

Chapter One

Constructing Coexistence

A Survey of Coexistence Projects in Areas of Ethnic Conflict

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The study and practice of coexistence is as varied as it is difficult. *Coexistence* is a broad term used to describe one general concept, but in differing degrees of intensity. While the most ambitious connotations envision completely integrated societies in which members of different ethnic, racial, or religious groups live in harmony with one another, the minimum concept of coexistence asks only that members of such groups live together without killing each other. While this issue affects virtually every society, its implementation is both most challenging and most imperative in societies where coexistence has broken down into widespread violence. This chapter examines various projects aimed at promoting coexistence in areas troubled by mass killing, genocide, or protracted ethnic conflict.

Even cursory research reveals literally thousands of coexistence projects around the world. The examples discussed in this chapter represent variations in the field—focusing especially on efforts to engage groups in hands-on activities—that appear successful enough to be potential models for future efforts. Some of the examples are simple projects with only a single concrete means of implementing this goal, while others are complex, interdisciplinary programs whose interrelated project components span many aspects of political, economic, and social life.

This chapter's limited scope does not purport to solve the problem of achieving coexistence; rather, it pursues the narrower

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goals of sampling projects from various fields, offering a perspective on current coexistence initiatives, and presenting potential models for future efforts. The challenge of this overview is to give more form and content to *coexistence* as a meaningful term in interethnic and international dialogue, as this idea has not yet been widely theorized, commonly debated, or universally implemented. This analysis meets that challenge by exploring a range of activities that can be understood through the concept of coexistence.

Various Paradigms of Coexistence Projects

In this chapter, we classify coexistence projects according to their activities or goals. However, not everyone follows this approach. Some organizations sort projects by target audience or geographical area; others cover many regions, populations, or types of activities; and still others just coordinate many other projects. An organization's choice of paradigm depends primarily on its focus, rather than on the relative merits of any one system over another.

Projects that target specific population groups usually distinguish their audience along gender or age, but not ethnic, lines. Like many others, these projects appeal to and emphasize their participants' commonalities but can do so in a more focused manner. Most popular examples of this approach are women's and children's groups, although some projects target adults, immigrants, or other groups.

A different typology separates projects created by local grassroots groups from outside initiatives sponsored by governments, intergovernmental agencies, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Each type has advantages and shortcomings: grassroots efforts are more in touch with the people involved, but they may lack the resources of larger organizations; outside intervention has the additional benefit of access to a large-scale public audience, particularly through media network, but local people may view the outside intervention with skepticism and suspicion. The source of funding can often influence the character or bias of the initiative. Government-funded projects may have ties to other political issues, but NGOs may have political agendas of their own. This dichotomy may nonetheless be useful to evaluators in revealing the specific perspectives and objectives of the project organizers.

Another approach to fostering coexistence is to embrace several disciplines and sectors and sponsor projects in each. The broad scope of this method renders it more responsive to the numerous and interrelated needs in postconflict societies. Integrating projects in the various fields helps offer a full range of services to address these needs in a comprehensive fashion. Organizations that implement these multi-faceted projects include Conflict Resolution Catalysts¹ in Kosovo and The Abraham Fund² in the Middle East.

Although cultural sensitivity and acknowledgment of regional differences remain important factors in building coexistence, multi-regional projects benefit from their diverse experiences and can contribute much toward the development of universal strategies to promote coexistence. Umbrella projects, by contrast, usually confine themselves to one location, but they enjoy the advantages of a wider perspective on the needs of the community and the achievements of the projects so far. Thus they provide valuable input to potential funding organizations, identify deficiencies, and advise on the allocation of resources.

Each of these methods has its benefits and drawbacks, and a mixture of all of them is probably the best way to pursue the larger goal of coexistence. While recognizing the validity of all of these methods, a system that classifies the many projects according to their type of activity best suits the purposes of this chapter.

Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management

In a modern international culture that values the rule of law, the influence of laws and political participation on group interaction must not be underestimated. A necessary foundation for progressing from a society of ethnic domination and mass violence to a more fair and just one is an inculcation of the local legal system with common notions of equality and the rule of law. Such an effort involves reconstructing the judicial system, fostering political participation, and providing stable governments and domestic security. It also involves the development of effective techniques for dispute resolution and conflict management. This may take many forms: truth commissions, international criminal tribunals, domestic anti-discrimination laws, affirmative action programs, or citizens' groups that promote and embody political participation by ethnic and

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racial minorities. As the central aim of all of these methods is to foster both the reality and perception of justice and the rule of law, an integral aspect of coexistence is the presence and visibility of just laws as well as political processes that guarantee equal and nondiscriminatory treatment of members of all ethnic groups. Toward this end, NGOs and other national and international bodies, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the European Union, and the United States House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, have endorsed various antidiscrimination laws and affirmative action programs where necessary.³ While many of these examples refer to affirmative action projects for women, analogous projects for ethnic minorities may also enhance a political environment conducive to coexistence.

Bringing a political end to the conflict provides closure, and a sense of resolution is essential before a society as a whole can move forward. While truth commissions and criminal tribunals address this issue on a large scale, citizens' groups and local NGOs confront the task of building coexistence using methods that are accessible to all citizens. Among their central goals are fostering dispute resolution, promoting reconciliation, and encouraging political participation. Moreover, "conflict prevention NGOs and other social actors are often better placed to work small changes, on both the political and personal level, that eventually transform head-on conflict into negotiable points of disagreement."⁴

The Network of East-West Women sponsors a project in Bosnia called Women to Women Citizen Association, an all-inclusive women's organization that reaches across religious, national, social, and ethnic boundaries to explore the role women can play through empowerment and a political voice in the reconstruction of society after conflict.⁵ Activities of the organization include mobilization of women through joint projects, using nonnationalist language, the rule of law, and capacity building to promote political participation, peace building, and confidence building.

Through methods such as local councils and town meetings, another project, the Community Facilitators Project in Kosovo, aims to "move the society beyond a culture of disempowerment and violence, towards a culture of peace."⁶ Likewise, the World Bank's Post-Conflict Unit sponsors the Rwandan government's Com-

munity and Reintegration Project,⁷ which decentralizes government in order to involve citizens in political and administrative decision making on a local level and fosters ties between the local governments and the people they represent. These various approaches all seek to create a stable and just political environment for members of all ethnic groups, thereby satisfying a precedent for enduring coexistence.

Social Services

One of the most appropriate and effective forums for coexistence projects has been the social services sector. War, armed conflict, and the accompanying insecurity and displacement often disrupt the allocation of resources by governmental and nongovernmental institutions. In such situations, civilians lack access to necessary social services and ordinary recreation. Many projects have employed avenues such as education, health care, and cultural activities to foster coexistence while meeting immediate needs or providing opportunities for recreation and social activities.

Education

Multicultural schools, with bilingual (or trilingual) education and mixed staff, bring students of different ethnic and religious backgrounds together to learn core subjects while simultaneously bridging the gap between communities separated by conflict. Such a platform is conducive to making personal contacts across ethnic and religious divides, learning about the “other,” and confronting stereotypes, without ever explicitly addressing coexistence or its corollaries, peace and tolerance. Indeed, simple proximity and the opportunity for creating friendships are major factors in breaking down prejudice and reducing stereotyping. Scientific research provides support for the “contact” hypothesis underlying this approach,⁸ suggesting that cooperation and common goals in classrooms can lead to cross-ethnic friendships and then to changed attitudes.⁹ Organizations sponsoring mixed schools can orient their programs to deemphasize individualism and competition while promoting cooperation among students.

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The Center for Jewish-Arab Education exemplifies this approach through Hand in Hand, a program that “seeks to spark revolutionary change within Israeli education and society by establishing a new educational paradigm: integrated, bilingual schools where Jewish and Arab children and their families learn and grow together.”¹⁰ A number of other projects similarly endorse this type of coexistence model in education. A YMCA preschool in Jerusalem brings together Jewish and Arab children daily for recreational purposes. They visit each other to learn to speak each other’s languages, celebrate each other’s birthdays and holidays, hold monthly parent meetings, and engage in joint activities that promote friendships across ethnic and religious divides.¹¹

This approach has been extended to many spheres, including computer courses,¹² language courses,¹³ cultural education,¹⁴ summer camps,¹⁵ and youth leadership training.¹⁶ In none of these situations is coexistence addressed per se. Leaders of such projects note that “coexistence, as such, actually appears nowhere in the program. The idea is to engage [participants] side by side in other, unrelated activities such as language instruction and cross-cultural events which, by virtue of the close proximity, promote coexistence.”¹⁷ Thus these projects can be an effective impetus for educating the population and simultaneously counteracting ethnic hatred.

