# The Magazine

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help patients with dementia

#### The Influencers

How young Muslim women are fighting against stereotypes

### **Beyond the Dictatorship**

Nobel laureate in Literature Herta Müller on the essence of freedom



# Dignity

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Dear Readers.

Dignity is "that which is above all price." That's how Immanuel Kant put it. Prices are assigned to things; they are negotiated or set by the market. They are relative. If an object breaks, its price decreases. Dignity, on the other hand, is something absolute. It can't be bargained for. People have dignity. Always. Without precondition. Even when they are ill. Regardless of what they do or contribute. For the last 70 years, Article 1 of the German constitution, the Basic Law, has guaranteed this inviolable right to human dignity to everyone. It obligates government authorities to respect and protect this dignity. Human beings may not be degraded to mere objects. Article 1 is a blanket clause that applies above all other basic rights. For our founder, Robert Bosch, dignity was also an important term. "Be human and respect human dignity" is one of his most famous quotes, first published in his company's employee magazine in 1920. With this statement, Robert Bosch was not issuing a mandate to the government; he was laying out an aspiration for every individual, including himself. And what about our foundation? Dignity is rarely an explicitly stated goal for us. And yet, nearly all of our projects are focused on creating or improving conditions that allow people to live dignified lives. How? That is often a difficult question – and the people in this issue of the magazine all have very different answers.

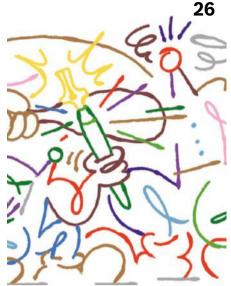
Joalin had Jaudia Jeha Haus-Werrer 2.

We hope you enjoy the read!

Joachim Rogall, Sandra Breka, Hans-Werner Cieslik Board of Management of the Robert Bosch Stiftung







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# What does dignity mean to you?

We asked people from our projects about their personal understanding of dignity. Svenja Ostojic, a nurse from our report on page 12 (Oasis of Calm), says: "To me, dignity means that an individual's personality is valued and empowered, and that people can remain independent, even when they are elderly and ill."

You can find the full survey at: www.bosch-stiftung.de/dignity

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# What is dignity?





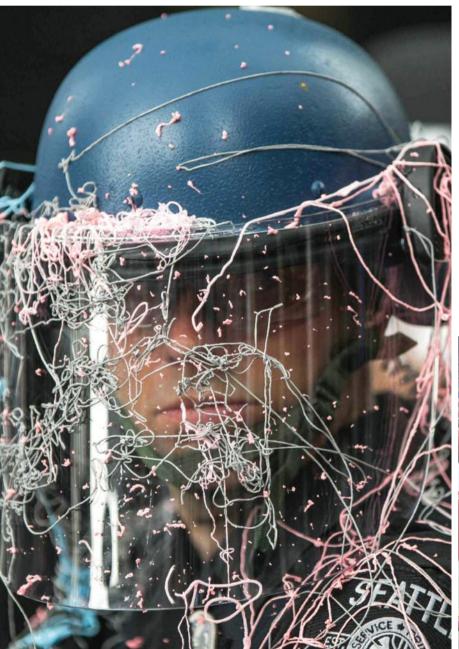
















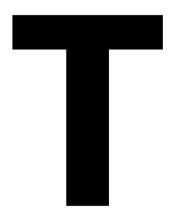


### Petra-Louisa Kuyembeh

was born and raised in London. The 24-year-old has no other family members who went to university before she did. Thanks to the internship that in2science UK helped her find, she has now completed a bachelor's degree in microbiology and a master's degree in public health.

# **An Encounter with Science**

No one she knew had attended university, so Petra-Louisa Kuyembeh always believed a career in science would be impossible for her. Until she got an internship at a laboratory, that is.



his looks pretty expensive," was my immediate thought when I showed up for the first day of my internship at the gigantic laboratory at the UCL Great Ormond Street Institute of Child Health in London. It was a hot day in August 2012; I was a 17-year-old vocational college student in my summer holidays. But I didn't want to laze about in the sun; I had my heart set on an internship in science. I had been fascinated by science since primary school. I thought finding conclusive answers to questions brilliant. My only problem was that I didn't know anyone who had ever worked in the scientific field, so I didn't have the contacts I needed.

In England, most scientists have an academic background, their families have gone to university. My mother had never gone to university; she was an unemployed single parent. "People like us don't have ca-

reers as scientists," I thought. I lacked role models: women with immigrant backgrounds from educationally disadvantaged families who had successfully entered into careers in science and who could have explained to me that of course I could take this path, too.

The organization in 2 science UK bridged this gap for me. It helps young people from socially disadvantaged families find two-week internships with scientists. The organization's founder, Rebecca McKelvey, came to my vocational college to present the program in early 2012. I applied and was offered a position with Iain Dykes, a molecular biologist who was conducting research on congenital heart defects in children at the Great Ormond Street Institute at the time.

"I hope I don't make any mistakes - or break anything!" I thought as they showed me around the well-equipped laboratory. It looked so different than in the school labs I knew. But Iain Dykes quickly put me at ease,

showed me how to use the devices, and sat me in front of a microscope straight away, where we examined DNA samples to learn more about the DiGeorge syndrome.

The person I met during my internship who had the biggest impact on me was a microbiologist whose family was originally from Ghana. She really inspired me with her work and fueled my desire to pursue a career in science, and she encouraged me to enroll in a microbiology course at a university.

A person's social and family background shouldn't prevent them from pursuing their interests and aspiring to build a career in a field based on their own interests and strengths. I was also able to convince my mother of that fact, and she is now taking university classes, too. Sometimes you just need to know someone with the right connections and experience. And sometimes that person might even be your own daughter!

# in2science UK and Falling Walls Engage

How can more people gain access to science? And what, in particular, is the best way to reach people who rarely come into contact with the field? The Falling Walls Engage program, supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, creates a platform for successful projects in the scientific field that attempt to answer these questions. This also includes the organization in2science UK, which helps young people from educationally disadvantaged families find internships in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). in2science UK has successfully provided more than 1,000 participants from 326 schools in the UK with their first extracurricular exposure to professional and practical science. After their internships, most participants chose scientific subjects for their school exams, with many of them continuing to pursue scientific careers.









THE MAGAZINE Snapshot 11

# Standing up to Hate

Gerald Hensel found himself at the center of an online shitstorm after demanding via his hashtag #keingeldfürrechts that no money should be spent on right-wing websites. Rather than giving up hope, he launched HateAid, a platform that supports victims of digital violence.

I felt ashamed of my industry when I first saw how major companies had placed banner ads on racist and openly right-wing websites. That was two years ago, when it had become abundantly clear in traditional media and especially on social media that a new shift to the political right was occurring. This change was hitting right in the center of society. The articles and statements on Internet sites were becoming cruder, and relying more heavily on stereotypes. I was a manager at an advertising agency at the time, and I was dismayed to see that many companies simply accepted this change, or - worse still - were in denial that it was even happening. Advertising is always about perception, and about traffic. Different rules applied in the era of television. Today, anything that generates clicks, generates cash. And marginalization and racism definitely generate clicks. That's why I started a hashtag on my personal Twitter account: #keingeldfürrechts, or "no money for the right." My tweet and the hashtag went viral

pretty quickly and sparked a conversation in the industry. But in addition to the many brands now finally talking about the unregulated placement of their banner ads, I immediately met with a lot of resistance from the right. Thousands of insulting messages and threats, including death threats, followed. It was surreal. Things take on a life of their own. I couldn't find a police officer or a district attorney, a lawyer, or even a member of the state security services who felt they were capable of helping me quickly, even when I showed them the worst messages I'd received. That was why my friends had to get involved. They became my advisors and helped me through this difficult time. But I came out of this whole experience thinking one thing: enough is enough. Being the victim of an online hate campaign tested my limits, which in turn inspired an approach for tackling this problem - the path to founding Fearless Democracy e.V. and the nonprofit platform *HateAid*, which helps people who have been victims

of online hate. Until now, there was almost nowhere victims of online hate could turn, despite the fact that it is becoming an increasingly common occurrence. There are very few legal options for combating online smear campaigns and protecting the victims. And few of us know how to protect our online profiles, how we should respond if we become the target of an online hate campaign, or what we need to consider. That's where *HateAid* hopes to make a difference. Our team of employees and consultants is available to provide information and legal support to anyone

# "Manufactured hate has become a veritable tool for bullies."

faced with a targeted hate campaign on the Internet. Over the last two years, I have often provided advice over the phone to people whose experiences were similar to mine. The goal of every online hate campaign is to discredit the victim. Only in the rarest cases is an actual argument at the heart of the issue. Today, manufactured hate has become a veritable tool for bullies. People who gang up to intimidate others online, to degrade others, are silencing voices and taking away others' right to speak out. That is a danger to our democracy.

# The organization

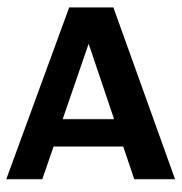
By founding Fearless Democracy e.V., Hensel – an advertising expert and political scientist – wanted to expose the structures of digital extremism, to help the victims, and to make society more resistant to populists. With support from the Robert Bosch Stiftung, Fearless Democracy launched its first project: the platform *HateAid*, which serves as a point of contact for people swept up in violent online controversies who are being terrorized in Internet hate campaigns. The platform can be found at www.hateaid.org.



# Oasis of Calm

TEXT Martin Petersen PHOTOGRAPHY Charlotte Schreiber At the Evangelisches Krankenhaus Alsterdorf (EKA), a hospital in Hamburg, patients with a secondary diagnosis of severe dementia are treated in a separate ward that has been specially adapted to their needs. We paid the hospital a visit.





n older man in corduroys shuffles slowly down the bright hallway, turns around, and shuffles back the same way he came. And not for the first time. He feels the urge to leave, but the life he wants to return to lies in the distant past. Like all the patients in the David Ward of the Evangelisches Krankenhaus Alsterdorf (EKA), a hospital in Hamburg, he suffers from severe dementia.

Nurse Svenja Ostojic gently takes hold of the man's elbow and guides him to a seating area designed to look like a waiting room. "We could have designed this to look like a bus stop, too," says the head nurse, "but that would've meant deceiving the patients."

