after what Al-Haj calls a *controlled segregation strategy.* In the Jewish schools the educators did not distinguish between national-Jewish and citizenship values (Al-Haj after Benor, 1995: 123) and he argues that in the Arab schools, the presence of the Jewish-Zionist symbols made it difficult for Arab Israelis to develop Israeli citizenship orientations. The development of a modern oral Hebrew thereby served as an instrument of a particular Jewish national power while the segregated, educational system sought to appease or pacify the minority of Arabs with its imposing pedagogic authority and symbolic violence. It can be illustrated in the following quote from Shuli Dichter[22], an alternative educationalist: "When the state of Israel was established in 1948 suspicion and hostility between the Arabs and Jews dominated. At that time the Palestinians who stayed within the borders of the state - about one hundred and fifty thousand - were given Israeli citizenship and put under military rule. These Palestinian citizens were considered a potential threat. Education in relation to 'the other' was different for Jews and Arabs. In the Jewish students' curriculum the Palestinians were ignored. The few pioneering attempts to include the Palestinians in the Jewish picture were academic endeavours at studying the Palestinians from an anthropological perspective or in order to 'know the enemy'" (Dichter, 1999).

Most of the ministries, including the Ministry of Education (in December 2002 called 'Education, Culture and Sport'), have not absorbed Arab intellectuals. Ministries are in reality closed to Arabs for security reasons (Al-Haj, 1995: 64). There is no Arab university in Israel,

[21] Graham Usher notes that the Israeli Jewish nation was forged out of the Hebrew language, the army and the "special Israeli experience and the Jews aspiration to have a state. His two first points are clear enough, while the third, undoubtly touching upon something essential, is convoluted: is he referring to Zionism, Kibbutzim and the experience of prosecution and genocide? (Usher, 1999).

[22] Shuli Dichter is a former employee at Givat Haviva and a co-director of Sikkuy. The quote is from www.euconflict.org

but Haifa University, for example, established in 1968, has attracted a large number of Arab students (and so has the *Mikhlalot* colleges, similar to the old Polytechnics). The percentage of Arabs at Haifa University has grown steadily over the first three decades. Today almost twenty percent of the students are Arab, reflecting the proportion of Arabs in the country. The Minister of Education, Limor Livnat, elected in 2001, is infusing schools with new patriotism and *Neo Zionism* - a 1990s phenomenon revitalising aspects of Zionism. Discussed later in this chapter. Livnat is an ex-marketing executive and university drop-out who in her first year as minister has ensured that seventh to ninth graders in secular schools are receiving weekly teaching in Jewish heritage and that tenth graders study a new course on 'The Land of Israel and Archaeology'. Further, she is pushing for coming-of-age national ceremonies, daily flag-raising and anthem singing, and she has interfered with an ethical code developed at the *Histradut's*[23] teachers union which tries to set up a conduct between students, teachers and parents, inspired by the UN's declaration of the Rights of the Child. If she is going to give the code backing, she wants it to state, additionally, that the teacher would be committed to Zionist ideas. Education is continued and finalised via compulsory service in the army, two years for every girl, three years for every boy - plus additional reserve duty service yearly for a period of time. This can easily be five to ten years onwards depending on gender, family situation, health and carrier. The IDF has become a popular militia, though most orthodox do not serve. For all other Jewish Israelis the army is an integral, bodily experience of Jewish Israeli identity and a tool for the maintenance of Zionism, here understood not just in the limited sense of 'gathering of exiles' but as a way of unifying different Jews in one national project. While the Jew might not plough the field to the extent the ideological Labour Zionist envisioned, he - or she(!) - at least carries a gun if not a spade(!) and protects *the land* and the workers[24]. The move from the spade to the gun, is a condition for the Jew to reach the desk(!) and advance in modern Israeli society. So rather than being just a professional army detached from everyday society, it is the formative practice for Israeli youth *par excellence*, and therefore a strong nation building phenomenon in itself[25].

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[23] Histradut is Hebrew for federation - an abbreviation of *Hahistadrut hakelalit shel haovedim be eretz yisrael*, The General Federation of Workers in the Land of Israel. It was formed in 1920 with the intention to encompass all labour-pioneer parties of Zionist persuasion. Membership was initially limited to Jewish workers and it developed to become a central pillar in Zionist enterprise in Palestine. It is still the union par excellence with 1.63 million members (1989), including 100.000 Israeli Arabs (Hiro, 1996).

[24] Arab labour was more common during the Yishuv, but Askenazi Labour Zionists gradually opted toward importing Mizrachi Jews in the 1950s to do the dirty jobs, and in the 1990s Russian Jews. Non-Jews have, however, always been a part of the workforce, not only the Palestinians of Israel, but also Gazans and West Bank Palestinians getting up in the middle of the night, waiting at security points - for the Israelis to check if they are terrorists - and then go to work all day in Israel and return to the refugee camp with a fistful of shekels to survive on. The first intifada, and as well the current one, put restrictions on, and sometimes completely shuts off, this daily transport of workers (see, e.g. Hass, 1996).

[25] Druze, Bedouins, Circassin (a fraction of Sunni Muslim) and Christian Arabs *may* serve in the army.

Returning to language and education, it is worth noticing that the impressive revitalisation of Hebrew was initially not a state imposed educational practice. Along with the kibbutzim and the moshavim, language schools as *ulpan akiva* (school for adults) and a range of Jewish-Arab co-operative institutions (to be explored in the next Chapter) became bridge building institutions and it furthermore proved that Israel had a thriving civil society. The Ulpan Akivas were of Buberian and Grundtvigian[26] inspiration, set down to 'enlighten the people' and offer language teaching collective education for the people, a sort of education for life, not for 'business'. They were inspired by the Scandinavian *folkehøjskole*, translated as 'peoples college', formerly working class educational settings set up for the purpose of self-empowerment and the emergence of a more critical and collectivistic consciousness and knowledge. It nevertheless found a more profane and cruel connection to reality: soldiers could learn Arabic and use it in their jobs in the West Bank. The Ulpan Akivas, created by Shulamit Katznelson in Netanya, put emphasis on the spoken language and they offered language courses in Arabic and Hebrew. They were similar to Givat Haviva - which grew out of the kibbutz movement - but the Ulpan was more biblical in its interpretation of the human as a unity of body and soul, the spirit not to be detached of the body, and the human task of speaking with the other (Zøllner, 1994: 211-239). They tried to apply a temporary safe space or an atmosphere in which language of the others[27] could be learned, well knowing that the reality outside was one of conflict, and occasionally, war.

**Whose land? – Diverse Narratives**

Let me move to the core of what I see as the specific *Jewish Israeli vs. Arab Israeli* argument, as illustrated in this dialogue between two Israeli writers, Anton Shammas (Palestinian) and A. B. Yehoshua (Jewish):

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[26] Buber and Grundtvig had a romantic and poetic stream running in their veins. In Grundtvig it was fused with religion and nationalism, but they both envisioned the human as a whole of body and soul and spirituality as a part of the creation of commonality; working and talking with other people (Zøllner, 1994). The latter issue of working through bodily engagement and life-*Enlightenment* is difficult to translate or express in a term, but one option, for a footnote, appears for me in the Swedish term *folkverksamhet ;* people/folks acting or creating things together. For Buber it was about the creation of *gemeinschaft.* See also the section *Identity - heads and tail*s and Chapter 6.

[27] Israel became the country of language confusion and code switching *par excellence.* Code switching is a device for shifts *within* the first language, as an in-group practice. It relies on sentimentology and knowledge, experience with language games, and different meanings of the same words. On the particular narrative styles of the two national languages, Hebrew and Arabic, I will, in later chapters, while analysing extracts dwell on Jewish Israeli and Arab styles of speech, as for example Jewish Israeli *dugri* (Katriel, 1996) and Arab *musayra* (Zupnik, 2000) - which may wander into second and even third language speech - and also code crossing in general, i.e. switching to another language (Hampton, 1995).

Shammas: "You see Israeliness as total Jewishness. And I do not see where you fit me, the Arab into that Israeliness. Under the rug? In some corner of the kitchen? Maybe you won't even give me a key to get into the house?"

Yehoshua: "But Anton, think of a Pakistani coming to England today with a British Passport, and telling the British, 'Let's create British nationality together! I want Pakistani, Muslim symbols! Why should the Archbishop of Canterbury preside over the crowning of the Queen? I want there to be Muslim representation as well! Why should we speak English? There are a lot of languages here'. Think of him coming and making demands! The English tell him 'No my good man! We have no objection to your speaking Urdu, and you may receive – as a minority – schools and mosques, but the country's identity is English, and you are a minority within that nation!'

Shammas: "Buli [Yehoshua's nickname], the minute a man like you does not understand the basic difference between the Pakistani who come to England and the Galilean who has been in Fatusta [a village in Galilee, northern Israel] for untold generations, then what do you want us to talk about?"

Yehoshua: "I do not understand you. If there hadn't been anti-Semitism in Europe, you wouldn't even know how to write the word 'Israel'" (in Grossman, 1993: 254).

The extract is from a dialogue between Shammas and Yehoshua reported by David Grossman. This is an example of what we could call a simplified version of the *Jewish Israeli vs. Arab Israeli argument.* Recognising that the religious/secular divide or Askkenazi/Mizrachi or Christian/Muslim problems, to mention a few other dichotomies, are not dealt with in this short extract, the assertions in the talk nevertheless touch upon some important issues, I think. Yehoshua seems to be comparing the Arab in Israel to an immigrant who enters another man's homeland while Anton Shammas asks for a share in Israeliness. The Palestinian is not an immigrant, but it is also true that the Jews have shaped the particular form of (be)longing and nationality that Yehoshua calls Israeliness. Can Shammas equally share this Israeli nationality? Is he not - if we expand this to an *Israeli-Palestinian argument* and include Gaza and the West Bank - closer to sharing a Palestinian nationality with the rest of the Palestinians? It is not clear, though, if Shammas talks about Israeliness in a political sense, as an inclusive citizenship. Palestinian nationality is not touched upon in this dialogue extract. In which case, we would have dealt with a sub-category of the first form: Jewish Israeli vs. *Palestinian* Arab Israeli

arguments. Finally there is a third and larger category: *The Israeli-Arab arguments* covering the arguments with the Arab world.

**Religion and nation**

If we leave this example, the disagreements on entitlement have in the first hundred years of the conflict, centred around two fixed points to which each part - the Zionists and the Palestinian Arabs - equally claim entitlement, or at least a right to a considerable portion of the land (as addressed in the example above) and the city Jerusalem.

*Yerushalayim*[28], Jerusalem is the focal point in the different narratives of Jewish redemption and of a Jewish Israel, narratives that interweave the religious and the national. The Palestinians too unfold a similar religious connection to *Al-Quds*[29], Jerusalem, and then also interweave the religious and the national. Jerusalem seems to be a useful tool to make this connection. Raphael Jospe and Ziad Abu-Amr, a Jewish and an Arab Muslim professor, from Israel's Open University and from Bir-Zeit University in the West Bank, each contributed a text on the significance of Jerusalem in the Palestine-Israel Journal in 1998. Jospe emphasises Jerusalem's role in the Torah and the use of the corollary name Zion, which initially indicated Temple Mount, and subsequently the city and then the Holy Land as a whole, he says. His text dwells on the endless list of Torahnian connections to the place, and less on actual lived experience in the city. "The restoration of Jerusalem came to symbolize Jewish national survival and fidelity to the Torah" (Jospe, 1998: 37). Before his outline of the indisputable Biblical connections, he makes a basic premise. Raphael Jospe says that the there is no dichotomy in Judaism between nation and religion, between the secular and the sacred. Jewish religion is nationalist, nationhood is religious (Jospe, 1998: 32). He claims that this dichotomy can be found in Christianity and Islam. Raphael Jospe thereby cunningly recognises Jewish ethnicity as national and erases the conflict between the state and the Torah. The sacred and the secular slide into each other; the sacred provides redemption, the secular provides a modern, Western form of statehood. He does not mention ultra-orthodox oppositions to statehood, or recognise the link between the communal or national and the religious in Islam, for example through the concept of Umma[30]. Furthermore, he does not deal with Jews around the world that have not considered

[28] Hebrew for 'Jerusalem'. Spelling in Latin letters differs. This one is taken from the biblical sentence to conclude the Passover *La Shanah Ha-Ba'ah Bi'Yerushalayim,* 'Next year in Jerusalem' (Jospe, 1996: 37).
[29] The name of 'Jerusalem' in Arabic.
[30] *Umma*, a derivate of *umm*, means mother or source, and has also been applied to the Arab *community*, later when Muhammad became ruler of a territory, to the Muslim community. In modern times the *umma* has also been used to describe the worldwide Islamic community (Hiro, 1996).

settling in Israel or even believe in Israel as *the* homeland for the Jewish people[31]. Ziad Abu-Amr takes another angle, emphasising the Muslim character and the Muslim "entitlement to it", without elaborating. As with Jospe, he does not dwell much either on the lived experience of Muslims in the city, only referring to it indirectly by mentioning the Muslim rule from 638 to 1917, with the exception of 103 years of Crusader rule. He mentions that it is considered to be the third-holiest city in Islam after Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia, and that its religious prominence is derived from being the first *Qibla (*direction of prayer), which later changed to Mecca. Furthermore he says that it "also derives significance from its association with Prophet Muhammad's miraculous nocturnal journey to the city and his ascension to heaven from "the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque *al-Masjid al-Aqsa*". Here he is quoting the Koran where a place in Al-Quds is mentioned, but not the name of the city itself: "Muslims believe that Islam, more than Judaism or Christianity, afforded the city the most tolerant period because of Islam's nature being the religion of all prophets, from Abraham to Muhammad". The recent Jewish conquest is compared with the Crusader period thousand years ago.

When using religious sources to justify a narrative about a people's entitlement, one of the well known examples of Jewish-Muslim disagreement is God's promise to Abraham, an event of great significance to both religions in their discursive construction of their right to the country. The Jews claim God's promise to Abraham give them the entitlement to the country while the Arabs claim that the same promise gives them the same right since Abraham, called *Ibrahim* in the Koran, is the first prophet in Islam. Abraham had two sons with two different women, a Jew and an Arab. His second son - whom he had with Sarah - was Isaac, the father of Jacob, named Israel, and the ancestor of the Israelis. The first son, though, was Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, whom Abraham conceived with Hagar.

**Mutual anxieties**

The debates about the land have often been unfolded in relation to issues of fear, safety and security - issues that addresses a now and a future, and which often are grounded in experiences. In addition, these debates are strongly related to issues of home, nationality and identity, which are past-, now-, and future-focused as well. These debates are constantly being re-phrased and re-elaborated, but somehow rely on core configurations. The issue of gradual re-configuration of narratives and histories are elaborated with help from Paul Ricoeur's writings on time and narrative later in the thesis. Roughly speaking, the Palestinians, for the first fifty years of the

[31] A 1982 survey among the six million American Jews, two thirds of the Diaspora Jewry, revealed that 80 percent of the Jewish Americans had "denied ever giving any serious consideration to settling in Israel" (McDowall, 1993).

century, were worried about what would happen to them if there became too many Jews and they formed a state. In the next fifty years the Jews have been worried about the number of Palestinians increasing. 'What will happen to us if we give them a state?'. All anxieties are at the same time speculative but understandable and are well illustrated in a folkish anecdote, the Frog and Scorpion story. It is told in a conversation taking place in 1974 between Amos Elon, Jewish Israeli writer, and Sana Hassan, an Egyptian political science student. The anecdote is told when Hassan is arguing that the surrounding Arab countries are of little help to the Palestinians, so Israel ought to help the Palestinians in Israel and in the occupied West Bank and Gaza to form their own state alongside Israel (a good point, by the way!). Elon replies that it is difficult because "Israel must be sure, or else she jeopardized her very life? On these precarious grounds, we might find ourselves in the position of the frog in the famous Middle Eastern anecdote". It is about a scorpion that asks a frog to take him across the river. The frog is afraid of getting stung, but the scorpion replies that they will both die if the scorpion hurts the frog, so the frog hesitatingly agrees to do it. But on the way across the scorpion stings the frog anyway. In their dying moments, the frog says 'why?' and the scorpion replies 'My dear, this is the Middle East'. The frog story is relevant as an illustration of today's anxieties. Both sides could argue for changes in the relationship or misconceptions in the story. The frog could say 'I've tried to help you over the river of Oslo and Camp David II, but you keep trying to kill me'. The scorpion could reply 'While crossing the stormy rivers we've been on, I could see you keep building settlements on my land on the other side, and then I stung you'. The frog could also say 'You Arab scorpions have other countries, try to move east instead'. The scorpion could reply 'Well, you Jewish frogs have other places too: Camden Town, New York, Berlin, the whole world - and by the way: this used to be my home'.

For a more profane and conceptual illustration I would use Morten Valbjørn Iversen's distinction between the *power logic* and the *legalistic, moralistic* approach. There is at least a huge river between the two arguments, Valbjørn Iversen shows. He argues that from an Israeli power logic-point of view, Israel can be said to 'make concessions' when they negotiate over the return of parts of the land. The territories are disputed and Israelis are entitled to do what they like in areas they have won in a war. The Oslo accords supplied the Palestinians with more than they had had before – and so could the recent summit ideas at Camp David have done if the Israeli proposal had been signed. The Palestinians on the other hand calls for a recognition international law. The occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is illegal and the Palestinians demand an equal share of Jerusalem, the city they see as their capital, and therefore a space they must divide if an agreement cannot be reached. As Israel has a Law of Return[32],

[32] The Law of Return begins with: "1. Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an oleh [means a Jew immigrating to Israel]. 2. (a) Aliyah shall be by oleh's visa. (b) An oleh's visa shall be granted to every Jew who has expressed his desire to settle in Israel". Notes follow this on exceptions, e.g. entry is

Palestinians demands that their refugees can return. Negotiations should instead be about how to implement *these* conditions or how to bring about such a situation! The negotiation should then be about how to handle some of the settlements in Palestine and grant Palestinian citizenship, how to give Israel access on roads and so on, and not about how much to keep within Israel or how to maintain half or full Israeli control in particular areas. The Palestinian approach relies upon international law and a conception of justice and from this point of view the Palestinians appear to make concessions (Valbjørn Iversen, 2001).

**Contemporary cultural geographies**

I want to move on from these juxtaposed assertions and narratives to another sort, namely contemporary histories , or reports, of lived Arab-Jewish relations and conflict in Israel. I will do this using illustrations and accounts of recent developments in the mixed cities within Israel, the most common areas of friction against each other, or contact between Arabs and Jews (not including the rather different ways of 'contact' in the West Bank and Gaza). Lily Galili and Ori Nir, two *Haaretz*[33] journalists, travelled around the mixed cities and spoke with residents, people involved in community work, researchers and writers. Their visits were timely as they reported during November and December 2000, just after the outbreak of the intifada, where tendencies that had been simmering reached boiling point[34]. A few other articles and accounts on Arab-Jewish contact are used as well in the upcoming section.

Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Ramle, Lod, Acre, Haifa and Nazareth/Upper Nazareth may have one thing in common apart from the uneasy parallel existence of Jews and Arabs living in close proximity: the Arabs need the Jews and their resources! This is true in terms of funding from the state and municipality, access to universities, and in the everyday; such as Jews eating at Arab restaurants, or buying stuff from their businesses and shops. The Jews on the other hand could more easily do without the Arabs. Those with resource leave or if living in Haifa, for example, move higher up on the Carmel and stay away from the Arabness of Wadi Nisnas.

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not granted if the immigration authority views that the oleh is involved in activity against the state or the Jewish people. This was passed in the Knesset in 1950. In 1954 an amendment incorporates, among other notes, that the oleh must not have a criminal past (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website).

[33] *Haaretz* meaning 'The Land', is one of Israel's four daily, nationwide newspapers. It is a left of centre newspaper in Hebrew and English. Of the same format and size is the *Jerusalem Post*, an English language paper only. The largest selling newspapers are the two centre/right tabloids *Ma'ariv* (evening) and *Yedioth Ahronoth* (daily news). There are a few smaller Arab Israeli newspapers as well, e.g. *al-ittihad, al-missad* and *al-yaum.*

[34] The articles gave a detailed and bold ethnographic account, emerging from a newspaper that continues, in my opinion, to be surprisingly heterogeneous in terms of angles and views in its background material (not everything is confirming the editorial, official Zionist position), and even in its news reports. The Journal of Palestine Studies – a Palestinian and Israeli revisionist historian journal - picked up the mixed cities series and extracts from the series were published there.

Galili and Nir write that the Arabs of Acre (*Acco* in Hebrew, *Acca* in Arabic) are distressed, but still committed to the place, while the Jewish population has been transient. The strongest inhabitants tend to leave. Sammy Smooha, who has done intensive research on Arabs in Israel during the 1970s and 1980s, characterises the situation like this: "For Jews it is important not only that the state as a whole have a Jewish character, but that every place and every street be Jewish. The Jews are not prepared to live in a place where they are not in a clearly dominant position" (Nir and Galili, Haaretz, 11th. November 2000). With the rise of Arabs, Jews move out. A mixed neighbourhood is the amount of time that elapses from when the first Arab moves *in* to the last Jew move *out*!, as Galili and Nir writes [my italics]. In another article by Daniel Ben Simon, 9 months later, a restaurant owner, Avraham Talias, says: "the big picture is that this city is screwed because the residents are Sephardim and Arabs, so no one gives a damn". "Look at Ramle, look at Lod, look at Jaffa. All three are getting screwed because they are mixed cities. That's the price the state gives for coexistence between Jews and Arabs" (Ben Simon, 2001). Two main attitudes become apparent in Galili and Nir's talk with residents and community people; a new "frankness" opposed to "hypocrisy", as some called it, and another axis of opinions where separation seems to be the step to preserve the Jewish character of most parts of the city, in line with the Judaisation of the Galilee-philosophy. Galilee and Nir conclude that the citizens become the victims of the state's identity problems. Acre, the beautiful, historic city, is today also a hotbed of poverty, crime and the centre of drug dealing in the north. Those from the suburbs shop in Arab villages *around* the city. Buses leave with students and pupils for educational institutions *outside* the city [my italics] (Galili and Nir, 11th. November 2000).

The Bride of Palestine, as Jaffa (*Yafo* in Hebrew, *Yafa* in Arabic) used to be called, is now an object of Arab longing, Galili and Nir write (27th. November 2000). However, I would add, that in the harbour area some stylish Jewish bloom can be seen, targeting tourism with art-galleries, cafés and restaurants pretending to offer a friendly hybrid of a Mediterranean and Mizrachi-Exotic Israel. This is to be explored later on when dealing with *Mizrachiyut*. Galili and Nir write that the story here is the same: weak ties have broken easily. Some are trading, mutually benefiting from each other again, it seems. In October 2000, it looked like a ghost town. Revisiting a year after, it seemed to have recovered the vitality it had during my first visit in 1999. A spontaneous coexistence in the 1960s and 1970s now takes phony planning, Nir and Galili write (27th. November 2000). The social friction, still in the forms of urban, pedestrian *arts of mismeetings*[35], is characterised by encounters between wealthy Jews and poor Arabs, or just weak, poor populations on both sides. Over half of the city's Jews and most of the Arabs are

[35] The term is inspired by Bauman using Goffman (1993: 154). It refers to the act of coming across strangers, passing by each other habitually without really *meeting* - or/and getting 'around' people on Liverpool Street Station without stepping on any toes, literally and metaphorically, one could say.

in the weakest socio-economic category of the population. The Arabs have a sense of "colonization by rich liberals" (Galili and Nir, 27th November 2000). This is visible when walking in mixed Arab areas, where the David star marks the Jews presence as well. In the summer of 1999 even an old tall tree on a square had been Zionised with the blue-white flag adding colour to its dry yellow-green leaves. As with Acre, which was the main port before 1948, Jaffa has a history of more thriving Palestinian life. It was the main cultural centre of Palestine, but only four thousand of the 100.000 Palestinians who formerly lived there remain. An Arab representative - working at the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality - has since 1993 put Arab development on the agenda after decades of neglect. Arabs who come to find work in the city tend to compete with immigrants from Russia and foreign workers. And during the first months of the intifada Jews who used to visit restaurants vanished from Jaffa. The future holds two practical problems in stock for Arabs, as in other mixed cities: more children require more education and housing, and Arabs are now trying to register their children in Jewish schools. Jews are alarmed and this may lead to improvement in the Arab school system, so that the Jews - who are more concerned with separation - can stop the Arab 'infiltration'. One of the residents points out, though, that the problem for the majority of Mizrachim is not the proximate Arabs, but their suspicious Jewish, largely Ashkenazim, northern neighbours. They say that the northern Tel Avivians are more enlightened, he explains, but "it is we who are doing real coexistence – we live in neighbourhoods with the Arabs". "The Arabs also accept me as an existing phenomenon", a Turkish Jew, living in Jaffa for 43 years, says (Galili and Nir, 27th November 2000).

Haifa (in Hebrew *Heifa*) is one of the less disturbing stories, famed for coexistence through the past hundred years and remembered for a special Arab-Jewish partnership during the British mandate where the focus was on municipal issues rather than trying to solve the wider conflict (Galili and Nir 19th November 2000). The city is pragmatic and functional. There is an emphasis on business and work here. It used to be called *Umm al-Amal*, or Mother of Workers before the first world war (the Arab name today is just *Haifa*). Tel Aviv is more postmodernly and restlessly metropolitan, and much more Americanised, I would say. Haifa is like Tel Aviv a largely secular city, where Jerusalem is the religious city. I would argue that Haifa's 'levelled minds' on the unlevelled geographical 'floor' - from the port to the top of the Carmel over Hadar and Ein Hayam (the two mixed areas) to the Arab Wadi Nisnas near the port - are surely derived from the fact that it is the richest mixed city, and that a larger percentage of the Arabs here compared to elsewhere are well-off, middle class and Christian. Over ninety five percent of Israel's Palestinians Arabs are Muslim. Haifa is furthermore home to a university which has the largest percentage of Arab Israeli students and Arab academic staff in Israel. The Arab MK Issam Makhoul even says that the Arabs are an "added value" to Haifa and not a burden. The

second intifada brought new challenges to the fragile relationship. Also the Jewish-Arab cultural centre, *Beit Hagefen* (meaning 'house of the olives') has been looked at critically. According to Galili and Nir many young Arabs view the centre as an anachronism, or even as an expression of Jewish colonialism (Galili and Nir, 17th. November 2000).

Emil Habibi, the writer who won The Israeli Prize (a distinguished prize given to Israeli novelists) and who died in 1996, wrote about the re-naming of streets. For instance, a former United Nations boulevard was changed to Zionism Boulevard after the UN labelled Zionism as racism! For Arabs in the neighbourhood, it is just *Sharia al-Jabal*, or Mountain Street (Galili and Nir, 17th. November 2000). The street names of a nation mirror the history of the national people. In Israel this works as a tattoo or overwriting of the Palestinian - Arab and Jewish - body with Israeli signification. This Israeli facelift of the land even leaves the Arabs out of the street name iconography of the mixed Israeli cities, unless we view, for example, Hadera's 'Six Day War Street' as a bizarre recognition of the Arabs within. For the Jewish majority, it is not only a way of creating a physical home using the Hebrew language, but also of connecting with, and triggering, peoples memories. Thus, the Arabs are left with rubble, remnants or an imagined space, a space of the mind, of memory, that is to say a disappearing space. Constructs within *space* inscripe meaning which make it a particular *place*, endowed with an identity (Squires et al., 1993), but it should be noticed that the signification cosmopolitan Tel Aviv-Jaffa is as multifold and heteroglossic as any other large city, although in this case the *paradoxiality* - an invented name for postmodern reality - is screaming. While street names draw the Jewish history, architecture and any other physical feature cannot escape heteroglossia and fluidity, as in most other large cities. Look at Tel Aviv-Jaffa: the West, the East and the Mediterranean come together. Minarets and skyscrapers (in Tel Aviv a few of the newly established skyscrapers intendedly shadow one of the most visible minarets along the coast line), quickly established pioneer department blocs, falafel joints, surfers, Oriental art galleries, Russian and Romanian folk dance cafes, colonies of starving cats around containers.

Something which has not yet been touched upon, directly, is the related concept of *border*. Israel is a narrow strip of land traversed with borders of numerous conquests (Rogoff, 2000: 99). For Jewish Israelis the border to the Gaza and West Bank is a border of danger[36], and also a border to the unknown, even though the entity on both sides and the relation between them are

[36] Once upon a time an Israeli, a Dane and an Australian discussed *borders* in a Nottingham pub. *Border* came to symbolise danger, something symbolic and material, a part of the everyday, the Israeli explained when she was recalling a childhood trip to one of Israel's northern borders. She then asked what *border* made us think, and what experiences we had. The one who grew up in Denmark frowned for a while and said, with slight embarrassment, that it was rather seen as a bridge, now literally, or a temporary practical obstacle which could be *sailed*, as for example to Sweden or Norway, or *climbed*, as with the wooden fences around the garden. The guy who grew up in Australia frowned even longer and said there were a complete lack of borders, just loads of land.

defined through the very demarcation of a border (Rogoff, 2000: 137) The case of Israel is complicated since there are Jewish Israelis as well as Palestinian Arabs on both sides of the borders. The Jewish minority is however, less than half of a million (Kimmerling, 2002, Yiftachel, 2002), but their influence almost total through the Israeli control of the territories and bypass roads, while the Palestinian minority in Israel amounts to about one million, close to twenty percent. Palestinians in Israel and Jews in the territories share a common paradox in terms of (be)longing, despite their differences: they both see themselves as being in their territorial home, but they find themselves in the midst of foreign surroundings

Returning to the streets of Haifa and their hebraized and zionised names, some residents explained to Nir and Galili that coexistence is, nevertheless, definitely possible, despite the friction. A Christian Arab Israeli shawarma shop owner repeated that he has no problem with Israel's right to bring Jews to the country, but he added pointedly: "in my building every Saturday there is a sort of club of Russians who come to sing to Jesus. How did those people get into Israel? They come and they make a laughingstock of me, they take away our jobs, and in the end it turns out that they are Christians." I am quoting this to stress a general point on the friction - and also the racism – created by the emergence of new, poor groups. But still, Moses, Jesus or Muhammad never dropped by here, and this neutralises some of the religious tensions in the city, as the director of Beit Hagefen says.

Lidda or *Lod* (the Hebrew name), as it is most commonly called, also in the article series (the Arab name is *Lidd*), was a provincial capital during the British mandate, a city of investment where one still can find architectural signs of London between the tin shacks, as Galili and Nir explain (Haaretz, 3rd. December 2000). I am sure they are not just talking about one of the most prominent signs of the mandate all over Israel-Palestine: the solid red and yellow post-boxes (Lod is the only one of the long established mixed cities[37] I have not visited myself). Its neighbour Ramle (*Ramla/al-Ramlah*) has some of the same problems, "it is a way station for a Jewish population", as a Geography PhD student phrased it in Galili and Nir's article. The Arabs are trapped there. The majority is Bedouin, formerly evacuated from the Negev in the

[37] Jerusalem is not dealt with in the mixed cities series, and neither is Upper Nazareth (*Natzerat Illit*), the Jewish town bordering Nazareth (*al-Nasira*). Upper Nazareth has since its establishment in 1949 as a part of a Judaization of the Galilee-plan, become a mixed city with a small Arab population. For an account of the development of, and the Jewish-Arab relations in, Nazareth/Upper Nazareth see Dan Rabinowitz (1997) *Overlooking Nazareth* Cambridge University Press. For an account of Jerusalem and the Green line villages, see Alex Weingrod and Michael Romann (1989). Romann and Weingrod were, ethnographically speaking, touring a range of co-existing micro zones along the green line and in Jerusalem in the 80s, e.g. Abu Tuf, a mixed neighbourhood with economic exchange, children playing together, and a wide range of social overlap and contacts (Weingrod and Romann, 1989: 70-72). They concluded that the range of daily contacts or forms of crossings were largely economic in character (222) and the Arabs did not engage collectively or publicly to obtain a more equal allocation of resources (226). This attitude has made it easier for the Jews to pursue its own goals, they claimed.

1950s and 1960s, living in three neighbourhoods, which Galili and Nir calls "refugee camps in every respect". Drug dealing is open and organized, taxis and minibuses transport addicts to and from this centre and around the country. Twelve thousand fixes are sold a day in one of the neighbourhoods, the police estimates, according to the two journalists. The 1980s and 1990s have brought a few hundred Palestinians from the territories to Lod, collaborators with Israel, Galili and Nir call them. fifteen thousand new immigrants from Russia have followed. The Judaising agent's role is often taken by *Mizrachim,* Oriental Jews, opposed to the Ashkenazi, European elite (developed in the next section on Jewish Israeli identity), or *given* to Mizrachim involuntarily. Their role is not prominent here. Some of the Jews that somehow are tricked into buying an apartment "seven minutes [by train] from Tel Aviv" have trouble selling it again. There is a clause in the contract that states that the intention is to preserve the character of the neighbourhood. When talking to Jewish buyers it seems that they are told that they are forbidden to sell to Arabs or Ethiopian Jews, the two groups most likely to buy. If one goes searching it is possible to find uplifting stories and tendencies as well. The intifada seems to have passed over Lod, according to Galili and Nir. And one more thing: Jews and Arabs alike hope for the government ideas of unifying Ramle and Lod and special resources to be realised. The utterly grim picture of Ramle as well surprises me until I reach the last paragraphs where the journalists mark the differences between the two leaderships. Ramle's mayor Yoel Lavie (from Likud!) has worked hard for years to improve conditions for all the citizens, Jews and Arabs alike. Mikhail Fanos, the Arab in the city council, from the left wing movement Ratz, a forerunner of Meretz, explains that he is at odds with the mayor in their political views, but that they "work together and get things done". Galili and Nir furthermore say that a good partnership and friendship prevails between the two. Major improvements in infrastructure and sewage systems and streetlights have lightened up the former slum, and it is left to Lod to be the dustbin of the country. Coexistence is happening here too, but apparently it takes time. In 1974, an Arab moved into a building where only Jews lived. The Arab resident explained how a woman in the building boycotted him. Today she does not want to leave because of him. She is old now and the Arab family looks after her and occasionally takes her to hospital for her treatment (Galili and Nir, 3rd. December 2000).

The mixed city in Israel can be seen to be stuck between the concept of integration and separation. But there are no true mixed towns, what do exist are places that were once Arab, and after 1948 became predominately Jewish, as Galili and Nir write (Nov. 11 2000). The suburbanization trend is bypassing the Arabs, but at least the government now acknowledges the problems in a recent plan, the Ofek plan, on weaker communities. The question is, then, whether the last year's declining gross product of Israel, not to forget the intifada's devastating effect on

the economy will worsen the conditions of the poorer parts of the country[38]. The Arab population in cities are poorer than those in the villages (Galili and Nir, 11th December 2000). In the cities, the Arabs are "the periphery of the periphery", according to Majid al-Haj from Haifa University, while the absence of vibrant Arab city centres hinders the emergence of modern Arab politics in Israel, according to MK (Member of Knesset) and Balad member, Azmi Bishara (in Galili and Nir, 17th December 2000). Disagreement in the Arab population and reluctant authorities make the establishment of such a city impossible. Thabet Abu-Ras, a lecturer in Political Geography, says that this is in fact within their capability. No Arab community, not so much as a single rural setting, has been established since 1948! The rural structure of the Arabs in Israel prevents new vibrant cities from emerging, Oren Yiftachel says in Galili and Nir's article. Furthermore, the buffer in the border zones today is not Mizrachim as it used to be, but Russians, as for example the presentation of Lod showed earlier on.

Beersheba (in Hebrew *Beer Shiva* 'Wells of Seven' referring to the story of the Torah where Abraham dug a well and freed seven lambs) is becoming more binational. In 2000, there were seven thousand Arabs and still not a single Arabic school, but the policy makers are proud of the Bedouin market and the Middle Eastern folklore. The liberal Jews know where to eat proper hummus: not among themselves! Galili and Nir note that once the Jews thought the Arabs would leave, now the Jews are leaving, despite that Acre's municipality has offered a tax break in an attempt to stop the Jewish flight. Galili and Nir suggest that the government should refrain from their obsession with demographic balances and instead focus on the common interests of the "two communities". Mixed neighbourhoods were a relative success story in places where they came about naturally, as Haifa's Ein Hayam, and not where they were forced (Galili and Nir, 17th December 2000).

The film maker Nizar Hassan, a Palestinian Israeli, points out, however, that the Palestinians from a situation of despair and fragmentation have been able to bring about the unification of the ethnic identities in the whole area into one political unit (Shavit, 2000). Hassan is furious with the Israeli left. "The Israeli left was uncomfortable seeing us cleaning the streets, but it invented this phrase 'coexistence' to cleanse its conscience. At least the right does not lie to us. The right I can at least understand. What does the left want? A peace tent." A Maths doctoral student at Haifa, Malek Yusuf, says in the same article: "The Palestinians who live in Israel do not want war and aren't preparing for war. Our role is to help there to be peace. But you have to understand; you cannot disassociate us from the Palestinians in the territories. It is a matter of emotion, of belonging. Why does it have to worry you that we express solidarity with the Palestinians in the territories?". The article appeared a couple of weeks after the police had

killed thirteen Israeli Arabs during demonstrations in the north (a day after the lynching of two Israeli soldiers in Ramallah). Two of the Arabs were killed on the eve of Yom Kippur in Upper Nazareth where a mob "entered the eastern neighbourhood screaming 'Death to Arabs'". (Ori Nir, Haaretz, Oct. 12 2000).

I will shortly summarise the major events of the uprising in Israel (from Nir, 6th. December 2001), which happened in a period where I was visiting the country, though mostly staying outside the areas of tension[39]. The events in Israel were a parallel series of events to the *intifada al-aqsa*. It still remains a big research question, though, whether the riots in Israel were just mirroring or were snowballed by the events in the territories. Interestingly, already the twelfth September, sixteen days before Sharon's visit to the *al-haram al-sharif* / Temple Mount, the Israeli northern district police commander Alik Ron had requested the head of the investigations department, Yossi Sedbon, to investigate Hadash MK Mohammed Barakeh who was suspected of inciting Arabs in the north to attack the police. Another Arab MK, Abdulmalik Dehamse, strongly condemned the investigation and was furious with Alik Ron. He threatened that any police that came to demolish Arab houses would be attacked. On the fourteenth an Arab is killed. Two weeks passed before Sharon visited *al-haram al-sharif*, and two days later demonstrations erupted in Umm al Fahm, Tamra, Nazareth and other villages and towns. In Umm al Fahm two Arabs were killed and many hurt, including the Umm al Fahm mayor. Israeli police forces were now deployed in tense areas and the unrest spread to mixed areas, as the old city of Acre. Live bullets were used against the police in Acre. The police responded with rubber coated bullets and tear gas. Suddenly, confrontations in Israel begin to imitate the clashes in the territories and Israel subsequently experience the most serious riots within the state since *Land Day* in 1976[40]. In the largest Arab city in Israel, Nazareth, over hundred people are wounded. On the third of October riots continue in different areas in the Western Galilee. An Arab is killed near Kafr Manda. On the forth the streets of Jaffa, Tiberias and West Jerusalem are troubled as well. From the fifth to the ninth the clashes took place not only between police and Arab demonstrators, but also between civil Jews and Arabs. Ultra-orthodox youth threw stones against Arab vehicles and workers in Jerusalem, thousands of Jews participated in violent acts against Arabs in the Hatikva neighbourhood in Tel Aviv, and two Arabs were killed in Upper Nazareth. Bat Yam and Petah Tikva also experienced rampage and damage. The two

[40] The first serious demonstrations and rioting by Israeli Arabs against the Israeli state and Arab collaborators in the municipalities, later named *Land Day*, happened the twentieth of March 1976. It emerged in Taibe, Tira and other northern and Gailean towns and it has ever since been celebrated each year as a 'national' day of remembrance for Arabs in Israel (See Stendel, 1996).

weeks are extraordinary in the history of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. Then things suddenly calmed down[41].

If the so-called civil peace before was rather cold and coexistence was based on individual, grass roots and small business crossings, two simultaneous contradictory practices now unfold. There is on the one hand a sense of a more conscious and total separation on the flanuerian level: Jews simply do not go to Arab spaces and their restaurants and businesses are abandoned. On the other hand a 'shaken' peace- and grassroot movement, including a narrow bunch of academics and writers, manage to arrange meetings, caravans, visits to funerals etc. These rare gestures - even though hardly gaining national dissemination or affecting the mental flooding towards the right - get huge media coverage. Somehow the discursive construction of Arab-Jewish relations in Israeli is undergoing a sweeping linguistic *dis*-imprisonment, or release, from a former prevailing sweeping-under-the-rug-and-perpetuating-the-status-quo discourse. The term *coexistence* (see also Chapter 4 and 5), which framed and silenced possible conflicts, is also questioned, as Nizar Hassan's comment illustrated. In the midst of the disaster which took thirteen Israeli Arab deaths, the issue of Arabs in Israel became a more opened theme. Suddenly the Arabs, from a position of oblivion or at least half hidden, went on stage to play a major role that made Jewish Israelis no longer able to either repress the Arabs within the country from their mental mapping, or just get along besides them in the delicate fabric of *mismeetings* and mutual adjustments. In Haaretz, and even in *Jerusalem Post* and *Jerusalem Report*[42], an unusually high number of articles on Arab-Israeli issues found their way to the pages during the past year, and some are mentioned here. A new peak in the crisis led to the unveiling of the masked illusion of coexistence.

**Jewish Israeli identities and Israeli 'democracy'**

The debates on identity in Israel have on the overall, superficial level been dominated by an acknowledgement of two broad and independent divides; one between *Ashkenazim* (Jews of European and Eastern European descent) and *Mizrachim* or *Sephardim* (Oriental Jews) and a second between the secular and the religious. Other divisions could be made; one between those who support the state as Jewish and Zionist and those who do not. The non-Zionist would then contain an odd handful of academics, writers and peaceniks together with ultra-orthodox yeshiva studying Jews, which one could hardly imagine in the same room. Let us leave this one

[41] A commission is set up to investigate the police's actions including the co-operation with internal affairs and security minister Shlomo Ben-Ami. All responsible personnel incl. government ministers as Ben-Ami are taken to hearings during the year 2001.
[42] A fortnightly Jewish-Zionist politics and culture magazine, written by Israelis in English, in a Newsweek-like fashion.

for a moment. Another triple-division could be made of a) native 'Palestinian'(!) or indigenous Jews, b) immigrant Ashkenazi Jews who either escaped pogroms or Nazism or just settled there, and finally c) immigrants from the 1960s and onwards: Mizrachim, Ethiopians, Russians, immigrant workers, American and Australian settlers etc. The distinctions are useful to consider - and further distinctions, particularly along the Sephardi/Mizrachi line, could be drawn - but some questions are already apparent, especially from the point of view of theory but also when considering the context of multiculturalism and conflict in Israel.

Identities, whether bound up with the state, ethnicity, religion, gender, region, cosmopolitanism or a combination of these, are inherently time bound, hybrid and eclectic in terms of identifications and in terms of the constant re-evaluation of bonds or affiliations, where some carry more weight in some epochs of life. Not that someone can suddenly change ethnic descent (even though this is not a static category either), nor is it likely or common that identity is reformulated over night, but we see an ongoing (re)valuation of the identity-components and affiliations. A contemporary example is the flourishing of a more self-protective, Jewish and Zionist flavor of Israeliness - shaped during the latest intifada. Another example is the formation of the Mizrachi as a new Oriental Jew, on the one hand a product of Israel's assimilationist policy when it comes to the Jews, but on the other hand also formed in resistance to the Ashkenazi notables, as an *other* Jew, opposing Labor Zionism. The Mizrachim have been forced to practice coexistence with poorer, and often Arab segments of Israeli society, as pointed out in the section on the mixed cities. A fraction of the Mizrachim, the ultra-orthodox segment, has furthermore created a new political standpoint in the party *Shas* formed in 1983[43].

When discussing the Mizrachim, another question occurs: do we call them *Sephardim* or *Mizrachim* or just Oriental? Hiro notes that the term Sephardim refers to a particular religious school within Judaism (Hiro, 1996: 111). He does not mention that it is also a geographical category, literally meaning 'Spanish', and referring to the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 who settled mainly in North Africa. Mizrachim is a geographical category, Hiro says[44] meaning 'Oriental'. Shohat also use the term 'Arab Jew', not exactly a colloquial term in Israel, but as Shohat notes, a term that refers to people of Jewish faith but historically linked to the Arab Muslim world (Shohat, 1999: 5)[45]. It now gets confusing. Let me bring in Hiro again, who says that they both share the same counterpart: the Ashkenazim. The Ashkenazi *nikhidim* (notables) have been bullying and patronizing (Hiro, 1996: 117-8) their Jewish brothers, dispersing and

[43] The argument on the doubleness of the Mizrachim is elaborated by Ella Shohat (1999).
[44] Nira Yuval Davis points out, in email correspondence, March 2003, that it is a racialised term invented in Israel applying to all Jews who came from the Middle Eastern countries, and that it encompasses Sephardi as well as native Jews of Palestine.
[45] There is a larger cleavage between Moroccan and Iraqi Jews or between Yemenites and Iraqi Jews, than between some Ashkenazi and Iraqi Jews, but we are put in the same basket, Eli Amir said when he visited Copenhagen in 1999. Amir is an Iraqi born Jewish Mizrachi writer.

controlling (Yiftachel, 1999, Hiro, 1996: 117) the former *dhimmis* (protected minorities) of the Arab countries. I prefer the term *Mizrachim*[46] (meaning 'Oriental'), instead of *Sephardim* ('Spanish'), which pays more emphasis to their recent five hundred years of history in the 'oriental' Middle East and Asia rather than Spain[47] and furthermore to connect it to the concept of *Mizrachiyut*, a cultural Orientalness, not to confuse with actual descent, which will be discussed later.

Oren Yiftachel, a cultural geographer who has done research on the integration and (dis)placement of the Oriental Jews after the establishment of the state, notes that the Mizrachim were settled in peripheral, low-status and segregated localities and these structural conditions inscribed disparities between Ashkenazi and Mizrachi (Yiftachel, 1998: 33). The Mizrachim was settled at Israel's *frontiers*, he says [my italics] – at a distance from Israel's main loci and on confiscated Arab land, "thereby driving a wedge of conflict between the two main non-Ashkenazi groups", Yiftachel explains (Yiftachel, 1998:41). He outlines three main waves of settlements. Here, I will only pick upon one aspect of the ethnic mapping as it turned out: the latest wave were settled in a range of small suburban communities or 'rurban' neighbourhoods scattered between Arab villages and the development towns of the four regions Haifa, Tel Aviv/Jaffa, Jerusalem and Beersheba. The Ashkenazi kept dominating the Galilee and the Northern Negev in terms of government area despite small population numbers (Yiftachel, 1998: 49-50).

*Ashkenazim* literally means 'German', but the group has been connected with European and Eastern European Jewry and even all other Jews apart from the Orientals. Four fifth of the approximately 700.000 Jews in Israel in 1948 were Ashkenazi. The rest were mainly long-established Mizrachi communities in Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberias, and they did not have anything to do with Zionism, as Hiro notes (Hiro, 1996: 111). One could say that they did not need Zionism as they already had a home, and the ultra-orthodox did not initially believe in the construction of a secular state. They lived the Jewish life of the Torah through strict interpretation of the *Halacha* (Hebrew for 'the way'), which contain six hundred and thirteen religious prohibitions and obligations dealing with everything from everyday bodily functions and dress to organisation of the community (Hiro, 1996: 90). Further structures, a state, for example, would only be a matter for the once returning Messiah.

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[46] Dilip Hiro uses the spelling *Mizrachi,* for 'Oriental', and *Mizrahi* (without 'c') as acronym for the political party formed in Palestine in 1902 (1966:200). This is the spelling I use throughout. Others, for example Ella Shohat writes *Mizrahi* for the Jewish Oriental people (1999) and Yuval-Davis writes *Mizrakhi* (in Nimni, 2003 (ed) [forthcoming]).

[47] I use the Hebrew word, not the English 'Oriental', to avoid confusion with the Western naming, framing and control of the region, known as 'Orientalism', as outlined by Edward Said (1978).

There are different branches of ultra-orthodox also called *Haredi;* the largest group, the *Hassidim* (meaning 'pious'), was formed in the eighteenth century as a rebellion against the literalism of the *Talmud.* This branch wanted to help the illiterate to relate to the doctrines. Furthermore there are the *Mitnagdim* (meaning 'opponents') and the *Bratslavic* (named after Ukrainian Bratslav) (Hiro, 1996: 90-95). It does not make the story simpler that ultra-orthodox originates in Eastern Europe and Russia as well as in the Orient. The *mafdal* also called orthodox, or national-orthodox, is a modern, Zionist fraction originating in the Middle East, while *agudath* was the root-organisation for the ultra-orthodox Jews originating in the Eastern European Diaspora. (Hiro, 1996: 105). The *Agudath* opposed Zionism and have stayed at a distance from the movement. Like all other Haredi, they are granted an autonomous educational system funded by the state (Svirsky, 1997).

As with the Muslims and their headgear, e.g. turban, fez, tarbush or kifeya, which traditionally marked the barrier between unbelief and the faith (Lewis, 1996: 4-5), the Jewish orthodox men as well as women always wear headgear in public and pray with their head covered, though only Muslims pray with their feet bare (or in socks). The Christians on the other hand reveal their bare head in situations of focused attention or addressing others or God. Also when it comes to the diet, the Jewish *kosher* (correct, conforming to requirements) and the Muslim *halal* (consecrated) seems to be in the same family of diet commandments and regulations compared with their pork-eating Christian 'brothers'. The ultra-orthodox Jews are easily recognisable, the men in warm black suits with side locks dangling from their hats[48]. The women are less distinct, wearing loose clothes with covered hair, but they look very different from their Tel Avivian Jewish sisters in tights and sunglasses.

To elaborate on the sub-forms of identities there is one notion with a particular power. This is the notion of the *sabra*[49], funnily enough an Arab word for 'cactus', but now used as a metaphor for the Israeli: prickly on the outside, but soft on the inside (like the cactus). Definitions of the *sabra* seem to differ as to whether the *sabra* is of European extraction or not. Lavie defines the *sabra* as the Israeli born Jew (Lavie, 1994: 59), while for Rejwan it is the native born Israeli Jew *of European extraction* (Rejwan, 1999: 83). It is my experience that one can call all Jewish Israeli natives a *sabra.*

There is, furthermore, a tendency towards intermarriage and the slow eradication of differences between young *Ashkenazim* and *Mizrachim*, a leaning that some of my personal encounters in

[48] The warm suit is a tradition brought along from the cold life in Russia, but surprisingly not modified in Middle East. They are probably the only religious group in the world who does not adapt their dress to the climate.

[49] Esau, a Jewish Israeli man working at a hostel in Tiberias brought up the metaphor during a talk on Israeli mentality, July 1999.

the country have approved. In Januar 2000 Isaac told me that it does not really matter anymore; the point is that they are Jewish Israelis. He is Ashkenazi, his girlfriend is Mizrachi. In July 1999 I spoke to Shulamit, whose parents grew up here. A native Jew, or even a 'Palestinian Jew', one could daringly put it. I did not ask her about this because she felt uncomfortable with her Oriental extraction. She excused the Arab sounding music on the tape recorder and babbled often about how clean Norway was and how dirty it was down here! Miriam, an Israeli friend noted (conversation in Tel Aviv, October 2001) that intermarriage among Ashkenazim and Mizrachim is more common today. In this context it is useful to bring in the concept of *Mizrachiyut* meaning Easternness or Orientals, whereas *Mizrachim* refers to a people (Kazzoom, 2001). *Mizrachim* studies investigate the re-invention and rearticulation of Jewish identity, on the one hand challenging the national, homogenous Zionist framework, but on the other hand also addressing the Arabness of Jews, which then can be erased or transformed when reaching the final stop Israel. It then becomes an Orientalness that downplays the 'Arab' element, a legitimate non-Ashkenazi Israeli identity (Shohat, 2001). The *Mizrachiyut* of the youth culture or Israeli culture can be detected in the Mediterraneanism of Israel, the food culture, and in everyday practices as, for example, youths gathering on the square near Ben Yehuda Street in Jerusalem smoking *nargilas*, Arab fruit-flavor water pipe. *Mediterraneanism*, a cultural attribute or style close to the *Mizrachiyut* is also a form of the Middle East without Arabs. The Mediterraneanism upgrades the culture and forms a linking bridge between Europe and the Middle East (Nocke, 2001). It is a glocalisation - global and local - a bit of Tunisia and a bit of MTV, Israeli folklore, Umm Kalthum and Hollywood, a *kosher* Big Mac in the Mediterranean sun, before finishing the meal with a *Tuborg* - a dominating foreign brand of beer - and a *noblesse*, which is an Israeli brand of cigarettes, though not popular among posh locals, who smoke Marlboro. It is more a sort of working class kibbutz cigarette - my favourite! In this sense the Mediterraneanism overlaps with Mizrachiyut. It may be an open, fluid space of identity formation and search providing an option for dialogue.

Another group and tendency difficult to classify is the black Jews, the Ethiopians in Israel, a group which, since their mass immigration to Israel began in the 1980s, is largely struggling with poverty, unemployment and integration, but also simply difference in the most visible sense. The overall majority of people of Israel, whether Jews, Arab or Russians - Jewish or Christian - are white. The Ethiopians in Israel, approximately 80.000, are black. Half of them are furthermore very young, below nineteen. The young age of this group has given rise to an Ethiopian youth culture that combines dance and resistance, African and Israeli, black and Ashkenazi, Jewish and Ethiopian (Lavie in Haaretz, 19th. October 2001). One of the Ethiopian centres in Israel is the Tel Aviv suburb, Rehovot, which they share mostly with Oriental Jews. Both communities are struggling, but the integration is, according to a recent report by Halevi,

improving (Halevi In Jerusalem Report, 24th. September 2001). The immigration of Ethiopians has flattened out quickly while the 1990s brought immigration of quite another scale and of a new sort.

The Russians coming to Israel after the breakdown of the Soviet Union are different from the orthodox or pioneering Ashkenazi Russians. Ian Lustick notes thirty to thirty five percent of the 120.000 Russians entering Israel in 1997 weren't *halachically* Jewish, but they nevertheless entered via the Law of Return. Lustick also notes that the rising number of non-Arab and non-Jewish residents and citizens has the consequence that the society moves away from its Jewishness toward Israeliness, in terms of identity. Nevertheless, most non-Jews coming to Israel try to pass as Jews rather than exposing a difference (Lustick, 1999: 427-33). Today there are circa one million Russian Israeli citizens. Their businesses and cultural life are visible. Russian is clearly a major language after Hebrew and Arabic. In the Ben Gurion Airport it is used additionally for some announcements. Even Arabic does not get that far.

Whether Judaism and Jews are seen as an ethnic or as a national collective, or even before the establishment of the new Israel in 1948, there is one thing an ethnic and a national group have in common: both tend to unite and unify and at the same time they lead to the exclusion of others, and in some cases to persecution and genocide. There are more to it than this, I think. Madan Sarup (1996) writes that ethnicity is not an inherent, fixed feature. It is a social construct that presents itself as natural. And I think this could be applied to the nation as well. Using Benedict Anderson they are both *imagined communities*, as Nira Yuval-Davis notes (1992: 25). The point here is to show the emergence and change, of a range of identities and how their particular experiences affect the identity forming processes. Whether they are shaped into one form of group identity or another, they are nevertheless often made up of several stories moulded together or brushed up as one. Jeffrey Michells (1994: 28-31) reminds us that the Hebrew Bible, the writings of Herzl, the Balfour Declaration, the mandate of the UN for partition were all cunningly combined in the Israeli declaration of statehood. The *nation* thereby combines stories of multiple narrators, he says. The story is similar for the Palestinians for whom narratives of nationalism propose a certain grammar, creating a Palestinian people, a unitary singular subject opposed to the plurality of individual Palestinian Arabs.

