

Davide Tacchini / Zeina Barakat / Iyad AlDajani / Martin Leiner (eds.)

Reconciliation and Refugees

The Academic Alliance for Reconciliation Studies in the Middle East and North Africa I





Research in Peace and Reconciliation

Edited by
Martin Leiner

in co-operation with
Benoît Bourguine (Louvain-la-Neuve),
François Dermange (Genève), Dennis Doyle (Dayton/Ohio),
Matthias Gockel (Jena), Makoto Mizutani (Kyoto),
Arie Nadler (Tel Aviv), Bertram Schmitz (Jena)
and David Tombs (Belfast/Dublin)

Volume 6

Davide Tacchini / Zeina Barakat / Iyad Aldajani /
Martin Leiner

Reconciliation and Refugees

The Academic Alliance for Reconciliation Studies
in the Middle East and North Africa I

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

With 22 Figures and 3 Tables

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2022 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Theaterstraße 13, 37073 Göttingen, Germany,
an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston
MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany,
Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh,
Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, Verlag Antike and V&R unipress.
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means,
electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and
retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

The contribution by Francesco Ferrari was first published as 'Between a Quest for a Heimat and
Alienation: Jean Améry's Journey after Auschwitz', pp. 89–98 in Vincenzo Pinto (ed), *Remembering
the Holocaust in Germany, Austria, Italy and Israel*. "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" as a Historical
Quest. Studies in Jewish History and Culture 70, Leiden: Brill, 2021. Reprinted with permission.

Cover image: © work of art by Mohammed al Bitar; used with kind permission.

Typesetting: 3w+p, Rimpär
Printed and bound: ☉ Hubert & Co. BuchPartner, Göttingen
Printed in the EU

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN 2198-820X
ISBN 978-3-647-56856-0

Contents

Introduction	9
Part One	17
<i>Martin Leiner</i>	
The Hölderlin-Perspective and its Impact on Reconciliation with Refugees	19
<i>Zeina Barakat – Ralf Wüstenberg</i>	
The Urge for an “Empathetic Dialogue”: An Exploration of the Political and Religious Dimension of Empathy	41
<i>Francesco Ferrari</i>	
Between Quest for a <i>Heimat</i> and Alienation. Jean Améry’s Journey after Auschwitz	51
<i>Davide Tacchini</i>	
Migration and the Need for Reconciliation in Contemporary Western Europe	61
<i>Carolina Rehrmann</i>	
The European Refugee Crisis in Germany and Greece: Between National Populism and Humanitarian Action	75
<i>Amjad Abu El Ezz</i>	
The European Union Political Involvement in the Middle East Conflict and Middle East Peace Process	107
<i>Tim Bausch – Stella Kneifel</i>	
First Stage: Reconciliation through the Visual and Pop-Culture: Second Stage: A Case Study of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon	127

<i>Dalal Iriqat</i> Diplomacy in the Perspective of Peace Building: From Coercion to Dictation (Israel & Palestine)	145
<i>André Zempelburg</i> Migration in the Bible and the Qur'an: An Analysis from a Religious Studies Perspective	167
<i>Wietske de Jong-Kumru</i> The European Story after the 2015 Refugee Crisis	183
<i>Fanie du Toit</i> Glimmers of Hope?: A Brief Analysis of Selected Civic-Led Reconciliation Efforts in Post-ISIL Iraq	195
Part Two	213
<i>Michael D. Berdine</i> Grassroots Reconciliation: Case Study of Tucson Arizona (USA)	215
<i>Zahra Mustafa-Awad – Monika Kirner-Ludwig</i> Digital News and Public Opinion: the Case of Syrian Refugees in Germany	225
<i>Rabah Aynaou – Yamina Hakkou</i> Experiences of Transitional Justice in Morocco	239
<i>Ayman Yousef</i> Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Palestine: Perspectives by the Palestinian Civil Society Organizations	251
<i>Muath Al-Zoubi</i> Legal Issues Regarding the Global Refugee Crisis: the Example of Jordan	269
<i>Aya AlFaouri – Mohmmad Alshraideh – Martin Leiner – Iyad Aldajani</i> Syrian Refugees Information Prediction System (RIPS) in Germany: Applied Digital Humanities	283
<i>Iyad Aldajani</i> The phenomenology of Internet Communication Technology Applications for Social Change Towards Reconciliation: Applied Ethics in Digital Humanities	297

Zahra' Langhi

Libya after Seven Years of Impasse: Prospects of the Transition 321

Editors 333

Contributors 335

Acknowledgements 341

Introduction

The essays in this 6th volume of the Research in Peace and Reconciliation (RIPAR) series are the results of the foundation of the A.A.R.M.E.N.A. (Academic Alliance for Reconciliation Studies in the Middle East and North Africa) in Jena in August 2018.

This work, the main focus of which may be summarized in *Refugees and Reconciliation* happens to be extremely topical, in this first quarter of the 21st century. In fact, International migration¹ is a growing phenomenon, both in scope and in complexity, and it affects almost all countries in the world. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA) estimates state that the number of international migrants was around 152 million in 1990 and reached 272 million 2019². Furthermore, it is worth considering that there is as much international migration between less developed countries as there is from less developed countries to more developed ones³. In fact, the the growth of emerging markets and the development of new opportunities, made countries like South Africa or Thailand attractive for migrants, namely, in these two specific cases, from Congo and Myanmar.