After all, the bus would never come. Treating dementia patients with dignity requires empathy and, in many cases, creativity. "Please take a seat, Mr. Schulz,"\* says Nurse Svenja. "We'll come and get you in a bit." Mr. Schulz sits down next to the "Waiting Room" sign and watches the goings-on in the ward for a long while. "The patients are in their own world," says the nurse. "We don't want to put on a performance for them, but we also don't want

to keep confronting them with a reality that, for the most part, they don't really see anymore."

The David Ward is an internal ward especially for dementia patients who have been hospitalized as the result of another acute illness. It was established in 2011 and was the first specialized ward for internal medicine in Germany that was specifically tailored toward dementia patients. Dementia is prevalent among older patients in German acute-care hospitals. Nearly one in five patients over 65 is affected, as determined by a 2016 study, conducted by the Mannheim University of Applied Sciences and the Technical University of Munich, and funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung. "One thing dementia patients need is a special setting that would be very difficult to create on a general ward," says Christian Kügler, who is responsible for the David Ward as the head physician for geriatrics and internal medicine. These patients might display defensive or aggressive behavior, or they might have the tendency to try to wander off, he explains. "That would be a little overwhelming for the staff of a general ward," he says. Dementia

\* The names of all patients have been changed, and we have not described the illnesses or private circumstances of the people shown in the pictures. patients on general wards are more frequently given medication to sedate them, or they are physically restrained, he says, which can trigger a delirium episode – an acute decline in brain function. "We have other options in the David Ward," Kügler explains.

It's 6:00 a.m. in the morning. Nurse Svenja arrives to take over ward duty from the night shift, alongside two of her colleagues and a trainee nurse. While the others sit around a table drinking coffee, the night nurse reports on the patients, explains which beds she had to put clean sheets on multiple times, and tells the morning shift which patients she had to pacify when they woke up screaming. Suddenly, they hear a voice from next door. "Hello?" One of the patients is already awake. She stands at the open door of the nurses' office in her bathrobe; they smile and greet her back.

With one exception, the patients in the David Ward are over eighty years old. To make the patients more comfortable, many areas of the ward are set up to remind them of their younger days. The posters on the corridor walls feature the smiling faces of German and international celebrities of the past: Heidi Kabel, Freddy Quinn, Hans Albers, Humphrey Bogart, and The Beatles. The doors to the rooms are painted in different colors and labeled with large numbers so that the patients can find their way around more easily. The staff have a trick to prevent patients from leaving the ward: there is only one exit, which is located directly behind the nurses' office and it is disguised as an aquarium. There is a real aquarium built into the wall of the corridor in another spot; the "living room" is visible through the glass. This common room could be mistaken for a little museum of German interior design. There's a shortwave radio from the 1950s, the two lamps are replicas of the classic Poulsen PH5 from 1958, and the striped wallpaper with roses is reminiscent of the 1970s.

At 7:00 Ms. Dierkes and Ms. Brinkmann are sitting in the dining room for breakfast. There are no fixed mealtimes for anyone – if patients want to sleep in and eat later, they can.

# "The patients are in their own world."

# **Photo page 12**Pooch pays a visit:

Rhodesian ridgeback Kate cheers up some of the patients without saying a word.

#### Left

Even patients who are barely mobile are brought into the dining room so they can participate in ward life.

#### Below

Nurse Svenja is the head of the David Ward and has worked here right from the start.



Today's date is hanging in extralarge format on the wall between the windows, beyond which are a blossoming tree, a few apartment buildings, and the radiant blue sky. Ms. Dierkes refused to eat when she was first admitted, but a trainee nurse is now patiently feeding her porridge spoonful by spoonful. Ms. Dierkes doesn't speak, but after nearly every spoonful, she purses her lips and raises her shoulders. "You're making a face like it's sour," says the trainee, "but it couldn't be any sweeter!" She gently strokes the cheek of the old woman with short white hair and explains to her that some medication she needs is mixed into the porridge. The trainee and her charge are on a first-name basis; nurses only use the patients' first names if the patients or their families request it. Ms. Dierkes doesn't respond. Does she understand? It takes twenty minutes for her to finish her breakfast.

Time is a decisive factor in ensuring that dementia patients are treated with care and respect. Even in the advanced stages of dementia, patients still have their own will and the ability to understand and cooperate. "In order to learn what the patients want," Dr. Kügler explains, "we need to get to know them. We need to take the time to observe their behavior. It requires a great deal of tact and good instincts." Andreas Kruse concurs; he is the Director of the Institute for Gerontology at the University of Heidelberg and has been Chairman of the German Bundestag's Aging Report Commission since 2003. He has done extensive research on this subject. "Any attempt to ignore their will, to disregard their autonomy, can cause a dementia patient to become unsettled, agitated, and yes, can even lead them to protest and reject the care being offered," he says. "It's vital for us to learn to read a dementia patient's expressions and gestures; if we can do that, we can reliably determine when the patient is responding to a given situation positively, negatively, or neutrally." This gives the staff a sort of compass for deciding which situations the patient can handle, and which situations they can't, he says.

Nurse Svenja has been called to room seven; it's the first time today

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that anything resembling a sense of urgency is palpable on the ward. Mr. Krüger is lying on the nearest bed. He was recently transferred from intensive care; he's very weak and is hooked up to a feeding tube. He has just ripped the IV line out of his hand, removed his nasogastric feeding tube, and tried to stand up. Two nurses and a doctor are standing at his bedside, deliberating on what to do. "Maybe we need to restrain him?" The doctor says quietly to Nurse Svenja. "No, I really want to avoid that at all costs," she responds - and then turns to the patient and takes his hand: "Mr Krüger, we're going to reattach your infusion tube now. Please don't stand up!" Mr. Krüger stares at her in silence. "Promise you won't stand

up?" "Yes, yes," he responds. "Really - promise?" The patient gives her a slight nod. "Great." The three medical staff members leave the room again. "We're going to have to reattach that IV line more than once today," is Nurse Svenja's guess. Later on, they also replace his nasogastric feeding tube after consulting with his relatives.

A visitor arrives an hour before lunchtime. Music therapist Gertrud Ganser introduces herself in the dining room and starts the music - "This is a foxtrot!" Mr. Winter, an 80-year-old man wearing an elegant watch and nice shoes, offers her his hand; the two dance like a seasoned pair. "It's wonderful to have a partner who can really dance," says Ganser, visibly pleased. Then she puts on a Latin American song for Ms. Fischer, who can sing along and even translate the lyrics. "When you sing, your heart rejoices, too," she says, interpreting the Spanish words of the song. Ganser laughs. Ms. Dierkes is next; she is sitting hunched over at the table. She has hardly moved since being fed her morning porridge. "I have something for you," Ganser says and presses a button on her little remote control: "Oh, Donna Clara," a tango from the 1920s, sounds from the speakers; it's a version performed by Alfred Hause and his orchestra. Ms. Dierkes looks at her, opens her mouth, and runs a hand through her hair. Ganser sits down across from her, runs her hand through her own hair, and mirrors Ms. Dierkes' movements. This method sometimes helps staff make contact with unresponsive patients. After about thirty seconds, the old woman stands up, moves toward the therapist on wobbly legs, and reaches for her wrists. They smile at each other, hold each other's arms, and dance on the spot - an unexpected turn of events for the others in the room, who are watching with interest. Ms. Dierkes also stands up for the last song and sways back and forth. "Would you like to sit down again?" the therapist finally asks, taking the patient gently by the elbow and guiding her back down into her seat. "I'll just push you in a bit closer - see you next time!"

In the corridor, Ganser tells Nurse Svenja about her unexpected dance partner ("Ms. Dierkes really THE MAGAZINE
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warmed up to us today!"), while Mr. Winter – the good dancer – takes a seat next to Ms. Dierkes in the common room and talks to her. After a few moments, she takes his hand. Through the flower stickers on the plexiglass window, they catch a glimpse of Mr. Winter giving her a friendly stroke on the cheek – this woman who had previously seemed so withdrawn and isolated. "Sometimes, the music sparks something good in people, and that spark spreads," therapist Ganser explains, pleased.

Internal wards like the David Ward in Alsterdorf are still rare in Germany. "And yet, these types of wards significantly lighten the workload for the general wards," Christian Kügler says. But the head physician warns that having a special ward doesn't mean the rest of the hospital never has to deal with dementia patients. The staff on the general wards still need to be able to diagnose advancing dementia and to treat less severe versions of the condition with sensitivity. "That's why all the staff at our hospital receives special training, not just the people working on the David Ward." The Robert Bosch Stiftung supports the efforts of the EKA and 16 other hospital locations in Germany to make all of their facilities suitable for treating dementia patients with dignity.

Gerontologist Kruse firmly believes in the David Ward model. "In order to implement a model like this across the board," says the Heidelbergbased researcher, "we need to raise significant awareness among hospital managers of the responsibility that we all have, as part of our day-to-day work in the hospital, to guarantee a decent quality of life for our dementia patients." Kruse feels that decisionmakers at health insurance companies are also called upon to act; after all, this model requires significant investment of resources. A study conducted by the University Clinic Hamburg-Eppendorf (UKE) investigated the effectiveness of the David Ward and determined that funding provided by the health insurance companies did not cover the additional personnel costs the ward requires. However, even if this type of ward is not cost-effective for an individual hospital, it could very well pay off for the health

"Sometimes, the music sparks something in people, and that spark spreads."



care system as a whole. "On the David Ward, we can prevent patients from falling, and we administer fewer antipsychotics," says head physician Kügler - and as a result, he suspects, the patients feel better for longer, spend less time in the hospital overall, and do not need to go into a nursing home until later. The UKE study supports this hypothesis; it determined that the economy benefits from the prevention of subsequent costs.

It's 1:00 p.m. in the afternoon. An hour before the end of her shift, Nurse Svenja also experiences some of the benefits of the music therapy session from earlier in the day. While the other patients have already been served lunch, Ms. Dierkes is still sitting at an empty table. When Nurse Svenja passes by, Ms. Dierkes calls out. The head nurse kneels down next to her. "Hello, dear, would you like something to eat?" By way of an answer, Ms. Dierkes kisses her on the cheek. "Sure, there are days when I go home with a headache," the nurse says a little later, "but today was a really great shift. It was a fantastic day."

#### Lef

"When you sing, your heart rejoices, too," says Ms. Fischer, translating the Spanish song lyrics.

#### Right

In the "living room," a picture of Heinz Rühmann and other items bring back the days of old.