We nevertheless deal with the construction of a collective - some of them may be part of other collectives as well (e.g. the Jews of New York or Camden Town). It is for some seen as an ethnic group, for others a national group as well. These powerful systems of representation or axes of identification (Sarup, 1996: 181-183) have been constituting the subjects along with other factors such as language, class, gender, regionality, sexuality, and religion. To Sarup's

general point we could add the membership of a particular branch of Judaism. Sarup furthermore points out that the discourse of the nation always seems to override class, gender and other social dynamics. Through representation, nations recognize and represent the differences between people and make them into one, a unity – and perceive leftovers as sub-national or non-national members, and so it is with the Palestinians in Israel. In this way, we are subjected and made subject, he says. This is a useful way of summarising the strength of different forms of nationalism and difference in the Jewish Israeli national discourse, as well as in the Palestinian discourse. Despite, or maybe because of, the strength of the national, there is no word for *integrity* in Hebrew. Amos Oz finds in his Hebrew dictionary synonyms as wholeness, one piece, and he wonders if "we Jews are probably made of several pieces, not one?" Thereafter he asks whether we can really expect the storyteller to be whole or intact in any sense? (Oz, 1994: 1). He is forever dismantling and reassembling, he continues, and brings in a point from D. H. Lawrence. A storyteller must present contradicting points with conviction. Interestingly, Amos Oz explains that he writes angry, convinced articles on politics, society issues when he agrees with himself, but then again he writes stories where he can step into antagonistic positions (Oz, 1994: 74)[50].

Within the critical discourse on Israel as a democracy[51], it has been debated for decades whether Israel should be conceptualised as an *ethnic democracy* or an *ethnocracy* as represented by Smooha versus Yiftachel, Ghanem and Rouhana. The *ethnos* refers to a selective association by origin while *demos* indicates 'people', an inclusive association by residence or citizenship (Yiftachel et al., 1998: 264). Smooha argues that minorities are allowed to conduct a democratic struggle within an ethnic nation, as the Jewish Israeli state, i.e. Israel is an ethnic democracy. Ian Lustick has illustrated this dilemma by characterising the relationship as a tension between the Arabs' situation in Israel, the plural character of the society and a democratic political ethos. This was solved via a dominant majority configuration (Lustick using Rabuskha et al., 1980: 71), a highly effective system of domination exercising three forms of control: through segmentation (isolating or/and fragmenting), dependence (reliance on majority for economy and politics) and cooptation (side payments to Arab elites for surveillance and resource extradition) which is crippling the possibility of change (Lustick, 1980: 71-77). The system was reinforced, within a liberal system, by the fact that the Arabs were neither obliged to identify with the

[50] It is not discussed here whether Amos Oz novels, in particular *Panther Bamartef*, takes an Ashkenazi point of view in its representation of Jewish Israeli identity avoiding a richer, contradictory picture which he claims that his fiction-pencil adopts.

[51] Israel is a republic with a directly elected president (symbolic, representative functions) and a Prime Minister. The parliament is a one hundred and twenty member single chamber legislature. Members of Knesset are elected via a proportional representation system. More than ten parties have chairs in the Knesset, including Arab parties. Labour and Likud are currently the two largest parties. Israeli governments has always contained of one of these two parties, often in coalition. Until 1977 only the Labour party member had had the Prime Minister post. During the last twenty five years of statehood the two parties have been equally dominating.

state's Jewish-national goals nor conscripted to the Army. The basic Zionist aim has materialised in state-supporting practices as the *hatikvah* as the national anthem, the Star of David as the flag and the Law of Return, as Lustick notes, but also in a range of remembrance activities and an educational system, a segregated system, but controlled by the Jewish Ministry of Education, as was summarised earlier.

**Revisioning history**

In this Israeli-Zionist narrative offering 'the History', a confirmation of nationality and a continuous production of national remembrance, practice and future orientation, there have been a few opposing voices. Israel's academia has produced a challenge or a revisioning of the Zionist claims and the used sources. Other historical sources have been used and the influence of cultural theory and general post-structuralist scepticism toward grand narratives, and assumed homogenous identities, is underwriting the new readings. *Post Zionism*[52] which affected theatre, TV, education and film emerged out of the decline of classical Labour Zionism after the electoral defeat of Labour in 1977 when Menachem Begin - Jabotinsky's disciple - stepped in as the first Likud Prime Minister and gave rebirth to the revisionist Zionism. When revisionist Zionism returned it was under the name of *Neo Zionism*, a Zionist-boosting fraction which quarrelled with Post Zionism and tried to get rid of the democratic elements of Labour Zionism. The attempt to revitalise Zionism nevertheless has to embrace a highly heterogeneous group of different ethnic and religious convictions, secular and orthodox, from Polish to Iraqi Jews. Labour Zionism, on the other hand, was more easy to grasp as a largely secular and Ashkenazi phenomenon. "The last six to seven months has showed that the limited scope of the ideological rainbow; it has two colours - white and blue", Ilan Pappé said with a sigh in April 2001[53]. Neo Zionism operates no longer from the desire of normalisation but mainly with a conviction in self-determination and a feeling of being a victim with a just desire to retaliate - and thereby, ironically, it is much like Palestinian nationalism (Rosenblum, 2001).

In the debate about inclusion and exclusion, Amos Oz notes that oppression, killings and so on start with making language clean and one-dimensional, using terms as 'final solution', for

[52] The revisionist historians, also called Post Zionists and new historians emerged with studies in the 1980s that challenged Israeli mainstream interpretations of history, e.g. the war in 1948. They tried to incorporate a Palestinian view, and questioned Zionism (Pappé, 1999 with articles from Morris, Shlaim, Rouhana and others). The Post Zionists may have overlooked the fact that Hannah Arendt was already a post Zionist in the period between the Holocaust and Israeli statehood, Moshe Zimmerman writes. "As an expert in the history of ideologies and nationalism, she would have liked to see another kind of 'national home', one which was part of a Middle East federation and built in Palestine along federal lines", she wrote in 1943 in an article on the Jewish-Arab problem (Zimmerman, 2000).

[53] When delivering a paper at the 'Visions and Divisions'-conference, Association for Israel Studies, American University, Washington D.C., 12th. April 2001.

example. Writers are supposed to be the fire brigade acting against these tendencies, to scream 'fire' when the dehumanising vocabulary enters language, he says. Amos Oz mentions a tale by Kierkegaard about an actor on stage shouting 'Fire' which just leaves the audience clapping and bravoing (Oz, 1994: 73). In Israel and Palestine everybody is alert, awaiting fires, but what about the fire brigades against one-dimensional language? What kind of job the conflict education projects are doing is to be investigated in Chapters 5 and 6.

This discussion on group identity-formations, all continuously adapted to and developed out of formations and counterformations, leaves us with some problems already addressed in the section with the juxtaposing assertions and narratives. Group identity has many layers, as a Chinese box or as ripples in the water created by a stone. In the centre we could imagine to have a layer of a local identity formation, followed by regional, followed by ethnic, national, religious and political, and then international. But it is not always so. For the Bedouin farmer, inner layers seem more obvious, for a cosmopolitan academic researcher or businesswoman outer circles may have a greater significance. Furthermore, if we look at the history of the Jews as a people, they divide into very different ones. Although for religious Jews in Palestine, from Iraq or Russia, the Jewish biblical texts define at least one common point of reference whether they have experienced some sort of prosecution or not, for the secular Jews, where religion plays a role to a lesser extent or no extent at all, it is a cultural Judaism and historical events and experience, as the Holocaust, that informed Jewish identity in the early days of statehood and still today. Added to this fight-for-rescue identity reproduced in the tales of grandparents and parents, the school system and the remembrance days, is a physical and bodily real sense of being a subject/nation and object of vigilance, surveillance and, for many, also violence. As earlier noted, Miriam, an Israeli friend explained to me the impact of growing up with a fence and barbed wire around the country. On one physical and emotional level it is not so relevant whose fault the fence is, or why fear and hatred has developed. The fact is: a fence is there and she can go no further! She will have to relate to the other through an *idea*, through media or national discourse, this means the discourse level, if not through physical confrontation on another level.

Even though contemporary Judaism is strongly marked by the Holocaust other recent and crucial historical events should be mentioned. The formation of the Yishuv, the Kibbutzim, Zionism and the creation of a Western, modern state giving space to the secular and the religious in, ideally speaking, a Jewish symbiosis. The ultra-orthodox religiously educated amount to circa eight percent of the Jewish population, the religious nationalists/Zionists with secular education and army service amount to seventeen percent, while the traditional Mizrachim, driving to the synagogue and applying some portion of traditional biblical

commandments, make a bit over half of the Jewish population. Important for most Israelis, but in particular a chance for the secular to perform their national commitment are the two great memorial days, *yom atzmauth (*Independence Day, the creation of the state) and *yom hazikaron* (memorial day, remembrance of the Holocaust).

Formations are inscribed in language as seen, for example, in the difference between 'the state of Israel', a construction or creation, versus 'Eretz Yisrael', the land of Israel, the national, biblical promised land. Israel lacks a formal constitution, but two laws, the *Law of Return* and the *Basic Law*, including the 1985 amendments which functions as the pillars of a state sitting on two chairs as a sort of 'Torah-cracy'. Civil marriage or intermarriage is not achievable, since it is not possible to marry outside the religious institutions, such as the synagogue or the church. The *Law of Return* gives Jews only the right to return.

It may seem like a paradox through 'Western' eyes that the right wing party Likud mainly gets its voters from the poorest strata in the Jewish Israeli population, the Mizrachim. As Yiftachel noted, the Mizrachim - as a poorer and less powerful Jewish class - were placed in development towns and in a geographical proximity that led to conflict with the Arabs, which may be able to explain their less dovish attitudes, which fit very well with Likud. Furthermore, we must not forget that Labour Zionism was an *Ashkenazim* and European phenomenon, so historically there is in the Jewish *Mizrachim* camp a lack of identification with the Labour party. In this sense – using some concepts from Mary Douglas - the Mizrachim relate to parties who can help them to establish a rigidity, to sustain their search for purity and non-contradiction (Douglas, 1966: 162), and to create a distance to the other which is too close: the Arab. Yoav Peled argues that the Mizrachi support of the right partly is grounded in the Orientals stronger religious orientation opposed to the more secular Labour and left-wing parties. It also relies upon their political culture, which is more authoritarian with non-democratic tendencies, and their immigration experience in which Oriental Jews and Arabs became agonistic and antagonistic through competing at the bottom sections of society. Peled notes, as a general comment on ethnic relations, that antagonism is not an inevitable outcome of differences, but rooted in specific social relations. Once the relations are changed, the hostility *may* disappear (Peled, 1990: 361) [my italics]. It bewilders me that Peled leaves the concrete example to make a general comment instead of elaborating on how/why the relations between Arabs and Oriental Jews could change for the better.

Late 2001 saw a rise in articles and research criticising the Israeli media or the use of media propaganda towards their own public as well as foreign journalists in Israel, e.g. Slah Abdel Jawad in Haaretz 29th. July 2001, Edward Said in Al-ahram Weekly 30th. August 2001 and Aviv

Lavie in Haaretz (magazine) 19th. October, 2001, based on a book by Daniel Dor. The main message from Dor is that the Israeli public simply does not know what is going on in the territories, while Said mentions that Israel spends hundreds of millions on *hasbara,* information particularly for the outside world. An example is the representation of the Oslo declaration and Camp David. Let me mention some of the more critical, but rare, approaches to Barak's 'generous offer'. Oslo formalised and normalised the occupation. The settler population rose from 105.000 in 1993 to 210.000 in 2001, not including East Jerusalem (Roy, 2001)[54]. Peace groups such as *Gush Shalom,* the *Adalah* organisation (minority rights issues), the Alternative Information Centre[55], the *Btselem* organisation and several background articles by, in particular, Amira Hass in Haaretz have painted a different picture of the Camp David proposal to the mainstream media's continuous repetition of Israel's offer. The general presentation of Camp David has been challenged with a picture of a proposal that would halt the natural process of transforming Bethlehem-Jerusalem-Ramallah into a Palestinian metropolis, which would result in the splitting of the state into a north and a south. This was done via the annexing of the Adumin bloc round Jerusalem: 120 square kilometres. In addition Israel perpetuated territorial division via the control of two East-West routes: the Trans-Samaria highway and the Tel Aviv-Amman road currently under construction (Gush Shalom, 2001, Jeff Halper at The Alternative Information Centre 2001). The Israelis did not offer maps during the Camp David (Amira Hass, 2000, Jeff Halper, 2000). Afterwards the Orient House officials, the late Faisal Husseini and Manuel Hassasian of Bethlehem University reproduced the proposals in maps to demonstrate that it was not a generous offer (Amira Hass, Haaretz, 14th. November 2000).

Israel has experienced a shift, at least when it comes to its Lebanon polices, from what Clive Jones has called a microscope to a telescope strategy[56]. Through the Oslo process, I would say, Israel did not leave the territories to pick up the telescope at an agreed border. They are still insiders. The metaphor could have been applied to the Oslo process as well, this is at least what the Palestinians had in mind. The idea was that the Israelis gradually would leave the keys and not stand guard outside and *between* their homes. The house demolitions (for an account of the weekly activities for years see Btselem and Alternative Information Centre and Israeli Committee against House Demolitions) and the doubling of residents in myriads of new

[54] Sara Roy, plenary session, Visions and Divisions-conference, Association of Israel Studies, American University, Washington D.C. 16th. May 2001.
[55] Jeff Halper proposes a very pedagogical and sociological way of viewing how the uprising came about. In his article 'How to start an uprising' he presents the recipe. Among other things he writes: dismember the West Bank into areas a, b and c, giving the PA full control of only eighteen percent, divide the Gaza into yellow, white, blue and green areas giving six thousand settlers control of forty percent and confining one million Palestinians to the rest (Jeff Halper, 2002).
[56] Clive Jones when presenting his paper at the British Association of Middle Eastern Studies conference at Cambridge University, 3rd. July 2000.

settlements on strategic points destroyed the process. During the first years of the second intifada things have been more microscopic than telescopic.

This is indeed a proper context for the continuous breeding of nationalism. But was Palestinian nationalism not an existing phenomenon long before Arafat and the PLO?

**Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian Arab Israelis**

Illustratively Rashid Khalidi notes that the quintessential experience of the world's approximately six million Palestinians takes place at a border, and what happens to Palestinians at these crossing points brings home to them how much they share in common as a people (Khalidi, 1997: 1). The Palestinian 'consists' of an ever-changing puzzle of identity cards, passports and travel documents, some recognising Palestinian-ness, most of them confusing their identity. They are split in to a range of groups, apart from the approximately four million in the West Bank and Gaza, there are, for example, Syrian, Jordanian, Egyptian, Lebanese, Libyan, Kuwaitian and Saudi Arabian Palestinians and finally Israeli Palestinians representing just below twenty percent of the world's Palestinian population. To illustrate the tip of the iceberg of the problems. One could point to the fact some residents of Gaza carry travel documents issued by Egypt or Israel, which are not necessarily passports, but which categorize them as stateless. Those issued by Israel list 'undefined' under the category of nationality. Palestinians in Jordan and Syria carry respectively Jordanian and Syrian passports. West Bank residents have carried Jordanian passport which are subject to renewal every two years. Those who were able to obtain Israeli travel documents find they are not eligible past 1995. They can now obtain new passports issued by the Palestinian Authority. This lack of recognition is a source of anxiety in itself (Khalidi, 1997: 1-5).

In the scholarly literature on the emergence and history of a Palestinian collective or/and national collective identity (e.g. Kimmerling, 2000 or Khalidi, 1999) the idea of Palestinian identity as a counter-wave or response to the formation and threat of Zionist identity can be nuanced and to some extent also dismissed. I will examine what lies beneath the obvious influence of the emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964 and the, for a long time unquestionably significant, persona of Yassir Arafat. I will also discuss the emergence of *Palestinism* in the history of the people in the area. Mostly I will use two prominent historians on pre-PLO Palestinian history (though not necessarily representative!), a Jew and an Arab: Baruch Kimmerling and Rashid Khalidi.

Kimmerling is aware of the tendency to authenticise, naturalise or to make different forms of political nationalism self-evident, and therefore he is also careful not to fall in this trap when discussing the traces of different forms of Palestinian identity. It may be useful to notice that the European concept of *nation* or nationality, a form of collective identity, has in the Arab world the related term *asabiyya*[57], a belonging, tribalism or collectivity continuously formed long before the European phenomenon of nationalism appeared (Kimmerling using A M Jamal, 2000: 53). *Asabiyya* can be translated as meaning solidarity or a group-based identity based on real or imagined blood or primordial ties strengthened by actual or invented common ancestry (Kimmerling, 2000: 50). Later the term *qawn* (people) emerge as well as *al-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya* (Arab peoplehood), and the adjective *watani* meaning loyalty to a region which again stands apart from *umma* or *qawm*[58]. Ibn Khaldun differentiated between two sorts of *umma: umran badawi* and *umran hadari* meaning tribal, primitive, country life (*badawi*) and the life of the civilisation, urbanisation and settlement (*hadari*) (Rasmussen, 2000:10). In the former life form, loyalty and commonhood was strong, then a natural form of *asabiyya* was threatened by a structuring force from above, the *hadari*. These old concepts may be relevant for at least two reasons that points toward two contradictory tendencies, interestingly. The traditional clan-driven identities or *asabiyyas* are slowly being dissolved in the course of urbanisation, as Rasmussen argues (2000:11), or through a process of *glocalisation*, meaning that the outer world, the media, the global are colonising the local. On the other hand, there was and is a strong tendency to affiliate with the idea of family as the major collective expression of identity or loyalty. In a large survey dealing with the affiliations of the Arabs in the territories, made just before the Oslo declaration, the results showed a persistence of a familial identity and a rejection of a pan-Arabist collective identity (Kimmerling, 2000: 48).

The name *Palestine* was given to the territory by the Romans[59], and the name Palestine has always been used besides another commonly used name: *al-ard al-muqadasa,* The Holy Land. I will not present the list of rulers and ruptures in the area, but refer to Kimmerling's (and later Khalidi's) main conclusions. Kimmerling refers to one earlier turning point, though not

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[57] The term *asabiyya* was invented by the fourteenth century Arab philosopher Abd al-Rman Ibn Khaldun (also called 'father of sociology' by Torben Rugberg Rasmussen, 1999). In Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Arabic-English) there are a range of suggested meanings to the term: team spirit, tribal solidarity, national consciousness. The word has the same root as *usab* meaning union, league, association or group. The League of Nations is in the Arab translation called *usbat al-umam.* In the afterword to a reprint of Albert Hourani's *A History of the Arab People*, Malise Ruthven translates *asabiyya* as "a corporate spirit orientated toward obtaining and keeping", and notes that Hourani gave emphasis to the *asabiyya* thesis. Ruthven argues that there has been a resilience of *asabiyya* in Arab countries, that is to say a stability of political structures, despite social turbulence (Hourani, 2002: 459-472).

[58] *Umm* means 'mother', while *Umma* can be translated as 'people', 'society' and 'nation'. Another related term is *Iqlimiyya* which stands for 'regionalism'

[59] Many countries in the Middle East, and in what the west calls the Third World, had no clear territorial boundaries prior to colonisation. Israel and British Palestine are recent attempts to territorialise the state according to modern norms of territory.

comparable in significance to the Arab revolt in 1936-1939. That is the Egyptian conquest of Ottoman Palestine back in 1834 where a new popular form of Islamic identity was imposed (Ottoman rule was restored seven years after though). Kimmerling notes that momentary coalitions did not instantly create new kinds of *asabiyya*. The already existing geopolitical, economic and cultural conditions, carried by local dialects of Arabic, customs, *fellahin* clothing prevailed. Kimmerling later explores the Syrian attachment developing under Faysal Ibn Hysayn, and his ability to negotiate an independent Arab constitutional government with authority over all Syria, with its French mandatory powers just after the First World War. This was a new *asabiyya*, a short period which nevertheless attracted thousands of Palestinian notables who negotiated with their mandatory ruler, Britain, to get Palestine included in this new Syrian/Arab entity. The first Palestinian Arab Congress in Jerusalem in 1919 referred to Palestine as a part of *surya al-Janubiyya*: Southern Syria. It was seen as a combination of *wataniyya* (peoplehood) and *qawmiyya* (loyalty to region). (Kimmerling, 2000: 62). The fall of Faysal brought also the fall of Faysalism and the pan-Syrian track. Another factor became crucial in building, and at the same time threatening, Palestinian collective identity: the British Mandatory power, Kimmerling argues (Kimmerling, 2000: 64). The British pursued a dual strategy; on the one hand the territory and its inhabitants got the name Palestine and the British developed a new law and order, fiscal system, postal and transportation system, identity cards and a sense of citizen-rights. In exchange they demanded loyalty. At the same time the British provided the Balfour declaration[60] and better immigration conditions for Jews. The British nevertheless began to restrict Jewish immigration in the late 1930s and Zionist satisfaction vanished. The British turn was formalised in the British White Paper of 1939 where the British now supported an "independent Palestinian state". The attempt to help the Jewish community to develop and not to frighten the Arabs eventually failed, and at this point the *yishuv* had, as earlier noted in the section on the history of Zionism, already taken form and underground military groups on both sides were not in the control of the British mandate. In the first decades of the mandate, Arab nationalists were not able to wield enough social control over the local landlords in order to prevent sale of lands to Jews who were able to pay high prices. Two Arab institutions set up in response to the wealthy Jewish National Fund – the Arab Bank (1930) and the Arab National Fund (1931). They weren't able to raise enough funds to stop the development, and the Great Arab Revolt, 1936-1939, grew out of dissatisfaction with the British and Jewish settlement.

Some aspects of the post-Great War development of Palestinism grew out of several forms of *asabiyya*, for example Faysalism, as mentioned, and the establishment of local Muslim-

[60] The League of Nations approved the British Mandate in 1922. The official approval included the 1917 letter from Foreign Secretary Balfour who on behalf of the British government declared "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". See www.mfa.gov.il

Christian associations in almost every town. In addition, a third Palestinian Congress in Haifa occurred where Palestine was regarded as a distinct *political unity*, and later the creation of the Supreme Muslim Council was created by the mufti of Jerusalem, Amin Al Husayni, who saw himself as the religious leader of the Holy Land. All this took place between 1919 and 1922. Al-Husayni sought to emphasise a national mission in order not to anger the Christians and he organised the excommunication of any believer who sold land to Jews (Kimmerling, 2000: 64-68). It is better known that Palestinism got another renaissance after the emergence of the PLO and Arafat.

The Ottoman Palestine was defined by religious criteria. The Palestinian Muslims were recognised as political subjects with full rights, and they were supplemented by protected minorities, *dhimmis*, Jews and Arab Christians, who had to pay *fard*, a tax, accept the supremacy of Islam and submit to certain social disabilities, as prohibition on bearing arms (Kimmerling, 2000: 55). Islam became, in Ottoman Palestine, the force that could provide some common denominators to bridge gaps between *fellahin* and effendis, poor and rich. There were still huge gaps though; for the peasantry the clan was more important, for the urban elites, who participated in a socio-political order, Ottomanism became more influential (Kimmerling, 2000: 71).

The irony of this story, in my summary, is that the legacy of a largely Islamic supremacy slowly became replaced by a similar Jewish regime, and the different forms of Jewish and Palestinian collectivities, with all its fractions, have experienced its major developments and ruptures simultaneously[61]. Rashid Khalidi notes two things about the conflict that began just over hundred years ago: it was focused on the control of land and it was animated on the Palestinian side by a dynamic often propelled from below rather than above. Peasants driven off their farmland, mainly by absentee landlords, alerted the urban intellectuals who thereafter played a dominant role in shaping Palestinian identity (Khalidi, 1997: 7). This process has been imitated through the two folkish uprisings from below, the intifadas, where the major political and militant groups, appear to be stumbling on the stage, and then, not only with violence but also through discourse, work to construct and create an image of the struggle and Palestinian identity, in relation to the 'other(s)' that come to constitute the framework of the conflict and of identity. Khalidi mentions that Palestinian identity cannot be fully understood in the context of a sequence of other histories. Identity is partly - at least in the phase of modernity - the relationship between the *I* and the *other*, he says, quoting Stuart Hall. (Khalidi: 1997: 9). A

[61] Other more general debates on Arab identity, e.g. the thesis on a deep rooted duality or split, *iziwaj*, between the urban and the ancient, the sedentary and the Bedouin, the modern and Western vs. the traditional, is not discussed here. Neither are the question of Arab ambivalence, *mutatis mutandis*. Both debates are summarised in Raphael Patai (1973): 201-203.

point that is also explored in the new afterword to *Orientalism* where Said explains that the development of every culture needs a competing *alter ego* (Said, 1994: 332).

Khalidi notes that while Palestinian identity in the beginning of the century was related to the Ottoman Empire, religion, Arabism, the Palestinian homeland, their city or region and family without contradictions between these different bonds. This changed in the 1930s when the Syrian track disappeared and Britain had received the mandate of the territory with promises made to the Jews, but not to the Arab majority. Now the identity became connected with nation-state nationalism, Khalidi explains (Khalidi, 1997: 19). He adds, though, that while the Zionist challenge helped to shape the new national identity, it is a mistake to see its emergence as a response to Zionism. A universal process was already unfolding in the Middle East involving an increasing identification with the new states created by the post-World War I partitions (Khalidi, 1997: 20).

One branch of the Palestinians, the traditional nomad Palestinian, has a destiny which is separated from the national struggle. Let me briefly dwell on this before returning to more general problems with Palestinian-ness in Israel. The Bedouins of Israel, an indigenous Palestinian Arab nomadic population, ceased wandering during the British mandate and became confined to special military reserve areas until the 1960s. From the 1960s onwards they were settled in a range of planned towns, though some remain in traditional settlements (Fenster and Yiftachel, 1997: 296-304). According to Ishmael Abu Saad, the purpose of this was to prevent the Bedouins from settling, working or demanding rights to land expropriated by the state. The Bedouins were transferred *en masse* to permanent communities and Bedouin lands registered as state lands (Abu Saad, 2000: 47). Seven permanent communities exist, four of them not governed by local residents, as is customary in every other community in the state, but by leaders appointed by the government. From 1978, a governmental, quasi-military 'Green Patrol' was established to preserve nature, but in reality - as Abu Saad explains - to control the Bedouins. They move them around, confiscate animals and so forth. The government says that they must prove landownership, while the Bedouins claim that it is implied, by their proximity to the land and their working tradition and practices. During the Ottoman period they did not bother registering, as the system worked without landownership, and indeed the use of documents is "foreign to the Bedouin culture" (Abu Saad, 2000: 48). For Palestinians, the fact that they had lived on the land for generations constitute the belonging and sense of home. 'To me, this is Palestine', as a Palestinian Israeli employee at Givat Haviva said.

The national struggle now more than a century old, leave the Palestinians without a state, but with quasi-state institutions in the making. Whether some of these institutions are being

established and recognised or some are becoming rubble when these words are read (Arafat's offices were bombed several times during writing and editing), the Palestinians in Israel are - whether in times of war or ceasefire - left with a fundamental problem in terms of full definition and identification with the state in which they live; they are Israeli citizens, but they cannot become Jewish, and the preference of Jews over non-Jews is explicitly anchored in state constitutional laws, as the Knesset *Basic Law* which establishes Israel as the state of the Jewish people. This specifies the Declaration of the State of Israel in 1948. Israel is now, constitutionally, described as a exclusive state, and yet at the same time it is proclaimed to be a liberal democracy (Rouhana and Ghanem, 1998: 323). In addition we could mention the Law of Return, which gives only the Jews right to "return". Reports by Sikkuy (Annual Report 2000) and Adalah (Report on legal violations of Arab minorities in Israel, Adalah, 1998) present statistics/numbers on funding patterns and resource allocation which reveal that Arab Israelis are discriminated against in a range of areas, e.g. land and housing, education, culture and language rights, religious rights, social, economic and employments rights, in addition to the Basic Law and the Law of Return[62]. The Arabs, when facing the Jews in encounter projects, often bring up these basic forms of discrimination, an issue I will return to in Chapter 5 and 6.

In this context, I would like to return to the conversation between Y. B. Yehoshua and Anton Shammas. Shammas explains that "If it is a Jewish state because the majority is Jewish, and it puts more emphasis on the Jewish part, I have no problem". Yehoshua then replies: "I am not excluding you". "My Israeliness includes you and the Israeli Arabs as partners in the fabric of life here. Partners in that you vote for the Knesset in the creation of Israeli citizenship as a whole". Shammas responds that he does not vote for the Knesset because he thinks that is all he can do. In this conversation, reported by David Grossman, he elsewhere elaborates on the issue of the Jewishness of the state by referring to the Knesset Basic Law; "then I've got a problem with you, because you exclude me from that definition" (Grossman, 1993: 261). In relation to this, I will bring in the well known claim, not only used by teenagers in the project I have been investigating, but also scholars: the claim that the Jews only have 'one home', while the Arabs have many (twenty three). The Palestinians could move to what now have become the Palestinian territories, or even to another Arab country, even though people on both sides could easily claim, using the historical and religious arsenal of possible reasons, that the whole area is *Palestine* or the whole area or at least the land of the prophets, Judah and Samaria, is *Eretz Israel.* The irony of it all is that the area, which is the state of Israel today, within the Green Line, is *historic Palestine.* The West Bank is what we could call *historic Israel.* This includes

[62] As examples we can take recent budgets on infrastructure. Hadera got $66 million for infrastructural development in 1997 and 1998. Allocated for 2001 in seventy four Israeli Arab communities is all together $45 million. Arab communities get 6.7 percent of the total Transportation Ministry's budget. (Ori Nir, Haaretz, 19th. November 2000).

what is left of the PA in December 2001 in the midst of the Israeli military's bombing as 'acts of self defence' as a response to Arab suicide bombers, which again is a response to occupation. One could also forget any religious claim and the secular documents of landownership as well. The fact is that people have lived on that spot and *that place*, and no other place has become their home. Whether called Palestine or Israel, the physical marks and memories inscribe meaning to a space – as noted earlier in this chapter. The physical marks and memories may be flattened out, and what remains then are traces. Anton Shammas comments that whether having a home *there* (the territories) or here (in what is now Israel) can thus be expressed like this: "it's not my geography there. Not my cognitive, spiritual or mental map". And then we have not touched upon the overall majority of Gazans living on that strip because they either were advised to, or forced to, flee from their villages in southwestern Palestine (now Israel) during the war in 1948 (Hass, 1996: 152)[63].

If we look at the demographic picture of the 1990s, the Palestinian Arab population in Israel is largely exurban and suburban in relation to the Jewish. The *exodus* of the Arab population in 1948, as Amiram Gonen calls it (Gonen, 1995: 192)[my italics], devastated the Arab presence in cities. Former Arab cities like Haifa, Acre, Jaffa, Lod and Ramle gained a majority of Jews, and the only sizeable Arab city to survive was Nazareth, Gonen says, if one ignores a few Little Triangle[64] cities/towns with a population over 10.000, for example Umm al Fahm and Taibe. He does point out, however, that the 1950s and 1960s accelerated the urbanization of the Arab villages and also the population growth, which has largely been contained in the Arab towns, and villages, even though some Arabs have moved to Beersheba or Upper Nazareth. According to the Arab patriarchal tradition a husband never moves to his wife's village. The home in the overcrowded areas was build around or outside the clan territory, the *hamulah* (Gonen, 1995: chap. 13). However, commuting grew significantly after the abolition of the military administration in 1966 (lifted in Haifa in 1953, Gonen, 1995: 196). In these early decades of the state the Palestinian Arabs with Israeli citizenship used to refer to the state of Israel as *mazumaa*, the 'so-called' or 'make believe' state. A mirage that made the Palestinian isolated, shot off, leaderless. (Stendel, 1996: 2). After the war in 1948, a war which the Palestinians in Israel did not have much to do with since it actually was fought between Israel and the *foreign* Arab armies, the Palestinians who weren't uprooted or had fled from the land they had lived on for generations, now found their life at home turning unhomely. They became a *fifth column* (used by e.g. Stendel, 1996), the other within, a silenced or *trapped minority* (Rabinowitz, 1998 and 2000) under an imposed military government implying, for example, curfew and limitation

[63] Hass's account is relying upon one of the major, revisionist/new historian-studies of this 'event'; Benny Morris' *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* from 1987.
[64] The Little Triangle is the name of the eastern area of the central coastal plain south of the Galilee, a narrow belt of mainly Arab towns and villages.

of movement. The government arranged separate departments dealing with Arab matters, ironically just as the Danish and some other European governments today set up special bodies to deal with immigrants!

In studies of Arab identity in Israel during the 1980s and 1990s, the Palestinian dimension in their identity was expressed as being part of a Palestinian people, while recognizing its special status as an integral part of the Israeli system. Sammy Smooha (e.g. 1984) puts an emphasis on the presence and practice of Israeli identity among the Arabs. Rouhana and Ganem (1998) and Stendel (1996) elaborate on the gradual establishment of movements, parties and organisations in Israel, e.g. the Islamic movement, the Progressive List for Peace, the Arab Democratic Party, the Sons of the Country, which work to develop the Arab and/or Palestinian identity of the Arabs in Israel. It may be noted here that one turning point for the development of Arab nationalism in Israel was - as earlier noted - what retrospectively has been named *Land Day* in 1976. Close to twenty five percent of the Arab work force in Israel participated. It was the largest mass action of Arab citizens in Israel's history (Lustick, 1980: 4). Despite Land Day, Palestinians in Israel have, in general, been silent and silenced. The Oslo process, and even the PLO, ignored the Palestinians in Israel in the 1990s. This is a tendency they are now fighting. A recent survey from Givat Haviva made after the riots in Israel in October 2000 reveals that the Palestinians in Israel grow stronger *Palestinian* affiliations (Givat Haviva website, 2001). This identity orientation comes out strongly in the high school encounters, and in the interviewees statements in general – and until recently this affiliation shocked the participating Jewish Israelis. They realise that the Israeli Arabs identify with the Palestinians in the territories. Yet at the same time both groups are surprised by their similarities. This is illustrated in detail in Chapter 5 and 6.

In general, the Palestinians in Israel are more modern and western than the Palestinians of the territories. In terms of group-identity the Palestinians in Israel can be seen as a national Palestinian minority, as an ethnic Arabic minority, as a religious (Muslim, Christian[65], Druze) minority and a linguistic Arab minority, as Hawari puts it (Hawari, 2000: 129). Helle Lykke Nielsen reminds us that the education of Palestinians in Israel is on the one hand focused on Hebrew and Israel, but on the other hand not as intensively as the Hebrew education in the Jewish schools. This gives them problems in getting in contact with majority society, getting a job and competing in general (Nielsen, 2000: 21). Nielsen points out – after research done by Spolsky and Shohami – that the real learning is happening outside the educational settings, such

[65] The Christian community of Israel is often claimed to fit in much better. The mixed cities series, and particularly the case of Haifa, could prove so. The Israeli Yearbook states that the Christian community in Israel is behaving as Jews had to do in other countries, manoeuvring for survival, caught between the Jewish state and Islamic Palestinian nationalism (Israeli Yearbook - an Almanak, 1999).

as work places and social activities. On the other hand there are many aspects in their schooling and socialisation which deal with Arabic and Islamic values. This gives them a "bastardkultur" - a double, or bastard culture, my translation (Nielsen, 2000: 21). One could use other terminology as well, such as *double marginals* (Manna in Hiro, 1996, 268) for inhabiting a space in-between. "Marginal to the Palestinians and marginal to the Israeli Jews", as Adel Manna explains. On the one hand they do not inhabit the possible future Palestinian state or the area where the Palestinian struggle takes place and on the other hand they are second class citizens within the Jewish national home. Taking this phrasing further, the Palestinian Israeli women become *triple marginals*; a secondary group in a patriarchal Palestinian culture in addition to the two 'deficits' mentioned above.

When moving on to concepts of the state and democracy, it is useful to view this in a historical perspective. The Arabs have through the long phase of Ottoman rule, inherited other visions and interpretations of 'freedom' and 'democracy' than the West. The stresses on individual freedom of speech and faith, the separation of church and state in liberal democracies are up against former collective, holistic notions of Ottoman freedom, in which conflict and contradictions are not regarded as normal features of society, as they are in Western liberal democracies. On the contrary, situations of internal dispute must be avoided, as Pernille Bramming writes. Furthermore, the tradition of patriarchy and the creation of father figures is more prominent in the Middle Eastern Arab world while more horizontal visions of community dominate in the West (Bramming, 1990).

The Palestinian side of their identity which many Arab Israelis have expressed has come as a surprise for many Jewish Israelis. The Palestinian side of the identity has been more explicitly pronounced, not only in academia (as e.g. Stendel, 1996 and Rabinowitz, 1998) but also in the media, particularly since the outbreak of the intifada: "Ben-Gurion was not stupid. Did he ask us to sing Hatikvah? We are Arab Palestinians; that's part or our identity. Instead of helping us, the state of Israel does the opposite; and then it comes around and complains about our Palestinian side is conspicuous", says MK Abulmalik Dehamseh (United Arab List) (Gal, Haaretz, 3rd. October 2000). An Irish writer notices that not only are the Jewish Israelis surprised: "Most Europeans were not even aware of the existence of such exotic hybrids as Arab Israelis" (O'Dwyer, 2000).

The Jewish Israeli public, who are gradually experiencing West Bankers blowing up themselves and Jewish civil pedestrians, were, nevertheless, during October 2000 facing another kind of shock when they realised that violence and riots now had become everyday life among 'their own': "The Israeli public will not tolerate trigger-happy killing, and we will demand

investigations. But you, the Arabs of Israel, as justified as your anger and complaints are, are not living in Gaza, and you know the truth about us", A. B. Yehoshua said at an Arab-Jewish 'repairing-ties' gathering in Sakhnin shortly after the Arab-Israeli riots. The Arab mayor welcomed the delegation of Jewish intellectuals and writers with an explosive mixture of dry wit: "We have instructed our border police not to stamp your passports". After mentioning that mail and all services to the city has been cut off since the al aksa intifada broke out, he continues: "are we in Area A, B, or C - or are we now part of some new area, not part of Israel at all?" (Prince-Gibson, 2000).

Meanwhile, a common Jewish Israeli anxiety sounded like this: "I was never racist, but now when I look at an Arab or I see an Arab drive by, my heart skips a beat". "It's scary because I always thought we had good relations. Now I do not think I'd go to Kafr manda or Shfaram anymore for felafel or something. I have not left the moshav in two days", a fifteen year old Jewish boy says (Arnold, 2000). The riots in Israel at the beginning of the intifada were so serious that they even affected the lower division football teams, when three Arab teams had to postpone their matches in some of the lower division mixed teams. Fifth division team Sekstia Maalot had problems with Arabs not showing up for practice. One of the teams with a minority of Jews, Hapoel Nahaf, had training as usual after the Arab manager told his team of mostly Arab locals not to say a word to the Jews. At that time they just continued to play ball! (Gal, 25th. October, 2000).

**Identity – heads and tails**

This discussion and historical reconstruction is essentially an unfolding of the power-struggles among *identities* or oppositional groups, each contained as a cluster of allegiances - this means that identity is here made up of different components[66]. This can also be called *hybridity*, a term as puzzling as identity itself, and probably a way in which any individual and group can come to terms with the different hats they wear, such as being a man, an Ashkenazi, an Israeli, A Zionist, a human being, a cosmopolitan Tel Avivian, and married to a Mizrachi for example.

In this chapter, the term *identity* is discussed closely in relation to *immigration* and *location*, and not by separating narratives of self or group from political/national formal membership, as illustrated in the discussion on identity cards in the section *Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian Arab Israelis*. This discussion could be developed into a new piece of research,

[66] See Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (1996), and as well Amin Maalouf (2000: 3), who says "I have not got several identities: I've got just one, made up of many components combined in a mixture that is unique to every individual".

adopting the concept of *Diaspora* giving a more thorough investigation of the relationship between identity and location. The question of regional identity in a more material sense is addressed in an upcoming example using Rabinowitz. Identity in relation to location is also addressed in the drawing game in the encounter workshops, see Chapters 5 and 6.

The broad framework I have been outlining here attempts to illustrate how identities are formed in relation to narratives of a group, from within national movements as e.g. Zionism and PLO, and also through physical, embodied experiences on the ground including memories of place, living inside the body, although re-phrased in the course of new events (see e.g. sections on Ricoeur in Chapter 1). Thus, a few examples could be: a Yiddish speaking Polish Jew who survived the Holocaust and settled in the Yishuv, maybe later meets a Yemenite and gives birth to Sabra Israelis up on the Carmel in the posh areas of Jewish Haifa. Another example could be: an Arab speaking Iraqi Jew comes to Israel in 1950s and find himself confined to peripheral communities, feeling patronized by the Ashkenazi, and in competition with Arabs for lousy jobs. Although the examples of shifting, heterogeneous identity could be illustrated in more complex grids of affiliation and paradox, it should serve as a broad mapping for pedagogic purposes. This will help us to see how, and to what extent, these issues are represented in the texts of the conflict education programmes and in the tales of my interlocutors.

A case of difficult conflict coping could be when one allegiance begins to make another allegiance within oneself difficult. This occurs, for example, when the threat or lack of understanding is addressing or attacking you from an outside, personal, institutional or national body. Another sort of trouble begins when one or some of the allegiances exclude other people. This line of thought is a trick! It just proves that having an identity is inherently both strengthening and troubling for oneself and others. Again we are left with different degrees of trouble.

Debates on the politics of identity deal with these different degrees of trouble and with how to manoeuvre in the jungle. A certain understanding of hybridity might work in an enriching manner, and even as a tool in practicing hybridity or as a way of coming to terms with identity as a coherent sense of being *one* and *being* one, and containing much more than just 'oneness'. Let me propose an understanding of the hybrid here not understood just as a mix, but as a continuous creation and re-creation of a palette of identifications or allegiances, which is not painted out of the blue, but is reflected by the contextual political, cultural and religious horizons, lifestyles and battles, whether peaceful or not. The overall internal fraction in the Jewish Israeli camp has been claimed to be between two axes: secular vs. religious and Ashkenazim and Mizrachim, as the earlier sections in this chapter has shown. The Russians and

their questioned bonds with Judaism were mentioned briefly. Those who did not experience the *Shoah* are nevertheless growing up in a context that nationalises the Holocaust trauma through rituals and education. Among the Palestinian citizens, a range of internal splits can be detected as well: Christian vs. Muslim[67] (Sunni only, no Shia in Israel) vs. Druze, the old generation who experienced *al-nakba* vs. the younger, urban vs. rural (the latter group including the Bedouin). The field research will discuss to what extent the hybridity issue is reflected in the projects.

It is certain that the links and the relationship between the different branches of Palestinian society in Israel, in the territories, in other Arabic countries and in the 'Western world', are dynamic and changing, but these societies, I argue, nevertheless share one common point of view and conviction; namely that the Palestinian state must happen and will happen! A claim that remains more questionable is how small and fractioned it is going to be, or to what extent it will affect the communities outside the state. A range of surveys on Palestinians in Israel shows that they are not likely to leave Israel. And they are furthermore keen to keep struggling for more rights in Israel. Rabinowitz paints a picture of the cultural geographies crossing present borders. He outlines three groups/areas. The Palestinian Israel consists of, roughly speaking; a) the lower Galilee, b) the *Little Triangle*, the strip of Palestinian villages just west of the north-western border/Green line, and c) the North Eastern Negev. These three areas are economically associated and culturally continuous with three metropolitan centres in the West Bank, a) Jenin and rural hinterland, b) Nablus, Kalkilia and Tulkarm, and c) Hebron and the *Triangle*, the Jerusalem-Bethlehem region north of Hebron, not to confuse with *Little Triangle*. Have a look at the map after Chapter 7. Viable ethno-regional identities cannot develop on one side of the future Israeli-Palestinian border, Rabinowitz pessimistically concludes. The new state might politically be separated from Israel, but *if* the new Palestinian state and Israel equally manage to halt their different forms of terrorism and practices of slaughtering and 'self-defence' and 'revenge', the two regions will not remain separated either culturally or in terms of trade and exchange. People and business will find their feet and establish a rhythm across the borders. Gaza workers never stopped going to Israel because of ideological reasons. They only stopped because they were fenced off (Hass, 1996).

Adel Manaa, an Israeli Arab from the Jerusalem Van Leer Institute, explained shortly after the outburst of the riots in Israel in early October 2000 that the frustration of the Israeli Arabs is caused by the fact that they "are not on Israel's agenda". "The Arabs do not have separatist

[67] Nazareth has experienced some tension between the Christian and Muslim population of the city. Sami, a Christian Arab hostel employee complained about minarets overtowering church towers, and showed me a map. Abu, a Muslim Arab businessman responded, however, "we are brothers", when I inquired about the problems that had been reported between Muslims and Christians in Nazareth. This was in January 2000.

aspirations and this is not a minority that desires a different political entity from that in which it lives. It is a minority that merely demands its rights", he says (Barael, 2000)

Palestinian identity in Israel can be illustrated by the fact that Remembrance Day is celebrated according to the regulations of the Ministry of Education in the Arab schools. Palestinians even bring *shay lahayal*, gift for the soldier, as in the Jewish schools. (Rabinowitz, 1998: 154). The creolisation and hybridisation is not an easy way out of a border situation, even though recent discourse may suggest that, as Rabinowitz says (1998: 158). The hybridity has an achilles heel, as showed, and some of these such forms of 'co-operation' the Arab dilemma well. For example: The Committee of Arab Local Council Heads is called *adhnab al-hukumah*, the tails of the government. It is a name for Arabs joining, or blindly obeying Jewish rulers, working as satellites of power (Stendel, 1996). The term is also expressing a coexistence[68] that perpetuates the status quo. The lived reality only intensifies the dilemmas, as for example during the first Gulf War in 1991 when Israeli Arabs were caught in a situation where the missiles could not distinguish between Taibe and Netanya. Jews and Arabs were both in danger, as Stendel summarises (Stendel, 1996), not to mention the situation at the time of writing when suicide bombs are blowing up in the mixed city of Haifa, and Sharon is retaliating all over Gaza and the West Bank. The issue of double trouble and hybridity is returned to and reflected upon in Chapter 7 when discussing the usefulness of the theories applied.

Israel *moves* while this is being written, but the narratives reported here remain. Likewise the country is difficult to fit into the inadequate Western 'labels' of countries and regions, as Israel is neither West (though Western), nor East (though Eastern), neither First nor Third world, it is not post-colonial, for some it its still seen as colonial,[69] and the country is rarely discussed alongside other Western states (Barnett, 1996: 3-6). Furthermore, Rebecca Cook argues that very little theoretical literature focuses on the complexity of Israeli national identity. The literature is historical and non-theoretical, she says (Kook in Barnet, 1996: 202). I agree that it is hard to find work that puts emphasis on the theoretical. Recent research on Arab identity in Israel and on the relationship between different identities (Gonen, 1995, Stendel, 1996, and Rejwan, 1999) do not privilege this task, but then again Herzog's work on Palestinian women, and Rabinowits's on Upper Nazareth and Palestinian identity, outline interesting approaches.

[68] Related to the term 'coexistence' is the attitude 'tolerance' which inscribes a reluctant but peaceful practice around things and people which may even be unpleasant. To tolerate is to bear with, as Boyarin reminds us (1998: 75).

[69] For example, to pick three very different sources (a Jewish Israeli, a Dane and a French): Oren Yiftachel, Prof of Cultural Geography, Ben Gurion University, personal email correspondence, 1999. Mogens Lykketoft, Former Danish Foreign Minister, Danish Television DR2, December 2001, and Maxime Rodinson (1973).

The idea of the fellow citizen or *medborgertanken*, as it is expressed in Danish via a Swedish term (Frykman, 2000), precisely expresses how a citizen is not only a member via his citizenship, but who is *with,* or a part, through his continuous engagement or 'folkverksamhet' (people/folk who act/verk in togetherness/samhet). This is not far from a dynamic and processual approach to democracy as advocated by Hal Koch (1945), or from Montesqieu's ideas (taken up in different forms by Kristeva and Habermas), but they could nevertheless be criticised for offering an unemotional model of group identity, as Rouhana points (1997). Emotions are not a private or psychological matter *only*, but also a social and political *feel* – and therefore emotions can also ignite collective engagement, movement and distinction, as Ahmed writes (Ahmed, forthcoming). The issue of collective movements is dealt with in the next chapter. What I want to argue here is that the concept of the fellow citizen or the constitutional democratic state or the nation without nationalism is, in different variations, based on an unengaged but sympathetic relationship to fellow citizens. It proposes that different ethnic and collective identities can exist under the same umbrella of citizenship without feeling excluded. It could perhaps be a way forward for the troubled hybrid Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

The issue of citizenship is dealt with directly in one of the written sources analysed in Chapter 5 where I also, through the text, elaborate on the relationship between *inclusive citizenship* and the philosophy of *coexistence*. Coexistence can be criticised for perpetuating the status quo in terms of power, but makes life easier, at least economically, for the Palestinian Israelis, for whom overlapping became mutually beneficial. In the first years of the new intifada, exchange has become even rarer.[70] However, plenty of personal relations and bi-national workspaces in Israel remain. Despite bombings there are examples of places where people or customers rush in afterwards to support business to get back to normal (Schechter, 2001). In an article on a Jerusalem pizzeria Erik Schechter wrote that "it's a limited kind of coexistence, which neither the Jews nor the Arabs can loudly champion outside the restaurant's doors. And it has survived only because workers resolutely refuse to let outside forces – even murderous suicide bombers – intervene" (Schechter, 2001:21). The article as a whole recognises and highlights the fact that people are struggling to coexist, but at the same time the author's endpoint is very important, I think: "it is a silenced and invisible coexistence, if looking at the larger picture".

The Palestinian Arab Israelis and the Jewish Israelis are both *paradoxical* people - an issue to be dealt with when the field research report and analysis has been presented and I turn towards 'double trouble' and ambivalence issues in Chapter 7. For now, in the light of the historicisation

[70] Dozens of articles in the Israeli media over the past year support the idea that the tendency to boycott remains. Together with the general decline of tourism from abroad, 2001 had been a devastating year for both Jewish and Palestinian business in Israel. See e.g. Judy Maltz 'Market Place', *Jerusalem Report* 5th. November 2001 (on the situation in Nazareth) and Daniel Ben Simon 'Rags and tatters of Tiberias', *Haaretz* 26th. October 2001 (on Tiberias and tourism).

I have attempted here, I may state that they are a compartmentalised people, yet it is an impossible task to stay apart. They are intimidated and intimidating, each understandably anxious and strong. The land is confusing to foreign eyes with differences somehow sewn together, not as a melting pot but rather as a mosaic of different colours, each significant but with blurring lines between them: city strolling suits in Haifa, men in black swaying in front of the Western Wall, Bedouins wandering in the Negev, begging Romanians at the Dizengoff fountain in Tel Aviv, hippies, Parisian people who hang out smoking cigars and wearing sunglasses in Shenkin Street, kibbutz farmers all over the country, Armenian priests in the Old City, black reggae club of Ethiopians in Rehovot, and so forth.

Today, in terms of the discourse on identity, what takes central stage in the country, is one narrative against another. This is the 'unsaid' background and roots for the 'routes' and sayings of the projects, as I will show. My task in the next chapter is to narrow my focus or zoom closer, paying emphasis to the specific histories of contact-work within this wider history and to draw a diachronic and synchronic picture of civic projects and experiences where people have attempted to meet across the main divide. This may be around tables, at demonstrations or meetings, though my primary focus will be on educational encounters with relatively stable and repetitive forms of exchange. This last form will now be supplied by my own material and examples.

# Chapter 4

## Crossing the Divide

- The peace movement and educational co-operation

### Subterranean voices

Foucault's reworking of the Nietzschean *Enstehung*, the principle of emergence or 'becoming' of voices and ideas through confrontation or struggle, rather than out of some decontextualised purity or origin[1], very much captures the genealogies of nationalisms and social movements in the region. I am now taking a 'subterranean focus', so to speak, to trace the activities of contact, dialogue and conflict- coping activities among the disputing groups. The peace movements and educational co-operative activities can easily be said to inhabit a cornered, liminal sphere of Israel, despite occasional strong public support to particularly for *Shalom Achav* (Peace Now). The peace movement in Israel and many educational co-operative activities are nevertheless amazing survivors. In 1999, the New York based *Abraham Fund* gave money to over three hundred and fifty projects and organisations, particularly in the field of cultural exchange. The first intifada put much of the work on hold for a while, and, at the time of writing, the second intifada does too, but projects, such as the high school workshops have just survived and were - during this second intifada - reintroduced in several settings months after initial postponement.

It is difficult to say whether the deep divide between the Jews and Palestinians with Israeli citizenship has hindered or just encouraged more activity on the level of grass root and civil society[2], while the leaders of the region failed to reach a lasting political agreement. I will,

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[1] Nietzsche distinguishes between *ursprung* (origin, beginning) and *entstehung* (emergence). The following example from the first lines in a novel may illustrate this matter better: "When does an event begin? It doesn't. There has always been something before. The brook came from the stream as the stream came from the water seeping from the moor. And it is the rain that makes the water rise from the moor" (Ekman, 1986. My translation).

[2] In this chapter I use the heavily theorised concept of *civil society* in a general and 'flexible' fashion incorporating several understandings; as a public sphere for conversation (Fine using Michnik, 2000), a real, shifting or virtual space, not necessarily spatially fixed, where individuals and groups act in between the domain of the private and the state (Fine, 2000), or as a buffer between citizen and state (Norton in Kaufman, 1997: 19). Civil societies are thereby on the one hand granted a democratising potential of society against the market and the state (Kåre Nielsen, 1997: 520), but on the other hand they are as well

inspired by David Hall-Cathala, discuss different levels of activity. The peace movement can be seen as a *social movement* – which I define as a loosely knit civil collective[3] - which engages in a range of media and pressure group activities and public events with the intend to show/perform discontent and influence public opinion[4]. On another level Hall-Cathala categorises 'Peace work' through encounters and education focusing on micro level intervention. The distinction is difficult to maintain, and was especially so during the 1980s and 1990s, when many organisations worked in a combinatorial way and when the political aspect gained a stronger role in educational exchange projects. Projects at Givat Haviva and the School for Peace are more about 'how to cope with conflict' rather than the more romantic 'peace work'. Parts of the sphere are, by some of its critics, today mockingly labelled the 'coexistence industry' (Rotem, 2001, Namneed, 2001) because of the alleged emphasis on short term cultural exchange, *hummus and falafel* meetings avoiding conflictual material, which do not rock the boat (perpetuate the present situation).

I will begin by unfolding the emergence of peace movement ideas and organisations and will then move on to introduce some settings/centres for educational exchange in greater detail, and finally end up with a general account and discussion of techniques of intervention programmes and on pedagogy and identity.

I have deliberately tried to use recently published material as well as work from people with different backgrounds (Jews and non-Jews, Israelis and non-Israelis) such as the South African David Hall-Cathala (1990), the former Jewish Israeli peace activist, Mordechai Bar-On (1996) and the Palestinian Israeli, Muhammad Abu-Nimer (1999). In addition, I have used work by people who have researched particular organisations or projects in detail, such as the Canadian Jew Grace Feuerverger (1998 and 2000), and the Jewish Israeli Ifat Maoz (2000a + b and 2003 [forthcoming]). Among the most recent publications in the area of conflict work and education in Israel are the works by Maoz, Feuerverger and Abu-Nimer. These works present five to ten year old fieldwork material, but the scope of the work nevertheless provides a solid backbone to my own more limited, but recent, work.

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historical constructions with specific primordial qualities informing and limiting expression (Alexander, 2001: 241). Terms related to civil society, as *third space, action, agency, coexistence* and *co-operation* are dealt with in the next chapter and so are Hassan and Dichter's notion of *civic partner*ship in a primary text analysis.

[3] In addition to the definition some elaboration on the social movement as a sort of collective, civil human engagement may be necessary. Hall-Cathala have some interesting points: they are an uneasy gathering of different people, coming from different layers of society, voluntarily and idealistically driven to do something together. They may not be political or ethnically homogenous, but committed to *Zeitgeist*-driven social activities, not necessarily evolving from a common cultural heritage (Hall-Cathala, 1990: 19-22).

[5] Excluded from the investigation is the different forms of sectarian enhancement, as ethnic or religious

In the last half of the chapter work on pedagogy, educational methods, contact and conflict work/resolution are taken into account, e.g. Amir (1998 [orig. 1969]), Freire (1996 [orig. 1970]), Hewstone and Brown (1986), Pettigrew (1986), and Giroux (1991). This leads on to a scrutiny of interviews and written primary texts in the next chapter.