In the last 10 years, the number of forced migrants⁴, which includes refugees

- 1 There is no universally accepted definition for “migrant”, but for the purpose of collecting data on migration, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) defines the international migrant as *any person who changes his or her country of usual residence* (UN DESA, *Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration*, Revision 1–1998 – para. 32). The UN DESA definition excludes movements that are *due to recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimages*.
- 2 In 2018 UNHCR registered 70.8 million forcibly displaced people, of which 41.8 Million are IDPs, 25.8 Million Refugees (including also the 5.5 Million Palestinians under the administration of UNRWA, the *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*) and 3.5 Million Asylum Seekers. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationStock2019_PopFacts_2019-04.pdf, accessed April 26, 2020.
- 3 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *International Migration 2019: Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/439).
- 4 *A person subject to a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects)*. IOM Glossary of Mi-

and asylum seekers, though, has grown much faster than the one of voluntary migrants⁵. Let us think that in 2018 alone 13.8 million people have been forced to flee because of conflict or persecution (that means 37.000 a day). These stats do not include the 41.8 million of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP)⁶.

Unlike what most of the mainstream European media are reporting on a daily basis, 90 % of the refugees in the top 10 countries in the world do not choose Europe as their destination. Only 16 % of refugees are hosted by countries in developed regions, and over one third of the whole global refugee population are in least developed countries⁷. Top 6 refugee-hosting countries are: Turkey (3.700.000), Jordan (2.900.000), Lebanon (1.400.000), Pakistan (1.400.000), Uganda (1.100.000), and Germany (1.000.000)⁸. It looks remarkable that Jordan and Lebanon are ranked 2nd and 3rd in the world by number of refugees and Germany is the only European country in the list. Although the number is affected by the many Palestinians who fled to Lebanon and Jordan in the past decades, Lebanon holds the highest rate of refugees per 1000 residents (157), followed by Jordan (72) and Turkey (45).

All this considered, reconciliation studies might be, in the near future, an invaluable source to approach effectively the issues of human mobility and, especially, forced migrations.

In fact, despite its long tradition and its undoubtable effectiveness in reality⁹, reconciliation studies had a long way to go until they discovered refugees. This development has many reasons. One is the ongoing debate on

gration 2019, p. 130, available online at https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml_34_glossary.pdf, accessed April 26, 2020.

5 The number of refugees and asylum seekers increased by about 13 million between 2010 and 2017 (at an annual average rate of over 8 per cent), while other migrants increased at an annual rate of under 2 per cent between 2010 and 2019. For all these data and stats, see: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Report, *Population Facts*, September 2019 No. 4/2019, p. 2, available online at https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationStock2019_PopFacts_2019-04.pdf (accessed may 3, 2020).

6 Even IDPs do not have a legal definition, but the United Nations define them as (...) based on two components: 1) that the movement is coerced or involuntary (to distinguish from economic and other voluntary migrants), and 2) that the movement stays within internationally recognized state borders (to distinguish from refugees). While there is broad international agreement about a definition that includes these two core components, interpretations of the definition and practical translations varies from state-to-state. (United Nations Eurostats Manuals and Guidelines, *Technical Report on Internally Displaced Persons, Current Practices and Recommendations for Improvement*, March 2018, p. 15, available online at <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic-social/Standards-and-Methods/files/Technical-Report/national-reporting/Technical-report-on-statistics-of-IDPs-E.pdf>), accessed May 3, 2020.

7 67 % of all UNHCR refugees come from just five countries: Syria (6.7 Million), Afghanistan (2.7 Million), South Sudan (2.3 Million), Myanmar (1.1 Million) and Somalia (900.000).

8 <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/>, last accessed February 6, 2020.

9 South Africa after Apartheid, Rwanda after the genocide against the Tutsis, and post WWII German-French relationships, just to name a few.

how to define and identify reconciliation in the “real world” in an evident and, if possible, measurable way.

Furthermore, the *idea* of the refugee, although difficult to categorize, given the high number of situations that “produced” refugees and, within these local conditions, the thousands of different cases, is connected to the concept of reconciliation from several different points of view (FIDIAN-QASMIYEH, E ET AL. 2014, VOLKAN 2017, ZITO – MARTIN 2016)¹⁰.

In contemporary literature, we can find several different definitions of reconciliation, depending on the researchers and the discipline belongs to: political scientists, religious scholars, theologians, or psychologists and researchers from other disciplines give different definitions. One of the most innovative and challenging approaches to the theory of reconciliation is the one embraced by our Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies¹¹ in Jena, Germany.

JCRS’ is based on the definition that reconciliation is the creation of *normal* and if possible *good* relationships in the face of wars, civil wars, genocides, dictatorships, apartheid, enslavement, colonialism, and grave human rights violations. It is conceived as a comprehensive approach to find a reconciled peace with good relationships. Those relationships include the ones with the other(s), with your own group, with yourself, with nature and environment, etc. Relationships with transcendence or individual meanings of life are equally important. Reconciliation is a long-term process over several generations that includes many different approaches and practices.