# Photography and dignity

Head nurse Svenja Ostojic spoke to all the patients whose faces are shown in the photos multiple times to ensure that they were alright with being photographed for our magazine's story. "They understood what I was asking them," Nurse Svenja says, "and they agreed." The patients were also open and receptive to the photographer during our visit. Ms. Fischer was the only patient able to sign a consent form on her own – for the other patients, relatives with custodianship signed agreement to their participation.



# A Protective Shield for One and All

Sociologist Armin Nassehi on the first sentence of the German constitution as orientation and protection in a changing society. The first article of the German constitution sets out as an unconditional imperative the commitment of all state authorities to respect and protect human dignity. The obligation to preserve human dignity is unconditional – it is not tied to conditions, not to appropriate behavior, not to compliance with laws or other norms, not even to whether the bearers of human dignity themselves respect the dignity of other human beings. One could say that even the most unworthy individual still enjoys dignity, and the state is the authority that must protect it.

The idea of unconditional human dignity has religious precursors; think of the divine likeness of every human being, even the least among them. It is probably the constitutive feature of the Enlightenment. One thinks of Samuel Pufendorf's natural-law justification of human dignity, or even more of Immanuel Kant's maxim of ends in themselves – humanity being posited as an end in itself.

With the formulation of these principles, people or groups of people can no longer be described without contradiction as being of lesser nature or value, even if social practice does not always adhere to that perspective. Admittedly, the normative figure of dignity has an empirical basis, and the classification of human beings that has been taken for granted before now faces a society that is changing: human beings in a modern society can hardly be described with just a few characteristics that represent them completely.

In comparison to earlier forms of society, individual human beings today are characterized by the fact that they assume several roles at the same time, that their social connections change, that they act in different contexts. While the existence of a person in pre-modern social forms was ultimately defined with hardly any ambiguity at all by



# "The idea of dignity is an emancipation from the power of society over the concrete individual."

their family membership, their location, or their concrete social position, this no longer applies to modern societies. As a result of the separation of work and private life, high social mobility, the strong division of labor, and last but not least, the expectation of an individual lifestyle, the individuality of a person cannot be expressed through a social relationship. No one is just a family member or a spouse, just a man or a woman, just an employee or a member of an association. In addition to being legal persons, people are also political citizens. No one is just a patient or just a customer. Even convicted prisoners are not just prisoners, even though they participate in fewer relationships while in prison. Only in this context does the question arise of what a person is - quite independently of their relationships, social status, the chance circumstances of their concrete life, and the limitations of their individual existence. The answer to this question inevitably leads to unconditionality - i.e., the fact that no external condition is required for the mere right to exist and the granting of fundamental existential rights. Ultimately, the idea of

dignity is also an emancipation from the power of society over the concrete individual. It is true, of course, that everything that people do takes place in the context of social connections and relationships. But, ultimately, individuality itself has no clear social address. Thus, the individuality of every person already acquires an enhanced standing for structural reasons. The Kantian normative idea of an end in itself thus has an empirical correlate: namely, that before any specific end is set in relation to a specific individual, the individual is already there.

It would be a mistake of category to derive an "ought" from an "is." But from an "is," in other words, from the empirical experience of multiple social connections, we can derive the conditions under which normative ideas emerge, possibly even normative progress. The powerful idea of human dignity occupies a position that, in earlier times, forced people into fixed, indissoluble, and insurmountable identities – whether it was their position in the hierarchy of society, their ancestry, gender or skin color. Against this background, human dignity is a guarantor of respect for human beings regardless of their attributes. And this takes on particular importance today, in a world in which people are, for a variety of motives, once again being identified with reference to their national origin, ethnicity, gender, skin color or sexual orientation.

The state cannot guarantee that society will always take this unconditionality of human beings into account. With the first sentence of its constitution, however, it undertakes not to conform to these social dynamics. Of course, what this means in detail and in specific cases cannot simply be derived from the text of Article 1 of the German Basic Law, but must be the subject of political and legal discourse.

# The Influencers

TEXT Nicole Zepter PHOTOGRAPHY Evelyn Dragan

20

They're young Muslim women fighting against clichés and injustice, each in their own way. In the process, they're strengthening not only other women but also cohesion in our society.



# The realist

"What if I weren't all of that: woman, Muslim, migrant? What sort of orientation would my life have?" asks Merve Gül, a 27-year-old lawyer, blogger, and member of the Christian Democratic Union party (CDU) in Germany. Living in Swabia, she works as a junior lawyer and has made a name for herself with her voice in the media. She questions things and takes the wind out of the sails of overblown debates. "It doesn't put me off when a judge wears a turban, a headscarf, or a kippa," explains Gül. "It's the invisible neutrality that worries me. Do I know whether a judge is close to a right-wing populist party?" It's easy to picture Gülin politics. Whether as an attorney or in

a governmental department, she wants to reduce the number of people struggling today. She comes across as sincere. "I'm an optimistic realist." Even as a child, Gül helped tutor others who couldn't afford private lessons. She would give moral support to parents who didn't dare question teachers. She joined the CDU when the debate about dual citizenship struck up in 2013, in part to become a decision-maker. She says: "You have to go to places you normally wouldn't be." They're mostly places dominated by men. "Well-educated young women are frightening. But we don't want to take anyone's place, we just want a bigger table."



# The focused one

In September 2015, when many refugees were arriving at Hamburg Central Station, Sidonie Fernau was in charge of the facility from which volunteers helped to receive them and provide initial support. Children from the surrounding schools made sandwiches, people organized clothing banks, others set up interpreting offices. Today, she advises refugee groups, migrant women's organizations, and Islamic and Alevi communities. After her studies in Istanbul, Fernau actually wanted to move to England, where a large part of her family now lives. Things turned out differently. She grew up in the countryside between Stade and Cuxhaven. Her mother is Jamaican, her

father Palestinian. In tenth grade, she realized that she wanted to study history, languages and cultures of the Middle East - and build bridges. Because access to basic and human rights, for example in the areas of housing or work, is not the same for everyone. A panel discussion triggered her decision to join the social welfare association "Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband." Today, she is both a leader and an inspiration. Even when she experiences discrimination in her work, she concentrates on the essentials: "We need to raise awareness."

Sidonie Fernau, 31, division leader of the social welfare organization Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband in Hamburg, political scientist



# The gentle one

"We became an integral part of society a long time ago," says Nicole Erkan. The mother of two runs the "Muslimische Familienbildungszentrum MINA e.V." (Muslim Family Education Center MINA e.V.) in Duisburg, which offers social counseling, education and a space for encounters. She makes a gentle and compassionate impression, but it's courage that has shaped her path in life. Raised as a Christian, she decided at the age of 13 to seek religious affiliation with Islam. It was her schoolmates who inspired her. At the age of 22 she converted; today, the sociologist and Islam expert is the educational center's first female chair and an established figure in the community. After their studies, she and her colleagues, who all wear a hijab, were unable to secure even an internship. So they created their own jobs, and the MINA training center was born. "You have to be aware of your own dignity. If I were a punk, I'd have green hair. I am a Muslim and I wear a headscarf," she says. MINA works with non-violent communication methods. Giving space to feelings and formulating needs is something Erkan is successful with. More and more women are volunteering. Parents who are agnostics are also coming with their children to Islam lessons. The City of Duisburg is recommending the center to others. Putting matters in a nutshell, Erkan says: "Being German and being Muslim are not mutually exclusive."



# The casual ones

"The word is power. The word is tact." This is how Hosnijah Mehr describes it in a text that she recites on the poetry stages of the country. She recently moved to Mainz with her sister Mariam. Mariam and Hosnijah are natives of Stuttgart. Swabian Muslims, they say. Their parents are from Afghanistan. The sisters want to help shape the future. Until recently, Mariam led the Stuttgart chapter of the "Muslim Youth in Germany." One of their most important cooperative projects was an interreligious fast breaking. They wanted to show that Muslims and Christians have a lot in common and can work together in shaping society. "There are many young Muslim women who would like to wear a headscarf, and who just want to muster the courage that many Muslim women are already showing day by day. Because they know that if they demonstrate their convictions openly, they have to be prepared to accept difficulties, be it when looking for an apartment or for a job," Mariam explains. She adds: "If the media and political world continue to portray Muslims so negatively, we're going to run up against a wall." But with the strength of light-heartedness that the sisters radiate, they have the voice and power to change this. Or, as Hosnijah puts it: "The word sets you free."



# The commitment

Muslims are getting involved in society in many ways, and the Robert Bosch Stiftung wants to strengthen this commitment. With the YALLAH program, the Foundation is supporting young Muslims who carry out social projects based on their faith. The program Mitgestalten – Muslimische Frauen engagieren sich (Participation – Muslim Women Get Involved) is aimed at Muslim women who want to get involved in a broad range of areas of civil society. These programs are motivated by the overall goals of improving opportunities for participation and strengthening social cohesion.

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# **Angry Young Man**

TEXT Dimitrij Kapitelman

> ILLUSTRATION Jordy van den Nieuwendijk

Author Dimitrij Kapitelman grew up amidst humiliation and violence. It wasn't until he was an adult that his own rage came to the surface – but it wasn't directed against the neo-Nazis who had beaten him up.

The year is 1997. I'm ten years old, and have been in Germany for about 24 months. Kiev, Meerane center for refugees, now Miltitz primary school, Leipzig. For weeks, I've been boasting to my parents that my diploma in German will be marked grade "A." But on the day of its conferral, I discover an inexplicable "B." I stand before my parents distraught. I'm firmly convinced that they will not tolerate such injustice toward their boy. But they just pull me toward them, and we shrink to the size of a comma. A "B" will be enough to be recommended for a German Gymnasium, the type of secondary school attended by academically inclined pupils. And that is something my parents definitely don't want to jeopardize. Humiliated, we sneak home. Rage was an expense we couldn't afford.

