Bridging Different Truths: Creating Dialogue for Reconciliation and Healing

「真実」の多元性を越えて：癒しと和解を促す対話の構築

付和文抄訳

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INTRODUCTION

Background

I begin with a story of my trip. Last summer I had a chance to travel to Vietnam and Cambodia for a week. The cities of Ho Chi Minh and Phnom Penh were both filled with great energy, signs of a promising future that lies ahead. The people were lively and products of excellent quality were found in the markets. Nevertheless, I discovered that the past is still part of their present. In the War Remnants Museum of Ho Chi Minh City, besides bloody pictures from the battlefields, there were bodies of deformed, dead babies soaked in formalin. The effects of the dioxin, Agent Orange, used by the U.S. during the Vietnam War, still continue to cause serious health and growth related problems among some of the people in the country.

In Phnom Penh, there were people without one or both legs begging at the entrances of tourist spots. Four million landmines are yet to be removed throughout the country, and especially in the countryside, innocent people become victims everyday. At the Tuol Sleng Museum, my guide told me the many ways in which more than ten thousand people, ranging from babies to the elderly, were tortured and killed at the site. Only six persons are said to have come out alive from this formal Khmer Rouge prison; the blood stains still remain clearly on the walls and ceilings of the cells. The guide told me how intense the

smell was when he first visited the place in the 1980s. The estimates of the total number of those purged in the country at the time range between one to three million; one of them was the guide's father.

A few years ago, it appeared that the new century and the new millennium would be a century, a millennium different from that of the previous one, one that was filled with hope for us all. Nonetheless, as we have now entered this new space and time, we are discovering that the future is not as promising as we had hoped. Although I am myself fortunate to live in a peaceful society where we do not have to worry much about our everyday survival and safety, the situation has been different in many parts of the world. Two hundred thousand people died in the former Yugoslav Republic between the years 1991 and 1995, with the number increasing with the subsequent ethnic cleansing of Albanians and the NATO bombing. In Rwanda, eighty thousand Tutsi civilians were slaughtered by the Hutus in 1994, a tragic event as the two ethnic groups had lived side by side in the same villages before the genocide took place. The conflict between Israel and Palestine that has continued for more than half a century has yet to end. Instead, suicide bombings and brutal acts of retaliation occurring everyday and are only escalating. The tragedies that gave the last century the dishonorable label, the "Century of War", are being repeated. Is it inevitable that these events occur because the motivation for fighting lies in human nature? Can we not be more creative in finding solutions that will not result in

creating casualties, loss, and hatred?

In these kinds of events, leaders have played pivotal roles in instigating and intensifying conflicts. Nevertheless, a leader by himself does not commit mass murders. Rather, it is ordinary people who lend him support and who take part in these horrific acts.

On Christmas Eve of 2001, there was a special program on News 23, an evening news program of the Japanese broadcast station TBS, titled "Before the World is Destroyed by Hatred". The images of youth in religious schools in Pakistan who claimed they wanted to follow in the footsteps suicide bombers, whom they regarded by as heroes who sacrificed themselves for a cause, were extremely shocking to me. It made me realize that without a change in these beliefs of the young, without a change in the deep-running hatred between people, conflicts will never be truly resolved. The program went on to show youth camps to promote reconciliation with participants from Israel and Palestine (*News 23*). Although the participants offered mixed reactions as to the effect of the workshops, it appeared to provide some positive enlightenment to all. Clearly, the relationships changed, and the youth were more tolerant of "the other" despite differences in their beliefs. This made me reconfirm my ideas, that psychological factors at the societal level must receive more attention and that these efforts at the grassroots level can make a difference.

The preamble to the UNESCO Constitution states, "That since wars begin in the

minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

In order to stop the hatred and truly ameliorate the current situations of conflicts across the globe, more than a political settlement is needed. To establish long-term peace, positive relationships among the groups in conflict need to be built, or re-built, at the community level. The real challenge is to change the majority of people's perceptions toward the adversary group and the conflict itself.

Problem Statement

Since it is through communication that we can understand each other, it is through contact and dialogue that we can escape from the cycle of hatred. The aim of this research is to reveal the dynamics involved in an effective project for emotional healing and reconciliation at the personal and community levels. Under what conditions can a "compassionate dialogue" (Zeldin, 1996) be formed? What characteristics do they exhibit in general? What effects do these projects have on an individual and society as a whole? What are the factors that can hinder a project from being successful? These are the questions to be examined.

"Location" of Self

As human beings we are all bound by the past in one way or another. The ways in which we see and do things have some relation to our socio-cultural background and

experiences in life.   In this section, the effects of my past social and cognitive histories on the research are considered.   I am a university student, age twenty-two, who was raised in an upper middle-class family.   I am the only child in my family, and I am financially dependent on my parents.   Although I did not attend any elite schools, all the schools I have been to have had high reputations for their academic excellence.   According to political scientist Ronald Inglehart, a rise in the economic standard, a rise in the education level, and generation change are some of the factors that contribute to the formation of a new group in society with post-materialism values.   This new generation of people, having had their basic needs met, worry about others in society and also those in the world who are less fortunate than themselves.   They call for the rights of those whose voices are not heard in the society.   These are the values that I myself hold and consider as important. These are the values that motivated me to explore the field of peace studies and conflict resolution, and they have had a strong effect on my beliefs, opinions, interests, and ideas. I believe that despite our differences, human beings can and must coexist in the pursuit of happiness for oneself and for all.   It appears that my background has had a great impact on my thinking.

Age 0-5:   Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.
           (Age 3-: local pre-school with Japanese language supplementary school on Saturdays)

Age 5-10:   Suita, Osaka, Japan
           (private kindergarten; public elementary school)

Age 10-15:   Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.
                (local public elementary, junior high, and high schools [pull-out type
                ESL program in elementary; ESL program in substitution for English
                class until the middle of the first year of junior high school] with
                Japanese language supplementary school on Saturdays)

Age 15-present: Mitaka, Nakano, and Kokubunji, Tokyo, Japan
                (International Christian University High School; International Christian
                University)

Since I have had the experience of moving back and forth between the United States

and Japan, belonging to the two societies for almost an equal length of time, I understand

both of the societies and its people.   From that perspective, I see that in both societies, the

vision that one has toward the other is often distorted and erroneous.   This has made me

critical of the perceptions of the majority and persuaded me to see things from different

angles.   Nonetheless, because my experience in the world is limited to these two countries,

my perception also has great limits, at least my perception does not yet reflect the

perceptions of the most unprivileged in the world.

To consider another point, throughout my life I have lived in urban suburbs.

Access to new information and new thinking has been relatively easy.   The community

has been relatively heterogeneous, with people of different nationalities included, in

comparison to many rural areas.   Here in Tokyo I can attend international conferences of

all kinds every week, which is almost impossible in a mountain village in Nagano.

Familiarity with and openness toward those different from the majority exist, yet close

contact is rare.

Considering my cognitive background, at the university, I have had courses in almost every field except for literature, music, and physics. Among these, international politics, including peace studies, and communication are the major areas I have explored, but I also have a vital interest in psychology, anthropology, and ethology. I was especially inspired and moved by the videos I saw in the classes of Professor Kazuo Ohguchi, an expert on politics of Latin America who now teaches at Tokyo University. The videos were on the wars in the twentieth century, apartheid in South Africa, and the human rights violations in Latin America. The images and the stories were tremendously powerful and horrific. How human beings can commit such brutal acts was almost beyond imagination. Still, there was a sense that these tragedies can occur anywhere. I learned from independent research that during the World Wars, the Japanese army in many parts of Asia committed extraordinary mass murders, forced women into wartime brothels, and tested the effects of bacteria on live prisoners for the development of biological weapons. To understand the underlying factors in these atrocious events, I began focusing on the psychological aspects of war and reconciliation. I came to believe that without change in the deep underlying hate and distrust among people, wars and killings will never end. The only hope is in viewing everyone as equally human and understanding each other. We humans must come to see ourselves as creatures who can cooperate to create a better world.

The Conflict Resolution class of my instructor, Professor Jacqueline Wasilewski, made me realize that it is only through communication that we can actually solve or mitigate problems and that creation of a certain kind of dialogical space can lead to peace and reconciliation. The focus is on the personal and community level and how at those levels perceptions can change and conflicts end. A study later done for a Peace Studies class on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa confirmed my beliefs in dialogue as a powerful tool for healing and reconciliation.

Although this research is based on numerous pieces of work on contact theory, dialogic problem solving, systems thinking, and healing, forgiveness, and reconciliation, it is not based on any particular school of thinking. It is my understanding that research conducted in this field up until now has been severely limited. It is time, however, that attention was paid to the relationship-building component of conflict resolution, and the aim of this research is to contribute to such a research focus and invigorate discussion on this relationship-building component of conflict resolution studies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The discussion on relationship building and conflict resolution derives from two major lines of research: contact theory and dialogue. The two act in combination to provide insight regarding what factors should be considered when structuring encounter and cooperation projects and how they can be made more efficacious according to each unique situation. The framework shared by these successful contacts and dialogues will be identified together with the detailed process that is involved in implementing such contacts and dialogues.

Conditions of Contact

It is believed that even people with liberal, egalitarian beliefs, who regard themselves as nonprejudiced and nondiscriminatory, cannot entirely be true to their image of themselves (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996). The effects of contact on reducing intergroup conflict and prejudice are the main issue of the Hypothesis on Intergroup Contact introduced by social psychologist Gordon Allport in 1954. According to this hypothesis, positive effects of contact occur only in certain situations where essential conditions are met. Allport mentions four conditions: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support of authority, law, or custom. It is regarded as important that the groups in face-to-face interaction all expect and perceive equal status in

the contact situation. Subsequent research has noted that social status coming into the contact is less important, a favorable finding which make this component malleable to a certain degree (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.66-67). The next two conditions, common goals and intergroup cooperation go hand in hand since cooperatively striving for a mutual goal and having positive experience as a result, that is not engaging in competition with each other, is regarded as extremely important. Finally, with explicit social sanction in support, a contact is believed to be much more successful if it becomes a norm. Pettigrew (1998) theorizes of a fifth factor, "friendship potential", which calls for a more long-term close relationship between the parties involved. Gaertner et al. (1996) make a similar point. For an ideal interracial interaction, Cook adds a six factor, the existence of a stereotype-disconfirming minority member, one who does not fit into the pre-held negative image of "the other" (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.79). These five or six factors, depending on the academic, are differentiated from facilitating factors such as equal status outside the contact situation mentioned earlier (Pettigrew, 1998).

Contact and Identity

Moving on from conditions, the identity of participants needs to be considered. At the base of this consideration is the social categorization theory which has had a strong impact on the social psychological study of intergroup relations since the early 1970s.

The theory rests on two premises: that individuals organize their understanding of the social world on the basis of categorical distinctions and that such formation of social categories results in ingroup-outgroup (we-they) classifications with affective and emotional significance. How contact can be structured to minimize the negative effects of this we-they classification process is the question.

This social categorization theory line of research has generated three models for lessening the effects of social categorization processes, the Personalization, Common Identity Group, and Distinct Social Identity Models. According to the Personalization Model, this is achieved by promoting opportunities to know outgroup members as individuals, by the process of decategorization. In this approach, interactions are personalized as much as possible to reduce the salience of category distinctions. This, in turn, allows individuals to see the "humanness" of the other, making them question their own assumptions. The Common Identity Group Model calls for recategorization. Identification toward one's own group is transcended to a higher level, and a new inclusive group identity is established. This process is carried out by introducing superordinate goals, changing seating arrangements, and formulating new team names, colors, or other symbols of identity that are not associated with social differences. For the Distinct Social Identity Model, group distinctiveness is regarded as positive as long as it is in a cooperative framework. It is recommended that the contact situation be structured so that

members of the respective groups have distinct, but complementary, roles to contribute

toward achieving goals. The distinctions between these three models can be understood

more easily when discussed in terms of political structures: the United States, former

Soviet Union, and former Yugoslavia, respectively.

Still, Brewer (1996) claims all three are inherently unstable. The first two do not

satisfy the assimilation and the differentiation needs of individuals at the same time; the

last, because the division has not been changed, can easily lead to conflict. She calls for

an "optimal distinctiveness model" in which separate roles are assigned to each group. In

testing this model in the realm of small group dynamics, teams composed of

representatives from each group are made to tackle a problem in which mutual cooperation

is necessary for a viable solution. The trick is that only half of the information needed to

solve the problems is given to each of the groups. Even when the ingroup-outgroup

categorization is made salient and meaningful, it was found that, in fact, discrimination

was reduced. This is congruent with the claim of Gaertner et al. (1996), that having a

dual identity is often beneficial in contexts involving ethnic and racial subgroups. In

other situations where the activities carried out are not task-oriented, it is suggested that

spatial factors like seating be arranged to make participants feel like one group, rather than

allowing subgroups to divide themselves by, for instance, sitting at opposite ends of the

room (Gaertner et al., 1996).

Contact over Time

Not only does contact need to be structured in terms of identity, but frequency and

duration also play a key role. To begin with the conclusion, contact has a much stronger

impact on a relationship when it is sustained. A study of public housing by Wilner,

Walkley, & Cook found that favorable racial attitudes developed among only one-third of

the 608 white tenants who had just had casual greetings with their African-American

neighbors. However, half who had entered into conversations with and three fourths who

had multiple interactions with their African-American neighbors had developed positive

racial views (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.67-68). As shown in Figure 1 below, the

correlation is evident. The data also supports the idea mentioned earlier, that societal

norms are a facilitating factor for good relationships.

Table 1: Relationship between Contact and Attitude   (adopted from Wilner et al.)

			Sentiment*	
Proximity*	Contact*	Norms*	Fav	Unfav
Close	Frequent	Favorable	77	32
		Unfavorable	30	36
	Infrequent	Favorable	14	19
		Unfavorable	15	27
Distant	Frequent	Favorable	43	20
		Unfavorable	36	37
	Infrequent	Favorable	27	36
		Unfavorable	41	118

*Proximity: proximity to the black family

*Contact: frequency of contacts with blacks

*Norms: how favorable were local norms towards black people

*Sentiment: how favorable were the respondants' attitudes towards black people in general

Pettigrew goes on to explicitly state, "Constructive contact relates more closely to long-term close relationships than to initial acquaintanceship" (pp.76). The study of Hubbert, Gudykunst, & Guerrero (1999) is based on the very idea that contact and communication across time reduces anxiety and uncertainty. Multiple effects come out of this to make an interaction be successful. This leads into the next topic which is on revealing how the process of prejudice reduction actually occurs.

