

Mapping and Study of the Palestinian Diaspora in Germany

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List of Abbreviations

AZR	Ausländerzentralregister <i>Central Register for Foreigners</i>
BAMF	Bundesministerium für Migration und Flüchtlinge <i>German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees</i>
BDS	Boycott Disinvestment and Sanctions
BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung <i>German Federal Ministry for Education and Research</i>
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung <i>German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development</i>
CIM	Centre for International Migration and Development
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst <i>German Academic Exchange Service</i>
DPG	Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.
DPMG	Deutsch-Palästinensische Medizinische Gesellschaft e.V.
DZHW	Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung <i>German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies</i>
GEB	Gesellschaft für Erziehung und Bildung
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH <i>German Development Cooperation</i>
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KoPI	Deutscher Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel
MPC	Migration Policy Centre
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
PME	Programm Migration für Entwicklung <i>Programme Migration for Development</i>
PNA	Palestinian National Authorities
SOEP	German Socioeconomic Panel
SVR	Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration <i>The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration</i>
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

US
ZFD

United States
Ziviler Friedensdienst
Civil Peace Service

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Executive Summary

Introduction

This study has been commissioned by the German Development Cooperation (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH; GIZ) in response to an acute need for the analysis of diasporas in Germany. Informing GIZ's *Programm Migration für Entwicklung* (Programme Migration for Development; PME), the study seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the Palestinian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives based in Germany. It will also examine the structures, activities, and agendas of these organisations in a range of areas (e.g. politics, business, science, academia, culture) with respect to the Palestinian Territories and to Germany. Considering their development engagement, potential for cooperation between the Palestinian diaspora organisations and GIZ will be identified.

Concept of diasporas

Since the 1990s, the application of the concept 'diaspora' has grown rapidly through its use in academic, cultural, and political spaces. In line with newer analyses within diaspora literature that see diasporas as a practice and often use the social movement approach for analysis (Koinova, 2014; Adamson, 2012; Sökefeld 2006; Brubaker 2005), this study interprets diasporas as fluid, complex, and dynamic. This project recognises that, being heterogeneous, diasporas consist of various groups with different interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. Whether formal or informal, diaspora organisations and networks channel collective action to promote engagement and mobilisation by the diaspora.

Considering the role of individuals and organisations, diaspora engagement is a concept central to this study. In this regard, the role of conflict-induced diasporas in the development of their homeland is also important. Though conflict-induced diasporas are well-established in the global political economy, their role in conflict and post-conflict settings is unclear and often remains controversial. Importantly, diaspora engagement is extensively heterogeneous and reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves. Because diaspora members may face different social, economic, and political conditions in their destination countries, diaspora engagement is highly dependent on individual diaspora communities. The size, composition, and distribution of diasporic groups also differentially drives diaspora engagement.

Methodology

The research performed for this study took the form of an extended exploratory mapping using mixed methods (e.g. extended desk research, snowball sampling). A literature review on diaspora engagement and the Palestinian diaspora in Germany was first conducted. Secondary data and statistics were also analysed to provide an overview of the demographic and socioeconomic

characteristics of members of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. Second, a mapping of Palestinian migrant organisations in Germany was performed using a search of the Common Register Portal of the German Federal States (*Handelsregister*). Contact information for these organisations was taken from the *Handelsregister* or was found through additional online searches. Contacts for Palestinian organisations in Germany provided by GIZ were also included in the mapping. Third, members of the diaspora were interviewed in a semi-structured manner. All interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using inductive content analysis to identify common and unique narratives of diasporic experiences. Informal and unstructured interviews with GIZ staff members were also conducted to provide an overview of the work of GIZ in the Palestinian context.

Palestinian diaspora: Migration patterns & history

The Palestinian diaspora mainly originated during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 1948, when 725,000 individuals emigrated from the Palestinian Territories. In a second wave of significant outward migration, another 250,000 Palestinians fled due to the 1967 Israeli-Arab War (MPC, 2013). Even though Palestinian communities formed throughout Western Europe and the United States as a result of their emigration, the majority live in Arab countries. Though estimating the number of Palestinians abroad is not easy (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011), the stock of emigrants from the Palestinian Territories was estimated to be 1,008,065 in 2011 (MPC, 2013). On the other hand, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) (2010) reports that more than 7 million Palestinians lived outside of the Palestinian Territories in 2010.¹ Specifically, Palestinian migration to Germany started in the 1950s and 1960s with the arrival of waves of low-skilled migrants and students, respectively. Lebanese conflicts in the mid-1970s and early 1980s also displaced a high number of Palestinian refugees to Germany. More recently, forced displacement as a result of the eruption of conflicts in Libya in 2010 and Syria in 2011 has caused the arrival of more Palestinian refugees to Germany.