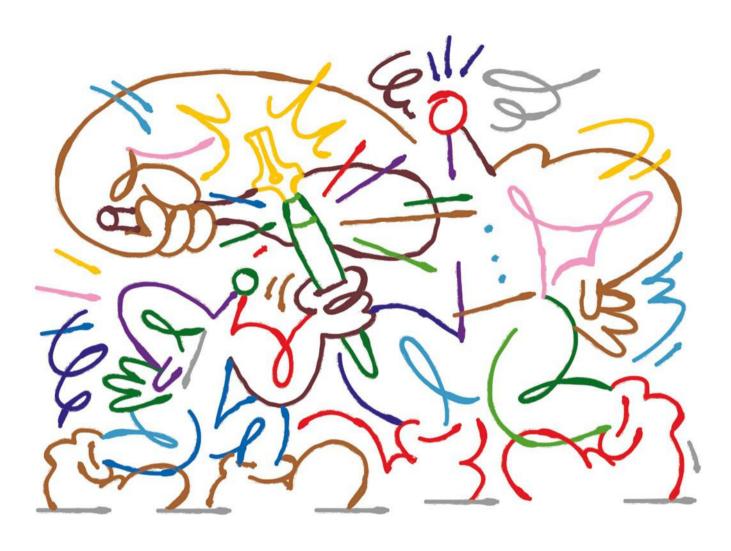
Anger is perhaps the most political emotion of all. No other human emotion is collectively outlawed and sanctioned more quickly. Those allowed to show anger are privileged. Donald Trump can let off steam on Twitter every day. In the best case, anger can highlight injustice, bring about change. On the other hand, it can also simply explode, without leading to any progress. As so often happens when the emotions of young men result in physical violence.

I saw my father as a man who hoards his anger under the mattress. A Jew who grew up in the repressive Soviet system, pudgy, craving peace and quiet, simply not a fighter. But back then I watch him busily working out with the chest expander in the living room and I think of him as the Russian Rambo. One day my father shouts, panting, that it's time for me to work on my torso as well. And I take this man-to-man admonition with a sense of pride. Several times I listen to him swearing at home, saying that he is not taken seriously in this country. Neo-Nazis all across the neighbor-

hood. Some days, my father doesn't even dress properly. It's 1998 when my time in the Gymnasium starts. I'm not exactly motivated; my lousy grades are actually deserved. My mother is the most productive member of the family in this phase. She is learning German, earning money, teaching me how to ride a bike, and not taking this new, difficult life personally. During this time, I begin to suspect why women usually integrate more quickly: because they don't mourn lost status, pride, or a vague sense of honor. Which path of anger would I tread?

At thirteen, when I manage half a dozen expander pulls, the neo-Nazis on the block solemnly acknowledge my chest - by beating me up. Strangely enough, I don't remember being angry afterwards. Not the next day, not the following year. My father constantly advises me to be quiet and grateful in a foreign country. "You mean as quiet as the people who didn't say anything against the Holocaust on their doorstep back then?" I snap, a know-it-all. I become a rebel, but my teenage life inspires me far too much to walk around as an angry young man. It's only a matter of time before it will inevitably make me the president, a rock star, or a professional basketball player. I explore my career possibilities while cuddling my dog and my cat after school every day. Perhaps it's the soft nature of my father that protects me from terrible bitterness during this time. My calmness makes me feel superior to the neo-Nazis. Sometimes I even feel sorry for them. I don't get the impression that baseball bats bring them any closer to their goals. Don't they have any cuddly advisors at home? More or less unconsciously, I recognize in them the exact model of everything I never want to become. As absurd as it may sound, this deterrent example had a soothing effect on me

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"Anger is perhaps the most political emotion of all." as a searching adolescent. A loving home, faith in oneself, education - these are all factors that prevent a young man from going off the rails when problems arise. And yet none of them work forever. In my early twenties, my anger comes. Not toward the thugs from those days, but toward the people who stay silent. The neighbors who could see the violence from their balconies and never called the police. The police who always arrived so late. The journalists who never reported the violence in my neighborhood. And toward my parents, who first brought me to this place, and then wanted to sit everything out. I develop psychological problems, almost drop out of school. Realizing as an adult that some people are allowed to become angry about much less than others is extremely demoralizing. Feeling small and powerless, you can quickly make the leap to cynicism, bitter impotence, or radical revenge. Fortunately for me, I was able to make my voice heard through writing and, as a journalist, to shake off the feeling of powerlessness. But the collective solution can only be not to give the weaker groups in our society the feeling that they don't matter. If, for example, Muslim women are currently denigrated as "headscarf girls" - without consequence - they will feel exactly like that. Now more than ever, German society needs to demonstrate that it is not indifferent toward such humiliations. It needs to get upset to finally calm down.

**Debate** 

**Robert Bosch** Stiftung

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# Is human dignity a matter of perspective?

An international discussion about human rights with the Chinese journalist Shi Ming, the Ghanaian social development advisor and activist Theo Sowa and the German human rights lawyer Wolfgang Kaleck.



## Theo Sowa

was born in Ghana and has lived in Africa. Asia, North America and Europe. She is the CEO of the African Women's Development Fund and has been working as an independent advisor for various international social development projects. Many Germans understand human dignity as the unconditional value of the individual person. This is often called a Western view and indeed, there seem to be other perspectives. For example, in the 1990s, some **East Asian and South East Asian** leaders referred to ancient Asian traditions when they argued that it was legitimate to cut back on the rights of individuals for the good of many, or for the sake of order. Mr. Shi, are those views still popular in **China and South East Asia?** 

Shi: I don't quite agree with what those politicians were saying, that the traditions in China ignore the value of the individual. I just want to recall one saying of Confucius: "You can deprive three whole armies of all their generals but not one single ordinary man of his will." Confucius did not accept assumptions of any sort that individuals have to give up their will or their potential to follow a collective. I think it is very important that intellectuals of other countries see this point as fundamental when dealing with ancient Asian culture.

Sowa: It's always difficult to generalize, because Africa is such a huge continent with different cultures that have different priorities, but on the whole, collective action has been a deeply engrained part of African culture. So while the individual is valued, so is the family unit in the sense of an extended family and different communities. Actually, you can't have individual human dignity if you are not also considering collective human dignity. But then, it does come back to that issue of which holds precedence - and I think in many situations it is on a case by case basis, as crises and specific issues happen.

## Mr. Kaleck, from a Western perspective, if you start weighing individual human dignity against the rights of collectives, I think many would say that is the beginning of the end of freedom. What do you think?

Kaleck: Sorry, but I want to come back to your assumption that in the West, especially in Germany, human dignity is always understood as the unconditional value of individual persons. But that's not true. We can look back on a decades-long history of how the German constitutional court regards human dignity and we can see that there are two lines. One is the line you mentioned, that is human dignity as a protection tool of the individual against a potentially oppressive state. But there's also another line, which deals with collective rights, and that is, among others, human dignity in the context of moving on the Internet without being surveilled all the time. The second line of understanding human dignity is also a claim of individuals or groups towards the state to guarantee a minimum subsistence level. So what you have been referring to is the very conservative



Wolfgang Kaleck

was born and raised in Germany. He is a lawyer and the Secretary-General of the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), an NGO that helps enforcing human rights worldwide through legal means.

"We need collective action of people, in order to hold states and private sector companies accountable."

Theo Sowa

position within the German legal community. That is exactly what my organization, the ECCHR strongly opposes. Also, in your introduction, you construct a difference between the so-called Western view and the so-called non-Western or global Southern view, and I think this assumption is wrong. It is very important to make this point in this discussion because, especially in Germany, there has been a ridiculous development in the recent past stating that we cannot impose our idea of human rights on the rest of the world, as they have another understanding of it. In fact what drives these people is not the respect for other cultures, but the fear of the cost of respecting universal human rights all over the world.

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Stiftung

# "The line of division is drawn between those who want to enforce human rights and those who disregard them."

Wolfgang Kaleck

## Still, it is often the so-called Western nations that criticize others for not respecting universal human rights. Ms. Sowa, do those nations actually live up to their own moral standards?

Sowa: I sometimes suspect that it's politicians all over the world who don't live up to their statements about human rights. I have difficulties believing nation-states in particular and sometimes private sector organizations within particular nation states act with real integrity. Because if they did, they would not only criticize violations in other countries, but they would be criticizing those violations in their own countries, and they would be taking action to counter that.

### Mr. Shi, do you agree that in international politics, human dignity is mainly a political means and hardly an end in itself?

Shi:Of course it is also a political instrument. It is a common phenomenon around the world that politicians use very different narratives including narratives of human rights and human dignity to mobilize groups and reach their political goals, and they have never been very consistent in doing so. However, I don't think it's very helpful to criticize the instrumentalization of these narratives in general, because if we do that, we end up criticizing almost all politicians. Another question is, what this instrumentalization looks like, and I

very much agree with my colleague from Africa here. If you criticize other nations for violations of human rights, it means you accept human rights, and other people will urge you to look at your home situation. It is quite an exciting development that Muslims in Turkey are now also protesting against the Chinese government and their imprisoning of one Million Uyghurs in Xinjiang, while the Turkish government is not exactly famous for protecting human rights in its own country. It is important that we keep this political debate going, as it is helpful to make clear that at least we all accept human rights and the criteria for human dignity.

*Kaleck:* I agree completely with my two colleagues. The line of division is not between North and South, it is a division between classes and between different sectors of society, between those who want to enforce human rights and those who disregard them. There is a discussion that has surfaced about the supposed erosion of human rights, and some people are suggesting that the nation states should now protect human rights, whereas I would propose that those actors who stand for human rights in a lawful way these can be state actors, but in most cases they will be civil society actors, NGOs and courageous individuals that these actors should build up coalitions and networks all across the world.

## Can we find a concrete definition or translation of human dignity that could work as a fundamental value for everyone around the globe?

Kaleck: As a lawyer, I can refer to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – but obviously, it's only a starting point, because when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," that's a promise that has yet to be fulfilled.

Shi: One of various essential elements to define human dignity is life, but not just life itself, also love of life. Because you can deprive someone of the love of life, we can force somebody to hate their lives or hate the lives of others. Forcing individuals to kill or to denounce their relatives wasn't a rare phenomenon in human history, often enough just in order to humiliate that individual by disregarding his human dignity. I think it is a general principle shared by all of the cultures, and by all of the civilizations, that the love of life or towards life is to be respected. Sowa: For me, it all comes down to respect. Respect for individuals, for cultures, for ways of being. And if we are able to respect people's right to life and people's right to a quality of life, then we can look at human dignity across cultures. I believe very strongly that notions of human dignity across cultures, countries and groupings of people are actually very similar. And it is because our notions of human dignity are so similar that people or institutions then revert to making certain groups of people different, less human and therefore less deserving of our definitions of human dignity.