**The peace movement and educational co-operation[5]**

If we look at the genealogy of the peace movement - in a Foucauldian sense tracing the emergence of new and old forces in rupture or dispute - we will have to look at the pre-state groups, formed in the 1920s, as a response to the predicament of Jewish-Arab friction in the area during the British Mandate. The 'movement' at that time was dominated by a few Ashkenazi intellectuals who, according to Hall-Cathala, developed a common belief in bi-nationalism based on the recognition of Palestine as a home of two peoples with equal rights. Partition, they believed, would lead to war with the Arabs (Hall-Cathala, 1990: 26-27). Their proposals failed since nationalists on both sides would not adhere to compromises. The impact and the consent to peace organisations, as e.g. the first group *Brit Shalom* (Covenant of Peace), 1925-1933, and its followers, remained limited, Hall-Cathala points out (1990). The former Peace Now activist Mordechai Bar-On emphasises that the pre-state 'movement' was mostly made up of individual voices, and that recognition of Palestinians as a people was not common within the peace movement (Bar-On, 1996).

Bar-On interestingly mentions that it was Jabotinsky - not exactly one who belonged to the peace movement - who ironically was one of the first Zionists to recognise Palestinian identity in his writings between 1921 and 1924. As a solution he suggested the *Iron Wall*, as mentioned in last chapter, or alternatively colonisation. The latter model is closest to where we are today, Bar-On note in 1996 (1996: 12)[6].

A range of single figures appeared on the scene in the 1930s and during the first decades of statehood. One of the early radical voices was the German Jewish philosopher and theologian Martin Buber who joined one of the first groups *Brit Shalom and* became professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in the 1930s. He advocated a bi-national state. Significant later

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groups, even though these also are a vital part of Israel's civil society and at the same time would agree with some of the main goals of the peace movement.

[6] The Israeli presence and control in Palestinian populated areas, to put it mildly, is a unique conglomerate of colonial practices not to be explored here, but it nevertheless exists in a recognisable dynamic relationship of ruler and ruled confrontations, of retaliations, measures and counter-measures, where both parties employ quite different means of control and warfare.

figures were Uri Avnery, who supported the same model, and Simcha Flapan[7]. Flapan was different to other voices in the pre-state era, according to Bar-On. He was not a lone wolf, but started to network and arranged conferences and dialogues (Bar-On, 1996: 12-19).

After the establishment of the state in 1948, Israeli doves were driven in the opposite direction to support partition and a Palestinian state besides Israel. The supporters in the new era of the state came mostly from universities, left wing parties (e.g. Mapam which joined the Labour alignment in 1969) and from the youth section of the Mapam-affiliated Kibbutz Hartzi Federation that became involved in *Siach* (The Israeli New Left), one of the largest groups in the growing peace movement. After 1967, writers, journalists and students who were mainly worried about democracy and citizens' rights supported the movement. The movement was highly heterogeneous, also containing religious groups, and was not able to achieve the unity of its opponent, The Land of Israel Movement (Hall-Cathala, 1990: 29-31).

The only six-day short war with Syria, Jordan and Egypt led to almost a doubling of the country's territory and more than a doubling of Palestinians within the state's control. The developments of the Israeli Peace Movement largely taking place after 1967 are often portrayed in isolation. It is under researched *if* and *how* a general discourse on peace and civil discontent in the West affected a proliferation of Israeli equivalents. To what extent did the improving economic situation of a new, middle class, the 'cultural revolution' and major, almost simultaneous, disputes – such as Vietnam, Northern Ireland, Bangladesh - impact? It took Israel another colonial situation, as before 1948, and a simultaneous Western discourse of peace, to trigger a solid movement with public backing. In Israel, the young Ashkenazi middle and upper-middle class of the Westernised Middle Eastern state, Israel, were joining the protest-track, in a context which was very unique, yet similar to protests against the establishment seen in many other places in the West. At first, the 1967 war[8] had boosted Israel's confidence and created a new national euphoria. Israel became an "occupying power" (Hall-Cathala, 1990), if they were not already as a result of the 1948-49 war, though with back up by most of the world community in the UN, and also militarily by the US, in 1948. The comeback of the Israeli peace

[7] Uri Avnery is a Polish born Jew who emerged on the peace stage in the 1950s – after serving on the war stage in 1948! - expressing his frustration towards a partition. He instead suggested a Semitic alliance, a federation of different nations. His ideas certainly did not fit the times. In the 1990s the lone wolf, as Bar-On calls him, awoke and formed *Gush Shalom*, a peace movement organisation with a detailed peace plan that involves partition. Simcha Flapan was a Mapan leader and kibbutz activist.

[8] A previously underestimated point here, I would argue, is that the Palestinians of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza were caught in-between in the fight for pushing or expanding borders – similar to the way the Palestinians of mandatory Palestine were caught between Jewish and Arab armies in 1948. They had not fought the Israelis as a state orchestrated army, only through fragmented guerrilla activities, and this was mostly initiated from outside Palestine, e.g. by the emerging Beirut-based *Fatah*-guerilla lead by Yassir Arafat from the 1960s and onwards. Outside this research remains the difficult question of unclear and ambiguous Arab motifs, and disagreeing constellations (as Sadat and Assad, for example) in various wars with Israel since 1948.

movement seems to repeat a pattern. Peace Now was founded in 1978 by three hundred and forty eight reserve officers and soldiers of the Israel Defence Forces (British Friends of Peace Now, 1999) in response to Israel's presence in the territories. In January 2002 a new generation of refuseniks caught the media's eye. The term *occupation* may be problematic since it is indirectly referring to an idea of a just, distinct and natural border while most of the borders in the world, and certainly in the Middle East, are settled after endless histories of occupations and retreats. I nevertheless have not found a better way of getting behind terms that perpetuates liminal perception of solutions which so badly need new perspectives, and therefore also a vehicle that makes change possible: a new language.

The close proximity and tension between Palestinians and a slowly expanding amount of Jewish settlers on the Western bank of the Jordan river, also biblically known as Judea and Samaria, were likely to create tension. Also inside the border or the 1949 armistice line, *The Green Line*, friction was more likely to happen The military administration of the Arabs within (Palestinian Israelis) had been abolished. Israel had made life less uneasy or at least relatively mobile for the Palestinians in Israel, but at the same time – as Hall-Cathala notes – an era of a new pioneer emerged, an ethno-nationalist one which cherished victories of a nation and a religion, and sought to repress universalistic values within early socialist Zionism (Hall-Cathala, 1990: 22).

Peace Now emerged in 1978 eleven years after the six day war, a year after the election of Israel's first Likud government, and they managed to encourage tens of thousands on to the streets in quickly planned demonstrations by its unpaid voluntaries. The centrist-leftist Zionist Peace group, affiliated with Labour and the left-wing Meretz party, advocated a separation and an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. In addition, there were ad hoc cases, which are dealt with below. Peace Now was able to unite a diverse range of people, capitalists and socialists, not as a political party – which would not have been possible – but through a limited set of focus-points to assure back-up in continuous but different protest campaigns. The organisation did not have a permanent machinery but very much worked as a public, social movement. It had about five hundred core activists, a similar sized group of sympathizers or loyalists who helped and showed up at events, and several hundred thousands in public support (Bar-On, 1996).

Peace Now survived the first hard years, even though its name was soon to become ironic. Sharon's effective settlement-expansions, a sort of free hand he gained from Begin after giving up Sinai (Bar-On: 135) left the movement disillusioned, but after the government's action in Lebanon, Peace Now awoke again. In November 1982, 250.000 gathered in Tel Aviv square to protest against the government's policies and involvement in Sabra and Shatila, and demanded

the resignation of Sharon (Bar-On, 1996: 155). Somehow, Peace Now kept coming back, and every time everything seemed to get worse. The election of the right wing Kahane in 1984 was another protest-trigger. Kahane on one occasion wanted to go to Umm Al-Fahm, the second largest Arab city in Israel, and ask the Arabs to "leave the country". Five thousand protesting Jews and local Arabs blocked the roads so what could have been a highly provocative event in the midst of Arab Israel never took place (Bar-On, 1996: 182). It was, according to Bar-On, the election of Kahane that encouraged co-operative educational work and encounters for youth in the huge gap between the two populations. Some teachers and educators were becoming concerned about increasing racism (1996: 183).

While things surely did not change much in favour of Peace Now, the peace 'industry' had to face another low before a range of new organisations were established. One of the organisations emerging during the first intifada was Woman in Black. Women had always been a majority in Peace Now, and for some of them Peace Now was not radical enough. Inspired by similar activities in Buenos Aires, women stood quietly for an hour, dressed in black, symbolising mourning mothers. They took to the streets and had to face much harassment. It was a performance very provocative to patriarchal Jewish Israel. In November 1988 the PLO adopted a two-state solution, and even though stones and bullets rained in the streets, an era with more crisscrossing had begun.

During this most active decade of peace movement activity in Israel's lifetime (excluding biblical times!) the Mizrachi involvement was much smaller. The Mizrachi Jews in Israel, a slight majority after 1969, was not as active in the peace movement as the Ashkenazi left, with whom they had a complicated relationship, as described in the last chapter. The Mizrachim were oppressed by the 'European' Jews who used them to carry out low paid manual work, before they forced them into competition with Arab labour after 1967. The ones who sought to start Mizrachi fractions intended to capitalise on the Mizrachi's bridging power towards the Arabs and the renewing of an old oriental partnership. They sought as well to reduce increasing tension between Mizrachi and Palestinians in Israel, and to re-orientate Israel towards the region as well. Organisations, such as East for Peace and the Oriental Front developed in the 1980s (Hall-Cathala, 1990: 111-121).

To talk of a Palestinian Peace Movement responding to the tendencies described above is under researched, and the question or theme may not be that relevant at all. Here it is more suitable to discuss civil organisations, religious organisations and forms of sectarian enhancement that are intended to preserve Palestinian interests and maybe as well engage in dialogue. The emergence of NGOs in the territories falls outside this research, but the emergence of many foreign-

sponsored centres produced opportunities for ping-pong with Jews, which mostly occurred in the Oslo era. Inside Israel, Jewish-Palestinian educational co-operation has proved to be a limited but resilient and growing engagement. While the Peace Movement worked on what we could call a wider public or 'macro' level performance and publicity-making level, the educational co-operative field emphasised micro-level, civil-space dialogue. For them it was more crucial that intervention on the ground took place, than that society was listening. Hall-Cathala notes that the movement organisations worked for a restructuring of society while the "micro level" intervention programmes in general sought tolerance and coexistence (1990: 136). Much has changed since Cathala's book, and a lot of the work done in recent years - e.g. Halabi, 2001 and Dichter/Hassan, see analysis of *Dialogue and Change* in Chapter 5 - would shy away from the term 'coexistence'. In a range of organisations it became important to test whether the ice could be broken on the micro-level, while leaders above were shouting in different directions. Some of the flagship organisations, such as The School for Peace (SFP) at Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam, Givat Haviva and The Van Leer Institute are increasingly involved in combinatorial activities; e.g. educational, activist, academic courses, publishing, art and public meetings[9].

The School for Peace was set up in 1979, seven years after the establishment of the village, though the first families did not move in before 1977. Givat Haviva had existed since the establishment of the state: it grew out of the Kibbutz Haartzi youth movement in 1949. Both are non-urban, rural settings that gives the impression of a *camp*, though there are differences, since at SFP the presence of a co-operative village around the encounter-localities actually illustrates how Jews and Palestinians can live in a small community.

A range of organisations and institutes developed in urban areas as well, for example the Van Leer Institute earlier mentioned, and the Adam Institute, just to mention a couple in the educational and research oriented sector. In the 'cultural field' there were organisations such as the youth organisation *Re'eut* (Friendship), *Mosalaha* (Reconciliation) and the community centre *Beit Hagefen* (House of the Vine) in Haifa - located symbolically between the lower Arab Wadi Nisnas and the upper Carmel Jewish neighbourhoods. New radical NGOs partly committed to public performances and pressure group activity, and more internal educational activities as well human rights, research and information centres also emerged in the 1980s, for example The Alternative Information Centre (AIC), which continued New Outlook (practically located on a 'border', in Bethlehem) and The Israeli-Palestinian Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI). In 1992, Uri Avnery launched *Gush Shalom* (Peace Bloc) and in 1998 Jeff Halper, writing for New Outlook, lead a new group called The Israeli Committee against House

[10]A website with a statement and a continuous up-date of refusers were made. See www.seruv.org.il

Demolitions (ICAHD), who organised re-build teams to go to the territories (Source: dozens of newsletter mails from ICAHD 1999 – 2001). Finally, it should be emphasised that, particularly, women's groups have proved resilient since peace groups began to emerge steadily in the 1980s. A new umbrella organisation, the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace (containing the earlier mentioned Women in Black and others) was established in November 2000 after the outbreak of the new Al-Aqsa Intifada. Though in October 2000 after the killings of thirteen Palestinian Arab Israelis inside Israel the peace camp did not seem particularly vibrant. I was present at a smaller Tel Aviv demonstration where only a few hundred people showed up: Gush Shalom, the School for Peace people and some other groups. The 'national unity' that was created at the time (Pappé, 2001) however seemed to crack sixteen-seventeen months later. In February 2002, 25.000 were protesting in central Tel Aviv, asking Israel to leave the territories completely, without a peace agreement. Ironically Sharon - the man who faced a quarter of a million Israelis on the streets in 1982, telling him to leave, because of his involvement in genocide in Lebanon - was re-established in a powerful position (as in 1982) and they hit the streets again. But this time he was Prime Minister. Peace Now's co-operation with the more progressive camp in early 2002, boosted the peace movement as a whole, but the main instigators and help in this phase may have been the hundreds of reserve officers, who from January onwards, publicly announced their refusal to serve in the territories[10].

The next sections are dedicated to a presentation of two of the organisations in richer detail.

**Givat Haviva**

"If we have 50.000 people participating in projects annually [and] if 100 of them will go back to their communities, and start thinking about these issues, and talk about it with parents, their friends, I would consider it as a success", said Ariela, a top-level employee at Jewish-Arab centre for Peace[11] at *Givat Haviva*, when I interviewed her in January 2000. The quote indicates the predicament of the work. It seems to be a large number *per se* coming to Givat Haviva, but it is in fact only approximately one percent of the population entering the gates yearly, and yet she expresses hope of a minor impact. Givat Haviva was founded in 1949 by the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, in memory of Haviva Reik, a Jewish kibbutznic who volunteered to parachute into occupied Slovakia and organise resistance against the Nazis. *Givat* is the Hebrew word for a

[11] The centre was established in 1963 to foster closer relations between the Jews and Arabs in Israel, to educate for mutual understanding, and to promote partnership between the two communities (Jewish-Arab centre for Peace brochure).

small hill. Givat Haviva is a large educational campus located in the tranquil, rural Northern Sharon Valley, midway between Haifa and Hadera (see map after Chapter 7).

Givat Haviva works in a large range of fields; from language and history education, different forms of Jewish-Arab Israeli co-operative projects for e.g. junior high schools, high schools and universities, art projects and writing, documentation of Kibbutz and Arab history matters, research and conferences. The Jewish-Arab centre for Peace is the main section. It is granted half the space in the 2000 Annual Report, and the two projects: *Children Teaching Children* (CTC) and *Face to Face* encounter workshop are dealt with first, in that order. The campus appears isolated - from the surrounding fields, with a few kibbutzs and roads - between a fence, an entrance pole and a sleeping guard, who will wake up when a car arrives and sometimes if you come in by foot. Despite the fence I had no sense of entering a highly security-checked area. It is a green, well-kept and welcoming site with plenty of space in between the rough, functional, but clean-looking buildings (typical mid-twentieth century Israeli design. See photo section). During my three visits in the course of the research, I sensed a thrilling combination of Mediterraneanism, American campus style and Danish *peoples college* setting. Might this calm some tempers during conflict?

Ariela explains that the centre within Givat Haviva, The Jewish-Arab centre, was an initiative of kibbutz-members, kibbutz Mapam and Arabs from the north, the Galilee, from this area and the little triangle. It was a time of military government, which was abolished in 1966. The aim at that time, she elaborates, was to increase research and study, to deepen friendship, and to reinforce creativity in the presence and in the future. We have just rewritten the old mission statement, she says and adds that it has "more about the political issue, not just cultural, we provide creative ideas, not just personal level, but also structure".

The last comment, given before the new intifada, is enigmatically and carefully touching upon a central problem in co-operative education. The question is if, and how, to deal with the difficult, conflictual issues. It is a theme I will address in the course of my own interviews and observations. Before this some claims and analysis of the projects, by insiders as well as outsiders. Salem Jubran, a member of staff, at the Jewish-Arab centre (he teaches the Holocaust to Arabs and Palestinian history to Jews! www.dialogate.org.il), writes about projects where Jews and Palestinian Arab Israelis meet in general. He argues for the "the harder – the better" model, favouring the increasing political content of the meetings, opposed to the largely cultural content of the meetings initiated in the 1950s and 1960s where "even hinted criticism of the military government would be inappropriate and considered 'slipping into politics'" (Jubran, 2000). He explains that when Jews and Arabs meet – children, students, teachers, writers and

any other groups – they try not to whitewash the situation, but to "open up the world to cleanse and purge them, in order to enable them to heal". Two narratives emerge, dilemmas and doubts are revealed, and the issue of Arabs in Israel, of citizenship and rights, is on the agenda. At first, the meeting resembles a duel between two camps, later they usually disintegrate and a debate between individuals, not as national representatives, take place, as Jubran points out.

Khittam Naamneh wrote critically, in the magazine *Challenge* in the autumn of 2001, well into the intifada, about some of the conflicts within Givat Haviva as a result of the uprising - not that conflicts were absent before. Children Teaching Children, the two-year program for junior high schools initiated in 1987 had been through some change. Directors and co-ordinators had either left or had been fired during the year. They were "too radical for the coexistence industry", to quote Tamar Rotem (*Haaretz,* 24th. May, 2001). Givat Haviva had decided to set up an educational department looking at the programs and "adjusting them to the new reality". In the beginning CTC was primarily an encounter project where Jews and Arab Israelis met to learn each other's language and to have social and cultural exchange. The set-up proved to be unequal, since the Arabs were already much stronger in Hebrew than the Jews were in Arabic. Furthermore, the content, largely about hummus, eating and dance (Naamneh using Maoz), favoured the Jewish site, did not have an educational impact and failed to help the participant to overcome distrust between the two groups, he claims. Jews funded and directed the meetings. The New York based The Abraham Fund donated $5 million to Givat Haviva between 1993 and 1999. Another main donor has been the New Israeli Fund. A new CTC leadership in the late 1990s tried to change things, firstly they advocated a real shared leadership of the project, which the administration, according to Naamneh, refused. For five years they refused to recognize Jalal Hassan as project head besides Shuli Dichter, who tried to appoint Jalal as equal co-director. Only two years ago it officially accepted his appointment. The two directors both left after the outbreak of the new intifada. I had interviewed them both before the incidents, Hassan in January, and Dichter in October. In addition to Hassan and Dichter's flight, the administration fired ten staff members in the project. A year later the project was still running, but with half the number of schools. "Oznat Aloni took over from Shuli and Jalal who left voluntarily. Aloni was then fired. Sana took over". "You are supposed to have an Arab by your side, make it look like a partnership", a source said to me. She/he does not want to be quoted! "Jalal has to know that he isn't working for Azmi Bishara or Yassir Arafat. What to do – the fact is, Givat Haviva has a Zionist administration and belongs to the kibbutzim", Naamneh quotes Sarah Ozacky-Lazar, Jewish Israeli co-director of the Jewish-Arab Centre at Givat Haviva (from Haaretz 24th of May 2001 in Naamneh's translation of the Hebrew version). The article was written by Tamar Rotem and not translated for the English edition.

'The political turn' was, though, under way for years under Hassan and Dichter – issues to be explored when analysing interviews in the next chapter. According to Naamneh, the Arab-Israeli conflict took centre stage at the meetings. The program was focused on three goals: to strengthen the Palestinian identity of the Arab pupils, to rebuild *Israeli* identity among *Jewish* pupils [my italics], slightly changed in that it should take into account the existence of Arabs in the state; and thirdly, they should explore the idea of a new kind of citizenship expressed in an equal distribution of land, budgets and resources between Arabs and Jews. (Naamneh, 2001). It should be mentioned that the former Jewish Israeli director, Shuli Dichter, is co-directing the NGO *Sikkuy* ('Chance') which works for equal distribution of resources between Jews and Palestinian Arabs in Israel.

The two-three day workshops have also had recent media attention. Ten months after Rotem's and Namneed's writings about, Ori Nir wrote an article in Haaretz (10th. February 2002) about a *Face to Face* encounter workshop at Givat Haviva. Somehow, Nir manages to boil down the whole thing to the issue of hormones[12]! In his article, he characterises the encounter through the flirting between a particular boy and girl. He notices that the encounters after the new intifada "would serve more for discussing the rents between the two peoples than for becoming acquainted and enjoying one another's culture" and he also refers to the hesitations and anxieties for meetings. But in contrast to his thorough work on the mixed cities – summarised in Chapter 3 - the report on the encounter appears superficial.

The high school student encounters were cancelled during autumn 2000 – just when I arrived a few days into the intifada to interview CTC people and observe encounters. They were re-started gradually during 2001. A more thorough description of an encounter project, written by the pioneers at SFP, is dealt with in the next chapter among the analysis of interviews. My observations and informal talks at two encounter projects at Givat Haviva in October 2001 are dealt with in Chapter 6 where I also will return to Ori Nir's observations.

Givat Haviva is directed by Jews, while the projects – in principle – are co-directed. SFP is directed by Jews and Palestinians together, and so are the projects. The schools pay minor fees to engage in encounters, and nothing to take part in CTC. Givat Haviva sponsors over half of their work: in the year 2000 Givat Haviva got three percent of its funding from the Government. Twenty one percent from the Kibbutz Aartzi foundation. Thirty five percent from donations and the remaining forty one percent via participant fees. There are no Middle Eastern, Asian or

[12] Natacha, an Arab teenage girl from Haifa involved in the peace group *Reconciliation*, downplayed the conflict work of their summer camps. It is mostly about checking out the boys [Jews as well as Arabs], she explained to me. This was in July 1999.

African donors (!)[13], the two governors of Givat Haviva are Jewish Israeli, and the six international offices - who help with funding and support - are in the US, Canada, Austria, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland. The donor list is largely made up of donors from these six countries, apart from personal donors and three institutional donors outside: UNESCO, a British Trust and the Danish Foreign Ministry (Annual Report, 2000). A recent project called *Crossing Borders* - sponsored by the Danes – is intended to lead to occasional publication of a newspaper for and by teenagers; Jewish and Palestinian Israelis, Palestinians in the territories and Jordanians. *Crossing Borders* indicates a shift toward cultural, cosy exchange, while the long term flagship project – Children Teaching Children – has paid a price for its increasingly political approach – an issue to be explored through the interviews in Chapter 5. Approximately forty schools were participating yearly, many with a new class every year, that is to say a continuous engagement. Most often, as with the encounter work, Givat Haviva had to approach the schools to convince them. Ariela nevertheless said back in January 2000: "I am not so naive. The long term programs, the language-orientated, will work. It is more difficult with the short ones. The aim is that they should go themselves, do exchange with each other" [Jewish and Palestinian Israeli schools]. The latest intifada has almost wiped out the encounter-element of the project. Palestinians work mostly for themselves with facilitators and vice versa. Jewish and Arab teachers have met, but rarely the junior high school pupils.

**Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam and the School for Peace (SFP)**

At my initial visit in the Village Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam in the summer of 1999, my second visit in the country, I did not do any formal interviewing or fieldwork. I was in the country to attend conference-seminars at Al-Quds and Tel Aviv University and apart from this – and not less important - to speak with a few contacts and to travel, think and look!

I was intrigued by this highly uncanny existence of a so-called 'Oasis of Peace'[14] (the English translation of the Hebrew/Arabic name), which I had only heard vaguely about a few years back. A travel book told me that it was an everyday community of almost an equal number of Jewish and Palestinian Israelis, about one hundred and fifty people. I also learned that it had institutions or activities largely depending on participation with the outside Israel and exchange with the 'outside'.

[13] There is a clear majority of Jewish donors in co-operative work in Israel.
[14] The name was introduced by the founder of the village, Bruno Hussar, made on a biblical quotation from Isaiah 32:18.

Before presenting the work of the educational unit or centre called School for Peace, in the village, I will need to introduce the village, a unique form of community in Israel. The village itself illustrates how the practice of , apparently peaceful, co-existence is possible. Not many would claim that the model is transferable, but its symbolic value is still significant. There are no other co-operative Jewish-Palestinian villages in the country. To what extent the SFP should be seen as bound up with and sprung out of the village is, of course, debatable. The village and its organisations, including SFP, appeared and gained a grip simultaneously with the emergence of a peace movement, diverse centres and institutes and the institutionalisation of educational projects and encounters in the country. In that sense, SFP can be seen as a brick in a larger movement. SFP has got a goodwill, and the example lies just outside the doorstep of the project shacks or offices. No other project has such a context to play with. Furthermore the village is closely bound up with SFP, since several employees, including top-level personnel as Michal Zak and Navah Sonnenschein, live in the village at the time of writing.

The village struck me as a tranquil, quiet community, not a *camp* like Givat Haviva, but a *home*. I went there again twice in 2000, before and after the intifada, to do interviews, look, and collect material. The village appears increasingly green, ordered and Western, with newly arranged terraces. The tranquil place is, on the surface, truly worth of being called an 'Oasis of Peace' as the sign at the entrance say. On the surface.

In the PR-department, Bob (name changed) sits in his office shack, which is really cosy and looks like it is about to crash. It is not necessarily the place for PR, I think, and Bob is not a typical PR persona either. And all this is in fact really good PR! In the beginning, after I have explained my intentions maybe a bit too academically, he slowly exposes the following, fragile comment, where I would have expected a tale of a salesman: "I wonder if whether... even we are aware, to the degree to which... it is working... or what I'll be telling you is really happening... because it requires very careful observation, I think... to discover.... very subtle, difficult...". Bob is an Englishman, who met a Jewish Israeli and came to the village with her a few decades ago. They are raising their children here.

Below I have bound together his comments in a narrative. Bob's professional and diplomatic account, yet also personal, worked as a well narrated history, as well as a subjective and *lived* experience, more colourful than official, written narratives which I could have quoted instead. The narrative below (in italics) is a condensed summary, transforming Bob's oral language into a written text – as close to the actual formulations as possible. My own questions are omitted. This model works, I think, since the interviewees tale shall only function as an inside account of

its history, that is to say a formal, institutional narrative, though with a personal staging of events and characters.

*The name Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam was coined by the founder Bruno Hussar, an Egyptian born Jew who became a Dominican monk. He had a kind of Neve Shalom inside of himself, you can say (he giggles). He [Hussar] was dreaming to establish a place where the three monotheistic religions could live in peace. He persuaded the monastery to lend him some land (Latrun Monastery). Found a small group of people talking about it in Jerusalem, a few years went, at first people here were transient; there were no infrastructure, no water, nothing. A kibbutz goes to the Jewish Agency. In the case of Neve Shalom [Bob uses the Hebrew name] they had to do it themselves. But the main difficulty was to find people. Happened in 1976-77 when the first families, Arab and Jewish, committed themselves. They are still here. Before that it was only camps, encounters. Bruno [he uses first name only] saw the village as a place for interreligious dialogue, but the people who came were less interested in religion and more interested in Jewish-Palestinian dialogue. It took a secular direction, but he would let things happen as people like, Neve Shalom is what people make of it, Hussar said. In the beginning there were more Jews than Arabs. It was hard to bring Arabs, they had to see that it could work with them as a part of it also, and that it was not only a Jewish thing. There were some single people on the Arab side; one of them sits at this desk [PR] today. He went away, but came back with a wife. Jewish usually Ashkenazi, in the late 80s half and half - Jewish/Arab - became a principle. Over the years more applications on the Jewish side, sometimes we have to find people, sometimes they find us, works both ways. We do not have a problem. Three hundred families on the waiting list. The village size today is fifty to fifty five houses, thirty-something families, and fifteen families waiting to move in. Houses are being build right now. The Arabs are predominantly Muslim, but there are also Christian, orthodox and Anglican, it's reflecting the balance in Palestinian society. The village has a secular character; we look less on religion, than the ethnic or national. They are all citizens, not allowed to reside in Israel without [Israeli] citizenship. Though you could say, between 1948 and 1967 this area was a no mans land between Israel and Jordan, not all of it, but most it, not where we sit right now, but maybe on the other side of the road. [He laughs]. We're right on the edge. The land was monastery land. But it is under Israeli law. The Palestinians who reside here are mostly city-people, mostly middle-class and predominantly from the Galilee. But it is quite mixed. There are various professions: doctors, lawyers, accountants, and pharmacists. Not rich people, he says, but middle area. We had an experiment where we took... [pausing]... a very simple family, you can say, from a village. It was difficult; they did not fit in. A lot of the Arabs are from villages, though. Usually they are more middle class, but we do not have any rules about it. People tend to stay over the long term; the ones who has left are a very small number. In the early years*

*there were more changes. When people come here they are committed. This is how people are like on both sides. A swimming teacher left, couldn't find work, two other families, one not very honest, left, another just did not work socially. Another one; problems in the family, the husband left with the children.*

*Among the Jewish families there are some former kibbutznics, some city-people, usually middle-class, as much a kibbutznic can be middle-class [he giggles], probably more on the Ashkenazi side, but we have Mizrachi or oriental Jews. Do not have any Ethiopians or Druze. We have one Christian Russian woman married to a Muslim Arab (he giggles as before). We have some Russians working, but not living here [apart from the one mentioned??].*

*We have an absorption or acceptance committee. We use various forms of evaluation methods. The committee will visit them in their homes, people have to get to know each other, and usually all new-comers go through an interview with a psychologist. When I came I went through a handwriting-analysis. It is not a usual way to live, but maybe it has become more normal. In the beginning everything was so sensitive. It was an experiment. As the community grows, this is less the case. Almost all families have a connection to the village, work or sit in a committee etc. We have an agreement with the monastery, forty hectares, and one half residential, one half green. It is a lease now, but we are supposed to give one half back, then they will – according to the plan – give it to us, as a gift, and we'll finish the lease. This will make us able to build. The plan is to build around hundred more houses. It will happen gradually. It will be more healthy, more children in the primary school, and we will probably be taken more seriously in Israeli society. It is difficult when we are small. If we want to raise money (taxes) among ourselves to a project, it is difficult, the number of families quite small. If we are one hundred and fifty families that's a reasonably sized community in Israel. A lot of people want to live here. The educational work we are doing falls on a very small number, with more people, we can establish new institutions and more work. Neve Shalom at its best is a place where people can fulfil their dreams... all kinds of dreams, and crazy ideas. It is place, which should allow that to happen, we have a couple of actors and storytellers, we've had art seminars, there are all kinds of work people can do. The village as a whole have a couple of joint goals: provide a model; show that it is possible, while maintaining separate identities. Other Neve Shaloms difficult to establish. We were lucky to get land from the monastery. The sponsors are not political parties, the school, established in 84, worked for 9 years without any kind of recognition. Education Ministry could have closed it down. It was not run legally. They did not tell us we should close. In about 1993 we got status as experimental school and got some funding. It was mainly a political thing, more left wing came in. A Meretz [a left wing, Zionist party] politician helped it to happen [Shulamith Aloni]. We got status as recognised but non-official school. Means: They do not have to give us all the funding, they will not give us for area/equipment, and they pay teachers. On the other hand we have more autonomy on how we will run it. Funding from*

*government is about a third or a quarter of the budget, otherwise from fees, and different organisations, mostly abroad. Abraham Fund among others. The Friends Associations helps with the funding and finding sponsors.*

*The people who work here live in a commutable distance. Half of the people who live here work outside the village. The manager of the guest house lives in the village. The staff in the kitchen and in the guess houses,like the cook and cleaners, are mostly from outside. It is difficult to characterise the group that comes to the village to work, all sorts. People who are not so well paid, like me [no giggle], often come from nearby or live here. Ninety percent of the children in the school come from outside, student body around two hundred and fifteen, try to keep it half and half Jewish and Palestinian. A bit hard to get students to come in the beginning. Today it's full and we have more applications than we can take. We've tried to expand to a Junior High School, from seventh grade, but we only had a small number. It did not work, children at that age want wider social contact. We'll try to expand again, but with a larger number. It is easier to improve the middle, easier to take children at an earlier age. We need thirty children to the seventh grade. It will take us a couple of years before we are there, and we need to build another building. There were no other experiment like this in the early 1980s, bilingual and bi-national. A school in the north has just started, and there's a bilingual kindergarten at the YMCA in Jerusalem, and there is a third grade class also in Jerusalem. We try to develop curriculum which are adaptable to other schools. I do not know if Israel will ever look like Neve Shalom, he says (dryly). Limited potential as village model. There are many other mixed areas, but there are obstacles. It could be mixed, or pupils and teachers from both sides could meet within one school. There are many obstacles, it's not like Denmark [we talked a bit about my native country earlier]. Two distinct people with their own religion and language. We have to keep in tune with the national curriculum, we have to give more [to teach more..??]. We do not teach history at primary school. but we give the children more: language, learn about each other peoples culture, religion. About ten children has left [that means finished sixth grade]. We had to think about what kind of community we wanted. We did not have a model. It could not be 'a Jewish community that accepts Arabs'. It had to a model that would take the interest from both sides. There were other models in Jewish society: kibbutz and moshaw. We did not want another kibbutz. It was obvious that it had to be a democratic model. We have a general assembly, but we do not try to reach consensus, it's too hard, we work with simple majority. We try to have alternating leadership [change from Jew to Arab etc.] in committees or a co-directorship [Jew and Arab]. Elections every second year. [I mention that the same person was elected as Secretary of the village twice. Yes, he admits - A Palestinian]. Sometimes it can be difficult to find people. Generally it is alternating or co-directed. People employed in administrative jobs are usually skilled, educated to run the job. The School for Peace has their own training facilities.*

*We have to finance everything ourselves. Things take time, buildings, roads, and electricity. We have to find out all the time where we can we apply to the Government. They provided the water system. It is always a struggle. Money sometimes come from rich individualists, and we've had quite a good donation from a Buddhist organisation recently. People from here go on speaking tours around to find money. We have always had bad publicity in Israel, it has been hard for Israelis and Arabs to swallow. We've had a lot of interest and exposure, though, in the media. The average Israeli have heard about us vaguely. It is difficult to explain, people generally do not have interest or they often misunderstand. Schools and people who have been involved they know, but not the wider public. We are walking on a tightrope between both sides, each side see us leaning too much toward to the other side. Arabs [see us] as collaborators. Jews [see us] as too accommodating... sacrificing too much to the Arab side. Very sensitive. We try to live together, as each side maintains identity, whatever.. not give in too much... not mix up. The sensitivity is pretty much what we are about.*

The focus and speech genre of Bob should be viewed in the context it appears. Bob is a PR-officer and he delivered his responses to an interviewer who asked about the history of the place, though with probes for elaboration on events, people and his own role and history in the village. Bob was definitely at ease with a storytelling genre. Typical for oral history is his use of *folklore*, e.g. staging Hussar as the little hero, and *anecdotes* (Portelli, 1997: 3), that well illustrate its development and situation, from a tent camp to a village with over forty families, a village that literally borders the West Bank – just on the other side of the main road. In the light of the presentation of the oral history genre outlined in Chapter 2, I would characterise it as a public, communal history from the point of view of the communal representative, though not without his own flavouring. The emphasis was less on the individual subject – Bob himself – in social and historical context, though still connecting history with biography. It bears the marks of a tentative essay with commentary and straight information (Portelli, 1997: 3-23). Bob frames and tells history and events in the light of the present, proving that memory is a *processor*, rather than a *freezer* (Portelli, 1997: 45). See also, in particular, interview with Esther, in Chapter 5, for points on oral history features.

After the talk, Bob took me around the village and to the Primary School and the School for Peace. You can encircle the village in fifteen minutes walk, I would guess. In the primary school we are entering a class, a session, that could be a first grade. "Sometimes I can't even see the difference", Bob says, when I note that it is not that easy to spot who is Jew or Arab. It looks like an ordinary 'kindergartenish' (nursery school) experience in the post-kindergarten school stage: shouting, disobedience, chatting, disorganisation, yet the teacher is somehow on top of things. The pupils are not too bothered about Bob or me. It is right after Ramadan, Hanukah and

Christmas; the children are portraying the three festivals in drawing. When we leave the class room and walk by a playground, I approach the language issue, and he says that they will worker harder with creating a balance between Arabic and Hebrew in every day chatting, in the play ground etc. Even though the teachers speak in their native tongue, as he says, Hebrew is dominating.

A year after, three weeks into the intifada, I speak with Bob again, first in Tel Aviv after a demo where only a few hundreds showed up and again in his office a few days after. There had been a huge internal Palestinian disagreement in the village, affecting the Jews as well and there had been tough competition around the position of Secretary during several meetings. Occasional quarrels between residents have not been avoided in this community, as in any other, but on top of this, one of the candidates had received a death threat and this made the quarrel more suitable for journalistic indulgence, which *Haaretz*, for example, picked up on in July. I will not pursue an unfolding of the events of verbal strife in the village, which is a project in itself, but instead select some of Bob's comments (referring to the Haaretz piece): "People are always keeping a check on us, to see where the dream falls down", he replies, and explains that outsiders view the place as "an utopia". "We look at it as a place where the context is very much a part". I ask whether there may be a problem with calling the place 'Oasis of Peace', and he refers to the biblical quotation that Bruno Hussar, the founder, came up with, and saying that it is "a prophecy"[15]. What Bruno meant, Bob explains, was that the whole world will eventually live in peace. It should have symbolic value, but it is not a model, he continues. Why is it not a model, I ask: "Because most people in Israel, Jews or Arabs, do not want to live here". "they want their separate lives". It is a symbol showing it is possible "while maintaining our separate identities". All the people who had been involved in arguments covered in the media were still there 4 months after.

During my third visit the absence of a communal gathering or meeting place struck me. There are some spaces which can take up that function; the cafeteria and the restaurant which are mostly for working visitors and tourists and the *dumia*, or Dome of Silence, a site for contemplation, prayer etc, replacing a synagogue, church or mosque (see Photo section). There is also a swimming pool and there are a few benches here and there. I went to the pool during the summer visit. Volunteers, villagers, families were enjoying the sunshine and some were preparing food on a table. It was very convivial, and, despite the brilliance of the Dome of Silence, and the picturesque views over Latrun valley and Ramallah from the benches, the village needs such a place. The benches from where one can look over the valley often serve as

[15] Isaiah 32:18 "my people will live in peaceful dwelling places, in secure homes, in undisturbed places of rest", New International Version, International Bible Society, UK, 1973. Other translations use the word 'Oasis'.

a meeting points for tourists and project participants. During my first visits, some Palestinians from Gaza joined in. Mahmoud said he appreciated the talk, he felt he was learning something, but the reality will stay the same, he said dryly, and the Jews should go to Gaza to see "the other side". Later on he does 'imagine' on a guitar.

The SFP also do encounters between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians from the territories. They had a few during the intifada as well, where the Palestinians had to take other ways around roadblocks and illegally show up to the project in Israel (the village's website, nswas.com, Jan 2002). Oren, a Jewish man in his twenties said that it was important to engage with something different bigger, and more common, than the political. He thought that environmental work was a way of creating something together. He was an environment activist himself, helping to clean the west coast beach (Gaza and Israel) with Palestinians.

A few weeks after the intifada had started, at my visit in October 2000, I spoke to two villagers over a dinner in their house. They were both in an extremely worried state of mind. Where were things going to go now? Ronit, a Jewish Israeli, was preparing the dinner, before she had to go to an important meeting in the village later that evening. She worked in the primary school. Ulf worked partly as a tourist guide in the village. He came to Israel in the 70s after meeting Ronit. I spoke to him for the first time a year ago, when he was more happy and sparkling. Ulf said at that time: *Neve Shalom had been an attractive place for people with other or mixed identities or backgrounds since it has worked to provide another kind of space where those who were different or wanted to be different could build a life. It has though also insisted on maintaining the Jewish and the Palestinian Arab aspect of individual and collective identity.* These were, more or less, his words during a car ride from the village to Ramla. He proudly pointed towards the olive trees he had planted around the village.

The Canadian Jewish educationalist Grace Feuerverger, who did fieldwork in the village on several occasions during the 1990s, writes that what is created here is a sense of a community within a framework of diversity (Feuerverger, 1998: 492). The idea is coexistence, but not assimilation. A Palestinian explained to her that he moved to the village as a way of maintaining his Palestinian identity, without having to reject his Israeli identification (Feuerverger, 1998: 503). This is one indication of the hybridity of the Arabs of Israel. It seems that no other third group identity is built here. This is a point I will return to in the next chapters.

In the light of her observations in the village, Feuerverger does some interesting tricks on the conceptual level. A set of moral voices or ways in which to resolve moral issues are constantly being played out in Neve Shalom, she says. These two voices are *justice* and *care*. The justice

voice is focused on fairness and equality, while the care voice is emphasising relationship and responsibility. These two voices form a Bakhtinian inner moral dialogue, oscillating, always in process (Feuerverger, 1998: 492). This point – which will be explored further when introducing Bakhtin in the next chapter - focuses on the inner dynamics, but we could as well add another axis of adaptation and oscillation; the village is particularly context-sensitive and has a huge gap to accommodate. Ninety percent of its pupils in the school come from outside, the villagers commute to jobs outside, and the School for Peace weekly runs programs or seminars touching upon the conflict. The village is, in other words permeated by possible conflict-related problems, which makes Feuerverger's concepts workable also in terms of inner-outer dynamics. Without *care* this would not work. Without trying to apply *justice* in this different reality it would be difficult to *care* about living here and preserving. The two issues are interdependent. As noted in Bob's narrative, several institutions, such as SFP and the primary school, with daily contacts to an outside are hidden within the 'oasis' that *seems* largely residential and isolated.

**Times and methods under change**

As in any other educational setting, times and methods change, and in the School for Peace – as well as in the primary school - at the village, schooling/projects are scuffling forward according to possible staff compromises, the new realities (quick to become old) they always have to adapt to - whether in terms of conflict and killings, lack of participation interest or lack of funding available.

Contact work was largely ignored by the Ministry of Education in the 1950s and 1960s, and no institutions organised encounters on a permanent basis. In the 1970s experimental, semi-laboratorial work took shape. Encounter work was introduced and so was institutions and programs which are still running apart from occasional ruptures and crisises where activities are limited or cancelled. Maoz points out that the encounter projects evolved in the early 1980s in the political climate following the Lebanon war. The exchange worked as a way of resisting the growing anti-democratic trends in Israeli society (Maoz, 2000b: 262), which again also can be seen as a response to trends that would inflict on the normal schooling and teaching of Jewish as well as Palestinian pupils and students in Israel. The projects could provide an alternative to everyday schooling and socialisation. Abu Nimer summarises that the work in the 1970s and 1980s were dealing mainly with stereotypes[16], alienation and multiculturalism; terms imported from outside, mostly from the West (Abu-Nimer, 2001)[17].

[16] Les Back challenges Van Dijk's assertion (1987) that within multiracial contexts, people learn about 'others' via mediating texts and stereotypes. Back suggest that while stereotypes are available, they are not used in a cruel sense: a spectrum of social identities is available to young people (Back, 1993: 130).

The first intifada challenged the programmes, but after the Oslo declaration they entered their most 'successful' phase, if one can use that word. There was a steep rise in activity, but also the pedagogical techniques and the program approach changed gradually. Van Leer and SFP gradually incorporated politics and an explicit recognition of two groups meeting and challenging each other, that is to say an intergroup approach, rather than interaction mainly on an individual level. Recent research, though based on observation of projects taking place before the intifada, advocates a combinatorial form named *interactionist approach*[18] (Sagy, 2002). Givat Haviva's encounters has swung in the direction of the intergroup approach[19]. It was a phase where the Palestinian identity of Arab Israelis grew stronger, the hopes generated by Oslo slowly faded, and the interpersonal, personal and cultural coexistence-focus were competing with more openly conflict 'opening' and conflict-coping approaches where the participant in many ways had to act out political 'games', to perform negotiations, draw, play, discuss and in many ways *work-through* conflict issues. This understood in a technical sense, but also in a Ricoeurian sense where new insights and ideas – and concrete experiences *with* the other, in dialogue with the other - are affected, re-moulding the already configured.

The intergroup approach recognised the gap and the difference: ninety percent of the Arabs in Israel live in separate towns or villages, while the remaining ten percent reside in the mixed cities. In the 1980s research stated that the general separation were leading to the enforcement of stereotypes in each group and frustration and hostility in the dominated group (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1988: 250). Furthermore, neither side is interested in attaining social and cultural integration or in promoting intimate relations. Amin from the SFP stressed the importance of pursuing an *intergroup* approach, whereas encounter projects in Israel in the past (Abu-Nimer, 1999) had been more *interpersonal* in style, relying on contact theory or the *contact hypothesis*,

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Identity is about inhabiting and vacating, he says (148). The question is then how much individuals and groups are allowed and encouraged to create or leave in an non-spontaneous pre-set projects.

[17] Abu-Nimer in paper given at *Visions and Divisions* conference, Association of Israel Studies, American University, Washington D.C., 15 May 2001.

[18] Shifra Sagy argues that a way forward may be an approach that explores the leaps or "salience of the group identity versus personal and interpersonal dimensions" (Sagy, 2002: 259), emphasising the relationship between collective as well as personal elements of self instead of viewing it primarily through the intergroup model. "A purely collective type of speaking, that does not integrate with the individual level, cannot lead to an open and meaningful discourse", she interestingly concludes (Sagy, 2002: 272).

[19] A few examples of the theorisation of the techniques applied: one model advocating personal contact emphasising *interpersonal* relations, common goals and even a friendly/intimate relationship; a second model advocates exchange of information; and a third a cross-cultural sensitivity. These three models are known as the contact model, the information model and the cognitive model (Ben-Ari and Amir, 1988). Another axe of approach to co-operation is, according to Mitchell Bard, 1) an encounter model where participants talk, simply, 2) an experimental model focused on practices, doing things apart from talking and 3) a teaching for democracy model where a certain aim and value has been inscribed in beforehand and which as well is possible uni-nationally. Finally we could mention the interpersonal vs. the intergroup approach (Hewstone and Brown, 1986).

basically asserting that when enemies get together and talk face to face their attitudes toward each other will change for the better (initially Allport, 1954, and developed by Amir, 1969 in Hewstone and Brown, 1986, Abu-Nimer, 1999 and Maoz, 2000). Contact theory is touched upon in a few of the interviews dealt with in Chapter 5, see. e.g. some of Azmi's, Jalal's and Shuli's utterances and the analysis of the text *Dialogue and Change*. Azmi reveals an affiliation with contact theory, while Shuli and Jalal reject the approach.

Hewstone and Brown wrote, back in the 1980s, that the major limitation of theorising in this area is the neglect of a distinction between *interpersonal* and *intergroup* contact (Hewstone and Brown, 1986: 2). This is a distinction that is clear in Abu-Nimer's work. The interpersonal approach pays attention to individuals and the similarities between individuals members in the two groups in the conflict; a form of *mechanical solidarity*. The intergroup approach is explicitly working within the group vs. group approach and tries to maintain the differences and enhance the two groups, and two identities: a form of *organic solidarity* (Pettigrew, referring to Durkheim, 1986: 169). These approaches necessarily produce limitations. The intergroup approach can be criticised for not allowing the normal range of individual differences, since intergroup behaviour is typically homogenous or uniform. (Hewstone and Brown, 1986: 13), while the interpersonal approach would seem to gloss over the conflict-material and cherish the obvious; that each person is a human being and will not necessarily hate the other if they got a chance to look each other in the eyes, play table tennis and eat hummus! I will return to these terms, as well as Sagy's combinatorial *interactionist approach* in the reflection on the analysis in the final chapter.

Contact theory's condition of equality is problematic. Maoz points out that the external reality will be penetrating and destroying the desired symmetry in the setting. The conditions or procedures put down beforehand will not necessarily be kept, i.e. the dynamics of the encounter will not adhere to the 'rules' prescribed (Maoz, 2000: 135-142). Furthermore, the third party, the facilitators in 'one-conflict-two-groups'-encounters are not neutral. They are unwittingly helping or expressing identification unequally and power struggles over agenda and goals will put the encounter beside the initial framework of equality (Maoz, 2000: 135-156). It has been suggested by one of my readers, though, that they may be able to offer a go between. This is a question to be returned to in the concluding chapter, but before we get that far, there are some broad comments on the use of *facilitators* in relation to *learning* in the light of the summary of the intergroup approach.

The Facilitator-approach moves away from earlier modernist paradigms – for example learning based upon 'transmission' from a point of view of authority to a passive learner, and where

meaning is seen as inherent in what is studied. Among the modernist paradigms is the behavioural, stimulus-response approach. Using the interview accounts in Chapter 5, particularly Jalal and Shuli, it will be elaborated which approaches Givat Haviva and School for Peace pursue. No clear top-to-ground level transmission can be found, and differences in opinion between the leadership and the actual project directors and facilitators from time to time cause trouble as well. As this chapter shows, approaches are changing and continuously contested: we are talking about Jewish and Palestinian Israelis trying to work together(!). Chapter 5 will reveal the different interpretations from interviewees, though with some common ground in a present *intergroup* approach and implied here: an active group exploration and discovery. Chapter 6 shows, through observations during activity, that it is also very much a product of particular facilitator, teacher and participant personalities and attitudes. Some participants try to escape the group-approach, while others are 'bandwagoning' or do not find themselves strong enough to go against the stream. This is caused either by peer pressure or the general structural set-up, i.e. the intergroup approach, or both.

Whether handling the projects with teachers or facilitators, or through one particular approach or another, the alternative to not having projects or meetings is isolation for each group and less likelihood of ever talking. Parallel lives may feed racism even further. If/when it is not happening spontaneously, will 'the institutional turn' help even though the meetings are voluntary?

The different pedagogical approaches have then again been further problematised by general questions of how to solve the conflict and how to change the present situation or make the work have an real impact (what ever that means), which leave both parties disappointed - or if successfully answered - leave the participants returning to a world outside that will not change even if we for a split second imagine that the participants can come up with an agreement and a changed and fresh view of themselves, the world and the other. It will be important, then, at least from an analytical point of view, to distinguish between two levels of effect or impact. On the one hand, there are the possible *effects* of the projects on any level outside the project rooms, such as how the project may influence other people and communities through the spreading of the messages, the effect of continuous work in the schools, or new forms of encounter and conflict work. On the other hand there are the individual *learnings* of the project - and how these can be applied or executed in any sense, or whether they remain as an experience or memory affecting the individuals emotional and cognitive state of mind. Instead, the focus or the task is about how to equip people to cope. The learning is more about *experiencing* the projects and less on the spreading of messages in the didactic sense.

These levels are often intertwined, but the distinction is nevertheless important since we have a situation where there are not sufficient political and educational spaces and support to try to execute the learnings, whether this is possible or not. This is one element to return to in the final chapter.

**Old pedagogies, new hybridities?**

The aim of working with a series of interviews with employees (directors and facilitators) and participants, project observations and key texts in the next two chapters is to illustrate and test how the pedagogies in two very different projects – a long term processual work and workshop projects lasting only a couple of days – are interpreted, put into language and played out and how this fits with the contextual introduction given here.

My aim now is to encircle the question of the effects of the enhancement of older pedagogies in conflict coping activities. How do these techniques affect the development of new discursive positions and a new feel for the game, self and other in terms of possibly disturbed, displaced, empowered or changed identities? In the early part of the research I chose to use the concept *hybrid* to stimulate the theoretical journey. At first asking; are these settings hybrid, are the participants adopting more hybrid positions/identifications? This was before the concepts *dialogue* and *narrative* became equally important pillars in the investigation. While dialogue was presented in Chapter 1 and narrative and assertions-analysis will structure the upcoming chapter on interviews, I want to introduce the ground stones for understanding the work, i.e. the pedagogies, and furthermore to present the concept of hybridity and similar theoretical equipment, for example re-positioning, with which I will question or cast light on the pedagogies. All these different theoretical paths (dialogue, identity, hybridity, narrative) will be clashing in the final chapter.

Both settings are inspired by the Brazilian educationalist and political activist Paulo Freire - see interview with Jalal in Chapter 5 and the Appendices - who sought to strengthen critical consciousness and awareness; a process that involves a process from naivety to critique, from a static lock in a reality of oppression to a liberating, self-empowering position. Freire advocated a problem raising education that triggers group processes based on co-operation, unity, organisation and cultural synthesis (Freire, 1978: 7-17). His pedagogy introduced interaction at the core of learning. A pedagogy *with*, not *for*, that works against anxiety towards freedom. Freedom is not understood here as a gift, but as something conquered, something that must be continuously claimed and pursued. As was mentioned, interaction is central. There is no *I* or *one* without an other. A doubleness is conditioning the learner: the oppressed is himself and what

the oppressor has internalised in him (Freire, 1978:20). The dialogic *I* knows that the *You* is the condition for one's own being. The non-dialogic, controlling *I* – on the other hand - change the controlled *You* to a thing (MacLaren, 1997: 147). Freire envisioned and spoke for a pedagogy that should extroject what oppressors had introjected. Members should be empowered through reflective group exercises where people become subject, not objects.

Freire was in a stream of pedagogies that sought to create a practical awareness that struggled over cultural meanings, not just redistribution (McLaren, 1997: 147-153). Knowledge was not a fill-up at the petrol station but a political 'act of knowing'[20]. His influences are many; Gramsci, Che Guevara, Fanon. Also related are theories of *scaffolding* and *mediated learning experience*, theories I will return to in the course of the thesis. Freire was born in 1921, and died in 1997. He spend sixteen years of exile in Chile, US and Switzerland, from 1964, when Brazil's democratically elected government was overthrown and Freire was accused of preaching communism. He created grounds for the exploration of *agency* in relation to existing *structures.* A theme I will return to in the course of Chapters 5 and 6.

Freire's work can be related to Giroux's[21] (1991) rather illusive concept of *border pedagogy,* which leads to the discussion of hybridity, community and borders. *Border pedagogy* is understood, according to Giroux, "as an attempt to provide a space for creating discourse capable of raising new questions, offering oppositional practices and producing fresh objects of analysis". This discourse of liberation and empowerment is as well a "partial response to the assault on difference", as Giroux argues (1991: 501).

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[20] Freire worked against the 'petrol station' pedagogy and towards stimulating the learner to become conscious, to go from a naive stage to a critical stage. Freire could be criticised for reversing rather than rupturing the basic problematic of oppression and repressing heterogeneity (Giroux, 1994: 146). See also dialogue between key thinkers in Chapter 7. Freire was, however, stimulating the learner to learn himself, and encouraging the pupils own active processing of knowledge. In the light of Freire's approach I will briefly list some related conceptualisations of learning through *facilitation*: The *Socrates* model: the teacher as *midwife*. The teacher as gardener: pupils are the raw material. Vygotsky's *zone of proximate development*. Bruner: *Scaffolding*: necessary and temporary support. Good & Brophy interpretation of the scaffold: The teacher builds the scaffold. The student constructs the building. (Bjørnshave and Christiansen, 2001:72-81). Finally, *Mediated Learning Experience*, MLE, a pedagogy closely related to scaffolding and facilitation. These theories draw upon research on the social aspect of learning, also reflected in Lave and Wenger's *situated learning* (1991). See Chapter 6 for exploration.

[21] Elaine Sisson (1999) has done a useful, short summary of Henri Giroux's approach to learning and pedagogy. Giroux views learning as a way of becoming politicised. Therefore educators must be responsible and reflective about their own political and social approaches to teaching. Establishment practice has a tendency of leaving out alternative pedagogies and histories to pursue an uncontested teaching practice. Complex histories then seem contingent and seamless. Pedagogy's social function is not merely to transmit legitimised knowledge but to interrogate the ideologies of how ideas come to be mainstream (Sisson, 1999). These thoughts are similar to Bourdieu's earlier work on reproduction (1974) and his points on objectification of the misrecognised - misrecognition here understood as a 'blind' naturalised accept, happening unknowingly (1990).

