

Table of Contents

Foreword	5
Table of Contents	7
List of Abbreviations	12
Acknowledgements	15
1. Young Ambassadors – German-Israeli Youth Exchange	17
1.1 Political Importance of the German-Israeli Youth Exchange	17
1.2 Executive Summary	18
1.3 Plan of the Book	25
2. Constructing Political Reality: Top Down and Bottom Up	26
2.1 Foreign Cultural Policy	26
2.2 Social Constructivist Theory	29
2.2.1 Ontology – Philosophical-Sociological Roots of Constructivism	29
2.2.2 Constructivist Approach in IR	30
2.2.3 Different Strands within IR Constructivism	34
2.2.4 Methods used by Constructivists	35
2.2.5 Rationalism vs. Constructivism in IR	36
2.2.6 Agent-Structure Debate	38
2.2.7 Lack of Research – Blueprint for Action	40
2.2.8 Application of Constructivist Theory to German-Israeli Relations	43
2.3 The Special Relationship Theory	47
3. Foreign Cultural Policy in German-Israeli Relations	53
3.1 Foreign Cultural Policy	53
3.1.1 Political Relations	53
3.1.2 Cultural Relations	54
3.1.3 Town Partnerships: Municipal Foreign Policy	54
3.2 Youth Exchanges	56
3.2.1 Historical Overview	57
	7

3.2.1.1 International Youth Exchanges in General	57
3.2.1.2 German-Israeli Youth Exchange	59
3.2.2 Research Studies	62
3.2.2.1 International Youth Exchanges in General	62
3.2.2.2 German-Israeli Youth Exchange	65
3.2.3 Topics	66
3.2.3.1 Selectivity	67
3.2.3.2 Differences between German-Israeli Exchange and Other Exchanges	67
3.2.3.3 Motivation	69
3.2.3.4 Preparation	70
3.2.3.5 Finances	71
3.2.3.6 Reaction	73
3.2.3.7 Political Mission	74
3.2.3.8 Political Importance	76
3.2.3.9 Political Impact	77
3.2.3.10 Relations between Germans and Israelis	78
3.2.3.11 Role of the Holocaust	79
3.2.3.12 Role of the Middle East Conflict	81
3.2.3.13 Change of View of the Other Country	83
3.2.3.14 Participants as Multipliers	86
3.2.3.15 Importance of Exchange Experience for the Individual Biography	86
3.2.3.16 Impact of Youth Exchange on Politics	91
3.2.3.17 Contribution	92
 4. Methods	 95
4.1 Aims of the Research / Research Questions	95
4.2 Methodology and Sources	96
4.2.1 Exploratory Qualitative Research Design	96
4.2.2 Sampling Strategy	97
4.2.3 Sample	101
4.3 Data Collection	103
4.3.1 Primary Sources: Semi-Structured Interviews	103
4.3.2 Design of the Interview Guide	104
4.3.3 Main Topics	105
4.3.3.1 Introduction	109
4.3.3.2 Selectivity	109
4.3.3.3 Preparation	109
4.3.3.4 Difference between the German-Israeli Exchange and Other Exchanges	110
4.3.3.5 Motivation	110

4.3.3.6 Finances	111
4.3.3.7 Reaction	111
4.3.3.8 Political Mission	111
4.3.3.9 Political Importance	112
4.3.3.10 Holocaust	112
4.3.3.11 Middle East Conflict	113
4.3.3.12 Political Impact	113
4.3.3.13 Relations between Germans and Israelis during Exchange Program	114
4.3.3.14 Change of View of the Other Country	114
4.3.3.15 Participants as Multipliers	114
4.3.3.16 Importance of Exchange Experience for the Individual Biography	114
4.3.3.17 Impact of Youth Exchange Level on Political Level	116
4.3.3.18 Personal Outcome	116
4.3.3.19 Contribution	116
4.3.3.20 Further Comments	117
4.4 Field Research	117
4.4.1 Interview Experiences	117
4.4.2 Retrospective Interviews	119
4.4.3 Secondary Sources: Archival Documents and Newspaper Articles	121
4.5 Data Analysis	124
4.5.1 Transcription	124
4.5.2 Content Analysis	124
4.5.3 Selection of Materials	125
4.5.4 Generation of Coding Frame	128
4.5.5 Test and Modification of Coding Frame	131
4.5.6 Main Coding	131
4.5.7 Quality Control	132
5. Twin Cities & Political Timeframes	134
5.1 Cologne-Tel Aviv Town Partnership	134
5.2 Bremen-Haifa Town Partnership	139
5.2.1 Historical Development of Town Partnership	139
5.2.2 Development of Youth Exchange between the Cities	142
5.2.3 Status of Youth Exchange within Town Partnership	143
5.3 German-Israeli Relations 1965-67	145
5.4 German-Israeli Relations 1972-73	156
5.5 German-Israeli Relations 1990-91	166
5.6 German-Israeli Relations 2000	177

6. Empirical findings	182
6.1 Selectivity	182
6.2 Differences between the German-Israeli Exchange and Other Exchanges	190
6.3 Motivation	194
6.4 Preparation	197
6.5 Finances	200
6.6 Reaction	207
6.7 Political Mission	212
6.8 Political Importance	222
6.9 Political Impact	227
6.10 Relations between Germans and Israelis	236
6.11 Role of the Holocaust	241
6.12 Role of the Middle East Conflict	249
6.13 Change of View of the Other Country	259
6.14 Participants as Multipliers	261
6.15 Importance of Exchange Experience for the Individual Biography	264
6.16 Impact of Youth Exchange on Politics	270
6.17 Contribution	277
 7. Conclusion	 283
7.1 Summary	283
7.2 Discussion and Implications	285
7.2.1 Selectivity	285
7.2.2 Differences between German-Israeli Youth Exchange and Other Exchanges	287
7.2.3 Motivation	288
7.2.4 Preparation	289
7.2.5 Finances	290
7.2.6 Reaction	292
7.2.7 Political Mission	293
7.2.8 Political Importance	294
7.2.9 Political Impact	295
7.2.10 Relations between Germans and Israelis	297
7.2.11 Role of the Holocaust	298
7.2.12 Role of the Middle East Conflict	299
7.2.13 Change of View of the Other Country	303
7.2.14 Participants as Multipliers	305
7.2.15 Importance of Exchange Experience for the Individual Biography	306
7.2.16 Impact of Youth Exchange on Politics	309

7.2.17 Contribution	312
7.3 Reflections	314
7.3.1 Strengths	314
7.3.2 Limitations	316
7.3.3 Concluding Remarks	317
 Bibliography	 319
Secondary Literature	319
Notes from Conferences	330
Newspaper Articles	331
Archive Material	343
Interviewees	345