Process of Perceptual and Attitudinal Change

Pettigrew (1998) specifies four processes of change that develop through intergroup contact. The four are learning about the other group, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. Stephan & Stephan indicate that ignorance promotes prejudice (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, p.71). New learning can correct one's negative view toward outgroup members. In addition, repetition makes encounters more comfortable, and as a result liking toward the other may grow. The reduction of anxiety may lead to a friendship in which more sympathy and admiration for the outgroup are experienced. It is also through contact that people discover that ingroup norms and customs are not the only ways to manage the social world. Hubbert et al. (1999) give a more detailed analysis based on their extensive empirical study. They found that

extended contact and communication made people perceive similarities in the other group

which led to the reduction of uncertainty. Those involved became more self-disclosive

enabling them to get to know each other. Less difficulty was felt in communicating with

others, minimizing misunderstandings to a considerable degree. Additionally, people

shifted the base of their communication to their personal rather than their social identities.

The positive experience that came out of this further reduced uncertainty and anxiety to

make the encounter even more effective.

These findings can be understood in a causal relationship with the study of Cook

published in 1984 (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.79). In this study, Cook set up an ideal

contact situation, with the presence of essential and facilitating situational factors.

Through positive experiences in sharing successes and failures in a contact situation,

participants increasingly became aware of their similarity with each other. As a result,

anxiety and perceived threat were lessened (decategorization). In this safer atmosphere,

one was able to honestly express his or her feelings toward the other, even including the

sources of one's initial anxiety. The saliency of difference made at this stage was not

debilitating. In fact, it only created an opposite effect, for it was contributing to the

realization of the others' suffering (salient categorization). Empathy was felt toward the

other group, and perception of them was considerably changed (recategorization). Other

studies describe similar sequences (Gaertner et al., 1996). The problem is that in many

cases, this stage is never reached.

Factors That Prevent the Change

In the real world, contrary to the situations of many studies that take place in

controlled, experimental settings, difficulties are experienced.   There are multiple factors

that work to constrain positive contact and the effects observed from it.   As contact is

inseparable from the context in which it takes place, individuals can be severely influenced

by context.   Though one may have experienced cognitive change through encounters and

is sympathetic toward the other group members, fear of social ostracism by one's own

group members may cause one to avoid making contact or to refrain from modifying

negative attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998).   Furthermore, in situations where actual fighting is

taking place, the opportunity to come in contact with others may simply not exist.   In

other instances, cooperation may be limited to circumstances where each side sees the

cooperation as inherently beneficial to themselves.   All of these limitations may be more

evident in societies that possess a long history of antagonism and status differentials

(Brewer, 1996).

In addition to situational factors, other variables also seem to have impact.   Large

individual differences in the willingness to adopt new attitudes have been observed by

Cook (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.78) and others.   Cultural differences seem to play a

role as well. Hubbard (2000), from his experience in being a participant observer in a Palestinian Jewish dialogue in the United States for six years, argues that the conditions identified by the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis for positive contact may not be met for non-western participants in Western-based conflict resolution exercises. He claims that the non-Westerners in these situations may have more difficulty participating as fully as Westerners even when they have equal status on other grounds. The most important factor was that the Jewish participants were more used to the debating style which the Palestinians had to conform to. Research on Jewish-Arab encounter programs in Israel by Moaz (2002) found that age was an issue. Programs targeted at high school students and adults witnessed higher levels of intergroup interaction while those targeted at preschool to fourth grade children and especially programs targeted at fifth to ninth graders included lower levels of such interaction. Moaz identifies three reasons for this: 1) while programs for young age groups focus mostly on social and arts and crafts activities, the main activity for older participants is intergroup dialogue; 2) often older age groups participate more on a voluntary basis than do younger children; and 3) the cognitive and emotional capabilities of younger children make it more difficult for them to deal with the tensions and complexities of encounters.

As these discussions show, there are many factors that go into making an encounter effective. Failure to perceive the dynamics may lead to disastrous consequences when

constructing a project. While Wright notes that even knowledge of ingroup members'

friendship with an outgroup member relates to more positive attitudes toward the outgroup

(as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, pp.75), changing one's perception often involves more

arduous work and is faced with enormous difficulties.

The Call for Dialogue

The emphasis until now had been on the contact part of an encounter. However, a

meeting usually involves a conversation. Though never inseparable from contact, the

issue of dialogue itself needs to be focused upon in order to gain insight into how

reconciliation and healing can be created through such a process. Fisher depicts human

beings as essentially *homo narrans*, or storytellers (as cited in Hall & Noguchi, pp.402).

When the stories being told are perceived as incompatible or when one feels that one's

feelings are not understood, conflicts are said to exist (Wood, n.d.). It is based on this

idea that dialogue can be explored.

Dialogue is said to derive from the Greek word *dialogos* with *dia* meaning through

or across and *logos* meaning word (Cissna & Anderson, 1998; Hammond & Meng, 1999).

The idea of dialogue is not new. It has had a long history in many cultures and has been

at the core of many religious practices throughout the world. However, not until recently

has it received a substantial amount of attention from scholars and practitioners. The year

2001 was declared by the United Nations as "The Year of Dialogue among Civilizations".

Dialogue is increasingly being viewed as a means to increase mutual understanding and

build tolerance among people from diverse backgrounds (United Nations University, 2001).

Its usefulness is recognized in various domains: in addressing both public and private

phenomena, in dealing with political and personal events, in forming interventions in

organizations and communities, and in knowing educational, religious, and

psychotherapeutic contexts (Cissna & Anderson, 1998).

The Relativity of Truth

According to Tehranian (2001), "dialogue begins with the assumption that 'truth' or

'meaning' is not the monopoly of any single person or group" (¶ 6). Dialogue is

different from traditional science in that there is no linear progress toward revealing a truth

that is unchangeable. Instead, the assumption is that human truth lies in between people:

it can only emerge in person to person meetings (Cissna & Anderson, 1998). Palmer

suggests, "As the dialogue moves on, larger truth is revealed, a truth that is not only within

us, but 'between' us. It is the truth that we are not autonomous agents, each in a private

world, but we are in a community with each other" (as cited in Hammond & Meng, 1999,

pp.69). In dialogue, objective is not to seek the truth, for truth is not fully discernable.

It is certainly not to impose one's truth on someone else. As theoretical physicist David

Bohm agrues, the deep objective in dialogue is the creation of shared meaning, which often

moves a relationship forward and brings healing to people (as cited in Hammond & Meng,

1999, pp. 57).

The Uniqueness of Dialogue

Dialogue is different from normal conversation, which tends to be rather social and

shallow.   Also, it is neither a debate where the intention is to convince others to come to

one's side nor a discussion in which ideas are simply exchanged back and forth (Traubman

& Traubman, 2002).   A discussion, according to Hammond & Meng (1999), comes from

the same root as "percussion" and "concussion", and its objective is "to hit others with

already established meaning until they agree to agree" (pp.57-58).   The characteristics of

a dialogue do not resemble these in any way.   Steinberg & Bar-On (2002) distinguish

"dialogue" from other categories of discourse.   "Ethnocentric talk" is an argumentation

based on simplistic perceptions of self and other.   The two groups involved do not share

their feelings; they conduct two monologues that do not meet.   A more active relationship

is sought in an "attack", but the talking is ethnocentric and threats such as, "you are racists,

terrorists, etc.", are used.   Each views themselves as the victims while the others are

wrong and guilty.   The results can potentially be devastating.

"Opening a window", that is being willing to encounter "the other", is often

characterized by asymmetry. Although one side attempts to expresses their feeling and tries to share experiences with the other, the other side rejects the invitation to act correspondingly. Trust is not present. With disappointment and a sense of hopelessness, the discussion may come to a standstill.

The situation improves drastically with the "recognition of differences". In this type of discourse, the recognition that one's perception of the other may be wrong can occur. Parties realize how much they do not understand each other and come to believe that the only way to reach this understanding is by listening in an effort to see reality from the other's perspective. An "intellectual discussion" is where the each side strives to understand the other's cognitive dimension. Issues are not personal, and feelings are not exchanged, but parties seriously listen to each other and respond to the arguments made by the other. The groups find something in common which they can safely discuss. A true "dialogue", however, is described as the following:

> A discussion between equals, characterized by sharing feelings with others, differentiation among individuals, listening, reacting in a non-judgmental way and trying to understand the other's point of view, which leads to a moment of cognitive and affective understanding, of "real meeting", ...participating in the other's experience without losing the "self" (Steinberg & Bar-On, 2002, pp.204).

In this special moment of understanding, an example of a comment expressed is one like the following, "Suddenly your story sounds so terrible, that I understand.... I see the

connection. I see your pain even greater than my pain". At this moment, a participant

seems to be able to step into the shoes of the other and see reality from their perspective.

Dialogue is both and the moment and the process of reaching this stage. Though an

encounter usually involves the other five major types of discourse, "ethnocentric talk",

"attack", "opening a window", recognition of differences", intellectual discussion"

(Steinberg and Bar-On, 2002), they are to be overcome. It is essential for any project that

focuses on intercultural communication to place an emphasis on seeking and achieving

dialogue.

Aspects of an Effective Dialogue

As noted by Hocker & Wilmot, "[Q]uality dialogue is slow, full of feeling, respectful,

and attentive" (as cited in Martin & Nakayama, 1997). This mutual respect is the product

of careful listening (Wadlow, 2001). In fact, listening is regarded as one of the most

significant aspects of a dialogue. Everyone has a story to tell. However, this simple

opportunity is taken away in many circumstances. Cohen (1994) argues that the massive

silencing of the Palestinian story has characterized discourse on the Middle East for

generations. Listening enables one to hear the small, silent voices of those who are

struggling to speak in today's world where dominant discourses override in every sphere of

life. Such listening has a tremendously healing effect on the disenfranchised (Cissna &

Anderson, 1998). Although not entirely a dialogue and not without controversy regarding

its achievement, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa was successful

in many respects, because, most importantly, it allowed the victims, ordinary citizens who

are usually powerless, to testify in public in a safe environment. Not only did people in

the room listen to the often painful narratives, proceedings were televised for the entire

nation to hear (Maclean, 2000). Besides this effect, the process of listening also leads

each side to question its own truth claims in light of what is heard or examined (Tehranian,

2001). New learning is experienced, leading to changes in perception. Thorne points

out, "Being able to listen thoughtfully and attentively is crucial and powerful...in any

genuine relationship" (as cited in Cissna & Anderson, 1998, pp.92). In relation to

listening, in an effective dialogue, judgments on the comments of others are suspended.

The influence of the outside world is held away as much as possible so each can be true to

himself (Hammond & Meng, 1999).

Another characteristic of dialogue is that in it, the distinction between the self and

the other is blurred. Dialogue can transform the members' perceptions of the membership

from "us" and "them" to a more inclusive "we". This is often reflected in speech

(Gaertner et al., 1996; Hammond & Meng, 1999). Furthermore, a dialogue places an

emphasis on "why" questions rather than on "how" questions (Hammond & Meng, 1999).

Rather than searching for easy, automatic answers, there is a permanent questioning of the

nature of self and other. Therefore, both sides can be considered as being able to change

and as constantly changing. Finally, a dialogue is a microcosmic representation of the

whole society (Hammond and Meng, 1999). Dialogue is said to occur only in groups

large enough to have interactive patterns similar to those found in the larger society. It is

powerful because there is a potential for it to be represented in the larger society. The

only difference is that these small-group dialogue situations are much safer. A good

dialogue is characterized by the following features:

> (It is)...an exchange of ideas and experiences that is so active, effective, and highly charged that it leaves none of the participants unchanged; means learning to suspend one's opinions and judgments in order to truly listen to one another; requires staying in the dialogue, even when one's closely held beliefs are challenged; requires participants to contribute from where they are--even half-formed ideas; can result in divergent views converging, resulting in new social intelligence (Traubman & Traubman, n.d.).

"Dialogic Moments" and Change

The next discussion is on how such change is created through dialogue. Illustrated

in Figure 2, according to Hammond & Meng (1999), dialogue has four aspects: process,
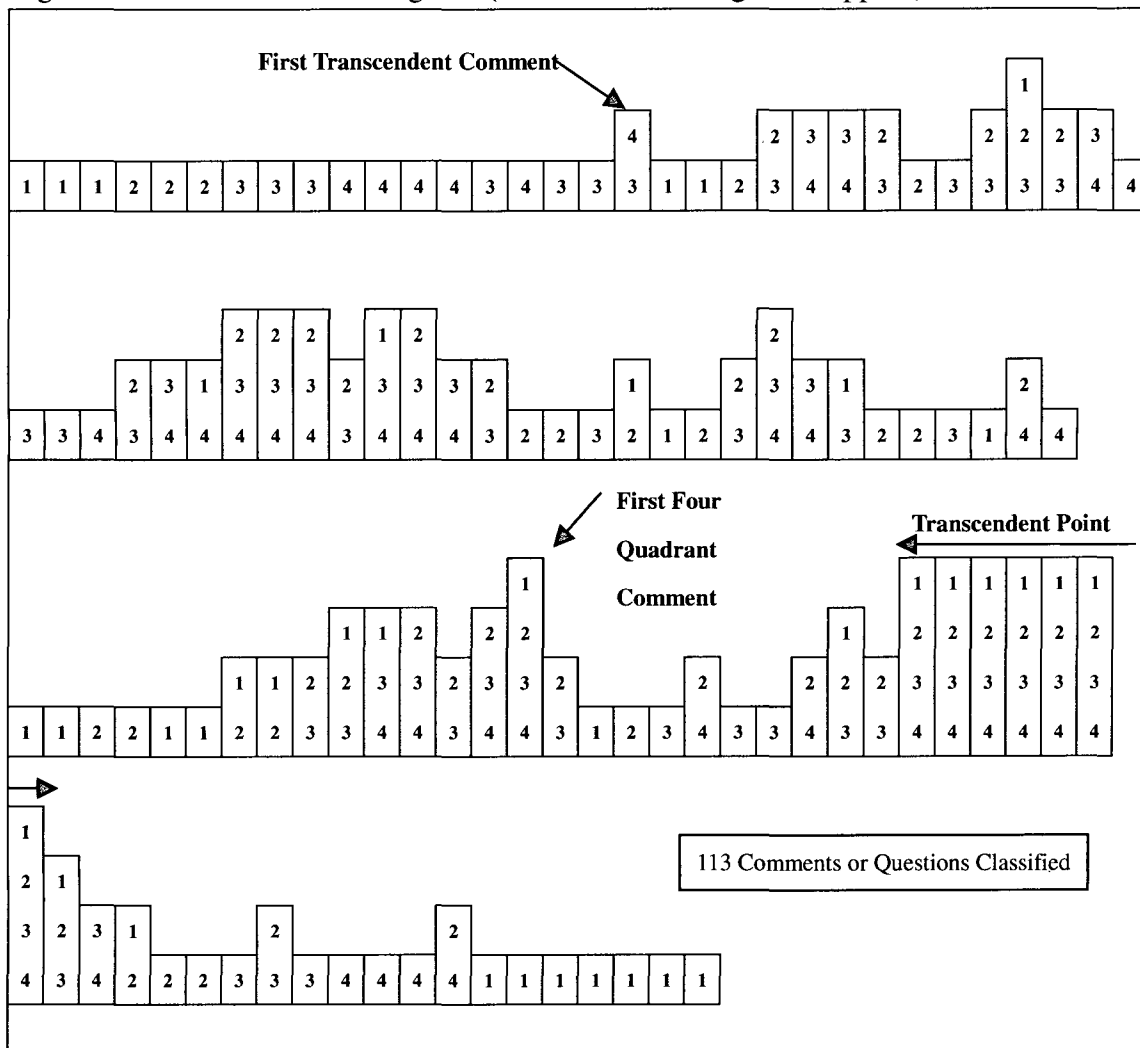
content, self, and other.