All of these practices are rooted in a worldview and in a concept of the reconciliation process which can be encapsulated by the following elements and basic convictions:

1-An orientation towards the past: the past must be dealt with, if reconciliation is to take place.

2-The importance of truth: the truth must be known and acknowledged by all, including the perpetrators.

3-The importance of conserving the past: the past must be remembered by building museums, memorials, by books written by historians, by archives and by the conservation of the sites of suffering.

4-The importance of guilt: the individual perpetrator has done wrong through his free will. He is responsible and must confess his guilt.

5-The importance of words of apology and forgiveness. Forgiveness demands the verbal expression of guilt and an apology from the perpetrator’s side.

10 See, Gold, S J – Nawyn, S, *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, 1st Edition, London, Routledge.

Furthermore we have been informed by Ai Weiwei’s documentary *Human Flow* (2017) and by several meetings with refugees in Germany.

11 <https://www.jcrs.uni-jena.de>.

6-The importance of empathy: it is vital for the public and also for perpetrators and victims to show empathy and compassion with the victims.

7-The importance of emotions: healing can happen through an expression of emotion.

8-Identity over time: the personal identity of the perpetrator and the victim endures and remains stable over time.

9-The acceptance of the perpetrator into the moral community is possible through an accepted apology or/and through punishment including reparations.

10-The importance of a vision of a common future: reconciliation is motivated by the vision of a better future for both partners, when the shadows of the past are overcome and replaced by a new friendly and peaceful relationship. This leads to a new cooperation and provides security for both partners (never again).

11-For religious people, human reconciliation is related to reconciliation with God. In Christianity reconciliation of the world with God (2 Cor. 5:19) is the presupposition of inter-human reconciliation, in Judaism inter-human reconciliation is a precondition for the reconciliation with God on the “Great Day of reconciliation (Yom Kippur)” and in the eschatological future¹².

The contemporary idea of reconciliation, in fact, appears back in the 60s in some of the most prominent theologians of the 20th Century. Both Karl Barth and Jürgen Moltmann’s views of the topic can be considered close to the present idea¹³. We should not forget, though, that in 1914 in Konstanz, a group of Christian theologians founded the *Internationaler Versöhnungsbund* and that, besides Bonhoeffer, Barth and Moltmann, Black Theologians in the US (Roberts 1971)¹⁴ have been groundbreaking in the field. In the 1990s with more or less successful reconciliation processes in South Africa, Rwanda and Northern Ireland, reconciliation became an important topic for other disciplines such as social psychology, law and political science. The limits of more traditional approaches such as conflict resolution and transitional justice became clear in *intractable conflicts*, such as Israel-Palestine, the one in Cyprus and in the peace process in former Yugoslavia.¹⁵

12 Leiner, M *Thinking differently about identity and Harmony – the potential of Asian thinking for Reconciliation: is Reconciliation a topic for East Asia*, in Tolliday, P, Palme, M, Dong-Choon Kim (ed.) 2016, *Asia-Pacific between Conflict and Reconciliation*, RIPAR (Research in Peace and Reconciliation) Vol. 3, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, p. 186.

13 See Barth K (1961–1967), *Church Dogmatics*, Vol. 4, *The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, London-Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark and Moltmann J (1967) *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, London, SCM.

14 See Roberts, D 1971, *Liberation and Reconciliation. A Black Theology*, Philadelphia, Westminster Press (second edition, Markynoll, NY, Orbis Books, 1994).

15 See Fatic, A 2020, *Reconciliation via the War Crimes tribunal? Abingdon-on Thames: Routledge Revival* (1st published in 2000).

The main features of the concept, as conceived today, are related to the non-violent settlement of conflicts but also to the holistic restoration of social relations and the healing of hearts and minds. Therefore it includes, within its deeper core, the concepts of forgiveness, healing, social justice, acceptance of the other, reparation, apology, interdependence, collaboration¹⁶. An interdisciplinary and if possible transdisciplinary approach is essential to the contemporary stage of reconciliation studies. In fact success and failure of the different practices of reconciliation can only be described in a combination of disciplines such as communication, education, economy, geography, history, law, political science, philosophy, psychology, sociology or religious studies. JCRS therefore counts more than 20 professors from all those disciplines.

The Jena Center's approach to Reconciliation is based on the concept of "Hölderlin-perspective". The German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) in his novel *Hyperion*, wrote:

*Reconciliation is in the middle of strife and everything apart finds each other again*¹⁷

This perspective is the antithesis to a widespread notion in political science, according to which reconciliation is seen as an event that occurs only after the end of the conflict.

The Hölderlin perspective focuses on the factors in a conflict that may potentially pave the way to a possible reconciliation. These factors might be groups that have been involved in the conflict but that do not agree with it, but also individuals or civil society actors who are against the conflict, for personal, moral, economic or other reasons. Although reconciliation is not to be considered as a single event, but as a process¹⁸, impromptu situations, cooperation, sincere, non-staged expression of common feelings, unexpected ceasefires or reactions in a conflict scenario¹⁹, might be significant in the framework of the Hölderlin perspective towards reconciliation. The original meaning of the Hölderlin-perspective is to protest against the short-term-approach proposed by the UN-Agenda for peace in 1992 putting reconciliation only in the end of the process, and all the scholars who have followed it.