Freire's older pedagogy, focusing on collective liberation, should nevertheless be critically assessed for the tendency of viewing the voice of the oppressed, as well as the voice of the oppressor, in a singular, static sense. If we assume - now borrowing from a rather different view on language and human voice - that the self is a chorus of different, ambivalent, ethical voices or an oscillation between the individual's own world and the perspective of others (Rawls using Bakhtin, 1995: 106-109 and Yanay, 2002), then the emphasis on separate and distinct identities, that Freire can be claimed to carry forward, and which the projects aim to maintain, could be limiting, or even just re-affirming or re-producing already constructed identities and histories. On the other hand, ignoring the huge differences, especially the different national histories and the different experiences on a group level, would blur or even ignore the conflict. The differences are not forever given or essentialist. The eagerness to unfold two distinct and separate cultures - I am referring to the village's material and Bob's words used earlier - could cripple the intention of re-inventing, changing and re-phrasing tradition. This means it could become harder for participants, teachers and facilitators to become border crossers or practicing polyphonic toleration, and avoid the monologic (Rawls using Bakhtin, 1995: 116). The Frerian pedagogy, re-invented and re-vitalised in pedagogy on multiculturalism and for example in terms like border pedagogy, can be claimed to transport, I argue, a belief in difference which does not acknowledge, or neglects, the heterogeneity of individuals and groups. If the assertions on identity are static, asserted and already finished in formulation beforehand, a meeting easily becomes voyeuristic. The face and the voice of the other appears, but, in terms of identity constructs, both sides perform - or sink further down in the quicksand - behind a line their respective nationalisms have drawn and taught them to maintain. To put it roughly, I would argue that Bakhtin attempted to escape the collective, the fixed, to recognise that words carry more than *one* voice and meaning. This became his way of getting beneath and around, the oppressing state. For Freire the empowerment of a folkish collective, from below, became his ethos of liberation.

I now find it useful to introduce the notion of *hybridity* to structure and reconceptualise this fuzzy border walk. In Pieterse *hybridity* is the return of the Trickster (Pieterse, 2001), or in Rutman, the ability to hold together differences simultaneously (Rutman, 1999: 156). It can be used as an analytical tool that is critical towards boundaries, which primarily will be my aim. We must bear the critique of the term itself in mind: it has a tendency to gloss over power differences and cleavages. It is a term used by the privileged hybrids and wannabe hybrids and it can be a force in the life of mobile higher middle class, not among immobile Gazans where hybridity is repressed and not recognised as an obvious empirical fact, despite a culture's inherent multitude made up as *one* of diverse allegiances. Cultures may be hybrid, but what if boundaries and immobilities remain? We may find it useful to relate this to terms such as

*coherence* and *homogeneity*. We can use *hybridity* as a concept that criticises homogeneity, and claims that coherence and identity is possible without homogeneity, i.e. homogeneity is not a requirement for coherence (Pieterse, 2001).

Homi Bhabha has also worked thoroughly with the concept, though mostly on the level of literary texts. From his work, I have paid attention to the following: hybridity is "a construction of cultural authority within conditions of political antagonism or inequity". "Hybrid strategy or discourse opens up a space of negotiation where power is unequal but its articulation may be equivocal. Such negotiation is neither assimilation or collaboration", Bhabha writes (Bhabha, 1996: 53-60). I am more critical towards the appliance of his next point: that hybridity "makes possible the emergence of an interstitial agency that refuses the binary representation". Ricoeur prefers to speak of selfhood, identity and agency instead of using the term hybridity - an endeavour I will not pass by, but will come back to when Ricoeur's apparatus of narrative and time are used to read texts and interviews. It remains a question here whether the interstitial is created, but now I am in the process of constructing a theoretical scaffold that I will, in due course, need to test with field research.

Before this kind of test and further theorisation, I will continue to elaborate on hybridity in a way inspired by cultural geography rather than pursuing a literary application. Here I find it useful to link up to the concepts of *boundary* and *community,* I argue. Boundaries exist on different levels or scales; the body, the house, the fence, the village, the region, the nation (Tuan, 1979: 202). To be bound(arised) or rooted is to lack curiosity, it is not self-conscious. The bounded state is insensitive toward time. In Tuan this is juxtaposed with a sense of place – awareness of an outside world and time (Boullata, 1996: 107). Rogoff points out that when we establish a border we have to identify the entities on both sides and the relation between them (Rogoff, 2000: 137). Distinguished borders could be claimed to maintain coherent identities in a territory of belonging, which puts non-belonging beyond the frontier of the nation. The strip called Israel is today traversed with numerous old borders within - Druze, Christian, Muslim communities residing, remnants of Brits, Ottomans, Mamluks, Crusaders, Romans, native Jews, aliyah Jews etc. Furthermore there are undefined and disputed national borders marking the outside; in the northeast to Syria. In the north, to Lebanon, and in the East and southwest to the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank, which nevertheless are a kind of outer inside with its biblical connotations, archaeological evidence of Israeliness as well as Palestinianness, its water supplies, settlers and soldiers. The notion of *internal borders*[22], in addition to the matrix of external borders, is relevant to understand boundaries in Israel. None of them are

[22] Internal borders is borders internal to the subject rather than external, term borrowed from Irit Rogoff (2000: 113). So these lines are not really there, as Rogoff points. This relates to lines of integrity, and the continuous negotiation of internal lines.

given or really fit internally and mentally. Are Jews in Israel mostly Jews or Israeli? Externally, the fitting is also complicated. Are the Jewish Eretz Israel of the West Bank not more Jewish in terms of its biblical significance? The voices of the dispute that claim more on the other side are well known and heard, but in fact most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and Jews in Israel agree that about a separation that roughly follows the 1967 border.

*Community*[23] a revitalised term during the last decade or so, which is also true of *citizenship,* is a part of the heart-massage to the exhausted political vocabulary of democracy in the west and also a part of a politics which spotlights social injustices suffered by minority groups (Cohen, 1999: 29). Furthermore, communities provide space for an outburst of internal tensions, yet contained and manageable (Cohen, 1999: 34). The reach for community is sometimes also triggered by its absence, as Cohen points out. Here, Jewish-Palestinian community-building in Israel, mostly in terms of projects rather than settled everyday life, could easily work as an example, even though this reach only seem be a matter for dreamers or the material of dreams, while the hindrances for the almost unimaginable community are continuously and blatantly present. The village Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam serves as the most fully realised step, not necessarily a model, but an example of one form. Hundreds of projects prove that idealism, dreams and dreamers are there, but - on the other hand - many Jews may be 'peace working' to appease the other without advocating any major structural changes or redistributions of power.

Therefore, the question I would like to raise is how to use difference as a tool of learning and unfolding of the taken for granted, the incorporated which is always already there, habitually performed. These practical, strategic, quasi-conscious manoeuvres and patterns of behaviour, or *practices* generated from our *habitus* - which influences all our actions and reflections (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, and Bourdieu, 1990) - has to be highlighted to learn which role cultural differences, 1) create obstacles for understanding, 2) envelop and perpetuate certain power relations, and 3) transport certain pedagogies and ways of speaking into an educational space which is supposed to give all participants equal room for expression. Western style pedagogies focusing on conflict *resolution* would favour the Jews, as Esther, former facilitator for Children Teaching Children, explained in October 2000 (See also interview extract in Chapter 5). A similar point has been made by Abu-Nimer (2000)[24]. Furthermore, if we look at the Israeli *dugri* style (See Katriel, 1986 and Zupnik, 2000) and the Palestinian *musayra* (Zupnik, 2000), these are two different habitual ways of speaking that inevitably must be taken into consideration when planning co-operation. Zupnik concludes that the musayra style of non-

[23] *Community* should not be confused with *Communitarism*, a particular American and also – in terms of its moral values - conservative branch of community practice, vision and philosophy. See Chapter 7 for Connolly's alternative to *communitarian* values.
[24] Abu-Nimer, paper given at *Visions and Divisions* conference, Association of Israel Studies, Washington D.C., 15th May 2001.

interruptive conversation was more significant among *intra-group* work, Palestinians only. But when speaking with Jews, each part equally practiced a more interruptive, straight-talking *dugri* style (Zupnik, 2000: 85). So the spontaneous process of recognition which community could be claimed to presume (according to Cohen, 1999: 36) is different in the settings just presented. Here the peace building is 'artificial'. The conflict-working community - and the temporary communities or even just *event-communities* (own term) – struggles with achieving recognition through education and co-operation. And if it happens it turns out to be a rich, hard-fought and surprising experience, not at all habitual, yet achieved through activities that seem habitual: everyday work and encountering, looking, listening, talking, drinking coffee, having arguments, losing one's temper, and, not least; showing a great deal of patience. I will move on to the words and behaviours now to see how things actually turned out.

# Chapter 5

## Narratives, Assertions and Paradoxes

- Field research interviews and primary texts

### Introduction to a three-step approach

I will now present and analyse the primary material: the oral sources/interviews, a written questionnaire/letter, and three written texts. I begin with a presentation and analysis of details, through a thematic key word coding/dissection in a series of interviews and then gradually make up the puzzle looking for the patterns - the connection and narrativisation of these details in a smaller selection of extracts of single interviews (influenced by Lieblich et al., 1998:12).

The procedure has been the following:

Approach 1:

I have been going through each interview to look up a series of keywords/themes related to the research questions (inspired by Riessman, 1993: 60-61 and Lieblich et al.,1998: 12)[1]. The keywords – listed on the next page - have been framing the research from the beginning and they have also been central themes in the talks, even though the respondents circle around them, engage and disengage with them differently. Approach 1 presents the raw material for further reflection and analysis. The important issue here is *what* is said, i.e. how the key themes were addressed. Ethnicity, gender, age or position categories (as e.g. director, teacher or student) are not crucial in Approach 1, while the authoring will be in focus in Approach 2. The intention in Approach 1 is to

[1] Riessman (1991) suggests several strategies of narrative analysis; one of these is to focus on a selection of key aspects of longer narrative. This can be done by starting from the inside, to reduce the narrative segment, and then expand outwards. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) presents a model that introduce the main dimensions; holistic vs. categorical approach and content versus form.

present a picture of *how*, e.g. identity is uttered through explicit use or indirect reference. The data sort with which I try to crack the texts is done manually to be able to read more between the lines than a software data sort programme, such as *nudist* (sic) would be able to (see also end of Approach 1 section). As a service for the reader I have listed the interlocutor name in brackets, so the particular sentences can be connected to a speaker. Interlocutor names are synonyms, except for Jalal and Shuli, the two former co-directors whose article *Dialogue and Change* is also dealt with in this chapter.

Approach 2:

Here I look at a selection of interviews/longer extracts one by one, interpreting the key messages, the representation of the key themes, and the personal style in the interview. The relationship between the key themes and the particular personal response should here draw a contextualised picture and indicate how themes were drawn together and patterned in discourse. At this stage of the analysis, I begin to apply the theoretical apparatus[2] presented in Chapters 1 and 2: narrative[3] form, assertions, genre, different spatial referents as interweaving of subject story, institutional history and history of the country, dialogic and multi-voice aspects, the issue of identity and change/re-configuration.

Approach 3:

Analysis of written primary texts:

a. A manifesto/vision article on educational projects written by two former directors of the Children Teaching Children project at Givat Haviva (the article has an emphasis on CTC),

[2] See for example Alessandro Portelli's work on oral history (1991 and 1998), Paul Ricoeur on time, narrative and identity (1983 and 1996) and Mikhail Bakhtin on the dialogic and genre (1981 and 1996).
[3] *Narrative* is here defined as the telling of a story, "a version of a story" (Patterson, 2002: 72) supported by the principles of succession and transformation, where one aspect is related to another (Todorov, 1990: 28-31). The second principle of transformation is more complicated than the first one, and will not be related to, in-depth, here, but just used and understood as the mechanisms or ways of speaking in narrative that relates to, or pays attention to, our understanding and perception of the events narrativised, and not the event itself. In this sense, most narratives rely on dialogic overtones not directly concerned with the telling of a succession of events. This can in the extreme cases be narratives in the form of speaking some words but meaning something else or focus on the plot (condensed, synchronic), but no tale, see for example Jalal's rather ideological narative.

b. A booklet on the structure of CTC put together by the director and facilitator team at Givat Haviva, and
c. A chapter on the Encounter project written by directors and facilitators at School for Peace, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. I am using an English draft version, which the editor printed out for me in January 2000. The book was, at the time of writing, published in Hebrew, Arabic and German. I have crosschecked with the German version, so that I am not going into detail with an issue that have been changed completely in a published version.

**Thematic coding, interviews and texts**

Before unpacking the work, I would like to note that the point in time of 'analysis' already began *while* interviewing. Commonsensically we understand *analysis* as something we undertake with our minds after a practice, of e.g. interviewing. My after-interview-notes have come in two stages: shortly after the interview, and after listening to the tape. This marks the first phase of the *written* analysis. At that time it was still in a rather spontaneous format. The three-step approach, just outlined, indicates a more structured work with the material.

The keywords/themes are:

- Dialogue/Dialogic
- Identity
- Power
- Position, Time and Change
- Conflict
- Space and Place

Sub-terms such as *history*, *memory*, *narrative* and *hybridity* are, primarily, a part of the *identity* key-theme, although *narrative* is a part of them all. Initially in December 2000, after the two first rounds (January and October/November 2000) I began to pick out utterances where the theme/word is mentioned or where there is an indirect but clear reference. The 'cutting' seemed in the process to be a bit 'destructive' towards the overall meaning and context of the utterances and the interview, but after a while the parts came together.

My intent was to extract material relating to a range of themes, one by one, focusing on a single theme only at a time . The exercise is difficult since themes like *dialogue, power, conflict, identity* and *position* are interrelated and the topics are often dealt with or 'in the air' without explicit mentioning or wording of, e.g. *identity*. Generally, I have stayed away from 'double-coding' and only used one specific utterance/quote once where it seemed to have its major stress or 'plot', even though it clearly addresses several keywords.

The exercise works as a hermeneutic approach where I try to get to know how key-issues are spoken about and interrelated. First I look at particular fragments of a puzzle, but I furthermore try to look at the depths and the range of meanings of the different wordings. Is there any pattern in the way *power* is articulated? After the cutting-out of sentences and phrases with a particular keyword or theme, I move 'upwards' to try to construct a more panoramic view of the 'trains of thought' and at interviews – or longer sequences of a interview - as a whole.

The cut-and-paste work I am about to present is a sort of 'practical de-struction' – as stated above - and maybe also a *deconstruction*, since I am tearing down or ripping apart the surface connections and logics in language, to 'get behind' a range of utterances in order to understand how an issue, e.g. *identity*, was addressed in the interviews. As explained above the important step will then be to reconnect utterances and look closer at specific longer extracts of a handful of interviews dealt with in step 2. By looking closer at larger chunks of text I will try to clarify how, and if, assertions and narratives may carry other 'implicit texts' or points, creating situations and texts of ambivalence, contradiction, paradox and/or confusion. As e.g. Niza Yanay (2002) argues, *ambivalence* is a typical feature of speech and emotion in Jewish-Palestinian conflict dialogues in Israel. I have chosen to rephrase the doublesidedness - or the many forms of two-edged swords - as *paradoxes* as the title of the chapter indicates. The analysis will unveil the reasons for this choice.

The way these texts or narratives work together or work apart will then, I argue, show how *agency* is articulated. Most of the themes above relate to the issue of *agency* and furthermore *agency* in itself appears not as a frequently used word itself, but as a hidden and indirect key theme in the utterances (Egan, 1974). The aims and expectations of facilitators and participants reveals the relation to agency of self and the group. One of the interlocutors, Esther, pointed out that it is about coping, not about solving conflict, for example. How agencies actually unfold in other sorts of play, or action, apart from discourse, are also shown in Chapter 6. As the analysis will show, the agencies in play are not independent from a structure, or an individual deviation from a socialisation, but are informed by the very structure, as Lovell (2003), and Bourdieu (1977) have argued. This, however,

without taking a deterministic turn. The issue of agency is to be returned to in the final chapter: how much are people able to re-configure in the contexts that circumscribe their agencies?

As mentioned, the data sorting has been done 'by hand' – rather than by computer software as e.g. *nudist* or *Nvivo*. This is due to the fact that the amount of interviews are relatively small. I have done about fifteen formalised talks[4], and the attempt is to draw a picture of how themes are represented, rather than counting, or presenting quantitatively, the use of specific words. Finally, I would leave the opportunity open to read as subtly, in between the lines, as possible. And here software systems fall short. The lists themselves present collages, and give the reader an impression of how a particular collage, for example the list about *identity,* is represented in sentences. The lists themselves show details relating to themes and they provide material that is used in the further approaches. A short preliminary comment or analysis follows each list. After the seven key-themes are produced and commented upon I move to Approach 2. Here I will interpret the interrelation, expression and narrativisation of themes in a few interviews. I look at longer stretches from a few interviews, going through them one by one, and explore how the particular themes are narrativised by one interlocutor in relation to my interviewing and position in the field as a foreigner, Westerner, a neutral – in the sense of not being Jew or Palestinian - but opinionated in other ways, and look out for how she/he, deliberately or not, connects or interrelate the themes. I have tried to figure out which narratives occur and if/how particular memories or histories, and different spatial and thematic referents (nation, gender, institution, personal and so forth) are uttered and maybe connected in the subject's narratives (influenced by oral history, see. e.g. Portelli, 1991). I also look for dialogic overtones in the form of assertions referring to particular histories, and characterise how the interlocutors bind together histories in that particular interview. Furthermore, in relation to the spatial and thematic levels here, is the issue of genre and narrative. Do we get into biographical or institutional stories, for example, and how are they told? (influenced by Bakhtin, 1986 and Ricoeur, 1983).

After my initial spontaneous comments subsequent to interviews and the data sort of keywords/themes and comments in approach 1, I have slowly taken the 'findings' or constructions of the lists - and an in-depth analysis of a few interviews - to a more theoretical level as well as a concluding level, or a level of abstraction (approach 2). Even though the choice of key themes

[4] This is not the full chunk of interviews/talks conducted in Israel, but only formalised or taped talks (including one written response) with employees or participants at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam and Givat Haviva. In total, quotes or comments from approximately 30 interlocutors, met face to face, are used in the thesis.

beforehand of course reveals that I am theoretical, I now return to comment on the initial framework with which I have tried to construct my analysis.

In Approach 3 I will look at a selection of written primary texts from the two settings, as well as other research accounts. I will then proceed to the final, observational and more experimental field research including informal interviewing. This is dealt with in the next chapter.

The analytical notes on the written texts will add points to the general presentation and history of the settings and the projects presented in Chapter 4 where I use a wide range of texts and the interviews with Ariela (Jewish-Arab Centre at Givat Haviva) and with Bob (PR office, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam).

**Approach 1. Examining the key themes**

*Each line is an extracted sentence from the interview listed in the order they occurred. The name in a bracket, after a sentence, marks that a selection of utterances from this person begins here. The sample of interviews is relatively easy to overview, so I have decided to list all keywords dissected in the thesis, and not just relegating it to an appendix.*

Lists with quotes followed by comments:

List 1: 'dialogue'

to bring people together and think something good should come out of it is bullshit (Jalal)
the dialogue will be different [after the new intifada] (Amin)
Jews had the whole control of the dialogue
we have different response, it should be like that
it is about how to express themselves and be aware
students taking part in the programme did take part also in the riots (Shuli)
short term projects cannot rely on dialogue, since dialogue is a process
dialogue is not arriving to solutions, not conflict resolution like the American attitude, we did not have to resolve the conflict (Esther)
dynamics in the meetings: Jews feel they didn't come to dialogue, they feel as victims, Palestinians oppressors, very powerful with their stories
Jews want to regain the force

usually the Jews want to determine the terms of dialogue
the Jews want the Palestinians to adjust , they want a dialogue about peace and the future, forget about the past
Jewish co-coordinators did not let them [their Jewish participants, teachers and students] go into this position of dictating the dialogue
Jewish teachers want to clean their courses
most teachers in a stage of not listening
gender debates undermines the religious foundations of the state
it is the questions whether dialogue is possible in a reality of apartheid
success for me is that the teachers are able to understand and adapt to the dilemmas on each side in the dialogue, teachers often reach the level, students rarely
I had expected a more pragmatic attitude (Hannah)
we didn't want to touch the tormental issues [the issues they find tormenting]
they choose to present us as oppressors, the prejudiced, and you can find truth in that too
the only way to get out of it is to deal with it
expressing my fear
I became so defensive
it was more than being assertive
I want a true dialogue, not between deaf people
is there anyone listening, really listening
in encounters they [Arab teachers] are afraid, do not prefer to speak politics (Umm)
we tried constantly to open things up
Jews shocked to hear what the Arabs had to say
what we try to do is to get to the real point
Jewish teachers brought up as victims. holocaust and Zionism, they have this contradiction. when they are approached with this question they get offensive [aggressive?], start being angry
I cannot you know be very harsh, I must be sympathetic to this Jewish teacher who feels threatened

Comments on list/preliminary analysis:

These extracts reveals plenty of different strategies with 'dialogue', and also various understandings of what it means to have dialogue. "I want a true dialogue, not between deaf people", "Is there anyone listening?", says one. Others are "afraid" to use the tool, or present points that are "more than assertive", or they want to "clean their courses", it is claimed. The Jews, in particular, get surprised during the experience, "I became so defensive", "I had expected a more pragmatic attitude", says one. The dialogue reveals there are something else going on, something more

monologic; stronger, singular assertions. Furthermore there are the insecurities and ambivalences guiding the talks, including 'dilemmas' occurring when things are opened. Several of the interlocutors talk about the necessity of "getting to the real point", "to deal with it" and says that the aim is to give people a chance to "express themselves", even though the experience of doing so is unsettling or guided by fear for some. The dialogues, according to this list of utterances, seem to have the ability to shake up or surprise, which may be a constructive condition for change, but on the other hand, it is as well – especially in a context of a new outburst of unrest and killings (October 2000) - an insecure ground where defence mechanisms develop: "in a stage of not listening", "feel as victims". It also marks a stage where the conversations apparently take a polite course in order not to get too hard; "didn't want to touch the tormental issues"[issues that hurt or torment others?]. There are also utterances that are critical toward contact work or dialogue itself as a good practice among people in conflict. It is called "bullshit" by one just to "bring people together". He does not use the word *dialogue*. Another one asks if it is possible "in a reality of apartheid". So far, these extracts show that dialogue is neither predictable, nor the goal itself, but an unsettling vehicle used for different purposes. The way dialogue is characterised in the talks indicates that the interlocutors in general are relatively cautious about what they are saying, carefully describing the problems of getting close to the hard issues, rather than boldly and unambiguously stating a position. Jalal may be the exception here. Hannah attempts to be more diplomatic, a fact that mirrors her own disappointments with the encounters, or her dilemmas in terms of position of voice. I will return to Jalal and Hannah in more depth during analysis of extracts of these two interviews, and will look at these assumptions in more detail. Dilemmas are one of the key issues in the dialogues: As Esther says: "success for me is that the teachers are able to understand and adapt to the dilemmas on each side in the dialogue". Umm states that "Jewish teachers brought up as victims, holocaust and Zionism, they have this contradiction. When they are approached with this question they get offensive, start being angry". And she puts pressure on herself to adapt to this: "I must be sympathetic to this Jewish teacher who feels threatened". In relation to the historical narratives, the microscopic level of utterances listed here mirror the bigger picture of conflicting narratives and the problems of bridging: if both parties aren't willing to let themselves be affected and change, no "true dialogue", as one interlocutor said, is possible.

List 2: 'identity'

basic aim.. to explore identity (Amin1)[5]
it is identity-issues, not stereotypes

we come from different worlds (Rebecca)
the Israeli government does not like the fact that some of us call ourselves Palestinians (Jalal)
even Arab is a new concept, it used to be non-Jews
historically, culturally we are Palestinians and Palestinians are here, my Jewish partner says it is Israel, for me it is Palestine
we live in different worlds, realms
I think there is no problem if Palestinians and Jews live separately, it is even necessary for them, I want this
their self image is that they are moral, they are victims, because of the holocaust
I want to reshape the image of the Jew
we are afraid
we need them to reshape our existence… for the Jews also
it is not that I am discovering that the Palestinian is a human being wauuw wauuw
the Jews are first class
the Israeli Jewish educational system are educating them into a sharp, straight, Jewish, Israeli identity
even the Jews say the are coming back to their homeland, it is a myth
they are hebraizing
you are more liberal
you are more sophisticated, I am less sophisticated
push them [the Arabs] away from their contact with Palestine
I think I have a flexible identity but I am less tolerant
I am not that tolerant
it is [reply to my remark about Hamas being the only option for the Gaza boy to create meaning]
we are the same people [Palestinians in Israel, Gaza and the West Bank] (Amin2)
personal matters not the issue
Arabs couldn't express themselves
Israeli culture is so fast and loud (Noah)
symbolic value, not a model, most people want to have their separate lives
about recognising the differences, recognising the similarities and discover that the other side is a human being (Azmi)
it is a confusion: you see the other as a person, and on the other hand the conflict you have with him
you see the human side within the people of the enemy
you deal with the questions that were raised, you go home with friends, parents etc. looking for more answers
common citizenship, personal and collective identity, different modes of citizenship, national heritage (Esther)
we want people first of all to ask themselves, to accept and contain the differences
different collective memories
commitment for common perspective in the sense of citizenship

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[5] The number '1' after the name indicates that this is the first interview out of several with this person.

Jewish teachers come with a very perfect self-image
Palestinian teachers very assertive and demanding, new generation differs form the old one, old generation more hesitating, completely changed, speak Hebrew, highly educated
Arabic in our culture is illegitimate
first reaction is self-defence
they [the Arabs] cannot express national aspirations and the Jews have so many memorials
ethos of permanent victims build into the national consciousness, memorial day, yad vashem
exclusiveness of the Jewish tragedy
build into the national curriculum
mutual change in positions [my question]?. answer: absolutely
Palestinians… very powerful with their stories
women much more militant than the men
Jewish state based on ethnic nationality
gender debates undermine the religious foundation of the state
feminist circles quite small, it is not in the mainstream
feminist struggle is about allowing women to go to the combat unit
difficult to be always against the stream, extremely tiring, because you are always isolated
I belong to the left wing (Hannah)
we identified them with things they wanted out from
they choose to present us as oppressors, the prejudiced, and you can find truth in that too
no monopoly of pain
I know that we [Jewish Israelis] were the invaders
acts of violence from both sides
we have to look at here and now
to find or create something new
they preferred reality opposite as it is now
they didn't want to create something new
to my concern Israel can become a civil country
Arab teacher to Hannah: I want to reach the stage of the candy bar, but I cannot
I understand their struggle
Arab teachers hesitating to participate because of political aspects and they fear they'll get fired (Umm)
a lot of dilemmas, of identity for example
Jewish teachers brought up as the victims

Comments on list:

There is no doubt that the political, national discourse of a an *us* and *them* - i.e. the group vs. group approach presented in Chapter 4 - is brought into the projects. It is hard to see if this simplifying

construction of two conflictual forces is nuanced, either as more complex, different-within *us* vs. a just as hybrid *them*. The dichotomies are definitely not ignored for a naive cherishing of similarities, but neither are each parts *I* unfolded and re-created. It is shaken maybe; "Jews come with a very perfect self-image" while the Arabs want something; "assertive and demanding", "reshape the Jew", "I want to reach the stage of the candy bar, but I cannot". The Palestinians want something (back!). They have a lack, here understood in terms of not having a full identity, but as well in terms of material achievement, but the also feel misrepresented: "we identified them with things they wanted *out* from" [I am putting her emphasis in italics]. The Jews have a bit more than needed, also bad consciousness: "I know that we were the invaders". But they try to level it out: "acts of violence from both sides". "We have to look at here and now", "to find or create something new". On the other hand the Palestinians, in the way they are represented or imagined by the Jews, have something they want to get rid of. In this double act of desire for identity-change they may be able to meet? There is a sense of both fear and empowerment in the way the Palestinians move forward: "powerful with their stories", intention to "reshape", change the other, which is not possible anywhere else for Palestinians in Israel. Ironically, the projects *can* become a resort for temporary Palestinian control. A Jew says "I understand their struggle" but she also says; "I became so defensive". They want change and they want to look at "here and now". Each side will be forced, at least to deal with what they are brought up with, e.g. "as the victims", "we are Palestinians and Palestinians are here, my Jewish partner says it is Israel". In this quote we see the production of and *I* and a *You*, but also a willingness to contain it, an acceptance or tolerance - to bear[6] - a *both*. In the concept of citizenship they may find the umbrella under which they may work toward equality and parallel- or even *co*-existence in the same country with their different identities. I will address this question by examining other texts later on, and ask how they work with citizenship. In the concluding Chapter 7, I will comment on recent developments in the country. *The times they are a-changing*, or are they?

The list of utterances on 'identity' unfolds, I think, a multi-cultural, liberal discourse or 'way of speaking'. The *I* settled in a certain culture or way of life and the *You* are something somewhere different. The context of conflict does not provide resources or curiosity to "create something new", as one wishes, though on the other hand one could argue that the present situation forces people to think of something. A Jew points out that what the Palestinians were asking for was "the opposite as

[6] Jonathan Boyarin (1996: 75), implies that to 'tolerate' is to put up with something unpleasant, suggesting quietude or 'letting be'. Some other model of co-existence must be put in to play, he argues. William Connolly notes that tolerance can be a positive stance, but he also says that it usually "a circumscribed and tactical tolerance. Tolerance, in this context, becomes forbearance toward cultural practices thought to be intrinsically wrong or inferior" (2002: 43).

now". Both parties can, though, find new understanding in getting to know oneself and other people better, and they get a chance to negotiate the images the other has; "we identified them with things they wanted out from". In one interview, the dichotomy changes. Instead of 'Jew versus Palestinian' the ping-pong becomes interviewer-respondent (Palestinian). The weakness of the term 'respondent' is revealed when looking closer at the interview with Jalal. It is the interviewer who, now and then, gets scrutinised! See the extract later in this chapter.

There is not much talk about the actual cultural practices or ethnic affiliations informing identity, e.g. a Jewishness that includes a patchwork of combinatorial or conflictual elements of Mediterraneanism, *dugri* speech[7] - "Israeli culture is so fast and loud", as Noah says - *sabra* culture, Europeanism (including Ashkenazi and Yiddish tradition, Americanism, Oriental Jewishness (including Mizrachi traditions). On the Palestinian side there are on the religious level the Muslims, Christians and Druze, but especially here there is a gap between the urbanite and the villager, as huge as between the Kibbutznic and the Tel Avivian in the Jewish camp. The fact of heterogeneity, but also the attempts toward coherent group formation on the national level are very much at stake in the struggle, as is shown in Chapter 4. The diasporic, heterogeneous character of both peoples, does not necessarily lead to a recognition of this - it rather makes identity a huge issue and encourages the building of a more clear and one-sided identity: Jew vs. Palestinian. This relates to the indirect voicing of the relation of sub-themes to *identity,* such as *narrative*, *memory* and *history.* "The Israeli Jewish educational system are educating them into a sharp, straight, Jewish, Israeli identity", one says emphasising the *making of* identity in contemporary society. Another says that "historically, culturally we are Palestinians". "My Jewish partner says it is Israel, for me it is Palestine", paying attention to a historical arsenal, an identity that is only encouraged by his own group, and not by his *partner*, who says it is Israel. This *différend* seems to be accepted by Jalal. The issues of space, territory and identity – initially addressed in Chapter 1 when outlining the space/place distinction – are addressed in a later key themes list in this chapter and as well in Chapter 7.

List 3: 'power'

we are just trying to explore the asymmetry (response to question: trying to create a balance?) (Amin1)

[7] Tamar Katriel has investigated the Israeli sabra culture's tendency to *dugri*, 'straight talk' or 'plain speaking' also a term for five dimensions of typical Israeli speech: sincerity, assertiveness, naturalness, solidarity and anty style. In *Talking Straight*, 1986. *Sabra* is an Arab word for the cactus fruit, but funnily enough in Israeli popular culture a much (ab)used term to describe the Israeli born Jew; prickly on the outside,

Arabs deal with inferiority, Jews with the opposite

about culture, stereotypes, the conflict itself, about inequality (Rebecca)

we give ideas, games works with what comes out. they should argue about the issues (Rebecca)

Givat Haviva created out of the kibbutz movement, liberal perspective, want to have contact with Arabs but under clear power relations (Jalal)

[encounters] in the interest of the group who has the power

fulfils the need of the people who did not want to change the power relations, peace work peace work, very good for the fans

it takes them a while to have the courage to look in the Jewish eyes and share with no fear

the Jews look at them with this patronising-…[sentence interrupted].

we Palestinians are second-class

we are asymmetric

critical, humanistic education, Paulo Freire, combined with a critical way of looking at the relationship between groups

Arabs very passive, Jews very active [before] (Amin2)

the Jews in the corner [now]

use Arabic when they approach difficult issues (Noah)

in the beginning, everything in Hebrew, everybody thought it was a natural thing

the structure gave the Jews more advantage

new experience [for the Jews] not being in control

we did not tell them what language to speak

coexistence between the powerful and the powerless, we should have to look at new relations

the structure gave the Jews more advantage

Jewish facilitators dependent on Arabic translation

Three day project: internalises inequalities (Shuli)

Hebrew is used most often, but we translate, if they prefer to speak Arabic, often it is the first issue the group brings up (Azmi)

gender roles a kind of key to analyse force relations. should be dealt with at home, in uni-national forums. when you do it bi-nationally it gives the Jews superiority (Esther)

feminist struggle is about allowing women to go to the combat unit

what do they really want? (Hannah)

they [the Arabs] choose to present us [the Jews] as the oppressors

the only way to get out of it is to deal with it

there was no balance

Jews, no Arab sponsors, sponsor Givat Haviva

some kind of threat hidden

---

but soft and sweet inside. It is a typical Israeli travel book stereotype as useful as the image of the English as a Gentleman, the German as a disciplined bore and the Dane as a rude drinker.

I know that we were the invaders
acts of violence from both sides
Arab teachers express their anger, want the Jews to understand, but at first is about equality and money,
money, will the government give us money (Umm)
demanding things from the Jews for the first time

Comments on list:

I see at least two clusters of words indicating the specific way of talking about power; "inequality", "asymmetry", "superiority", "oppressors", "the structure gave..", "the powerful", "the powerless", "there were no balance". These wordings draw a picture of the conditions, a situation, not finite, but frozen as things stand now: a portrayal of an *opus operatum*. There is another field of words/utterances as well: "look at new situation", "bi-national", "uni-national", '"express their anger", "understand", "demanding", "prefer to speak Arabic". The second cluster of words/utterings is the intervention or action, a working-with, or working-through in the temporal sense – as a *modus operandi*. *Power* become a *verb* and thereby disseminated and, in theory, changeable. The *modus operandi* of practicing power on all levels reveals the *tactical* character of struggling within systems imposed, trying to gain some control or take the offerings of the moment, to use Michel de Certeau's term (1974). The choice of language becomes a tool and a way of affecting the *opus operatum* (Bourdieu, 1990); the power relations, and furthermore there is the uni- vs. bi-national work, which clearly indicates, that there is a difference between having Jewish-Palestinian groups, and having a group with only Jews or Palestinians. Some issues, for example *gender*, which is mentioned, can distort the work and the force relations further in the highly sensitive bi-national encounters, and should be dealt with in the uni-national settings, as one co-coordinator comments. There is a clear sensitivity towards the power play, and a slightly ambivalent practice or dance around the issue. Asymmetry is recognised, nevertheless we try to affect these relations in exercises of contact and educational work that contests reality. This to create dialogical combats or reversals, where one party can get a sense of power, or be powerful in certain fields. They were "so powerful with their stories", Hannah said of the Palestinians. I was surprised to realise that I did not come across the word 'empower' anywhere! It seemed to be a founding pillar of the Palestinian approach?, "exploring the power relations", "Jews want to regain the force". In the social set-up, they mainly provide a setting for psychological and social-psychological shake up, creating certain inter-group processes of engagement and unity/team-building. The uni-national forums are detachments from 'real play' or are like half-time in a rugby game between mismatched teams: the

coaches and the key players argue about a strategy, and, when half time is over, the real second half begins.

One important tool of power in the bi-national forums is *language*. The issue or the word *language* is not directly related to the uttering of power, surprisingly. A facilitator said "we did not tell them what language to speak", and by this they allow for a power struggle to unfold on this issue. In Chapter 6, where I comment on the encounters observed, I show that, ironically, a hebraisation of the encounter takes place. The Jews are surprised when they realise that Hebrew does not automatically have the upper ground, and they consequently assert themselves.

List 4: 'position/time/change'

Arabs mostly come as class [a school class], the Jews are asked individually (Amin1)
we use them again and again every year [core group of schools]
we have settled for three days and not longer ones, because people get tired, after a while they did not come, mostly Jews left, and that was frustrating for the Arabs
some come here and feel guilty but we should go through that
there is no pattern, though different positions
on a longer university project: hard process (Rebecca)
we need a programme that create a change in the power relations (Jalal)
enable students and teachers to work toward change
Long-term process
addressing it in a sense of changing
part of their weekly curriculum for two year
work with my people
most of my work is uni-national
I am working through this
I am reshaping
[changing] the land
cancellation: not the right time, symbolic, time for mourning and protest (Noah)
since Oslo the schools call us [more schools come un-invited to projects since 1993]
both sides are examining their approach toward the other side (Shuli)
CTC is not an island of hope, we are entering the communities
encounters: one time shot
Short-term projects cannot rely on dialogue, because dialogue is a process
education is a process
believe in the process of change as an educational deed

if there were no exams track we would take tenth and eleventh grade. they are not free for processes [CTC deals with eighth and ninth grade. The high school students in tenth and eleventh grade can then do encounters].
process of change should take place at home [development from encounter project to more uni-national]
continuation of project: forever. when peace comes, tell me
costs nothing for the schools only a lot of work
helping them process what is going on
teachers and facilitators part of the emotions and the new understandings
it should take years to change attitudes
very much about listening to the students. children do not really learn from the adult, but from their peers [about CTC philosophy]
they keep coming [the schools] [Azmi]
it is a confusion
you see the human side
how do you continue after the confusion?
you deal with the questions that were raised
common perspective in the sense of citizenship [Esther]
different collective memories
national heritage
ethos of permanent victims build into the national consciousness
Jews want a dialogue about peace and the future, forget about the past
the Jews want the Palestinians to forget
from the Palestinian side more women are coming in [to participate]
exclusiveness of the Jewish tragedy
old generation more hesitating [Palestinian participation]
mutual change of positions? absolutely
teachers were swooped toward the right
women more militant than the men
we give them something that exists in their mental and intellectual repertoire
much more willingness to make concessions on the Jewish, the Israeli side (Hannah)
I belong to the left wing
concessions had to be made
I had expected a more pragmatic attitude
I want to reach the stage of the candy bar (opposed to the 'nut') but I cannot [Arab woman to Hannah, topic/utterances also dealt with in the interview with Esther]
I did not believe they are ready to resolve
they weren't ready yet [the Arabs not ready]
to my concern Israel can become a civil country

I understand their struggle (the Arabs struggle)
to find or create something new
after Oslo things have changed, but it is [fear] existing in people's minds (Umm)
solution much further away than 5 or 10 years
trouble of expressing themselves not only because of fear, also by principle
they act like it is our fault[the Arabs fault]
I have a lot of question marks

Comments on list:

I found the issues of *time*, *change* and *position* to be intertwined in discourse, and felt unable to disentangle the themes; *position* somehow addresses the present, frozen 'now' while reality and conflict, despite its apparent deadlock, is moving forward in *time*, not only pushing groups and individuals toward preservation, but also *change*. To challenge the logic of that sentence: the only way to preserve, may be to change, and the only way to *recognise* an other may be to transform/change your self (using questions raised by Boyarin, 1996: 10-11). I am aware, though, that my initial preoccupation with 'position' vs. the creation of 'new positions', and thereby the work or insertion of memory, experience or temporality in the in-between, may have forced these keywords together.

"I am working through this", as a facilitator says, which may sum it all up. This is a process, an insertion of another time where the conflict is unfolded differently than it has on the streets. The Oslo Accords, from 1993, and the first couple of years afterwards, marked another time, or at least it created the illusion of another time. It became easier to find schools that wanted to participate, "the schools call us". In these projects people came with their memories, anger, fear, and future wishes and expectations or lack of expectations; "[fear] existing in peoples minds", "solution much further than five or ten years", "create something new". And in the projects the aspect of working through is present in different phrasings; "process what is going on", "deal with the questions". "listening to the students", "it is a confusion [which is created]". A facilitator of the long-term project emphasises time; education and dialogue is "a process" and "it should take years to change attitudes". In a coordinator's comment about the projects ability to "give them something that exists in their mental and intellectual repertoire", I see a sort of perspective, not to be confused with the relative or relativism, despite the vagueness of the utterance. There are utterings in the interviews that tightrope-talk between the "confusion" versus a constructive working-through, a future perspective, such as the remark on the new stuff in their "repertoire", "it takes years to change attitudes", "dialogue is a process". The projects provide some new resources for individuals and

groups, not ready at hand to use, to create change, but an experience to work with over time for "the better". It seems to be up to the individuals, the teachers, schools or the local group of friends and family to continue to work with the issues in their own ways.

On both sides I see the construction of *time* as a possible helping hand. Time to work, despite bad experiences: "the schools keep coming", and also despite unexpected response: "I had expected a more pragmatic attitude". The ambivalence and the time-dimension/span backward and forward shown especially by the Jewish teacher, which is dealt with individually later on, signify that the potential for change is existing, and working, inside her and in her language; "I understand their struggle", "they weren't ready yet", "I became so defensive", "I belong to the left wing", "to my concern Israel can become a civil country". She questions whether the Palestinians were "ready to resolve" and she furthermore emphasises the concessions that each side has to make. But who said it was about resolving anyway? A facilitator pointed out that this is not "conflict resolution". Several facilitators argued that it was important to find an indigenous models, not to follow American literature! The expectations are different, only a few phrasings of common ground occur; "the human side", "common citizenship". But in the processes there are similarities. Each group is forced into some rethinking of their position, but it is nevertheless the Jews who find themselves under pressure to change. The situation is asymmetrical. The Jewish teacher mentioned is clearly going through an inner battle. The interview with a Palestinian teacher is dealt with separately.

A Jewish coordinator explained how the Jewish teachers were "swooped toward the right" when we spoke in late October 2000. She also made a point saying that the past, the differences and the socialisation serve as obstacles to change; the "national heritage", the "exclusiveness of the Jewish tragedy", "different collective memories". The different male/female positions were for the first time brought up. Nobody wants to speak much about gender or differences within. She points that you easily become "isolated" if you have the courage to take another route in opinion and practice – as she has done - than the mainstream. She did not want her son "to be isolated", and it is "tiring to be against the stream". The CTC-facilitators stress the importance of time in their work, encounters are a "one time shot" and the three-day encounters are "damaging" as one says. The Palestinian facilitator stresses the importance of uni-national work in the long term projects "work with my people", "most of my work is uni-national". Despite the continuous reproduction of "two sides", and less about differences within, in the talks, there seems to be a major change underway in the Palestinian camp; "more women are coming in" and a new generation of "better educated" people, "less hesitating", not so "passive" as before. The Jews used to be more "in control" of the dialogue and more "active".

The handling of time is also different; the Jews are in general more *now and future oriented*, while the Palestinians dwell on "their stories", their past experience, not able to reach the stage of the soft candy bar, but still stuck as the hard 'nut' (referring to a soft candy bar versus hard nut game, as summarised by Hannah). 'The past still *is*, and the future is far away', one could say, twisting Augustine. It is difficult to see where it is all going to end, or as a encounter facilitator said; "how do you continue after the confusion?". His answer was vague, but understandable; "you deal with the questions that were raised".

List 5: 'conflict'

two or three day seminars around the conflict issues [she talks about the encounter project] (Rebecca)
about culture, stereotypes, the conflict itself, about inequality
Jewish facilitators have some difficulties, they are from the majority, they're the problematic side (Amin2)
Arab facilitators is taking reality as it is instead of challenging it (Noah)
take part also in the riots [youngsters in Givat Haviva programmes] (Shuli)
before the encounter he was an enemy and there is no way you can deal with him, and that is an very easy way of dealing with conflict (Azmi)
Jews participated in the *pogroms* [riots October 2001, my italics] (Esther)
not arriving to solutions, not conflict resolution, like the American attitude, we did not have to resolve the conflict
[debating] gender roles [in meetings between Jews and Arabs]; a way of avoiding the central problem: Jewish Arab conflict
no monopoly of pain (Hannah)
they [Givat Haviva] offered a few models, among them; Israel as a civil country
Jewish teacher has a cousin in the police (thought example) and so on, and the police are the ones who got thirteen killed so it is very personal now (Umm)
the police killed thirteen of us

Comments on the list:

It seems ironic that the list on the theme of 'conflict' is so short, but I guess there is no need to use words to express what is always there. The conflict is on the agenda, it is not a sidestep of *hummus and falafel* meeting, a cultural meeting, relying on a vision of *flat pluralism*, or two unambiguous perspectives confronted (term borrowed from Connolly, 2002), working as a temporary forgetting before the return to reality. Some people come direct in from rioting in the streets into the projects, others know some who where killed, or are affiliated to people who work in the police. The conflict

is every participant's shadow. All Jews know someone who has been in the army. Older terms for the erasure of Jews and Jewish communities, such as "pogroms"[8] are used. General majority-minority issues are at play as well where the majority, in conflict work, is seen as the problematic side. But what about the comment earlier on about "serving the interest of the one who has the power". These are both comments by Palestinians and they frame their ambivalent position; they go to the projects to be heard and to work with the Jew and themselves, but on the other hand they engage with the system that treats them as second-class citizens. Another interesting aspect of this is that solution-models as "Israel as a civil country" are mentioned in the talks, but at the same time it is stated that "we are not going to solve the conflict". It is not conflict resolution in the American fashion, as a coordinator explains. Coping and change collide as well. Can they cope without mutually changing and improving the nature of the conflictual relationship? They have to. One facilitator voices a surprising statement, going against much of what has been said: "Arab facilitators are taking reality as it is instead of challenging it". A participant attempts to level out the situation saying there is "no monopoly of pain", meaning that *both* Jews and Palestinians suffer from the conflict.

List 6: 'space and place'

they would meet sometimes [in CTC] but they go back to their communities to work with the issues (Jalal)
I think there is no problem if Jews and Palestinians live separately
for us the Palestinians we have no other option, because we want to go to the university, any office, income office, to buy things, the Jew exist...
they destroy... archaeological... the land
in Haifa they won't work with the issue of the land, but they will do it here, who owns the land [Givat Haviva is in the countryside]
we are entering the communities (Shuli)
CTC is an in-school programme
CTC is not an island of hope
process of change takes place at home
resources, national heritage (Esther)
different place in history
Jews have so many memorials
reality of apartheid
I did not want him (my son) to be isolated
difficult to be always against the stream

[8] *Pogrom* is a Russian word for 'destruction'.

I want to take them back, the lands that were stolen [Arab woman to Hannah]

worked at the Misgav bilingual school before, went away because the environment, personnel there, were Jewish Hebrew

Comments on list:

The interviews with the PR officer and a resident at Neve Shalom, and the talk with the Jewish-Arab Centre boss at Givat Haviva, provided material that triggered a space-place discussion in Chapter 4, after the reconstructed oral history extract. It became clear from these talks, as well as from the key word quotes above, that neither Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam, nor Givat Haviva wants to be seen as an 'oasis' or a sidestep away from reality. They want to be seen as places where reality is dealt with dialogically in ways neither Jews nor Palestinian do outside. For the Jews, 'reality' is overlooked or ignored in everyday life, since they does not have to encounter Palestinians. For the Palestinians, everyday life is humble adaptation and humiliation, and his voice is silent either on principle or through lack of opportunity or chance, as is explored in Chapter 3. What is revealed in the selection of utterances on 'space' is that it is difficult to go beyond the very different experiences of space; the safety of having mainstream opinions versus social isolation. There is comfort and self-empowerment in working with your own people, in Arabic, rather than in a slightly strange place where "the environment, personnel there, were Jewish Hebrew". There is an eagerness to change not only the system and peoples minds, but also the land, space itself; the Arabs want the land back "that were stolen". Another Palestinian stumbles along with words on the change of "land", "destroy". For many Palestinians in Israel, the Jew is unavoidable, "university, any office, income office". Givat Haviva provide the training to battle with the Jew by other means. They offer an opportunity to speak to, and with, the powerful on more equal means.

**Approach 2. Interview examples and analysis**

My aim now is to work more thoroughly with the theoretical tools by bringing in Bakhtin's notion of the 'dialogic' (Bakhtin, 1981 and 1986), Ricoeur's elaboration of time and narrative, particularly time (Ricoeur, 1983 and 1996), and Portelli (1991 and 1998) on subjectivity, history and oral history. I will combine these approaches as a further analysis of a selection of interviews/interview extracts and written primary texts. These notions can be combined and used as a means of unfolding the complicated and ambivalent conceptions/genres/ways of speaking and writing in the exchange projects, which I am studying. My second step is then to look at a few interviews and texts as test

objects in the analysis. The idea is to take key aspects of my work as *dialogue*, *time* and *change* to a theoretical level and use the different conceptual ways of understanding these words, as introduced in Chapter 1, as a reading approach.

These key themes, among others, are interrelated and narrativised among people who themselves are in an experiment, an unsettling one where they are dealing with painful memories but, at the same time, gaining new experiences and insights about self and other and the past, and sometimes also new hopes for the future. My main focus will be on the key term *dialogue/dialogic.*

I have chosen five interviews to work with in more detail, presenting key extracts/units from each talk where core issues – dialogue, identity, power, conflict and so forth (following the key theme reading) were unfolded. The first three examples are dealt with more thoroughly. A key extract from the interview is followed by an analysis using, primarily, issues/quotes in the extract. This should make it easier for the reader to follow, and to go back and check. Some other points from elsewhere in the interview are occasionally dealt with, with quotes. Transcription techniques, one full interview, list of interlocutors and summary of field research are in the Appendices.

Jalal Hassan, Co-director CTC, Givat Haviva, January 2000. Interview done at Givat Haviva.

*Ariela, a Jewish woman in a leading role at the Jewish-Arab centre at Givat Haviva, quickly made contact to a few people on my request after I interviewed her. I spoke to a Jewish co-director of Face to Face and Jalal, co-director of CTC.*

Key extract

I'll tell you briefly about my personal, ideological attitude, since all the programmes we run here have an ideological background. [mumble, sentences cut off]. There are a lot of people at Givat Haviva, Jews, and Palestinians. By saying Palestinians I mean those who are citizens of Israel. Because the Israeli government does not like the fact that some of us call us... call ourselves Palestinians. *They call you Arabs.* Yes, this is part of the way they want to control us. Even 'Arabs' is a new concept because historically it was 'minorities' with no national aspect in our identity. *Non-Jews.* Or non-Jews is the most... yes. ..so, because, to go.. to be as far as possible from any national component in our identity, national component, national unity, national.. entirety, and then.. we are talking about two nations living in the same place, same state… eh.. they call us Israeli

Arabs, they call us even .. Arabs like religious minorities.. Jews, Christians, Muslims etc. etc. But as a matter of fact historically, culturally, politically we are simply Palestinians. We live in Palestine. For me this place is Palestine. Here. And I am not talking in a political sense, I am talking in… cultural, social, historical meaning….For my partner, my Jewish partner [colleagues at Givat Haviva] says it is Israel, for me it is Palestine. And even in this place ^ , Givat Haviva, the peace making place, there is disagreement about this issue. I am telling you my perspective. Givat Haviva is a place that historically was created out of the kibbutz-movement, and the liberal Zionist. *Zionists?* Zionists...I mean it… their liberal perspective of these people… want to have contact with Arabs, but ^ under very clear power relations. Power relations is a keyword.. should be a keyword. Checking out what is there [?]. *You attempt to create some sort of a balance, balance power relations?*. Yeah. *Is that possible?* I did not know if it is possible, I did not deal with what is possible or not, because if you say no, it is something which is.. [he answer] is ahistorical, I did not know, I am working through this, I am seeking…I am working, this is my problem, political education [mumbling] .hhh… political issues, and if I would come and say.. aah^… it is not possible it is my private problem. *Maybe you could tell me about your own work and position here?* I am moving to it… It is more important to say… I mean what is this programme .. it is a programme, okay.[in a sort of period/end of discussion-intonation, and he continues: speaking slowly, stressing a point]: what is the background of this programme. It is out of ^ a certain understanding of reality. There are programmes in Givat Haviva… saying.. so the problem with Jews and Arabs in Israel is that they did not have contact with each other, they live in different societies.. and then ^ [raising voice]*:* you bring them together. *It does not solve it?* [I try to get in with a comment/question ?] [he continues:]. This is one way of reading reality. And then out of bringing them together, and something good should come out of it, I say it is bullshit.

Analysis – Interview with Jalal

Jalal is very early in the interview taking the initiative to get his own points forward; "I'll tell briefly about my personal, ideological attitude since all the programmes we run here have an ideological background". "I am telling you my perspective".

He is launching into a narrative, which is dealing with the general labelling and signification in language, e.g. *Jew, Arab, Palestinian, and Israel*. "They call us Israeli Arabs", he says. He is recognising the disagreements and taking dialogue from there, as a partnership/working relationship; "My Jewish partner says it is Israel, for me it is Palestine". And these two people/nations have to talk even though they'd rather mind their own business: "I think there is no

problem if Palestinians and Jews live separately, I want this". His way of approaching a dialogue with a difference and disagreement from the start point, a sort of unsolvable *différend* (Lyotard), is monological in character, but later on the notion of *change* becomes more apparent in this interview. *Time* is the vehicle with which a conflict can be mediated or dealt with; "I am working through this', I am seeking", and during the course of time, he needs the Jew to "reshape our existence... for the Jews also". "I want to reshape the position". He encircles the topic and it is not easy to pick out the point. He is explaining, I think, how each side explore the images they have of each other and how they try to overcome fear and obstacles to communication. He notes how it takes the Palestinians a while to "share with no fear" while the Jews look at the Palestinians "with this patronage"[patronising attitude].

Jalal is maintaining a strong and clear position, yet on the level of opinion, there is a sense of search - "I am seeking" – and a sudden explosion and self-criticism toward his work and the history of Givat Haviva: "even at Givat Haviva, the peacemaking place, there are disagreements", "Givat Haviva is created out of the kibbutz-movement, liberal Zionist". At the project level, he is criticising the contact theory approach: the idea of "bring[ing] them together [Jews and Arabs]". "And then out of bringing them together, and something good should come out of it, I say it is bullshit", and he continues: "It is in the interest of the group who has the power". Later in the interview, he mocks the peace work that creates "a very strange people who are Israeli Arabs. It fulfils the need of the group who did not want to change the power relations, because it is very good for the fans. peace work... peace work", with a sarcastic and ironic gesture.

The philosophy is Freirian, he points out, with emphasis on empowerment "combined with a critical way of looking at the relationship between groups". "Be critical of social constructions that enable students and teacher to work toward change".

Jalal stays at a distance from particular events, despite my attempts to get into the projects. Instead of narrating, unfolding and illustrating actual project experiences and premises for his views in a diachronic, logic order, - i.e. making the *fabula* explicit (Portelli, 1998: 67) - he is concerned with core issues and messages, ordering it from an outside, emplotting or reasoning 'on top' of the events, referring to a taken-for-granted Palestinian meta-narrative. The term fabula is derived from the Russian formalists, paying emphasis to the logical, causal sequence of a tale. This indicates a certain order and rigidity. I used *fabula* here to emphasise diachronic order, opposed to *plot* which is here interpreted as a grasping together, condensation or a synchronicity. The term *fabula* has, at

least in some languages, other connotations. In Danish the verb *fabulere* refers to a deceiving, or at best, charming rambling, an off-the-point tale which ignores the truth, walking the lane of myth. This colloquial use of the verb is derived from the concept of the *fable* as legend storytelling. In general, Jalal does not speak easily or make premises explicit. But this does not necessarily convolute his speaking in all manners. His uttering is a condensed personal style revealing core messages through punch lines. The context of the talk plays a role: Jalal might be suspicious of the spectacle wearing white Western Orientalist putting his nose into Palestinian issues? At some point he expresses concern that it is always Westerners coming down here to research, no Palestinians go to Copenhagen – and he points, that this would be just as important. This is late in the interview. In the extract he gets animated towards the end, using me as a wall, or an other, to 'shoot at'.

