

# CONTENTS

## Objectives and Method

<b>Objectives .....</b>	<b>2</b>
-------------------------	----------

<b>Framework of the Project: Purposes and Aims .....</b>	<b>3</b>
--	----------

<b>Background .....</b>	<b>4</b>
-------------------------	----------

The History and Background of the Project – its Development, the Right of Return report.....	4
--	---

Political Context of the EU and the Peace Process, the Middle East, Palestinian Refugees.....	6
---	---

Political background to the Refugee Issue.....	6
--	---

The PLO, the PNA, and the Palestinian Refugees and Exiles.....	7
--	---

The Impact of the Oslo Process on Palestinian Refugees and Exiles.....	8
--	---

The Development of Civil Society inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Exclusion of the Palestinians outside.....	8
--	---

The EU and the Peace process .....	9
------------------------------------	---

## Research Available, Current Approaches to the Refugee issue,

<b>Participatory Methodology .....</b>	<b>10</b>
--	-----------

The Role of Facilitation in the Project .....	11
---	----

Pilots .....	12
--------------	----

Jordan.....	12
-------------	----

Lebanon .....	14
---------------	----

Models for the debates.....	20
-----------------------------	----

The Role of Moderators and Facilitators .....	21
---	----

Local Contexts.....	21
---------------------	----

<b>Beginning Mobilisation: Mapping the Communities by the Communities .....</b>	<b>22</b>
---	-----------

<b>The Shape of Political and Civic Society Outside the West Bank and Gaza .....</b>	<b>22</b>
--	-----------

The Political and Civic Landscape in 2003.....	22
--	----

<b>Preparations For The Debates And Meetings .....</b>	<b>24</b>
--	-----------

Addressing Constraints .....	24
------------------------------	----

Creating Public Space.....	24
----------------------------	----

The Action Plans: Operating Two Paths.....	25
--	----

## **Part II: Findings**

<b>Introduction to the Findings .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>I) National Representative .....</b>	<b>33</b>
1) The PLO and the Palestinian People .....	34
a. The PLO as Sole Legitimate Representative .....	34
b. Existing Structures and Channels of Communication .....	35
c. Lack of Connection to the PLO .....	36
d. Absence of and Neglect by the PLO .....	37
e. Need to Reactivate and Revive the PLO .....	41
f. The Palestinian Authority and the PLO .....	44
g. Being Lost Between Authorities .....	46
2) Demands of Our Representatives .....	47
a. International Negotiations .....	47
b. The Role of Offices, Consulates, and Embassies .....	49
c. The Role of Political Leadership .....	52
d. Participation, Elections, and Accountability .....	55
e. Inclusivity .....	62
f. The Need for a Census, Research and Statistics .....	63
g. Services .....	64
<b>II) Host Countries .....</b>	<b>71</b>
1) Channels of Communication with the Host Country .....	72
a. Existing Channels .....	72
b. Recommended Channels and Actions .....	73
2) Status and Conditions of Palestinians .....	77
a. Existing Conditions .....	77
b. Rights and Needs .....	80
i. Civil Rights .....	80
ii. Right to Organize .....	83
iii. Status .....	85
iv. Education and Labour .....	88

<b>III) Humanitarian agencies and other international institutions.....</b>	<b>93</b>
1) Refugee Status.....	94
a. Non-Registered Refugees.....	94
b. UNRWA, Ration Cards, and Legal Status.....	94
2) The United Nations and UNRWA.....	96
a. Perceptions and Understandings of UNRWA.....	96
b. Deterioration, Reduction, and Absence .....	98
c. Accessibility, Transparency, Inclusivity, and Accountability .....	102
d. Channels of Communication.....	104
3) Specific Issues and Needs .....	106
a. Education and Health .....	108
i. Education.....	108
ii. Health.....	111
b. Environment, Infrastructure .....	113
c. Employment and Assistance.....	114
<b>IV) Connecting Palestinian Refugee and Exile Communities.....</b>	<b>117</b>
1) Individual Connection and Institutional Links.....	118
2) Collective Work .....	121
a. Forms of Support.....	121
b. Solidarity Initiatives and Projects.....	122
c. Media, Internet, and Databases.....	125

