

Prince Claus Chair

development and equity

ANNUAL  
REPORT  
2006

# development and equity

Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies will alternately appoint an outstanding young academic from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific to the Prince Claus Chair, for the advancement of research and teaching in the field of development and equity.

2006

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## FOREWORD

This is the fourth annual report of the Curatorium of the Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity. The Chair was established by Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in early 2003 to honour the memory of Prince Claus of the Netherlands.

This report provides information about the work of the holder of the Chair in 2006, anthropologist and political scientist Professor Rema Hammami. In her inaugural address, Professor Hammami gave an incisive personal account of everyday life for the Palestinian commuters passing through the Qalandiya checkpoint on Jerusalem's West Bank. In addition to sharing some of the daily experiences of the Palestinians, she depicts the inventiveness and determination with which they strive to bring some order to the chaos of the commute. Professor Hammami reflects on what is happening in Palestinian Territories as a global tendency of dealing with inequality caused by the security enforcement measures in conflict situations. You can read an excerpt of the address on p. 12.

The report also contains information about Professor Nasira Jabeen, appointed to the Chair for the period 2006/2007. Professor Jabeen is attached to the Institute of Administrative Sciences of the University of the Punjab in Pakistan.

The members of the Curatorium hope that reading this report will strengthen your commitment to development and equity issues and to the vision of Prince Claus in particular. We also hope that, like us, you will be inspired by the research carried out by young academics and their commitment to more equitable development in the world.

H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands  
Chair

## OBJECTIVES OF THE

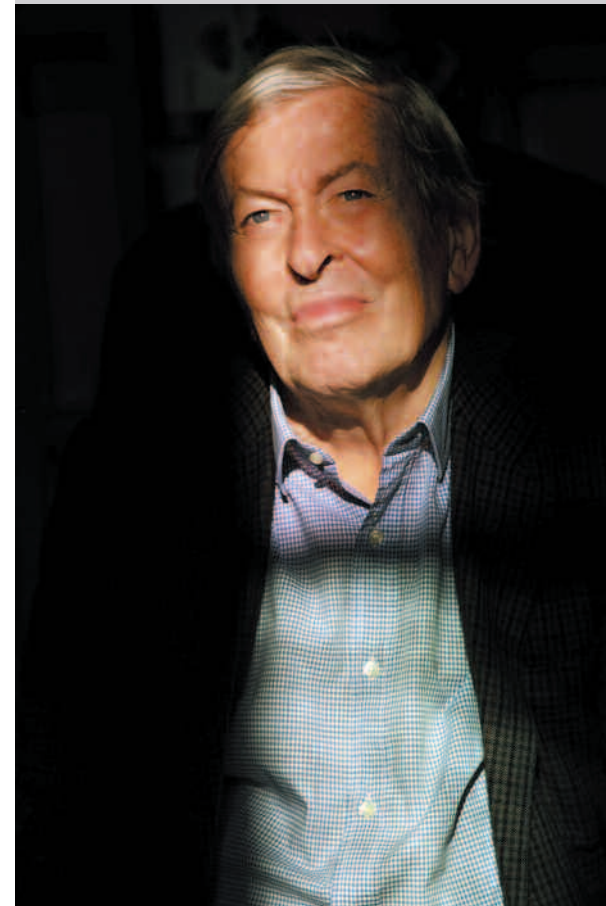
### PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

To continue the work of Prince Claus (1926-2002) in development and equity by establishing a rotating Academic Chair.

Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies will alternately appoint an outstanding young academic from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific to the Prince Claus Chair, for the advancement of research and teaching in the field of development and equity.

A candidate for the Chair will be appointed by a Curatorium, chaired by H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands.

The Chair was established in December 2002.



Prince Claus of the Netherlands (1926 - 2002)

## PRINCE CLAUS,

### THE INSPIRATION FOR THE CHAIR

Prince Claus was strongly committed to development and equity in North-South relations. Through his work, his travels and his personal contacts, he gained a deep understanding of the opportunities for and particularly the obstacles to equitable development. He was tireless in his work of development and equity throughout the world, bringing people together to solve problems and make the most of opportunities. His knowledge, his accessibility and his personality all made an important contribution to his work. As a result, he was – and remains – a source of inspiration to many.

In 1988, Prince Claus received an Honorary Fellowship from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) 'in recognition of his continued insistence on the importance of reducing the differences between the rich and the poor in national and international fora, while emphasising the human dimension of this process and not only that of international policy and strategy.' At the official ceremony for the Fellowship, Prince Claus gave an acceptance speech stating his views on development and equity in the form of 23 propositions, included in full in this report.

The establishment of the Prince Claus Chair attests to the deep respect and appreciation of the academic community of Utrecht University and the ISS for Prince Claus as a person, for his work, and for his commitment to and authority in the field of development and equity throughout the world. Both Utrecht University and the ISS are honoured that Queen Beatrix has agreed to naming the Chair after the Prince.

Prince Claus was born Claus von Amsberg in 1926, in Dötzingen (Hitzacker), Niedersachsen. He studied at the University of Hamburg, in the Faculty of Law and Political Science (1948–1956), after which he worked at the German embassy to the Dominican Republic and as Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of the Ivory Coast. From 1963 to 1965, he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn, in the Department of African Economic Relations.



Prince Claus at 35th Anniversary of  
the Institute of Social Studies.

After his marriage to Princess Beatrix in 1966, Prince Claus focused his efforts on development cooperation. From 1970 - 1980 he was Chair of the National Committee for Development Strategy (Nationale Commissie voor de Ontwikkelingsstrategie). Furthermore, he served as Special Advisor to the Minister of Development Cooperation as well as Inspector General for Development Cooperation. He also functioned as member of the National Advisory Council for Development Cooperation (Nationale Adviesraad voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, NAR) including member of the NAR Governing Board. To commemorate the Prince's seventieth birthday, the Dutch government established the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development (*Prins Claus Fonds voor Cultuur en Ontwikkeling*), of which Prince Claus was Honorary Chair. The objective of the Fund is to increase cultural awareness and promote development.