Jalal's account is subjective and authentic, rhetorically connecting the key themes of power and identity in a story with the intention to re-work the problems together under "clear power relations"[9]. But can it ever be? He does not know, but he is trying.

Shuli Dichter, Co-director (with Jalal) of CTC, Givat Haviva, October 2000. Interview done at Sikkuy, Jerusalem.

*I met Jalal again eight months later and contacted his project partner, Shuli Dichter, after getting his details from Jalal. I had to go to Jerusalem where he works for Sikkuy (Chance – Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality in Israel)*

Key extract

It was an encounter programme based on contact theory [the idea that by bringing people together, face to face, people would change attitudes and perception of reality].[10] After many years. six-seven years, we realised that the contact practice was just (eternalising or internalising) [word unclear, not sure] the inequalities and existent power relations. *Internalising?* Perpetuate. Power relations reflecting the outside. We decided to shift. A shift to dialogue. Dialogue with (focus) [?].. on

[9] Givat Haviva is, roughly speaking, a Jewish sponsored organisation, though independent of state interference in projects, Shuli claims, and generally governed by Jews above the co-directing, and co-facilitated, projects. The Ministry of Education input is approximately three percent of the full budget.
[10] Esther explained the reason for the name of the program: "it started for elementary school children in the perspective of contact theory, that if children could teach each other language". "That is why this name was given [Children Teaching Children], and now it is a brand name, and you cannot change it [laughing]". See also extract with Esther [another phase of the interview].

change on each side. But it didn't take place in one day, it took us a few years to get to this. On the Jewish side, very hard to share power, on the Arab side, very hard to gain power, for people who are used to the traditional power relations. *But does that mean that the short-term projects necessarily will rely on contact theory?* Yes. *You think so?* Definitely. Short-term projects cannot rely on dialogue, because dialogue is a process. And this is not a process. It is an encounter, one encounter, and that is it. *So you would have a problem with Face to Face then?* [Face to Face is the three day encounter programme run by the same centre, at Givat Haviva]. Oh definitely, I think it is bad, it is damageful. I did not say there are no damages in CTC. There are damages. But Face to Face is based on a one time shot [with a stress, and then sudden pause, period, that is it]. [Loud, with a stress:] ^If... [and he pauses] you would guarantee that this one time off shot will be a positive, constructive experience...definitely... go for it. We know it is not. *But the issue of identity and power is raised in these encounters?* [I find it interesting to take an oppositional stand, to let him say more, even though I fully understand his point]. Of course, they are raised on TV as well, so why did not you put the kids in front of the TV, because TV is no process, encounters are no process. If you believe in a process of change as an educational deed. If you are an educator. If you are a theory man, you would go for a one time shot...exposed to a message [some unclear, half cut sentences]... This is different. It is not education. Education is a process. It takes [full?] years to get a child, ehh...to get a participant to enter the culture of civilisation, okay. It should take a few years to change attitudes.

Analysis – Interview with Shuli

Shuli is not so concerned with his own Jewish ethnicity in his manner of unfolding points and aims. This might not be clear enough from the extract presented above , but it became obvious to me through the meeting as a whole. He seeks neutral ground and tries to escape the dichotomies by concentrating on the fact of common citizenship as a building ground, and by emphasising process and dialogue as tools or ways of dealing with the issues. Dialogue over time is central in his narrative with "change on each side". As in the talk with Jalal, the *velocity* of the narrative (Portelli, 1998: 66) is fast and 'panoramic', it does not stay on the ground, apart from in his comment on youngsters participating in riots and then going to projects at Givat Haviva. He is not slowing down the pace of the telling close to the time told. He seems unwilling or perhaps too tired to provide illuminations or anecdotes that could exemplify his philosophies. He was stuck in a car cue on his way to Jerusalem and the interview were begun around 5 pm. The interview is not fabulaic.

He is concerned with narratives on his educational aim; the need for a slow and steady work with the conflict, but states this should be based on a lot of work in the schools and not primarily through meetings/encounters. He says, "after many years we realised that the contact practice was just internalising the inequalities and existent power relations". CTC began in 1987 mainly as an encounter project.

Compared with Jalal, Shuli is more distant and less flamboyant. He is not concerned with a testimony or the *veridique*. He speaks as a facilitator, not as an ideological flag waver. There is a sense of commitment toward the process, and 'the process' is seen as the major vehicle by which dialogue can be practiced and change brought about. The dichotomy is not so much Jew vs. Palestinian as it is short term/encounter vs. long-term processual project. "Face to Face [the name of Givat Haviva's encounter project] is based on a one time shot". "It is not education. Education is a process".

Shuli sees the work as eternal, it has no end. When asked about how long the project is going to run, he says "forever". A few sentences later he adds: "The conflict is here, CTC is here. And if conflict is over, just tell me", he says with a sarcastic grin. If peace comes, it does not mean that "conflict is out", an important point. Peace is not a decision or a declaration, it is a continuous, fragile practice. Shuli is committed to Israel, but in another form – for Jews and Palestinians equally. He is not optimistic about the possibilities, "separation is so deep", and there are also a few comments from him on the old paradigm of coexistence. This is not demonstrated by the interview. When I approached the topic he handed me the articles *Dialogue and Change* co-written with Jalal Hassan and *Co-existence, Partnership and Change* written by Shuli. *Dialogue and Change* is analysed later in this chapter.

The emphasis on *process* and *education* make up major points in his *speech* plan or *will.* This means that these words and utterances, where they occur, take up a particular position in his speech (Bakhtin, 1986: 77 and 91), and become the means of dealing with the conflict and addressing citizenship. This led me to ask myself what the limits of the processual approach could be. Unfortunately I didn't ask him directly about this. On the one hand the process approach moves beyond the shock effect to a gradual habitualisation of a *dialogue WITH conflict* approach, which means that CTC attempts to normalise, to train a new form of engagement with the conflict, rather than a dialogue *versus* conflict, which views the practice of contact and dialogue as inherently peaceful, and sees talking as taking a step away from conflict. On the other hand, the processual engagement built up frustration since things are not changing. Separation, out there, is "so deep".

CTC is, in Shuli's narratives seen as a way of inserting a new form of the everyday life of education in between the separation, this means to deal with the topics, and with *self*, and the *other*, in a new way. But the everyday life outside this project is so at odds with his approach and has not changed in any positive ways. Does that create a sort of frustration the projects cannot cope with? I could imagine that the encounters would leave a glimpse of hope, a very, short, intense memory, while CTC over time and in the end could destroy the hope that at some point is created as well. CTC is though aimed to expand *awareness*. This does not necessarily imply *hope*, even though one participant teacher account – to be analysed later – gives the impression that this is possible.

It became clear after interviewing Jalal and Shuli, that despite their co-operation in directing the CTC, their approaches appear different, when looking at the interview accounts. Jalal affirms his ethnicity and is explicitly committed to Freire's approach of a collective struggle against a stronger force. Shuli is not too interested in the two collectives. He aims for a third one: an Israeli political identity of a democratic citizen, allowing Jews, Palestinians, and any other sub-collective with citizenship, to have their home here. Jalal wants to maintain his identity, Shuli advocates an opening up of the construction of identity. Shuli appears more Bakhtinian, while Jalal spoke in Freirian terms. I argue, that Jalal chose a particular strategy when speaking to me in order to make an assertive statement. His writings with Shuli (see *Dialogue and* Change later in this chapter) indicate that they are not in reality that far from each other in terms of their approach.

Hannah, participant/teacher in CTC, Haifa, October 2000

*Hannah has at the time of the interview just joined the CTC. The project was introduced at seminars for all new teachers at Givat Haviva in July, and in September the actual work in the schools began. Her facilitator at Givat Haviva is Esther, who was also interviewed. I met Hannah at the school in Haifa.*

Key extracts

[She began CTC in August with a teacher training session at Givat Haviva. The time of the interview is October] *What has actually happened since August? You have been meeting in the uninational forum? If you could explain... from the start* There were two groups, Arab and Jewish teachers hhh. [she sighs, it is hard for her]. First of all, let me say… I see myself, I belong to the left wing on the political map. This whole idea…The project is very important, a necessity, in our

country… regardless of people opinions [enigmatic, I am waiting for her to reveal more…some mumbling]. many of us who were left wing. We found ourselves questioning, eh… what do they really want [with emotion, disappointment] the Arabs in this country [indicating dichotomy between 'Arabs' and 'this country'?]. Regardless of people's opinions, left or right, you could clearly see that there wee much more openness, much more willingness to make concessions on our side, on the Jewish side, on the Israeli side. Most if not all were [mumbling] getting their demands. *So this is what happened* Very alarming. *I want to get a bit below that. What happened What happened [I am getting animated] at the teacher training with the Givat Haviva facilitators and Arab and Jewish teachers? I want to get into something more concrete? If you understand* [questioning stumbling, unfortunately I asked so, instead of following her point closely with a question on what kind of concessions she thinks the Arabs in 'this country' are supposed to make?]. Yeah, what really happened hmm? People.. people talked about things that are still troubling them concerning this dispute. [I probe, some mumbling, half cut sentences, and she continues…] [We] try to act out how the Arabs look in our eyes.

[Then follows a section lasting about half a minute not included here. We talk about the format of the meetings, how many people and for how long. At the end of the section she is expressing disappointment with the encounters with Arab teachers at the seminars in August].

I didn't really get to know them one on one. I got to know them, but not that well. Very superficial level *What had you expected before you had the initial meetings?* I had expected much more..[pause]… pragmatic attitude.. [pause]… and much more… forgiving attitude. As long as both sides understand that they did not have a monopoly over pain, and terror and horror [voice shivering]. As long as both sides understand that concessions have to be made here. As long as that does not happen, there is no end to the dispute. A lot of crime was done under the government of Israel and many wars… in the name of … I did not know… Islam or whatever. [interviewer mumble] *I am not only focusing on opinions, also about the ways Givat Haviva has chosen to run this project.* I find something very troubling. We had to present how they looked in our eyes. We first had the choice, all of us had the choice not to act out the other side in a way that would be so typical, so prejudiced and so superficial. I think that choosing that activity was not the smartest. *What happened after this role-play? How did people feel about each other?* They thought, they felt [the Arab teachers] that we were <u>very gentle</u>, the way, in the way we presented them, and that we were very <u>superficial</u>, and on the other hand that we were very prejudiced. We identified them with things they wanted <u>out</u> from. For example, to be.. hospit- [word cut-off, she searches for a word] *okay, yeah, Hospitality?* They wanted <u>out from it</u>. Yes, they didn't want to attack them or to be put

in that drawer anymore. And we did want to touch it because we didn't want to touch the tormental issues. *What?* the hot issues. *You tried to stay away from politics?* Right, right. *What did they [Arabs] say?* They chose to present us as the side... oppressors, as... the prejudiced [pausing].. and... you can find truth in that too. *You want to get out of that too, or am I putting words in your mouth?* I did not want to get out of it, I know that the only way to <u>really</u> get out of it, is to try deal with it. maybe I know it is not the absolute truth, but it is something the other side <u>feels</u>, so I cannot avoid that. I have to deal with it.

Analysis – Interview with Hannah

Hannah is, in this interview, delivering, I think, a very authentic, spontaneous account, putting great effort into a true unfolding of her thoughts and feelings, *and* – and this may as well be a *but* – she also puts herself under some restraint and emotional control or censorship. She wants to sound fair, good and moral. Her ambivalent thoughts and emotions that occurred during the first months in the project are delivered in incoherent narratives, two-tongued tales and there are sudden cracks, in content and form, and in intonation and voice. It may be necessary for the reader to go back and have a look at Hannah's sentences in the keywords-analysis, as well as reading the extract above.

Hannah reveals a shaky position and gets caught between her good intentions and openness and the shock she has experienced. She had heard about CTC the year before, and decided to join. "The issue is very important to me". "I belong to the left wing". She explains that the project is very important, "a necessity in our country.. regardless opinions". Her first impressions of the Palestinian teachers are phrased like this: "We found ourselves questioning, eh, what do they really want, by they I mean the Arabs in the country". There was "much more openness, much more willingness to make concessions on our side, on the Jewish side, on the Israeli side". "I had expected a much more pragmatic attitude... and much more forgiving attitude", "both sides did not have monopoly over pain".

Hannah shifts back and forth between general, detached opinions and impressions on how the Jews typically thought of the Arabs and vice versa, and concrete project experiences. It was my intention to create a conversation that could oscillate between these two levels. She calls them 'Arabs', and I also used this terminology - however a problematic labelling - when asking questions.

"They felt we were very gentle, the way.. in the way we presented them, and that we were very superficial". "We identified them with things they wanted out from". Unfortunately I did not push

enough for elaboration of this point. She points that they "choose to present us as the side.. oppressors, as the prejudiced". After a pause she finishes or rather connects with the remark "you can find truth in that too".

There is understanding and disappointment, openness and stubbornness in her voice and in her layered utterings. "it is not the absolute truth, but it is something the other side feel, so I cannot avoid". "we are here and you are here". "All these facts, what do we do to solve that". "Asking all the refugees to come back?". Her answer is no! Among her verbal gestures towards 'giving in' to the Arabs, she said "I know that there were lands, or some of the lands taken from them". There are also criticisms for lack of readiness to solve, the point on no monopoly on pain, and the lack of pragmatism is repeated. She also criticises the project in a double way, for being "sponsored by Jews mostly" and for not having any contribution financially from Arabs abroad. The different activities in the project are met with a suspicion and criticism that remains vague in her articulation; "he was not willing to solve the matter", "choice weren't smartly made". She also tells about the candy bar and nut activity and explains that she thought it was "somehow... limiting".

"Trying to solve all the unfairness of the past wouldn't bring us anywhere". We need to "create something new", she points out. The problem with the dialogue is summed up in the following extract. She reconstructs/quotes an Arab teacher, "there is nothing to talk about before you give us our land ..... when you hear the other side say that as an opening sentence, how much can be said after that?". "It blocks". Just before the end she expresses her anger about the lynching in Ramallah of Israeli soldiers, and the fact that the Palestinians put their kids in the line of fire. At the end I asked her what she expects of the project in the current context, recognising that it has been a tough start for her, with the intifada, and recent clashes within Israel as well. She replied: "on a small scale I want to establish some sort of dialogue", "break down some barriers", "true dialogue, not a dialogue between two deaf people".

Hannah presented her impressions with restrained emotion in front of an interviewer who had to be more soft than usual, sympathising with her distress but not necessarily with all her opinions. I would sum up, that this is a key example of a person undergoing change, in the process of finding the words, and especially new words, to describe the situation. It was very difficult for her. Her vagueness was not caused by an attempt to cover up things as I interpret it, but rather by an attempt towards a diplomacy or restraint that was easy to see through. Her policing of the border between *inner speech* (speech for oneself) and *external speech* (for others) (Vygotsky, 1962: 131) is not effective. This slippery policing reveals a fight between the *ipse* and the *idem* going on inside her.

The fight between the willingness to change and the unwillingness to acknowledge that things have to change radically if a dialogue and exchange on equal footing between Jews and Palestinians can take place. This can also be related to her shifts between more descriptive tales, after my encouragements, though these are not unfolded in so much detail, and a diplomatic or smooth way of delivering her points. She pays attention to the *super-addressee*; the image of herself, and to the way her words might be perceived, not just what they are about or who she speaks to (Bakhtin, 1986: xvii). She appears sometimes to be lost in a transit between her own opinions(!), between her past view and her present state of confusion. A confusion that sometimes led to retreat: "I became so defensive". She is caught in a *liminal zone* on a threshold. There was a *first-I- thought* and with her participation in the project she is entering, or struggling with a *then-I-realised* (Patterson, 2001: 79-83). She contradicts her points or seems to be stuck between sense and sensibility. For example, she states that she wants the Palestinians to be more forgiving, pragmatic and so forth, but at the same time she says "I understand their struggle". The uneasiness of this situation is the Jewish position in a nutshell. The guilt ridden liberal approaching the other in order to *sort it out*, which is experienced as a confrontation and, at least for now, just another frustrating experience leaving the impression of deadlock. The strong experience, in its unhabitual particularity, triggers a diverse set of reactions and utterings, and the experience itself becomes an encounter with the other and with otherness beneath her own veil of familiarity (Anderson & Jack, 1998: 163). Her tale becomes two-tongued, or at least the tongue slips. The newness or the shakiness of it all is supported by a lack or absence of an organising principle of the narrative, there is a weak *chronotope* or emplotment, and there are shifts in velocity, and often quick jumps between the personal, the institutional and the national. Everything is intertwined. Her cautiousness indicates a willingness to tolerate, to bear with, and it has emerged in a position of a conscience relationship with the other; am I treating them okay?, and also a position of antagonism and agony; we are both causing each other pain. See Chapter 7 for a view on such positions, using Connolly's term *agonistic respect.* Hannah is not clarifying a position. The interview is instead – and much more interestingly – a coming to terms, expressing thoughts and emotions in all the directions they happened to move that particular day.

Esther. co-ordinator, CTC, Givat Haviva. October 2000.

*Interview conducted at Children Teaching Children office/meeting room.*

Key extract

The problem is that the state does not have separation between state and religion, the whole concept is based on ethnic nationality, and it order to keep this, ethnic nationality, the Zionist movement needed the orthodox to supply the legitimation to this racist course. So even though we did not work with orthodox Jews they deeply influenced the thinking of Israeli society, the educational system. I think my son is learning in a completely secular school. I see their books, what they are learning. It is terrible. *But this has started to change with the new historians, the post Zionist debate?* Changes are so slow, so unsatisfactory. Change [mumble] they encourage to bring more facts about Palestinians. The (faults?) are completely ignored. But the basic assumption about Zionism and the Jewish state is not questioned in the national curriculum. For instance the whole way they are teaching democracy, all the formal institute-, the Knesset, government, high court, etc, but not substance, how it works, democratic laws [but] and to practice a completely nondemocratic state, and society, this is not being learned in the schools. *This is part of the training for teachers?* Yes. *To provide that substance?* Absolutely. Our subject matter is democracy, citizenship but in a completely different way than it has been taught in school. Just to close the gender problem. That is why... ehh… discussing feminism, women liberation etc. it undermines the religious foundations of the state. It takes us towards separation between state and religion. Because all the personal affairs are in the hands of the religious. [mumble]. Women liberation wants to abolish all this. So all this structure… really struggle.. It is not as developed as Europe. Especially in the academy, in feminist circles, which are quite small, it is not in the mainstream ehh organisation….[silence]… Also I am thinking, main women organisations are working either for the army or for the establishment. And, you know, feminist struggle is also questioning about what's happening to other women, Palestinian women. It undermines the national unity, the national… conventional… attitude. Feminist struggle in the Knesset [the parliament] is to enable girls to go to the combat unit in the army [she is being sarcastic]. *Usually they [women] serve for two years.* Yes [Some ping-pong and broken sentences]. *They are not in the combat force* [I note, mumbling correction.. and continue*]: but they walk around with.. guns.* [she comments:] I just tell you the main issues.
*So the main issue is to have a gun..].. as the men?* [I am being sarcastic, grinning.
She laughs a bit]. [I have a longer question/comment - condensed:] *Another thing you must struggle with in the projects, you work with teenagers, age of twelve, thirteen and when they finish these projects they go in the army, a different track, adopting new attitudes, may waste all this work, adapt to a new way of thinking. Palestinians who most often did not serve go to the university, but they cannot get employment. So, somehow there must be a project to catch up with these people when they are in their late twenties? I know it's a big question…*

Yes, I tell you it brings up the question whether dialogue is impossible in a reality of Apartheid… Reality is always… ehh very powerful. We cannot, even though we are sitting here in bi-national meetings, workshops etc., we create.. maybe..eh.. a different reality, but always the exterior reality always reflects… because we are not ehh…in the air. Also it reflects on our work..eh.. it also reflects our work in the way you described it was placed…[mumble] huge wake… outside reality... going back to their parents, friends the...[Difficult to get the right words, half cut sentences.. she explains how they go back to a world which is…] completely opposite. *There are different things imposed? mainstream reality? and they have these good intentions? [interviewer mumbles].*
It is very difficult Some teachers are ..eh.. came on the break of divorce [she laughs sarcastically]. It was so strong all the debating in the family. [There are some short black humoured sighing laughs]... The children..eh…there are a lot of crisis and tensions, they bring, because they bring their experience, it is difficult, I agree with you, I did not know how to …[sighing]. some who's spent (his) whole life in a completely opposite [a lot of mumbling, difficult to transcribe]...some of them take something with them, some did not. [She explains.. half cut sentences]. It is very convenient eh…to be like the other [she means your own people, I think]. It is very difficult to be always against the stream. I tell you from my own experience, extremely tiring… to be always against the stream.. it is tiring, and it is a very high price [you pay] because you are always isolated. So if I am.. ehhm... an adult can chose her life, but a child in her adolescence, it is difficult. I know, I feel I have paid the price for my position. And with my son I am very hesitating, you know, eh. I did not tell him all things ehh. I did not want him as a child to fell alienated and.. to be different….[some mumbling] very…a hesitation for me….. so I did not know how much effective we are [a sort of retiring sigh emerges].
[I am trying to be encouraging]*: but at least some sort of a new situation, of useful confusion is* ..? [what am I talking about?]. [She bounces back with some regained energy:] ^Yeah, I think we give them something that exists in their intellectual and mental repertoire.

Analysis – Interview with Esther

The first ten-fifteen lines are given just to indicate that we are dealing with a Jewish radical and that the subject of CTC is definitely political and ideological. Esther bridges a political and social argument with personal experiences, interweaving different levels very nicely. A combination of spatial referents comes across in the interview: the singular/personal, the plural/communal and the third/institutional (Portelli, 1997: 34). Esther tells about her son, and says that she does not want to see him isolated from the mainstream (personal), about her feminist values or the anti-feminism of Israeli women (antagonistic, communal) and the approach of CTC which is, she states, not to solve

the conflict (institutional). As noted, it is narrated as an ambiguity that is hard to handle. The conflict appears unsolvable and the minor, alternative 'push' coming from projects as CTC. The issue of gender in Israeli society is also viewed in an ambiguous manner. She mocks the level of feminism in Israel, but views the matter as inappropriate to deal with in encounters, so as not to lend the Jews a tool of power and superiority. This also became apparent in the interview with Noah, a woman director at School for Peace. Esther challenges the myth of Israeli women as liberated like those in the West and presents her view on feminism in Israel. "[the] Feminist struggle in the Knesset is about allowing girls to go to the combat unit". "It is not as developed as in Europe". Feminist struggle, she points out, "undermines the national unity" and within conflict work, as CTC, women in that sense become double marginals. Esther oscillates between visions and disillusions, and she spices up her dry tales with sarcasm, to bear it. She also addresses the consequences of changed views and attitudes. People who learn something new here have to go back to the old reality: "some teachers ehh… came on the break of divorce" [ha ha, sarcastic laugh]. People enter with one perspective, a past order where 'other' and 'I' had a certain place and identity. The order is shaken. Patterson's concept of *the liminal zone* is described in Chapter 1 was used briefly when describing Hannah's transitory space. This interview confirms what was also revealed in the interview with Hannah, that participants during their preparation meetings/encounters are dragged over a stormy no-man's land where the *first I thought* is changed into a *then I realised* (Patterson, 2001: 79). My take on *the liminal zone* may in some respects differ from Patterson's, as I use the term to show how change and the dialogic nature of conflict speech are insecure forms of experience for those who does not stay in their trenches. A particular activity in the encounter projects, the simulation game, which is presented in the text on encounters later in this chapter, can also be seen as pedagogical vehicle into the liminal zone.

Umm, co-ordinator, Children Teaching Children, Givat Haviva. Telephone interview.

*This was a telephone interview – Copenhagen to Nazareth - lasting 40 minutes and costing me £30, but worth every penny. We missed out on a few appointments in Israel a month earlier. Her child suddenly fell ill, and so we decided to talk further on the phone. I thought the chemistry was good and decided not just to leave it. This is not a recommendable method though: second language discourse for both, no eye contact, plenty of cultural differences, a sensitive topic dealt with in the midst of the intifada. Everything seemed to go against such an interview, but I nevertheless tried to go for it as a learning experience and was surprised by its usefulness.*
*I try not to think about, however, that I could have got a lot more through a face-to-face interview.*

Key extract

Some teachers were hesitating in participating in CTC because of the political aspects.
[I ask if they wanted to participate because of the political aspect. I misunderstood her point. But it is soon cleared up]. Mainly because the Palestinian Arab teachers [Palestinians in Israel] ...eh... are very much… conformists…. you know, they try to avoid political aspects... avoid to speak about politics within class, because of the eh... you know ...eh... the situation. Lot of teachers try to ...eh... in the sixties, seventies and even in the eighties tried to talk politics and got fired.
*But this has changed now or? I mean they have become more aware and more assertive?*
Yeah, after Oslo things have changed... a lot of fear is still even though it is not real fear… but it is existing in peoples mind. A lot of teachers won't talk with us because of our political aspect. But even with the permission of the Ministry of Education [They fund the Arab schools in Israel as well] and even with the permission of the principals ehm... people (teachers) participate with hesitation. They prefer especially in eehm… encounters with Jews, they prefer that we did not talk politics.

Analysis – Interview with Umm

Umm makes some interesting points not previously illuminated in interviews: the fact that the Palestinian teachers structurally enter from quite another position. Many are afraid to speak! Or afraid of taking the talk in a political direction, since they are not in power. "Even with permission of the principals ehhm… people participate with hesitation". "Lot of teachers try to eh… in the sixties, seventies and even in the eighties tried to talk politics and got fired". Umm explains how Givat Haviva tries to encourage them to speak. She speaks very much for the Arabs as a group, as a representative. She furthermore notes that the Arab teachers are "very much conformists". The Freirian approach, as noted in the analysis on Jalal, seems apparent here too. She said at some point during the interview that she wanted to work with "my people", the Palestinians. She wants to change the "conformists". She is concerned with empowerment and group building. Umm raises, indirectly, the issue of the openness of the Arabs in Israel, though not in the Bakhtinian sense, but in a more collective sense. She states that they have to become more daring and unitary and shall not be silenced because of fear of an angry principal at their school. In some ways the *super addressee* is an issue here (Bakhtin, 1986: xvii). How will I be perceived? My fellow Arabs might agree with my views, but they may be too dangerous to utter or not appropriately during the intifada?

Teacher's written response - Sabr. Palestinian Arab Israeli teacher participating in CTC

I have given this account a separate section since it was not produced through the usual qualitative interview, but as a written response. I had the year before not managed to get the meeting organised with the planned person, paired with Hannah. Next time Umm told me that the one that was paired with Hannah had quit. In fact, many had quit. The impact of the intifada was felt deeply. Also Esther had been fired along with other facilitators, and Jalal Hassan and Shuli Dichter, the two directors, had left voluntarily, according to Khittam (2001) and Rotem (2001). They had been replaced with other people at Givat Haviva, so that CTC could continue, though with less schools involved and mainly bi-national work. I asked Umm to find someone, anyone, who would be willing to talk. Umm found Sabr[11], a woman, and we made an appointment, but she failed to show up. This was a couple of days before I had planned to leave. She did not want to leave her village (this was in October 2001), or let me and my translator come down, but she was willing to fill out a questionnaire at home. I therefore sat with my translator, Heba M. Besoul, an English student at Haifa university, and changed the question guide into a more strict written questionnaire, but still with many open questions and possibilities of more personal elaboration. Heba then translated the Arab language response into English.

Comments are in this case placed after all the lists, since the material/lists here are rather short (only material from one interview/questionnaire).

Questions for Sabr, Palestinian Arab Israeli teacher – participant in *Children Teaching Children*:

when did you begin working in this project?
why did you accept to be a part of this project?
what did you expect it to be?

[11] *Sabr* (root letters: صبر) is not a common name. I found the word in the Koran, and I thought the meanings ascribed to it fitted well with the impression I got of the teacher and her pupils through the written response. I also think the meanings quoted below describes well the ethos of the *Children Teaching Children* project (during Jalal and Shuli's leadership) opposed to the encounters. "Sabr implies many shades of meaning, which it is impossible to comprehend in one English word. It implies (1) patience in the sense of being thorough, not hasty; (2) patient perseverance, constancy, steadfastness, firmness of purpose; (3) systematic as opposed to spasmodic or chance action"; (4) a cheerful attitude of resignation and understanding

how did you wish it to be?
what were your aims?
how was the cooperation between the coordinator and teacher?
and between the director and the teacher?
what kind of relation was between the Arabic teacher and the Jewish one?
talk about one class as an example, how did you plan programmes with the class, what are the activities?, give details
what does this project achieve?
what does the children get from this project?
how was the last year, what did you achieve?
did you recommend other teachers to participate in the project?

*Her answers are sorted in the same key themes, as with oral interviews.*

List 1: 'dialogue'

a lot of social problems that can be discussed
discussion about the social problem was one of the amazing things in this project
gives the opportunity to every child to express how he or she feels about any subject that depends on identity, land, social problems, family and my exist[ence]
children were frank and expansive about their private issues
we work as a one team [answering question about "How was the cooperation between the coordinator and teacher and between the director and the teacher"]
we talk frankly [same question]
mutual understanding [same question]
coordinator always supports the teacher [same question]
ordinary relation [answering question "what kind of relation was between the Arabic teacher and the Jewish one"]
when the Jewish teachers show their racism because of the last events, then we stop visiting the Jewish teachers [same question]
every child has to talk about himself, his school, his background, his hobbies and his opinion about the current situation
the children response in a frankly [frank] way

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in sorrow, defeat, or suffering, as opposed to murmuring or rebellion, but saved from mere passivity or listlessness, by the element of constancy or steadfastness" (The Holy Qur'an, 1989: 28).

the inner discussion kept as a secret
because we promise the children to keep what we are saying in the class as a secret
they all were frankly and honest
gives me the opportunity to listen to other people especially children
to know how the Jews think about the Arab society
children learn to talk frankly, they learn how to keep secrets, how to understand and to listen to others, and to respect everyone, no matter whom he is
the Arab children have never met the Jewish children [project stopped before encounter]

List 2: 'identity'

[project gives opportunity for expression on issues of]: identity, land, social problems, family and my exist[ence]
purpose of this project was to give the child self-confidence
several times when the Jewish teachers show their racism because of the recent events
to know how other people think, how the value our lives, our existence and especially to know how the Jewish think about the Arab society
[they learn] how to understand
every child has to talk about himself, his school, and his background
I find out new things that I've never seen in my children
I think this project should take place in all the Arab and the Jewish schools. In this way we can raise a new ambitious, frank, bold children

List 3: 'power'

I begin when the principal talks to me without any explanation how and what this project is going to be
[purpose] to give the child the self-confidence to express how he or she frankly feels about any issue that considered as a sensitive issue, like political issues and private problems
[cooperation, coordinator-teacher, director-teacher] work as a one team
mutual understanding [same question]
ordinary relation except at several times when the Jewish teachers show their racism
all the activities were organized according to the director instructions
dealt with a lot of social, political problems and we could find solutions

List 4: 'position, time and change'

Unfortunately, the project takes place just for one year [after that: stopped]
I become more close to my children
I find out new things that I've never seen in my children
in this way we can raise a new ambitious, frankly, bold children
when the Jewish teacher shows their racism because of the last events, then we stop visiting the Jewish teachers
the children were disappointed that the project stop and that the Arab children have never met the Jewish children
opinion about the current situation

List 5: 'conflict'

I expect the project to be more political
there are a lot of social problems that can be discussed
discussion about the social problem was one of the amazing things in this project
[the project] gives the opportunity for every child to express how he or she feels about any subject that depend on the identity, land, social problems
every child has to talk about ….. opinion about the current situation
we didn't continue because of the worse political situation
[when] Jewish teachers showing their racism because of the last events, then we stop visiting
we talk frankly in a sympathetic way

List 6: 'space and place'

this project should take place in all the Arab and the Jewish schools
the inner discussion kept as a secret
keep what we are saying in the class
make children interested, to follow the news
children were disappointed that the Arab children have never met the Jewish children

General comments on Arab Israeli teacher's written response

The Children Teaching Children project is, in this account and in the frame of the particular questions posed, represented as being executed and negotiated *through* the child and the class, and not through a dictate. It is represented as a door opener or working-through tool for self-empowerment, identity-searching, conflict coping, conflict resolution and also, among teachers, a preparation to dialogue with the other, and to dialogue within a national group about the other.

She is pleased with the fact that societal issues are on the agenda, and that the project creates a frame within which the class can work alone as in a secret, democratic space where new issues can be unfolded. Pupils and teachers can in their bi-national forum, work with an extension of self and with self-elaboration to reach new awareness. CTC provides a safe space for uttering what used to be silenced. The children are more easily connected to societal issues and the media. The project develops the children's curiosity, and their courage to engage. Expression becomes power, and a new self-confidence as private and political subjects can be explored. However, racism sometimes works as a blockage in the encounters between Jewish and Arab teachers, and the pupils (and the teacher) were disappointed that the children had not met during the first year in the project; which coincided with the first year of the intifada. One year is not enough, and they want to continue.

In her letter she uses the words "frank" and "bold children" several times, when arguing what kind of qualities are created in the project. In other words, more courageous and honest children come out of it. This is one of the learnings, which is about confidence. The empowerment issue shines through. The project helps a group to create a sense of meaning and strength. In this example it appears to be largely an internal process of building mental power. The internal focus might be caused by the fact that the children in this particular class never met the Jewish children during the first year, due to the one year long intifada when only teachers met.

### Approach 3. Written primary texts

#### *Dialogue and Change*

This article is written by two former co-directors, Jalal Hassan and Shuli Dichter (not dated), who were also interviewed. It is interesting to look at this text in relation to the oral accounts. In this text their different voices come together. Jalal and Shuli outline a philosophy called the *Process of Dialogue* approach applied in the project Children Teaching Children. The text furthermore summarises how CTC and other Jewish-Palestinian projects, including short three-day encounters,

have been approached and developed since the 1960s. The following analysis will pay particular attention to the emplotment and narration of *dialogue*, *co-existence* and *identity*, since these are key terms in the text.

In this text, I see attempts to bridge or create neutral ground from where co-operative projects can be conducted and spoken about. There are also signs that affirm the dual and conflicting positions.

Firstly, there is a search for "some form of common educational ground", a need coming from the fact that they are both citizens of the same state. In order to build "an environment of change" they have to, they argue, get rid of "the co-existence philosophy", an approach which draws on *contact theory*[12] in social psychology and notions of the *melting pot* in anthropology. The notion of *co-existence*[13] is used in a liberal multiculturalist discourse, they assert. This just affirms the existing dominator-dominated relationship beneath superficial, apparently co-existing practices. They try to take another path by stressing that it is about "building an environment of partnership". This is possible, they say, when "sharing responsibility for the programme over a long duration creates an environment of partnership and openness". The starting point is that they share citizenship, if not identity. "The process of dialogue [is the] key to change", and not just what they call "continuous talking". Dialogue is where "neither side's agenda takes precedence over the other's", and "where its legitimacy changes all the time". They move on to propose the term *civic partnership*[14] instead of *co-existence*, and within the dialogue – "life's breath of partnership", as it is called - should be a recognition of the chronic nature of the situation, a conflict where dialogue is dealing with the "profoundly uncomfortable". So, the old approach on co-existence is a kind of continuous talk where the participants, from pupils to directors, "celebrate they can be together". The new approach

[12] *Contact theory* builds upon the conviction, simply put, that face to face human experiences can improve relations between conflicting communities. It has its origin in the US in the 1950s (Allport, 1954). It was applied in Israel by, for example, Yehuda Amir from the 1960s and onwards. Dichter and Hassan write that the approach was 'ultimately challenged' by CTC in the 1990s.

[13] In Hebrew the word for co-existence is *du-kiyyum* which is described as 'existence side by side of two opposing political regimes or two competing regimes" (Dichter, *On Coexistence and Talk, Partnership and Dialogue* p5. Article not dated). This translation seems to be closer to the concept of *parallel-existence.* But these two different notions are often confused in (common-sense) English as well. In Chambers English dictionary to co-exist is "to exist at the same time or together". This means it implies a sharing or an overlap, a togetherness. Parallel-existence, which could well coin Jewish-Palestinian life in Israel is a sort of living together *separately.*

[14] In Dichter's text *On Coexistence and Talk, Partnership and Dialogue*, which is developing the issues addressed in the co-written text, Dichter writes that the ideas of civic partnership is inspired by Alex de Tocqueville's concept of the 'shareholding' citizen, where the purpose of the system is the, from below, fulfilment of the individuals needs. This is similar to American democracy, opposed to the French, which, in de Tocqueville's apparatus is based on a knowledge of the collective good applied to individuals (Dichter, p5). In theory on citizenship the republican model give civil rights to the individual citizen, while the ethnic, or ethnocratic, model provides citizenship and rights to certain members.

pays attention to thought and action inherent in words, the ability of words to mobilise consciousness and to empower. This approach is inspired by Paolo Freire's critical education, and it serves as a tool or pedagogy of the oppressed to move forward.

In practical terms they work with what they call a "two track dialogue: an in-group dialogue, and a dialogue with the other side of the conflict", i.e. uni-national and bi-national encounters. There is a well-argued point against co-existence, I think, unfolding how the term works within the hegemony and maintains certain power relations, revealing how it exercises an invisible symbolic power in its naive good-will approach. It does not address problems of citizenship, and the dialogue is unequal and structured beforehand. Co-existence, I argue, indicates status quo or a situation of repetition, while dialogue is time bound and sensible toward change. But how far do they get with their new approach?

The dichotomy between Jew and Palestinian remains, which is understandable especially because of the persisting conflict, which now is recognised as "chronic" or lasting. They write that it is important to recognise "conflict as the nature of the relationship" [15]. So, with a shift of words, they argue for a shift from what I would call an idealistic, future oriented model – or a model that ignores present inequalities - to an articulation of the past, present and apparently lasting situation. The 'environment of partnership' phrase can be interpreted as a tricky attempt towards what Bakhtin would have called the *heteroglottic*, an utterance with not only polyphonic meaning, but also an utterance located in-between self and other, an attempt to create a new meaning, a new space, with old words. It is somehow placed in between the common ground and the reproduction of dualism and essentialisms. For nobody can be sure that it can be created - it is an experiment.

They write elsewhere that it is important for "each side to express itself authentically", which is vague and woolly multispeech close to the reproduction of dual positions. All quotes taken out of context in this text in fact indicate, I would argue, that the text is written in a consensual language, which is only partly due to the fact that it is co-written. The main reason should rather be found in the general peace discourse among people in an apparently hopeless conflict. Language becomes stretched, weaker, and more vague in order to be able to embrace. Despite this there is in Jalal and Shuli's attempt to deal with and attack, for example the term *co-existence*, an attempt to avoid this trap and instead to build a proper and real bridge.

[15] All quotes Jalal Hassan and Shuli Dichter *Dialogue and change* pp. 1-3. Publication/article not dated.

The problematic issues, which this text addresses, include a construction of a historical narrative saying that Palestinian identity in Israel has been de-legitimised, is the oscillation between the discourse of the nation, or a one-sided view which is monologic and therefore just a *dualogue*, and on the other hand, a slow working-through creating space for changes, including a changing of identity through experiences with self and other. Bakhtin's notion recognises that the self is not complete from within, that the dialogue is an engagement, with the gap in the self and the other, and that the endpoint is not necessarily a full understanding. Hassan and Dichter write about dialogues that have to be "profoundly uncomfortable". By this they are paying attention to the antagonism and ambivalence occurring in utterances, the empowerment games, the roots and routes, and the un-habitual explorations of self and other. I would argue, however, that a sort of safe space, an unthreatening context is equally crucial, and this might contradict the 'profoundly uncomfortable'. The traces of these internal struggles inform the heteroglossia, which over time both become practices of 'recovery', but also 'discovery'. This can be related not only to Bakhtin and multivoicedness, but also Ricoeurian cycles and processes of learning. A new story of the future is inevitably intertwined with a coming to terms with the past. The entering of newness is difficult without a past one cannot reconcile with. This is the logic, I argue, of the Ricoeurian cyclical preconfiguration, configuration and reconfiguration. Recovery and Discovery are just mundane terms - deliberately processual and travelish in their metaphorical power - that expresses such configurations and do so with a Serresian vocabulary of troubadouring learning (Serres, 1997). A learning that is ignited in a condition almost of limbo, or being 'out there' going through a process which deep inside - despite occasional help and good advice - is one's own.

In relation to this point, the vocabulary in this text speaks for the establishment of an autonomous sphere where citizens can pursue or develop their conceptions of a better life, or get their tempers going dialogically against the troubled life they have. This is inspired by Benhabib (1992:99). Neutrality becomes in this case about inserting a space, Givat Haviva, where the minority can become visible and recognised within, which makes the country look more democratic or reducing the democratic deficit in the macro-structures. But the overall structures remain. There is for me a useful, constructive approach in viewing conflict as normal, but there might be a downside to it: the conflict easily becomes chronic, not changeable – and this approach seems to be more appealing for the powerful, even though they also desire some changes.

Surprisingly, Palestinians are generally more eager to participate, Jalal and Shuli note – which also was confirmed in an interview with a Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam facilitator of the encounter project - even though there has been some fluctuation up and down, especially since the outbreak of

the new intifada. Is this because it is the Palestinians' only channel through to some sort of empowerment and *durcharbeitung*? What about many of the guilt ridden Jews' sense of *debt*? For both parties it is an attempt toward reparation. But again the viewpoint is different, as Dichter writes.[16] The Palestinians have generally been concerned with the past, while the Jews want to talk about the future. Both parties want to envision a new future, but for the Palestinians it is payback time in this present. A working through memory is needed, while for the Jews it is unpleasant to hear the narratives of confiscated land, and less resources to Palestinian towns and so forth.

There seems to be no way forward for change without dealing with memory or without reconfigurations of the preconfigured. A part of this reconfiguration is a creation of new memories as well as was noted earlier when dealing with recovery and discovery. People come strongly preconfigured, so time is crucial. The testimonies of the two sides when they are together can be seen as a way of beginning to bring memory together with future wishes. But the vicious circle seems hard to break. A time of conflict that persists, create new bad memories, and makes it difficult to approach a new language – although needed. Jalal and Shuli tries with "civic partnership", replacing the language of the nation. Shuli and Jalal are outlining an ambitious inclusive struggle for another society. Not a battle of one group, but a battle of mutual interest for all identities.

### *Children Teaching Children: Booklet of Activities*

A report was produced by the CTC facilitator team for eighth and ninth Grade classes in Jewish schools for the school year 1999-2000. The booklet/report of activities provide information about the different modules and activities in the project. A report exists for Palestinian classes as well.

I have used an English translation of the report on the Jewish classes (The Palestinian classes follow the same project principles and activities, roughly speaking). The booklet says that the teacher's role is to help the students acquire a more open, inclusive and complex approach and to expose the pupils to additional, unfamiliar information on the subject of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict (p3-4). The classes participating can use all sources: texts, films, adaptations from existing booklets and contributions by members of the team at Givat Haviva. During the two years they are supposed to work through a handful of key-topics: work on the relations between individual and the group, individual and collective identity, intergroup relations in the State of Israel, the conflict in Israel

[16] Shuli Dichter *On Coexistence and Talk, Partnership and Dialogue*. Publication/article not dated.

including issues of land. Furthermore they spend a considerable amount of time "preparing for the meetings" and "processing experiences" (p2).

A flowchart is presented in the report, which shows that the project launches into issues of identity; personal and collective forms (village, community, nation, state) before the first bi-national encounter, or before a "first meeting with Arab students [is] *possible*"(p5) (my italics). All boxes on encounters/bi-national meetings are led by the word 'possible'. Somehow the structure is founded upon the belief that certain issues have to be worked through in each group before Jews and Arabs can meet and that the bi-national work is an option. After the first bi-national meeting, they concentrate on gaining a "body of knowledge"(p5) on each group. Then they have another possible meeting, before they address various expressions of conflict (p5) in the media, at home. This is in the first year! The second year launches into group, community and ethnic relations in Israel, seen in the light of the first year module. Then an optional/possible encounter module is scheduled, followed by a re-examination of identity, and issues of citizenship, values, and myths. They proceed with a history module, or rather a *histories* module, since they note that it is "the conflict from various point of view on history". This includes work on personal history and family history. Then there is another encounter, then critical work on citizenship again though with – importantly I think – some added comments on the work. "Tools for dialogue: listening, legitimacy of other views, accept the different even in disagreement, constant self-examination, legitimacy of changing one's stand". This is possibly followed by another encounter. All together there are five encounters boxes during the two years! The rest of the booklet contains extracts of the main themes in some of the modules just summarised.

There is a dilemma or peculiar two-way approach, I would argue. This is education intended to create two things; awareness and change/action, somehow dependent, but rather different in character. It is not clear in which domain the change or action occurs. Is it in your self, your class, your family, your community, in your leisure time, in clubs, or in future employment - the students are only about fourteen, certainly a time for a lot of change and action! In a section on group climate, they say that the aim is "inclusion of diversity in the group", and "legitimacy for uncertainty and the search for identity and change, as a developmental stage of adolescence". In the sections on individual and group (collective) identity, they write that "identity is made up of myths (narratives and ideological loads) which are frequently unconscious or unexpressed and concealed below the surface of texts, stories, songs, films, the press and the electronic media, speeches and declarations, rituals and so on".

The encouragement of new positions is certainly apparent, at least at the level of textual declaration, and there is also an acknowledgement of the need to "enrich the students' stockpile of experiences" (p12). The text provides a back up of visionary, but consensual language, while the interviews fortunately added some diversity, as was shown earlier in this chapter. A step forward is to observe activities and try to describe *what is actually going on.* This is more easily done with the three-day projects than a two-year process. The next text is a detailed description of the Neve Shalom/wahat al-salam three-day encounters that attempts to portray the activities on the ground, and this is followed by a chapter presenting my own informal interviews, observation and analysis during two encounter workshops at Givat Haviva.

The methods and activities of the encounters at the School for Peace and Givat Haviva have in recent years become similar, as also explored in Chapter 4.

***Encounters for Youth* - summary**

*Sources: Draft of Chapter 6, in English, written by M. Zak, R. Halabi and W. Sror from forthcoming book. Amin printed out this version to me in October 2000. Since then, an Arabic and German version have been published, In German the book is called Identitäten im Dialog (Identities in dialogue). There are no referencing to particular page numbers in the text below since I have mostly used the English language draft (although with double-check and a few quotes from the German version)*

The draft chapter is 30 pages long. It summarises and comments on the typical procedure of an encounter, the structure and the games, practices and pedagogical techniques applied including examples of reactions, behaviours underway and afterwards. The text work as a valuable introducing and generalising account of encounter workshops.

The authors outline two important features of this particular project, the three to four day encounter (three full days), which clearly addresses the project philosophy or approach to *change* and *dialogue*. First of all they "have chosen" to work with sixteen-seventeen year olds "because at that age young people are preoccupied in any case with shaping their social and political identity'". At an earlier age an encounter "around questions of social identity is less effective and sometimes destructive". So they bring people together in at a time where the social identity is under negotiation or in its shaping. On the question of dialogue they state it is not an approach based on "open

dialogue", as in their work with adults, over eighteen, but an encounter, which is "structured and preplanned, with activities known in advance". The structure should "reduce anxiety".

The structure moves through stages in its group building and group-exploration. From an all-inclusive, getting acquainted phase toward the deliberate construction of dual positions. They write about a turning point during the second stage; "the fantasy that we are all human beings and therefore we will work it out begins to show cracks". In the third stage they are "devoted to the negotiation between two national groups", and finally, in the fourth stage they "explore what the participants have experienced and prepare them for going home".

The project (the encounter) is built up almost like human experience; from an early stage of naivety and innocence protected by a strong structure, forward to harsh experiences with self-creation and responsibility put on the shoulders of the students, ending up with contemplation, looking back, working through. The pre-set structure of the encounter has a sort of traditional narrative with a certain beginning, middle and end. It is an organized learning camp with a series of preplanned modules of activity as busy as a conference, but more unsettling and less sleepy! Outside the actual three-day encounter workshop there are specific preparation-modules and an evaluation meeting a month afterwards. More about these modules in the final part of the analysis.

In this draft chapter, the authors have selected processes, which they find are "so conspicuous and so typical for most of the groups". So what is the 'typical' in these encounters: the Arab have in general been more willing to participate than Jews. It is difficult to judge whether this has anything to do with the way the project is offered or advertised. In the Arab schools, the programme is presented to a single class, and the overwhelming majority of students choose to participate. In the Jewish schools, the programme is offered to an entire grade of about two hundred students, and thirty who want very much to participate are chosen to do so. I would then argue, that the Arabs thereby know each other better, and possibly have a familiarity with the group.

Questions from Jewish group before the encounter:

The examples of utterances from the preparatory meeting with a facilitator from the School for Peace (Jewish facilitator at Jewish schools and vice versa) indicate a lot of insecurity and lack of knowledge and experience with the other: "are they Israeli?", "will they be extremists?", "will they be dressed like us?".

Question from the Arab group before the encounter:

The Arabs typically ask; "how will the Jews treat us?", "are they ready and willing to meet with us?", "are they also having this kind of preparation and they know whom they are going to meet?". Generally, the Arab group are worried about how far they will be able to have "discussion on the political issues without ruining the positive atmosphere". They are also worried that they do not know as much, and they bring up the language-issue: can they speak Arabic? is it worthwhile, they ask, even though the School for Peace (according to this text) tell them they can. Will the translation disturb the dialogue? The question is interesting, I think, because if two languages are spoken, and the Arabs understand Hebrew much better than the Jews understand Arabic, a strange situation is created where one side always understands and the other does not. If no one knew the other's language, there would be a balance, but it would also slow down the pace of speech and response, including translations, which would make the talk more monologic, confined to two lanes of speeches, rather than a faster ping-pong with possibilities for sudden replies, punch lines, broken sentences, interruptions and general shouting from two parties at the same time.

The general awareness of, and experience with, the conflict seems to be taken for granted. But how do they actually deal with such a strongly preconfigured construction of an enemy? Let me go through the encounter and its handling of 'dialogue' before returning to this.

The encounter

At Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam the spatial pre-set on arrival and the introductory meeting happens as follows. Boys and girls are housed separately, and Arabs and Jews are situated in separate flats/hotel rooms of about four beds. The housing is a part of the kibbutz hotel chain, organised in a few rows of small ground floor flats, each with its own entrance and a small veranda or outside space. Each backyard is separate, but it is easy to cross in the outside corridors or go to each other's small veranda/backyard. At the encounter where sixty participants plus teachers are present, they are divided into four groups with one Arab and Jewish School for Peace co-coordinator in each group. The student groups are then approximately sixteen people, eight Jews and eight Arabs. They gather in a clubhouse where an Arab coordinator speaks first. "The staff purposely creates a reversal of the external reality", they point out.

Each group sits separately, and cautiously, whispering, glancing, with "no contact or conversation between the groups". So the facilitators need to take the initiative and bring them together. There is a "feeling of relief" when the ceremonial opening occurs with the facilitator introduction.

After that, the actual encounter-work begin with the first step. The groups are mixed and have to perform a task in competition with the other Arab-Jewish groups. The task is a riddle about culture, geography, religion, and language. Knowledges about each side's societies (cars, singers, actresses, proverbs, plants etc) are needed, and thereby, I argue, each side finds comfort in the mixed teams. Dialogue is made necessary and it thus becomes relatively easy to pursue it.

After the day of arrival, with the clubhouse introduction and the mixed group exercise the second day morning is dedicated to what could be called a 'cultural meeting' where Palestinians vs. Jews discuss different issues given on cards in Arabic and Hebrew. These are gender, family, religion, tradition, values in Palestinian vis a vis Jewish societies. Now the group building and group distinguishing-phrases occur: 'we do so and so', while 'they do' something else. Characteristically, I think, the Arabs are often able to say 'we knew that', while the Jews tend to respond that they have learned a lot. A sense of empowerment is produced by this in the Arab group. Nevertheless, the typical main subject, of gender issues, often takes this temporary feeling of superiority away from the Arabs. The Jewish group feel they "[occupy] the high ground because it relates to itself as Western, whereas the Arab group relates to itself as (Middle) Eastern".

I would question if this fast, superficial and very liberal exercise on multiculturalism assuming and reproducing both myths and truths about differences, actually contributes to the creation of a dialogue about change, or a dialogue with *durcharbeitung* - 'working through' The text reveals that the debate is rather an exploration, and confirmation, of the stereotypes on Westernness and Easternness and on Jew versus Arab. In my opinion this turns the dialogue into a 'cultural competition' with the danger of viewing difference and conflict through the lens of one pre-given, pre-configured identity and ethnicity in opposition to another one.

In this model of the cultural meeting, we have two *presentations*, rather than negotiations, an exhibition of something settled rather than a new creation. The text seems to indicate that the encounter enters a discourse that re-builds the idea of two groups instead of disseminating a range of heterogeneous images, including the huge differences within. The text continues stating that the "tenor of the discussion", also framed "negotiation between two groups", is that the Arab group views itself as the group that must change, even though they sometimes turn around and "defend

tradition", " argument's sake". Each side has the tendency to present its culture in extreme fashion, the text says – which points to my earlier point on the inherent dangers of the cultural meeting. The exercise is based upon the idea of symbolic 'gift exchange' among two strangers. You excavate for clear, pedagogical tales about the *us*, the group as a general and homogenous whole, which the *them* do not have or do or did not know about. Questions and comments such as the following occur: "do you kiss each other in public?", "are marriages arranged?", "for us the girl is like sacred?", "we progressed and they didn't". This kind of 'cultural meeting' easily falls apart, I argue, if the answers or responses become nuanced or 'some-do-some-do-not'. The pedagogical point is then lost if both prove to be rainbowish. So what can the two sides do? They present themselves in a more singular and non-hybrid form. The text notes that from the day of arrival where the approaches were more *inter-personal* while it now has gone into an *inter-group* stage. Both exercises nevertheless lead to the development of two groups, I say. "The extremism on the part of both groups is typical of conflict situations".

At this stage, each side come to terms with images of self and other. Jews face their own superiority, Arabs their inferiority. There is a feeling of a backlash after the "euphoria enjoyed by the participants on the first day". The encounter moves from the construction of a group against another group encounter to further group-strengthening practice via uni-national forums where each side evaluate itself. The authors explain that disagreements within each group can more easily be discussed when the group is alone. As an example, they mention that there is often "a trenchant internal dialogue between Jews of Western origin and Jews of Middle Eastern origin. This kind of discussion does not happen in the presence of the Arab group".

Back in the encounter forum the issue is now politics. The hard issue is opened with an exercise, a projective free-association technique called *photolanguage*. The facilitators spread a dark cloth on the floor and arrange a series of black and white photos from various locations in the world. Each participant has to pick a picture and use it to describe how he or she feels "*as a Jew or an Arab* in Israel" (my italics). The Jews generally pick pictures that portray "peace, comradeship and the possibility of solving the situation, or alternatively, how complicated the situation is". The Arabs choose portrayals of "destruction, despair and grief".

A discussion then evolves typically on two issues, on (civil) rights and on morality. The Arabs tell stories about discrimination, suppression and the rights they were supposed to be given. The Jews evidently agree, but strike back on the moral arena: the Arabs are less moral, more violent, they claim. The Arab group again experience a sort of temporary empowerment; they are "adamant" and

they "tire out the Jewish group": "Arab girl: A worker comes come to a roadblock to go through, you put him in jail, he didn't do anything, just come to work.. Jewish girl: I agree that that is not okay". Each side struggle to "justify its own narrative", the authors point out.

The last meeting of the day takes place back in the uni-national forum where each side process their experiences and their own position vis a vis the other, "we must not argue among ourselves; we have to be united and become a single unit", an Arab says.. Despite the differences within, they have to "bridge these gaps and be united, otherwise we won't be able to obtain our rights". This is a very important point, which shows how the group versus group principle is reinforced. In the Jewish group openness is expressed. On the issue of rights there is a general understanding of the Arab narrative, but also a sense of bewilderedness and pendulum, since many of the participants raise the question "if there is a war, on whose side would they be?".