The Jena perspective aims to develop a scenario in which reconciliation and conflict are in a constant relationship, therefore you will never have a condition

16 See, among others, Du Toit 2018.

17 Hölderlin F (1797–1799) *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland*, Tübingen, Cotta, in Sattler D E (1988) *Friedrich Hölderlin: Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, vol. 1. Darmstadt, Stroemfeld Verlag, p. 760.

18 See, among others, the works of Joram Tarusarira, Martin Leiner and Mohammed Abu Nimer.

19 The famous *Christmas Truce*, during WWII, can be considered as one of these cases. For a quick overview of the event, see: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/teams/england/10455611/England-v-Germany-when-rivals-staged-beautiful-game-on-the-Somme.html>, accessed April 29, 2019.

of full conflict, with no room for reconciliation. Conflict resolution begins when the conflict is still in full swing. This prepares the foundation for a long term non-violent settlement of conflicts, but also for the overall restoration of social relations. Reconciliation Studies is a transdisciplinary and multiscale scientific field that focuses on institutional, political, individual, collective, inter-group, tribal and religious dynamics. This process involves both the post conflict institutions, which bear the responsibility of providing the legal and political framework and tools for an actual reconciliation of the country²⁰ and the civil society, individuals, groups, religious and tribe leaders²¹. In post conflict societies ideas and feelings like trust, forgiveness, healing, acceptance of the other and his/her suffering play, at different levels and according to the cases, prominent roles.

Furthermore, understanding the suffering of the other, through a personal encounter with him/her, helps us appreciate the human dignity that we share despite our differences. This is what needs to be recognized and supported in the midst of conflict, in order to avoid the reminding of continuing animosity²².

As one of its latest and most effective initiatives, the Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies has started in collaboration with several partners in the Middle East, the network of reconciliation studies centers and departments in the M. E.N.A. region.

This activity has sparked, among others, the idea of this book.

The Middle East and North Africa is among the most affected areas by wars, civil wars, and severe human rights violations on earth. Since the 1990s, reconciliation studies have strongly developed in some centres around the world. However, they still are relatively absent from the academic curricula of universities in the M. E.N.A. region. The establishment and the spreading of reconciliation studies in this area is, therefore, one main goal for the A. A.R.M. E.N.A. (the Academic Alliance for Reconciliation in the Middle East and North Africa) network.

Representatives of 20 universities from Jordan, Turkey, Morocco, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt, but also from Austria, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Ireland, as well as spokespersons of the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) took part in the A. A.R.M.E.N.A. founding and kick-off conference²³ at the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena, Germany, in August 2018.

Well known scholars in the field took part in the gathering, among them

20 Let us think of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in South Africa, (1996) and the *National Unity and Reconciliation Commission* in Rwanda (1999).

21 See, among others: LEONE 2011, APPLEBY 2000 and ABU NIMER 2003.

22 DAJANI DAUDI – DAJANI DAUDI – LEINER – BARAKAT (ed.) 2016.

23 Among others, even the former prime minister of Jordan, Adnan Badran, spoke in favour of reconciliation studies and their positive impact on the M. E.N.A. region.

Mohammed Abu Nimer, chairperson of KAICIID in Vienna, Fanie du Toit, at the time *Chief Technical Advisor for Reconciliation* at the UNDP office in Iraq, John Brewer, author of the famous *Peace Processes: A Sociological Approach*²⁴ and Ralf Wüstenberg, one of the most prominent experts on reconciliation in South Africa and in Germany after the end of GDR. Together with academics, the conference hosted presentations by practitioners, such as Zahra' Langhi from the Libyan Women's Platform For Peace (www.lwpp.org) in Libya and a panel was dedicated to the witness of Syrian refugees who live in Thuringia.

The title of the gathering was *Reconciliation and Refugees in the Middle East and North Africa: an Interdisciplinary Perspective*, and the programme also covered topics such as "Refugees and Reconciliation in Media," "Reconciliation and Education," and "Religion and Reconciliation." The German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Ernst-Abbe-Foundation funded the conference.

The idea of this book was born as the chance to publish the proceedings of the conference. Although all the papers presented at the gathering are included, the volume is meant to be more than just a collection of articles.

The subject *Reconciliation and Refugees* is, in fact, topical and in many cases, it still needs to be scholarly researched. Recent international forced migrations from developing countries, especially Sub-Saharan and West Africa, Central Asia (namely Afghanistan, Pakistan) and the Indian Sub-Continent (Bangladesh) towards Europe are a phenomenon that is in continuous evolution and that may affect tremendously the domestic policies (and political scenarios, as well as elections' results) of several EU countries.

The role of reconciliation in this kind of situations is still to be addressed, but what is out of doubts is that refugees are in need of reconciliation from many perspectives. An incomplete list would at least include:

- (1) Reconciliation within themselves, their feeling of guilt for having left others at home and having left their country, the sadness for all they made through, and the elaboration of their traumas (PTSD is extremely frequent among forced migrants, see below),
- (2) Reconciliation between different groups of refugees, perhaps fighting on different sides in a civil war,
- (3) Reconciliation with the hosting societies, that are, frequently, not very welcoming,
- (4) Reconciliation with the loss of family members during their trip, or
- (5) Reconciliation with the societies and tribal organization of their country of origin in case of return

Those are just a few examples of the issues in which reconciliation may play a role as far as human mobility is concerned.