#### STATEMENTS PRESENTED IN THE PRINCE'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH UPON RECEIVING AN HONORARY FELLOWSHIP,

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES, 1988

1. The object of 'development cooperation' is to help the recipient countries to achieve greater independence, in particular economic independence, in the light of the realisation that the achievement of political independence alone means very little. In reality though, the result of development cooperation in most cases is merely to confirm or even reinforce a state of dependence. One might dub this as 'neo-colonialism with the best of intentions'.
2. While money is important as a means of promoting the economic development process, development is essentially a cultural process. It is not a question of material goods but of human resources. In fact it is impossible to 'develop' another person or country from outside; people develop themselves, and so do countries. All that we can do is assist that process if asked to do so and then in a particular context or socio-cultural environment.
3. An awareness of one's own cultural identity and past is a fundamental condition for sustainable autonomous development. Where support is sought for cultural projects, the development of visual arts, literature, music, dance etc., donor organisations should respond whole-heartedly.

4. A rich country which sees itself as playing a pioneering role in development cooperation should untie its aid. This will increase both the efficiency of aid and the autonomy of decision-making in the recipient country, enabling it to purchase goods – and indeed expertise – from the supplier offering the most favourable terms.

5. It is not so much a question of how much money you spend on development cooperation but how you spend it. A smaller amount may be made to count for more. I would advocate a system of evaluating aid in gross and net terms. This would mean deducting from the gross aid flow all of the failures, adverse effects (for example in the ecological sphere) and the costs of tied aid – to name just a few – to arrive at a more relevant figure for the genuinely effective, or net, flow of aid.

6. We talk a lot about relevance in the context of 'development cooperation', but we still all too often confuse our own interests with those of developing countries.

7. When we enter into cooperation, our principle must be that we do not interfere in matters where the recipient country is capable of taking action itself. So if a country possesses adequate manpower we should draw on it and not try to appoint our own national experts. Even if we think our experts are more expert we should still recruit and finance more local manpower and expertise. It is better to have a project that is technically only 80% successful but completely integrated in the local environment and thus sustainable than one that scores 100% in technical terms but which one knows for certain will not be sustainable once our own experts withdraw.

8. In development cooperation, as in many other fields, output is more important than input. We are still far too fixated on input. Sustainability in sociological, economic and ecological terms should be the paramount criterion of success.

9. Donor governments should leave aid projects aimed directly at specific – mostly underprivileged – target groups to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) both in developing and industrialised countries.



Prince Claus and Dr. Lucille Mair receive Honorary Fellowship at 35th Anniversary of the ISS.

10. Developing countries should have a greater say in the way development funds are spent, including the way they are divided between project aid and balance of payments support. If a country so wishes it should be possible to transfer all of the available funds in the form of balance of payments support – untied.

11. Certain LLDCs are currently only able to absorb emergency aid, such as food aid, and import assistance and should not be saddled with project aid against their will.

12. Protectionism in the rich countries does more harm than good which development aid even under most favourable conditions can do.

13. Agricultural policy in the rich countries must take account of the justified interests of the developing countries. Dumping of agricultural produce (such as grain, sugar and meat) on the world market has disastrous social and economic consequences for many countries and undermines their position in world trade. Dumping and protectionism are in fact twin evils.

14. The provision of development funds is no more than a minor attempt to offset the losses which many commodity-exporting developing countries are suffering as a result of the continuing fall of commodity prices. Their terms of trade are still deteriorating. Their loss is our gain. I therefore regard development aid not as a favour but as a universal social duty.

15. An international macroeconomic policy aimed at improving the terms of trade of developing countries would be more valuable than any amount of development aid.

16. The processing of commodities – for example coffee and cocoa – must not be penalised by protectionist measures which hit imports. The anti-processing clauses must be replaced by a policy encouraging processing of raw materials or commodities in the countries of origin.

17. The Multi-Fibre Agreement should be abolished and replaced by complete freedom of imports. At the same time we should differentiate more between the various types

of developing countries: NICs should be treated differently from LDCs. NICs should be brought under the GATT regulations.

**18.** The debt problem is a complex one. Far too many people who know nothing or too little about the subject are voicing opinions. I shall not therefore venture any comment other than this: I do believe that the LLDCs at least should have their official debts cancelled. This is purely a matter of common sense. We should never have burdened them with loans to pay back in the first place.

**19.** The suggestion of a Marshall Plan for the Third World is unrealistic and misleading. The situation in which Europe found itself at the end of the last World War cannot be compared with the very diverse circumstances of the developing countries today. A suggestion of this sort serves to raise expectations which can only lead to disappointment, frustration and disruption.

**20.** We must be prepared to lend vigorous support to regional South/South cooperation which would include generating trade flows (for example regional food supplies) and technical cooperation, with a view to untying all development aid from the North.

**21.** Much of the human suffering in developing countries cannot be attributed to global power structures, natural disasters, multinational companies, the World Bank, the IMF or other exogenous evil doers and easy scapegoats.

**22.** Development in the true sense of the word is impossible without some form of democracy which gives the people some say in the process. It is a question of enabling people to direct their energies within their own cultural context to bring about change, in the belief that this is in their own interests. I am not using democracy here in the formal western sense but in its more basic meaning of 'by the people for the people'.

**23.** Freedom of speech is an essential element in any form of democracy and therefore a prerequisite for true development. The power elite, wherever they may be in the world, cannot be trusted if their country knows no freedom of speech. It is a fact of human life and also essential for the protection of those in power who are worthy of trust.

PROFESSOR REMA HAMMAMI

2005/2006

Professor Rema Hammami was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by the Institute of Social Studies in September 2005. She teaches at the Institute of Women's Studies, Birzeit University, in Palestine. On the following pages you find an excerpt of her inaugural address. The full text is available online at [www.princeclauschair.nl](http://www.princeclauschair.nl).