Health Care

Health care is a universal basic need. Given the significance of this objective, even conflicting parties may cooperate to improve the health of all groups. Members of one community, for instance, recognized a deficiency in children’s health and initiated a program, Immunization for Peace (IFP), after “peasant women requested that the health conditions of their children in the war zones be improved. This request prompted the IFP program’s launch . . . by bringing together government, non-government and combatant groups that shared similar concerns toward the children. . . . IFP’s goal was ensuring the ‘survival, development and protection of children throughout the country by providing health services and achieving peaceful cooperation and coexistence among various groups affecting child welfare in conflict areas.’”¹⁸

Other health care projects in areas such as Sudan, Liberia, and Central America facilitated such initiatives as distribution of vitamins, vaccinations, and campaigns to raise awareness about diseases.¹⁹ These efforts demonstrate how projects can meet basic human needs while healing the broader effects of ethnic conflict.

Arts

“Prose, poetry and art have through the ages proved themselves to be eloquent mirrors and ambassadors for the cause of peace, and for forming bridges among nations, even conflicting ones. . . . [They] can build up ideological, emotional and psychological motivation and knowledge that can help towards a foreseeable future of reconciliation. [They] can also convey the horrors of war and the atmosphere of fear, in a most immediate, profound and crucial way.”²⁰

In the field of music, Oči v Oči, a Bosnian NGO, sponsors an interreligious choir composed of Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Jews, which sings the religious music of all four groups. This and similar projects, such as orchestras²¹ and even guitar lessons,²² provide their members with rich and diverse performance experiences while helping them appreciate the other groups’ musical, cultural, and religious traditions.²³ As noted by another integrated choir project, “music is an international language which should be used to build bridges between the two communities.”²⁴

Visual arts, particularly photography and film production, present another forum for members of different groups to work side by side with former enemies in exercising their creativity and talents. These projects create anything from symbolic statements to simple expressions of artistic taste to substantial video productions.²⁵ In any case, participants can explore their own interests and realize a chance to interact with members of the other group in a nonadversarial atmosphere.

Dramatic entertainment has also proved to be an effective catalyst for coexistence by serving as a vehicle to bring members of different groups together in a specific common activity to promote mutual understanding.²⁶ Furthermore, role playing provides a unique opportunity for identification with the “other,” facilitating better understanding and empathy, and in this context, drama can

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be used as a tool to heal actors.²⁷ In all of these fields, arts can facilitate greater understanding as well as fruitful expression of both serious and lighthearted themes.

Sports

“When one is active in sports, one does not commit genocide.”²⁸

Sports is another area in which children (or adults) can join in an organized activity that promotes coexistence without focusing on it directly, and some in the field consider “recreation and participation in sports an urgent priority for healing physical and emotional wounds.”²⁹ This belief has sparked many activities in many regions, from volleyball in Rwanda³⁰ to basketball in Bosnia and Herzegovina³¹ to dance in the Middle East.³² Other projects sponsor mixed teams or camps for soccer, tennis, baseball, karate, and rugby.³³ For children who are not drawn to art or sports, several organizations sponsor general after-school programs and youth groups,³⁴ whose activities range from student newspapers³⁵ to chess matches.³⁶ Contact in all of these activities helps the members of different groups interact on a day-to-day, informal basis, allowing people to personalize the “other” and realize that they are more similar than different.

Income-Generating Projects

Economic restoration is undoubtedly an essential element of stable coexistence, for gainful employment and prosperity reduce tendencies to scapegoat and also generate general satisfaction. Furthermore, cooperation in entrepreneurial ventures encourages conflicting groups to work together toward joint goals for their mutual benefit. The correlation between conflict and abject poverty underscores the importance of economic development: “Fifteen of the world’s twenty poorest countries have experienced major conflict during the past decade. Virtually *every low-income country* has either undergone a major conflict or borders one or more countries in conflict” (original emphasis).³⁷ The rebuilding of infrastructure, economic development, and agricultural restoration can serve as methods of rehabilitating the economy while also encouraging collaboration among former enemies. The World Bank,

USAID, and the European Union promote coexistence by taking active roles in these areas.