24 Brewer, J D 2010, *Peace processes: A Sociological Approach*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

The book presents two separate sections, one more theoretical, and the other more experiential and practical.

The first section includes JCRS Director Martin Leiner's paper that introduces the relationships between reconciliation and refugee studies, Davide Tacchini (FSU Jena)'s reflections on reconciliation and Christian-Muslim relations, together with Fanie Du Toit (IJR Cape Town)'s interesting analysis of the possible applications of Reconciliation Studies in Iraq after the end of ISIL. Since Reconciliation Studies involve the chance of several multi-disciplinary methodologies to analyze conflicts, in this first section you will also find André Zempelburg (FSU Jena)'s religious studies approach to migration in the Bible and the Qur'an. Dalal Iriqat (Arab American University of Palestine, Ramallah) goes deep into the Israel-Palestine conflict through diplomacy, in the perspective of Peacebuilding and Zeina Barakat (FSU Jena) with Ralf Wüstenberg (Europa-Universität Flensburg) leads the reader through an exploration of the political and religious dimensions of Empathy. The role of the European Union is analyzed in three different but equally interesting and innovative papers by Wietzke de Jong-Kumru (Europa-Universität Flensburg, *The European Story after the 2015 Refugee Crisis*), Amjad Abu el-Ezz (An-Najah University, *The European Union Political Involvement in the Middle East Conflict and Middle East Peace Process*) and Carolina Rehrmann (FSU Jena) with an interesting article on the Refugee issue in Germany and Greece.

The second section is opened by Michael Berdine's personal experience of reconciliation in post 9/11 Arizona, and includes papers on Transitional Justice in Morocco (Rabah Aynaou with Amina Hakkou, Université Mohammed 1er, Oujda), as well contributions on digital news and new technologies applied to refugees in the West, such as the ones by Zahra Awad and Aya Al-Faouri (University of Jordan) and Iyad AlDajani (FSU Jena).

Ayman Youssef (Arab American University, Jenin) analyzes the possibilities of reconciliation and peacebuilding in Palestine and Muath Az-Zoubi (University of Jordan) explains in detail the current situation of the welcoming of refugees in Jordan. The book ends with an illuminating article on the possibilities of transition in Libya after several years of impasse by Zahra' Langhi.

Davide Tacchini
Zeina M. Barakat
Martin Leiner
Iyad AlDajani

Part One

Martin Leiner

The Hölderlin-Perspective and its Impact on Reconciliation with Refugees

I. Reconciliation Studies Discover Refugees

Reconciliation studies had a long way to go until they discovered refugees. This development has many reasons. One is the ongoing debate on how to define and identify reconciliation in the “real world” in an evident and, if possible, measurable way. We can distinguish four different approaches to the definition of reconciliation. They are all related to time:

1. The eschatological approach
2. The momentum approach
3. The short-term approach
4. The long-term approach

1. In reconciliation studies as well as in philosophical and religious discourses, there is a tradition which considers reconciliation more like an ideal where full peace, truth, justice, love, and healing are real, and all forms of alienation are overcome. Only in heaven, reconciliation could exist. These kinds of *eschatological approaches* often serve to criticize processes of political reconciliation in the “real world.” Criticizing expressions, such as, “this is not reconciliation” not only indicate a lack of confrontation with the historical truth but also a lasting dominance of injustice. In religious terms, those criticisms consider reconciliation as an eschatological reality. From those eternal and ideal theories, only a critical but not a practical study of reconciliation is possible. However, they have the strength to show how deeply unreconciled human life is. In order to research and measure reconciliation, a different approach is necessary, which does not exclude the phenomena of uncomplete reconciliation from the debate but opens the eyes for small steps forward without ruling them out.¹

1 In Christian theology, according to 2 Cor 5, the reconciliation of the world is a spiritual reality, which can be experienced because Christians look at the world *kata pneuma* (following the Spirit of God). Idealist, only eschatological approaches, even if they claim to be Christian, contradict the perspective of the New Testament, where reconciliation is considered as already accomplished (2 Cor 5, 18). For a reflected critical and constructive theological reading of political reconciliation cf. also WÜSTENBERG, R.K 2004 *Die politische Dimension der Versöhnung. Eine theologische Studie zum Umgang mit Schuld nach den Systemumbrüchen in Südafrika und Deutschland*. Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser.

2. The *momentum approach* tries to identify moments and experiences of reconciliation: former enemies embracing each other,² (Volf 1996) confessions of guilt, tears of remorse and forgiveness. These moments can take place in personal encounters. What often happens between parents and children or lovers after a dispute can also occur between former enemies in a war. Those moments of felt reconciliation touch and soften people's hearts. Even observers get tears in their eyes and goosebumps. They are "experiences of resonance"³ and sometimes come close to what Abraham Maslow described as "peak experiences".⁴

Great moments of reconciliation could be seen in the political sphere during sessions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and in symbolic acts, such as the "Warsaw Genuflection" by Willy Brandt, or the mutual visit of the German chancellor Helmut Kohl and the French president François Mitterrand in Verdun where both stood hand in hand at the war cemetery with thousands of graves from World War I. Even if some question the authenticity of such public and political gestures, these images become icons of reconciliation, often reproduced and deeply incorporated in the collective memory.