Figure 1: Categories of Dialogic Inquiry
(Hammond & Meng, 1999, pp. 61)

	Process	Content
Self	How am I doing in the process of this dialogue? **1**	How do I understand and feel about the content of this dialogue? **3**
Other	**2** How is this group doing in the dialogue process?	**4** How do others in this group and in my environment understand and feel about the topic?

In a dialogue, the questions or statements exchanged fall into one or more of the boxes in the figure. Comments in the process/self category are characterized by reflections on personal performance and feeling, and are preceded by such disclaimers as, "I have never been in a dialogue before..." or "because of my culture, I go about solving this problem in a different way". Process/other comments, in contrast, often seek comparison to other groups or begin with "this group" or "I feel we are going in this direction". The next box of quadrant, content/self, is where one's opinions or views on particular issues are stated, with "I think that ..." being a typical comment. In the content/other quadrant, an example of a comment is, "We need to define our terms before we move on...". While early in a dialogue, questions and comments fall into a single category, as the dialogue progresses, comments that belong to multiple categories are

increasingly made (Hammond & Meng, 1999). The phenomenon is shown below:

Figure 2: The Patterns of Dialogue   (Hammond & Meng, 1999, pp.63)

First Transcendent Comment

```
                                                              1
                                          4            2 3 3 2      2 2 2 3
1 1 1 2 2 2 3 3 3 4 4 4 4 3 4 3 3 3 1 1 2 3 4 4 3 2 3 3 3 3 4 4
```

```
        2 2 2   1 2                      2
      2 3 1 3 3 3 2 3 3 3 2       1     2 3 3 1             2
3 3 4 3 4 4 4 4 4 3 4 4 4 3 2 2 3 2 1 2 3 4 4 3 2 2 3 1 4 4
```

First Four Quadrant Comment   **Transcendent Point**

```
                        1                           1 1 1 1 1 1
              1 1 2   2 2                      1    2 2 2 2 2 2
            1 1 2 2 3 3 2 3 3 2           2    2 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3
1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 3 4 4 3 1 2 3 4 3 3 4 3 3 4 4 4 4 4 4
```

113 Comments or Questions Classified

```
1
2 1
3 2 3 1       2       2
4 3 4 2 2 2 3 3 3 4 4 4 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
```

A point is reached where comments appear to fall into all four quadrants. Often referred to as "dialogic moments" or "metalogue", these moments of transcendence are where enlightenment and change in perceptions actually occur (Cissna & Anderson, 1998; Hammond & Meng, 1999; Steinberg & Bar-On, 2002). Positive statements like, "I have never understood...until today" and "I never knew we could be so close to a group so different" are heard. As Issacs points out, these kinds of statements mark a state of

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"healing", "revealing", and "accelerated learning" (as cited in Hammond & Meng, 1999, pp.64). Diversity is appreciated, similarities are recognized, ignorance about the other is realized, and creative solutions are found. Whether it is in a therapeutic session, in marital counseling, or a business meeting, participants feel the moment:

> ...'special moments': moments in which therapists share with their clients, not so much understanding as *feelings*, thus to establish with them something of a common ground, a shared...basis in terms of which *both* can intelligibly contribute in their different ways to the joint authorship of a (new) biographigical account of the significance of just those very feelings. (Cissna & Anderson, 1998, pp.93)

> ...you come to real love, a solid, lasting love...you know who you are, you know who your partner is, and you choose to be together, not because you have to, but because you want to (Rosen, n.d., ¶ 25).

> There was a point at which we began to think together and act together in ways we could not have imagined before the dialogue. We addressed problems with honesty and directness, and were able to reach solutions which were unimagined by anyone who came into the dialogue (Hammond & Meng, 1999, pp.65).

The Power of Dialogue: Learning, Healing, and Reconciliation

As unrealistic as it seems, the effect of dialogue has worked with people who one would never have thought would be able to come together. A group of children of survivors and children of perpetrators of the Holocaust spoke their stories in a four-day workshop (Bar-On, 1993). They parted in warmth with "a new and somewhat surprising sense of friendship and with a peculiar feeling almost of brotherhood" (pp.12). There was

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an urge to continue after the workshop was over with. Plans to meet informally during the following days were made and as a group they decided to meet a year later. Rwandan refugees in Brussels, Tutsi and Hutu, come together each month to engage in a variety of activities with much dialogue involved including storytelling, problem solving exercises, and role plays (Patfoort, 2000). Significant learnings are expressed by people: "Every time each is convinced of his truth, but in fact it's his interpretation of it"; "I learned that some Rwandese did react in state of unconsciousness and ignorance, and that today the two ethnical groups suffer from the genocide." "We have to discover the suffering of the other ones; there are no guilty ones and victims." In the UN buffer zone in Cyprus, bicommunal activities were repeatedly held with collaborative concerts and dance (Ungerleider, 1999). Greek and Turkish Cypriot citizens built trust, gained skills for conflict resolution, discussed controversial issues, and developed joint activities in dialogue groups. The membership of these groups reached an astonishing estimate of 1,500 to 2,000. The groups were beginning joint environmental clean-up activities in both communities, when the Turkish Cypriot authorities, realizing its power, placed a ban on the meetings at the end of 1997. In relation to the last example, Ungerleider makes this argument:

> In an atmosphere of multicultural cross-fertilization and fusion, both
> similarities and differences are appreciated. The trusting relationships
> emerging from such cultural recognition promote reconciliation and
> forgiveness, as well as shared joy—a core element of sustainable peace
> culture (pp. 116).

Dialogue is about not letting the past stay in the way of the future. It can

rehumanize those who were dehumanized as enemies in one's mind (Rodriguez, 2000).

With commitment and effort, the positive effects that come out of it work to strengthen a

relationship that is to be built upon. As the Cypriot example shows, dialogue can not only

develop in depth but also in width, to incorporate more members and to influence the

larger society.

Dialogue Design

The challenge now is on how to design and facilitate a dialogue that can promote

reconciliation and healing in conflict and post-conflict situations. The

Boundary-spanning Dialogue Approach (Christakis & Brahms, 2002) based on systems

theory has proven to work in meetings between the Native Americans and the U.S. Federal

Government and with bi-communal groups in Cyprus. Blended in with traditional

respectful learning and open expression, in the Approach, individuals explain their ideas,

clarify them, and have the expressions posted along with those of all their peers. With

computer assistance, the participants generate relational patterns, form inclusive group

knowledge, and make decisions that integrate different points of view. Contrary to this, the models developed in the Arab-Jewish encounters have pursued a different approach. In these models, dialogue is much more loosely constructed as participants share their stories and viewpoints with the help of the facilitator. Although some programs skip the third stage due to its potential for "explosion", the basic stages involved are, "personal acquaintance", "cultural acquaintance", "political discussion", and "common interests (task) or separation". As different as the two models seem, the stages involved follow a somewhat similar pattern. In both cases, the activities become progressively intensive and interactive moving from the personal to the larger issue at hand. At the end, the participants come together in understanding, with realization that they have much in common (Abu-Nimer, 1999; Christakis & Brahms, 2002).

A dialogue must be constructed to suit the context in which it is utilized. For this reason, there is no pre-packaged material and activities that can be readily used for all situations. What is important is that the design contains certain qualities of a successful dialogue. Christakis (2002) notes the need for methods to have a purpose, to be flexible, and to be sensitive to the culture in which they are introduced. Added to the sequential factor, the characteristics of dialogue mentioned earlier, thoughtful listening, suspension of judgment, blurred self/other distinction, emphasis on "why" questions, construction of a microcosm of society, all need to be taken into consideration when activities are developed

and introduced.

Moreover, an important point is that everyone must be able to participate fully in whatever direction the group is headed (Barnes, 1999). As seen by the clean-up effort of the Cyprus groups, perceptual changes through dialogue can be translated into practical individual behaviors (Abu-Nimer, 1999). For a dialogue to have effect in the future, organizers may also need to provide the motivation and the support for taking real action.

Helpful Tips

On the part of the participants and facilitators, the Ten Commandments for Dialogue offered by Tehranian (2001) may be helpful in getting the most out of a meeting. As he himself mentions, the Commandments are not of any decisive nature. These are always tentative and can be modified in many ways to be more satisfactory and effective:

1. Honor others and listen to them deeply with your heart and mind.
2. Focus on the agenda while seeking the common ground for consensus, but avoid group think by acknowledging and honoring the diversity of views.
3. Refrain from irrelevant or intemperate interventions.
4. Acknowledge others' contributions to the discussion before relating your own remarks to theirs.
5. Remember that silence also speaks; speak only when you have a contribution to make by posing a relevant question, presenting a fact, making or clarifying a point, or advancing the discussion to greater specificity or consensus.
6. Identify the critical points of difference for further deliberation.
7. Never distort other views in order to advance your own, try to restate others' positions to their satisfaction before presenting your own different views.

8. Formulate the agreements on any agenda item before moving on to the next.

9. Draw out the implications of an agreement for group policy and action.

10. Thank your neighbors for their contribution.

Limitations to Effective Encounter and Dialogue

Like contact, dialogue is not without its difficulties, problems, and disappointments. As the participants come to understanding, they are faced with a moral dilemma. With their fundamental beliefs challenged, they may simultaneously feel both the need and a reluctance to accept one another. For although one may change oneself, those around do not change, so the surrounding environment may not provide the support one needs (Cohen, 1994). Also, as with "contact", dialogue is tremendously impacted by the outside world. Facilitators of an Arab-Jewish encounter stressed that during the Intifada, because of fear and tension, "it became more difficult to control (the students') emotional aspects and remain focused on cognitive and rational thinking" (Abu-Nimer, 1999, pp.137). This impact by the outside world has the potential of causing contact and dialogic processes to breakdown (Christakis, 2002). A more inherent problem is that in most cases, those who come to the dialogue are only those who are willing to take part in it. Hall-Cathala says that the programs are not addressing those with the real needs. "They (the organizers) are not reaching out to those who refuse to meet at all, to those whose political and emotional attitudes prevent them from attending these programs" (as cited in Abu-Nimer, 1999,

pp.64). Pettigrew (2000), in his discussion of "contact", also raises the issue of how

people who are outside the framework of dialogue can be incorporated into it.

HYPOTHESIS AND LIMITATIONS

Working Hypothesis Growing Out of the Literature Review

Based on the Literature Review, the expectation is that the participants in each of the

projects studied will experience profound changes in their attitudes and perceptions

through contact and dialogue. People might start with hesitation and fear, but the

expectation is that will become more active as the activities proceed. A moment will

come when people will come to an understanding of each other and discover common

ground. A sense of partnership in living through and suffering in the conflict together

will be established. In this sense, healing and reconciliation will be able to occur. Some

of the participants may become more involved after the scheduled activities are over. By

continuing the dialogue or starting their own peace campaigns, relationships will be

deepened and more people will join.

Anticipated Limitations to the Effectiveness of the Projects Studied Suggested by the Literature Review

However, a great impact on the society itself is not expected because of the limited

number of participants in the cases studied. Each of the projects was carefully designed

to meet the conditions and methods characteristic of a successful dialogue with special care

provided to suit the context and culture in which it is conducted. Nevertheless, considering the intensity of the conflicts in the cases under study, the effects may be limited to a certain degree in some of the projects.

METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire consisting of eleven questions was made with the intention of revealing conditions and characteristics that either promote or hinder the occurrence of a reconciliatory dialogue. The questions are not based on any preexisting survey, as no information was found on a particular format. Nevertheless, it was carefully structured to comprehensively address the preconditions, process, and short and long term effects of a dialogue in an encounter project. The main focus is not on the content of the dialogue but on its effects, at the psychological, interpersonal, and societal levels. The selection of these factors was based primarily on the literature reviewed in the previous section. As the dynamics of a dialogue is difficult to analyze in a statistical manner, no objective-type questions were included. Furthermore, in order to keep the questionnaire at a manageable length, several questions had to be left out. Among these was a question asking if the participants paid any attention to culture-specific aspects of their participants in carrying out their projects. Only those questions that addressed factors that worked across different contexts were included, since the primary objective of this research is to gain insight into those common factors.