Rebuilding Infrastructure

Apart from preventing the return of displaced persons and the resumption of normal life, ruined infrastructure symbolically reflects the scars of society, serves as a constant reminder of the conflict, creates a general obstacle to hope for the future, and delays economic revitalization. Reconstruction is thus an elementary step toward restoring an overall sense of order.³⁸ The United Methodist Committee on Relief in Bosnia (UMCOR/Bosnia) has implemented, among other things, programs including “shelter and school rehabilitation, community infrastructure, and water-sewer system repair. . . . As basic elements of all of UMCOR/Bosnia’s programs, reconciliation and conflict resolution are . . . creatively implemented in the sustainable agriculture, community development, income generation, and shelter programs.” This is accomplished by establishing construction teams in neighborhoods that “will potentially produce ethnically mixed working groups, thus providing an opportunity for rebuilding trust between individuals who identify themselves as belonging to different ethnic/religious groups.”³⁹

In Rwanda, the Health Water and Sanitation Project has rehabilitated and installed new water systems and housing developments. Apart from the immediate benefit of physical construction, the Health Water and Sanitation Project has had an appreciable impact on developing positive relations between community members, Tutsis and Hutus, who have articulated a commitment to continue working together.⁴⁰ Organizers contribute their success to the following: “In order for people to reconcile and start working together again, they have to be organized around activities which mean something for them, activities which take care of their needs, which deal with their priorities. That’s why we have to start with people at the grassroots, to look at their priorities and work with them, so they participate in their own development.”⁴¹

The Working Group on Housing and Community Services as Peacebuilding Tools underscores that “physical rebuilding can be a valuable handmaiden to social and psychological rebuilding in post-conflict societies” in a variety of ways. For example, it is “one of

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the fastest means of stimulating a wide range of economic activities, producing jobs and new enterprises” and can serve as “an immediate way to generate trust in reformed institutions of government.”⁴²

These many projects, even as they address rudimentary needs, can also contribute to solving the longer-term problem of rebuilding interethnic tolerance. At a more fundamental level, the mere landscape of reconstruction can portray a secure physical environment.

Economic Development

For an increasingly global economy, economic development is one of the most important features of a functioning, growing society. Projects that foster economic development in postconflict situations, then, promote the overall health of the society along with the individual well-being of the participants. Like many of the other sectors, mixed composition in these projects can reinforce the notion that cooperation, not conflict, is in everyone’s best interest. The more small businesses develop, the more vibrant the economy becomes, thereby lessening the importance of interethnic competition or rivalries. Although economic security does not guarantee peaceful coexistence, it can nonetheless reduce the tension and serve as a disincentive to engaging in armed conflict, which impedes economic growth and development. Projects in this area promote economic development through loans for small businesses, assistance in setting up such businesses, and training in business skills.⁴³

One project, the Income Generation Program, sponsored by UMCOR/Bosnia, provides “support to local economies through small loans and business training,” which have been used to establish businesses in “tailoring, pasta making, carpentry, printing, beekeeping, and fish farms.”⁴⁴ Another example of an economic assistance project is the Center for Jewish-Arab Economic Development. This program aims to provide entrepreneurial training and management skills to Israeli Arab and Jewish professionals and to “create investment and networking opportunities, as well as facilitate joint ventures between Israeli Arabs and Jews.”⁴⁵

On a larger scale, the World Bank has facilitated economic revival in many areas of the world. One project in the Balkans described its progress in the following terms: “The reconstruction

effort—including targeted programs to jump-start economic activity—has also fueled high growth rates and brought a tangible re-start of economic activity. The achievements in this area are moderated, however, by the fact that recovery is fragile. Unemployment remains high [and] economic growth continues to be linked primarily to reconstruction. . . .”⁴⁶ Clearly much remains to be done, but projects such as this pave the way to economic recovery.

Agriculture

Agriculture, a crucial means of sustenance in many postconflict areas, can also be used to foster coexistence. One project whose name appropriately captures the dual objectives in this domain is Cultivating Coexistence, supported by the Abraham Fund.⁴⁷ Other projects similarly offer opportunities for populations in postconflict regions to achieve coexistence by working together to provide agricultural products for the community. For example, UMCOR/Bosnia “provides agribusiness seminars and training programs to small farmers . . . [and] loans to local farmers and individuals who want to start up or expand an agribusiness” through the Technical Assistance Project and the Agricultural Credit Project.⁴⁸

These kinds of efforts can help restore the society as a whole by initiating progress toward self-sustainability. Because generating income is a staple of modern growth and progress, projects that promote small business and agriculture are elementary in a society’s recovery from conflict. Together with physical reconstruction, economic development constitutes an essential aspect of genuine coexistence.