As a scientific approach, outstanding experiences of reconciliation like these may represent powerful images, since they are so distinct from others that they can be identified quite easily both by the people directly involved and by observers. The problem for research is the question of how to be at the right place in those moments and develop criteria to distinguish authentic reconciliation from non-authentic forms.⁵ Like in researches on love⁶ and trust⁷, the *moment* of reconciliation can be a fruitful object for psychology, neurosciences, physiology, and sociology.

So far, however, it has not been explored thoroughly. As reconciliation happens in an unforeseeable way, it mostly occurs far away from laboratory experiments, brain scanners, and blood pressure measuring devices. It is unlikely that people would fill out a twenty-page questionnaire after a great moment of reconciliation. Nevertheless, everybody has such moments in mind. Mainly applied in social psychology are those scientific approaches that focus

2 Cf. VOLF, M 1996 *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation*. Nashville/TN: Abington Press.

3 Cf. ROSA, H 2016 *Resonanz. Eine Soziologie der Weltbeziehung*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

4 Cf. MASLOW, A.H 1964 *Religions, Values, and Peak Experiences*. London: Penguin Books Limited.

5 Cf. KODALLE, KM 2013, *Verzeihung denken. Die verkannte Grundlage humaner Verhältnisse*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, BRUDHOLM, TH 2008, *Resentment's Virtue. Jena Améry and the Refusal to Forgive*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

6 Cf. FREDERIKSON, B 2013, *Love 2.0., Creating Happiness and Health in Moments of Connection*. New York: Hudson Street Press.

7 Cf. MÖLLERING, G *Trust, Reason, Routine, Reflexivity*. Oxford/Amsterdam: Elsevier. pp. 105–126: The Leap of Faith.

on the readiness to reconcile, examine such moments, and study whether people are willing to accept such moments to happen.

Those peak times of reconciliation have long-lasting effects, but it might be said about them what Barbara Frederikson wrote about love. Reconciliation as a bodily feeling is not permanent. Like the “time scale” of love, the one of reconciliation “is [also] far shorter than we typically think”. It is “not lasting [...] [but] forever renewable.”⁸

This circumstance takes nothing away from the importance of the moments of reconciliation. Like the first kiss of love, the embrace, tears, handshakes, and public apologies are essential for reconciliation. For a change from enmity to amity, they remain crucial and will always be the best friends of photographers and politicians as well.

However, we only focus on one form of moments of reconciliation in media and politics: the warm and dramatic moments of emotional connection between former enemies. From a Christian perspective, researchers like to evaluate such moments according to the elements of the sacrament of penance: *Contritio* (Remorse), *Confessio* (Confession), *Absolutio* (proclamation of forgiveness), and *Satisfactio* (activities of symbolic reparation). This approach provides a narrow normative framework which can be combined and enlarged with the sequence of embrace as Miroslav Volf (Volf 1996) described it: opening of the arms – waiting – embrace and release; a model which already can be applied to different forms of reconciliation but that still remains a model. It is only a pattern of the encounter between individual persons and does not address the many different factors which play a role in reconciliation.

Most processes of reconciliation do not entirely follow the warm and dramatic model. In most cases, there is an interplay between different emotional and cognitive developments as well as practices embedded in a certain context. Important processes happen without direct encounter and highly emotional experiences. Emotions of hatred can change even through reasons outside of the conflict. Such a change can pave the way for reconciliation. The narrative of violence against a person can include new information or be reframed. Victims might see, for instance, that the perpetrator was not free to act, but they followed orders and were expected to obey.⁹ Former enemies might reframe the conflict and consider perpetrators and victims betrayed by others. People might let go of the past and open for a shared future because it is part of the Buddhist religion not to stay attached to the past.¹⁰ The Christian approach of 2 Cor 5 is also based on an overall

8 FREDRIKSON, B 2013, *Love 2.0, Finding Happiness and Health in Moments of Connection*, New York, Penguin Putnam, p. 6.

9 In South African TRC, the discussion of the St. James' Church massacre was considerably influenced towards forgiveness by a community member who told about his experience as a British soldier who had to accomplish orders in Cyprus.

10 For resources of traditional East Asian Religions for reconciliation, cf. LEINER, M 2016 “Thinking differently about Identity and Harmony – The Potential of Asian thinking for Reconciliation. Is

reconsideration of the world which is seen according to the spirit (*kata pneuma*) and no longer to the flesh (*kata sarka*). According to Col 1, a world with enemies and divisions is reframed as a world of peace united and reconciled in Christ. There might emerge empathy between victims and perpetrators as people take the role of the other. Thus, victims might forgive in a lonely moment of reflection. For Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, the most intriguing elements lay in recognition and empathy not in forgiveness.¹¹ In any case, recognizing the victim and their suffering can take place even in cases when the perpetrators are dead. Then, members of the subsequent generation could encounter with each other. Children of a next generation cannot ask authentically for forgiveness because they but did nothing, but still they can recognize and deeply empathize. In cases when asking for forgiving and confessing would mean to take distance from a “just struggle”, it is possible to recognize a victim of violence and to say sorry because it happened to you and had to suffer so much. This is the reason why some researchers consider recognition as more important than forgiveness.¹² In any case recognition of the truth and true recognition of the other pave the way to reconciliation.