Palestinian diaspora organisations and their engagement in development

According to Koinova (2017), the Oslo Accords in 1993 can be considered critical juncture as it shifted the centre of gravity of the Palestinian struggle from the diaspora to the homeland territory. Many of the study's interview respondents also highlighted that the Oslo Accords marked a turning point in Palestinian diaspora mobilisation in Germany. Emotionally, people were frustrated and unsatisfied with the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, as the right to return and other fundamental refugee rights were neglected in the negotiations. This led

¹ It should be noted that the PCBS (2010) figure largely consists of Palestinian descendants (namely second and third generation migrants), many of which are also Palestinian refugees.

to the creation of more independent diaspora associations and networks in Germany that tried to unify the different political views under one umbrella.

As a result of different waves and patterns of migration to Germany, the Palestinian immigrant community is marked by great diversity in terms of origin places, socio-economic factors, religion, political affiliations, and reasons for migration. This diversity of the heterogenous, multi-layered Palestinian population in Germany has contributed to a dynamic pattern of diaspora mobilisation and engagement. Fields of engagement of Palestinian diaspora organisations include advocacy, culture & integration, development, and humanitarian aid. Moreover, organisational composition reveals diversity in terms of size as well as in the nationalities, ages, and professional backgrounds of members. Despite a desire to professionalise engagement to further realise organisational potential, a lack of capacity – especially at the financial level – is clearly articulated by many organisations. In many of the organisations, work is carried out by members on a voluntary basis.

Organisational activities in the Palestinian Territories are mostly related to development and humanitarian aid through the provision of financial support and medical relief. There are efforts to support the development of the Palestinian medical system and health sector, promote education, advocate for gender equality and women's empowerment, as well as improve employment opportunities. In Germany, much of the organisational efforts are focused on advocacy, namely providing clarification of the Palestinian conflict and history as well as garnering solidarity from Germans for the Palestinian cause. Culture & integration activities also aim to promote the cultural heterogeneity of the Palestinian Territories, foster German-Palestinian intercultural dialogue, and enable mutual understanding, as well as teach younger generations of Palestinians in Germany about their origin and about Palestinian history. There are also efforts to promote the professional and economic integration of Palestinians in Germany and to provide support for newly incoming refugees to Germany. In addition to student and professional exchanges, these activities generally aim to promote a form of productive knowledge transfer between Germany and the Palestinian Territories.

Notable cooperation and diaspora networks include the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.*; the *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.*; the *Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland*; *PalTech Europe*; *PalMed Europe*; the *Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland e.V.*; the *Verein Deutsch-Palästinensische Ingenieure NRW e.V.*; and the *Palästinensischer Studentenverein*. Outside of these networks, more informal collaboration is also seen.

Policy influence on Palestinian diaspora activities

The State of Palestine's National Development Plan 2014-2016 lays out a number of strategic objectives, though limited, related to engagement of the Palestinian diaspora: to form a more effective Palestinian presence, to develop consular relations and protect Palestinians abroad, to

strengthen relations with the Palestinian diaspora and its refugees, and to preserve the national identity and cultural heritage of the Palestinian Territories. Despite this, the more recent National Policy Agenda 2017-2022 makes no mention of the Palestinian diaspora nor Palestinians abroad. Moreover, there are no Palestinian policies for remittances, despite the significant importance of these monetary transfers for the economy.

Bilateral political relations between Germany and the Palestinian Territories have been strengthened in the last years, and coordination that aims to promote development cooperation between Germany and the Palestinian Territories is also of relevance. The main fields of action for GIZ's PME include the *Returning Experts* and *Diaspora Cooperation* fields of action. The German government and institutions support a range of cultural relations with the Palestinian Territories, as well as its sporting and religious activities and student initiatives.

Key challenges and avenues for cooperation

In realising their engagement, Palestinian diaspora organisations are confronted with a range of challenges in the Palestinian Territories, Germany, and within the diaspora community that prevent them from reaching their full potential. Within the Palestinian Territories, organisations primarily face obstacles with acquiring the access needed to engage in their activities. In Germany, organisations often find their discursive abilities constrained. In particular, organisations noted finding it difficult to be critical of Israel without being seen as anti-Semitic and were generally challenged by xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes. Within the diaspora community, it is especially challenging for organisations to mobilise Palestinians due to fragmentation of the diaspora. In addition to this lack of human capital, organisations also experience capacity constraints due to limited infrastructure and financial resources.