Reconciliation and Dealing with Trauma

Interethnic violence traumatizes the population and precipitates inevitable psychological consequences. Programs that address this trauma and initiate coexistence education in postconflict societies reflect a worthy and well-placed effort to remedy these effects and to establish a more lasting peace among the parties. Several different disciplines, including psychiatry and psychology, religion, and the arts, can be useful in finding various ways to begin the healing process, either directly or indirectly.

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Some direct attempts to deal with collective trauma involve the individuals who witnessed or even participated in the ethnic violence. Many projects undertake the task of bringing people together from both sides to address the effects of the violence through mixed-group encounters. These may take the form of after-school programs,⁴⁹ youth groups, or discussion groups for adults.⁵⁰ Sharing their experiences of the conflict and acknowledging their own wrongdoing can lead people on both sides of the ethnic divide to appreciate the other's suffering, identify their common plight, and recognize the crucial importance of postconflict coexistence.⁵¹ This narrative approach to healing permits victims and witnesses to understand the damage the conflict caused and to offer sympathy and comfort to one another.

Although religion has often been cited as a cause of interethnic conflict, it can be part of the solution as well as the problem. The Abraham Fund sponsors two projects related to religion and coexistence. In Yakar's Beit-Midrash-Madrassa Curriculum Implementation Project, Jewish and Muslim teachers develop and implement a coexistence curriculum on how to convey lessons about the shared values of Judaism and Islam.⁵² The other project, Stepping Stone to Peace: Religious Coexistence, utilizes role playing, shared holiday celebrations, and visits to religious sites and institutions to encourage teenagers to tolerate other religious viewpoints.⁵³ Still, given the divisive potential of religion, project creators and funders may be understandably reluctant to embrace such an idea.

Other projects aimed at promoting peace approach the task of initiating communal healing by bringing their message to a more general audience, without direct participation from victims or wrongdoers.⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier, art can be a particularly expressive way of communicating one's feelings following the shock and suffering of interethnic violence. One group notes: "Art can help the individual in various ways: as a mirror of his [or her] own feelings, thoughts and desires, as well as those of [the] society, as a catalyst of self-clarification and renewed points of view, and in realizing past and present limitations to peaceful coexistence."⁵⁵

More indirect efforts to foster tolerance and peace include teacher training and school courses on coexistence. While the teachers and students involved may or may not have been directly affected

by past violence, programs emphasizing the importance of coexistence aim to create a general culture that is more tolerant and consequently less prone to ethnic violence. One such project is Education for Peace and Coexistence, a two-semester course that studies the various “historical, cultural, sociological, psychological, educational and didactic aspects of coexistence. . . . [It] aims to teach—and teach educators how to teach—pluralism, tolerance, humanism, and democracy, and to further understanding, respect and peace. . . .”⁵⁶ In sum, coexistence education, in all its forms, fulfills a requisite for changing intergroup relations and increasing tolerance.⁵⁷

Conclusion

The overview in this chapter highlights creative ways to promote coexistence, directly or indirectly, in different fields. Although not all methods will fit all contexts, some of these ideas can be applied to each society facing postconflict reconstruction. Such projects generate economic, social, and cultural benefits and provide a powerful impetus for constructing coexistence. Unfortunately, this survey also reveals the inherent difficulty of any effort to reduce intolerance and deep-seated hatred and to improve relations between groups recently embroiled in ethnic conflict.

Projects such as these will be in vain if they neglect underlying causes of interethnic conflict. More realistic and more promising efforts would target the roots of the problems: political wrongs and inequitable distribution of resources. Another essential element is time—time to implement these changes and time to heal the scars from the wounds of these injustices. As top-down efforts resolve the fundamental political and legal concerns, bottom-up efforts can provide vital reinforcement and actualization of coexistence on a more immediate and more personal level.

The descriptions of coexistence projects offered here do not supply complete normative answers, but they may, by way of an overview of current programs, propose a framework for future initiatives and help define its contours. Despite its shortcomings and limitations, this study provides a starting point for deeper analyses, such as those in subsequent chapters of this book, and lays a foundation for future work to realize the promise of coexistence.