Therefore, the great moments of hot reconciliation are surrounded and substituted by a complex reality of moves towards reconciliation.¹³ Considering the particularities of the German language, we can distinguish two primary forms within the moments of reconciliation: forgiveness (German: “Vergebung”), which is based on the accountability of the perpetrator who committed the atrocity, and to forgive (German: “verzeihen”). The word “verzeihen” is cognate to the verb “zeigen”, which means pointing in a certain direction. If “vergeben” points to the perpetrator and the victim, “verzeihen” shows into different directions, such as the circumstances, other agents, the effects of education and habitus, misinformation, and propaganda-lies to explain the atrocity and distance the wrongdoer partly from their wrongdoing.¹⁴ In old German language, which we still find in the chapter on *Das*

reconciliation a topic for East Asia?” In: TOLLIDAY, PH/PALME, M/DONG-CHOON, K eds. 2016, *Asia-Pacific between Conflict and Reconciliation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht pp. 183–203.

11 Cf. GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, P 2018, “Forgiveness is ‘the wrong word’: Empathic Repair and the Potential for Human Connection in the Aftermath of Historical Trauma”. In: Leiner, M & Schließer, C, eds. 2018. *Alternative Approaches in Conflict Resolution*. London: Palgrave pp. 111–123.

12 Cf. KONÉ, C B 2014 (ed), *Réconciliation ou reconnaissance? Essais sur la dynamique d’entente durable*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang.

13 For a description of such processes cf. FLASSPÖHLER S. 2016, *Verzeihen. Vom Umgang mit Schuld*. München: DVA.

14 In Greek Tragedy, the guilt aspect is shown in King Oedipus and the aspect of “verzeihen”, which points to other factors and even transcendent ones, in Oedipus at Colonus. In Rwanda and other places, quite often the influence of demons or of the devil is considered the reason for the atrocities. This thinking allows to distinguish the perpetrator from their act and helps reconciliation by acts of “verzeihen”.

Verzeihen in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, “verzeihen” means to renounce, to give something up. Pointing to something else can immediately alleviate anger and resentment if there is an understanding that, for instance, a perpetrator was not “free” in his/her behaviour but under the control of somebody else. Another distinction of moments of reconciliation are “hot” and “cold” moments. These two terms distinguish highly emotional moments as hot while moments of distance and reflection are considered as cold.

Without any doubt, the momentum approach is essential for reconciliation studies and needs further development to help us understand many problems of the debates on reconciliation. However, the manifold and complex character of moments of reconciliation, (which include longer effects and silent long-term developments, the search for long-lasting peace and healing of relationships between former enemies, and the practical difficulties of research) led to two different definitions of reconciliation:

3. The *short-term approach*

In the 1990s, many researchers still based their work on the assumption that reconciliation would be a small and specific practice which takes place quite a time after the end of violent conflicts. *The Agenda for Peace* of UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) mentions measures of post-conflict peacebuilding¹⁵. Some of the multiple measures in that Agenda, such as cooperative projects and rebuilding of confidence, are elements many scholars consider as typical for reconciliation approaches. The Agenda mentioned “repatriation of refugees” as a postconflict peacebuilding measure. In that time, however, no clear link between refugees and reconciliation has been established.

At that time, the emerging definition of reconciliation was based on the idea that reconciliation is one of many steps from violent conflict to peace. Only after cease-fire (peacemaking) and a certain number of security building measures, such as disarmament, start of institutional reforms, and reintegration of ancient combatants into different positions (peacekeeping), and only after the work on trauma therapies, transitional justice, and political settlement are in its final throes, reconciliation can take place. In cases of intra-state conflict, reconciliation can provide the basis for cooperation in administration, education, or economy and build the foundation for a functioning democratic culture. Reconciliation can include confessions and forgiveness but also phases of organised encounters between the groups as well as mutual understanding and cooperation. If there are laws that create cooperation and mixed leadership between former enemies, social reconciliation, so it was assumed, can proceed.¹⁶

15 http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029_Agenda%20for%20peace_.pdf p. 825.

16 One of the mistakes after German reunification has been that there was even no effort to invest

It seems quite convincing that trauma therapy and a certain level of trust and security are preconditions for reconciliation. During a certain phase after violent conflicts, it is more likely that moments of hot and processes of cold reconciliation occur. However, it is evident as well that reconciliation is not limited to that period. Moments of reconciliation happen in the middle of the conflict. The “Christmas peace” between Scottish, English, German, and French soldiers in 1914 is only one famous example.¹⁷ The activities of doctors taking care of the former enemies also represent the possible peaceful human encounters in times of war.¹⁸ There are personal reconciling encounters, conflicts that affect families and friendships from within¹⁹, common religious beliefs, ongoing economical relations, common respected laws, shared values and sympathies that still exist among people who belong to different sides in a conflict. Moments of embracement and forgiveness, of reframing and “verzeihen” not only take place after a war or after the fall of a totalitarian regime. There are, usually, two tracks, one official, and one secret: the latter is the one in which diplomacy is more active.²⁰

The original and fundamental meaning of the Hölderlin-perspective is to protest against the short-term-approach as brought forward by the UN-Agenda for peace in 1992 and all scholars who adopted that point of view. The Hölderlin-perspective is based on the quotation by German poet Friedrich Hölderlin, who wrote in his novel *Hyperion. Oder Der Eremit in Griechenland*

into social Reconciliation between former East Germans themselves and between West and East Germans. Politicians believed that will happen naturally. Cf. Leiner, M. „Versöhnung in Thüringen – Das Hölderlin Prinzip.“ In: O’MALLEY, M, LEINER, M, SUMME, D, KNOEPFFLER, N, (eds.) 2017. *Thüringen: Braucht das Land Versöhnung?* Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 13–32.