Professor Rema Hammami



**HUMAN AGENCY AT THE FRONTIERS OF  
INEQUALITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF HOPE  
IN EXTREME PLACES** Rema Hammami

The politics of security has increasingly come to dominate development agendas, immigration policies and states' approaches to their own urban poor. Everywhere, security apparatuses and policing have become the substitute for addressing the root causes of today's deepening inequalities as the focus has shifted towards containing the actual or potential violence these inequalities might engender. In the North, there has been a move to super-policing of urban ghettos rather than addressing issues of chronic unemployment, racism and the demise of welfare state provisions. Similarly, massive investments in policing of borders at the frontiers of Europe and the US have been undertaken as neo-liberalism has led to a retrenchment from earlier development compacts and the global community has come to abandon areas of the increasingly impoverished South under the rubric of 'failed states'. In all these cases, it is a security regime that mediates between those on

the one side, who live as citizens, and those on the other, who live in what is now called states of 'extreme marginality' or 'bare life'. Instead of unmaking inequalities, over the last decade there has been a move to policing them.

This address looks at the policing of inequality through the experience of people who live in a particular place; Palestinians living under the security regime of Israeli military control. Specifically, by taking a close ethnographic view of the daily life of a society having to cross a military checkpoint, we may better understand some of the processes and issues at stake in tangible and human terms. Among these are the human outcomes on both sides. But in particular, my purpose is to understand how the politics of security creates myopia, blindness to the very facts it creates, as well as to perceiving the creative forces of survival of its victims in positive terms. These forces of survival and human agency under security regimes can only be read as threats. In fact they are resources of hope that could be galvanised in processes of restorative justice and ultimately in the unmaking of inequality.



#### LIFE AT AN ISRAELI CHECKPOINT IN PALESTINE

Heat, wind, dust, garbage. Cars stuck in line, jammed bumper to bumper – probably a two-hour wait. I squeeze through the few inches between an articulated lorry and the next car. On the other side is a porter shifting two television sets tied to his cart weaving in between the oncoming traffic. *Ramallah*, *Ramallah Ramallah*, the calls of the van organisers.

I shake my head – and point toward the checkpoint. Up through the first set of blocks, the wind blows up white dust from the quarry,

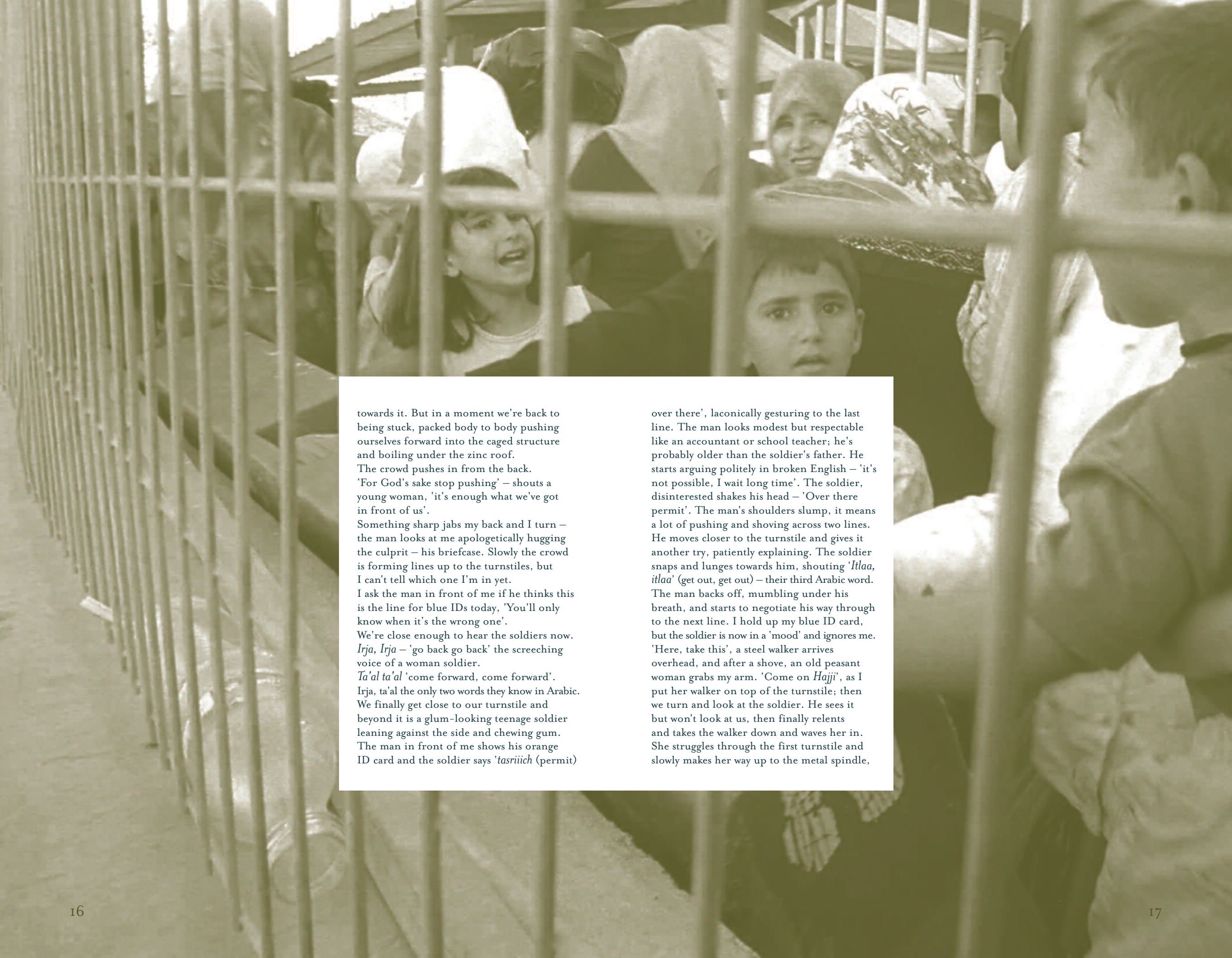
Caliphate’.