# How can we go on to promote international exchange about these very fundamental values and practices?

Shi: Maybe we could create some platform for exchanging not our opinions about others, because opinion hasn't helped us so far, but how we are acting ourselves. We Chinese never criticized ourselves because of the Cultural Revolution. We

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"This talk about cultural differences in perceiving human rights must come to an end."

Shi Ming

criticize Western colonialism, but what we are doing in Africa is not so very different. I would like to make this suggestion to everyone that, before you criticize others, you show how you dignify your discussion by starting with yourself.

## Mr. Kaleck, do you sometimes wish there were new or better institutions to globally protect and promote human dignity?

Kaleck: So first of all, I am not talking about values. I am talking about rights. We shouldn't allow politicians all over the world to express these aspects only on Sunday talks, talking about values. We should remind them on Monday

and Tuesday and all the rest of the days that we are talking about rights. And these rights still have to be realized. Secondly, I think of this as a process which has to be realized on many levels, the level of society, of us individuals, of groups as well as within the state and among states. And obviously better institutions could be helpful. But we should not procrastinate while waiting for the superinstitution that guarantees human dignity and other rights. Sowa: I liked what Shi Ming was talking about when he was saying we need to look at ourselves in the same way we look at others. Because otherwise, it is too easy for people to accuse people who believe in human dignity and human rights of hypocrisy. And I don't think we should look at new institutions. We need collective action by people outside of states, in order to hold states and private sector companies accountable for the way they act or violate human rights.

## If such an international collective of people came together in a bid to promote a common understanding of human dignity, what would their practical work look like?

Shi: I think the first thing which should start is what all three of us agree on: this talk about cultural differences in perceiving human rights must come to an end in international discussion. I would say we should end this nonsense and deal with this in a more genuine way. To say: okay, there are lots of very different economic interests, very different political interests, but there are no very different perceptions of human dignity and human rights. Sowa: The strongest way to promote understanding of universal human dignity is people speaking to each other. People from different geographies, from different classes, from different economic situations who understand that something connects us as human beings.

Mr. Shi, Ms. Sowa, Mr. Kaleck, thank you very much.

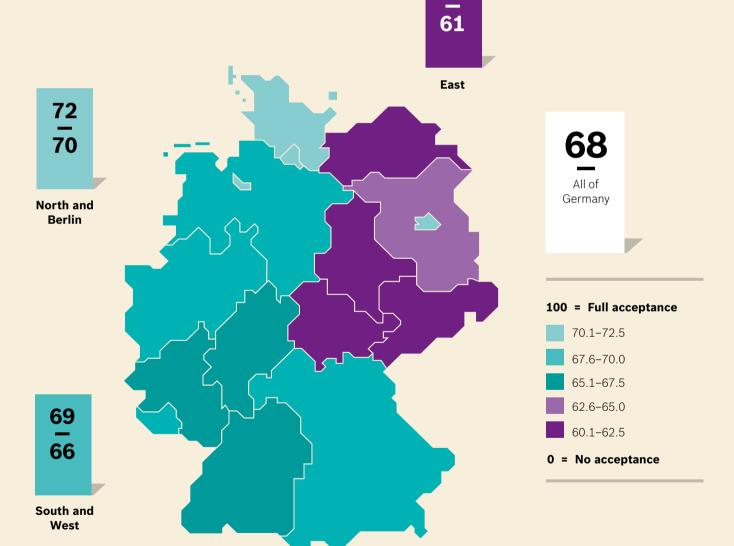


Shi Ming was born and raised in the People's Republic of China. The journalist moved to Germany in 1990, where he has been living and working since.

# How Open-Minded Are Germans?

Germany is becoming more and more diverse. But how are the people of this country dealing with that diversity – for example with older people, people with disabilities, with different sexual orientations or religion? *The Diversity Barometer* by the Robert Bosch Stiftung examines which factors influence the openness of society. The representative study surveyed more than 3,000 people aged 16 and over all across Germany.





# Acceptance of diversity by German federal states

(on a scale from 100 to 0)

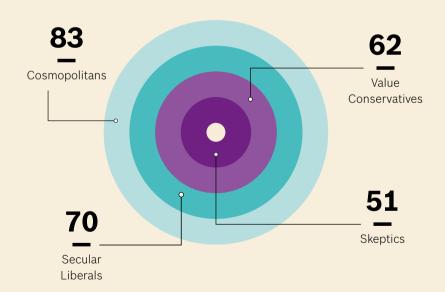
Hamburg 72 Schleswig-Holstein 71 Berlin 71 Bremen 71 Lower Saxony 70 Saarland 70 North Rhine-Westphalia 69 Bavaria 68 Rhineland-Palatinate 67 Baden-Wuerttemberg 67 Hesse 67 Brandenburg 65 Mecklenburg-West Pomerania 62 Thuringia 62 Saxony-Anhalt 61 Saxony 61

# Acceptance toward other social groups



# Who accepts diversity, and who doesn't?

The people surveyed by the *Diversity Barometer* can be assigned to four groups. Two groups are more open to diversity – they are characterized, for example, by relatively high income, higher education, a left-wing political stance, and are predominantly women. These groups are summarized as "Cosmopolitans" and "Secular Liberals." On the other hand, there are two groups that tend to reject diversity. They are characterized, for example, by higher age, lower income, and lower education. These groups are summarized as "Value Conservatives" and "Skeptics."



# Acceptance comes about in the neighborhood

Positive experiences and encounters in the neighborhood are of great importance. In their neighborhood, most people are much more open to homosexuals, welfare recipients or religious Muslims than the general attitude toward these groups would suggest.

# Which aspects have the greatest influence on dealing with diversity?

> Intergroup anxiety (Rejection of other social groups)

#### > Political orientation

- > View on globalization (Perceived as opportunity or danger)
- > Availability of the Internet/ degree of digitization
- > Unemployment in the region (Not one's own unemployment)
- > Income inequality in the region (Not one's own income)



# "I Didn't See the Sun for Two Years."

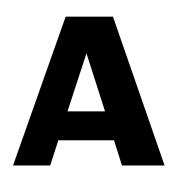


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TEXT
Eva Wolfangel
PHOTOGRAPHY

**Enrico Fabian** 

In Bal Ashram, a home for children, 70 boys are recovering from child labor. Many of them also want to liberate children, just as the ashram founder did: Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Kailash Satyarthi.



kilesh is missing three fingers on his right hand. But the young man in his late twenties proudly stretches this hand into the air like a trophy. "We fight for our freedom, and we will take it, even if you don't want to give it to us," he calls, in a voice that is far too loud for this office in the center of Delhi. Next to him stands a gray-haired man in a white robe, clapping his hands and shouting "Stop child labor" over and over. It's Kailash Satyarthi, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and founder of the "Kailash Satyarthi Children's Foundation" (KSCF) in Delhi. The man who changed Akilesh's life forever.

Akilesh lost his fingers in another life, when he was seven years old and forced to work in a field as a child slave. His hand got caught in a combine harvester. Back then, freedom and dignity were categories reserved for others. It was unimaginable that one day he would demand them at the top of his voice – not only for himself but for all child laborers in India.

The boy Akilesh, whose family had worked as slaves for four generations, was to become a fighter. Satyarthi

still remembers exactly how he took Akilesh from the field in 1999, "It was 72 children back then, one of the biggest rescue operations."

At 26, Kailash Satyarthi had started - filled to his depths with an angry energy - to free the first children. "Nothing compares to the energy of youth," he says. At the time, he had actually only intended to create a newspaper, alongside his career as an electrical engineer, to right this injustice. "Then in 1981, a desperate father knocked on my door." The man had fled life as a slave at a brick factory, and had left his wife and 15-yearold daughter behind. Someone had told him that Satyarthi was interested in this issue. "I thought to myself, 'What would I do, if it were my sister?' I wouldn't just write about it.'

Without further ado he rented a truck, invited a few friends, and drove to the brick factory to free the girl and all the other slaves there. But it went awry. The owner threw him and his friends off the premises with the help of the police. It was a short-lived defeat, however. Satyarthi founded the "Save the Childhood Movement," ensured that the ban on slave labor was applied in practice, and liberated the girl - as well as many others.

Finally, he and his fellow campaigners were able to secure the Child Labor Act, which is now in force throughout the country. The rescue operations of Satyarthi's foundation and its predecessor, the "Save the Childhood Movement," are now notorious, especially in India's textile industry, where a lot of clothing is

made for the European market. "In Europe especially, there is a great interest among the youth to get active against injustices," says Satyarthi. This gives him courage for his latest project, the "100 Million Campaign". "If every privileged child takes a stand for an oppressed child, the world will be a better place," he says. Even though his former rage is less noticeable, and the Nobel Prize winner. with his calm, deliberate manner, is more reminiscent of a cleric, the fighting spirit and street marches are still important to him, according to employees.

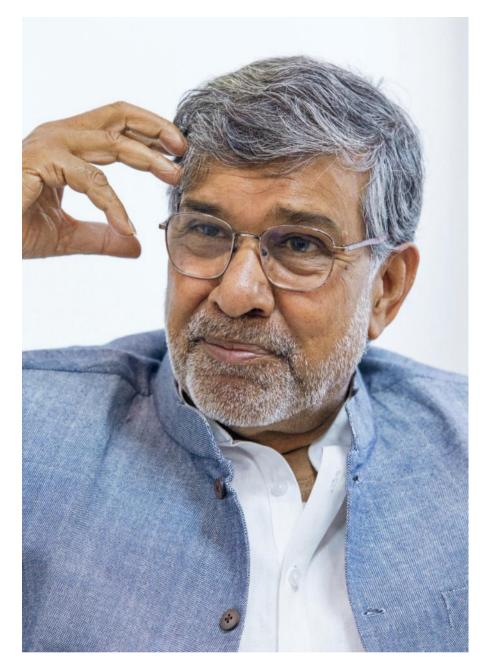
Child labor is still widespread in India. The activists spy out the companies, doors, gates, escape routes. Then they come back with reinforcements and the police, who usually only find out about their destination on the way there. The public Child Welfare Committee takes the liberated children into its care, identifies their parents and sends them back - where they often once again end up in child labor.