In the evenings there are informal meetings, dance, and games in the clubhouse. The groups "generally take advantage of this". They are "under supervision of the teachers accompanying them" during these informal, but equally/or more important, sessions of the encounter. The text does not describe what happens.

The third day

The last third of the encounter is dependent on much more student creativity and agency in general. Now the students are supposed to, via a simulation game, manoeuvre through an exercise where the starting point is not now or the past, but fifty years into the future! The situation or simulation as it is given from the facilitators described as follows:

There is peace between Israel and the Arab countries, including the Palestinians outside Israel. But the situation for the Palestinians in Israel is the same. There is an internal uprising in Israel after the Arab citizens demand equal rights once again, and are turned down. Now the students, Arab and Jews, come in to negotiate proposals and solutions for a range of committees which the Prime Minister has appointed. The Prime Minister wants to solve the matter once and for all. And the students need to get together and come up with suggestions!

For a start, they begin with two Jewish and two Arab groups, and to mirror reality; the Arabs go to the Jewish Deputy Ministers of the government offices to present what they have to say. They go

back and forth with uni- and bi-national meetings, imitating all the scenery of ministry signs on doors, press conferences and so forth, ending up with a final ceremony.

In the text there is an example of an agreement. There are two different themes in this example, symbols and representation and the future of education. To me, it is amazing what they have been able to produce. For example, the national flag will have a brown background with two blue strips; in the centre will be a star of David and within it a sabra plant. The anthem stays the same, except for the word 'Jewish' which becomes 'Israeli'. In the education section, they state that there will be both bi- and uni-national schools. All the students will study citizenship in the same way and the bi-national schools will study equal portions of Arab and Jewish history.

The simulation game is a thorough exercise along different forms of agency, personal and group exploration and debate on 'thought' or imagined details. As the text notes, the participants are not only supposed to unfold and debate opinions or try out arguments. The encounter changes track from here: "the participants must take responsibility to move the process forward and achieve results".
The authors note that they assume this role with "great seriousness". They even say that the participants "forget they are playing a game".

These hours of negotiations, including sending delegates to the other side, steady insistence on certain points and the "cry when they feel that they are losing" somehow imitates the political reality, but in the end the Jews can escape back to the unchanged reality. The exercise simulates training in dealing with the other at a very complicated level, where the *différends* easily unfolds. If this form of co-activity is possible, surely more cultural exchange should be easy.

When the students have finished the exhausting simulation game, the atmosphere of tension in the workshop sometimes leads the Jews to "declare that it was all just a game". They are often astonished and angered by the Arabs; "they want too much", "we have sold the state", [sharing] "the national anthem and the flag, that's too much". The authors argue that the Jews are worried about what their friends at home will say, when they go back and tell about what they have talked about here, and what they have agreed to instead of standing as "sentries at the gates".

The final evening is dedicated to two group performances, an Arab and a Jewish. The cultural meeting continues. It seems to be easier for the Arabs to pick something, while the Jews often find the task confusing and embarrassing. "It is unclear to us why this is sometimes the case". The

participants continue with common activities after the end of the official programme, often playing, dancing or having a "war of cassettes". Each group attempts to dictate the type of music whether Arabic, Hebrew or English. When the Arabs put on Arabic music, only some of the Jews join in and vice versa.

The morning the fourth day is for a final talk and farewells. "We help the participant digest the tumultuous experiences", the authors write. Another exercise ends it. Each participant is supposed to "write a concluding letter of farewell to the members of his or her group", the subgroup of approximately sixteen participants. Each letter is put in a "souvenir album" which the participants will receive at the uni-national follow up in each class/school's hometown a month later. Every participant also gets a certificate of participation. The letters and the farewell indicates - according to the authors of this text – that the participants are "clearly very moved", whether that means stirred or shaken is up to consider. There is "warmth among the participants and a feeling of satisfaction that they have accomplished something together". They are sitting intermingled before they have to leave. The final lines in the chapter say: "Then they part, sixty young people who have spent four days together challenging, with such great courage and sensitivity, the separate realities to which they will now return".

The follow up meeting

The follow up takes place in each group's own environment, in their schools at home. There is no bi-national follow up meeting, but 'only' a brief meeting with an Arab coordinator in the Arab school and vice versa. The text sums up the main responses that have emerged in follow up meetings during the last two years.

The Jews

The Jews are brought into a new phase where their new insights and experiences with people they previously only knew in stereotypical form, force them to think things through: "we have some things in common", "there are resemblances". Furthermore the other has become an entity with a voice. "I always said what I wanted to happen for them", one says, reflecting that they now spoke for themselves. The same person says that he had "a little trouble with their demands".

The text highlights another word - characteristically also used by the Givat Haviva facilitator Azmi - the creation of *confusion*. The stable, familiar world is called into question. There is a goodwill in

the Jewish group – "one feels inclined to grant them rights" – but there is also "existential fear", as the authors describe it. Some contradictions can be found in Jewish points as; "I want to give them all their rights, but not for them to rule". Rights perhaps on the personal and civil level but not on the national level. After the night activities of fun and dancing, they approach the political issues. "When we get to the political part, there's no way we can talk with them – Israel is ours".

To summarise the authors points about the Jewish reflections and feelings one month later one could say that it is about dealing with the new knowledge challenging the old, safe narratives, and moreover that it has opened up space for a new sort of in-group discussion, among the Jews, where they – after gaining a new experience together – have a lot to digest and test on their fellow students. One student describes the whole encounter as a sort of representation of Israel, an ambassador role: "I played an active and meaningful role in the encounter, my ideas were heard, I represented my country, I learned some lessons and learned about myself and about reality". The latter part seems constructive, but if the encounter turns out to be a sort of dichotomous ambassadors/spokespersons versus a similar unified national representation on the other side, the room for diversity and change seems to be severely narrowed. But how do the Arabs deal with it all a month later?

The Arabs

The experience of self-expression and the change they were able to bring about in the Jewish group is an important gain, but also the only achievements which the Arab group highlight. They are pleased to be able to provide the Jews with a lot of basic information about their lives, which of course affects the Jews. The sense of 'empowerment', as the authors say, is an important achievement that takes place during the encounter itself, where they experience a growing confidence. One participant explains how they slowly got the courage to speak and even took it further… "we began shouting in order to take charge of the situation". On the other hand there are frustrating elements, such as their minority role, and the tendencies of Jews taking a superior position.

***Encounters for Youth* - comments**

The text focuses primarily on the encounter itself, and less on the reality, they come from or return to, or what kind of teenagers participate, in other words the general context of Jewish and Arab

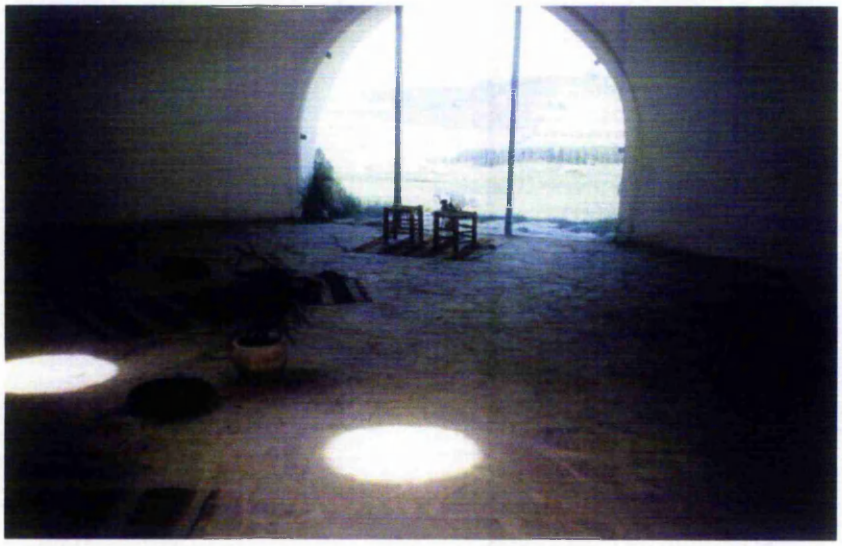
society in Israel. In Chapter 3 and 4, I aimed to introduce the contexts, the histories and the pedagogies upon which an encounter such as this takes place. Now I will move on to my own experience with two encounter workshops based on similar principles. Before this I will provide a few afterthoughts in the light of the summary. One issue, in particular, that struck me is the gap between the reality of everyday Israel and the actual practices performed in such a structured meeting.

It is not the aim of the encounter to change reality, or to bridge it, however, but merely to change the minds of the participants. The text is drawing a picture of an encounter which, in its structure and pedagogy, is eager to construct and strengthen the two groups individually, as two entities, gathering in a 'cultural meeting' with political arguments inserted, to get a real smell of reality within the camp-atmosphere. In addition, the encounter rests on the belief that dialogue is most efficiently practiced among two different groups which each are relatively well unified (*us* and *them*). To take another approach not based on dichotomies may be unrealistic in a situation of conflict, especially in the present Jewish-Palestinian asymmetry in Israel. The Palestinians are in need of unification, which is a pre-condition of their empowerment and sense of 'gaining ground' in the mental sense. If their group-feeling were not constructed, or if the encounter just tried to promote common 'Israeliness' downplaying the Jewishness and the Palestinian Arab, they might end up feeling that their problems as a group in Israel were covered up or neglected. Similarly, the Jews also in times of trouble – in a divided Israel, as shown in Chapter 3 – are eager to strengthen themselves as a group. Before actually being able to stay over and watch and talk to participants, I noted that my own work must investigate this tension between group building and change. A change in perceptions must involve a challenge to the *speech plans* (Bakhtin, 1986: 77) that emerge on the intergroup level. The relatively stable *speech genres* (Bakhtin, 1986: xvii), which are flavoured by the vision of the nation, are structuring and limiting change, but as well inexhaustible. This dilemma situates the challenge of bridging parties in conflict.

# Photo section

- Field research settings, localities and participants in action

*Captions, and picture number below each picture.*



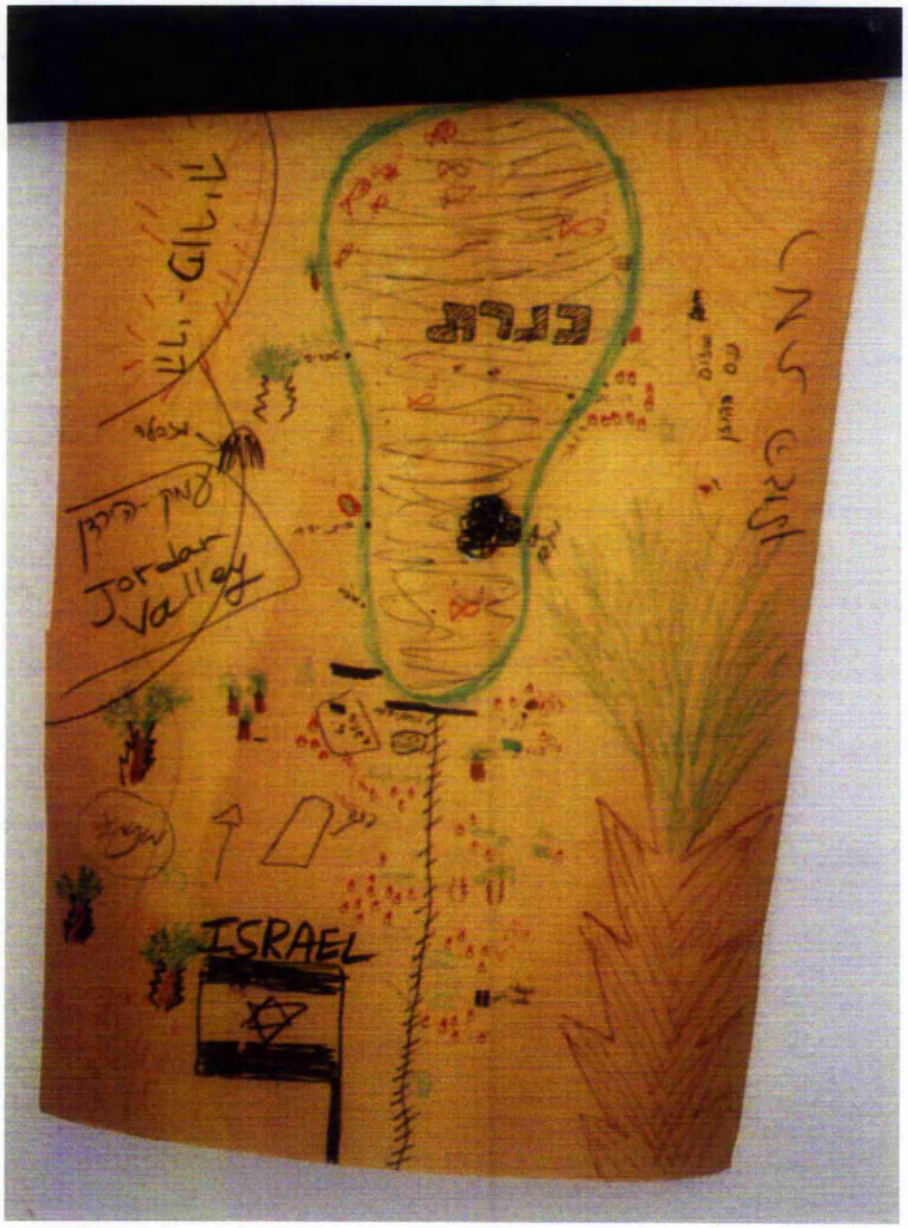
**A room with a view over Latrun valley**
Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam has no synagogue, church or mosque, but it has got a space for meditation, prayer or contemplation: the *Dumia* or House of Silence. The dome was conceived with the idea that though people may be divided by differences in creed or culture, they find in *dumia* a common sanctuary. "For Thou, silence (dumia) is praise", Psalm 65,2.
(July 1999). **1**.

**Settling scores**
Jewish and Arab boys at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam are having an afternoon football game. One boy raises his hands in excitement; two others are on the floor after a tackle. The ball went past the goal and the goalie is on his way to get it (January 2000). **2**.

**Shelter from the storm**
These rooms (barracks?) at the School for Peace at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam are used for workshops in the encounter projects. The rooms are intimate, suitable for smaller group activities or workshops where around sixteen people gather. A mirror, as noted in Chapter 5, separates one of the rooms. Observers, e.g. teachers, can follow the events though without being able to interrupt directly. They do not have this mirror facility at Givat Haviva (October 2000). **3**.

**Just girls and boys?**
First day at an Givat Haviva workshop. Jews and Arabs spilt in two circles, an inner and outer circle. The topics for this activity are girl-boy relations and other cultural issues: family relations, community and leisure time matters. The two circles move in different ways, and sometimes people change chairs so different people get to talk. The atmosphere in this encounter, at this particular stage, was amazingly vibrant and positive. Later things changed (October 2001). **4**.

**Drawing home**
Jewish and Arab students occupied in separate groups drawing their impressions of their home, area or country. Both groups are from villages in the Galilee. The area encircled (with green colour) is the Sea of Galilee. (October 2001). **5**.




**The red roof colonies**
The Jews have reproduced the characteristic red-roofed houses on this map; see all the (red) dots in between the flag and the Sea of Galilee. This is common architecture in Jewish suburban areas in Israel and in the settlements in the territories (October 2001). **6**.


**Another home, the same country**
Hill, trees, leaves and houses without red roofs, dominate the Arab map. A different *place*, with other significations and meanings, written into *space* (Squires et al, 1993) (October 2001). **7**.

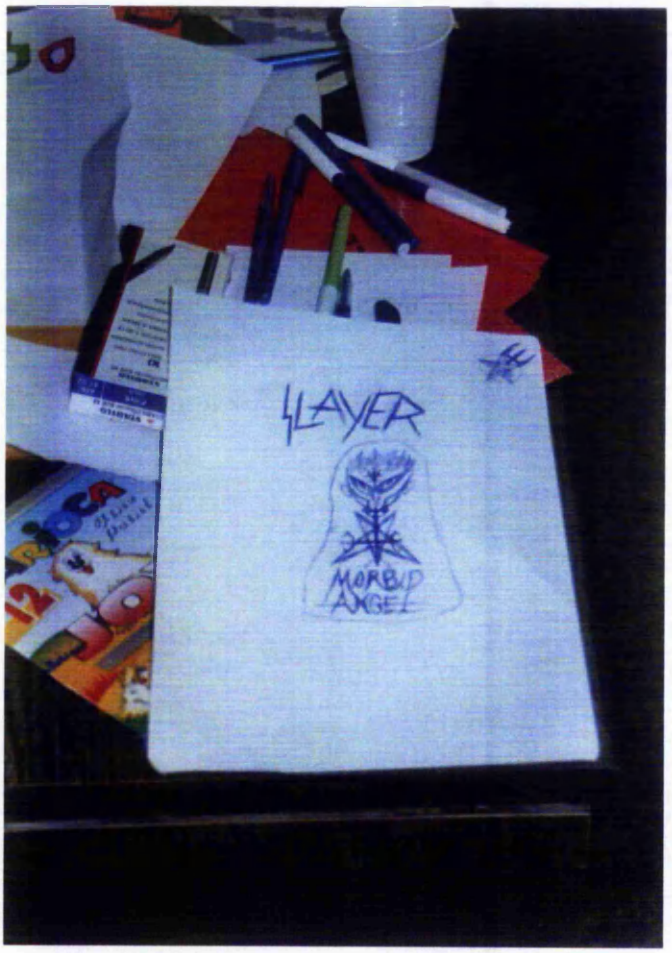
**The third map**
With scissors and glue the two groups have negotiated on one common place, in that sense using meanings (i.e. drawings) already inscribed. "We can't erase the past", as a facilitator said, so no new map could be made. So the map here may not be *third*, but just combinatorial – yet it is something else! The Sea of Galilee, from the Jewish map, is placed in the top-right quarter of the map, while the hills, with a tree on top - from the Arab map – are in the bottom left. The guy on the right yawns (October 2001). **8**.

**Teachers getting together**
During a break a Jewish and an Arab teacher, woman and man at the table, get together to plan their environmental project, as described in Chapter 6. At some point they asked for help to construct a questionnaire for their pupils. A facilitator is on the phone, and students hang around in the grass, Jews and Arabs separately! (October 2001). **9**.

**Space enough to argue**
The wide grassy front yard at Givat Haviva with a few two-storey buildings. Some of them are arranged for workshop activity, others as dorms (October 2001). **10**.

**Identities on the floor**
The identity game at Givat Haviva. Each card has an identity, in Hebrew and Arabic: Jew, Palestinian, Israeli, Zionist Ashkenazi, Mizrachi, Muslim, Christian, Druze, religious, Arab, human being, girl, boy. Pick the ones that are most important to you, they were told. In one workshop they picked Human being, Girl or Boy most often. In another Zionist and Palestinian (October 2001). **11.**

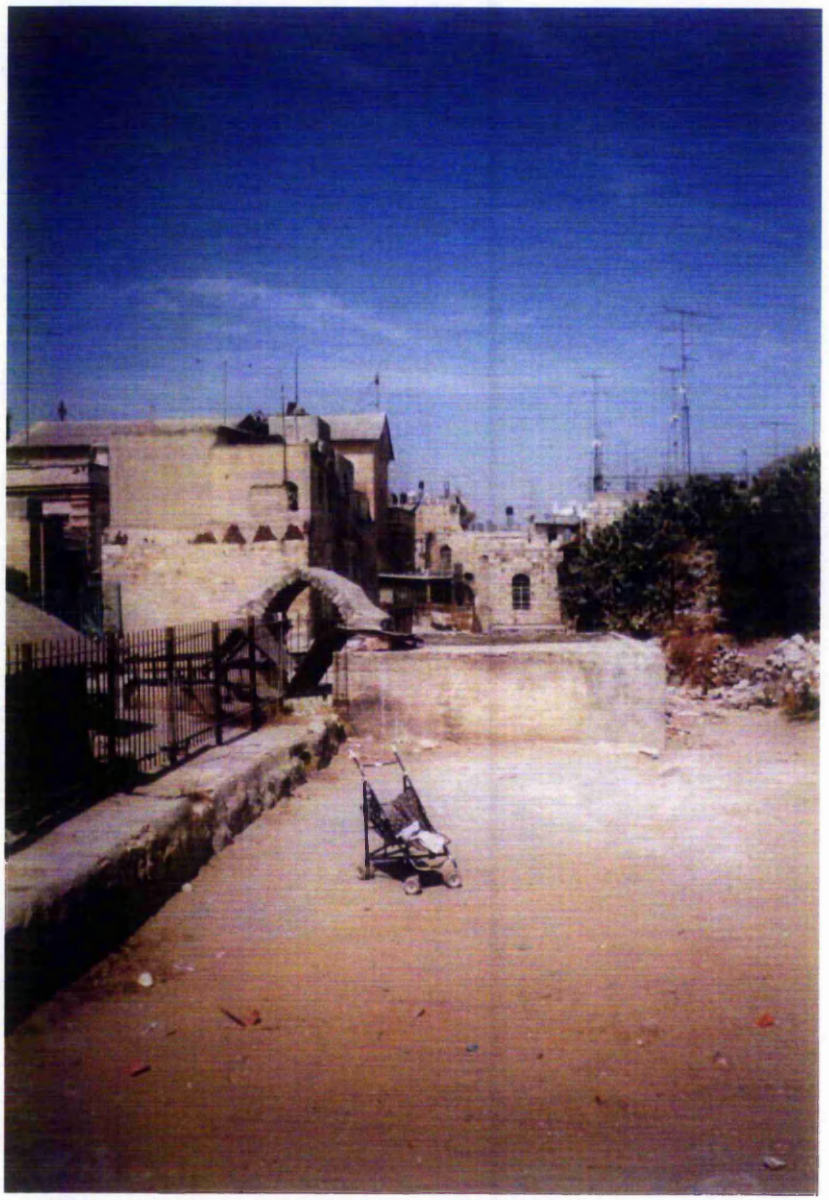
**Coffee break**
Palestinian Arab group sitting, and researcher standing, in front of the workshop rooms at Givat Haviva. Another participant is lying down - a power nap before another demanding session? (October 2001). **12.**




**Morbid angels**
The punk-metal-hippie guy in the Jewish group, see Chapter 6, produced a drawing not related to the workshop exercises, or maybe it is. (October 2001). **13**.

**Dialogue with conflict**
The eyes of the female facilitator (white socks and black shues, in the middle) carefully watches over students gesticulating and arguing. The other facilitator, opposite in a white t-shirt (you can see his back only), is also in a listening, relaxed pose. Three or four people are trying to speak, some using hands, one literally standing on the chair (but still sitting), one shouting now and then. One guy to the left of the facilitator in the white t-shirt has for a long time looked disinterested; he is scratching his back, and sinks down further in the chair. Others sit with elbows on legs, leaned forward, following the debate, ready to interrupt. These are typical postures in the high school encounters (October 2001). **14**.

**Closing time**
Another world, not far away: this is how the impact of *contact* often looks like in the West Bank! Here, the markets of Hebron, just before dusk, showing its signs of the intifada (October 2001). **15**.



**Old City roof top**
A small child's pram is left on a rooftop in the Old City of Jerusalem. No mother, father or child is present (September 1997). **16**.

# Chapter 6

## Facing Conflicts

- Informal talks and field observation

**Introduction**

While most of the work in the last chapter was concerned with the *Children Teaching Children* project, this chapter addresses the high school youth encounters, at Givat Haviva called *Face to Face.* Encounters usually last two to three days. These two projects were, as noted in the last chapter, influenced by the outbreak of the intifada, not just in terms of less activity and fewer participants, but also in terms of approach. In the concluding Chapter 7 I will look at things from a distance, but before this, I am going to unfold a journey on the ground, namely four days at Givat Haviva in October 2001 where I was allowed to observe two *Face to Face* encounter workshops and talk to facilitators, teachers and participants. I had been allowed to participate exactly one year before, but the outbreak of the intifada led to postponements of encounters at Givat Haviva, and at The School for Peace at Neve Shalom, my second option. I preferred to do the close-up research at Givat Haviva, since I had much more written material to rely upon from The School for Peace, including various research accounts (Abu-Nimer, 1999, Rustin 1999, Halabi, 2001 and Feuerverger, 2001).

Each encounter project at Givat Haviva lasted two days from early morning until 9 pm, the first day, and from 9 am till 3 pm the second day. The observational part of it is experimental. I knew the basic structure of the encounters and the range of activities from interviews and written material. Not all of the optional activities were used in each encounter. The length of the particular encounter is one factor that demands a selection of the range of pedagogical activities the facilitators can pursue. I also had a good stock of quotes and student impressions from other research accounts (e.g. Rustin, 1999 and Halabi, 2001), so I went on doing this to get a bodily and visual sense of the whole thing as an event, with the intent to get close up, and not just read about it, and also to be able to speak to facilitators, teachers and students *while* it was

happening. My talks were intended to encircle the actual events and discussions in the projects. I could thereby illustrate with an example in relation to 'detached' interviews where interlocutors were reflecting more upon encounters in general.

**Blind ethnography?**

The focus was not on an analysis of the actual dialogues - which the language barrier made impossible - but on the non-verbal aspects of the encounter: the students' and facilitators' behaviours, their body language, gestures, attitudes, their ways of showing solidarity and antipathy, their patterns of attack, defence and accommodation in embodied and unhabitual space. In one sense, I became a 'blind' ethnographer, in another sense a more seeing one (!), since other languages than the spoken could more easily take the forefront. The write-up nevertheless tries to catch up on the linguistic deficit by bringing in comments and summaries of the actual dialogues from talks with facilitators, teachers and students.

I have not attempted to create longer narratives or connections in the write-up, but instead I try to make it work as a less disordered collage of quotes, observations and fragmented analytical points extracted from many field notes during the four days. I have tried to create two texts within this chapter. Both have emerged in the process of preparing this chapter, from first field note to the final word in the typed 'Chapter 6'. One works on the descriptive, spontaneous level (normal font). The second one is in *italics*: it is a commentary on a more reflective level. Time wise, it is most often the afterthoughts, literally, more analytical and less impressionistic in style. I am not privileging the second form of knowledge with its illusion of elevation from everyday life spotting the world reflectively. Neither am I privileging the first form with its inbuilt aura of 'authentic' anthropology writing in the problematic participant observation-tradition. I am trying to - from an analytical and pedagogical point of view - to locate two major forms of practice in writing. In reality the dam is not there and the river floods with reflection always already incorporated, as *learned ignorance* (Bourdieu, 1990), in even the most spontaneous and straightforward descriptions and observations.

The final Chapter 7 relates my research to other research accounts and concludes on the projects individually and adds as well a general, final analysis and commentary on my research questions and educational exchange in Israel.

**14. October. First day of two, workshop 1**

The encounter is between two Galilee schools, each south of the Sea of Galilee near the Jordan Valley; Kfar Manda (Arab) and Bait Zera near the Sea of Galilee shore. 27 students come from the Jewish High School Class, while only fifteen join from the Palestinian Arab Israeli[1]. Ideally, the organisers prefer an equal mix, but this is not always the reality since some students refuse to participate. This number should not be seen as typical, since the Arabs, according to the organiser, Ali, are just as likely to participate.

I do not manage to get there in time for the first hour of activity, the name games and getting acquainted play (there was a misunderstanding regarding the start date of this one). Fortunately I managed to observe the important introductory activities at the next workshop (described later on). I speak briefly with the Arab course organiser, Ali, taking Azmi's role. He is the one that still directs the project and who allowed me to visit. I interviewed him last year. There is no co-directing Jew! Rebecca (interviewed in January 2000, who had the role as assistant to Azmi) has left.

Ali tells me that Givat Haviva has stopped all projects between the Arabs in the territories and Jews in Israel. Only projects between Israeli citizens, Jews and Palestinian Arabs, are currently running. *This fact is interesting, since it symbolises the limit of the work in these hard times. And it furthermore shows that now the Palestinians in Israel are on their own in their educational dialogues with Jews. Their brothers in the territories have stepped out.* Neve Shalom's School of Peace still conducts encounters between Jewish Israelis and Arabs from the territories. Many of the Arabs who come there join illegally, crossing the green line in between roadblocks (nswas.com. On the website in October 2001).

Ali introduces me to Rachel and Helena during a smoking break and we speak easily - no tape recorder was used. The talk was spontaneous in character and I decide not to disturb the casual atmosphere with a recorder. I have always used tape. Maybe they would say something else if I did not use tape? The facilitator role is "authentic work", not "guiding", Rachel says. She has been working with youth and NGOs for years, and she does not see her academic experience (History degree, European history, not Middle East) as a bridge to this kind of work.

[1] I use the word *Arabs* here. The facilitators most commonly use the term *Palestinian*, but not consequently. I am aware of the problem, as noted in Chapter 1 where I refer to Dan Rabinowitz's writings. Rabinowitz (1998) notes that by using the term *Palestinian* you indicate the specific sort of Arab, and equalises the 'Israeli Arabs' with Palestinians in territories in terms of ethnicity, makes them a stronger unit as a whole, and furthermore makes them visible as a specific ethnicity within Israeli society. This problematic of identity, and its historical legacy, is also dealt with in Chapter 3.

She is in her late twenties/early thirties and has been on the project since 2000. She has had a child recently and has just returned to work. Helena has studied cinema at university. She is working with psychotherapy. She also does NGO and voluntary work. She is in her mid-thirties. Rachel explains she has found a "home" in Givat Haviva - outside she is seen as an "extremist", she says. They work together, and there seems for her to be an agreement about how to work at Givat Haviva. The facilitators, though, had "a very difficult meeting" about a month ago, but they are "open to deal with the conflict", opposed to the students who are not always willing to do this, according to one of the facilitators.

They run from 9 am to 3 pm the next day, lasting two days instead of three or four this time. The timescale differs, depending on the financial situation of the schools, and time and facilitators available and schedules on all sides. There is no strict time frame. Jewish schools pay approximately thirty pounds per day per student. Arab classes pay a little less because of their smaller budgets. The first half of the first day deals with personal, cultural issues. They "have to know each other a little bit before dealing with the conflict", the facilitators say. They come with stereotypes. Jews think that the Arabs "come with *kiffeya* [traditional Arab male red/white headgear]", Helena says mockingly. "For the Arabs they see for the first time [Jewish] youth who are not soldiers". They do not know much. Rachel said a Jewish student asked about the term *Israeli Arab* once: "does that mean he has a Jewish mother?" This everyday example of speech expressing identity shows that in some Jewish youths' imagination the Israeli state equalises Jews, and – as also argued in Chapter 3 – that for many Jews the state of Israel is tightly bound up with an ethnic belonging as Jew.

We talk about mixed cities - the condition of Jewish-Arab relationship in these was introduced in Chapter 3. Even these places the knowledge of the other is limited, and they live separately. I mention Haifa, Acre, and Jaffa. In Haifa the Arabs live in Wadi Nisnas, while the Jews are up on the Carmel, Rachel explains. Old Acre is a Jewish ghetto, she continues. You can hear "voices of their parents speaking through their throats", Rachel says. "They get a shock, a good one". I ask questions about student expectations. The Jews "want them [the Arabs] to <u>like</u> us" "they will see we are not so bad". The Arabs come weaker, "want the Jews to <u>know</u> us". We talk about the difference. The *know* is important, Rachel says. *She puts emphasis on the words I have underlined. The wordings reveal the underlying power relationship. The powerful wants to be liked. The disempowered wants recognition. This because the Jews do not need the Arabs, but they want to get out of the oppressor role and yet still live as usual, while the Arabs see the 'knowing' as an important way of changing the nature of the relationship. Looking back on the historical relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel in general, as outlined in Chapter 3,*

*this makes sense. The Arabs in Israel know about Jewish Israeli society and attend their universities and colleges. They speak their language; know where the cities are, and what they are called. They use doctors and employment offices and so forth. Jewish Israelis on the other hand do not know much about the other side.*

They explain the programme so far on my request: first, a name game, which takes an hour, as each group has difficulties with the others' names. They make switch-place games, and continue with playing and presenting cultural topics, such as girl-boy relations, parental relations, neighbour relations, and gradual outward relations. The idea is to approach more sensitive issues slowly.

The Arab school is from a mixed area, while the Jews come from a kibbutz settlement. The kibbutzim were established by the Ashkenazim, "the elite of Israel", as Rachel says. She also says that the Mizrachim is "a kind of other" in Israel. *This divide echoes the relationship between The West/Europe/the Occident and the Orient, where the Oriental Jews are inferiorised even among Jews. It also indicates a complex character of several Diasporas, as indicated in Chapter 3, several forms of home-creation, and the problem of constructing the Israeli state as a nation-state. This has implications for how to position the Arabs within the state.*

Most of the sessions during these two days are bi-national, meaning that the Arabs and Jews work together. A few uni-national sessions are put in to work over/through issues addressed in meetings with the other. The sessions on the second day are dedicated to identity and majority-minority issues and to some of the country's regulations or laws on water, money, language, or the icons. In other words, they approach the more overall character and identity, and political 'state' of the state. Games/activities are changed from time to time. There is a framework but this depends on the time available, as was explained earlier.

Later I speak with another facilitator, Fadwa, an Arab Israeli who lives in Tel Aviv. She studies at Tel Aviv University, and has been working closely with Hannah Herzog – the head of the sociology and anthropology department at Tel Aviv University who I interviewed later during my stay in Israel. Fadwa says that the Jews are thinking they are doing the Arabs a favour doing this, while the Arabs come to convince the Jews. Generally, there is a good atmosphere in the beginning. This changes when they start to talk about stereotypes. They try to keep the good feeling; you are okay (the group present), we are talking about the other people, is a typical attitude (Halabi and Zak, 2000, also mentioned by a facilitator during the informal talks). The facilitators see themselves as a 'mirror', they use the word, but are not sure about it. I think they mean 'reflect' and furthermore to be a kind of wall the students can use to 'play ball'. They

continue to explain that they are "not teaching" but trying to help the discussion along. We help the teachers to continue in school, facilitators did not give them information. For the student, "it is a study of themselves". *Another term with which we could express the 'facilitator' role, could be moderator or mediator. 'Moderator' has been used by Ori Nir (Haaretz, Feb. 18, 2002). 'Mediator' is a concept used in, e.g. 'Mediated Learning Experience'-pedagogy (MLE) (The Hadassha-WIZO-Canada Research Institute)*[2]*. The mediator is not involved with solving a problem at hand or 'filling up' the student with knowledge like petrol in a car. The mediator is instead concerned with, to summarise five main points of MLE: a) HOW the learner approaches the problem, b) helping the learners to see each other 'at the same level', c) helping them to explore and interpret the significance of the issues discussed and accomplished, d) helping the learners to reflect on how they proceeded to reach the ends or how they failed to. And finally e) the mediator helps learners bridge one sort of experience to a new situation*[3]*. In this sense the facilitator becomes a threshold host, or one who helps the participant to cross a boundary, in herself, and as well to get into contact with the other.*

I return to speak with Ali who is around thirty. He is doing an MA - which is a co-operation between Tel Aviv University and Neve Shalom's School for Peace - on conflict, counselling education and group social-psychology issues. He explains that they start off the encounter in Arabic, then in Hebrew. The reality is reversed. (Just as summarised in Halabi's chapter on the encounters, see Chapter 5), and this was also the case in the second workshop where I watched the beginning. There are two languages, if we take English out, and they can perform any language they prefer. *But in fact only the Arabs can pick their stepmother tongue, Hebrew, although with the effect of submitting to the Jews preferred language! By speaking Arabic, on the other hand, they can use language as a force.* A question then arises when Arabic is translated; can you trust the facilitator? The Arabs are usually "being shy". "If they chose not to talk, it is okay", Ali says. "If they do not get the chance [to talk], it is my problem". "The work of the facilitator is to encourage to talk", but not necessarily in Arabic for the Arabs. The students are sometimes using their teacher as counsellor, for help, support. Ali has a disagreement with the director Azmi around the issue of teacher observation. Azmi has allowed them to be present. Ali would ideally rather want them out of the room. I mention that in Neve Shalom they have a second smaller room separated from the activity room by a mirror. Yes, he says, he has worked there, but it is not a solution. They can still get "in contact", and it is better to leave them out. It is not clear how it has ended up, apparently they are allowed to participate some of the time. *During the four days I was following a specific group at one encounter and another one at the next, the teachers were rarely present, but coming in and out once in a while.*

[2] The five points are my summary from the Institute's website www.icelp.org/Pages/WhatIsMLE.htm
[3] To illustrate the mediator role, the facilitators might use extracts from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*. See also discussion in Chapter 7 on the use of other texts in encounter projects.

*The teachers seemed to be left on the sidelines, i.e. being 'students again' in the encounter, not being in control and learning something new themselves.*

I ask about the different phases of the encounter; the moods and attitudes. Ali draws an up and down curve *showing a rather shifting, unpredictable development, moods diving and jumping*. It goes mostly up in the beginning but then up-down, up-down. The Jews are surprised that the Arabs do not feel Israeli, but *Palestinian*, when discussing identity or practising the identity games. "The flag is not talking to them" [the Arabs], Ali says. They have some rights, but no national symbols.

What about the internal differences, do they get a chance to reveal, work with the differences and disagreements which exist within each group, I ask. They come as a group, he says, referring to the Arabs, and they "need to put differences aside, because we are outside". The Jews can easily be different, individualistic, because they are the strong ones. In this context the Arabs need unity. *It is quite clear that the national narratives are being re-instituted and re-produced on both sides, but I still think that there are options of challenge and shake up. Questions arise: It is not about whether they should deal with the conflict, identity and minority-majority issues or not. It should play a role, apart from other less conflictual activities. The question is HOW to deal with it.*

Ali explains that some students, as well as teachers, are afraid. How will the group look at me, if I deviate? And the students are also affected by the 'what-to-say-to-make-teacher-happy' feeling which relates to the teacher presence issue discussed earlier. We speak more about teacher presences and language. Rasan (another Arab facilitator) comes in. I notice the use of some Hebrew within the Arabic, such as 'fine' and 'okay' put in, just like Scandinavians include some English. 'You speak some Hebrew in between with your Arabic', I say. He smiles embarrassed; "it happens sometimes". He blushes. He was talking about 'falafel and hummus encounters', a mocking term for encounters ignoring politics, also used by Esther last year and used by Fadwa as well. *The blending of food and language, not to mention music, show that exchanges and borrowing are inevitable, but though without altering power relationship or leading to reconciliation. For a start the experience of such blending, on both sides, tests the third space. Possibilities for everyday dialogue, as in Givat Haviva, allows for some sort of coping. For a solution, though, the state policy level must move as well. The fact that this encounter takes places, in the midst of the second intifada, proves that even though state level dialogue temporarily has failed again, it must go on 'on the ground'.*

*Everybody seems to walk around and talk quite openly. All my interviews are about 5 minutes long, here and there, when there is time left. The smoking breaks are a rare gift for me. In this way the talks hit many 'spontaneous notes' with comments on immediate practice, words, events. Although I prepare my interventions, the format works well as a supplement to more structured interview.*

I chose to join Fadwa and Helena's group. They are divided into subgroups, ideally not more than sixteen and with equal numbers, but there are less Arabs this time, and the group numbers about fifteen. I tell the facilitators that I want to watch, just as an experiment. I will watch body language, try to sense the non-verbal games, and maybe we can talk in breaks, I request. They approve with nodding, but contemplative acceptance, approving – but maybe slightly suspicious – to the odd idea. The students are giggling, looking. I smile back. They ask the facilitators why I want to be there if I do not understand them. The facilitators told them what I said. In the break, Helena says that in fact it is good, "the students accepted me completely", because she senses that "I am not affecting the group dynamics". *The blind ethnography is here turned into an advantage. What I am observing, with my other senses open, is 'natural' behaviour, since for the students I am not really there.*

Each group are mapping their region and lives by drawing on a large piece of paper. They can map mentally or more physically/geometrically: landscapes, cities, houses etc. *As far as I can see there are no particular differences in the appliance of style. Both groups are mapping in an atlas-like panoramic form.* Helena tells me that the Jews are usually more into the geometrical (not sure if she used this word) mapping. *In the particular map drawn here, it is not so obvious, but she indicates that the Jews are into a more engineerish precision – a modernist, urban mapping, one could say.* The Arabs draw more trees, the Jews the characteristic, red-roof houses, typical of Israeli settlements, kibbutzim and suburban areas. The Arab villages are different, and their houses, as drawn, have no red roofs. Both groups are active and energetic. Facilitators stay outside (See drawings in Photo section).

Afterwards they are going to put it together. An Arab girl picks a new large piece of paper and wants to start to produce a third, fresh one. *Very interesting, I thought. Drawing the third space!* The supervisors then stop them. The girl talks with the Arab facilitator for five-ten seconds in Arabic, and after some friendly negotiation in the group, they start to cut-and-paste, putting bits from each groups world on a third piece - *which in a sense will be a new space as well.* I notice that translation is used often, and that the facilitators have 'speeches' or statements in both languages. During the creation of a third map, there is a deadlock, where the Arabs seem more eager - *desiring change* - while the Jews are leaning backwards, more indifferent. *The scissors*

*versus redrawing philosophy very much mirrors the political. Should we share, separate or just slowly pacify the weak party?* But they are dictated to cut-and-paste and finally they succeed. The Arabs are drawing the Star of David in a flag at some point and it is placed in the bottom. *Quite a gesture to the Jews.* The new drawing is basically just putting it all together. *The re-configuration is only possible through a combination of extracts of the two drawings, not through invention from scratch. Wishes of a new world are played down and material realities taken seriously. The activity encourages forms of action or initiation in the Arendtian sense, i.e. working socially, in negotiation, with the existing reality in innovative and unpredictable ways.*

In the break, the facilitators explain that they would not let them start from fresh, since the past and the present reality had to be taken with them. We cannot erase the past. Helena and Fadwa walk arm in arm back to the office while I follow, listening to their translations and asking questions. Their summaries of what happened are enriching and unfolding vague impressions already sensed.

After the break, the students all seem tired. Each group is hesitant in addressing or being dialogic with the other. Conversation goes through facilitators. Internal dialogue, among Jews, and among Arabs, is occurring, however. They are approaching a discussion on identity. No games, just talking. This will be clearer the next day with an identity-cards-on-the-floor game. The finishing exercise is to present a performance, again Jewish group versus Arabic group. *This is an encounter, but the distance is deep, and it is surely two groups and not one group working.* As predicted the Arabs perform their traditional *debka* and the Jews a common circle dance. The Jewish facilitator said during the break before the performance that the Arabs usually finish their preparation easily. They know their culture, but for the Jews… "what is our culture?", Helena asked mockingly. *The Diasporic, heterogeneous character of Jewish history is here shown. Although united in a state, and a common religion, their forefathers experiences were diverse.* At some point during a break, Fadwa says: "they do not know that I am Christian, and that is good". The Arab students are all Muslims. Later they find out, and she felt the students altered their attitudes to the worse.

Later, after the evening dance performance, I speak to some students and teachers. There are three Arab teachers and only Nadim feel comfortable and interested enough to have a proper conversation in English. After some chat among all of us, I move outside with Nadim, and soon a group of students follows. While sitting on the bench Nadim diplomatically express that they are happy with the meeting, they "did not come to solve", "they came to speak", they "did not expect change", "only to speak". It is the teacher's job to keep up bringing up conflict issues in the school on an everyday basis, Nadim explains The Arab teacher group are come from a

environmental or/and natural sciences background, and they have been playing with the idea of a co-operative environmental project with the Jewish class. *Such snowballs within the encounter - an opportunity for crosscutting Arendtian action - shows one of the beneficial sides of the workshop. They use the encounter to get acquainted, and to test if they can build something educational together.*

An Arab girl approaching our space curiously tells me that she came here to "speak Hebrew". Suddenly more people come and my talk with the teacher now evolves into a big group discussion. Soon teachers and students get more critical or seem to speak more freely. The students were using my presence, initially, not to voice their inner angers or dissatisfaction, but as an opportunity for 'fun' and some English. And I am the one dragging them into issues with questions that may be too leading, like 'come on, tell me, what message do you have for the Jews tomorrow [second and final day], there must be something you want to tell them?' The first Arab girl who came along, Habib, says: "we are Palestinians, it is our land". "We are a minority but we have a right to live as other citizens". "We have our own culture", "we are proud", "we are citizens as well". "Next generation will change". "Now it will be the same [things will not change]". "We can speak with Jews closely here". "Not all of the Jews feel the same". "Some of them believe we can live together". Some Jews "feel superior". I am a bit afraid of the presence of the teacher, and the fact that they may say things he wants to hear. Later I realise that there seems to be a special and honest student–teacher relation in this group, and that the students may be genuine. Ali, the facilitator, notices with surprise, that the relationship is unusually good. *Very non-hierarchical I notice, although the teachers seem in control. The pupils do not take the roles as pawns in the game, however, we are still not close to the 'chaos school' where all behave like mighty kings and queens.*

The message for the Jews is that "Israel must leave the West Bank", Nadim concludes, leaving the diplomatic style. "The enemies of Israel are our brothers". "It is a democracy for the Jews". More Arab students come along; the Jews have left to their accommodation places. There is not much convivial activity in the social/common hall where the dances happened. Initially, a few girls, Jews and Arabs, approached each other and had friendly dances. I seem to be stuck in the Arab group, and I am invited to a birthday as well. It seemed better just to move on, and try to follow the offerings of the moment. I get the girls to sing some Umm Kalthum and Fayrus. Some of the few Arab singers I listen to occasionally. They perform easily. Ishmael, an Arab boy, performs in front of me to impress the girls, "love is life, life is love", he croons. "I have several girlfriends", he boasts. "So you write Arabic [I wrote something down for him], so why do you not speak, what is the problem?" He teases, I speak some Arabic, but we don't get that far, and he starts dancing instead, to impress the girls. Well done, Ismael.

Half an hour later I walk with them down to the birthday party. The Jewish group is absent. *It is sad that it is so. This could be an important unofficial, spontaneous, off-the-record encounter. If they cannot find an excuse or occasion to socialise, argue or get acquainted, attracted, encouraged or discouraged, what is the point in coming? This seems to be business as usual. Nobody is being evil or confronting, or breaking the ice, just normal separation as all over Israel, where there has been a minimum of actual violent encounters (apart from during the first weeks of the second intifada, as described in Chapter 3), but certainly a conflict. According to other research accounts (e.g. Rustin, 1999, Halabi, 2001) the groups do in general mix. Rustin refers to the "fight over tapes", when the official programme is over and dance happens spontaneously. Helena made a note, though, that they are always separate in the cantina.*

The Arab students and teacher have a chat and laughs and we eat cake. I have a talk with Ali in the dark somewhere on the way down to the party, *unfortunately this is one of the conversations I didn't get stored (memorised) or written down afterwards.* However, I talk to him again at the lawn where candlelight blowing and cake cutting is underway. The teachers and the students seem so relaxed together and they are laughing. Ali says, that it is very rare - *and he surely means it is a good sign* - to see such a teacher–student relationship. The students are making fun of the teachers sometimes. 'People generally did not seem that depressed', I say. "Well, [sighing] we have to get on with our lives", he replies. *This shows the resilience, among Arabs, but it could also be happening in the Jewish group. Particularly for the Arabs, the visit to Givat Haviva is as well seen as a break, a trip away from school. This inevitably makes the learning more informal and raises questions on the nature of learning outside or on the edge of formal learning settings. It is not necessarily a bad thing that the encounters among the students not are seen as 'school'. Other senses are opened, and the pressure of marks and achievement are temporarily gone. By offering non-achievement, alternative learning pedagogies for pupils and students and adults in addition to the educational system Givat Haviva is, in this sense, more like a peoples college, Scandinavian 'folk high school', for learning for life, that is to say learning as living, as a way of conducting life, not to confuse with the concept of lifelong learning in, for example, British open universities.*

**15. October. Second and last day, workshop 1**

After a sort of holding-hands game played as a way of introducing the day in a social way, the participants went straight into an identity game: 16 cards are spread on the floor. On each card a specific identity-component is written (In Hebrew and Arabic – I could read most of the Arabic) 'Ashkenazi', 'Mizrachi', 'Jewish', 'Israeli', 'Arab', 'Palestinian', 'Muslim', 'Christian',

'Druze', 'Zionist', 'religious', 'non-religious', 'human being', 'teenager', 'boy', 'girl'. *I thought the last four were very interesting*. The participants had to pick one card, and then three, with which they identified with. During the exercise there was a sense of indifference and lack of interest. When an Arab guy spoke, 'Palestinian', 'Arab' and 'Muslim' were mentioned. The most commonly picked cards were 'Human being' and 'Teenager'. *This might indicate an impact of the practice of encountering the other and realising commonalities, as well as difference, but through a lens seeing the face, not just the discourse, the border police, the stone thrower, or the narration in school of the events of the War of Independence, nakba, Holocaust and Zionist pioneers and so forth, as described in Chapter 3. The 'other' becomes something else sitting there on his chair fiddling with his mobile in blue jeans.*

There is not much activity or interest, the facilitators have to talk, make questions and keep things alive. It is clear that the discussion is now becoming sensitive and that no one really wants to make the jump into an argument. I have made notes on clothing during the quiet phase. Though almost dressed in the same style, the Jewish group - also in comparison to the full group of students present at Givat Haviva - are generally more varied in style, more individualistic, and generally the Jewish girls wear less. *The Arabs are not less stylish or smart than the Jews, just a bit more 'modest'. None of the girls dress Friday-night-on-the-high-street style, that is to say they have got clothes on. They are all "Western", but the Arabs are less flamboyant.* A few Arab girls wear hijab (veiled/in headgear), but with the face completely free, and in tight jeans. One Jewish and one Arab girl both wear shirts with visible NIKE logos. *The Arabs face a creolisation of their language with Hebrew and English blended into their mother tongue, or spontaneously available as another language. Ali's use of the Hebrew 'ken' (yes) in Arabic conversation, as noted earlier, also indicates this. The young peoples style is not so different from any other culture, a result of an ongoing cultural cutting and pasting: e.g. hijab and tight jeans, NIKE and Islam etc. – which reveals new hybridities among the broad divisions, outlined in Chapter 3 (See also Les Back, 1996).*

Further to the creolisation of style a Jewish *heavy metal hippie hybrid type at some point makes a nonchalant comment* (see his drawing in picture section) and one of the Arab girls strikes back. Soon they are into a controlled dialogue, the interest is growing and after a few minutes the students manage alone. Some anger arises and a Jewish guy leaves. The discussion is in Hebrew. Arabic is most often overrun when talk in the workshops become conversation in the form of responsive ping-pong. It slows down dialogue, for the Jews to have to wait for translations, and the Arabs speak Hebrew well enough. I sense the different accent, but the speed is about the same. In general the Jews are more assertive and aggressive – *dugri speech?*

One Arab guy tries to smoothen the atmosphere, and some smiles are seen. The Arabs are on the defensive.

During the break, I speak to Ali, and he tells me that Neve Shalom is more focused on the political issues; they "do not come to be friends". Another facilitator said that Givat Haviva does not prepare as well, and the students are surprised. They come to have fun, get time off from school, get a break, and then a lot of it is hard work, they are not properly prepared to deal with the issues.

Next is a uni-national session where each group works through the first explicitly political session. *The facilitators seem to take on a teaching role rather than facilitating role.* I go back and forth between the Arab and Jewish group. *They are used to the odd fellow in the corner now, with notebook and camera.* Only a few of the Arabs smile now and then. The Arab facilitator speaks a lot. In the Jewish group the guy who left the bi-national session is back, now speaking, not gently, but grumpy. The Jewish teacher, Sarah, is present and not told to leave. *The Jewish group seems to be in a what-is-the-use mood.*

My notes say that every adult and student, Jew or Arab, "breathe through their mobile phones". Some are told to turn them off. They often sit in a closed circle, and in the breaks they are often used. If a student is bored he picks up his phone and plays with it. *It seems worse than England or Denmark. Maybe the encounter experience makes them uncomfortable? The artificial or unusual situation could lead students back to habitual mobile phone land, or maybe it is just general teenage insecurities?*

The Jewish teacher is angry that the organisers have not given her pupils any food. It's 11.30 am and there is still some time until lunch. *The Jews sit on the grass more concerned with chips and soda than anything else, the conflict, the dialogues or whatever. "Israelis are spoiled", as Hebe, the translator, sighed. A few days earlier, Miriam, a Jewish Israeli friend, and I had coffee in Tel Aviv, and Miriam had a dispute with the waitress who went from tightly upset to all forgotten in 30 seconds. "They go from one extreme to another", Miriam apologised. The teacher – clutching at straws with the silly point about food - looks like a 1970s librarian or kindergarten pedagogue, loose clothing, and hippie like - like the facilitator Helena. Fadwa, the Arab, looks very modern, smart, young business woman-like. Rachel is harder to describe, she is not a person too concerned with style. It comes out of her face, mouth and eyes instead, old jeans and a t-shirt from an Israeli equivalent of Asda. Rasan and Ali looking normal, laddish, anonymous. Ali a bit more stylish.*

Back to Sarah, the Jewish teacher: she tells me that she went to an Neve Shalom encounter last year; it was better organised, there were food, rooms were better, tea and coffee all day. The Jewish and Arab teachers sit together, apparently comfortably, trying to work out their environmental co-operation thing.

*When they get together again the dialogue is very bumpy low energy-like, and again it seems like it is the facilitators who slowly have to get them started. They are approaching the issue of land, property and home. It evolves into an argument. Generally the Jews are more offended, and the Arabs most often go into passivity. The Jews more easily get tense, close to shouting. Their tempers are unstable, often oscillating between tenderness and quarrel, as also illustrated in friends comment about the waitress behaviour in Tel Aviv or translator's comment on spoiled Israelis. The issue of the spoiled, lively, argumentative and assertive sabra Israeli, is an interesting thesis in itself, but here I would just outline an hypothesis: it is related to the sense of freedom, and freedom of speech and selfhood, the Ashkenazi Holocaust survivor would indulge their children with. Many of the first immigrants and their forefathers knew life under more restrained and threatened circumstances, often as a minority doing their business quietly, as a minority within other nations. Paradoxically, as was described in Chapter 3, the Palestinians used to been the ones who did their business quietly in Israel, but now assert their legitimacy and identity and demand rights. Apropos:*

"Arabic is legitimate", says Rasan, and in fact it is used a lot, although not half of the time. The Arab facilitators have to work hard, especially when the Arabs have phases where they speak Arabic only. At one point, the Arab facilitator was collecting pens and paper from some of the Jews who were bored, fumbling with drawings as a way of getting through the day. After this, the energy rose. The issue of land was discussed, talking about the idea of Tel Aviv as the Jewish capital and Jerusalem as the Palestinian. Australia comes up for some reason. In the break Helena explained that Fadwa moved their pens and papers away as a way of taking the comfortable power away from the Jews. Just before the break, the Jews did not draw or sleep with open eyes. They were close to shouting, but only among themselves.