Pilot tests were conducted in July and August of the year 2002. The main purpose was to see what kind of responses could be gained and to determine the exact questions and manageable length for the actual questionnaire. One was personally handed to the

addressee by the author's instructor. The other was sent to a Japan-based NGO by e-mail with no specification of the addressee. The first questionnaire was not completed as the person had a problem in answering because the project was still not developed, and the questions were too demanding to be answered. The latter was never returned.

After minor revisions were made, nine questionnaires were distributed by e-mail to facilitators and organizers of projects in mid-October. An additional shortened version of the questionnaire, which only asked about the successful and dimensions of projects, was later sent to the person who declined to answer the pretest. Two organizations that were not directly involved but were knowledgeable about other organizations involved in dialogic encounter projects were also contacted for information by e-mail. In each of the cases, whenever possible, the e-mails were addressed personally to the individual concerned. Nonetheless, since the only the representative's address was found in most cases, persons receiving the mail were asked to transfer it to those who were involved in a particular project or particular type of project. The deadlines for the completion of the questionnaires were set at approximately one month from the day they were sent out to participants.

Several changes were made in the method of response due to the busy schedule of participants. A project report was sent from Ms. Irena Djumic of the Nansen Dialogue Center in Banjaluka in substitution for the questionnaire. Ms. Akiko C. Ohara, who

formerly worked at Association for the Aid and Relief, Japan, volunteered to do an interview. The interview was conducted and recorded at a restaurant in Kichijoji, Tokyo, and lasted for one hour and a half.

Nearly forty e-mail transactions were made in total with four participants, two providers of information, and two who had no time to fill out the questionnaire. Additional questions were asked for details on an individual basis and were received from appropriate participants. Materials on the projects, including some internal documents that cannot be made public, were provided by courtesy of some of the participants. Information from the public documents are included in the findings.

Although deeper knowledge would have been gained from interviews, e-mail transactions were chosen as the primary mode of research due to several limitations. As the aim of this research is to reveal the characteristics of reconciliatory dialogue applicable to a wide context, there was a necessity for participants to be from diverse contexts. The accessibility to countries and regions that are experiencing territorial, ethnic, and/or religious conflict or that have recently had those experiences, added to time and cost concerns led to the decision to gather data via e-mail. In addition, while insight into the effects of dialogue could be known more thoroughly if actual participants in the dialogue projects had been contacted, this was deemed as unrealistic since much more difficulty was anticipated in gaining such contact. Nevertheless, despite these restrictions, it is assumed

that the method was still efficacious.   There are thought to be certain aspects to a dialogue

that make it reconciliatory, and if the questions were properly focused on those points,

meaningful results could be expected.

In regard to the questionnaire, followed by the identification of basic facts about the

respondents, the questions asked were as follows:

1. What preconditions to the project existed? (ongoing "hot" or "cold"
conflicts; positive/negative stereotypes; sociopolitical forgiveness in the form
of a formal apology, establishment or re-establishment of justice; etc.)   What
preconditions, if they existed, would have further fostered reconciliation in the
project?

2. What approach did the project take? (forming a relationship; talking about
one's own stories and experiences; identifying the "real" conflicting points by
examining one's values and beliefs; seeking points of common interest without
regard to the conflict itself; jointly generating a new approach to solve the
conflict; etc.)

3. Please briefly describe the process of the project and the nature of the
participants.

4. What was done to ensure that everyone got a say in the dialogue and felt
comfortable in expressing his or her thoughts?

5. At what point in the project did the participants, if so, start to change their
attitudes toward "the other"?   What verbal or nonverbal signs were exhibited
that marked the change (the disappearance of the distinction between "us"
and "them" replaced by the word "we", etc.)?

6. What was achieved psychologically by the project on an individual
level   (healing, understanding, forgiveness, gaining pride, loss of fear, respect
for others, trust toward others)?   How was this known to have happened?

7. Did the project manage to enable the participants have a grasp of "the others'" positions? How was this known to have happened?

8. Did the project create a lasting relationship between the groups? If so, in what way? Did participants start getting involved in other acts of reconciliation after the project?

9. Did the project have an impact on society at large? If so, in what way? What might be the reasons why it did or did not have an impact?

10. What did you consider a success in terms of your project? Conversely, what was a failure?

11. Please give suggestions, if any, for making dialogic encounters more successful.

SAMPLING

Out of the ten potential candidates for the research, six were chosen on the basis of

an extensive search on the internet. The remaining four persons were out of the personal

relationship network of the author's instructor, two being her former students, the other

two her former colleagues. The criterion for selection was that the persons and

organizations had a history of involvement in conflict resolution work in conflict or

post-conflict regions with a particular aim of promoting intergroup contact and dialogue.

Their goal needed to be specifically focused on reducing hostility and fostering

reconciliation between the ordinary citizens of contending groups. All persons and

organizations found that appeared to fall under these lines and were accessible by e-mail

became candidates. Although there were originally five other organizations identified,

they were not contacted since they did not appear to meet these criteria.

Close attention was paid to the geographic distribution of the participants in order to

retain diversity. The projects of the candidates were conducted in Eastern Europe, the

Middle East, Asia-Pacific, North America, and East Africa. There was no overlap in the

countries where the projects were conducted even though some were from the same region.

In the end, four persons offered to participate in the research (even with the deadline

extended, two other people were not able to answer in time due to their busy schedules).

Although a questionnaire was not able to be sent because of time restrictions, since

substantial information about the project of the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and

Information was made available courtesy of Mr. Maki Sato of the Japan International

Volunteer Association, it is included as the fifth data set. The sixth case comes from the

book *Saccaga Koeta Minzokuno Kabe* [*Soccer that Overcame the Ethnic Barrier*], which

gives a very descriptive account of a multiethnic community-rebuilding project in Bosnia.

These later two cases were added because of their special importance in helping to provide

a more comprehensive analysis.

The persons and organizations participating in this research are as follows. The

persons range in age from twenty-four to sixty-three, are nationals of Japan and the United

States, with others unknown. Equal numbers of men and women participated.

Table 2: Background of Participants

Name of Participant	Age (present)	Gender	Nationality	Name of Project	Organization Represented (at the time)	Position/Role
Akiko C. Ohara	34	Female	Japan	Kosovo Polje Clean Up Project	Association for Aid and Relief, Japan	Program coordinator
Daisuke Okada	24	Male	Japan	Conflict Resolution Workshop for Students from Cincinnati	Carter Center	Facilitator (an intern at the Center)
Irena Djumic	N/A	Female	N/A	Multinational Summer School of Dialogue	Nansen Dialogue Center Banjaluka	Co-facilitator
Len and Libby Traubman	63; 61	Male; Female	U.S.A.	Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group	Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group	Co-founders
--	--	--	--	Israeli-Palestinian Student Encounters	--	--
(Taro Morita)	25	Male	Japan	Sarajevo Football Project	Sarajevo Football Project	Founder

1. **Akiko C. Ohara, former staff member of the Association for Aid and Relief, Japan**
   http://www.aarjapan.gr.jp/

Working at the AAR field office in Pristina, Kosovo, Ms. Ohara was the project coordinator of the Kosovo Polje Clean Up Project, consisting of two separate clean-up missions. The situation in Kosovo was extremely volatile at the time as it had only been four months since the NATO bombing and reverse ethnic cleansing by the Albanians against the Serbs was unfolding. The first project was that at the Ulpijana Apartment complex in Pristina City held on October 14, 1999. A mixed apartment before the war, the eighteen complexes of Ulpijana were dominated by the Albanians with only a single building housing Serbs. They were forced into it due to the reverse ethnic cleansing. The Serbs could not come out of their houses because stones were thrown stones at them if they walked outside. The project was intended to promote coexistence among the Albanian and Serbian residents by cleaning up the neighborhood together. The neighborhood had almost become like a trash heap since the war. The project was also implemented to give children an opportunity to go outside. Meetings were held between apartment leaders prior to the project to avoid violence. Because it was too dangerous to have many adults participate, this was created as a children's project. About twenty Albanians and thirty Serbians joined in along with the eleven AAR staff. Of the fifty locals, nine Serbians and two Albanians were adults. Four soldiers from the British peacekeeping force of NATO (KFOR) camped around the site also took part and provided

security for the participants. AAR and the KFOR provided the tools for cleaning. Sweets and beverages were distributed after the event.

A larger project to clean the area in front of the railway station was conducted in Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosova, seven kilometers west of Pristina, ten days later. The site was a community area with houses and markets. Ms. Ohara, with her Albanian and Serb staff, went around to each house and shop to encourage participation. She also called on all the KFOR forces and other international NGOs working in the area. Aside from the KFOR and NGOs, Serbs, Albanians, and some Romas in their late teens to early forties took part. Children, who acted as spies for adults, were discouraged from coming because they could be put in danger. Because the area covered was large and the participants many, the ethnic distribution and the total number of those involved are unknown.

2. Daisuke Okada, intern of the Conflict Resolution Program at the Carter Center
http://www.cartercenter.org/

The Carter Center, situated in Atlanta, Georgia, works closely with international organizations, governments, and NGOs to protect human rights and alleviate human suffering around the world. The Conflict Resolution Program (CRP) is dedicated to the peaceful prevention and resolution of armed conflicts, including civil wars. Working as an intern, Mr. Okada has traveled to many parts of the world. Though most of his and his

organization's work is centered on political negotiations between governments, Mr. Okada

offered to share his experience in conducting a conflict resolution workshop with five other

CRP interns in May 2002.   In Cincinnati, Ohio, incidents of racial unrest have repeatedly

occurred.   The worst case scenario occurred in April 2001.   After an unarmed,

nineteen-year-old African American, charged with a number of misdemeanors, was shot by

a white police officer when he attempted to escape arrest, violent protests erupted.   A state

of emergency was declared in the city, and more than eight hundred people were arrested.

With racial tension still prevalent, the Cincinnati Museum Center, a nonprofit organization

with three museums and educational and research programs, made a request to the CRP to

organize a workshop to help students deal with situations in their communities.

Twenty-six students between the ages of thirteen and sixteen attended the one-day

workshop held in Atlanta in May 2002, where discussions on the nature of conflict in

general and the formation of stereotypes were held.   Also, the students had a chance to

experience and learn mediation skills in simulation exercises.

3. **Irena Djumic, psychologist; an assistant at the Nansen Dialogue Center in
    Banjaluka**   http://www.ndcbanjaluka.org/

Banjaluka is the largest city in the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska) of Bosnia

and Herzegovina.   The country was divided into two separate state entities under the

Dayton Peace Accords in 1995, and the Serbs, Muslims, and Croatians live largely in

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separate areas. Even though there are no officially demarcated borders, animosity and fear prevent most people from crossing these "borders" still today. The Nansen Dialogue Center in Bajaluka is part of the Balkan Dialogue Project that started in 1995 through the project, "Democracy, Human Rights, and Peaceful Conflict Resolution" of the Nansen Academy in Lillehammer, Norway, in cooperation with three other organizations. The Center is a nongovernmental organization that holds peace education seminars and workshops promoting dialogue as a tool for reconciliation at all levels: political, religious, and national. Ms. Djumic was the co-facilitator of the Multinational Summer School of Dialogue, "Let the Youth Speak," held from July 15th to the 20th of the year 2002. The School was attended by thirteen youths between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two. Most were Serbs, but some were Bosnjaks (Bosnian Muslims), and a few were from mixed marriages between Serbs, Croats, and Bosnjaks. Activities included sessions on prejudice, conflict resolution, and active listening. The participants also discussed issues such as friendship and gender, topics of interest to their age. Games and theater performances were held to promote peaceful conflict resolution.

4. **Libby and Len Traubman, a clinical social worker and a retired pediatric dentist; the founders of the Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group**
   http://traubman.igc.org/

In an attempt to create a long-term relationship between Jews and Palestinians living in the United States, despite situations in their homelands, the couple, since 1992, has

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actively been involved in hosting meetings between persons from the two groups in the San Francisco Bay Area and sharing their experiences with the rest of the world. With membership of twenty Palestinians and Jews and ten "others", the Group has held over one hundred and thirty meetings in the living rooms of one another. What the Group engages in is much more than a casual conversation; each month, in their comfortable living room settings, they discuss their views on such sensitive issues as control of Haram al Sharif (called the Temple of the Mount by Jews) in Jerusalem, occupation of the West bank, and the mere right for one another to exist. The purpose is not to reach an agreement on issues but to better understand each other and continue the talks without physically fighting. The Group has also attended synagogues together, written joint letters to leaders in the United States and the Middle East, and raised funds equally for both Israeli and Palestinian institutions. Moreover, the members sponsored a relationship-building dinner in 1997, which was attended by 420 Jewish and Palestinian Americans, the largest event of its kind ever held. Inspired by these activities, dozens of similar groups have been formed throughout California and across the United States. The Group has received extensive media coverage, including its recent appearance on MSNBC.

5. Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information   http://www.ipcri.org/

Founded in Jerusalem in 1988, IPCRI is the only joint Palestinian-Israeli public

policy think tank in the world. Having peace education and environmental mediation as its core programs, the nongovernmental organization is devoted to developing practical solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The projects are implemented in cooperation with the governments on both sides. Now the largest of its kind in the region, the peace education program was launched in 1995 after the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. It is now being carried out in more than seventy Israeli and Palestinian high schools with about 4,500 10th and 11th grade students participating. The teachers of the schools selected for this program are trained by the IPCRI staff and introduce the curricula into their classrooms by way of preexisting subjects such as English and the Social Sciences. Both teacher and student encounter sessions between Israeli and Palestinian schools are held, but the latter are currently being suspended due to the intensification of the conflict in the area. Named the "Virtual Meeting Ground Project", with the use of internet web pages, listserves, and chatrooms, the IPCRI is attempting to strengthen the effect of encounters and extend them to the wider community. The programs are based on the philosophy that while theoretically peace can be signed into existence by politicians, it must be built between people. Education is seen as a way to change the perceptions and stereotypes held against "the enemy". The student encounter section of the program was studied for the purpose of this thesis. The two-day program is a sleep-away camp in which students participate in a variety of personal, cultural, and political activities. They

talk about issues such as boy/girl relations, music, and customs, present skits on their own

culture, and create multimedia posters to portray different narratives of Israeli-Palestinian

conflict.   An impact study of the encounters was conducted in 1998 by social

psychologist Yifat Maoz of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Although neither a workshop-type project nor a concentrated dialogue, the following

individual, with his project, was also studied for its particular relevance in providing an

additional perspective:

6. Taro Morita, the founder of the Sarajevo Football Project
   http://fkkrilo.tripod.co.jp/ (in Japanese)

It was the spring of 1999 when Mr. Morita took his step first in Sarajevo.   He came

on a volunteer program to teach Japanese and Japanese culture at a local NGO, Danas za

Bolje Sutra (DBS).   DBS hosted various workshops for community rebuilding, and

foreign language lessons were past of the program to bring children of different ethnic

groups together.   During his one-month stay, Morita was shocked by what he saw and

heard.   Pointing to the destroyed houses, one boy said to him quietly, "The Serbs did it".