"That is why rehabilitation from child labor is very important," says Satyarthi. He has built places like Bal Ashram, which has existed since 1998, for just this purpose. "With every classroom door that opens for a child, millions of opportunities open," says a poster in his office. When a classroom door opened for the then-five-year-old Kailash Satyarthi for the first time, he would have liked to have run straight back out again. There were more important things to do: on the way to school he had seen a boy his age sitting

on the street with his father, asking Kailash and his father for work. "Up until that point, I had thought all children went to school." He pestered his father and the teachers with questions, but was unsatisfied with the answer he received: "Poor children just have to work." He saw the boy every day, and finally mustered up the courage to ask the father why he wasn't sending his child to school. He had never thought about it, the man said, "we were born to work." "That made me cry," remembers Satyarthi today.

Exactly 60 years later, and nearly 300 kilometers southeast of Delhi, a similar story unfolded: decades after Satyarthi's key experience, Mohit is also one of those boys who had to work instead of going to school. Child rights activists had seen him and his parents on the street. His parents were nomads living off a kind of road-side circus, where they let their children balance and dance on ropes. Little Mohit with his big dark eyes - that's money. But the activists convinced the parents that it was better for their children to go to school. That was how Mohit came to Bal Ashram, together with his friend Lakhan and Lakhan's two older brothers.

He's the size of a five-yearold, although nobody knows exactly how old he is. He's the smallest one in Bal Ashram. On this morning, he's standing on the side of the large soccer field and crying. At 6:30 a.m., his brothers, as everyone here calls each other, run across the square. It's time for early-morning exercise. Mohit doesn't want to join in. Here, on this huge square in his tight jeans and open sneakers, he seems terribly lost. A teacher kneels down next to him. "What's the matter?" But Mohit continues to cry. He's been here in the ashram for four months. Anyone who sees him like this - a little boy who no longer remembers his parents exactly, who washes his own laundry after morning exercise, sweeps the dormitory, learns during the day and falls asleep alone in the dormitory in the evening, the only one with a cuddly toy in his bed - wonders: "Is it even



### Kailash Satyarthi The human rights activist Kailash Satyarthi, born in India in 1954, has been working to liberate children from child labor since he was eleven years old. In the time since then, he has been able to free more than 83,000 children. In 2014, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize together with

Malala Yousafzai.

right to separate such small children from their parents?"

"I didn't want to stay here either," says Puran, 28, who now sits with Mohit on the small wall that borders the soccer field. He came to the ashram as a nine-year-old in 2001 with his two smaller brothers, and now works as a teacher. His parents were also nomads; they roamed the country as road workers, following the construction sites. As a child he was quite satisfied, he never questioned this life.

Then by chance in 2001, the "March for Education" passed the very highway where Puran and his brothers were digging deep holes into the road for water pipes. "Kailash had organized it – and he said we should go to the ashram." But the first few days in his new home were terrible for Puran. "It was a culture shock." Together with

his brothers, he ultimately ran away, even found his parents again, "but the activists found us and brought us back." He understands Mohit and his despair. "Small children need to feel closeness. Life with my parents was nice – but if we had kept going on the way we were, I would still be working on the street today," he says.

Santosh is also one of the boys for whom there really was no future in returning to his parents. The 15-yearold comes out of school for lunch, swaps his school uniform for a striped shirt, and sits down on the floor in the dining room with his brothers. About half of the children in the ashram attend school outside, and the others are being prepared to do so in the ashram. Santosh's story is typical for many child workers. When he was ten years old, a middleman came to his village and told his father, "Let me take your son with me. He'll have a good life and earn good money." The family was poor, the father at a loss as to how to make ends meet with six children. So he gave Santosh to the man who took him to a building 2,000 kilometers away where he was henceforth confined with 80 other children. A bus took the children to a textile factory at 8:00 a.m., and back again at 11:00 p.m.

Santosh had to sew T-shirts. "For every little mistake we made, we were beaten." Mobile phones were distributed every few weeks and the children were allowed to call their parents. Santosh begged his mother, "Please pick me up, it's terrible." But she didn't come. The factory owner, who had been listening, beat him for it. "Don't ever say that again." After two years, the anti-child labor activists came. The police ultimately brought him back to his parents, who welcomed him with the words, "We can't support you, we don't have enough to eat ourselves."

The activists finally convinced his parents to let him move to Bal Ashram. He's been here for three years. Now in seventh grade, he wants to become a policeman to help other children. "I didn't see the sun for

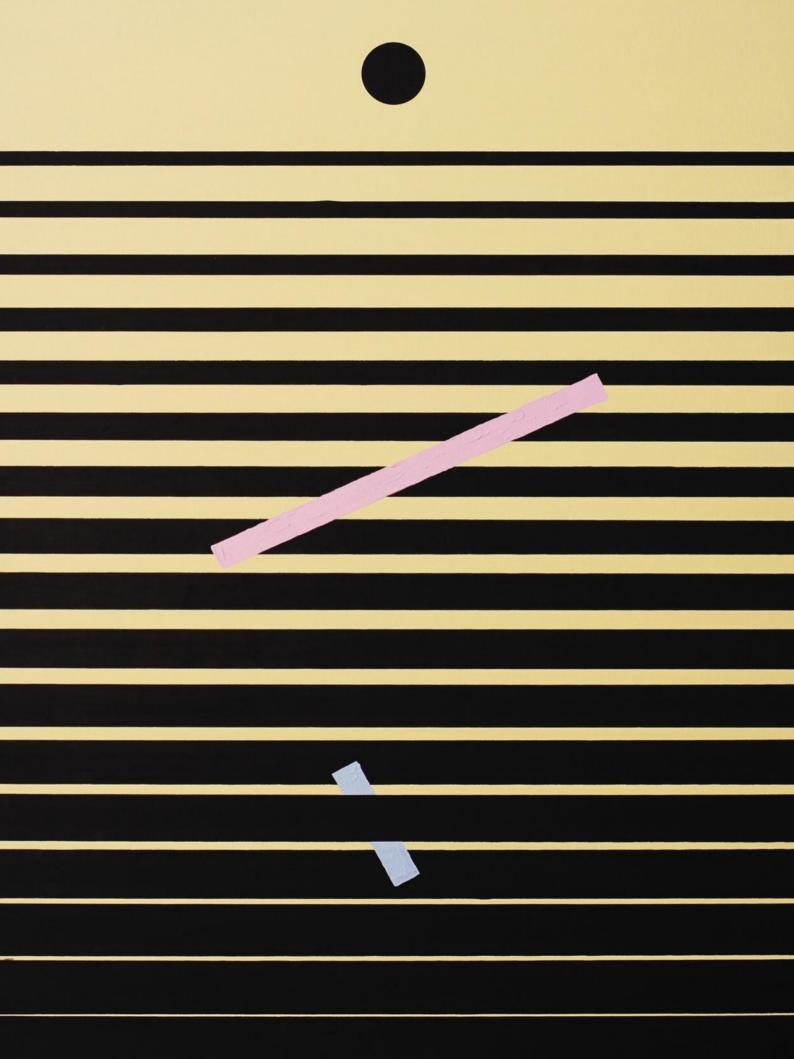
"The family was poor, the father at a loss as to how to make ends meet with six children."

two years. No child should ever have to experience that again."

After lunch, Mohit and his two friends do gymnastics on the playground equipment; they climb up a tree, they race - they do what children do. When they're allowed to. It's already getting dark outside when Sachin opens his textbook in the ashram's library. The slender boy with the purple shirt sits between Sherlock Holmes, Nelson Mandela and Tom Sawyer and ruminates over accounting tables. At age 15, he's already in eleventh grade; he's ambitious, a straight A student. "What we just heard in social studies is still on my mind," he says. "What leads to poverty?" In the evening, all children meditate together on the square in front of the school building, after which it's time for culture, according to the daily schedule: if you want to, you can perform something, a song, a dance. Mohit, Lakhan, and two boys towering over them by half a head, storm the terrace in front of the house, which serves as a stage, and strike up an angry tune. "We've been sold, beaten, abused, but that's in the past." It's a protest song that was composed by activists in September 2017 for a 35-day march through Indiaagainst child labor. The children stomp and raise their fists; they're screaming the song more than singing it. Kailash Satyarthi is right. "Nothing compares to the energy of youth."

### The project

The fight against child labor and for children's rights is one of the greatest challenges of social change in India. The abolition of child labor has meanwhile become a central imperative on the agenda of the UN's sustainable development goals. But without the courageous commitment of civil society actors, there would be little progress. This is why the Robert Bosch Stiftung has supported a prominent figure in the sector for several years: Nobel Peace Prize winner Kailash Satyarthi, on whose initiative multiple child rights organizations in India have been established. They include the "Global March Against Child Labor" network and the Indian non-governmental organization "Save the Childhood Movement." These two organizations implemented, among other things, the project *Child-Friendly Communities in Rural India*, supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung from 2014 to 2018. Their aim is to completely abolish child labor in rural regions of India and to strengthen children's rights. The "Kailash Satyarthi Children's Foundation" continues the project's work.



TEXT Herta Müller ILLUSTRATIONS Felipe Suzuki

## Dignity and Empty Freedom

Nobel laureate in Literature Herta Müller on the laborious assertion of her dignity in a totalitarian state.

The big question under dictatorship was: how can you live? The question wasn't really that simple. It went much further, with subordinate clauses that were basically the main part of it. How can you live with what you think if you can't say it without going to prison for doing so? How can you still show, when it matters – at a meeting or in an office or during an interrogation – what you think without saying it? How can you live to remain or to become what you are for yourself? Or how do you keep from becoming what you don't want to be? It was the question of dignity in oppression.

Actually, I didn't have any idea what I wanted to be like, who knows that about themselves. In a certain sense, I still knew it, because every day I saw around me what I didn't want to be and could not become under any circumstances. How can you live and bear yourself, if you're not what you want to be, because you're not allowed to be what you want to be? I was constantly in conflict with the fundamental question of how to live. I wasn't out to ask that question; it inevitably asked itself. It's always been there, wherever I went with my life. It was there before me, as if waiting for me.

I didn't know this at the time – it was the question relating to personal freedom and dignity. From the distance of today, I believe that in oppression there is a destructive fixation on the opposite, on the freedom that cannot be lived. It's present as an absence, knowing that it's being crippled. It is so violated that it immediately stops where it begins. The end eats the beginning from the first moment onwards. But because it always remains, even if only as the opposite of itself, it is more than mere projection of the

mind. It's not some mute image in the mind, it's a terribly precise feeling. Feeling is the right word. Because feelings are in your head. Or at least, they originate from the head. That one is aware of oppression means that one is aware of the lack of freedom. It's this fatal pair of twins running through life. It's a pair like chronic hunger always thinking about the lack of food.