Open the way, I have children, where’s the women’s line? A mother is overwhelmed with a toddler, a baby and a heavy shoulder bag. ‘There’s no women’s line today, just chaos,’ replies a young woman. ‘Did they close it?’ A new arrival asks anxiously. ‘We can’t tell.’ Comes the collective response. The toddler, a little boy, starts crying. There are maybe 300 people here waiting to cross – too many to be able to see what’s happening up front and more people keep piling up behind us.

## Heat, wind, dust, garbage

the peddlers clutch on to their sun umbrellas. I pick up my pace; it’s rush hour. Through the second row of blocks and I can see the crowd up ahead, spilling out from under the zinc roof and concrete pens of the crossing. I reach them and ask an old man, how long he’s been waiting: ‘From the time of the

The woman with the children squeezes over to the far side of the crowd and pushes her way forward – she shouts and cajoles her way through. Someone lifts the little boy up and he’s passed wailing over people’s heads. The crowd loosens to the side – they must have opened another lane and people scramble



towards it. But in a moment we're back to being stuck, packed body to body pushing ourselves forward into the caged structure and boiling under the zinc roof. The crowd pushes in from the back. 'For God's sake stop pushing' – shouts a young woman, 'it's enough what we've got in front of us'. Something sharp jabs my back and I turn – the man looks at me apologetically hugging the culprit – his briefcase. Slowly the crowd is forming lines up to the turnstiles, but I can't tell which one I'm in yet. I ask the man in front of me if he thinks this is the line for blue IDs today, 'You'll only know when it's the wrong one'. We're close enough to hear the soldiers now. *Irja, Irja* – 'go back go back' the screeching voice of a woman soldier. *Ta'al ta'al* 'come forward, come forward'. *Irja, ta'al* the only two words they know in Arabic. We finally get close to our turnstile and beyond it is a glum-looking teenage soldier leaning against the side and chewing gum. The man in front of me shows his orange ID card and the soldier says '*tasriiich* (permit

over there', laconically gesturing to the last line. The man looks modest but respectable like an accountant or school teacher; he's probably older than the soldier's father. He starts arguing politely in broken English – 'it's not possible, I wait long time'. The soldier, disinterested shakes his head – 'Over there permit'. The man's shoulders slump, it means a lot of pushing and shoving across two lines. He moves closer to the turnstile and gives it another try, patiently explaining. The soldier snaps and lunges towards him, shouting '*Itlaa, itlaa*' (get out, get out) – their third Arabic word. The man backs off, mumbling under his breath, and starts to negotiate his way through to the next line. I hold up my blue ID card, but the soldier is now in a 'mood' and ignores me. 'Here, take this', a steel walker arrives overhead, and after a shove, an old peasant woman grabs my arm. 'Come on *Hajji*', as I put her walker on top of the turnstile; then we turn and look at the soldier. He sees it but won't look at us, then finally relents and takes the walker down and waves her in. She struggles through the first turnstile and slowly makes her way up to the metal spindle,