With all the difficulties in life, however, the activity the children enjoyed was soccer.

Morita, a member of the soccer club at his university, played games with them almost

everyday after school.   He saw that the joy in playing the game transcended nationality

and ethnicity. A year later, he was back in Sarajevo. This time he was to start a project on his own. Morita's proposal to start an interracial soccer team in the city was recognized and won the first Yutaka Akino Award, an award dedicated to the memory of a man who fell at gunpoint working for the UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan. Named F.K. Krilo, meaning "wing" in the local language, the team is now a mix of Serbians, Albanians, and Croatians. The practices are held two days a week in both the Serbian and Muslim-Croat districts of the town, and in 2002, the team became the host of the Future Cup, inviting clubs from both entities. Parent meetings are held twice a month to discuss and support the future of the team. Even a match between Krilo and the parents' team has been played. Though strong resentment was expressed from both the children and their parents, their courage, coupled with the strong determination of Morita and his supporters, has led the team on its way.

Table 3: Summary of Basic Facts about the Projects

Name of Project	Place(s) Where Project Was Conducted	Duration of Project	Participants in the Project
Kosovo Polje Clean Up Project	(1) Pristina (2) Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosova the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	1 day; 1day	(1) Serb and Albanian adults and children (about 50 in total; mostly residents), AAR staff, and British KFOR (2) Serb, Albanian, and Roma adults, AAR staff, and Norwegian KFOR
Conflict Resolution Workshop for Students from Cincinnati	Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.	1 day	26 white and black students, 13 to 16 years old, in an education program at the Cincinnati Museum Center
Multinational Summer School of Dialogue	Banjaluka, Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina	6 days	13 youths ages 17-22 (Serbs, Bosnjaks, and those from mixed marriages between Serbs, Muslims, and Croats)
Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group	San Mateo, California, U.S.A.	10 years	About 30 people--Israelis, Palestinians, and "others"
Israeli-Palestinian Student Encounters	Israel	2 days (peace education program: 8 years)	Israeli and Palestinian 9th and 10th graders
Sarajevo Football Project	Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina	3 years	Serb, Bosnjak, and later Croat boys

RESULTS

The key aspects of each project in relation to contact and dialogue are noted below. In each of the cases, the objective of the project and the methodology taken to make the project be effective are discussed. The major successes and failures of each project are also indicated. The six projects are listed in descending order according to the level of tension under which they were assumed to have been conducted. Level of tension here is determined by the magnitude of conflict and the projects' distance from the conflict. Because the quality of data is different, those two projects, Israeli-Palestinian Student Encounters and Sarajevo Football Project, are listed at the end in the same order. This order seems to somewhat (though not entirely) coincide with the success of the projects, with more successful projects listed near the bottom. As level of tension seems to play an important role in the determining the outcome of the project, the projects are considered in this order.

Clean Up Project
(Pristina and Kosovo Polje, Kosovo, former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)

The goal of the project was to promote coexistence among the Serbs and Albanians in the apartment complexes and the surrounding neighborhoods, to acknowledge "the other" as members of a community sharing the same physical space. Coexistence was regarded to be a precondition for the reconciliation which could take place at a later phase.

The main concern at the time was to reduce the physical violence in the area.

At least four things were carefully considered for the project to succeed: security, neutrality, culture, and ownership. Security received the highest priority. As people were constantly being watched by others, Serbians and also Albanians working with them could become targets of violence anytime. During the project, NGO members and military personnel spread themselves as far apart as possible so the participants would not be in danger. In addition, the project was not reported to the mass media for the exactly because of security concerns. One picture or one line quoted from someone could have had deadly consequences, as the individual could have become a target of murder. Also, information was manipulated to the extreme for the benefit of one's own side. However, both Albanian and Serbian newspapers somehow finding out about the clean up claimed that the project was created for them.

This leads to the next factor, neutrality. It was important to posit an image of AAR as a neutral organization that had come to help local people with their lives. Achieving this was a rigorous task. The fliers distributed to the local residents were printed with information on the project placed side by side in both Serbian and Albanian. The brooms and rakes were brought in from Macedonia as the local people are able to distinguish the materials bought in Serb and Albanian shops. The fact that the head of mission spoke Serbian was greatly helpful in gaining the trust of the Serbians. In relation to cultural

factors, "clean up" needed to be carefully worded because of the unique situation of Yugoslavia. Cleaning was considered to be a job for low status people.

The fourth factor, ownership, was essential for the local people to feel the benefit of the project. The clean up of the Ulpijana Apartment was the idea of the Serbs themselves. The project was created because, as a resident of the same apartment, AAR members tried to help them out. It was important that the objective on the intervener side, coexistence, coincided with the needs of local people.

In terms of contact and dialogue, there were some notable successes. For many, it was the first time after the war that the two groups saw each other in the open. The physical distance between the participants became closer as time passed. There were scenes where someone would hold the garbage bag and the other side would put garbage into it. Hiding behind the shades to avoid negative consequences, some women were seen talking to each other about themselves and their families. They later thanked Ms. Ohara and others for giving them the opportunity to talk at a very early stage after the war.

Still, not everything was a success. When Ms. Ohara tried to get a child to help an Albanian man, a Serbian woman raised a loud voice to stop the act. The atmosphere of the clean up was yet to be characterized by friendliness. The major damage to the project was that the Albanian takeover continued. The shops in the train station area of Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosova, which was about forty percent Serbian at the time of the clean up

became entirely Albanian. All of the remaining Serbians in Pristina were later forced into the single building of the Ulpijana Apartment. As of May 2002, only about one hundred families were left. More than two thirds had fled, died, or disappeared. The conflict and violence could not be controlled.

Multinational Summer School of Dialogue
(Bajaluka, Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

This project was organized in an effort to develop dialogue and conflict resolution skills among young people, the hopes of the future. The participants engaged themselves in much dialogue. Although they were anxious and afraid of speaking in the beginning, as the days passed, the youth began to talk more freely and openly. The facilitators took much care to provide a safe and relaxing setting for the participants to be able to express themselves. To reflect this point, the activities were structured as part of a gradual process. The School began with the introduction of the program, followed by lessons in communication skills. It was only then that discussions on practical issues took place with the aim of making the participants aware of differences in beliefs and opinions. On the fifth day of the six day School, the participants were introduced to ideas about conflicts in general, and different styles of behavior in dealing with them were presented. The last day was largely reserved for socializing.

Also, in relation to providing a comfortable forum, there was room for flexibility

provided in the activities. The topics for discussion were selected by the participants while the facilitators made sure that they were appropriate for the School's purpose. Although the initial plan was to have a discussion on national and religious prejudices on the fourth day, because the facilitators felt that the students were not ready, they went ahead with a topic that was suggested by the participants: gender. The talks were held in relation to the issue of prejudice, and the youth became highly engaged in the dialogue. Emphasis was placed on the needs of participants, not on the desires of facilitators and organizers.

Perhaps the most important point was that the School was made to be fun and enjoyable. Plays and games were used as modes of teaching. Participants watched a performance called "Rainbow", a story of conflict among the colors of the rainbow, and played a game, "Killer and Citizens," together. On the last day, participants and facilitators had a chance to talk more informally with each other with pizzas and refreshments brought in. They exchanged personal letters and took pictures in farewell. A certificate was provided for all those who completed the Summer School.

Some of the methods introduced in preparing the youths for dialogue included "radar listening", "active listening", and "giraffe language". Although details on these were not provided, the focus is on compassionate communication. Each person listens attentively to what the others have to say and responds with empathy.

Evaluation forms were distributed on the first and final day of the School to measure the effectiveness of the program. 92.3 percent of the participants reported that the School influenced them to make some changes in their behavior. They stated that they would become more active listeners, be more respectful and tolerant toward others, and try to cooperate in resolving conflicts. The exact moment at which these changes were observed was not known, but the participants became increasingly active as the activities proceeded. Those who were less talkative in the beginning later began expressing their attitudes toward the issues more clearly. The participants were very much satisfied with their experiences in the School, and all members showed great willingness to continue the activities and agreed on the next meeting date. The facilitators revealed their desire for the group to initiate activities themselves for the community according to the mission of the Nansen Dialogue Center, which was largely accepted.

The successes were not without their shortcomings. The number of participants was seventeen on the first day. Three never came to the School thereafter, though the facilitators called them. They were reported to have been extremely quiet and anxious during the first day. Another issue was that the participation was entirely voluntary. From the beginning, the youths had an interest in engaging in activities with people from diverse backgrounds, and those close to them supported their willingness. Aside from participation, there was also a significant issue that the School was not able to address in

the time provided. As mentioned earlier, the facilitators found it to be too early to engage in a more controversial dialogue on issues of prejudice and coexistence in their nation. That dialogue did not take place. The facilitators are planning to concentrate on this point in future workshops with the present members.

Conflict Resolution Workshop for Students from Cincinnati
(Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.)

The objective of the workshop was to acquaint students with preliminary conflict resolution skills for dealing with the conflict they face in their neighborhoods in a positive manner. Though the focus was not exclusively on dialogue itself, as in the previous example, there was a strong emphasis was given on dialogue. The last third of the program was allotted to a mediation session in which the students themselves mediated a case story. Moreover, the entire workshop was about dialogue as there was plenty of interaction between the students and facilitators to enhance learning.

Certain measures were taken to make the workshop effective. In order for the students to be able to participate equally in the sessions, the facilitators took special care in setting up the chairs and tables. A circle was formed with all the facilitators in the middle throughout the workshop. In this way, the students directly came in to contact with the facilitators, and they did not have to face the pressure from their own racial groups to act or speak in a certain way. The students were able to speak as individuals, not as

representatives of the groups they belonged to. Also, three different topics, nature of the conflict, stereotypes, and mediation skills, were provided so as the students can take interest in at least one of them. The facilitators viewed that getting interested was the start. To add another point, the workshop never addressed the Cincinnati confrontation in particular. The goal was to turn the students' attention to the "bigger" issues beyond the immediate conflict at hand.

Although not through student evaluations, changes in student attitudes were witnessed by the facilitators as a result of these efforts. During the course of the workshop, the students increasingly became involved. More attention was perceived and more questions were raised. The facial expressions of the participants became more vivid. Almost every student actively participated as time passed by. The students were shocked to discover that they themselves possessed stereotypes against people of groups other than their own. Much interest was observed. The group as a whole appeared to have become more united then before. A letter was later received from the curator of the Cincinnati Museum saying that, after the workshop, the students achieved positive developments in their attitudes toward different groups of people.

Again, the inherent problem was that participation was voluntary. These particular students had had an interest for whatever reason in intricate racial issues from the beginning. In addition, while no particular problem emerged, the facilitators mentioned

that they felt more research about the social situations the students faced could have been conducted for the workshop to be made more effective for that particular group of participants.

Mr. Okada repeatedly noted the importance of developing incentives for conflicting parties to think positively about the conflict they face, that the conflict is an opportunity for understanding each other and initiating activities to change the circumstances that created the problems in the first place.

Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue
(San Mateo, California, U.S.A.)

Compared with the other cases, which were conducted as temporary projects, this Group has had a much longer history of contact and dialogue. Referred to as the "public peace process", its achievements have extended way beyond the participants' living rooms. The Group understands that people live and make decisions based on inherited agendas, half-truths, and stereotypes which in turn become the sources of conflict. Participants have continued their activities with the intrinsic belief that a small number of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world and that small group face-to-face meetings are the only means of achieving that goal.

One important condition of their dialogue is that membership is restricted. Even though people have gone in and out of the group since it first gathered in 1999, the number

of participants is presently held down to thirty. As an intimate relationship is to be developed, a large group does not function well. Personal stories are exchanged, and those stories need to be heard with attention and respect. Deep trust in each other has to be built. This can only be achieved when individuals are committed, which cannot be accomplished in a large group. Therefore, the Group promotes others to start similar groups of their own and supports their efforts by sharing their expertise. The second aspect is that dialogue needs to be conducted in a safe and personal space, which is the reason why the group holds their discussions in each other's living rooms. Added to the coziness, the living room and the circular formation of chairs have the effect of making the participants become representatives of their own selves regardless of their social and cultural affiliations. Finally, dialogue needs to be sustained over a long period of months and years to have real effect. Dialogue, the Traubmans claim, is a way of living.

As to the proceedings, every decision of the Group is based on consensus. Together the group determines their own guidelines for behavior, listening, talking, and mutual respect. Decisions to initiate activities, such as fundraisings, are carried out only when every person is satisfied with it or shows consent. Even the times and places of meeting are items to be agreed upon. Also, a facilitator is designated for each dialogue. In order to be neutral, the person is neither Jewish nor Palestinian. The facilitator keeps order and reminds people of the principles of dialogues to which they have agreed. This

has been found to be helpful.

In respect to the effects of dialogue, there was a difference among the participants in the beginning. Some felt relaxed after the first meeting; others did not speak much for several months. Individual differences were always a part of the process. However, eventually people came to see others as equals through listening to their stories and to want the best for each other. By sharing their life experiences together, all the sadness, the joy, the anger, people began to feel almost like a family. Even though differences in opinions still persist, the differences do not stand in the way of them coming together. They now go beyond their dialogue to create an impact on the larger society. Their successes are disseminated through both local and national media, and they give presentations for organizations and universities in the hope that others will follow in their path.

Returning to dialogue itself, there were several signs of change in the members' attitudes and perceptions. One indication was when people decided to offer their own homes for the first time as a meeting place. When people began to risk more and speak in the circle was another. There was also a point at which the group realized that they had come to know something new. People showed their enthusiasm by sharing their experience with the public, to inform them how one can be changed by dialogue. The Traubmans also made inference to the "dialogic moment". Years into the meetings, the participants began to recognize and verbalize "the other's" position. They understood

what some events and thoughts meant to others; shared meaning was created.