Notes

1. See Conflict Resolutions Catalysts, "The People Connection Project" [<http://www.crcvt.org/connection.html>]; B. Hemmer, "Bottom-Up Peacebuilding in Bosnia," Spring 1997 [<http://www.crcvt.org/parcnews.html>]; Conflict Resolution Catalysts, "The Community Facilitators Project in Kosovo" [<http://www.crcvt.org/community.html>].
2. Abraham Fund and Ahavat Hagalil, "*Shchenim* (Neighbors) and Coexistence" [<http://www.abrahamfund.org>].
3. See United Nations Commission on Human Rights, "Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Follow-Up to the World Conference on Human Rights," Dec. 28, 1999 [[http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(Symbol\)/E.CN.4.2000.12.En?OpenDocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/E.CN.4.2000.12.En?OpenDocument)]; "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," Sept. 3, 1981, art. 2, 1249 UNTS 20378. [http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_icerd.htm]; F. Cameron, "EU Law and Policy Overview: International Conflict Resolution: Challenges and Strategies," June 2000 [<http://www.eurunion.org/legislat/Defense/FCSpeechConfPrev.htm>]; Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, "Human Rights and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland," 105th Cong., Oct. 9, 1997 [<http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa45500.000/hfa455000.htm>]; Flamme African Sisters Online [<http://www.flamme.org/documents/afrngorep.html>].
4. P. van Tongeren, "Exploring the Local Capacity for Peace: The Role of NGOs," Mar.-Apr. 1998 [http://www.euforic.org/courier/168e_ton.htm].
5. Network of East-West Women, "Women to Women Citizen Association" [http://www.neww.org/countries/Bosnia/women_to_women.htm].
6. Conflict Resolution Catalysts, "Community Facilitators Project."
7. See World Bank Group. "Building Trust to Rebuild Rwanda: World Bank Supports Community Reintegration and Development," News Release no. 99/2003/AFR, Dec. 1, 1998 [<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extme/2003.htm>].
8. See G. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954); see also R. Ben-Ari and Y. Amir, "Contact Between Arab and Jewish Youth in Israel: Reality and Potential," in M. Hewstone and R. Brown (eds.), *Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); M. B. Brewer and N. Miller, *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1984); and W. G. Stephan and C. W. Stephan, *Intergroup Relations* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).
9. See, for example, R. Slavin, "Enhancing Intergroup Relations in Schools: Cooperative Learning and Other Strategies," in W. D. Hawley and A. W. Jackson (eds.), *Toward a Common Destiny: Improving Race Relations in America* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995); J. F. Dovidio, G. Maruyama, and M. G. Alexander, "A Social Psychology of National and International Group Relations," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1998, 54, 831-846; R. E. Slavin and R. Cooper, "Improving Intergroup Relations: Lessons Learned From Cooperative Learning Programs," *Journal of Social Issues*, Winter 1999, 55(4), 647-663 (providing an

overview of research and evaluation of cooperative learning approach); and Y. Amir, "The Role of Intergroup Contact in Change of Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in P. Katz (ed.), *Towards the Elimination of Racism* (New York: Pergamon, 1976). But see also R. Halabi and N. Sonnenschein, "School for Peace, *Neve Shalom/Wahat al Salam*," in *Improving Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: Theory and Practice in Coexistence Program* (proposed special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* prepared by Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz, Tamar Zelniker, Walter G. Stephan, and Cookie White Stephan), provided by Walter G. Stephan through electronic communication, Mar. 13, 2001 (indicating that the contact hypothesis in the Jewish-Arab context may simply perpetuate the status quo. "At the School for Peace . . . there was frustration and dissatisfaction with this model on the part of participants and facilitators alike, especially the Arabs. . . . The model was perceived as artificial and not authentic and as representing the interests of the Jewish participants" [Halabi and Sonnenschein, personal communication with Walter G. Stephan, Mar. 13, 2001]).

10. Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, "The Hand in Hand Mission" [<http://www.handinhand12.org/TheCente/TheCente.html>].
11. See Abraham Fund and YMCA International [<http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=708>]. See also Shemesh: The Organization for Jewish-Arab Friendship and Coexistence in the Galilee. See either of the following Web sites for a description of the Shemesh project: <http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>; <http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=692>.
12. See, for example, integrated computer courses offered by the Leo Baeck Education Center, sponsored by Building Bridges, at <http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>, pages 7 and 8. The Shemesh project, also sponsored by Building Bridges and described on pages 14 through 16 of the same Web site, offers computer courses as well (listed as part of "Chugim" on page 15).
13. See, for example, Abraham Fund and Beit Shmuel, "Language Training Program" (a component of the Jewish-Arab Coexistence Project) [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>]. ("The objectives of the classes are far broader than 'mere' language acquisition. Also important—and meant to be transmitted through the language courses—is the understanding of another ethnic group's religious, historical, cultural and social foundations. . . . The study of language can be used as a bridge for coexistence" (pp. 3, 4).
14. See, for example, Abraham Fund and Association of Italian Jews, "Art and Culture for Coexistence" [<http://www.abrahamfund.org>].
15. See, for example, Shemesh, "Good Neighbors' Summer Camp," p. 15 of the Building Bridges Web site, and the Leo Baeck Education Center summer camp, pp. 1 and 8, also on the Building Bridges Web site: [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>].
16. Shemesh, "Youth Leadership Training" [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>], p. 15.
17. Jewish-Arab Coexistence Project, quotation on page 4 of the Building Bridges Web site [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>].
18. R. A. Shankar, "Analyzing Health Initiatives as Bridges Towards Peace During

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- Complex Humanitarian Emergencies and the Roles of Actors and Economic Aid in Making These Bridges Sustainable,” 1998 [<http://www.who.int/disasters/hbp/Thesis.pdf>].
19. Shankar, “Analyzing Health Initiatives.”
 20. “Seeking Arab-Israeli Peacemaking and Reconciliation Through Culture” [http://listserv.ac.il/~ada/h_seek.html].
 21. See music workshops offered by the House of Arts, Emek Yizrael, pictured and described at <http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=1310>.
 22. See Hemmer, “Bottom-Up Peacebuilding in Bosnia.”
 23. See Abraham Fund and Israel Association of Community Centers, “Music as a Language to Promote Coexistence” referenced in a Shabbat Sermon by Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg at Parshat Bereishit on October 28, 2000, available at the Beth Tfiloh Web site [<http://www.btfiloh.org/mwohlberg10282000.htm>].
 24. See the Building Bridges Web site [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>], p. 16.
 25. See, for example, Abraham Fund and Rosh Pina Mainstreaming Network, “In the Lens of the Camera” [<http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=1255>]; Leo Baeck Education Center, “Film for Thought” [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html#leo>]; Abraham Fund and Barrer Arts Center, “Through Art We Communicate” [<http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=680>]; Abraham Fund and Jerusalem Association of Community Councils and Centers, “Through the Camera” referenced in a Shabbat Sermon by Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg at Parshat Bereishit on October 28, 2000, available at the Beth Tfiloh Web site [<http://www.btfiloh.org/mwohlberg10282000.htm>].
 26. Abraham Fund and Daliat el Carmel Community Center, “Multicultural Drama” [<http://www.abrahamfund.org/oid?=725>].
 27. See, for example, Abraham Fund and Peace Child Israel, “Dramatic Cooperation” [<http://www.abrahamfund.org/html/grants%20booklet.pdf>].
 28. Statement by Christine Nukanurangira, participant in a Dutch-sponsored volleyball-training project in Rwanda), in European Centre for Conflict Prevention, “Volleyball as Response to Rwanda’s Trauma” [http://www.xs4all.nl/~conflic1/pbp/8/4_volley.htm].
 29. War Child Projects, “Let Us Play: Peace and Reconciliation Through Sports” [<http://www.warchild.org/projects/letsplay.html>].
 30. See European Centre for Conflict Prevention, “Volleyball . . .”
 31. See War Child Projects, “Let Us Play.”
 32. See Abraham Fund and Ramle Community Center, “Arab-Jewish Dance Troupe” [<http://www.salam-shalom.net/dance-troupe.html>].
 33. See, for example, Interns for Peace, “Programs/Projects” [<http://www.internsforpeace.org/ifpprog.htm>]; Abraham Fund and Organization for the Support of Sport, “Tennis, 2000” referenced in a Shabbat Sermon by Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg at Parshat Bereishit on October 28, 2000, available at the Beth Tfiloh Web site [<http://www.btfiloh.org/mwohlberg10282000.htm>]; Abraham Fund and Jewish-Arab Community Association, “Community Building” referenced in a Shabbat Sermon by Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg at Parshat Bereishit on October 28, 2000, available at the Beth Tfiloh Web site [<http://www.btfiloh.org/mwohlberg10282000.htm>].