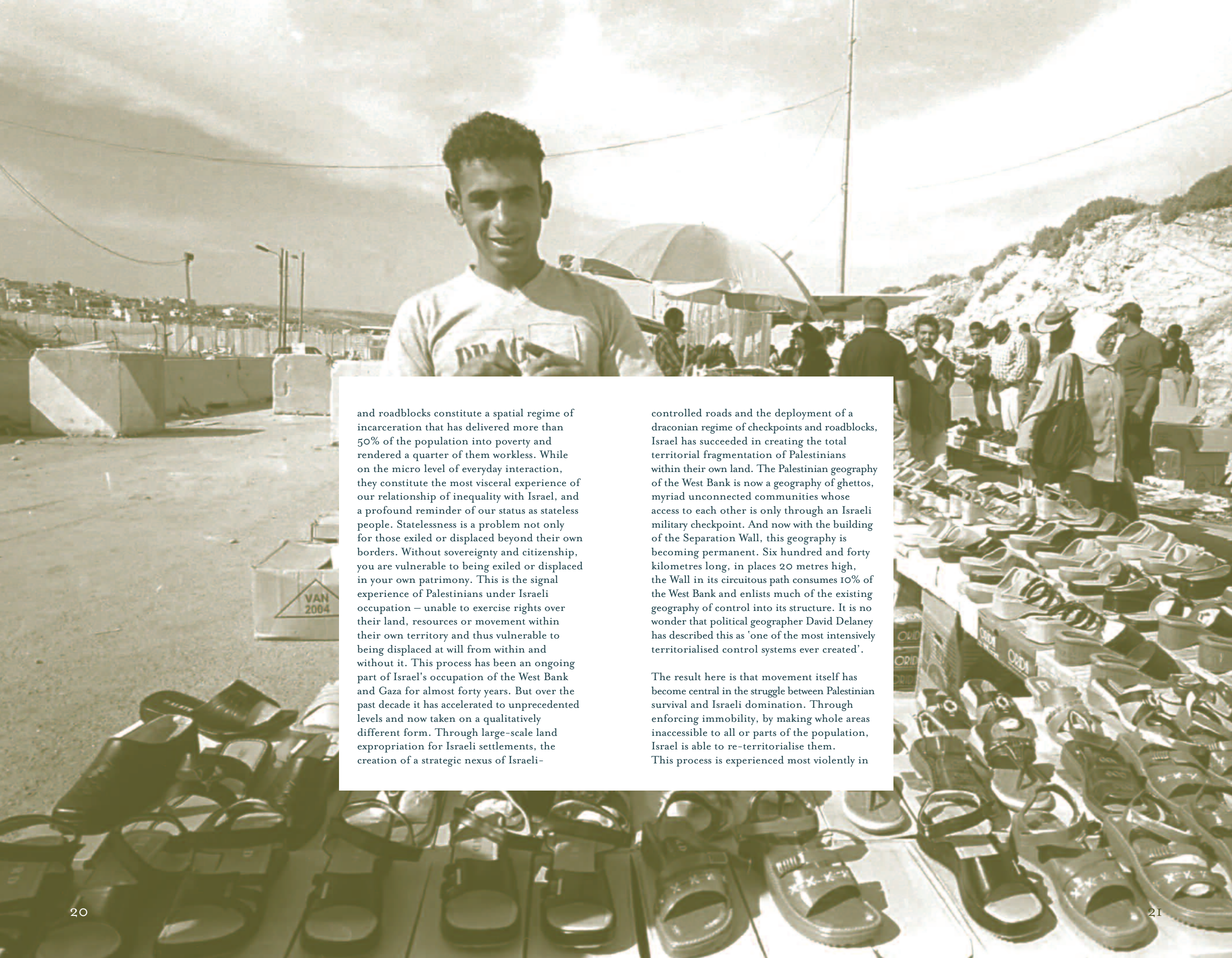


then freezes. She stares back at us with a look of utter confusion and fear. She can't get herself and the walker through at the same time. I glare at the soldier and he waves me through. The woman soldier on the other side of the spindle is shouting at her to come forward. 'God protect us from evil' the Hajji mumbles as I help her and then the walker through the bizarre contraption. On the other side the soldier girl passes her through without looking at her ID card. Just as I pass through the spindle, the girl soldier's mobile phone rings. I stop while she answers it. I look over at the next soldier, a young man keeps holding up his permit and the soldier keeps shaking his head. He keeps saying he has to go to the Eye Hospital to see his father, and the soldier keeps telling him the permit's no good. My girl soldier is now giggling with whoever's on the phone. The young man in the next line won't quit, 'Look, I just want to see my father in hospital' he shouts. Suddenly another soldier comes over and grabs him by the arm – and violently drags him out the exit, the young man still shouting about the hospital. The girl soldier still chatting on

the phone beckons me forward, then signals to put my bag down on the concrete block in front of her and with her free hand clumsily fumbles through my things. I open my ID card, she glances at it and waves me through. Outside on the 'corrections bench' in the sun, they're holding the young man who wanted to go the eye hospital. Like everyone else who will pass him on their way out, I lower my eyes.

#### A GEOGRAPHY OF GHETTOS

This description of an ordinary commute across the Qalandiya military checkpoint is a scene played out in myriad variations at checkpoints throughout the West Bank – the majority of them, like Qalandiya, severing Palestinian communities from each other rather than from Israel. It is a scene that most readily sums up the current existential situation of Palestinians in the occupied territories, so much so that checkpoints have become the subject of not only human rights and World Bank reports but a recurrent theme in Palestinian artistic practice, including, cinema, dance, poetry and music. As a macrostructure, the more than 400 checkpoints



and roadblocks constitute a spatial regime of incarceration that has delivered more than 50% of the population into poverty and rendered a quarter of them workless. While on the micro level of everyday interaction, they constitute the most visceral experience of our relationship of inequality with Israel, and a profound reminder of our status as stateless people. Statelessness is a problem not only for those exiled or displaced beyond their own borders. Without sovereignty and citizenship, you are vulnerable to being exiled or displaced in your own patrimony. This is the signal experience of Palestinians under Israeli occupation – unable to exercise rights over their land, resources or movement within their own territory and thus vulnerable to being displaced at will from within and without it. This process has been an ongoing part of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza for almost forty years. But over the past decade it has accelerated to unprecedented levels and now taken on a qualitatively different form. Through large-scale land expropriation for Israeli settlements, the creation of a strategic nexus of Israeli-

controlled roads and the deployment of a draconian regime of checkpoints and roadblocks, Israel has succeeded in creating the total territorial fragmentation of Palestinians within their own land. The Palestinian geography of the West Bank is now a geography of ghettos, myriad unconnected communities whose access to each other is only through an Israeli military checkpoint. And now with the building of the Separation Wall, this geography is becoming permanent. Six hundred and forty kilometres long, in places 20 metres high, the Wall in its circuitous path consumes 10% of the West Bank and enlists much of the existing geography of control into its structure. It is no wonder that political geographer David Delaney has described this as 'one of the most intensively territorialised control systems ever created'.

The result here is that movement itself has become central in the struggle between Palestinian survival and Israeli domination. Through enforcing immobility, by making whole areas inaccessible to all or parts of the population, Israel is able to re-territorialise them. This process is experienced most violently in



densely populated areas, because it is here that the wall or a checkpoint seeks to slowly choke a community, making life unsustainable and thus creating a slow drift out – into a larger, more sustainable ghetto. Thus the system of spatial control is not solely about controlling and containing resistance, but is simultaneously a mechanism of disinheritance. It both enforces inequality and attempts to make it permanent by creating the means to defer and detour around what is necessary to end the conflict. That is to say, it has made a two-state solution based on the 1967 armistice lines seemingly a geographic impossibility. Instead, it relegates Palestinians to a series of disconnected ghettos, locked behind high walls unable to make sustainable livelihoods in the present and unable to foresee a viable and independent national future.

**RESOURCES OF HOPE IN A WORLD OF NEW AND RISING INEQUALITY.**

I'd like to suggest how what is happening in Palestine might share some commonalities with processes of inequality taking place in the wider world. Despite its exceptional nature as

a colonial and therefore territorial conflict, there is clearly a global convergence going on in terms of the emergence of new and distinct forms of inequality. And there is also a growing global convergence in terms of how to deal with them; through policing and the politics of securitisation. From the global level, I move to the local and look at this relationship of policing and inequality through an ethnographic lens, by focusing on a specific case of an Israeli military checkpoint. Through looking closely at the relationship between the checkpoint and its impacts on people's lives, as well the creative forces of survival that are rallied against it, we might better understand what is at stake in human terms. In particular, to understand how the politics of security creates myopia, blindness to the very facts it creates and to perceiving the forces of survival of its victims in positive terms. These forces of survival and human agency under security regimes can only be read as threats. Indeed, I argue that, in fact, they are resources of hope that could be galvanised in processes of restorative justice and ultimately in the unmaking of inequality.

#### QUALIFICATIONS

Professor Hammami was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair because of her impressive academic contribution, as an intellectual champion, to peace and co-existence in Palestine. Her gendered approach provides a valuable point of entry into issues of governance, civil society, citizenship, rights and peace.