The group was not without its tough times. When the group first met in 1992, there were angry insults, difficult emotional arguments, and feelings of alienation on both sides. Some of the early participants walked out because of the slow going or because they were not willing to listen to "the other". The Traubmans note that there were times when they thought about giving up. Both Jews and Palestinians have lost friends and been criticized as being traitors to their respective communities. Nevertheless, they managed to pull through. They managed to gather even in the difficult times in which there was intense fighting in the Middle East, though there was some tension in the dialogue.

Those people who hesitated to come in the beginning, after repeated persuasion, did come. They became some of the most active members of the group. Still, most of the Palestinian members were Christians; Muslim Palestinians have tended to drop in and out. Integrating those who did not want to participate proved to be a difficult challenge.

Israeli-Palestinian Student Encounters
(Israel)

The program aims to offer the opportunity for Palestinian and Israeli students to meet in person. Through this process the participants are expected to challenge their assumptions toward "the other" and to come to a better understanding of similarities and differences that exist between them. Students are engaged in dialogue the entire two

days.

The encounters are built through a step-by-step process. Prior meetings between students and project facilitators take place several times to prepare them for the day. The workshop moves from personal to cultural, and then to political level discussions. The first day is mainly focused on getting to know each other. Self introductions are made and the participants play games together. Sessions such as identifying differences between the two groups are held, and issues with regard to food, music, and the family are talked about. This portion of the program is designed to build up a common background among the participants and to create a feeling of partnership among them. This also assists in coping with emotions when dealing with later proceedings. Near the end of the first day or on the second day, more controversial issues are raised gradually. Tremendous difficulties are often experienced by both sides at this stage when strong emotions involved. After the two days are over, follow-up meetings between the facilitators and teachers are held to maximize the effects.

The program is facilitated jointly by Jewish and Arab Israelis belonging to institutions experienced in coexistence work. This was done in order to bring expertise into a program that was just beginning. Nonetheless, because the skills and awareness required for the program are unique, the IPCRI is now recruiting facilitators with its own special training program.

Another unique feature of this program is the use of single-nationality forums. At

some point in the encounter sessions, students had chances to discuss issues that were

raised in the encounters exclusively with their own group members. These forums

supplied a space in which the students can express themselves to deal with their emotions

and further their learning. This was found to be an important element of the workshop

that had a positive impact on the students.

Research by Professor Maoz (1999) based on the questionnaire responses of 131

participants provides insights into the changes experienced by the students. The

participants felt that the other side understood their opinions and positions better after the

workshops than before. They also felt increasingly sure that normal relations between the

two nations were possible. The students displayed an increase in their readiness to accept

the other as their neighbor. Perceptions of the other group altered and hatred toward them

dropped significantly. At the end of the program, participants saw each other as

significantly more tolerant, open to change, and willing to make sacrifices for peace.

The comments by the participants included the following:

> We were very afraid to come to the meeting. When we arrived, we sat on
> one side and they sat on the other. But slowly, we got to know them and had
> great fun in the social activities in the evening. Now I know much better
> about the Palestinian life and conditions (IPCRI, n.d.).

I need to tell you that the Arabs were really great and they're a lot like us. I learned some things about us and about them and it was very important to hear their opinions about us and many things, mainly political ones. There were some difficult parts (blaming and arguing with one another), but by the end we managed to bridge the gaps by good will. I understood that the vast majority (ours and theirs) want peace and ther's hope for it (IPCRI, 1999, pp.5).

The problems this program has to confront are vast. One issue is the language of the meetings. The entire workshop was conducted in Hebrew, in which the Palestinians noted severe difficulty and frustration in expressing themselves. Maoz suggested using English in the future to ensure greater symmetry (he also listed the equal socioeconomic status of participants and an equal number of discussion leaders from each group as important conditions). A further problem was that interaction among the participants was limited. Less than a third of the students reported that they spent time during breaks with members of the other group. The third problem was the fact that the students usually cannot come to a meaningful agreement in the time given. Neither side ever completely gives in, and the discussions sometimes become very explosive. Even if the workshop proceeds in a fair mood, since the encounter is only a one-time occasion, the effects of the two days are limited. The fourth issue is that the Palestinian schools that participate in the project are Christian schools exclusively. Up until now, Arab Muslim schools have not joined in the workshops. While all of these are serious matters, perhaps the most significant issue may be is the effects of the ongoing conflict. The conversations are severely influenced by whatever is the current political situation. Many schools drop out

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when political tensions rise. Escalation of the conflict in 2000 led to the suspension of

the encounters. Mr. Sato of the Japan International Volunteer Center, who once sought

the opportunity to organize a project with IPCPI made the following remark:

> Although the importance of dialogue projects is even more so at difficult
> times, the situation has become too dangerous (for encounter projects to
> continue). Taking the risk to conduct projects is not worth the chance under
> the current circumstances. A less direct way of interaction, such as soccer or
> music, may work better for the moment.

Football Project
(Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

This project is examined with the words of Mr. Sato in mind. This project was

organized with the motivation to help children overcome ethnic barriers and to see the

possibility of coexistence through the game of soccer. The emphasis was placed on

children since they are the ones to shape the future of the country and since they are

generally less attached to the past than adults.

The main issue in this case is to observe how contact is made. Morita took a

head-on approach. This energetic young man started playing on a snow covered field and

children began joining one by one. The children were happy to be playing the sport

which they thought could never be played during the winter season. Working at a local

NGO office in the Muslim part of town and staying in one of the worker's houses on the

Serbian side, Morita began using the opportunity to have games with children living in

both areas.   He called on the children to have the first joint practice only ten days after he arrived in town.   Held on the Bosnjak (Muslim) side, the Serbs went to the other side with enthusiasm; only one Bosnjak came.   Though nervous at first, the Bosnjak boy after practice said that it was fun.

When Morita proposed to the Bosnjak children a practice on the Serbian side, he was met with fierce glares.   The children strongly objected in words: "If we are seen by the Serbs, we will get beaten." "It is too dangerous.   They tried to kill us (during the war)." It was then that a boy said, "My father was killed by the Serbs".   Although the Serbs came, it was never the other way around for more than a week.   One day, when Morita was expecting no one to show up again, a boy named Admir showed up at the office alone. With a strained look on his face, he took the courage to travel with Morita and his driver Chero to the Serbian side.   From that day onwards, Admir's words spread and it was not long before all of the children traveled back and forth to each other's side.

In order to give order to the team and look after it after he went back to Japan, Morita needed to find coaches.   He considered it important to have two coaches, one from each side, for the children to truly feel safe.   Babich, a P.E. teacher at a Muslim school to which some of the children went, volunteered.   For the Serbian figure, he asked Chero. Although Chero did not have any coaching experience before, what was important was that he was trusted among the children and was like a big brother to them.   These coaches

worked hard to make Krilo a true team.

The final job for Morita was to get approval from the parents. The children had not told their parents about their actions. Parental approval was deemed necessary if Krilo was to continue. Saying that the war should never be repeated again, many showed support for the cause. However, one Muslim parent did not. "I cannot let my children go to the area where the murderers are." With these words the father of two boys, Kenan and Amar, closed the door on Morita and Babich. On the fourth visit to the boys' house, only a day before Morita was to leave for Japan, the father agreed to sign the approval form. Babich, who was once the boys' homeroom teacher, had known the father. He asked to trust him for the boys' protection. He expressed his belief in what the project can achieve. In the end, Babich was able to convince the father that children had no part in the hostility between adults.

The challenge now is how to establish a stronger base for Krilo. The hope is for locals to get involved in the running of the team which relies entirely on funds from Japan at the moment. An additional problem is that the team cannot participate in official matches because the soccer leagues of both entities have not been able to reach an agreement as to which side Krilo should belong.

ANALYSIS

The six projects studied have substantial variations in their objectives, approaches, and directions. All of the projects aimed to promote coexistence in some way, but the degree to which they attempted to deepen the participants' relationships differed. The Clean Up was about meeting "the other" without physically fighting. The goal of the workshop with the Cincinnati students was for individuals to acquire skills for themselves in dealing with the existing conflict and possibly contribute to change. In contrast, the School of Dialogue and the student encounter in Israel had a focus on coming to a better understanding of each other by doing things together. The Football Project and the Living Room Dialogue tried to establish friendships that would last.

In the School of Dialogue, the IPCRI encounter, and the Living Room Dialogue, the projects placed strong emphasis on conducting dialogue as a means of achieving psychological and attitudinal change. The Football Project and the Kosovo Clean Up were more centered on contact, and the Cincinnati case fell in the middle, as it was a method of learning through interaction. The length of the projects ranged from one day to more than ten years. Moreover, within the projects that have been continuing for some time, there were both one-time encounters and deep sustained interactions.

Connecting the Hypothesis and the Results

Despite the discrepancies in the sample, however, the hypothesis largely held true. The projects did lead to attitudinal and perceptual changes in individuals toward the other group. One reservation may be the Clean Up Project where, though attitudes toward the other appeared to improve as the project went along, significant perceptual change was not noted. That is, because the project was conduced only a few months after the war ended, real interaction between ethnic groups could not take place. Thus, the impact on participants was minimal. Nonetheless, the rest of results indicate that contact and dialogue can have considerable impact on creating a positive change in individuals.

The results did confirm the idea that participants become more active as the projects progress. This was a factor mentioned in all three of the workshops and in the Living Room Dialogue. Facial expressions became more vivid, more words were spoken, and physical distance between participants shortened. The participants in the other two projects also appeared to become increasingly engaged, especially in the case of the Football Project. Muslim children began traveling to the Serbian side of town, more children joined, and after a while, they as a team began competing against other club teams. However, this "activeness" is not always peaceful. In dialogue, people can become emotional and talk can turn explosive. This was sometimes the case in the IPCRI student encounter, and blames and insults were exchanged.

On a different note, a new finding was that considerable individual differences are involved. As exemplified by Admir's courageous action to travel to the Serbian side of the Sarajevo all by himself, some individuals may take the first steps for change that are then followed by others. Additionally, the same project and the student encounter in Israel suggest that some groups are more reluctant to participate in the projects than others. The socio-economic and political situations that the groups are in may account for this tendency.

Many participants in the projects seemed to gain a new understanding of "the other". They saw the other side in a more positive way than before the project was initiated. "The other" was acknowledged as being human, and the good in them was noticed. This was greatly reflected in the answers to the questionnaires and in the words of participants. Contrary to the hypothesis, however, a noticeable "dialogic moment" was only observed in the Living Room Dialogue, a project with a much longer history than the other cases. In some of the other projects, participants did mentions words such as "They're a lot like us" and "I understood that the vast majority (ours and theirs) want peace," but they still only spoke from their own frame of reference. Seeing things from "the other's" perspective and discovering common ground may not be an easy process. A lot of patience and persistence are involved.

The long term effects of the projects did fit the expectations. Except for those that

lasted for a single day, the participants expressed their urge to continue with the work in one way or another. In the longer projects, participation increased and relationships deepened. The membership of the soccer team rose and adults joined in to support their children. For the Living Room Dialogue, there are now six Dialogues nearby, with others flourishing across the country. These two projects even seem to be impacting the society at large as, respectively, multiethnic tournaments are held and successes are disseminated through the media.

The intensity of the conflict in each context had an effect, and it was much stronger than originally predicted. Although the clean up in Kosovo and the student dialogue in Israel had extremely important effects at the individual level, the political and the military situations were overwhelming. These projects had no chance to continue because conditions became extremely dangerous. It appears that it is remarkably difficult to achieve coexistence and reconciliation in situations where physical violence is ongoing. Even if a safe environment for a project is provided, a dialogue can become disastrous if it is held close to the conflict, with people experiencing fear every day. Activities with less interaction which do not address the conflict itself may fare better in these circumstances. Dialogue has both the potential to become productive and destructive.

Except for the "dialogic moment", the major elements of the hypothesis were therefore proven, yet with some reservations. Although it would have been better if

effects of contact-oriented projects could be separated from those of dialogue-oriented projects, this was found to be difficult. Many of the projects in the sample appeared to fall in the middle, and no literature that attempted to do a comparative study of the two types was found.

Promoting Healing and Reconciliation

The issue now is whether the projects lead to healing and reconciliation. Healing, in this respect, refers specifically to healing from trauma and the agonies of conflict. The effects did not occur at least by the process hypothesized, as the "dialogic moment" was not apparent in most cases. On the individual level, though, people in all cases did seem to become more competent in dealing with their conflict situation. At least, the beginning signs of a better relationship were seen. While reconciliation and healing are subjective in nature, the projects did seem to have a positive effect in inducing the two elements. Longer projects, it seems, are much better at performance, though the issues of budget and personnel cannot be disregarded.

However, when it comes to societal reconciliation, the effects are more questionable. The results indicate that people taking part in these kinds of projects are increasing in number. This is at least noted for the Living Room Dialogue, the Football Project, and the IPCRI educational program. Though the projects are expanding, it would be largely

conjectural to assume that the projects are changing societal dynamics at the present time.

Creating a More Effective Contact/Dialogue

Taking all of the points mentioned heretofore into consideration, the characteristics of an efficacious contact and dialogue are now considered. The discussion is intended for people to gain a better understanding of the factors to be considered when designing such projects. Although far from being shaped into a manual, it is hoped that the findings will be useful in making projects more successful. The topics addressed are conditions, content and process, signs of effects, effects, and limitations of contact and dialogue.

Conditions

Beginning with conditions, providing a physically and psychologically safe environment for the project is of fundamental importance. Even though the situations outside the project play substantial roles, what matters more is that the immediate safety of the participants is guaranteed. Also, efforts should be made to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible. Rooms, chairs, and seating arrangements must be chosen in this respect. A circular formation of chairs in the room appears to be effective as everybody is equally represented and one can voice one's self easier. The number of participants needs to be kept down to a level where they can become familiar with each other. Twenty to thirty can be thought to be the maximum for building a relationship.