34. See, for example, Abraham Fund and Friendship's Way, "The Neighborhood Home" [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsource/bridges/three/html>], pp. 1 and 25; United Methodist Committee on Relief in Bosnia, "Community Development: Youth House Project" [<http://gbgm-umc.org/umcor/ngo/bosnia.cfm>].
35. See Shemesh, [<http://www.shemesh.org>].
36. See Conflict Resolution Catalysts, "Community Facilitators Project" [<http://www.crcvt.org/community.html>].
37. World Bank Group, "Supporting Peace: The World Bank's Role in Post-Conflict Reconstruction" [<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/backgrd/ibrd/peace.htm>]. *Note:* Web site no longer active; hard copy on file with authors.
38. The World Bank is heavily involved in postconflict reconstruction in many areas of the world, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, the West Bank and Gaza, Haiti, and Africa.
39. General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Committee on Relief in Bosnia, "Shelter Reconstruction" [<http://gbgm-umc.org/umcor/ngo/bosnia.cfm>].
40. See S. Ann, "Rwandan Women with Hope," *Focus*, Dec. 1997, pp. 12–15. [<http://www.usaid.gov/pressroom/publications/focus/focuspdfs/1297/129712-15.pdf>].
41. John Muyenzi, Oxfam program officer, in Ann, "Rwandan Women with Hope," p. 15.
42. Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee, "Working Group on Housing and Community Services as Peacebuilding Tools" [<http://www.cpc.ca/workinggroup/housing-e.htm>].
43. See, for example, United Methodist Committee on Relief in Bosnia, "Income Generation" [<http://gbgm-umc.org/umcor/ngo/bosnia.cfm>]; Center for Jewish-Arab Economic Development, "About CJAED" [<http://www.cjaed.org.il>].
44. See United Methodist Committee, "Income Generation."
45. Center for Jewish-Arab Economic Development, "About CJAED" [<http://www.cjaed.org.il/about.html>].
46. World Bank Group, "Lessons for Rebuilding Southeast Europe: The Bosnia and Herzegovina Experience" [<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/eca/eca.ns.35b06f845e98525688f007f1e92?OpenDocument>].
47. Abraham Fund and Yoav, "Cultivating Coexistence" [<http://www.abraham-fund.org/?oid=718>].
48. General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Committee, "Agriculture."
49. For a more detailed description of after-school programs, see the section sub-headed "Sports" earlier in this chapter.
50. See, for example, Conflict Resolution Catalysts, "People Connection Project"; Beit Hagefen, "Arab/Jewish Encounters: Meetings" [<http://www.haifa.gov.il/beit-hagefen/meetings.html>]; American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, "Building Bridges: The Experiential Approach" [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsource/bridges/three.html>].

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51. See L. A. Pearlman and E. Staub, "Understanding Basic Human Needs" [<http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/%7egubin/rwanda/lec1.htm>].
52. See the Beit Midrash-Madrassa Curriculum Implementation Project, available at <http://www.abrahamfund.org/?oid=693>.
53. Abraham Fund and Defense for Children International—Israel, "Stepping Stone to Peace: Religious Coexistence" [<http://www.abrahamfund.org>]. *Note:* no longer available on-line; hard copy on file with authors.
54. This is not to say that those making these efforts, be they organizations or schools or individuals, may not be victims or wrongdoers themselves, but they need not be.
55. "Seeking Arab-Israeli Peacemaking and Reconciliation Through Culture" [http://tx.technion.ac.il/~ada/h_seek.html].
56. Janusz Korczak Educational Center for Peace and Coexistence, "Education for Peace and Coexistence" [<http://www.usisrael.org/jsourc/bridges/three.html>]. Sponsored by David Yellin Teachers College.
57. Daniel Bar-Tal, professor of psychology in the School of Education, Tel Aviv University, argues that "in case of intractable intergroup conflict, education for co-existence is a necessary, but not sufficient factor for changing intergroup relations." D. Bar-Tal, "The Nature, the Reasons, and the Effectiveness of Education for Coexistence," in *Improving Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: Theory and Practice in Coexistence Programs* (proposed special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* prepared by Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz, Tamar Zelniker, Walter G. Stephan, and Cookie White Stephan), provided by Walter G. Stephan through electronic communication, Mar. 13, 2001.