#### SUMMARY CV

- \* Professor Hammami received a BA in Political Science (Magna Cum Laude) from the University of Cincinnati, followed by an MA in Cultural Anthropology from Temple University, Philadelphia. In 1994, she received her PhD from Temple University with a thesis entitled *Between Heaven and Earth: Transformation in Religiosity and Labor among Peasant Refugee Women in South Coastal Palestine/the Gaza Strip 1922-1992*.

- \* She was Chair of the MA Programme in Gender, Law and Development at the Institute of Women's Studies at Birzeit University (1996-2004), where she had also been Assistant Professor in Anthropology and Research Coordinator (1994-1996).

- \* Professor Hammami was Executive Director (1993-1994) of Shu'un al Mar'a Women's Affairs Research and Training Centre in Nablus. She was one of the organisation's founders and a research coordinator there from 1991 to 1993.

- \* She was a Visiting Scholar at the Women's Studies Institute, New York (1998), and received a research award from the Diana Tamari Sabbagh and the Write-up Award from Temple University.

- \* Professor Hammami has acted as consultant to various international organisations in relation to her research fields of gender, anthropology and politics in Palestinian affairs, including the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex (1999-2000), the Swedish Development Aid (SIDA) in 1999, the Palestine Ministry of Labour (1996-1997) and, in the Netherlands, NOVIB in 1990.

- \* She carries out a significant amount of voluntary work, as a member of the board of management of many organisations, including MIFTAH, the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (from 2003), MUWATIN, the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy (from 2001), and the Institute for Jerusalem Studies (from 1995).

- \* Professor Hammami is on the editorial boards of the Jerusalem Quarterly File (from 1998) and the Middle East Report (from 1996).

#### ACTIVITIES AS HOLDER OF THE CHAIR

- \* Professor Hammami resided at the ISS from April to end June 2006.

- \* On 20 April 2006, she gave her inaugural address entitled 'Human Agency at the Frontiers of Inequality: An Ethnography of Hope in Extreme Places' (see p. 12 for an excerpt).

- \* She held a master class on the Politics of Writing, focusing on methodological, ethical and political issues in engaged research, for ISS students dealing with gender and human rights issues. Staff and MA students from the two fields attended. Reflecting on experiences from her own research on ethnography of checkpoints, she spoke about the interconnectedness between choices in research methodology and ethical and political choices. Professor Hammami's contribution to students' reflections and brainstorming about the scope of the issues they will face before,



The Chair of the Curatorium listening to Rema Hammami delivering her Inaugural Address.

during and after their fieldwork was very valuable.

- \* She gave two talks at Universiteit van Amsterdam, one in the Department of Anthropology and one to PhD students working on the Middle East. In addition, Professor Hammami gave a public lecture to the Dutch Social Forum, attended a roundtable conference on the current situation in the occupied territories at the United Civilian for Peace (UCP), and took part at a debate on democratisation organised by the Dutch Labour Party.

- \* Professor Hammami took part in the cultural debate organised by the Winternachten Literature Festival, where art and science meet, and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague. The debate, entitled 'Islam and Disrupted Childhood', was held on 26 April 2006 and explored Islamic traditions with regard to raising children in a changed or



Rema Hammami, Fouad Laroui en Margalith Kleijwegt at the Winternachten Literature Festival.

hostile social environment. Participants included Turkish author and university lecturer Elif Shafak, author Margalith Kleijwegt and Fouad Laroui, author and academic of Moroccan descent. Columnist and playwright Peter Hilhorst chaired the debate.

- \* Professor Hammami contributed to a conference of the Palestinian Israel Research Program (PIN), which reflected on 10 years of tripartite cooperation in social science research with a special focus on the future.

- \* During her term of office, Professor Hammami has sought to develop a framework for long-term academic cooperation between the ISS and her own university in Birzeit. She and the Rector Professor De la Rive Box discussed this with the Middle East desk at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where there was good initial interest.

- \* An interview with Professor Hammami was published in *Development and Change*, a special issue on twenty years of gender and development by Deniz Kand.

#### MAHMOUD DARWISH MURAL

During her term of office, Professor Hammami finished her translation in English of the poem Mural written by the Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish. She explains her reasons for translating the poem in these words: 'It is Mahmud Darwish's master work. Written after he almost died of a heart attack back in 1999, he reflects on his life and what he experienced of death. In the process, he writes a metaphor for what has happened to the Palestinians, who seem to have also reached the edge of death as a nation. The poem is ultimately a dialogue between life and death – what can defy death, are ideas, art and the imagination – which are the substance of being, not attached to any name or person but to life. The poem encompasses poetically every style Darwish has ever experimented with – as such it is a journey through his oeuvre, as well as his life with poetry.'

Mahmoud Darwish (Palestine, 1942) has published more than 30 collections of poetry and prose, and his work has been translated into 35 languages. He is the founding editor of the literary review Al Karmel which fosters intercultural debate on intellectual issues and links Arab writers with the international literary community. Darwish spent more than 26 years in exile in Jordan, Lebanon, Cyprus, Tunisia and France. Mahmoud Darwish received the Principal Prince Claus Award 2004 from the Prince Claus Chair for Culture and Development.

Excerpts from: Mahmoud Darwish, Mural, translated by Rema Hammami, to be published in 2008 by Verso.

Green  
the land of my poem is green and high  
coming to me from the bed of my precipice  
Strange you are  
It's enough that you alone  
are there, to become a tribe...  
I sang in order to feel the wasted horizon in the pain of a dove  
not to explain what God says to man  
I'm no prophet I don't proclaim that my fall is an ascent

I am the stranger from all I was given by my language  
And if I've given my affections to Arabic  
They have surrendered me to the feminine participle  
And the words when far  
are a land bordering a distant star  
And the words when near  
are an exile  
And writing is not enough for me to declare:  
I found my presence filling an absence  
and whenever I searched for myself I found others  
and whenever I searched for them I found only myself  
the stranger  
Am I a crowd of one?