Groups should not be based on social categories, such as race and ethnicity, since participants are more likely to cling to the positions of their own social group and change, thus, becomes difficult. Tension can be exacerbated and the outside conflict can be reproduced within the framework. Individuals should be able to enter the contact or the dialogue representing themselves and not their group. Which age and gender group the project addresses is also a crucial factor. There is some evidence that women and children are less attached to conflict. If there is deep division and hatred in the society, it may turn out better if these groups are focused on first.

In a dialogue, the language of the project has to be carefully selected to not work for the advantage of a particular group. If one side feels frustration in not being able to express themselves, reconciliation cannot be expected. An additional point is that facilitators need to be trained in certain ways to meet the needs of the particular project. The unique situations of each project should be recognized. Related to this argument, the coordinators and facilitators of the projects must do extensive research on the culture of the participants and the conflict that they are involved in. The decision must be made to approach the situation with a contact-oriented project or a dialogue-oriented project. Both the constructive and destructive consequences of a dialogue are large.

Content and Process

The next issue is the content and process of the project. Projects should be designed to

allow the participants to take certain initiatives. They can form the ideas for projects or choose topics of dialogue themselves. In this way, they feel more ownership for what they accomplished through the project. A project unwanted by the participants or which is met with dissatisfaction will not work.

On another note, projects need to be initiated slowly and in steps. They must not be rushed to reach a desired effect. Personal level acquaintance must firmly be established before more rigorous activities can take place. In a dialogue, personal, cultural, and political is the order in which talk successfully proceeds. When time does not permit the group to reach the next stage, the work needs to be carried over until a later date.

Lessons that focus on the acquisition of certain skills can be built into projects for participants to get maximum results. These include conflict resolution and conflict management skills and also dialogue skills. In the case of dialogue, the lessons are to focus on deep listening skills and affective communication.

Additionally, there should be a balance between the "fun" and the "serious" in a project. Times for relaxation and entertainment need to be incorporated in a creative manner so as to be in line with the objective of the project but not be too strenuous for the participants. When people are becoming very emotional and appear to be having a difficult time dealing with their feelings, single group forums may be needed in order for them to cope. Being with a new group of people, especially if one possesses a negative

image toward that group, can be extremely stressful, and the forums can provide psychological support.

Finally, any decision that is made should be based on consensus so all parties can see the decisions as theirs. A sense of ownership and responsibility can be promoted in this way. If these points are cared for, a build up of positive experiences from the project can occur, enabling the participants to be more open toward additional changes.

Signs of Effects

The changes in the participants' perceptions and attitudes can be objectively observed from the outside. When participants are free to move around, their physical distance becomes closer and closer. Their facial expressions become more vivid, and more risks are taken in getting involved with others. These signs alone cannot be judged as indicators of real change, but they can serve as preconditions to it. Real change occurs when one invites the other to enter his own personal and social space. Welcoming "them" into one's own home or community is an important signal of this. Furthermore, a moment comes when people are able to voice the other's positions. While one may have disagreements with "the others", a deep understanding exists, and the differences do not stand in the way of them having a good relationship. What must be kept in mind is that if these changes are to be accomplished, the project needs to be conducted over the long term. On the other hand, if the aim of the project is centered on meeting "the other" and gaining

more knowledge of them, the time span can be shorter. Another issue that must receive

attention is the individual differences in experiencing change. The more reluctant

individuals can perhaps be dealt with in a different way with more care in order to avoid

their being left behind by rest of the participants.

Effects

The effects of the projects on individuals can be studied through surveys, writings,

and comments made by the participants. Many feel they are understood much more by

"the other" than at the time the project started. The feeling of acceptance by others can be

regarded as a crucial step towards developing empathy and healing. In successful

projects, stereotypes against "the other" are significantly reduced, and positive images of

"the other" are increasingly generated. There is recognition that the difference between

the self and the other is not as important and meaningful as it originally seemed. It is in

this respect that people see the possibility of future coexistence. Increased tolerance is

another phenomenon experienced. The issues that were too "hot" to be addressed in the

beginning are talked about. Those people who were unwilling to interact in the beginning

become active proponents of projects. Many people show the urge to continue the work

or bring it to a new level. This new level is where the participants support or, on their

own accord, propose new ways to get others involved. The motivation may be that they

simply enjoyed the experience or that they increasingly value the cause. The success of a

project in these respects can be evaluated relatively more easily than looking for the moments and signs of change. The former focus more on the outcome, while the latter is more of a process that exists in moments. They can go undetected if not conscientiously watched for.

Limitations

Knowing the limitations of projects in general is important so organizers can be realistic in creating their projects. Also, these limitations can serve as challenges to be overcome. One difficulty faced by organizers is that in situations where a conflict is intense, a dialogue can be heavily influenced by it. The participants bring with them an unfavorable image of the other. What they heard from others and over the media has a powerful effect on shaping and entrenching certain attitudes and positions. In fact, the effect of the media is so strong that its way of covering a story can completely ruin a project. A coexistence project is degraded into a project supporting a particular group. Mutual understanding and possibilities of reconciliation will not rise out of such distorted truth. The next point is that dialogue projects with highly political issues discussed will not be successful if conducted on a short term base. Tension can rise, and it is only by chance that participants can sometimes overcome their anger. The fact that many organizations cannot arrange the money to continue the projects is an indication of the complexity of the issue.

Another difficulty faced by contact and dialogue projects is that those who

participate in them are often regarded as traitors to their own group. People may not be

able to take action because of fear of social alienation. There is also an indication that

some groups are much more unwilling to interact with "the other" as a result of the status

of the groups or their beliefs. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that those who take part

in the projects are ordinarily only those who come on their own will.

New Findings and Questions for the Future

From the conditions to the limitations, these findings closely resemble the points

mentioned in the Literature Review. One discrepancy, however, is that while Pettigrew

(1998) argues that official or normative support is an essential condition, among the

projects in this sample only the student dialogue project in Israel had it. Since it appears

that such support does not determine the outcome of a project, it may be better categorized

as a facilitating factor. On the issue of the identity of participants, the data is not

sufficient to make a judgment on the validity of the optimal distinctiveness theory.

Multiethnic task groups with ingroup-outgroup distinction made salient were not created in

any form. In terms of groups, the projects were more loosely structured. Furthermore,

concerning the "dialogic moments," the arguments made by Hammond & Meng (1999) as

to the transcendent points could not be confirmed. The existence of comments that filled

in the process-content/self-other matrix was at least not noted in the collected data.

Instead it was the voicing of the others' position that marked the "moment" in which a

shared meaning was created. Also, none of the participants explicitly noted that, in

dialogue, the pronoun "we" was increasingly used as it proceeded. These are points that

need to be elaborated on in future studies.

Table 4: Tentative Categorization of Essential and Facilitating Factors

Essential Factors	(to be categorized)	Facilitating Factors
• Security and safety		• Authority support
• Limited number of participants	• Clear objective of project	• Comfortable setting
• Continuation of project overtime	• Ordering of activities from personal to political	• Representation as oneself
	• Formation of multiethnic task group	• "Fun" activities
• Equal status and representation of participants within the project	• Consensus-based decision making	• Decision made on participants' own initiatives
		• Acquisition of conflict resolution skills
• Listening and affective communication		• Age, gender, personality, and culture
		• Positive experiences of participants out of previous projects

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The mainstream research on conflict resolution and conflict transformation until now has tended to focus entirely on methods of negotiation and mediation at the institutional level. The general public was frequently left out of the picture. The little literature found on building trust and understanding among the public were highly conceptual and non-practical for the most part. On the other hand, approaches to dealing with personal conflicts had developed to a considerable extent without being used for a larger purpose. This thesis attempted to integrate the two bodies of research together in a search for detailed measures that could be taken to create and revise a project that brings change to ordinary people. The goal, however, was not entirely met both because of the limitations of the research and the complexity of the issue.

This unrefined piece of work can only be a starting point for future research. The sample is too limited to draw a more sophisticated conclusion. A much more extensive research effort involving a larger number of participants from diverse communities needs to be carried out. In this way, the sample could be divided more precisely for comparative studies between the effects of task-based contact projects and dialogue-oriented workshop projects. The dialogue workshops can further divided into encounter and mix-group projects for a more accurate analysis as well. Also, with a larger sample, it would be worth while to formulate new research to better understand the

relationship between the length and the success of the project. The many variables found to have both positive and negative influences on projects in this thesis may be independently examined as well in order to determine whether they are essential or facilitating factors.

Since the research sample is limited to the facilitators and organizers of projects, there may be certain biases involved in terms of portrayal of success. The actual participants in the projects need to be contacted and interviewed in depth for a comprehensive look at the effects. In addition, revealing the dynamics of how participation in the project or similar projects ca be increased is essential for identifying measures to extend these efforts to the larger society. For those people who refuse to participate in the projects, their personal, cultural, and socio-political backgrounds can be studied so as to consider the tactics for bringing them into the game. Thus, these studies need an in-depth look at participants, and field research is necessary to accomplish this.

With all the possibilities and the necessity to conduct these research and more, a common understanding has to exist. It is important that researches reflect both the background and the ever-changing nature of the conflict and project participants. Research must be faithful to the reality. It is equally important that findings be accurately reported. Due to the nature of the work, ignoring and discarding the findings that do not fall into a pattern is dangerous. Since much psychological elements are involved, care

must be taken to recognize individual differences, and not only the larger patterns.

However, what must be understood above all is that research must not become the purpose

in itself. The aim of the research is not to satisfy the academics who are in search of a

new field of study; nor is it to lessen the burden of the organizers and facilitators. The

aim is to contribute to the alleviation of the pains of the ordinary people who have

undergone or are undergoing so much tragedy in life and to promote the creation of a

world in which cooperation is viewed as a better solution to problems than competition in

any situation. This larger purpose must not be obscured or forgotten.

CONCLUSION

Some of the participants shared with the author stories that may never appear in any publication or document. What they suggested is a reality that presents a serious challenge toward sanguine hopes for the proliferation of these kinds of projects. In many situations, psychological changes that occur within an individual can never be documented in a report. Also, a considerably longer time period is necessary for results to surface compared to most other projects. With the current movement of demands for accountability and transparency, donors, however, contribute money only to organizations that have concrete proofs in terms of the successes of their projects. These successes are much more easily recognized in the weight of rice delivered, number of vaccines shot, and the number of tents built. A participant even pointed out that the negative aspects of ongoing projects are almost always hidden from the public. If they become apparent, funding will stop. The worst scenario of having to abandon the participants can occur relatively easily. Consequently, under the current system of reporting and funding, it is difficult for organizations to concentrate on reconciliation projects.

In depth surveys can certainly be conducted. Nevertheless, many organizations do not have the time, skill, or money to carry out extensive analyses. Staff members are generally exhausted with mounting daily work due to staff shortages. Questioning the validity of a project when organizers are making every effort to put it on track and

maintain it is not something that is appreciated. As a result, though recognizing its importance, the experiences of organizations are often left unshared with the rest of the world.

There are times when organizations intentionally keep a project low profile. Concerns for the participants and local staff, not just because of safety but because of the negative and nuisance effects of publicity, prevent organizers from reporting the details of projects. International agencies take an interest in knowing the people involved in the projects. If the names are released, participants are pressured to work for these agencies for they are labeled as liberals in their community.

A participant also indicated a moral dilemma. The desire to foster friendship and coexistence for the community is the desire of the outsiders, not of the local people. It is easy to make calls for an end to the hostility and the hatred, but to understand the tremendous feeling of loss felt by people whose family members were murdered by "the other" is much more difficult. Sometimes in a project, a certain degree of deception is involved to encourage people to participate, so the underlying intent behind the activities, reconciliation, is not explicitly stated. Is this wish for reconciliation merely the egotism of the outsiders?

With all the problems within and surrounding the projects, the easiest option is not to intervene at all. Nevertheless, there is an overriding reason that this must not be the

choice: someone is being killed. Within the last two weeks during the time this thesis was being written, at least two girls, ages nine and eleven, were reported to have been shot dead in the refugee camps in Gaza. They were not provoking the soldiers or engaging in acts of violence. One was playing outside her home; another was opening the window of her house ("Pareschina Jichiku", 2002; "Isuraeru gun", 2002). In these cases, it does not matter who is to blame; the fact that innocent people are being killed every day, every moment, is not something that can be ignored. Even in places where the fighting has ended, the psychological pain, animosity, and fear that lie within individuals is unhealthy for living a productive life. The condition creates a potential ground for future violence such as terrorist attacks and more.

In his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech in 2001, Secretary General Kofi Annan of the United Nations noted the following:

> A genocide begins with the killing of one man—not for what he has done, but because of who he is. A campaign for "ethnic cleansing" begins with one neighbor turning on another...What begins with the failure to uphold the dignity of one life, all too often ends with a calamity for entire nations...Peace must be sought, above all, because it is the condition for every member of the human family to live a life of dignity and security (United Nations, 2001, ¶ 12, 13).

> The idea that there is one people in possession of the truth, one answer to the world's ills, or one solution to humanity's needs, has done untold harm throughout history—especially in the last century...the notion that what is ours is necessarily in conflict with theirs is both false and dangerous (¶ 22, 26).

Despite difficulties and shortcomings, there is a great need for contact and dialogue projects to be created and carried out on a much more extensive scale than what is now being done today. This is because of the potential that these projects have, a potential to alter the notions of the past and recognize the dignity of others, a potential to bring about reconciliation and healing. We can continue with the world of war and suffering or we can strive to slowly but surely make the world a safer place for all.

Forty years ago Martin Luther King, Jr., in his mesmerizing speech at the Lincoln Memorial voiced, "I have a dream that on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood" (as cited in Carter, 2002, ¶ 32). He not only had a dream, but he had the courage to take action. The "table of brotherhood" still may not be what is set in place for the U.S., but there is no doubt that the dream and effort of Dr. King drastically changed American society. As seen by the cases in this thesis, contact and dialogue are able to bring about changes in individuals' perceptions and attitudes that were never imagined before. They are able to bring together people whom no one thought possible to gather together in peace.

The projects need to flourish and reach a wider group of people. At the same time, revisions must be made to improve them as much as possible. Plans need to be carefully constructed and implemented. These all need to be carried out to bring into reality a

dream of bringing about a safer world for all.