17 Christmas Peace become famous thanks to the movie “Merry Christmas/Joyeux Noël/ Frohe Weihnachten” by French filmmaker Christian Carrión (2005). In one story, the movie shows in condensed form many different events which took place in 1914. JÜRGS, M 2003, *Der kleine Frieden im Großen Krieg. Westfront 1914: Als Deutsche, Franzosen und Briten gemeinsam Weihnachten feierten.* München: Bertelsmann.

18 Cf. Palestinian peace activist Mohammed Dajani described the impact of how Israeli doctors treated his father and his mother on his change towards reconciliation with Israel. BARAKAT, Z 2017. *From Heart of Stone to Heart of Flesh: Evolutionary Journey from Extremism to Moderation.* München: Herbert Utz Verlag, pp. 129–130.

19 For white South Africans, relationships between brothers and sisters where one was *pro apartheid* and the other against it have been extremely important to open the road for reconciliation: F. W. de Klerk formerly was a conservative Afrikaner, part of the camp of the so called “verkrampes”, whereas his brother Willem was a well known progressive (“verlightes”). Cf. DU TOIT, F 2018. *When Political Transition Works, Reconciliation as Interdependence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press p. 25. Military chief Constand Viljoen and his brother Abraham is a similar couple of brothers, cf. CRUYWAGEN, D 2015. *Brothers in War and Peace. Constand and Abraham Viljoen and the Birth of the new South Africa.* New York; Random House Struik.

20 Buchenwald concentration camp was such a place of developing ideas for Europe after World War II and the Nazi rule, cf. HIRTE, R, RÖTTELE, H AND VON KLINGGRÄFF, F (eds) 2011. *Von Buchenwald (s) nach Europa. Gespräche über Europa mit ehemaligen Buchenwald-Häftlingen in Frankreich.* Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft.

(1897/99): „Versöhnung ist mitten im Streit und alles Getrennte findet sich wieder“.²¹ „Reconciliation is in the middle of strife and all things separated find each other again”. Hölderlin understood that sentence in the context of his poetic project to overcome the weakness of religious faith in his time and to find reconciliation between the separations which characterize modern life. This particular background in Hölderlin’s dialectical and esthetic vision of reality is not necessarily excluded but not central to what the Jena school calls the Hölderlin-perspective. The Jena school aims to develop a particular vision which places reconciliation and conflict into a constant relationship. Within this relationship, there never is 100 percent conflict and never 100 percent reconciliation, both are always together. Reconciliation appears in the middle of conflict, or it does never appear. Reconciliation works on the conflict and transforms it into a nonviolent and open treatment of conflict which includes great moments of reconciliation and facilitates enormous steps towards higher levels of reconciliation. Thus, the foundation of the Jena approach lays in a long-term-perspective and definition of reconciliation.

4. *The long-term approach*

The next steps came with discoveries which broadened and deepened the concept of reconciliation. On one side, there is the fact that moments of reconciliation happen, and reconciliation processes often start in the middle of the violent conflict. On the other hand, if reconciliation can be defined as the creation of “normal” and, if possible, “good”, relationships after grave incidents, such as wars, civil wars, genocides, and other crimes against humanity²², scholars and practitioners realized that reconciliation is far from being easy to achieve. Reconciliation has to deal with the intergenerational transmission of trauma, stereotypes, resentment, and habitus. Scholars started to study so-called “intractable conflicts”. It was Israeli social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal, who developed this concept to describe the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its social-psychological infrastructure.²³ Those researches added further evidence to the need for long-term commitment to transform relationships instead of quick conflict resolutions. Deep-rooted emotions of hatred and fear against the other party, habits, and stereotypes of mistrust and contempt can be used by extremists or by elites who benefit from the conflict to destroy peace-agreements as well as processes of national reconciliation. Examples range from the majority in Colombia voting against the peace

21 HÖLDERLIN, F (ed), *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland. Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*. KNAUPP, M., ed. 1998. Vol. 1. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. p. 760.

22 Cf. LEINER, M 2018. “Conclusion: From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation”. In: LEINER, M. & SCHLIESSER, CHR. (eds), *Alternative Approaches in Conflict Resolution*. London: Palgrave. pp. 175–185. p. 179.

23 Cf. HALPERIN, E & SHARVIT, K (eds) 2015/2016, *The Social Psychology of Intractable Conflicts. Celebrating the Legacy of Daniel Bar-Tal*, 2 vol. Cham/Heidelberg/New York/Dordrecht/ London: Springer Publishing Switzerland.