I am the stranger  
Obliged to cross the Milky Way seeking the beloved  
Condemned by his gifts  
that ruin appearances.  
The form shrinks the words get bigger  
and go beyond the needs of my vocabulary.  
And in mirrors I look at myself:  
Am I him?  
Did I perform my role well in the last act?  
Did I read the play before the performance?  
Or was it imposed on me?  
Am I a performer?  
Or the dupe who changed the lines to live the post-modern  
for whom the writer deserts his text and actor and audience leave?

I sit behind the door and watch:  
Am I him?  
It's my language.  
Its voice has the sting of my blood  
But the author is someone else  
I am not me if I come and don't arrive  
if I speak and don't say  
I am the one to whom dark letters say:  
Write to be!  
Read to discover!  
And if you wish to speak, do so  
With your opposites united in meaning...  
and your transparent self the main verse

---

Green  
The land of my poem is green  
The song carries her as she was fertile from past to past  
And I have of her: Narcissus contemplating the water of his image  
And I have of her: the sharpness of shadows in synonyms and the exactitude of meaning...  
And I have of her: what is common in the sayings of prophets on the roof of the night  
And I have of her: the donkey of wisdom abandoned on a hill, mocking her legends and her reality...  
And I have of her: the symbols stuffed with opposites  
Realism doesn't find memories  
Abstraction doesn't lead to illumination  
My other self I have of her  
Singers can only inscribe her days in a diary:  
If the dream isn't enough  
I'll be heroically sleepless at the door of exile  
And I have of her: the echo of my language from the walls  
removing salt from the sea  
at that moment when my strong heart betrays me

---

And I have tranquillity  
A small grain of wheat will be enough for us  
for me and my brother the enemy  
Since my hour hasn't yet come  
nor the hour of the harvest  
I must embrace absence, listen to my heart and follow it  
To Cana in Galilee  
My hour has not yet come  
Perhaps something in myself rejects me  
Perhaps I am someone else  
The figs are not yet ripe around the girls' dresses  
and from the feather of the ostrich I have not yet been born  
Nobody is waiting for me there  
I have come before and I have come after  
I find nobody who believes what I see  
I the one who sees am far away  
The faraway

---

Green, the land of my poem is green and high.  
Slowly I tell it slowly with the grace of a seagull riding the waves on the book of water  
I bequeath it written down to the one who asks: to whom shall we sing when salt poisons the dew?  
Green, I write it on prose of wheat in the book of fields  
stalks bending with our weight  
Whenever I befriended or became a brother to an ear of wheat  
annihilation and its opposite taught me survival  
I am the grain that died and becomes green again  
there is something of life in death

## PROFESSOR NASIRA JABEEN 2006/2007

Nominated by the Curatorium, Professor Nasira Jabeen, was appointed by the University Board of Utrecht University to the Prince Claus Chair for the period 2006/2007. Coming from a Pakistani background, Professor Jabeen focuses her teaching and research on the possibilities and constraints of good governance as a concept in the developing world.

### QUALIFICATIONS

Professor Jabeen was appointed on the grounds of her analyses, which provide a convincing synthesis showing the influence of government on national culture. She has authored publications in various fields, including administrative science and human resources, as well as on the position of women in Pakistan.

### SUMMARY CV

- \* Professor Nasira Jabeen received an MPA (Master of Public Administration) from the University of the Punjab in Pakistan and from the University of Southern California, USA. She holds a PhD from Stirling University, Scotland, with a thesis entitled *Gender and Management: Factors Affecting Career Advancement of Women in the Federal Civil Service of Pakistan*.
- \* Professor Nabeen is Programme Coordinator of the Master's and Bachelor's programmes of the Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.
- \* Other positions she holds at the University are Member of the Doctoral Programme Committee, Board Member of the Faculty of Economics & Management Sciences, and Member of the Board of Studies in Administrative Sciences.
- \* She has acted as consultant to a number of international organisations, including the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the World Bank.
- \* Professor Jabeen is a member of the Advisory Board of the AWAZ Citizen Development Centre (NGO).
- \* She is also involved in the Philanthropy in Pakistan Project, a research project conducted in collaboration with the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.

### ACTIVITIES

In Utrecht, Professor Jabeen is based at the Utrecht School of Governance of the Faculty of Law, Economics and Governance. She gave her inaugural address at Utrecht University on 2 April 2007.

For more information about Professor Jabeen, please visit [www.princeclauschair.nl](http://www.princeclauschair.nl).



Professor Nasira Jabeen

## PREVIOUS HOLDERS OF THE CHAIR

PROFESSOR GASPAR RIVERA-SALGADO  
2005/2006



Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by Utrecht University in September 2004. Born in 1965, he is a sociologist from Mexico. Professor Rivera-Salgado was appointed on the basis of his academic work in the field of indigenous rights, particularly in Latin America and the United States. He is now Program Director of the Center for Labor Research and Education at the University of California in Los Angeles.

Professor Rivera-Salgado resided at Utrecht University's Netherlands Institute of Human Rights and School of Human Rights Research from April to June 2005. His activities as holder of the Chair included the following:

- \* On 12 April 2005, he gave his inaugural address entitled 'Equal in Dignity and Rights: the Struggle of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas in an Age of Migration'.
- \* Professor Rivera-Salgado gave numerous lectures, including the CERES keynote speech at the Institute of Social Studies, entitled 'Indigenous peoples, Migration and Governance'.
- \* During his term of office, Professor Rivera-Salgado gave seminars for students at the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights.
- \* In Amman, Jordan, he took part in the conference 'Advancing the Refugee and Migration Agenda in the Middle East', organised by the Foundation 'The Hague Process' and the Arab Thought Forum.

PROFESSOR AMINA MAMA  
2003/2004



Professor Amina Mama was appointed to the Prince Claus Chair by the Institute of Social Studies. Born in 1958, Professor Mama was appointed for her contribution to the academic field of African culture and its relationship to development. She holds the Chair in Gender Studies at the University of Cape Town and leads a research programme that aims to contribute to transformation and development across the African continent through an increased focus on gender studies.