Today, I have to admit to myself: most of what I've learned about freedom and dignity I've learned from the mechanisms of oppression. Observing these mechanisms, and of course there's nothing else to do in a state of oppression, is like deciphering the mirror writing of freedom. The clearest thing I've learned is easy to say: freedom and dignity are always concrete. They're there or they're missing in every single thing. In general, I can't even talk about it. It won't lead me anywhere if I try. I deal with the abstract word "freedom" and the feeling of dignity not as an idea, but as an object. A very concrete object. Because freedom has its concrete place, where it is present or missing. It has its contents, its weight. In freedom is always a concrete situation. Something's happening or it's being prevented. These two categories are always present: permitted and forbidden. Under dictatorship, almost everything I wanted to do was forbidden. And what was permitted, I had forbidden myself from doing, because I didn't want to become like the ones who allowed me to do it. Freedom is an object. But in this life in Romania it was so far away, you couldn't touch it. And so it touched me all the more.

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That was the reason why, in all situations where it mattered, I got into unavoidable conflicts. Where it mattered – it mattered all the time. I worked as a translator in a mechanical engineering factory, in my third year, and I refused to spy on my colleagues for the secret service.

The harassment that followed went on for weeks. One morning I wanted to go to my office, but an engineer had moved in. He said I had no business being there. The operating manuals and my thick dictionaries were lying on the floor in the hallway. I went to the bathroom to cry for a while so no one would see me. Then a friend let me go to a cleared corner of her desk. It was an open-plan office. A few days later she was waiting outside the office in the morning with my things in her arms. She said her colleagues didn't want me in her office anymore: after all, I was an informer. The slander was organized by the secret service. It was revenge for my refusal to spy on my colleagues. Everyone believed that. There was nothing I could do. There were certainly countless informers in the factory who nobody knew about, who were rewarded with positions and money for their services. I was so defenseless at that time, the world had derailed for me.

Yet every day I knew that my refusal was right. It was vital. After that rejection, I felt free. I was free from doing anything that was expected of me. It would probably have brought me advantages too; it was normal from the regime's point of view and more than just allowed. It was a permissible duty. I knew very well that my refusal would have serious consequences. Nevertheless I was relieved, because from now on the matter was clarified on both sides: it was clear to me I wouldn't participate in the oppression. And the secret service knew they couldn't count on me. But what wasn't clear to me and came over me daily was the loneliness afterwards. This great abandonment, so monstrous, as if any relationship with me was pure poison. I was shunned, the colleagues of yesterday didn't want to know me anymore.

I had allowed myself a freedom and thereby rescued a dignity that was not intended in this country. It even intensified the oppression. I understood then that a person only comes to be considered an individual for a surveillance state if they become an enemy of the state. Because it wants to destroy the person, the state thinks up the methods for each one individually. That's what it has to do to make the destruction work.

Through the stairwell, you could see the factory cat with the torn ear outside in the yard. I remembered the old expression: "At the edge of the puddle, every cat jumps differently." But everyone behaved the same here. I thought that in this sense, but only in this sense, the socialist collective does exist." What's collective is this equality, which functions without any need for discussion or coordination in the prevailing state of digested and internalized fear. But when it comes to community or collegiality, the collective is just ideological drivel. With the freedom I had taken from the absence of freedom, it was brought home

to me that the collective was always so important to the state because of the oppression. It was needed as a contrast to the individual. The individual was not a part, but rather the enemy of the collective. That was confirmed over and over again. A few years later I was fired from school as a teacher because of "individualism" and "failure to adapt to the collective."

Each cat jumps differently at the puddle – but in this country, all the cats were the same. They didn't jump over the puddle. I didn't jump over it either, I jumped right into the puddle. I even knew beforehand that all I could do was jump into the puddle. Dignity is also when you jump right into the puddle with it.

When you walk around with the burden of your empty freedom, you don't get lost as quickly as without it. Even with nothing in freedom, freedom is greater than no freedom whatsoever. In the time before I was kicked out of the factory, I said strange things to myself like, "Time is a village and fear has the shortest face."

I didn't know what such a sentence meant, but it sounded like certainty and self-control. The sentence stuck in my head, I used it so often that it lost the strangeness and became quite ordinary through wear and tear. I told myself the sentence could want what it wanted. Or: the one-to-one doesn't work here. That's its freedom. Not only did it set itself free, it set me free. That was nice, that was enough. It was its ordinariness that proved the sentence wished me well. If it's good to you, anything can become ordinary. The ordinary is invaluable. It told me I still belonged to myself with the burden of my empty freedom. That I may despair of this state, but not of myself.

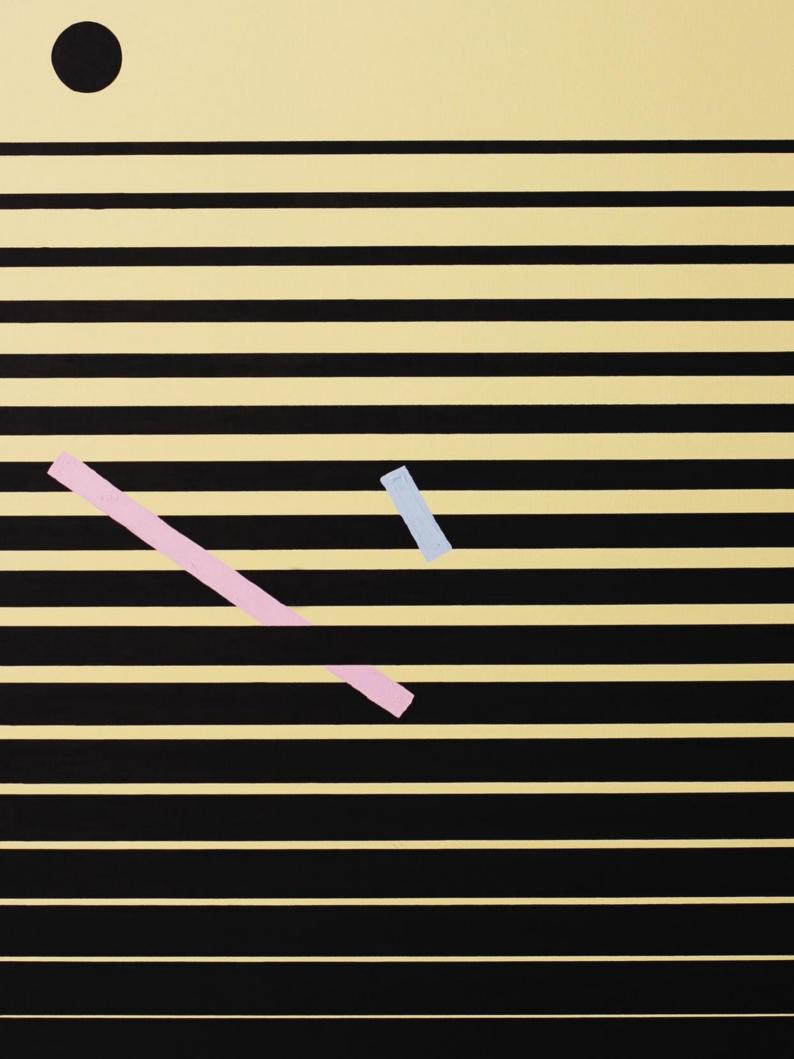
So, after decades of dictatorship, everything had turned around. There was no ethical foundation anymore. Society had finally lost its compass. Everything was materially and morally ruined. The people, too. They did nothing for decades, and then they rebelled against the regime. But, to the same extent, also against themselves. The eternally bad mood in socialism also came from the weariness as to the indignity of one's own opportunism.

It may be that the loss of dignity becomes evident later than the loss of freedom. But then all the more forcefully.



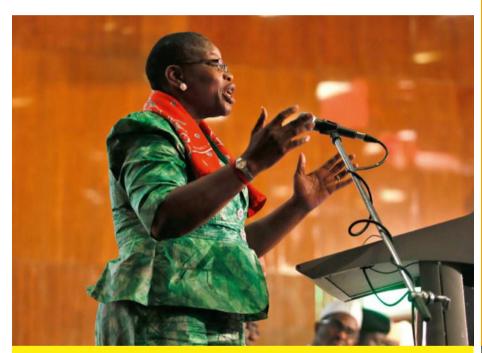
#### Herta Müller

Writer Herta Müller was born in 1953 in Niţchidorf, Romania. After her studies, she worked as a translator in a machine factory. She was dismissed for refusing to work for the Romanian secret service, the Securitate. Her first book "Niederungen" (Nadirs) was published in a censored form. Herta Müller moved to Germany in 1987. Numerous works and international guest professorships followed. Her novel "Atemschaukel" (The Hunger Angel), promoted by the Robert Bosch Stiftung with the Crossing Borders fellowship, was awarded the 2009 Nobel Prize in Literature.



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Six outstanding schools, two anniversaries and a new medical center



## **Celebrating Five Years of Robert Bosch Academy**

The Foundation's Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin represents a multilateral, interdisciplinary community. Since the Academy was founded in 2014, 68 well-respected decision-makers and experts from 36 countries have spent time working in Berlin and contributing to political dialog in Germany: from ministers and policy advisors to health and sustainability researchers, journalists and theater directors. The Academy offers its fellows the intellectual freedom to engage with global issues and to develop solutions. Just one example is Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who established the World Refugee Council, with which he works today. The 2019 fellows include Nigerian human rights activist and founder of the Bring Back Our Girls initiative Oby Ezekwesili (pictured) and Indian-American technology researcher Sheila Jasanoff. Jasanoff will spend her time at the Academy exploring the role of human dignity in biomedical research.



## Bringing Article 1 to Life

What exactly do we mean when we speak about dignity? To mark the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Germany's Basic Law, the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the German Federal Agency for Civic Education are busy investigating this question. The joint initiative #DeineWürde ("Your Dignity") is aimed primarily at young people and uses videos and the theatrical performance **HUMARITHM** to encourage school classes to engage with the topic of dignity and with Article 1 of Germany's Basic Law. What does dignity mean for the individual? Who is granted dignity? What about human dignity's role when it comes to current issues like artificial intelligence? How can we deal responsibly with technological progress? The responses and ensuing discussions were brought together in a video series featuring multiple perspectives and popular YouTubers. See more at: www.deinewürde.org.