I speak to Sarah, the Jewish female teacher again in the break. We sit on the lawn. "We are separate people, we have to recognise that", she says. "We can not cooperate without recognising [this]". She explained that she had been involved with an environmental education programme and institute called Migal in the Golan, and, while Neve Shalom did not want to recognise Golan as being a part of the Israeli encounters (*possibly because it is seen as occupied territory from Syria, lost in the Yom Kippur War, 1973*), the school found it easier to switch to Givat Haviva, in case tension between Migal and Neve Shalom occurred. Givat Haviva

apparently does not have these policies. Sarah, the teacher, thinks this is a good experience, to get to know the "person behind", "the person under the title, Arab". She says that Givat Haviva had not prepared her properly. No one from Givat Haviva came to the school before to introduce the workshop and Givat Haviva. "With Azmi and Ali we had bad communication", she said. It costs one hundred and sixty four shekel per person pr night, Sarah says (about twenty five-thirty pounds). Apart from these complaints, she said, however, that she thought the organisers were doing a good job, and that the price was fine. She wanted to use the experience to get into contact with other teachers and develop her own school project with the Arabs. *This is one interesting outcome of an encounter, I think. Small, local snowballs, created in co-operation, with mutual benefit that must be a possible and aimed follow up, if any. Unfortunately, it is not common that the schools continue with projects together when the encounter is over. They go back to their separate worlds.* Sarah wants to evaluate what the students get out of it, and Givat Haviva is not helping her. She asked for my help, and took me to the Arab teachers. We sat down together and I suggested a range of questions they could ask the students. They listened with interest, some translation went on, and they all wrote down in Hebrew, basic questions on expectations, experiences, good and bad ones, such as 'what have you learned', 'was their something you would have spent more time doing', 'how would you like to continue? *I am not sure why she asked me to help. But, in the situation, I felt that the whole thing made a bit more sense; that I gave something back! The teachers might feel uncertain about their role in the encounter, their teaching relegated to observation, and therefore seek some comments from the stranger, an outsider, however opinionated.*

In the final session, they seemed to get through without getting into conflict. It was clear that they did not work very well together. The facilitators explained afterwards that this was a very hard group, that the Arabs were weak and there were a general disinterest and lack of motivation. My memory sometimes kicks in when notes have not been sufficient. I remember an incident during the identity sessions, in which I sensed a quiet-before-the-storm atmosphere. A Jewish girl was responding to some of the Arab girls' statements about not feeling very Israeli. This disappoints the Jews, and this girl suggested that the Arabs should move away, if they do not feel a part of the state. Fadwa, the Arab facilitator, looked stunned, and, she explained afterwards, she was trying to control herself, keep calm, and just translate it to the Arabs. The tension in the group started building up when the Arabs emphasise their Arab/Palestinian identities and when they refuse to agree that the state should be Jewish. *As noted in some of the interviews, and also in other research accounts, Jewish Israelis commonly get surprised when the Arab Israelis assert their Palestinianness. The sharpening of the Palestinian identity among Israel's Arabs, as described in Chapter 3, comes as a shock. This is often followed by the*

*loyalty oath questions from the Jews, around e.g. what side they are on in a case of war, as noted in chapter 5 (see also e.g. Rustin, 1999 and Halabi, 2001).*

**17. October. First day of two, workshop 2**

Again Galilee classes were meeting up. The Jewish class is from Misgav high school and the Arab is from Turan. Misgav high school brings a new class every year. While waiting for the other facilitators to arrive, I speak with Jacob, a new Jewish facilitator, who has been working with poor Jewish groups in Jaffa. He has done political science and wants to go and study in England. 'Why not the US', I ask. "No, I do not like the US", he replies. People start to come in with odd smiles in their faces. "They shot Gandhi". *This was the morning when minister Zeevi got assassinated in a Jerusalem hotel room.* The schools are late, and so is one of the Arab facilitators, Rasan. He might have been caught up with roadblocks on his way from his home inTira, an Arab city close to the West Bank border, some of the facilitators think.

I get some information about how things ended last time. According to the programme, or the most usual programme, they are supposed to finish by writing a letter about their experience. This was what Rachel said. But in the final session something else happened. They changed things and talked about the biology/environmental co-operative project. *It was probably a good choice to help along what the schools wanted to do in the future.*

Today I am there in time and I have a look at the programme for the two days. Rachel helps with a rough translation of the Hebrew text.

Day 1:

| | |
|---|---|
| 9.30 – 10.00 | arrival |
| 10.00 – 11.15 | getting to know each other, games |
| 11.30 – 11.15 | break |
| 11.30 – 12.45 | personal acquaintance, also cultural acquaintance, boy-girl, family, school, community relations |
| 12.45 – 15.00 | lunch and break |
| 15.00 – 16.15 | deeper cultural acquaintance |
| 16.15 – 16.30 | break |
| 16.30 – 17.30 | stereotypes |
| 17.30 – 17.45 | break |

| | |
|---|---|
| 17.45 - 19.00 | identity issues, personal and group identity |
| 19.00 - 20.00 | dinner |
| 20.00 – 20.30 | preparing cultural presentation |
| 20.30 – 21.00 | cultural performance by each group |
| 21.00 onwards | free/leisure time |

Day 2:

| | |
|---|---|
| 8.00 - 9.00 | breakfast |
| 9.00 – 9.45 | uni-national session (Jews alone and vice versa), working through yesterday's encounter |
| 9.45 – 10.00 | break |
| 10.00 – 11.15 | minority – majority issues |
| 11.15 – 11.45 | letter writing |
| 11.45 – 12.30 | evaluation and processing of what has happened |
| 12.30 - 13.30 | lunch and finish |

When Rachel arrives, "already smoking too much", as she says, we talk about her background, the morning assassination, and about academic work on conflict issues in Israel. *I mention Tobi Fenster who has criticised the term 'coexistence', making similar points as Hassan and Dichter text; see Chapter 5.* Rachel says Tobi Fenster has lectured at Givat Haviva. "Something about women", she says. We return to the Gandhi story ."He looked like him". "Only physical similarities, ha ha", a facilitator jokes. He was the Minister of Tourism and he resigned just a few days ago. "Let us see how the events will affect us". "It is not unusual with a bomb during the workshops", Rachel said. "Haifa University will observe us today", a facilitator says. *Oh, more intruders sticking their noses into this. But actually no professors came. Instead a questionnaire was given to the facilitator on day two for distribution to the students. Rachel translates it, and she thinks as me, that the questions are odd, uneasy.* Rachel now says that the Arab class is coming for the second time. This kind of meeting is not made for second timers, she moans. The Arabs will be disappointed tomorrow, and for the Jews it will be a fresh experience. I am puzzled. Why are they doing this? Rachel reckons it is the lack of participation from Arab schools at the moment which forces the organisers to play tricks. *During the encounter it doesn't seem to play a role though. This meeting proved to be, as my summary will show, quite dynamic.*

While waiting for Rasan, I ask Rachel about deviances from the programme or from usual facilitation. She says she has tried to facilitate alone, with no Arab partner, a few times during

the three-four years she has been here. When Rasan finally arrives we all gather outside. *It is another pleasant warm day, about twenty five degrees Celsius. Givat Haviva looks like a countryside campus or summer camp school, with lots of trees and green grass – the latter, as in Neve Shalom, is just another example of the Europeanisation of the Middle East landscape, tamed by the Jewish Ashkenazi designers of the country. It is reminiscent of American university campus, and most of the water need to keep the grass green comes from the West Bank! The buildings and the trees are different, though, looking rough but attractive, and the whole area is spacious., at the same time having many cosy, intimate spots where people can have a quiet talk under a tree. The Arabs and Jews are arranged in separate groups, glancing sometimes at each other, but without much curiosity or tension. There are differences in clothing, particularly between the Jewish and the Arab girls. Again the Jewish girls wear less. No Muslims are wearing headgear this time, but again the Arab students are Muslims.*

I join a new facilitator team this time headed Rasan and Rachel. Rasan introduces the workshop in Arabic, and then Rachel does the same in Hebrew. As is the most case of the Jewish facilitators, Rachel does not know Arabic. They speak less than I do, and do not even know the Arabic alphabet. *This is typical for Jews in Israel, although I find it surprising that Jewish facilitators here, in this profession, are not better equipped. Most of the road signs in the country are in Arabic as well, and it is their second, official language. The Jews have Arabic in school for one year. Anyway – Rachel is an extremely sympathetic and nice woman, and I am impressed by what she is doing.*

Again the Jewish group is a bit larger *which puts them in the majority position, mirroring reality, although the aim here is to arrange them in equal numbers.* There are about sixteen in the group, ten of these are Jews. The atmosphere is amazingly calm and relaxed. There is a lot of giggling and many smiles and no tension. As last time the group form a circle in the room. The Arabs sit together as do the Jews. Rasan, though, sits in the Jewish half circle and Rachel in the Arab section. There is a 'name round' where they discuss what their names mean. They then continue with a game: one person begins by saying his/her name, and then the next has to say names, the next three and so forth. Everybody leans forward and participates with smiles and curiosity. There is a lot of laughing about funny pronunciation. Then the name game is taken even further – *is this necessary:* A girl stands in the middle with a piece of paper, and says a name while dropping it, then a guy jumps up and has to catch it before it touches the floor. If it reaches the floor, a 'slice' of the paper has to be taken off. *They all behave like kids on a some school camp, and there is no conflict at all at this stage.* Next, one person from each group goes outside with Rachel. They stand in a close circle hand in hand, mixed, I have missed the point. A girl comes in, tries to break in, then a boy comes in, lots of laughing, facilitators leaving.

Rasan and Rachel both smile in a relaxed matter, rather routinely. *It shows they have tried this many times before – but they seem really to enjoy this moment of the encounter.*

A new activity is introduced where there are two circles, an inner and outer. The people in the inner circle face the outer circle. Circles are moving around in opposite ways, and people are shifting around. They have talks face to face on boy relations, girl relations, boy-girl relations and family. All are amazingly active and joyful. The youngsters all got sparkles in their eyes. Rasan comes over: "a very active group", he says. A Jewish teacher comes in, but she doesn't seem to affect the group dynamics. It seems like this kind of work is happening in Hebrew only. The facilitators can not be in each group translating. It looks like chat and play, not discussion or argument. *The conflict politicises culture, but these youngsters may also, now and then, have had enough of that reality. It appears, that the encounter, to the extent it is possible, is also used as a break from work/school.* Later some of them start comparing mobile phones. There is a final talk in the wide circle. There is a drop in energy level after an hour. Girls play with their hair, giggling. Generally, as in the first workshop, the girls are more dominating and they are also outnumbering the boys. *Their body language, especially among the Jews, is well developed and more expressive than amongst northern Europeans. The girls are not afraid to refer to their feelings and experiences by pointing fingers, or bending their wrist and hands toward their chest. They are a lovely bunch these 16-17 years olds. In all of them I sense an odd dance between child and adult, two voices, sometimes singing together in disharmony, while of other times one of the voices takes over. The 'adult' wants to speak, but the child has been in business for longer. There is a twofold internal, Bakhtinian, dialogue: in one sense the child-adult negotiation. In another sense there is the peer-pressure against a stepping-out, the individual taking another stance, initiating on the border of, or outside expectation and socialisation. But then again, particular agencies - also drop outs (hippies) or "uncalled" (bikers) (Willis, 1978: 7) need a structure or sub-structure to support it (Lovell, 2003). Related to this is the Freireian process of making the group 'knowing', the conscientização*[4]*, referring to an empowerment of the group. In this case particularly the Arab group since they are inferior, which undermines or discourages individuality.*

Just before the break people were talking about stereotypes. The Jewish girls expressed positive surprise about the Arabs; saying "oh, you do not wear headgear, you've got boyfriends". The Arab girls had said something about having boyfriends in their twenties., "you are all fixed up" [addressing the Arab girls], Rachel quoted the Jewish girls. Rachel delivers the translation with. The Jews are not aware of how Arabs in Israel lives today. After lunch they continue with a

[4] The term *conscientização* refers to a learning, or a process of developing a critical consciousness, where the subject learns to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 1996: preface).

drawing exercise in which each group is supposed to produce images of the other, and another drawing where they try to represent the particular group/other present today. The paper remains blank in the Jewish group, while the Arabs each work energetically on separate pieces of paper, though also talking. I ask Rachel why this is. She says that the Jews are having a really good discussion and are trying to decide collectively. While they draw, and I nosily leave my chair in the corner and look over their shoulders, I can observe other things as well*: generally the Jews are more individualistic, expressive in their different styles, both boys and girls. The Arabs are more on the chewing gum wagon though. There is no piercing in the Arab group.* Among the different drawings on the floor I noticed portraits of the Jewish religious other (men in black), many kids, the Star of David, a Hanukkah candlelight, veiled Arab women, Jewish women with a string of pearls waving a scarf. Jews decided to put their separate pieces of paper into one drawing. *The drawings reveal, on the one hand, that each part rely on stereotypes, and yet the encounter, on the other hand, presents 'fresh impressions', inviting both parties to negotiate old and new material: the expected or frozen image of the other is defrosted through her very appearance in person.*

In the following discussion, the first signs of tension are shown. A dominating tall and beautiful Jewish girl asks for *ivrit*, the Hebrew name for Modern Hebrew. In English translation, just 'Hebrew'. The Jews asks again for *ivrit*. They are suddenly more aggressive, and they do not understand the Arab response, which is not harsh, but showing puzzlement. Games and activity stops. The facilitator let this train run, the group is really working: "ivrit", "aravit", "anglit" (Hebrew, Arabic, English). The three guys in the Jewish group are silent for most of the time. Some Arabs show disinterest or retire into quietude. Rasan unsuccessfully tries to stop the discussion. The whole thing kicked off, when one of the Arab girls started to speak Arabic in and Rasan then translated. Some of the Jews wanted Hebrew only! "This is a Jewish country". "This is Eretz Israeel" [the land of Israel]. *It is the language of Zionism, borrowing from the bible, the Promised Land, in order to realise a political, national project. The words, 'Eretz Israel', occasionally shouted, also make up the first two words of the body text in the Declaration of the State of Israel, as noted in Chapter 3.* You have to speak this language, and you have just shown that you do it fine, what is the point with Arabic?, some in the Jewish group points out. *When Arabic is spoken for more than ten seconds, the Jews become impatiently insecure, and begin to terrorise the dialogue and speak internally -applying interruptive dugri style (Zupnik, 2000: 85).* The Arabs look puzzled by the harsh request to speak Hebrew. They do not get angry, they just pull out and stay silent. *The situation is complex, because it appears to be a chosen silence - a non-interruptive musayra style (Zupnik, 2000: 85) - and a means of handling the situation, a 'tactic' in de Certeau's sense (1984: 37), since they are trying to gain some power in a situation where they are in a minority and have*

*been put up against a wall by the Jewish Israeli demand for Hebrew. This confirms the points made in Chapter 5 on power games inside the encounter. The Jews surprise, discomfort and anger of hearing Arabic in Israel, shows how much Zionism is incorporated and naturalised, and how much the national approach is rooted. The issue of post-Zionism and the colonial settler state might be relevant to the facilitators, but for the Jewish youngsters such ideas are not a part of their world view. It is very hard for the facilitators, in such a short time, to create a breakthrough, to disrupt or deconstruct the one-dimensional language. Here I am referring to the ideas in presented in Chapter 3 about Amoz's writings on the fire brigades of language.*

When there is a break, I ask the two facilitators straight away why they do not intervene more. They reply, in chorus, that they will not teach, only facilitate. *This relates to Mediated Learning Experience, explained earlier in this chapter.* Rachel said afterwards that the Jewish group did not allow the Arabs to "speak a word of Arabic". "This is a Jewish country, you have to speak Hebrew", she quoted. Rachel is excited, saying that "it is the best session I have ever had, they dealing with the real issues, and they are not even aware". *Rachel might be suggesting that the students are not yet conscious or reflective about the impact of the experience. This means that, even though confusion and confrontation is created between both parties, a learning process that will continue at home has just started. That is a good thing. Education is a process, quoting Shuli. The mainstream Israeli educational system provides a Zionist process. The encounters can not provide a questioning process, but they may trigger it, although Shuli was sceptical, as reported in Chapter 5. Encounters does not provide time or techniques for re-configuring processes in the Ricoeurian sense, and maybe they are not providing time enough for other speech genres, a new language around the conflict, to develop, in the Bakhtinian sense. Shuli thought the encounters could be damaging. I would say that the ruptures that the encounters create are a start, and in some ways these brief encounters work as temporary 'historikerstreits'*[5] *where young people get a chance to go beyond their identities and the histories they grew up with. Not an easy task, however, at a time in their life where identity and their own history is formed.*

After the coffee break something very interesting happens. The Jews come in first and instead of forming a half circle of Jews versus Arabs they disseminate themselves covering the whole circle. A seat here and there is free, not a cohesive section as before. The Arabs they look puzzled, *where is my seat, where is my(!) group? The Jews are sitting there with quizzical grins. I have my thoughts about a cunning Jewish plan, but also thinking that they may have been told*

[5] In Germany in the 1980s a debate about the history of the Holocaust in relation to contemporary German identity and responsibility took place (see e.g. Mayer, 1988). The new historians in Israel, such as Morris, 1983 and Pappé (ed.) 1998, and the post Zionist debate (e.g. Silberstein, 1999) is in a similar way Israel's *historikerstreit.* See first sections in Chapter 3.

*to change places.* They had not, I am told afterwards. Rachel explained, that the Jews tried to weaken the Arabic 'bloc' by separating them. She recognises the cunning plan with a trace of disgust in her voice, and sneers "they mirrored Israeli policies". They were fragmenting the Arabs, also a minority in the encounter, into sub-units, *just as the Israelis call them Muslims, Christian and Druze or place strategic roads and settlements in the West Bank, splitting formerly cohesive Palestinian areas into bantustans. The meeting thereby cruelly reflects the macro-politics, unless pedagogies and facilitating means are put in play to go against it. Lower numbers of Arabs makes it quite difficult to work against the macro-situation, which all participants clearly carry, in their bodies and minds, into the encounter. The little chair game reminds me of Rabinowitz (1998) writings on the Judaization of the Galilee, the strategies against the Bedouins of the Negev (Abu Saad, 2000) and as well the Ashkenazi elite's policies against the Oriental Jew in the 50s and 60s (Yiftachel, 1997) – issues which are described in Chapter 3.*

I wonder why the tough looking Arab guy does not speak at all. 'What is wrong with him', I ask Rachel. "I think he is dumb", she says. That is all right or normal, she explains "he is 16" she shrugs dryly. In the new formation of the class, in which the Jews cunningly fragmenting the Arab unit, the discussion continues. There is a lot of *bevakasha* (please), *beseder* (okay, good or yes, depending on the context). Some more drawings come out from the game that was abandoned over an hour ago. The game was stopped spontaneously because of the discussion. Now the Jews portray Arab stone throwers, masked men, police, women veiled in black completely, a mosque with the crescent moon, the characteristic Israeli red-white patterned road stones; another typical Israeli cityscape icon. The Arabs have drawn women wearing daring bathing suits, and orthodox, kids, and the Star of David, as earlier noted. Each group look sceptical and a bit reserved after the presentation. They enter a discussion about Judaism and Islam. The Arabs look bewildered and lack confidence. There are less of them in the room. The Jews argue amongst themselves as well. The tall girl, Mona, is attacking Islam, and they are now approaching issues in the light of the September 11$^{th}$ attacks as well. Rachel tries unsuccessfully to enter the discussion. Mizrachim, ideology, conflict. They debate all the hard issues now. The Arab group has stopped speaking. Benjamin, a Jewish guy is on the edge of this group, trying to correct the girls without being too deviant, without alienating himself from the group. At some point, the Jewish girl brigade stops speaking as well. I spoke to Rachel about Mona, the tall girl, during the next break. She has got "a lot of fears…", "she is not focused". Later Rachel explains that Mona had experienced a stone throw attack while riding in a car with her mother. No one got hurt, but it has marked her. *Students get a chance of writing themselves in, they get a chance to be heard and speak to the other, which is good, but the perspectives can lead both parties in separate emotional trenches. In the upcoming final chapter, I elaborate on*

*the possibility and advantages of using other texts, also strongly personal accounts, graphic in expression and style, as something they can relate to, yet not being to personal, since it is not their own experiences.*

After the break the Arab group stays away, while the Jews sit waiting. Rachel is expecting a boycott. I go to the hallway outside and look out the window, and down there on the lawn in the sunshine stands Ali grinning. The Arab group comes in, after Ali went down speaking to them. Back in class the Arabs now speak Arabic more often. The facilitators are silent. Some of the Arabs have changed clothes. There is quiet. Finally, Rasan speaks, followed by Rachel. The facilitators start to ask the numb Arab girls questions to get them to speak - a hippiesh type has stayed silent, *and close to Mona most of the time, a joiner? As noted earlier, the Arabs, in this case the girls, chose silence as an empowering tool, to create frustration in the Jewish group, and that was successful. Silence, in the form of quietude, is not a blind accept of the situation, but a protest of non-participation, like a hunger strike. A typical tactic of the dispossessed. Today there are as many Palestinians in Israel as there were in 1948 before al-nakba, and they are just starting to overcome the silence. The Palestinians in Israel are not really connected to those Palestinians in the territories who are in the midst of the struggle. They are not the Palestinians on the barricades, not the loud Palestinians, but more comfortable or less uncomfortable hybrids, sympathising with their brothers and sisters.* This subgroup in the workshop seems to have reached an 'should-we-stop-or-continue' point, a strange impasse. The facilitators seem to want some premises or conditions to be met or agreed upon by all of them. Then Rasan leaves with the Arabs. An unplanned, uni-national session now takes place.

The talk in the Jewish group is heated and there are internal differences which can more easily find expression now that the group is on its own. I went to the Arab group as well, but they got distracted, began to approach me, smiling and giggling. *It is, in general, easy for me to get eye contact with the Arab pupils, while the Jews seem more insecure or indifferent about my presence.* I seem to destroy the group dynamics, so I leave. Just before that, an Arab boy was grabbing my notebook, not aggressively, he just very much wanted to have a look, understandably. I let him, 'go ahead, but you can not read it anyway' I say (I hardly can myself!). Rasan interferes hastily, takes the black book away from him and hands it over to me apologetically.

In the Jewish uni-national session, it seems to be boys against girls. Back in class, in confrontation, there is now shouting. Mona, *leading the girl brigade as usual*, points fingers towards her temporal bones several times, and the Arab girls are speaking again. Mona is

addressing Rasan. The most aggressive Jews are leaving. "Ma as-salami" (goodbye, peace be with you), an Arabic girl says with grinning irony.
The two groups are of equal size now, there is a ceasefire and calm and more respectful dialogue emerges.
Some of the Arabs are now for the first time allowed undisturbed speaking time. Maybe they now listen due to exhaustion?. Facilitators slowly take over. They are explaining something. Teaching?

"What do you think of this fucking Israel", Ibn says afterwards. He is a chubby Arab boy with a mild face, and it surprises me to hear this point as the first thing coming our of his mouth during our conversation. I try to play the ball back to him, and start a conversation about this and that. "I can speak Hebrew if they have a problem", he says. "It is the same", "I did not expect anything". I ask about his expectations for tomorrow, "none", he replies. 'Why did you come here', "to get a break [from school]", he responds laconically. Finally we talk about the final part of the session, after the ceasefire, when all had calm conversation. The fact that some of the Jews left changed the atmosphere, he explains. It became more equal. "I could relax", he says. It was "leisure". *I am not sure he picked the right word to express what he meant here. He means, 'not threatening', 'not uncomfortable'*. Rachel says that the final bit, after the Jews left, they were experiencing a "catharsis". She is confident about her choice of word!

At dinner time I speak to Helena, the Jewish woman from the facilitator team I joined last time. She said it has been a very hard day. They are really working hard, but there is a lot of anger. When we sit down she is being quite confessional in between sighs and the cantina food (which is good by the way!) "I want to quit". "It is a very masculinist thing", "at least the Arabs speak with dignity", "I can not stay neutral, just facilitating", "I want to interfere". "It difficult to listen to this", "there is so much hatred". The programme seems to have been put aside. *Not just I am losing the overview of things. The presentation at night time is uncanny. The Jews and the Arabs separate almost completely. Each performs their dances, the same way as during the last workshop. The Arabs are very impressive and the Jews are not..*

Ali is having an informal evaluation back at the office with some of the facilitators, *Helena sitting with her herbal green tea, all showing their tired faces. Fadwa shows me a book; this is about "the massacre", she says. In a bookshop outside, it would have been another book and it would be about 'the war of independence, 1948'*. According to Jacob, the new facilitator – who said he had a really hard day – Ali was asking people to be more organised, work more as a team. It is very complex, Ali had lectured. You have to be calm, he had pledged. His impressing

fast Hebrew with an Arabic accent is ended with a sudden, guillotinic end: *layla tov* (good night).

Jacob and I have been put in the same room tonight. We walk back in the dark, and Jacob says that his group was okay, but that "the Jewish students hated me at some point". "They thought I was Arab". At some point he said jokingly "kill the Jews". *He is as well one of those self-hating Jews or? The participating students, on both sides, are observant and curious to learn if, and to what extent, they can gain support from their respective facilitator or maybe both of them. The Jews are puzzled by the fact, that the Jewish facilitators did not represent typical or mainstream Jewish Israeli attitudes, and that they do not blindly accept the Zionist national perspective. Instead, they facilitate or encourage the students to look for other options and adaptations and to reach for the traces and premises of their arguments. In that sense, they are covertly post-Zionist, encouraging a fresh reading of Israeli history: unturning the taken-for-granted stones of Zionism and the War of Independence (see the first sections of Chapter 3). A more detailed analysis of the language spoken would reveal more about the character of the student-facilitator relationship. The quote above, however, reflects the disappointment in the Jewish group with 'their' facilitator. He was not what they hoped he would be: an adult representative or ambassador of their opinions, someone to lead them in this meeting with the 'opponents', the Arabs.*

**18. October. Second and last day, workshop 2**

Some of the Jewish students, primarily from the subgroup I have been following, have been sent home for smoking hash the night before! *Unfortunately, I did no participant observation here.* The Jewish group is a bit smaller today. The quiet girl, hippiesh sort, sitting next to Mona for most of the sessions is gone. I was saying to Rachel that I sensed she was very supportive of Mona. Rachel said that she was not in particular supportive, but she was a "groupie". *This led me to other thoughts about peer relations and the sizes of the group and the emphasis on social processes. The encounters might gain from adding work in smaller units, with two, three or four participants, so the participants could get a chance to work more on the individual level, to get to know the other as person and get to know his/her unique story. This is not to be confused with a level that avoids the conflict. We could call this the interpersonal level, referring to the format discussed in Chapter 4, although it is still about conflict and group-formations, but addressed through the individual human being. Together with the existing social approach, we are close to the interactionist approach also presented in Chapter 4. To expand with many smaller units, all*

*facilitated, would raise the cost of running the encounters, since they would need more facilitators, as Helena said when we discussed this issue.*

They start off with an uni-national session meant to work through and discuss what happened yesterday. The Jewish group talks about some of the remarks in the Arab group. Nazism, is mentioned. "The Jews can not handle when Nazism is brought up by the Arabs", Rachel said [when Arabs are accusing them of repeating crimes against Arabs which the Nazi regime did to Jews]. The facilitators talk a lot in each group. The pupils seem to be listening and they are as defensive as yesterday. Rachel is struggling with making them re-think and understand. *It is hard being there now and understand so little, even though I am not there for discourse analysis (that was done in Chapter 5).* Rachel says afterwards, that she can translate some of it. But well, she is helping all the time. 'Is it still the best group you've worked with', I ask. She says it is one of the best. A range of keywords relating to present politics, religion and ethnicity in Israel is unfolded. After a calm phase, a few things increase the tension. Benjamin, the Jewish pupil speaks and Rachel has a speech as well, and Mona is getting loud again.

In the next bi-national session there are five Jews and six Arabs. I don't know where the rest are: did they just have enough of it - or have they sent home for smoking cannabis? The girls arrive late when the session has started and are asked to leave. Now the identity game with cards on the floor finally happens. It was supposed to happen last afternoon. They can pick any card they feel affiliated to. *So the rules applied are slightly different than during the last workshop.* The most obvious one for them first and then they can just make a prioritised list. The Jewish group answers: 'Israeli', 'Zionist', 'Jewish'. The Arab group: 'Palestinian', 'Arab', 'Muslim'. Again there is a strange impasse. The pupils are waiting for someone to break the ice. The facilitators are being quiet. Suddenly someone initiate. If you think you are Palestinian then move[!] is the message from Mona. The Arabs participate more now, and the Jews have accepted the translation. At some point a few people on each side start leaving. Benjamin, the blonde Jewish guy stays.

I approach him during the coffee break and ask him to elaborate on some of the issues. We start talking about language. Benjamin explains that the day before some of the girls had asked the Arabs to speak Hebrew. "Some did not ask so nicely and some did". "The girl asking not so nicely said that Jewish is the national language". "In fact there are two: Hebrew and Arabic", he explains carefully. 'And Russian is getting there', I say. He laughs. He says that he came here to "learn about the other" but also "your self" and he continues to explain that he "did not agree with the group". There was a problem with the other boys. One said "we treat the Arabs nicely", and Benjamin did not agree. He explains that he lives in an area where there are many Arab

villages, he did some work for a movement in Misgav where they tried to bridge the groups and they went out together. "We did not speak politics", he said "but you can not leave politics out". I ask him about what he has learned here, and he doesn't succeed in coming up with an answer. He looks thoughtful, contemplating saying, "I'll have to think about that". *I show my sympathy, while leaving him, returning to the next session. Some of the participants are really working and thinking - and also learning... something.*

After the final session, Rachel explains that Mona was talking to these Arabs as it they were part of one national group of Muslims. A long time they were circling around a 'suggestion' mentioned a few times: 'If you do not feel Israeli, why do not you leave?'. *This is the loyalty issue also addressed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 5. It addresses where your roots and primary identity is. The facilitators could help the students acknowledge, and negotiate, the complexities of the identity-picture. The identity card-game should help here. Each person can be coherent, and yet inhabit difference (using Pieterse, 2001) and paradoxes.* The Arabs were responding by saying 'I am Palestinian, I was born here'. The Arab silence the first day was partly - as earlier commented - a tactical reply to the attack, and partly they were caught in a situation where that seemed to be the only option. They had a hard time expressing themselves fully about the issues, Rachel said. And they found out that they could use silence as a "tool of resistance", "to make the Jews frustrated" – *the weapon of the weak!*

**Questions and bridge to conclusion**

I will now use a standard non-italic font. After this 'journey', I need to remember my foundational theoretical questions: how the forms of (be)longing, power and identity are expressed and negotiated, and the question of which new positions emerge, if any. In the final chapter I will present further exploration of how the presence of group versus group confrontation can be productive and how teacher / mediator / moderator / therapist / third party roles are set up.

Peer group relations and strong anxieties present on both sides seem to make it unbearably hard for either side to unzip the straightjacket of the national discourse of group against group. Conflicts are often holding the internal differences in each group together[6], and the encounter structure furthermore supports the group versus group confrontation. It also supports dialogue, certainly dialogue about conflict. But *how* is conflict, on many levels, to be dealt with and spoken about if the talk is to remain dialogic? The encounter workshops create an open space

[6] A point made by Elinor Kofman. Personal conversation 19th. March 2001.

for anarchy and verbal fight. Rather than providing a safe space for dealing with the issues carefully, unpacking the known and the unknown slowly, the workshop room provide ground for re-action, or an acting out, different from *durcharbeiten*[7]. it might be seen as a third space in its most progressive and constructive phases, but it is rarely so. Only the bi-national sessions seem to leave a door open for heteroglossia and ambivalence, the suppressed features of the type of identity-formations and approaches which the encounter projects *should* support in order to be constructive and dialogic. But time is short and the groups are too big. There are a lot of personal fears which could be worked through therapeutically in parallel with, or even before, the social processes.

The sixteen person forum is challenged by its inherent tendency to give voice to the loud and marginalize the not so talkative. In general there is only limited space for individuals to really show who they are. Recognition of the other can more easily be built upon a more thorough experience of the other, as a person and member of a group. The encounters might seem more fruitful for all parties if they are better prepared, supplemented with smaller unit work, and they also require more time! Time to prepare and time to work in the schools and meet again and again. Each person needs to be trained in listening, in turn-taking, in the historical background, to be able to discuss appropriate cultural material. The organisers could, for example, introduce literature, movies and music, and expand the processes/methods used in photo language game. The issue of other texts is discussed in the next and final chapter. The photo game was not on the programme in these particular encounters observed, but it is a typical activity (see Chapter 5).

In terms of viewing the encounter as a paradigm for a revisionist reading - here understood in the line of New Historians, critically looking at Zionism – another detailed analysis of the discourse would be needed. To do this it is clear, however, in the texts and interview accounts dealt with in the previous chapter that this indeed what is on the cards, but at the same time the group versus group approach tends to cluster all the differences in two opposing monologues, which defies the rich heterogeneity on both sides (see Chapter 3 on Jewish Israeli and Palestinian identify) and blows out the single, radical candle of post-Zionism with one shout, 'Eretz Israel!'. This leave the rest of the encounter in the dark ages of Zionism, with which there is no other response to than a similar, narrow Palestinian nationalism (see Chapter 3).

[7] This point is inspired by a distinction, made by Bill Schwarz (1999), between *acting out* and *working through*, where the acting out is merely a repetition of an unconscious memory, while working through also deals with the vaguely known and the conscious memory. A working through is then – in my adaptation – also about trying to unpack and analyse spontaneous and naturalised behaviours, and looking at the causes and motifs of instinctive acting out.

I am in the interviews looking at narratives, and at something else, something more condensed, statements, utterances, the not unfolded, which relies on other narratives, or which has incorporated the longer narrative as signs for a deeper meaning, told by the sign, but often not necessary to stretch out in its entirety. In a
sense there are a lot of things, that would not need a supporting narrative, or just are not unfolded: Four strong foundations remain hidden: 1) a narrative that supports the demand for Hebrew, 2) the narratives of two distinct cultures, 3) the Palestinian national narrative, 4) the Zionist narrative. All four of them need to be questioned.

The issue of silence or avoiding narration, which has been brought up several times in this chapter, could indicate *self-protection.* The agents are here reluctant to 'tell' or express the unpleasant, as seen in the interviews and in the two workshops, as if they – quite understandably – are afraid to open a wound (Nelson and Horowitz, 2001: 307). The speaker may utter in a condensed, enigmatic way or just speak via the silence. They step in without stepping through, and by that they perform defense, insecurity, fear – and maybe as well a tactical power.

As already dealt with in chapter 5 narratives are constituted by temporal junctures, 'this happened, and then that', a form that is seen in abundance in Hannah's sentences, see analysis, chapter 5. This leads the interviewer to probe for more. On top of this is the uncertainty in real time while telling (Nelson & Horowitz, 2001: 313-4). See also interview extracts with Jalal, Amin and Esther who partly translate insecurity, or coping, into punch lines, e.g. "out of bringing them together, something good should come, I say it is bullshit", or otherwise their responses rely mainly on *dialogic overtones* (Bakhtin, 1986: 91), the taken for granted that must be taken into account to understand fully.

During the final lunch the two groups sit in separate parts of the cantina.

# Chapter 7

## Conflict Education and Double Trouble

- Conclusion

**Thesis worked through ?**

A long testing of concepts against experiences in the field and against texts is coming to an end. This chapter will, however, try to refresh, re-approach and speak in a slightly different theoretical tongue, to take the learnings from 'before' into a 'new' place. Before trying to do this form of working through, which begins with help from William Connolly, I will do two things. Firstly, I will comment on the particular working context of thesis writing by commenting briefly on the work process. Secondly, I will comment on the usefulness of the concepts and thinking used in the thesis. This is, for a start, done through a fictional *play* - a dialogue between thinkers. Key thinkers, used in the thesis, are allowed to speak first, and then other people with interesting comments have a word too[1]. From the second section onward I go more into detail, reflecting and concluding on issues which have arisen in the course of the thesis.

As outlined in Chapter 2 field research was done in four separate trips - June 1999, January 2000, October 2001, and October 2001 - which gave me time to think in between and certainly it also gave Israel and the projects time to *change*. The outbreak of the intifada created a new situation, as explained, and the unsettling context often forced me to adapt methods and schedules to the circumstances. The scattering of field research trips have been very useful in terms of stretching the total time frame from the first to the last field trip, which was in the end more than two years. Therefore I also had time to develop a wide lens view of a particular phase in contemporary history, as well as time to challenge the learnings of last time with new material. Distance in between established points of reflection gave me some time to adopt new

[1] The imagined dialogue came about after Phil Cohen suggested to me to make up a conversation between Ricoeur and Bakhtin to envision what they might say to each other.

theories and plan new ways of approaching. On the other hand, it made it difficult to develop a more intimate and in-depth relationship to the field, which a longer trip for half a year or more would make possible.

My second starting point is concerned with theory and the main influences, such as Bakhtin, Ricoeur, Portelli, Bhabha and Freire. Did the terms I adopted from these thinkers work? Let me imagine a series of simplified statements in a round-table dialogue format between a range of thinkers – and then comment on the usefulness of the different sources of inspiration.

**Dialogue between key thinkers**

**Bakhtin**: Paulo, I admire your straightforward and explicit political project, but I have been oppressed by a very explicit and singular political project that called itself 'socialist', you know. A project that wants to categorise and freeze people in a certain form. I can only liberate myself by hiding or changing position. I think you miss out on the diversity, multiplicity and constant change of voice within groups that have been labelled from outside as oppressed, or for whom it would be dangerous to voice certain views, and this is true whether we talk about Palestinians or Muslims or Jews, or Russian Jews for that matter.

**Freire**: Variety is still possible within the group, but my point is that it must happen through a process of becoming conscious of a group as a collective. Liberation and strength, both individually and as a group, rely upon the ability to unite as a group.

**Portelli**: I think you are both referring to different forces which always will be in play simultaneously and this is exactly what characterises our ways of telling stories. We reinterpret past events in the light of new memories and events, and our *subjectivity* is a force, as well as a mechanism of protection with which we try to handle the complicated relationship between past and present, history and memory.

**Ricoeur**: I agree with Portelli , but will add that the ability to change, whether as an individual or a group, depends on very close examination of the subject-positions in terms of working through various stories. One re-configuration leads back or 'around' to a new pre-configuration and the process starts again. The wheel keeps rolling and the working-through is a becoming-conscious of why and how we went over certain stones, and had punctures, in the past.

**Bhabha**: Yes, in some ways, I follow Ricoeur who seems to be in his Freudian mood, but I would go back to Bakhtin, and also Lacan, who unfortunately could not be here, and see the multiplicity of voices as an inevitable split. We are never full, in terms of identity, and in the case of the narration of two nations on the same land, I want to say a few things. Israel has been redeemed, yet their people, the Jews, are remembering a past as victim. The Palestinians are

colonised and oppressed in what they see as their homeland. This inevitably inscribes hybridity in both. This is the outcome of contact between coloniser and colonised.

**Bourdieu**: I think you have shown how agency is circumscribed, but what is generally left out is the issue of habitus, the embodied history, and the unspoken, an incorporated semi-automatic sense of ourselves, and of ways of speaking. Here I am also speaking about an adaptation to groups with which we associate, share capital, and which we rely upon. This will in a very strong sense inform our practices, to an extent we are not aware of, and therefore it will also affect the way we speak, our opinions, even our tastes. I am not sure the projects Anders has looked at - he should have worked in the field for longer and more systematically, by the way - will effect much change, because the participants are bound up with stronger structures and investments outside these camps.

**Lovell:** I can follow Bourdieu, but I think the projects Anders uses actually provide authority and agency to go against the grain. Resistance is here prepared socially in particular and different micro-contexts, and agency works as a relay[2].

**Arendt:** Well, your thinking is interesting and something new seems to have happened since I was around, Bourdieu and Lovell seem a bit off-key with the rest, but anyway: I sense a hidden rationalism in the philosophies. Let me point out that we are not in control of our individual or collective development. The relay Lovell mentioned may be there, but we are not capable of 'holding our horses'. It is, though, through this galloping engagement and experiment that we create, and this process is always in association with others. That is the human condition.

**Hiding woman/thinker not used (?)**: This is quite an extraordinary panel and I am a bit stunned by the simplicity of your statements, I am sure you are all making things a bit too black and white. I wonder why you haven't said anything about the impact of religion or the specificity of sacred narratives and the impact of a sense of danger to our ways of speaking and acting, as well as the aspect of Diaspora, a diasporic life, or/and closure in terms of movement and affiliation. These might be areas of exploration in future research. The Mizrachi Jew from Iraq, the Russian secular Jew, the pioneer from Germany, the orthodox Jew from Poland, the American Jew, the Bosnian guest worker: all bring their travelling influences, but these are often influences from a position of threat in one way or another. Yes, even Ashkenazi Jews in Israel feel heavily threatened. Diasporic elements may not always be recognised, or, if they do, they create contrasts, as is seen between the secular and the religious in Israel. My point is that the conflict also stems from the Israeli Jewish nation's internal conflict with their mobile, clashing diasporic lives and native sabras finding a home, a more clear and unambiguous Israel, in the maelstrom. But does that clarity of identity necessarily emerge from erasing eclecticism? No.

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[2] I must comment here and say that I think Terry Lovell is optimistic! This is definitely a potential, but - as shown and discussed in general in this chapter - this back-up and authority to continue resistance or develop other positions is rarely achieved.

[curtain down].

This was a rather un-conflictual interrelated series of statements between thinkers that without doubt could find more things to argue about. In short, and as has been shown throughout the thesis and in this 'dialogue', Ricoeur, Bhabha and Portelli have, in different ways, been useful to explore the dynamic and subjective construction of identity, and the continuous re-formulation, and the adaptation of identity and history to new events as well as an underlying structure guiding the discourses in play.

The use of Bakhtin and Freire in combination has proven useful to map out the forces at stake in discourse and in the pedagogies of conflict education, the struggle between the Freirian empowerment: to build unity, voice, and confidence, and collective action – and this whether one are the oppressor or the oppressed. This tendency is clearly seen in pedagogy as well as in many interlocutor accounts, as shown in Chapters 5 and 6. Nevertheless, the performance of paradox and multiplicity, an oscillation of voices and changes of view, within and between speakers, are also seen. This Bakhtinian openendedness has, throughout the thesis, created a fruitful contrast to Freire.

After this preliminary and very general conclusive note on work method and theories – including a testing of an unusual *genre* (apropos) for a thesis (imagined dialogue between thinkers), I will discuss the work through a range of interrelated themes, together patterning the key aspects of the work: *pluralism, paradox, empowerment, safe micro-contexts, dialogue, juxtapositions, creating a relation,* and *situated learning.*

## Agonistic respect versus flat pluralism

I have persistently throughout this thesis tried to change the inevitable, yet unanswerable questions, such as 'are these projects effective? Do they change anything?' into something more constructive. I have thematised and discussed *what people learn* not just pupils, but everybody, even the managers. The question is: *whether people change*? and what new perceptions may evolve.

The short and long term projects investigated aim to test and accommodate what I would call *agonistic* (using Connolly, 1991) and *antagonistic respect,* not just among the Jewish and Arab Israeli employees but also among teachers and students. It is an approach that is slightly

different from the liberal view of *tolerance* – tolerance here being interpreted as an attitude towards otherness that does not necessarily involve a working through. *Tolerance* is a forbearance with the inferior (Connolly, 2002: 43), a keeping-up or bearing with an outsider or a non-member, rather than involving a painful process of including an other that has worries or has caused harm, but who - through this very process – is accepted and respected as an individual and a member of a larger group or nation. Tolerance does not necessarily imply respect, while respect implies tolerance, I would argue. The forms of respect can take an agonistic form since we are dealing with real lives and histories of enmity and suffering, and possibly also an oppositional form, recognising that a member of one group in the meeting with an other - or through in-group activities with Jews only - cannot fully strip off the conflict and see the human face *only*, even though Azmi's points about the human face are worth acknowledging. Individuals and two groups enter the setting *confronting* each other, bodily and discursively, and the confrontation is acknowledged in order not to pursue an illusionary path of neutrality or non-conflict. Non-confronting ways of dealing with conflicts, do not mean peace. They might heal some wounds slowly. Mostly, however, it just means quietude. The confrontational approach nevertheless does not lead the encounter projects, and encounters between Jews and Palestinians at the two settings, to avoid practices of *flat pluralism*, a negotiation between two well- and pre-defined groups not moving many inches in terms of concepts of self. The two groups approaching the third space of Givat Haviva depart from diverse 'constituencies'. They have the same political/citizen framework, but in reality they are first and second-class citizens. Constituencies are here understood as strongly constitutive/structured *gemeinschafts* or historical and cultural narratives of (be)longing and experience. Through the experiment of exploring and even bridging the differences, whether the cause is individual humanism or a general public and democratic concern, the sense of other that it may produce is *agonistic* as well as *antagonistic* respect at its best. Just as likely – and perhaps second best - is the *flat pluralism*, since it is not easy to escape an invisible, imprisoning, ontological Western pre-occupation with dualisms when projects are seen as a group against group meeting.

In the process of interchange, the nature of the strife is lived out and the dualisms re-enacted, but simultaneously lessons are learned. Active engagement replaces passive tolerance despite the silences of the workshops, and each party realises that the other has fears too. Conflict education thereby becomes a question of interrogating "exclusions built into identity" (Connelly, 2002:14) and of how to balance critique with an invitational style of engagement (Connolly, 2002: preface). These projects are in general run by secular employees (while some participants often are religious, in particular on the Arab side). The secular is caught in several dilemmas; a search for distinction and freedom from common stock, and a new identity

replacing the security of religion. Furthermore, the secular want equality without its compulsion to accept identity, but also want difference without degeneration into superiority/inferiority relations (Connolly, 2002: 45).

Connolly talks about *democratic individuality*, which might be inspirational in the cases investigated here. This approach indicates a public appreciation of diversity, while *democratic individualism* demands a fixed and fundamental identity, cherishing the normal individual, the unambiguous agent. It is a regularized politics of anticipatory self-policing, a civil liberalism, republicanism or communitarianism that provide space for individuality within harmonies of which they approve. Connolly goes for a politics of *paradox* – a term to be explored in the next section - seeing the human animal as essentially incomplete, a medium to engage and challenge. (Connolly, 2002: chap 3). The antagonism recognised in Connolly is similar to Bakhtin's ideas of mobility, engagement and ambivalence.

**Paradoxes, contradictions and ambivalence**

The a(nta)gonistic respect was revealed, I argue, in particular, in an interview with Hannah, who showed *ambivalent* (inspired by Niza Yanay, 2002) assertions and narrations, indicating a general mode of openness and engagement with difference, a willingness to deal with other and maybe uncomfortable views and emotions, as explored in Chapter 5. While this may reveal a reality of anxiety, flux and insecurity, it also leaves a door open for change. Unfortunately, it also indicates a lack of confidence and balance where the subject is not able to develop a clear sense and opinion of a problem. We must understand the ambivalence showed, I argue, as different in nature from *flat pluralism*, where well-defined groups deliver or play-out pre-given interests and points of view. These can take an apparently open and 'tolerant' form, which may disguise a monologic and self-sufficient organisation of the world. It then becomes a major task of the project facilitators to encourage other forms of exchange to 'cultural meeting' flat pluralism, that is to say dialogic, polyphonic, heterogeneous forms of exchange – rather than monologic privateness - that involve both recognition, confusion and change, and which link the always-already, the present, and the yet-to-come (inspired by Venn's elaboration on Heidegger, 2001 and Ricoeur, 1984).

While ambivalence and contradictions point toward changing and indecisive subject positions, a related term – *paradox* – might be able to accommodate difference in a more coherent and stable position. This is particularly apparent in the interview with Shuli. He is in not interested in taming or appeasement, and not even necessarily in contact. He advocates a political model to

accommodate it. A paradox is a more constructive *gestalt* of different elements. This is not necessarily carried along as contradictions of two elements that point in different directions or away from each other or cannot go together (as for example Lyotard's *différend*). So what I am trying to argue is that carrying a paradox indicates a heterogeneity, but not necessarily incohesiveness. See also the section *Agents juxtaposed* using Pieterse.

Let us try to view the different positions revealed in conflict dialogue *within* a single speaker, as a *paradox* – seen in several interviews. A paradox has an aura of legitimacy, which contradictions do not have, and paradox mirrors the complexity of identity. Since we are composed of difference, *composing* difference in the form of paradox is inevitable. Paradoxes may easily lead to an agonistic antagonism, though, and then we try to build a bridge, to create a meaningful and more straightforward narrative that heals identity and does not tear it apart while one is in a state of conflict.

The antagonism and the emotional confusion (referring to Azmi's point) is revealed in oscillations, i.e. firstly there is one point of view, then a few sentences or minutes after the respondent utters an other statement that seems to go against what was first said. It is also shown even in simultaneous traces of *reproduction* of national narratives on the one hand, but also in 'ruptures' (Patton using Deleuze, 2001) of the same narratives as in, for example, the interview with Hannah. Whether antagonism and agonism are occurring simultaneously or not, antagonism in conflicts - often also a form of agonism - lead to the strengthening of fear and insecurity and thereby protectionism. This reveals a recipient and reciprocal examination of identity where internal negotiating processes are inwardly and silently 'performing', while extrovert words or actions are performed.

There is no doubt that both encounter projects and CTC attempts to unmask power, to make the macro reality visible in micro activities. To perform, and re-form, to sneak out of the den, although often straight back again! It is, nevertheless, an attempt to approach 'change' through conflictual dialogue, which creates new memories as well as new frustrations. The sorts of displacement or avoidance that may occur, as several pieces of research have revealed (Rustin, 1999, Halabi et al., 2001), is the conviction that the encounter may be a particular, unique experience among individuals who are very different to the mainstream, if one can imagine that they could all be brought along. This is shown in an often-repeated comment 'I do not like your people [Palestinians/Israelis], but *you* are okay' (Rustin, 1997, Halabi, 2001).

**Empowerment of pre-defined groups**

The oppressed Palestinians are through educational activities experiencing forms of self-empowerment on a group, as well as individual, level. They carry out simulation exercises of political negotiations, as in the simulation game in the encounters or in CTC where the pupils could tell "secrets" (see Sabr's written response) and gain confidence on societal issues in the classroom. These forms of identity-building I would view, maybe slightly daring, as a mundane, secular and learning-oriented equivalent to traditional 'folkish' self-empowerment in dance and music, as for example the call and response mechanism in the spirituals of the American slaves where the song alternates between the voice of the individual and that of the group or congregation by which sorrows and hopes become shared. Feelings hereby move swiftly from individual to group, then back to an individual, and so forth. Education as well as music can thus become a root and a route, a sharing vehicle, and a means of coping and also well empowerment (edsitement.neh.gov, Gilroy, 1993, Du Bois, 1903)[3].

Thus, among the pedagogic victories of both projects is the practice of what we could call 'use of power over students to empower them' (Rile Hayward, 2000: 43). Power used not to constrain, limit or *teach*, but instead a power that enables them to exercise mechanisms of power and to experience how power works. This will 'teach' them about the potential of rules, whether they are rules and regulations between individuals, groups or countries. Constrained

[3] Spirituals arose in the early nineteenth century among African American slaves who had been denied the opportunity to practice traditional African religions for more than a generation and had adopted Christianity. For the most part, slaves were prohibited from forming their own congregations, for fear that they would plot rebellion if allowed to meet on their own. Nonetheless, slaves throughout the South organised what has been called an "invisible institution" by meeting secretly, often at night, to worship together. It was at these meetings that preachers developed the rhythmic, engaging style distinctive of African American Christianity, and that worshippers developed the spiritual, mixing African performance traditions with hymns from the white churches. The form of the spiritual is characterised by a "call and response" pattern in which they are typically performed to worship traditions in West Africa. This is a pattern of alternation between the voice of an individual and the voice of the congregation through which the community shares individual sorrows, hopes, and joys. In the performance of spirituals, in other words, slaves were able to create a religious refuge from their dehumanising condition, affirming their humanity as individuals and their support for one another through an act of communal worship. Spirituals entered the musical mainstream through the concert tours of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and gave rise to the choral genre known today as gospel. Finally (finishing the detour): spirituals also reflect the influence of slavery in its emphasis on traditional Christian themes of salvation, which in this context take on a double meaning. The worshippers sing of their journey toward spiritual freedom through faith, but the song also expresses their hope for physical freedom through God's grace. These two levels of meaning are especially clear in the many spirituals that recount God's deliverance of his chosen people in the Old Testament, in whom African American slaves saw a reflection of their own suffering. (summarised from edsitement.neh.gov/lessonplans/spirituals.html). The idea of thinking of spirituals in relation to coping and empowerment draws upon W. E. B. Du Bois *The Souls of the Black Folk* (1903) and Paul Gilroy's work on Du Bois in *The Black Atlantic* (1993).

and static teacher-delivered powers directed towards silenced students do not let students live out or practice power-negotiating relationships.

However, the pedagogy of empowerment has a problematic aspect in the construction of group A and B, the trap of flat pluralism where the group–approach reproduces the dichotomy, an 'us versus them'. The overcoding, or the dominant media narratives in both camps, reproduces two confrontational *engineerings of consent* (terms in italics borrowed from Deleuze, in Patton, 2000). Furthermore, the encounters I observed did not clearly confirm the empowerment thesis as presented in recent research by the research institute at the School for Peace, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam (Halabi, 2002). So if the projects try to build group identity, and fail, they just create further frustration.

Is there an alternative to the group versus group approach? Formerly, the educational projects proceeded in a coexistence path, inspired by contact theory and the management's silencing of political issues that could stir the waters and disrupt the status quo that 'coexistence projects' – well backed up by the Abraham Fund – then perpetuated. The School for Peace has been pioneering in their departure from this approach, and Givat Haviva and others have followed after, for instance some programmes of The Adam Institute, The Van Leer Institute and IPCRI (Israeli-Palestinian Centre for Research and Information). But the alternative approach of individual vs. individual, formerly practiced in encounter projects supported by the contact hypothesis (Abu-Nimer, 1999) as has been noted, is not necessarily to be given up completely to transform the people organising and participating.

As mentioned earlier, one possible political route is the ethos of *democratic individuality*, and this in a post-national state based (referring back to Habermas and Kristeva, see Chapter 6) on equal citizenship, encouraging practices, including financial support, for the growth of existing ethnic and national groups. This could be through support and space for all sorts of communities, religious, cultural and political. This may, however, unfortunately, seem completely unrealistic, and thus we stand with the choice of separation into two states, a solution that might have been fairly realistic ten years ago. Now it is an even more difficult scenario, taking the present political situation (June 2003) into consideration, and this despite the renewal of the in-steps procedure and discourse of the Oslo accords in the so-called *road map*. One step forward is usually followed by two steps backwards in terms of mutual killing and continuous expansion or building of settlements. Finally, we have the plain and raw practices of power, which are very realistic!

Let me instead move out of the deadlock and look for some light at the end of the tunnel in the potential of the pedagogies and the change of perception among people involved in conflict education.

**Creation of a safe space**

The way out / in-between may be to acknowledge and make visible the in-corporated, the always-already conflictual and then, from there, proceed forward via a changing, adaptive approach where identity and ownership is 'stretched' or re-configured slightly, preserving *roots* not by sticking to them but by testing *routes*.

The task is then to create a space where two parties that both feel threatened - not to equalise the different levels of suffering, or ignore that the Jews are the dominant - have the guts to take a step forward. The choice of activities and *routes* are, of course, important, for instance re-thinking models of citizenship, inclusion and integration that can preserve what each individual and group find precious or different forms of exploration of identity that reveal the changeability and hybridity of identity, not by making it an arbitrary and weak concept of being among, with and against others, but by visualising how these layered affiliations (*rooted* affiliations), and approaching and adapting, foot-stepping, navigating, on-the-road/on *route* affiliations, are necessary, strengthening and constructive mechanisms. To preserve the best, and not end up being cornered, we must as well develop and stay in tune with the world, steal from it and keep shouting what we believe in.

The body is a lengthy and messy memory note of biological conditioning and social experiences, like a long 'shopping list' of what has already been 'bought'[4]. Through the acknowledgment and the will to make these mother marks of history or *structuration* visible, we can create openings for creation/*structuring*. By not questioning or revitalising the myths of nation and identity we will do ourselves a disservice and limit our forward-stepping abilities. The back-against-the-wall protective approach – an understandable *tactic* (de Certeau, 1984) - creates the illusion of a safe game and a preservation of cultures. But it is like passing the ball back to the keeper - it will never produce any goals. Jews and Palestinians need to approach these goals with help from facilitators and project-structuration that can offer the pedagogical bridges or at least the 'life-saving' mechanisms that make some sort of dialogue possible. But they also need to create dialogues, un-facilitated and spontaneously. Self-help groups based on

[4] Annich Prieur is in an article on Pierre Bourdieu's writing 'noting' that "the body is a shopping list of social experience". "The history of the individual is stored in the body". In *Informaton* (Copenhagen) 15th. February 2002.

the principle of monologues instead of arguments may be a way forward. In such a situation people have to be patient and learn by listening to other peoples stories, and their own too. We are still talking about the petite civil acts that only can be important in the minds of the people who *move*. It will not change the discourse of current leaders (as for example Arafat or Sharon), but high school students – and adults - may want to try to build a life despite politicians, and some of these gate-crushers may even support them, because there is no other powerful alternative politician to support. The facilitator can provide professional help and the organisation can provide, importantly, funding, and a place, to make meetings and processes possible, but the structured, third-party-organised format also carries a patronizing potential in the negative sense.