Professor Mama resided at the Institute of Social Studies from mid-April to the end of July 2004. Her activities included the following:

- \* On 28 April 2004, she gave her inaugural speech in The Hague, entitled 'Critical Capacities: Facing the Challenges of Intellectual Development in Africa'.
- \* Professor Mama gave the keynote speech at the conference of the Wiardi Beckman Academy and the HIVOS conference 'Humanism in an Age of Inhumanity'.
- \* In the field of education, Professor Mama gave courses and seminars at the CERES Summer School in Nijmegen, within the Women's Studies Department at Utrecht University, and at the ISS. She was also appointed to the CERES Board.

PROFESSOR S. MANSOOB MURSHED  
2002/2003



Professor S. Mansoob Murshed was appointed as the first holder of the Prince Claus Chair by Utrecht University. Born in 1958, Professor Murshed is an economist from Bangladesh. Reasons for appointing Professor Murshed included his academic work in the fields of trade and freedom of trade and in the field of peace and conflict management in relation to economic development. Professor Murshed's most recent field of research concerns the economics of conflict.

Professor Murshed resided at Utrecht University's School of Economics in April, May and June 2003. His activities as holder of the Chair included the following:

- \* On 12 May 2003, Professor Murshed gave his inaugural lecture entitled 'The Decline of the Development Contract and the Development of Violent Internal Conflict'.
- \* He was a member of the Steering Committee of PREM (Poverty Reduction and Environmental Management) at the Free University of Amsterdam (VU).

For more information about Professor Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Professor Mama and Professor Murshed, please visit [www.princeclauschair.nl](http://www.princeclauschair.nl).

THE CURATORIUM OF THE  
PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

The procedure for the appointment of a candidate to the Prince Claus Chair is carried out by the Curatorium of the Chair. The Curatorium consisted of the following people in 2006:

- \* H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands (Chair);
- \* Professor Bas de Gaay Fortman (Vice Chair), Professor of Political Economy of Human Rights, Utrecht University;
- \* Professor Willem Hendrik Gispen, Rector Magnificus of Utrecht University;
- \* Professor Louk de la Rive Box, Rector of the Institute of Social Studies.

Dr Joop Kessels is Secretary of the Curatorium.



Prof. Bas de Gaay Fortman, Prof. Willem Hendrik Gispen, Prof. Rema Hammami, H.R.H. Princess Máxima of the Netherlands, Prof. Louk de la Rive Box, Dr Joop Kessels.

## SELECTION, NOMINATION AND APPOINTMENT PROCEDURES

### GENERAL

The Prince Claus Chair alternates annually between Utrecht University and the ISS. Holders are appointed for one academic year and reside at the institute in question for three months, in principle in April, May and June. Prior to the selection and appointment of the candidate, the Curatorium identifies the main themes or topics for the period in question. The Curatorium then suggests potential candidates to the appropriate institute, and the rector appoints a selection committee. This committee confidentially proposes two or more candidates to the Curatorium, which then nominates one candidate to be appointed to the Chair by the institute.

### CRITERIA

The Curatorium has decided to apply the following criteria in the search for and the nomination of the candidates:

#### 1. REINFORCING THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PRINCE CLAUS CHAIR

The Curatorium must:

- \* Keep alive the thoughts of Prince Claus on culture and development by selecting themes and/or issues which are relevant to research and teaching at Utrecht University and/or the ISS;
- \* Select themes/issues that are up to date (e.g., international relations, sociology, economics, human rights, conflict and peace, governance, culture and religion, sustainable development);
- \* Ensure sufficient variation in themes/issues in subsequent years;
- \* Nominate candidates from different regions (Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific) and ensure sufficient variation in the gender and regional background of the candidates in subsequent years.

#### 2. OUTREACH PROGRAMME

- \* The nomination must take into account:
- \* The candidate's possibilities to attract students and to facilitate academic cooperation.
- \* The possibilities of an outreach programme within the academic community of Utrecht University, the ISS and the Netherlands.
- \* The possibilities of an outreach programme for the general public in the Netherlands.

#### 3. THE CANDIDATE

Candidates for nomination must:

- \* Have expertise in one or more aspects of development, have affinity with the subject of culture and development, and be inspiring for colleagues, students and the general public;
- \* Have a strong academic profile and play an active role in civil life;
- \* As a rule, be younger than 45 years of age;
- \* Take a multidisciplinary approach;
- \* Be willing and able to contribute to an outreach programme;
- \* Work in or originate from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific;
- \* Be fluent in the English language;
- \* Add new contacts to the existing networks of Utrecht University and the ISS.



Universiteit Utrecht

## PARTICIPATING INSTITUTES

The Prince Claus Chair in Development and Equity was established by Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS).

### UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1636, Utrecht University is a large and multi-faceted knowledge centre that provides teaching and research of a high international standard. With over 28,000 students and 8,000 staff, Utrecht University is the largest university in the Netherlands, with expertise in almost every academic field. The University coordinates 23 research schools, including CERES (part of the Interuniversity Research School for Resource Studies for Development) and the School of Human Rights Research.

Utrecht University is involved in a wide variety of academic fields in both teaching and research, and is particularly active in joint research with other universities and research organisations and institutes both inside and outside the Netherlands.

For more information, please visit [www.uu.nl](http://www.uu.nl).



### INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES (ISS)

The ISS is an international institute of higher education in social and economic change, with a focus on development processes. It was founded in 1952 by the universities of the Netherlands to assist in the training and further education of professionals, especially those from developing countries. Over 10,000 students from more than 160 countries have studied at the Institute. On average, nearly 400 students attend the ISS every year to follow an MA or PhD programme or a shorter course. The ISS has some 150 employees.

The ISS is one of the five main international educational institutes in the Netherlands (along with the IHE, the IHS, the ITC and the MSM), each of which focuses on a different academic field. The ISS focuses on the Social Sciences and is one of the leading centres for Development Studies in Europe. The Institute is deeply rooted in the academic community in the Netherlands through participation in the CERES research school and through joint teaching programmes.

For more information, please visit [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl).

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# development and equity

Utrecht University and the Institute of Social Studies will alternately appoint an outstanding young academic from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean or the Pacific to the Prince Claus Chair, for the advancement of research and teaching in the field of development and equity.

development and equity

2006