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### **Bosch Health Campus for Cutting-Edge Medicine**

Treating patients truly well is often only possible when departments work together. Interdisciplinary diagnostics and treatment with the patient at the center represent some of the biggest challenges in medical care. The Robert Bosch Stiftung is rising to these challenges with the Bosch Health Campus. By 2025, a center for state-ofthe-art medical care focusing on treatment, research and education will be built on the grounds of Robert Bosch Hospital in Stuttgart. The campus will merge with and incorporate the Dr. Margarete Fischer-Bosch-Institute for Clinical Pharmacology, the Robert Bosch Tumor Center, the Irmgard Bosch Center for Education and the Schillerhöhe Pulmonary Clinic. More than 600 million euros are being invested in the campus, making it the single largest project in the Robert Bosch Stiftung's history. As the institution behind the hospital, it provides around 250 million euros for buildings and equipment, and funds medical research with a further 120 million euros until 2025. Short distances between the different medical facilities on campus will allow for work to be carried out more efficiently. In particular, these arrangements will allow for patient-friendly diagnosis and treatment - especially for those who are seriously ill, often with multiple ailments. "We will make the Bosch Health Campus a trailblazer for patient-oriented treatment," says Professor Mark Dominik Alscher, Executive Medical Director at the Robert Bosch Hospital. "We offer healthcare at the medical level of a university hospital and will continue to expand, particularly in the areas of cancer and cardiovascular medicine." To that end, research space is being doubled, and four additional professorships are being established in collaboration with Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, Heidelberg University and the German Cancer Research Center. "My grandfather founded the Robert Bosch Hospital almost 80 years ago. It was the fulfillment of one of his greatest dreams," recalls Dr. Christof Bosch, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Robert Bosch Stiftung. He believes in the concept of the Bosch Health Campus, saying, "Its benefits to patients extend beyond the Stuttgart region, because the impact of its research will spread much farther."

## Winners of the 2019 German School Award

The Gebrüder Grimm School in Hamm attaches great importance to appreciation. The phrase, "Take a compliment and pass it someone else," can be seen in many places in the school building. And in June, the entire school received one huge compliment - in the form of the 2019 German School Award. Five other schools won honorable mentions in the awards ceremony, which was held in Berlin: Allemannenschule in Wutöschingen in Baden-Württemberg, the Mariscal Braun German School in La Paz, Bolivia, Kurfürst Moritz School in Moritzburg in Saxony, GGS Kettelerschule in Bonn and the Schiller School in Bochum. In cooperation with the Heidehof Stiftung and the ARD and ZEIT publishing group, the Robert Bosch Stiftung presents The German School Award every year. Detailed information on the winners and their exceptional school concepts is available on the German School Portal: www.deutsches-schulportal.de and at www.deutscher-schulpreis.de.



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### The Dignitary

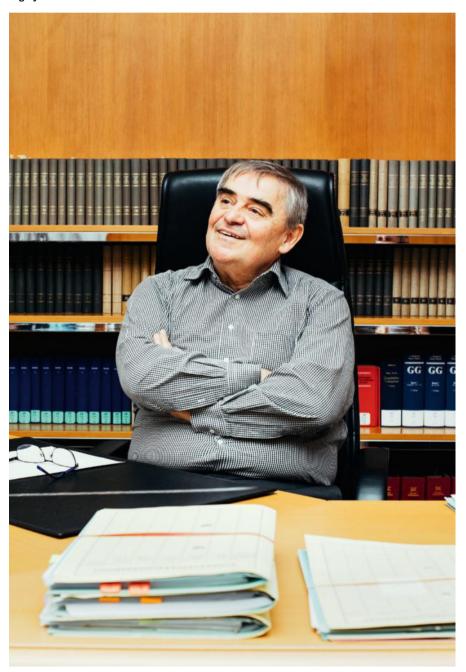
Peter Müller is a judge at the German Federal Constitutional Court, a position granting him an official air of dignity. What does that mean to him?

In 2011, Peter Müller physically felt the weight of his office when, four months after his political career ended, he donned his new official robes for the first time. Putting on the floor-length, bright red robes of a federal constitutional judge is no mean feat for a single person, so a sergeant helped him. "That was a special moment," Müller recalls. "The robes don't push you to the ground, but they certainly weigh more than a normal suit." Müller was practically weak at the knees, feeling a great sense of respect for his new post. "The Federal Constitutional Court is considered the Olympics of German jurisdiction," he says.

If you want to visit the Federal Constitutional Court judge in his office, you must first enter a building made of solid concrete and glass a lot of glass. The building is an architectural play on transparency and stability. Müller, former Prime Minister of Saarland for the Christian Democratic Union party, works on the second floor here, in his 25-squaremeter office, furnished with bookshelves, a sitting area and a desk. With the sun beaming down in full force, he's drawn the curtains. On the desk sit briefcases full of files from Müller's area of responsibility, the enforcement of sentencing. The files include stories of prisoners in protective custody and serious offenders housed in psychiatric hospitals. "There's no joy in reading these cases," says the judge.

Müller and his nine fellow judges do not fall under the authority

Highly autonomous: Müller in his office.

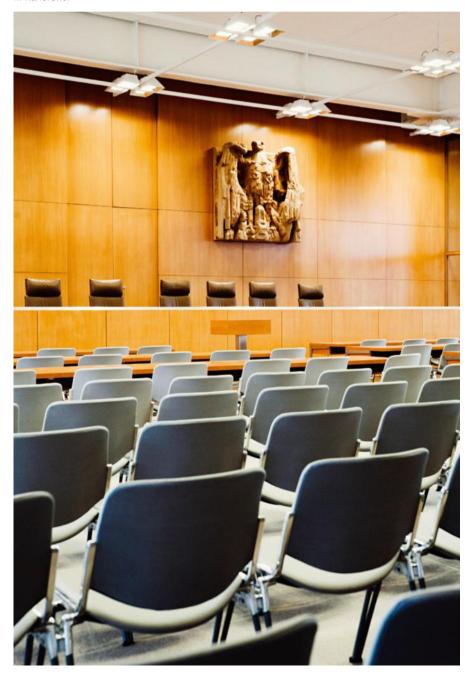


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of any higher-level judiciary. Their decisions are not subject to appeal. However, they have each committed to preserving the dignity of their office and confidence in the independence of the Court. For Müller, the dignity of his office stems from the responsibility entrusted to him in his role here. "The hope is to bear this responsibility in mind," he says, "in a dignified way that

is commensurate to the office."
You won't find Müller wearing his red robe in his office. It is reserved for hearings and issuing verdicts.
Donning the robe not only allows the judge to physically feel the weight of his office, but alerts others to the fact that they are no longer dealing with a civilian. "The robe makes you anonymous," says Müller. "When you

**The Olympus of German law:** the hearing room of the German Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.



address the robe, you are addressing the court." But Müller actually spends most of the time at work in his office, in his civilian clothes, which is how we encounter him today. "There's a lot of laughter in this room," he assures us, and suggests we ask for confirmation in the secretary's office next door. Even without doing so, we're inclined to believe him. Unlike in the past, the work he does now is largely selfpaced. "The greatest gift of this office is that I have so much time to think through complicated issues thoroughly," he says.

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Müller steps over to the window. The curtains have just been pulled back for photos. It affords a view of the park, and you can even catch a glimpse of part of Karlsruhe Palace. "I live just behind the castle with my colleague, Peter Huber," says the judge, "in the university's guest lecturer house." He says it's like a shared apartment. "We have our own rooms, but we have breakfast together in the mornings." In spite of all the formality and dignity that accompanies the office, interactions between the judges are not particularly ceremonial. Müller and his colleagues often go out for a meal or enjoy a beer together in the evening.

Huber, Müller and the new Vice President, Stephan Harbarth, are all former politicians who have changed track to take up the office of constitutional judge. Switching from one constitutional body to another like this sometimes comes under fire something Müller considers legitimate but actually off the mark. "This is a place for different outlooks and realms of experience to come together," he says. The court deals with the actions of the legislature, so individual members of the court with this background can only be a boon. Except that they shouldn't dominate the bench. "After all," he says, "as is so often the case, it's the dose that makes the poison." Müller's eyes shine brightly as the punch line lands. That politicians can be poison is meant seriously, but there's a hint of self-irony there as well.

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# When the Water Rises

Björn Vollan investigates how people are handling climate change – in the regions seeing the most serious impacts.



I conduct my research in areas where the effects of climate change can already be seen: in the Philippines and the Solomon Islands, in Bangladesh and Vietnam. Our findings show there is a discrepancy between the predictions and media reports on climate refugees and the actual ability of those affected to migrate. Even if they sell all their belongings, many of them only make it to the poorer quarters of the next largest cities or to nearby islands. My team and I have refuted the assumption that, as they face the prospect of being uprooted, those affected by climate change are becoming more selfish so they can

obtain, through competition, the few available resources, such as fish or forest resources. On the contrary, they identify even more with their difficult situation and feel even stronger solidarity with the members of their group.

The fact that I was entrusted with a million euros to carry out a major research project over a five-year period is an amazing leap of faith. The junior professorship has a signaling effect and has helped me take on two other research projects from the German Research Foundation and the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. In the coming months, I will also start working as a professor at the Philipps University of Marburg.

The urgency of climate change was impressively demonstrated to me when I visited people living in a lagoon on man-made islands they built themselves less than a meter above sea level. It's an image that has really stuck with me: wherever you look, there's water. And that water will keep on rising. It's a scary situation. We're one with nature, but we're also at its mercy. Climate change is very real there.

Those of us from rich industrial countries have caused this situation, so the principle of "polluter pays" should apply to us. But how can you compensate people for the loss of their livelihood? This should make us stop and think and should induce us to limit global warming as quickly as possible, even if it involves denying ourselves certain things and making cultural changes. We are still behaving as if we had no idea as to the consequences of our actions.

#### Sustainable

Professor Björn Vollan, Environmental and Resource Economist at the Philipps University of Marburg, received the *Robert Bosch Junior Professorship* for the Sustainable Use of Natural Resources in 2015. The Robert Bosch Stiftung awards the five-year junior professorship each year. Up-and-coming researchers from a wide range of disciplines can apply here: www.bosch-stiftung.de/juniorprofessorship.