Margaret Mead once insisted, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has" (Traubman, n.d.). Though not an alternative for a political settlement, community level efforts for healing and reconciliation must be considered as powerful ways to change a society and its people.

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要約

　私は、昨年の夏ベトナムとカンボジアを訪れる機会があった。街は活気に満ち溢れ、将来の発展を予感させる雰囲気がいたるところに漂っていた。しかしながら、その一方でこの二カ国を旅する中で感じたのは、「過去」が人々の間で生き続けていることであった。ベトナム戦争でアメリカ軍が散布した枯葉剤は、重大な健康被害を引き落とし、その影響は今日にまで至っている。ホーチミン市の中心部にある戦争証跡博物館には、ホルマリン漬けになった奇形児の死体が展示されていた。一方、カンボジアでは、ポルポト政権時代の影響が色濃く残っており、地雷で肢体を失った人々が人の集まるところで物乞いをしていた。老若男女問わず数百万人に及んだ虐殺。保存された刑務所跡には、今も血痕が床や天井に見て取れた。私は、この建物を観光中、ガイドの男性が静かに言った言葉を忘れることが出来ない。「私の父も同じように殺された。」

　2000 年、そして 21 世紀。数年前、人々はこれまでにはない希望に溢れた時代の到来を夢見ていた。しかし、こうした期待は現状を見る限りにおいては、夢でしかなかった。世界各地で戦争や殺戮行為が展開され、多くの罪のない人間の命が日々奪われている。「戦争の世紀」と呼ばれた前世紀。その教訓が生かされているとは思えない事態が、現に数多くあり、今後更に増大・悪化する予兆さえ見せている。こうした傾向に歯止めを掛けることは永遠に不可能なのであろうか。

　暴力行為の直接の原因は指導者にあることが多い。しかしながら、たとえ独裁国家であっても、民衆による一定の支持や受容なしにそのような行為が追行されるケースは非常に少ない。指導者による誘導の有無に関わらず、他人に対する怒りや憎しみ、加えて不信感や恐怖といった感情が人々の間に生まれることが、最も深刻で最も影響力を持つ原因となっているに他ならない。

　過去の紛争解決に関する研究は、主として政治レベルでの解決法に焦点を当ててきた。そうした研究の重要性は今後も薄れることはない。ただ、紛争を解決し、平和を将来に渡って定着させるためには、上からの変化と同時に下からの変化も推進することが不可欠である。心に深い傷を負い、他者に対して憎しみの念

を抱く人々の精神的ケア、そして民族の融和。こうした取り組みに関する研究は、現在のところ極めて少ない。

　我々は、対話を通じて他者の立場や心情を垣間見ることが出来る。こうしたことから、この論文では、現在世界各地の紛争地域や紛争後の社会にて行われている、対立する集団同士の接触や対話を促進するプロジェクトを取り上げる。そして、それらを立案・実行・改善する上で重要となるファクターを検証し、加えて、心の癒しや和解の観点から、こうしたプロジェクトが人々や社会に与える影響を考える。

　このテーマに関連する文献は、主に接触（コンタクト）と対話の二つの潮流からなる。何れも集団心理学やコミュニケーション学をベースにしており、敵対する集団間の関係改善の条件に焦点を当てたものとなっている。前者については、まず、Allport が、接触が成功する前提条件として、（接触の場における）対等な地位、共通の目標、協力、それに法や慣習、権力による支持を挙げており、Pettigrew (1998) が更に「友情が生じる可能性（friendship potential）」という新たな条件を加えている。これらは、必要条件とされ、他の条件とは区別されるものとされる。

　次に、アイデンティティーと接触の関係では、混合チームの編成とその内部における相互依存的な役割分担が理想とされる。つまりは、それぞれの帰属集団に異なる役割を持たせ、他の集団の力を借りなければ課題を達成できない状況を作り出すことが重要だとされる。たとえ集団間の違いが強調されていても、このような状況下では、協力が起こりやすいことが、これまでの実験で証明されている。また、接触時間と意識変化には相関関係があり、接触の機会が多く、その時間も長いほど、他者の印象が良くなるとされている。

　こうした態度や意識の変化は、コンタクトを通じて他者への理解を深め、信頼関係を築くことで、徐々に生じる。これが持続されることで、相手に対する不信や不安の念は解消され、人々は自らが知る規範や習慣以外の存在を認識する。また、自己と他者との間に共通点を見出すことが出来るようになり、他集団を含めたより大きな集団への帰属意識が醸成される。このような過程の中で、当事者

は自身の心中をより積極的に明かすようになり、こうした態度が接触をより成功へと導くという好循環が生まれる。

その一方で、こうした流れを妨げるファクターも多々存在する。自己の集団からの排斥が予想される場合、戦争などによって接触が物理的に困難な場合、各集団が利益追求に走る場合などにおいては、コンタクトによる効果は著しく阻害される。また、個人差や文化的な差異もあるとされ、当事者の年齢が若すぎる場合も、コンタクトの成功にマイナスの影響があるとの研究がある。

第二の研究である対話は、接触との区別はつきにくいものの、話し合いの部分により重きが置かれている点が特徴である。研究の前提として、「真実」は、特定の人間が保持しているものではなく、人と人の間に存在するとされる。対話は、こうした「真実」に迫る手段であり、相手を真に理解し、自らの視野を広げ、更には新しい解決策を生むことを可能にする。対立を前提とした「ディベート」や当事者間の意思疎通が不十分な「ディスカッション」とは異なる性質を持っている。

効果的な対話は、自身の考えを据え置いて、他人の話に耳を傾けることから始まり、それ自体相手の心を癒す効果がある。また、異なる価値観に触れることで、自らを問い直す機会にもなる。敵と味方ではなく、「我々」という認識が生まれ、それが言葉となって現れる。加えて、効果的な対話は、答えを求めるのではなく、質問に終始することで、お互いが常に変化する余地を与える。更に、それは社会に大きな影響を与える可能性を秘めている。

認識や態度の変化は、”dialogic moment”と呼ばれる状況が作り出されることで起きると考えられている。Hammond & Meng (1999) によると、対話における話の内容は、それぞれ自己、他者、話の過程、そしてその内容に関するものに分類出来る。効果的な対話においては、ある時点を越えると、これら全てを満たす質問や意見が交わされる。この段階においては、それまで想像も出来なかった考えが生まれ、新しい発見がある。人々は、己の無知を知り、世の中の多様性を価値あるものとして実感する。

成功する対話プロジェクトには、幾つかの傾向がある。主なものとしては、

個人の話題から政治的話題へと段階的に進行する、目的と目標がある、他人の話を聞くことに重きを置く、参加者全員が関わることが出来る、参加者が行動を起こす機会を用意されている、などがある。

接触と同様、対話にも妨害要因や欠点がある。対話は、外部環境の影響に左右されやすく、周囲のサポートがない状況、また戦争などが進行中の場合に行うことは容易ではない。更に、対話に参加する者は、ごく少数の先進的な考えを持った人々に限定され、本来それを最も必要とするはずの人々にまで至っていないこともまた深刻な問題である。

このような研究を元に、仮説が導き出された。プロジェクトは、参加者の他者に対する意識や態度に重大な変化をもたらす。これは、段階的に推移して行き、やがて共通点が見つかり、互いを認め合うことが可能となる瞬間が訪れる。人々の心の癒しと他者との間の和解の可能性はここに生じる。参加者の中には、その後も関連した活動に身を投じる者が現れる。しかし、こうしたプロジェクトは、様々な条件を満たす形で綿密につくられるものの、一部においては、紛争の影響が深刻であることから、十分な効果が得られないと思われる。

調査対象となったのは、以下の6プロジェクトである。上の4つに関しては、Eメールを通じて参加を募った後、対象者に記述式の質問表やインタビューの形で回答して頂いた。残り2つは、著書やインターネットのホームページでの詳細な記述に基づいている。

1. コソボ自治州のプリスティナ及び近隣のコソボ・ポリエで実施されたセルビア人とアルバニア人による共同の清掃事業

2. ボスニア・ヘルツェゴヴィナのバンジャ・ルカで行われた民族間の対話を目的とした青少年のサマースクール

3. 米国シンシナティの黒人と白人の生徒を対象にした紛争解決ワークショップ

4. 米国サンフランシスコ近郊で始まり、全国に広がっているパレスチナ人とイスラエル人の対話グループ

5. イスラエルで行われていたイスラエル人とパレスチナ人の高校生が対象のエンカウンタープログラム

6. ボスニア・ヘルツェゴヴィナで、多民族の少年サッカーチームの編成を目指したプロジェクト

　それぞれ形式や実施期間が全く異なるプロジェクトであるが、個々を分析した結果、仮説の大部分が証明された。紛争後間もない時期に実施されたコソボの事業を除き、参加者には、他者に対する認識において顕著な変化が見受けられた。プロジェクトが進行するにつれ、参加者の積極性は増大した。集団間の距離が縮まり、発言も多くなる。ただ、対話の場合、こうした傾向が進むことは、時に議論に火をつけ、人々を感情的にさせることも判った。他にも、積極性には、予想以上に個人差や集団差が存在することも明らかとなった。具体的には、プロジェクトは、特定の人物の勇気と行動によって事態が前進することが多く、特定の集団がイニシアチブをとって、自ら歩み寄るケースも見られた。

　参加者の多くは、プロジェクトを通じて他者を再認識する。同じ人間であるとの理解が生まれ、相手の良い部分が見えてくる。しかし、仮説と異なるのは、"dialogic moment"が十年間に渡って継続されている米国の対話グループ以外では観測されなかったことである。互いに真に理解しあう可能になる"dialogic moment"、その実現は容易ではないと思われる。

　長期的な影響は、予想通りであった。期間が若干一日だったものを除けばそれ以外のプロジェクトでは、人々は何らかの形で活動を継続していくことに意欲を表した。また、対話グループとサッカープロジェクトは、メディアやトーナメントの開催を通してより広い社会に影響を及ぼしていると考えられるが、その影響の程は定かではない。

　妨げとなる要因に関しては、紛争がもたらす影響は当初想定していた以上に強いものであった。暴力行為が収束していないコソボ、戦闘が止まないイスラエルでは、参加者の命にも関わるだけに、プロジェクトの実施は困難を極めた。

これまでのことを総合して考えられる、プロジェクトを効果的に実行するために考慮すべき点は、次の通りである。まず、条件面であるが、参加者にとって安全で快適な環境を整えることがこの上なく重要である。場所の選択や座席の配置等もこれを踏まえて慎重に行う必要がある。参加者の数は、多くても 20 から 30 程度に抑えることが望ましい。プロジェクトの種類にも左右されるが、参加者が、特定の集団の代表ではなく、一個人として参加できるようグループ編成も混合、それも役割を分担する形が効果的である。対話の場合、使用言語は、両者が対等に使いこなせる言語である必要があり、それは必ずしも母語ではない。オーガナイザーやファシリテーターは、プロジェクト独自の特別な訓練を受け、紛争や各集団の文化について熟知していなければならない。

　次に、プロジェクトの内容であるが、参加者には対話の議題やプロジェクトの内容を自ら設定する権限を付与するのが好ましい。また、対話プロジェクトは個人に関する話題から政治的話題へと段階的に推移させるのが良い。相手の話に耳を傾けることを重視する他、活動に楽しみの要素を加えることも意味がある。全ての決定事項は、参加者全員の合意に基づくことが非常に重要である。

　参加者の心境の変化は、外部から窺い知れる。集団間の距離が縮まり、参加者は多少のリスクを冒してでも相手と関わりを持とうとする。他者を、自宅をはじめとした自分の領域に招き入れることも多い。そして、"dialogic moment"にまで達すると、人は相手の立場を自ら語ることが出来るようになる。ここでは、意見の相違はあるものの、強固な信頼関係が形成されるため、それが二者の関係に悪影響を与えることはない。プロジェクトの主催者側には、こうした時に微妙な変化を的確に読み取る能力が求められる。個人差があることも考慮に入れなければならない。

　プロジェクトの効果は、質問表などによる参加者自らの評価を分析することで、明確になる。その結果現れる特徴として、参加者の他者に対する偏見が減少し、プラスのイメージが増大することの他、寛容性が生まれる、プロジェクトの継続・拡大に意欲を示すようになることなどが挙げられる。

　この種のプロジェクトの限界は、紛争の激しい状況下では、直に影響を受け

ること、短期的なものでは、大きな心理面での変化は期待できないこと、帰属集団からの排斥の恐怖が態度変化の妨げになること、一部の集団は何らかの要因から容易には変化しないこと、参加者は自らの意思で参加を表明した少数に限られること、など多岐に及ぶ。

　今後の研究は、サンプル数を増加させた、より大規模な調査を実施し、より厳密な分析を行う必要がある。この調査では、接触型と対話型のプロジェクトを区別なく扱ったが、本来はこれを分けた上で、更に対話の方については、エンカウンター型と混合型に分類し、それぞれを検証すべきである。具体的なプロジェクトに基づいた「時間」対「効果」の関係を解明する調査も求められている。加えて、この研究で明らかになったプロジェクトに正や負の影響を及ぼす個々のファクターを必要条件と十分条件に分類することも必要である。新たな研究では、プロジェクトの実施者のみならず、参加者にも調査をし、参加者の心情を探るとともに、何を契機として活動を社会に広めようと考えるようになるのかを明らかにすることが望ましい。参加を拒む人々、離脱する人々がそのような行動をとる理由も調べる価値がある。この論文はこれから行われるべき数多くの研究の導入にしか過ぎない。

　調査に参加して頂いた方の中には、公式文書には書かれることのない事実を明かして下さった方々もいた。手続きと予算の関係上、融和プロジェクトは実施するのが非常に困難であり、スタッフの多くが多忙なため、評価もまともに行われないのが現状とのことである。外部からの介入の賛否もある。こうした状況の中、介入をしないことが最も楽な選択肢であることは間違いない。しかしながら、今この瞬間にも、世界中で何の罪もない子どもたちが、大人たちの惨めな抗争の犠牲になっている。接触と対話のプロジェクトは、政治的解決の代わりとなることはない。しかし、それは人々の心に大きな変化をもたらし、少しずつとはいえ、世界を変える可能性を秘めている。より安全でより平和に暮らせる世界を目指して、これらのプロジェクトを立案、実行、また改善することが今求められている。