<b>V) Community Structures and Channels .....</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>1. Former and Current Civic Structures.....</b>	<b>128</b>
a. The Map of the Community.....	128
b. Political and Civic History .....	130
c. Past and Current Organizing .....	133
<b>2. Challenges and Obstacles .....</b>	<b>135</b>
a. External Pressures.....	135
b. Pressures within the Community.....	136
<b>3. Organizational Approaches and Goals .....</b>	<b>144</b>
a. Approaches in Organizing.....	145
b. Coordination and Collective Effort.....	146
c. The Role of Organizers.....	147
<b>4. Procedural Steps .....</b>	<b>148</b>
a. Existing Procedures and Steps .....	148
b. Recommended Procedures and Steps .....	149
i. Models, Census, and Structures .....	153
ii. Job Creation and Fundraising .....	156
iii. Systemization of Work.....	158
<b>5. Structural and Procedural Issues .....</b>	<b>160</b>
a. Types of Organization Needed.....	161
b. Representation and Participation.....	163
c. Procedures for Creating and Maintaining Structures .....	164
d. Composition and Role of Local Representative .....	165
e. Communication and tools.....	167
<b>6. Forms of Engagement .....</b>	<b>168</b>
a. Lobbying and Advocacy.....	168
b. Community Mobilization .....	171
c. Engaging the Media .....	173

<b>VI) Mechanisms, Mobilization, and Representation .....</b>	<b>175</b>
1. Ensuring Representation at Every Level.....	176
2. Importance of Connecting Issues .....	180
a. Palestinian Unity.....	180
b. The Need for Unity in Organizing.....	181
3. Local, Regional, and International Representation.....	181
4. Local Representation and Communication.....	185
a. Local Representative, National Representative, and Other Palestinian Communities .....	185
b. Local Representative, National Representative, and Host Country .....	188
c. Local Representative, National Representative, International Organizations, and Other Palestinian Communities .....	190
d. Local Representative with All Bodies .....	192
5. Issues to be Raised at Several levels .....	194
a. Addressing Different Levels Simultaneously .....	196
b. Security .....	198
c. Displacement .....	199
d. Status, Mobility, Travel, and Documents .....	199
6. Discussing Palestinian Identity .....	201
<b>VII) The Right of Return .....</b>	<b>207</b>
1. Insistence on the Right of Return.....	208
2. Components of the Rights of Return.....	209
a. An Individual and Collective Right .....	210
b. Restitution and Compensation .....	210
c. Return to Original Homes .....	211
3. On Compromise and Negotiations .....	213
4. On Resettlement.....	214
5. Working Towards the Right of Return.....	215

<b>VIII) The Next Generation .....</b>	<b>219</b>
1. Highlighting the Role of Youth .....	220
2. Youth Issues .....	221
a. Marginalization.....	221
b. The Role of Parents .....	222
c. Privileges and Pressures of Youth.....	223
d. Other Challenges.....	224
3. Youth Empowerment.....	225
a. Community Involvement .....	225
b. Education.....	227

## **Part II: Further Findings**

<b>I) Palestine Meetings .....</b>	<b>231</b>
1. Organizing Structures .....	232
2. Connecting between Exile Communities .....	236
a. Mechanisms of Connecting.....	236
b. Solidarity.....	239
3. Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return.....	239
4. The Younger Generation .....	241
5. The Responsibility of the International Community.....	241
6. The Civitas Project .....	242
<b>II) Mobilization and Preparation for the Debates According to Moderators .....</b>	<b>245</b>
1. Mobilizing for the Debates .....	246
a. Preparation Meetings and Introductory Visits .....	246
b. Dissemination and Explanation of the Project to the Community by Local activists .....	246
c. Debates and Community Meetings.....	249
2. Concerns and Priorities .....	254
a. Relationships within the Community.....	254
b. Relationships with the PLO .....	255
c. Host countries.....	257
d. Issues with Civitas and the European Union .....	257
3. Assessing the Project as a Mechanism and its Results .....	258
a. Assessment of Constraints .....	258
b. Methods taken to Overcome Challenges.....	258
c. Participatory Practices.....	259
d. Creating Public Space.....	259
<b>Annexe A: List of meetings .....</b>	<b>A1</b>
<b>Annexe B: Documents Distributed During Meetings .....</b>	<b>B1</b>