The individual-to-individual format that dominated encounter frameworks in the early days (see Chapter 4) might be revitalised in a form that does not neglect the political aspect or perpetuates the status quo. One way forward is to focus more on particular biographies or stories through films, poems or photography, or even participants own stories. The task of the group present, now seen as one group(!), will then be to analyse and respond to these narratives. When a personal story of an individual in class is used, the task can be to try to understand and re-code the experience in a more fruitful mode. The conflict will take the stage, but it will become clearer how these texts are produced in different circumstances, often very tormenting ones where the atmosphere is filled with hatred or anxiety or stereotypes. The group should concentrate on this particular story, and not confront it with another story.

The facilitators in the encounter projects in which I participated in give the impression of their role as one who *moderates* or helps the students process the activities. A philosophy of learning or teacher/learner relationship close to, I would argue, the MLE (summarised in Chapter 6) and the *scaffolding* metaphor in Bruner and others (summarised in Bjørnshave and Christiansen, 2001) dealt with in Chapter 4. The facilitator is supposed to provide help and tools. Each individual then, ideally, has the opportunity to be both *clay* and *sculptor*. The group-versus-group approach nevertheless pre-structures two separate piles of clay where the already configured nationalism and peer relationships limit the creative potential. I have not found any account of the use of *Bibliotheraphy* as a tool (Lene Otto, 2001: 7) in other research accounts, or any considerate use of what we could call *third texts*, in terms of fictional or documentary tales from Palestinians and Jews outside, not participating, in the encounter. Such texts are considered later.

A condition for mobility is the creation of a space where one can use capital, or is given/empowered with cultural capital, to transform self and strategies (inspired by Jan

Frederiksen's use of Bertaux, 2001: 17), and to affect the other with a certain use of capital. The group-to-group approach easily leaves individuals with other ideas in conflict with his own social ties, apart from the conflict with the other. The subject remains *constituted*, downplaying its *constitutive* potential (Venn, Walkerdine et al, 1984, Bourdieu, 1990). The facilitators see themselves as outsiders in a "society that considers me as extreme", as Rachel said. "At Givat Haviva I can feel at home".

Transformation is both limited and as well encouraged by a range of entangled discourses or battles; collective forms (Jews, Muslims, Israeli, Palestinian, Galileean, urban, secular) as well as more personal forms, which support or complicate the picture, as seen in the identity game described in Chapter 5 and observations reported in Chapter 6. Twisting Lacan, it can be said that this picture is never full, and that more are always to be drawn, but here this is understood in a productive social sense where steps are to be taken, and not necessarily as a lack. It can, though, easily be felt as a social 'lack'. The river can be too wide to bridge, when the given focusing points of education, nation, father/mother/oedipuzzling stories and what-my-best-friend always says, suddenly are disturbed. This causes a crisis in the stability of identity and the hunger for one grand, connecting narrative re-emerges, stronger than before. It is this thin line between the old narrative, which keeps conflict alive, and new ones that makes one weak and insecure, that nevertheless must be walked.

"[I]f one culture were to completely assimilate another - then no new information would be created. It is the lack of fit, between texts, languages, and cultures that creates the conditions for semantic enrichment, the creation of new meaning" (Clark[5], using Lotman). Clark continues by saying that an imperfect translation between cultural systems contributes to new information - and hence to the development of culture. The boundary is the semiotic "hot spot" (Lotman, 1990: 136). A "semiotic polyglotism" (194), "which both separates and unites" (136). A tension between *us* and *them* maintains a state of creative ferment - and conflict (Clark).

To return to the projects and the problematic, but maybe inevitably to the group versus group approach, I would add that they attempt to provide room for practices and experiences of group-empowerment, not group dissolvement, and also are tests of agency, which challenges stereotypical group reproduction, for instance this is strongly encouraged in many of the pedagogical activities, such as the photo language and simulation game in the encounters and the general discussion on majority/minority and citizenship issues in both long and short term projects. Before presenting some final comments on these two activities, I will make some general remarks on short versus long term projects. In the short term projects there is more of a

[5] Hilary Clark www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/slb/interpretations.htm

sense of exercise and experiment, sudden excavations into the unknown and back again, while Children Teaching Children has the potential to habitualise many of the exercises and discussions and furthermore to work thoroughly with the questions outside the 'camp' in their own schools.

The Palestinian group, in particular, is encouraged in group-building, empowering exercises and tests of agency, in which they get to deal with Jews in ways that are not necessarily equal, for example the roles in the simulation game where Palestinians go to a Jewish official mirrors reality, but also gives them an opportunity to experiment with gaining more ground, at least symbolically. The agency is given, maybe surprisingly, in matters as language and knowledge of the other (the Jew) where Arabs find themselves to a much stronger extent equipped with 'double abilities'; they speak the two languages of the country and know the 'two societies'. The Jews, on the other hand, find themselves in a situation characteristic of many majority groups; they do not know the other, because they are not dependent of him/her.

On the group level, the simulation game encourages an imaginative and searching engagement with the conflict. It is a positive testing of a *liminal zone*, a game where an imagined transit is negotiated. In this sense it is envisioned as a "storehouse of possibilities" (Patterson after Turner, 2001: 79). This is what the leaders should do, or is what "should have happened" (Patterson, 2001: 84). Then there is empowerment on an individual level, where each person, Jew and Palestinian, seems to be equally encouraged to think and feel through the social, political issues within his own mind. The encounters here generally encourage self-expression, and some attention and encouragement is given to quiet participants to make them speak up, in order to initiate the individual work as well.

**Two-tongued dialogues and dualogues**

The 'dialogue' we see is often a monological, simple tool of practical interest and manipulation, a destructive language (Hirschkop, 1997: 85-86). The Palestinians are generally equipped with stronger and more coherent narratives, on a search for justice, rights, room for voicing their opinion and suffering, while the Jews are searching for a consensus, a new future and a way of talking about the difficulties peacefully. The more broken narratives, such as Hannah's, are metaphors for a subjective position imprisoned in a certain group belonging that provides identity on all levels, familiarity, sociality, history. And in the interview with Umm it is revealed that group connections can be of a character that may cripple any chance of dialogue,

for example if the Jew has a friend in the police, and I, as an Arab, tell her/him something, then I am in trouble.

The tension or schism between the uni- and the bi-national meetings must be scrutinised. One sort of behaviour is encouraged at the meetings; to stay relatively united, to be a group, a national group, while the uni-national meetings allow the participants to search themselves more, to go off the road, against each other. The bi-national work has the character of a 'presentation with dialogue' and a look at the other... over there. Neither of the parties leave their 'chair', metaphorically speaking.

The question is then if it is possible, in a situation of severe conflict, to create the necessary empowerment on both sides to *get the courage to change*, without falling in the nation vs. nation trap. The social and political empowerment works very much in two deep trenches; nation vs. nation, and other civil, group building exercises could be encouraged more. But these other grounds, rightly recognised as even more important in a time of conflict (see Chapters 3 and 4 on the history of Israel and the peace movement/contact NGOs), prove to be grounds that are not inhabitable, providing only an insecure tightrope in-between. The camps provide a cosy homeliness, but the point is that they also work as illusions of neutrality providing *unhomed geographies* (Rogoff, 2000) with no cultural connotations, such as flags, symbols or images on the wall. In other words, the organisers are careful with the inscription of national meanings into space, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Another question is how to empower the strong group with the intention of building co-operative practices and willingness to change. This task seems to be unfulfilled, since the method of giving the Jews a shock can just as likely produce defence mechanisms, as it can produce awareness and attitude change. In October 2000 encounters were cancelled, including bi-national meetings in Children Teaching Children, because both organisations felt it was time for uni-national working through in the midst of the sudden killings that brought all parties to the state of despair. They thought that meetings would produce more frustration.

**Agents juxtaposed**

In the spirit of contact theory / contact hypothesis - summarised in Hewstone and Brown (eds) 1986 - but with a slightly changed approach, the experience of facing the other also brings about a situation where a human *responsibility* enters the mind and body more or less invisibly. Disillusion, aggression or apathy is challenged with the impression and experience of this face

of the other. The minor hope, I would argue, relies on this strange experience or ability to develop a new form of agency (inspired by Egan, 1970: 359-361), through these new exercises, a new practice for both groups[6].

The intention is not to create a space *outside* larger structures of power, but to mould and work with the inequalities in 'other ways'; create 'shared civility' at least a sort of Arendtian, associational space (Benhabib, 1992), not to be confused with a Habermasian idea of communicative action since the forms of dialogue are transgressing *lebenswelt* issues and are certainly strategic in form and content.

When talking about a reality of sharing, yet conflicting, gathering of differences, I adopted the concept of *third space* (Bhabha, 1990 and 1994 and Law, in Pile and Keith (eds), 1997), which I presented in Chapter 1. It works sufficiently well as a major theoretical stepping stone works to challenge essentialised versions of culture in its attempt to provide an environment of change and not just a political space of dichotomies in confrontation. One should nevertheless not forget how actual asymmetries on the ground make such processes harder. The projects recognise the asymmetries, and the pedagogies encourage to some extent change, yet they are also creating ground for dichotomies in confrontation. The concept of third space works in its ability to challenge the notion of the 'cultural meeting' - in Danish *kulturmøde* (English lacks a proper term with developed connotations) with its static view of culture. In this interpretation of the term 'cultural meeting' (well established term in Denmark and Sweden. Different connotations/use not researched here) rely on a view of exchange between contained differences, it is not a creolisation or hybridisation. We should instead recognise the more subtle and hybrid practices, with changing potential, happening in the projects. Somehow the projects oscillate between dominant practices of *cultural meeting* and emerging forms of *third space*, the latter being a dynamic and blending practice. There is the national heritage Esther talks about, and the yet-to-be-fully-articulated future heritage, a post-national future language in the interview with, for example, Shuli. These ideas are similar to Tambini's investigations of post national citizenship (2001: 200), a citizenship in practice without nominal national citizenship, or to Kristeva (1993:1-49) who searches for a nation without nationalism, or as Matustik

[6] For future research some inspiration may be found in concepts from Hannah Arendt. The ruling practices of *strength* of course penetrate the educational settings where a small number, not just out of idealism, engage with what could be termed *machen*, opposed to *macht*, meaning that they try to create room for dialogue or play out the power game on another level, introduce or perform plays and activities being participants and mediators, in a *test* of themselves as citizens in civic *and* private forms of *action*. *Action* is, as I understand the heavily discussed term, strongly related to what I call *machen* (a term only vaguely described in Arendt): a public practice of power, springing up between men/women in a combined, dynamic performance or actuality where the *making* and *end* are incorporated in the activity itself, as with the dancer who performs (dances, acts) something which can be seen as a product itself; a dance. *Action* in Arendt, though, always establishes relationship, chain reactions and tends to cross over boundaries (Hannah Arendt, 1958: 190-207).

rephrases Kristeva, a deromanticised and political view of the nation (1993: vii). Similar visions have been formulated in Israel by the post-Zionists, such as Pappé and others, as summarised in Chapter 3. Their impact in public has decreased after the outbreak of the new intifada, which has pushed people back into their respective national trenches.

The hybridity which is pursued in the so-called third space should though not be confused with the idea that hybridity is an attack on coherence, as Pieterse rightly notices (2000: 19), but rather that it is a challenge to homogeneity. The projects do not seem to work sufficiently with the tension between coherence and homogeneity in their approaches. Reflection on this level may be an important distinction to work with. Each part approaches an other who turns out to be different to what was expected. To what extent is the heterogeneity within each group acknowledged? The homogeneity that each part tries to re-construct is caused, I would argue, by the existential threat of the others' presence or dominance or demands for rights. As argued in Chapter 3 the Palestinians in Israel have, over the last decades, enhanced or asserted their *Palestinianness*. This adds to the existing tension, although not violence, between Jews and Arabs in the mixed cities.

**Situated learning**

The projects surely situate learning, while the 1980s style coexistence encounters, forgot/repressed the 'situation': conflict! The projects provide a participation framework, a learning, which is not a visit to the petrol station where the individual mind fills up/internalises. It is an adaptive structure and a practice we could associate with what Lave and Wenger call *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 16-18) - stepping in from outside, asking naive questions (117), a learning which is dependent on engagement, not necessarily in possessing the same representation (21). Finally, it is a learning engagement through the performance of several roles; as subordinate, practitioner, or/and aspiring expert (23). An interplay of conflict, as well as attempts toward synergy, are at stake (103). Together, they are a motor for change/individual development, moving from one point to another, and for experiencing dialogical learning, where the other becomes an inherent part of the process and where learning becomes a shared process of lasting exchange, where the dialogue is *causing* or creating the learning.

In summary, the high school projects have elements, though often performed in highly chaotic ways, that allow room for dealing with a changed nature of the relationship to the state (in

general the negotiation oscillates between aspects of the *kulturnation* vs. *staatsnation*[7]), where the students gain new knowledge and have a fresh unusual experience, encountering themselves and their own concepts of identity in a formative period of their lives. They are forced to reflect upon their visions of the state and their relationship to others. The teachers and the facilitators, Jews and Palestinians, are also drawn into these processes. In particular, the teachers who participate with a class for the first time go through a learning process. The drawing of a combinatorial map-game, the identity card-game and the simulation of political negotiators-game provide, in three different ways, a potential of *machen*, returning to Arendt, and change of vision, of self and other.

Outside the games at Givat Haviva, we see the peace movement on the streets, such as the organisation *Shalom Achaw* (Peace Now) try to push on the macro level. Soldiers who refused to be conscripted were shortly awakening the struggling peace movement in Israel in early 2002. So while the peace movement worked on what we could call a wider public performance and publicity-making level, the educational co-operative field emphasized micro-level, civil-space dialogue. For co-operative settings it was more crucial that intervention on the ground took place than that the society was listening. David Hall-Cathala notices from accounts of similar projects in the 1980s, that the movement organisations worked for a restructuring of society while the "micro level" intervention programmes in general sought tolerance and coexistence (1990: 136). The two approaches thereby supplemented each other, one advocating change through large-scale activities, as media campaigns and demonstrations, and the other trying to live it or teach it through projects. It is clear that micro level intervention is less about coexistence than it was, as my extracts should have shown. "At Neve Shalom they do not come to be friends", as Ali, a Givat Haviva facilitator, said.

The meetings between human beings whose nations are in conflict can of course be a transformative event seen from the perspective of the four eyes that meet, but we must bear in mind that they return to their separate realities and the headlines on bombs and war the next morning. As was dealt with in Chapter 1, the view of the projects as *conflict coping work* and conflict exercises by peaceful means rather than *conflict resolution*, as a former Givat Haviva employee noticed (interview, October 2000), has been a fruitful way of conceptualising, and of making the impact and aim of the projects realistic. The conflict *resolution* 'aura' over some projects in the past has been problematic because of the avoidance of dealing with real power

[7] The culturally and ethnically connotated understanding building on the notion of Jewish-Israeliness – equivalent to for example *homo Austriacus* and *Bekenntnis zu Oesterreich* – draws from the concept of the *kulturnation*, while the *staatsnation* emphasises issues of citizenship, legal and democratic institutions, rights and duties and on political membership (Wodak et al., 1999: 169). Nadim Rouhana points out that a solely political angle to national membership misses out the emotional aspect and nationality then tends to become empty (Rouhana, 1997).

relations and possible reproductions at stake, and due to the lack of impact at macro level. The projects in Israel are in a way very much about the context, but they only have one chance of being slightly successful which is to concentrate firstly on the people who are there as social beings, and their possibilities and everyday lives, and less on societal change. The societal issues are dealt with, in the simulation game and in CTCs processual work on citizenship and identity, but these are more tools of individual and group agency at the setting, than a blueprint for work outside. The empowerment and agency produced, and enriched, by the tests are not transferable, but they give one the ability to cope - and hope. See for example letter/written account from Sabr.

For both groups the *acting out* practices of slamming doors, refusals to listen to Arabic and so forth (as noted in Chapter 6) are not very likely to replace hatred or anxiety with something more productive, especially when other forms of intimacy are too painful. The acting out is experienced as a strengthening of the self, and often working within contradictory emotions working in an ambivalent mode (inspired by Yanay, 2002). Fear and hate protect the Jew from recognising the Palestinians as equals in a common cultural and political territory. The Palestinians have not shown that they fit into and affiliate with Israel. Ifat Maoz and Rabah Halabi's research says that the Jews are confronting the Palestinians with 'loyalty oath' questions, such as "Wenn es Krieg gibt, auf welcher Seite wären sie dann?" (Halabi, 2001: 118 and Maoz, forthcoming), and they do not like the answers. The teenagers asking do not see that they have to create a state that can include Palestinians as well. Thereby they will be able to create a shared affinity.

The settings and projects work as temporary autonomous spheres where citizens can pursue or develop their conceptions of a better life and work with and against the troubled lives they have (Benhabib, 1992:99). Neutrality becomes in this case about inserting a space, Givat Haviva, within which the minority can become visible and recognised within, making the country appear more democratic or seemingly reducing the democratic deficit in the macro-structures, but the overall structures remain.

Before the outbreak of the intifada, the Palestinians were just as eager to participate, which was confirmed in the facilitator interviews. Is this because it is the Palestinians' only opportunity for empowerment and *durcharbeiten* (Ricoeur, 1999: 6)? What about many of the guilt ridden Jews' sense of *debt*? For some students, more profane, adolescent reasons prevail, such as to get out of the school for a few days. Furthermore, the encounter rests on a belief that dialogue is most efficiently effectuated and practiced among two groups, which are relatively unified, meeting as an *us* and *them*, and going back during the encounter and afterwards to address the

issues in their own national groups. To take another approach not based on dichotomies may be unrealistic in a situation of conflict - as debated continuously - especially in the unequal reality of the Jewish-Palestinian situation in Israel. The Palestinians are in need of unification, which is a pre-condition of their empowerment and sense of 'gaining ground' in the mental sense. If their group-feeling were not constructed, or if the encounter just tried to promote common 'Israeliness' downplaying the Jewishness and the Palestinian Arab, they would perhaps end up feeling that their problems as a group in Israel were covered up or neglected.

As a way of putting into perspective or of suggesting further steps[8], I would argue that the projects need to spend more time asking *how* and *why* we have (be)come to this, and how we can continue to *become* (something else). At present they are too focused on *what* we are. The different *entstehungs*[9] are not traced, unfolded or problematised.

How can one structure the opening of the sensitive issues? The question is not whether to bring problems, conflict, and politics in to the encounter or not, but *how* to bring these issues in. It seems to be chaotic, unstructured, and left to the strongest to conquer means and direction. The problem with the workshops at Givat Haviva, especially seen in the light of teachers' and facilitators' indication of no or limited preparation and follow up, is that no *relationship* is established. It is an event that emerges out of the blue and has no consequences for the student, teacher or facilitator apart from the emotional shock. They return a little shaken, at best contemplative and emotionally touched, at worst just hurt, and worn out but, then again, maybe there is some time out and a party for the youngsters at least - which only temporarily lessens frustration. The encounter at Givat Haviva is not providing the project with a wider frame, a structure that secure a range of steps/follow up tasks. The risk is that the work ends up with, at its best *quietude*, no peace, and also *acquiescence*, but no consent. People forget about the event when they return to school and everyday life.

The first findings from the research institute at The School for Peace indicate that, roughly speaking, Jews come for the acquaintance (to meet the other), while the Arabs come for *change*, not just in perceptions but also in reality. As a general effect on both parties the encounter undermines the basic perceptions of reality that cause dilemmas and frustration. The Arabs work to free themselves from patterns of oppression, while the Jews begin to incorporate the Arabs of Israel into their worldview. It is a dialogue between two different cultures, even when the Jews

[8] I intend to move beyond a descriptive thesis, since descriptions alone tend to carry along values and prescriptions, in an implicit form, anyway.

[9] The notion of *enstehung* meaning emergence or becoming - different from *ursprung* (origin) – are terms used by Foucault from Nietzsche. They are central in Foucault's notion of *genealogy*, paying attention to the non-purity of beginnings, focusing on the becoming of voices and ideas through confrontation (Michel Foucault in Rabinow, 1986).

are from a Mizrachi origin, as the report summary says (Halabi, nswas.com, August 2002). Hebrew dominates, even though both languages are set up as equal. The facilitators advance and help dialogue, as explored in Chapter 4. They can be seen as signposts (nswas.com, August 2002), as midwifes or as those who bridge the gap between the *can-do* and *potential-do*, the latter equivalent to Vygotsky's *zone of proximate development* (in Bruner, 1986: 70-78).

In short term projects, as the encounters, there are not much time for such facilitating and scaffolding work. A long term project, such as Children Teaching Children, establishes a long term relationship with routines, gradual adaptation and so forth, which lead me to conclude, that Children Teaching Children was a more interesting and important project than the encounters. However, CTC is more vulnerable to cancellations and disruptions to the process, as outlined in Chapter 4. CTC was hit hard by the intifada. The advantage of the two to four day encounters is that such a project can more easily be fitted into tight curricular structures. As long as there is only a minimum of spaces – such as a square, a club, a forum, a university bar, internet chat rooms or NGOs - where the learnings can be further dialogised, the effects of such encounters are small, although still worthwhile. A step forward is to create a mandatory follow up that incorporates a spin-off process inside the curriculum, for pupils as well as teachers, and, if possible, also principals.

**Territory controlled, shaken and doubled**

Palestinians and Jews alike find their lives disrupted, unsafe and threatened, and they seek shelter in each camps national discourse, to put it roughly, which is mirrored in the media. During the so-called peace process after the Oslo declaration, which should really be called a settlement process, the Palestinians in the territories became prisoners of an occupation orchestrated by a subtle controlling network of road-blocks[10]. The small percentage Israel offered to themselves during the Camp David negotiations, while giving ninety-something percent to the Palestinians was equivalent to the fences and walls in a prison (Jeff Halper, 2001) and therefore more than enough to keep control. The post Oslo reality has turned the West Bank and Gaza into a prisoner of war camp (Pilger, 2002).

[10] See, for example, Jeff Halper 'The 94 Percent Solution', Ron Pundak 'From Oslo to Taba: What went wrong', Oren Yiftachel 'Mellem Apartheid og forsoning', all in Feldt and Irving Jensen (eds), 2002. The two former articles are translated from English, the latter from Hebrew. It should be noted that the settler-population in Gaza, and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, has grown from approximately 200.000 to 400.000 over the last 10 years (Yiftachel, 2002: 64).

What can people do in a situation like that? The Palestinians feel controlled in every detail, while their own leaders and the world are of no help. The Jews are, not surprisingly, scared of suicide bombers. To stop them Israel could use force, or as Pappé suggests, give them avenues of hope instead of avenues of despair (2002). The actions of Israel in the territories after Oslo paved the way for the latter. The situation, at the time of writing (June 2003) - although always bad no matter the time - is that the fade-out of the violent part of the US/UK led intervention in Iraq now has brought back attention to the Middle East. The US has encouraged a solution in steps in the *road map*, and the former Palestinian key negotiator during the Oslo phase, Abu Mazen, is now Palestinian Prime Minister. It is a return to the Oslo discourse of an agreement formed in steps aiming for a two state solution. The matrix of control which Israel has strengthened since 1993 (see Halper, 2002), illustrates how difficult how this is going to be. So what can people on the ground do, while everybody is waiting for top-level negotiations turning out not to be something else than another road to nowhere?

In Israel, encounters between citizens can seem minor or irrelevant *if* we compare them to the surroundings of despair in Gaza, one of the most densely populated and poorest corners in the world. However, for Palestinians and Jews in Israel, *their* reality is complicated enough - the effects of the first year of the second intifada inside Israel, demonstrated this (summarised in Chapter 3). But if the people expect their leaders to negotiate, as the majority of Jews and Palestinians do, can civil society just wait for that to happen? Narrative and dialogue have the potential to become vehicles for imagination, judgment and understanding, as well as for confrontation in education. They call us to reconsider *what* and *how* we know (inspired by Witherell, 1991: 238-241). It is this possibility of narrative as creation that I see initiated in the drawings, the identity cards and simulation games, but it is not taken far enough. It is a game that aim to create *new principles of right* ( as for example the simulation game) (Patton using Deleuze, 2000:1-10), a *deterritorialisation* of the present (putting drawings together) (11-28), a conceptual clarification and rupture (identity and simulation ) (11-28). The students are driven by necessity as if learning to swim in a foreign element, when confronted with the other (11-28) - see also discussion of Michel Serres' terms in Chapter 1. The notion which rightly is challenged is the tendency to blur or to define space as territory or soil (Rabinowitz using Appadurai, 2000: 757-767); 'this is my territory, not yours'.

Returning to Deleuze, each person nevertheless undergoes stages of *acting and being acted upon* (Patton, 2000: 47-67). But what are the ethics of the forms of action we see here? Is it just young people getting a few days off maths lessons to smoke some hash and have a flirt or two? (See also Nir's account of a workshop, 2002, summarised in Chapter 4). The encounters leave space for flirting, which is okay, but fortunately they create much more. The games and 'fights'

work as a light on the invisible, inherent structure, and the encounters do as well provide ground for a shared civility and a conflictual as well as harmonious association, which are not attempting to shape a new restrained, controlled civilized man, or a bunch of rational, impersonal superegos based on the reality principle (using Elias, 1939 and Freud, 1931). Dreams, imaginations, nightlife behind the workshop offices, are allowed to appear within the framework. However, the encounters still has culturalist, tolerant, flat pluralism constituting practices, doing some necessary work to recognise conflict, yet limiting a process of change in perception. The workshops are keen enough to introduce games and activities that forces the participants to transform confrontation into co-operation, the drawing game and the simulation game (the latter not performed in the particular workshops I participated in) are exceptions. As one of the facilitators writes, the task is to create awareness and ways to cope on a personal level (psychological model), and on a political level, and transform it into co-operation (Halabi, in review of Abu-Nimer, nswas.com).

**End points**

The photo language game in the encounter provides a way of dealing with other people's material/texts, yet related, as a way of encircling feelings and opinions. The workshops, as presented in Chapter 5 (summarising Halabi, 2001) and as reported in Chapter 6, has a tendency to focus on the participants own experiences and their view of the macro-political situation. It is important that the participants are given a chance to tell their story to the other, but there is little time given to that, and when painful personal statements are brought forward, it is often in staggering utterances that immediately are countered. Instead of creating time for individual telling of stories, not interrupted, it easily becomes a quarrel, which looks like dialogue. But dialogue in this sense is not necessarily ideal. Techniques used in self-help groups, such as uninterrupted testimonies and stories, are worthwhile testing. This approach relies upon change by merely telling to the other and listening to the other, without being confronted or examined. It deals with conflict, but it is not a person-to-person ping-pong. It is stories *for* the group, most often about contexts and people outside the meeting. Nobody has to feel under threat, as in an argument.

Another pedagogic technique may be to look at other personalised accounts that relate to macro reality and history. Below I have presented some examples, in the form of a novel, a film, two cartoons (one historical, one contemporary) and a documentary. The subjects will be able to place themselves at a distance from their own experience, and at the same time the text or

material discussed can deliver an immersed account which frees the participants from more abstracted quarrelling over the *truth* of the intifada, their leaders and politics in general.

A sixteen-year-old Italian girl, Randa Ghazy, of Egyptian parentage, has written a story about Palestinian youths in the territories and their lives during the intifada. The Maltese born Joe Sacco travelled through the West Bank, Israel and Gaza, during the first intifada and spoke to a range of people, mostly Palestinians. His carton strips were published in newspapers during the 1990s, and came out as a book in 2002. It is called *Palestine*. Ben-Zion Goldberg followed Jewish and Palestinian boys during the late 1990s, and filmed the interviews, including one encounter between both sides, which was set up by the children. His documentary is called *Promises.* Art Spiegelman's cartoon in two volumes *Maus: A Suvivor's tale* depicts the telling of stories triggered when a young man questions his father about his Holocaust experience. The two volumes unfold the oral history in images which deliver an insight into concentration camp life in relation to contemporary Jewish survivor-identity. Its images of suffering and death cannot help but be related to the images of Palestinian prison life and police violence depicted in Joe Sacco's account. Finally, the Nazareth-born Palestinian Israel, Elia Suleiman, released in late 2002 his feature film *Divine Intervention* about life in Nazareth that also portrays a love story evolving around a West Bank checkpoint. For reviews see for example Murphy, 2003 (Joe Sacco), Brooks, 2003 (Elia Suleiman), Green, 2001 (B. Z. Goldberg). These are texts/material about Israel-Palestine anyone interested in the area could start with.

The texts/material provide rich emotionally, politically, and historically sensitive material, giving participants in encounters and Children Teaching Children - and other projects - an opportunity to connect to human stories that are not their own. They focus on everyday life and ordinary human beings bound up in a story - not dwelling at the minority of martyrs who detonates bombs, or officers who order soldiers inside a refugee camp to kill. The material may work with the confusion in a productive sense, or transform it into something positive, evoking an emotional empathy and a development of awareness, and making people more careful with their future actions, and their upcoming activities and voting! The encounters are creating "an emotional confusion", as Azmi said. Niza Yanay points out that the possibility for change is there when contradictory values or ideas are held together at the same time. (Yanay, 2002). The third texts presented above give the participant an opportunity to relate to narrated, visualised victims and victimisers, which could be a central focal point of discussion in educational settings of conflict education where each party comes to give testimony, to bear witness, and feel as victim.


1 The location of Givat Haviva, East of Hadera

2 The village Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam, West of Jerusalem and Abu Ghosh, bordering the West Bank

Map from Stendel, Ori (1996) *The Arabs in Israel.* Sussex: Sussex Academic Press.

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*This list includes the texts analysed in chapter 5. Other texts produced within Givat Haviva or Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam are in the other sections of the bibliography.*

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Zak, Michal, Rabah Halabi and Wafa'a Sror *Encounters for Youth* [Chapter 6, draft, for forthcoming book. From Rabah October 2000. See German version of the book in Bibliography].

# Appendices

Contents:



**a. interlocutors**

Names are changed except where noted (*).

Givat Haviva
Shuli Dichter (*), co-director, *Children Teaching Children*
Jalal Hassan (*), co-director, *Children Teaching Children*

Other employees at Givat Haviva:
Ariela, Jewish female director.
Jacob, Jewish male facilitator.
Ali, Azmi and Rasan, Arab male facilitators.
Esther, Helena, Rachel and Rebecca, Jewish female facilitators.
Fadwa and Umm, Arab female facilitators.

Participants:
Hannah, Jewish teacher participating in *Children Teaching Children*
Sabr, Arab teacher (written response), participating in *Children Teaching Children*
Nadim, Arab teacher, participating in *Face to Face* encounter

Sarah, Jewish teacher, participating in *Face to Face* encounter
Ismael and Ibn, Arab boys at *Face to Face* encounter
Habib, Arab girl at *Face to Face* encounter
Benjamin, Jewish boy at *Face to Face* encounter

Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam

Amin, co-director, School for Peace
Bob, employee, PR department
Ulf, resident
Ronit, resident
Noah, co-director, School for Peace
Mahmoud, Arab man from Gaza
Oren, Jewish man doing environmental work

Other Jewish or Palestinian interlocutors around Israel:

Abu and Anton, father and son in Muslim Nazareth family
Esau, Hostel employee, Tiberias
Sami, Hostel employee, Nazareth
Isaac, Herzliya
Shulamit, woman from Rishon Le Zion
Miriam, friend in Tel Aviv
Natacha, girl in Reconciliation group

Other interlocutors not quoted are not on this list. In addition, I have spoken with Jewish and Palestinian academics. If they are quoted, they are listed inside the thesis only.

**b. field research summary**

July 1999:

Visiting a few educational settings, informal talks with employees, travelling around the country, meeting with an educationalist to receive comments and ideas. I visited Neve Shalom and Beit Hagefen, spoke to Peter Lemish who suggested to look at Givat Haviva's projects and also spoke to an representative of a Jewish-Arab youth organisation in Israel. No formal fieldwork, but a useful test for further inquiry.

January 2000:

I attempted to talk with key personnel at two organisations chosen for the closer investigation, Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-salam and to gain basic information (written and orally produced) on a handful of projects. There are, for example, two very different youth projects: *Children Teaching Children* (two year Junior High School project) at Givat Haviva and a two-three day encounter workshop project for high school students, at both Givat Haviva and Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam. At this point, I also left a door open to deal with university projects. This idea was later dropped. The organisations were chosen since they are some of the most well-known, professional, institutionalised organisations, and dealing with co-existence and conflict work in Israel between Jewish and Arab citizens. The projects all had at least a ten year history of continuous work, and the projects also had a high number of participants when compared with other projects in the country. These issues are dealt with in Chapter 4 on the peace movement and educational co-operative work.

October 2000:

The observational parts of my research were planned to take place at Givat Haviva and possibly at Neve Shalom, but since encounters were postponed after the outbreak of the intifada, I 'only' carried out some of the interview work, such as interviews with a few project leaders, co-ordinators and teachers. An Arab co-ordinator failed to show up because of a child's illness. I decided to carry out a telephone interview with her instead, rather than trying to find another, firstly because I thought the chemistry was good, and secondly because the project was structured as work in pairs. Particular facilitators and classes were grouped together: a facilitator pair, one Arab and one Jew, working with particular Arab and Jewish classes and teachers. Teachers and facilitators then occasionally encounter and co-ordinate. This Arab co-ordinator had worked with the Jewish co-ordinator just interviewed, who again worked with particular classes, when I visited one of the schools and spoke to a teacher participating in the project for the first time. My intention was to work with teachers who were new or fresh to the project, or at least not routinely involved.

October 2001:

The main purpose of this final visit was to observe one or two of the encounter projects, including informal talks with teachers, students and facilitators during the encounters which was made possible at Givat Haviva. Furthermore, I planned to speak to the Arab teacher in the

*Children Teaching Children* project, whom I missed out last year. The particular class had left, so the Arab facilitator led me to a new one. She failed to show up and it was hard to reschedule since it had to fit in with an appointment with a translator. Travelling was not easy, particularly for the Arabs. The Arab teacher did not want to reschedule so we arranged a written response to the question guide instead, which was translated by an Arab Israeli English student at Haifa University. I tried in advance to hire an Arab professional translator in the area, but the few people I approached were not able to make it to Israel at that time of the year. I found the student – who was recommended by her Arab Haifa University Professor – sufficiently qualified for the task.

Comments on interviews with *Children Teaching Children* bosses and facilitators:

Interviews with directors worked better when the talk was oriented along more general lines, on main philosophies and general developments, while the facilitators working on the ground spoke more easily around specific and technical issues, and these issues also worked as counter- and confirmation-stories of the general tales of the directors.

Comment on interviews with people involved in encounter projects:

The interviews with the 'players' in the encounter projects, below director level, were not done behind desks in a scheduled and interview-like fashion but 'in action' at the workshops, in breaks, during lunch or evening leisure activities. This created more spontaneous, and 'authentic' talks, but also made less time to get beneath things or to elaborate on different themes. The to-the-point character of the talks is illustrated in Chapter 6.

**c. question guides**

The following list of topics outlines the issues or areas to be explored during each category of interlocutors. It is a *guide* rather than *a schedule*, using both closed/pre-coded and open-ended questions (Gilbert, 1993). Therefore, it is not an exhaustive list. As soon as a theme is 'opened', a series of questions and probes for narratives can be put forward.

It contains 1) questions/themes where respondents are asked to provide factual information or express an opinion or feeling about a present situation or experience and 2) questions – inspired by oral history methodology – where the interlocutor is asked to re-construct certain pasts, and past memories, and later on link/compare it to a present experience, which also should be

opened up via a story. The substantial hooks that memories usually hang on, I thereby seek to explore by asking for descriptions of past and present events.

With this in mind I attempt to deal with the qualitative issues by circling around them (Bourdieu, 1999, Gilbert, 1993), not by running my forehead against a wall and asking: 'Is this a third space'?, but instead by trying to deal with, or touch upon the issues related to third space understandings.

I intend to focus more on producing accounts of 'what happened' - in situations a, b, c etc. - and not just on asking for a point of view or an evaluation of the particular situations/events a, b and c. The point is not to challenge accounts, but rather to develop as much information as possible that can be used for later research and comparison.

Below, I have outlined the themes of orientation in my question guides.

Interview themes for different 'players' in *Children Teaching Children* and encounter project

Project directors and facilitators in *Children Teaching Children* project:

CTC step by step (semester by semester), current project
Your first CTC project, how has CTC changed
Use of English, Hebrew and Arabic and use of translation
Your own knowledge of Hebrew/Arabic
Role of facilitators
Role of teachers
Influence of children
Phases/developments/ups and downs
Interpersonal/intrapersonal/intergroup approaches
Spaces, locations, facilities, trips
Follow up

**d. transcription symbols and representation of oral speech in writing**

It is necessary to be sensitive towards the layers of verbal and nonverbal discourse. I have attempted to pay attention toward:

the *proxemic:* use of interpersonal space to communicate attitudes.
the *chronemic:* pacing of speech, silence in conversation.
the *kinesic:* any body movements or postures and
the *paralinguistic:* variations in volume, pitch.

These issues can be indicated by some of the symbols. Not all symbols will necessarily be used. This should be seen as a toolbox from which I have picked the relevant tools. No other symbols are used.

WORD: especially loud sound
(word): inability to hear what said/possible word
[angrily]: author's descriptions, comments. Not transcriptions
... : a stopping fall in tone, a fade or pause, not necessarily the end of a sentence
?: rising reflection, not necessarily a question
^ : rising intonation
eerm:::: elongated/prolonged sounds
we <u>can't</u> solve the conflict: underscoring indicating stress
we can't so- : cut-off word or sentence
(3): elapsed time in silence
.hhh : inbreath
hhh. : outbreath

The symbols are taken from Holstein and Gubrium, 2002, Wengraff, 2001 and May (ed), 2002.

In the extracts in the thesis and in the transcript below interlocutor speech is in normal font, interviewer speech in *italics*. All additional notes by me in normal, and bracketed [ ], as noted above.

**e. interview transcript**

Condensed transcript of interview with Jalal Hassan, co-director of Children Teaching Children at the time of interview), at Givat Haviva, January 2000.

I'll tell you briefly about my personal, ideological attitude, since all the programs we run here have an ideological background. [mumble, broken sentences]. There are a lot of people at Givat Haviva, Jews, and Palestinians. By saying Palestinians, I mean those who are citizens of Israel.

Because the Israeli government doesn't like the fact that some of us call us... call ourselves Palestinians. *They call you Arabs.* Yes, this is part of the way they want to control us. Even 'Arabs' is a new concept because historically it was 'minorities' with no national aspect in our identity. *Non-Jews.* Or non-Jews is the most... yes. ..so, because, to go.. to be as far as possible from any national component in our identity, national component, national unity, national.. entirety, and then.. we are talking about two nations living in the same place, same state… eh.. they call us Israeli Arabs, they call us even .. Arabs like religious minorities.. Jews, Christians, Muslims etc. etc. But as a matter of fact historically, culturally, politically we are simply Palestinians. We live in Palestine. For me this place is Palestine. Here. And I am not talking in a political sense, I am talking in… cultural, social, historical meaning….For my partner, my Jewish partner [colleagues at Givat Haviva] says it is Israel, for me it is Palestine. And even in this place ^ , Givat Haviva, the peace making place, there is disagreement about this issue. I am telling you my perspective. Givat Haviva is a place that historically was created out of the kibbutz-movement, and the liberal Zionist. *Zionists?* Zionists...I mean it… their liberal perspective of these people… want to have contact with Arabs, but ^ under very clear power relations. Power relations is a keyword.. should be a keyword. Checking out what is there [?]. *You attempt to create some sort of a balance, balance power relations?.* Yeah. *Is that possible?* I don't know if it is possible, I don't deal with what is possible or not, because if you say no, it is something which is.. [he answer] is ahistorical, I don't know, I am working through this, I am seeking…I am working, this is my problem, political education [mumbling] .hhh... political issues, and if I would come and say.. aah^… it is not possible it is my private problem. *Maybe you could tell me about your own work and position here?* I am moving to it… It is more important to say… I mean what is this program .. it is a program, okay.[.in a sort of period/end of discussion-intonation, and he continues: speaking slowly, stressing a point]: what is the background of this program. It is out of ^ a certain understanding of reality. There are programs in Givat Haviva… saying.. so the problem with Jews and Arabs in Israel is that they don't have contact with each other, they live in different societies.. and then ^ [raising voice]*:* you bring them together. *It doesn't solve it?* [I try to get in with a comment/question ?] [he continues:]. I say. This is one way of reading reality, understanding. And then out of bringing them together, putting them together and something good should come out of it, I say it is bullshit.

[The remaining part of the interview, not included in the extract for analysis in Chapter 5, is now presented here]

It is in the interest of the groups who has the power, to go through this… perspective. [pause] So it depends how you see reality. You create programs that deals with reality. I think there is

no problem in this place, if, if, Palestinians and Jews live separately. No problem. It is even necessary for them. I want this. *But, you're spending your life in a place where contact is.. what is happening [I intrude].* But the way I create contact is different. *Okay?* First of all most of my work is uni-national. *Okay, but with CTC it is?* Uninational. They would meet sometimes, but they go back to back to their uninational context to deal with the issues. The contact is not the purpose, it is ...a vehicle. I accept the fact that there is two nations here. And we should… we have… better mind our identity, back resistance, the Arabs [mumble]. For us, the Palestinians^, we have no other option, but to be in contact with the Israeli Jews. I am not talking about educational programs, I am talking about reality. If you want to go to the university, or go to any office, to buy things, it is….[mumble]… what is your name again [he asks all of a sudden]. *Anders.* Anders. The Jew exist in our self [?]. The Jews, dominator, occupier, and a strong one, *but just* … eeh one word: by bringing them into contact I want to liberate… my people… to reshape *reshape?* yes reshape the image of the Jew from... the occupier: we are afraid of the Jews [with a finishing pointing sigh] they are the bosses... they could take us to prison... they could do a lot of things to us. We need them. To reshape this existence through educational, into a more equal relation, to look from this, eye to eye... and this [raising voice, a point is coming] for the Jews also. We are in a reality. They don't need us. Okay. [We are the?] Black labour. But their self image is that they are moral, they are victims, because of the Holocaust obvious, and they are fair, fair, with us, okay. Through this problem I would like to reshape the existence and the position of the Arabs. *But do you want to reshape it into something particular, or get rid of some stereotypes, and leave it for something new, something open?* I don't want to get rid of stereotypes. I don't want to get rid of stereotypes. *Then you have to explain more precisely what you mean by reshape?* I will tell you. All this bla bla bla, stereotypes, prejudice. [mumbling] [talking both at the same time] Stereotypes is something to personal life, it is not personal, not one to one.... it is not like that I discover that the Palestinian is a human being.... waaaauw... waaaauw. Bad guy, big deal, good guy [sarcastic, moving in chair, slapping hand on table], so I don't work on this level, I don't care. It is the fact that ...I am reshaping. It is not by [mumbling] Palestinians will come...this project… it takes them a while, empowerment, empowerment is a key word, to have the courage, to look in the Jewish, Jews eyes, and share with no fear. And the Jews come with out all this patronage/patronise' *Patronage?* Do you know what I mean, [he asks!] *Something about looking down at.?*…. Yeah.. Israel is what we call ethnic democracy, seen in the world as democracy, only in Middle East, others are barbarians [mumbling, difficult to hear], but as a matter of fact it is a Jewish state, the Jews are first class, we Palestinians, citizens, are second class. I work towards [mumbling, searching for words] citizens, citizens of the state. *This is very interesting debate but I want to get down to something more concrete – contact? in what sense, what are the tools, it is not just about talking and meeting as you said. what is it about?* I'll give you some brochures. *I've already got the brochures, I would like you*

*to express it in your words, [He thinks]:* Contact or Contact theory relying on symmetric, symmetry, but we are asymmetric, that should be taken into consideration, we are asymmetric. The Israeli Jewish educational system… is encouraging, educating them into… into a sharp, straight, Jewish, Israeli identity. As a matter of fact it prepares the individuals to be good soldiers. It goes all the way through. The moment they go to the army, become good soldiers that will defend the state. And the other side, the Arabs, Palestinians... to puussh [prolongs word, emphasis] them away... from any national identity or any contact with the history of Palestine from the Palestinian point of view. It is to create a very strange people who are Israeli Arabs. They are not Palestinians. They don't belong to the Arab world Although, to [bring?] ^these two groups… together, [can't hear] it happens here in Givat Haviva. It ^fulfils the need of the group who don't want to change the power relations, because it is very good for the fans… wow we bring them together [sarcastic]… peace work, peace work... [he puts on a highly ironic look and intonation, moves around in the chair, gesticulates]. We talk with each other, we are normal hostiles, we don't fight we make peace, make peace, but as a matter of fact we maintain the power relations. That's it. So we need to seek a program that will… create a change in the power relations, and it should be eh eh in the context of the program...that first of all, where first of all I will work with my self, my people… and the content… in a long term process... where I will meet you [the other] and then go back to my self. To work with the conflict into ehh [mumble, he searches for a work] into the discourse of relations, addressing it in a sense of changing. [I stumble with a few lines]: *But my question is then If CTC is changing power relations, because people go back to their normal schooling, this is just a side path from what is the reality?* The children will go this project for continuous years. *Yes, it is a long time, yes.* Yes, a long and it will be a part of their weekly curriculum week after week after week after week after week [padding on the table], they will deal with these issues. Mostly it is a uninational context and from time to time to meet the other side, bring them together for two, three, four or five days, it is a continuous, and it is… we work with the teachers, we train teachers, and the teachers themselves work with students, we don't work with the students. Our staff here, who are half Jews and half Palestinians, work with the teachers. We train them intensively, and continue [mumble]. And this group, facilitators, supervisors, and we also want a dialogue, among ourselves, because we are not out of the conflict, we are on a tough [task], very tough. And this programme has two directors, one Jew, one Arab. We should also try to create… ehh [he looks for expression] share power here. We should also share power here. Share power [with emphasis through repetitions]. [I start mumbling a question, and ends up with some clarity] *What is the essential part of the training for teachers? <u>what do you do?</u>* Ehh… two channels… one is … tools…. [he is searching…] sociological, educational tools [he thinks]. The educational perspective comes out of critical education, humanistic education ehhh… if you are familiar with Paolo Freire, very famous, Brazilian, pedagogy of the

oppressed.[Silence - apparently I don't remember his name, or hadn't start reading him. I encountered his work for the first time in 1999 or 2000 - embarrassing]. *So you're attached to a specific school?* Yes, critical eeeh education. Child oriented. Based on being critical to reality, because most of the educational system,, schools are maintaining reality and power relations. Economical, social, to the state, it is a reproduction of the system. *Reproduction yes.* It will be combined with at critical ehhh.... way of looking at the relationship between the ethnical groups, by saying groups we will focus on the Jewish-Palestinian relationship but we should go also toward sub-group relations, because in Israel there is a lot of conjunctions. Conflict. *Conflict within each group yes.* Yes. it is a process of being critical of social constructions [slowly, with emphasis, but not louder] that enable students and teachers to work toward change. This is the.. spirit of the work. This is what we come from *But the schools come from different areas, were the situation is different. I picked something up from another conversation I had. But the contexts differ. Let us say between Haifa compared to Tel Aviv, or a more purely Jewish context?* I don't know, why is it different? [he asks back] *eeeh it is a more mixed city, Haifa, and it creates another experience* [his mobile rings LOUD]. Yes and now, even in the mixed cities... [can't hear] a bit different, but same.. [he speaks very slow and calmly, and leans back in the chair] homeland, we are the natives. Even the Jews say they are coming back to their homeland. It is a myth. They define history... history is there, against the myth of the Jewish nation. I don't know if you had been around here and you don't know the language [I try to get in] they are hebraizing, in a very cynical way. So they take away.... they destroy... our traces, our traces [very low, yet with emphasis] the historical traces, eeh architecture, existence, archaeological...the land [he points, and look out the window]. [Instead of getting in to this, I break away, unfortunately*] Is there a common ground in these projects with is similar, or do they run very differently?* What do you mean? *Well, we are dealing with different people and different experiences, you could imagine one class [school class], some class, and they over a year, do they run with the same issue, topics, discussion?* No. *I mean, you could give me some examples, the differences? how do you cope? Different things they want to put on the agenda and so on* . In Haifa. Haifa they won't work with the issue of the land, they live in a metropolitan... not relevant, the issue mixed institutions, mixed schools, but for example, here, the dominant issue, who does this land belong to, the land, the physical land [mumble] confiscating the Palestinian land, historically they have done it – so this is a different issue. From what discipline do you come from?, anthropology? *well, we look at how we write history, and write history quite differently according [depending on] who is writing it..* Postmodern issues? *Yeah, but I have also worked with educational projects beforehand and have been interested in that area.* And you are Danish? *Yes, I am Danish.* It is also a cultural thing. People from Europe are interested in the so-called postcolonial... of the world, places, because mostly we'll never see that a fellow who are Palestinian will come and see... Danish culture [tape runs

out]. A discipline… Westernalism. *The West has dominated the agenda.* Of course. They'll give you a scholarship, support, whatever, thesis, and your knowledge will be serving something bigger than this, but I am stupid because I am cooperating, but I am [sarcastic] practising my English [a laugh emerges, he laughs a bit more than me] *a tough one. I think it a ehh, you have to, somehow, you are part of an institution.* What institution? *Well, an academic, university, and you will have a path or certain ways of looking at an area and so on and in that sense you can easily become and Orientalist and someone who confirms the power relations, but you can ehh try to rock the boat a bit.* You are part of a bigger system and can easily be manipulated and your knowledge can be used for certain [particular] things. Please try not only to work on this but enable me to come and learn about your society. I'll give you my card, and maybe you'll do it in five years, or ten years, I met with this guy, why should I tell, why don't I come and learn your…your society is interesting, every society, very interesting. *We have a* [talking both of us] what? *a growing Arab population in Copenhagen where I live* [in between stay in East London and Nottingham] where do you live? *In the north-eastern part of Copenhagen.* Copenhagen! I have been there. I came from Germany and I saw the difference. The Society is more European orientated. [mumble] people more open toward… [I interrupt] *Not anymore, I think the liberal way, we are getting problems, people are getting anxious towards immigrants, and they don't incorporate them well into society.* You also believe that the immigrants that the immigrants should go away. *No, no* [I sound surprised] *No* [still surprised of the question]. You are not conservative. *No.* You are more liberal. *Well I don't want…*[big sigh, outbreath from me, confused] *I would rather talk about issues, and then it can be revealed what you think and who you are.* But you make interview with me? *Yes.* And why should I…*Yes, but I don't ask about your political opinion, I ask about issues, we discuss topics, topics, history.* All the same, it is all the same. [we both speak at the same time] But you are more sophisticated, okay, but and I am less sophisticated, so I am asking you in the context of refugees, you are European. Asking the same, but the very different.

*Well* [a temporary ceasefire in the interview!…] *well I think very distinct and settled and confirmed identities can be a problem in an area, because they become confrontational towards each other.* Ehm [yes, with a sound]. Ehhm. I think it could be eeh useful for both parties [what parties?] *and for peaceful coexistence that identities are more open for transition and development. This 'stick to your roots' somehow contradicts with other peoples sticking to their roots. Sometimes they want the same cake and then you have the problem* [is the interviewer becoming self-indulgent, or is he just realising that he must unpack some of his own views too?] *But you can't cut it, and you can't share it, so it is about incorporating a more flexible identity, I think.* How old are you. *32.* 32?, ahh. Old enough *Yeah I look younger.* Old enough [ he is about 40]. *It is my opinion or ehh my experience that people with more flexible identities are more tolerant. I am forgetting my ehh… it changes.* I think I have a flexible

identity, but I am less tolerant. *Less what?* Less tolerant. [pause and mumble, look at each other, change positions in the chair] – as a cultural identity [mumble], people should be open, I like very much, change taste, other cultures, you are more naive, you can't be naive [I am not sure if he uses the word 'naive', but it is likely, knowing who the interviewer is!]. *The problem is when you give culture to nationalist politicians, this is our culture bla bla .. we have this right wing party in Denmark who wants to define what our culture is... they say according to the Koran the Muslims are so and so, but in fact if you read the Koran... cultures are more... ambiguous, different within.* yeah, yeah [He listens, more relaxed, tired, bored? I change ground]: *Hamas may be the only option for a Gaza boy to create some meaning in his life.* [He wakes up]: Yeah, yeah it is the only option.

[Dialogue fades] Okay. Okay. yeah [sighing] is it okay now [sighing]. *It is probably Face to Face and University projects I will return to, and also* [some chat].

Great. Okay. God bless you. *il-hamdu illah* [thanks to Allah, in Arabic, he laughs].

**f. Questionnaire not used**

## Questionnaire for participants

The aim of this survey is to collect information on all participants and, especially, to get your views and opinions about the encounter. Some questions should be filled out *before* the encounter, others *afterwards.*

Question number 1 is about what you expect of this encounter. It should be filled out on the day of arrival. The question may be difficult if you haven't given it much thought. You can write what's on your mind, but you can also answer 'don't know'. Questions number 2 – 10 can be filled out when you like. Questions 11-15 are about how you think it all went, so keep the questionnaire with you until the final day, and then fill these out.

I hope you will take 10 minutes or so to fill it out. It will contribute to my research and the information you give will not be used in combination with your name (You are not asked for name and address).

If you have any questions for me, about the questionnaire or other things, you are welcome to come and speak to me - or contact me: anders.hansen@ntu.ac.uk

Thanks very much!

Anders Høg Hansen

About the encounter – fill out on day of arrival
1. What do you expect of this encounter? (Write a few lines about what you hope to experience):

About you
2. Where do you live? (area/city): _____
3. Where were you born (area/city):_____
4. How old are you?: ___
5. Sex: male___ female___
6. Name of high school you are attending and area/city:
_____

7. Where have you attended primary and secondary school? Name of school(s) and area:
_____

Plans after high school?
8. What do you think you will be doing the first year after high school (place X, you can put more than one X if you are not sure):
Army: ___
University: ___
Other kind of education: ___
Working, but not studying (indicate what sort if you can): _____
Taking care of family: ___
Travelling, living, studying or working abroad:___

Other activity (indicate):_____
Don't know: ___

Identity

9. The words and word-pairs below express different forms of ethnic, national, religious and cultural identity. Each of you may identify with several of these. Together they may form one whole person. Place Xs beside the words/word-pairs that describe your identity-affiliations.
Place Xs:

___ Israeli
___ Arab
___ Jewish
___ Ashkenazi
___ Mizrachi/Sephardi/Oriental
___ Sabra
___ Hebrew
___ Russian
___ Palestinian
___ Druze
___ Christian
___ Muslim
___ Regional/local/communal identity
(fill in name/area)_____
___ Jewish Israeli
___ Palestinian Israeli
___ Arab Israeli
___ Palestinian Arab
___ Palestinian Arab Israeli
___ Other
describe: _____

10. Which of these above best describe your identity? Write them down below in order/priority if you think that some affiliations are more important for you than others (a-c). If they have equal importance to you just put an X in 10d.

10a. most important
(can be more than one affiliation): _____

10b. second affiliation(s): _____

10c.. Third affiliation (s): _____

10d. My identity-affiliations marked with X in question 9 are equally important : ____

If you find it difficult to answer this section (question 8 or/and 9), or you just prefer to express your identity in other ways you are welcome to write a few lines:

_____

_____

About the encounter – fill out on final day

11. Describe one or two experiences at the encounter which has had the deepest impact on you (use other side of page if you need more space to write). It can be a positive, negative or ambiguous experience, or general things about the encounter that are on your mind:

Experience 1:

Experience 2:

12. Would you recommend an encounter-experience like this to a friend?
Yes ___ No___ Don't know ___
You are welcome to write a few lines about why/why not:

13. Think of what you thought about this encounter before you came here, and then dwell on how it all went..... have your expectations been fulfilled?:
Yes___ No ___ Don't know ___
You are welcome to write a few lines about why or why not:

14. Do you have any suggestions of other topics and activities to include in encounter-projects between Jews and Palestinians/Arabs (use other side of page if you need more space):

15. Other comments (use the other side of the paper if necessary):

**g. navigating the field. graphic self-reflection (Sacco 2002)**

*See next page.*