In considering these hurdles faced by the Palestinian diaspora, there are several recommendations and ways forward for cooperation with the GIZ as well as more generally to support the growing potential for development-related activities of the Palestinian diaspora. Particularly, initiatives of the GIZ should focus on enabling the engagement of Palestinian diaspora organisations and active individuals through capacity-building initiatives and financial support; considering untapped potential among Palestinian entrepreneurs and professional organisations; as well as advocating for facilitated access to the Palestinian Territories. More generally, there should be increased efforts made to better statistically understand the characteristics (e.g. size, geographical distribution, socio-economic background) of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany.

The politicised nature of the Palestinian diaspora and its engagement should also be recognised in a way that creates a space for diverse discussions and long-term cooperation. In addition to this, the involvement of women and youth should be encouraged to further diversify the nature of diaspora engagement. Such aforementioned forms of cooperation and collaboration have

extensive potential to support existing organisations and new initiatives in reaching their full potential. Moreover, measures that address the challenges of the Palestinian diaspora in its engagement in both Germany and the Palestinian Territories will promote sustainable social transformation and developments of peace in the Palestinian Territories.

1. Introduction

The Palestinian diaspora mainly originated during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as Palestinians did not leave the country in significant numbers before 1948. However, 725,000 individuals emigrated from the Palestinian Territories – for the most part, in forced circumstances – as a direct consequence of the 1948-1949 Israeli-Arab War. In a second wave of significant outward migration, another 250,000 Palestinians fled due to the 1967 Israeli-Arab War (MPC, 2013). Even though Palestinian communities formed throughout Western Europe and the United States (US) as a result of their emigration, the majority of these Palestinians live in Arab countries. Though estimating the number of Palestinians abroad is not easy (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011), the stock of Palestinian emigrants was estimated to be 1,008,065 in 2011 (MPC, 2013). The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) (2015), on the other hand, suggests that more than 7.7 million Palestinians lived outside of the Palestinian Territories in 2015.²

Palestinian migration to Germany started in the 1950s and 1960s with the arrival of waves of low-skilled migrants and students, respectively. Lebanese conflicts in the mid-1970s and early 1980s also displaced a high number of Palestinian refugees to Germany. More recently, forced displacement as a result of the eruption of conflicts in Libya in 2010 and Syria in 2011 has caused the arrivals of more Palestinian refugees to Germany. As a result of these different patterns of migration to Germany, the Palestinian immigrant community is marked by great diversity in terms of origin places, socio-economic factors, religion, political affiliations, and reasons for migration. This diversity of the heterogenous, multi-layered Palestinian population in Germany has contributed to a dynamic pattern of diaspora mobilisation and engagement.

This study has been commissioned by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) GmbH, financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung*; BMZ), in response to an acute need for the analysis of diasporas in Germany. Particularly, this study qualitatively and quantitatively examines the characteristics of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. This project recognises that diasporas, being heterogeneous and complex, consist of various groups with different interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. As such, the project seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the Palestinian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives (both organised and not organised) based in Germany. The study will evaluate the degree and form of these organisations in addition to their activities and agendas. Moreover, the study will explore specific policies in place related to the Palestinian diaspora as well as the activities of the diaspora in a range of areas (e.g. politics, business, science, academia, culture) with respect to the Palestinian Territories and to Germany, its digital presence, and its

² It should be noted that the PCBS figure largely consists of Palestinian descendants (namely second and third generation migrants), many of which are also Palestinian refugees.

development engagement. Finally, potential for cooperation between Palestinian diaspora organisations and GIZ will be identified.

The study informs GIZ’s Programme Migration for Development (*Programm Migration für Entwicklung*; PME), which focuses on promoting the capacity of migrants in Germany to engage in knowledge transfer within development-oriented sectors in their origin countries. Funded by the BMZ, PME is a global programme active in twenty-five countries, including the Palestinian Territories, and has five focus areas: migration policy advisory services, migration counselling, development-oriented return, business ideas for development, and diaspora cooperation. Having experienced a range of structural changes during the last year, the programme currently consists of two modules. The first module – “Development-oriented migration” – includes the fields of action that have been relevant since the beginning of the programme (e.g. knowledge transfer of return migrants, cooperation with diaspora organisations, migrants as entrepreneurs, migration advice and policy consulting). The second module – “Informed return and reintegration” – was added at the beginning of 2017 to expand BMZ’s returnee programme *Returning to New Opportunities*. In particular, this module supports the return and reintegration of migrants and refugees who return to their origin countries from Germany. The second module also involves the establishment of information centres to support returnees with reintegration as well as to advise the local population about opportunities both in Germany as well as in their country of origin in the partner countries.

In this regard, the aims of the study are (1) to gain oversight of the characteristics of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany, (2) to map contacts of Palestinian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives (as well as any loosely organised networks) based in Germany and assess their development potential, and (3) to develop recommendations regarding a context-specific and context-appropriate strategy to approach members of the diaspora. The study focuses on the following main research questions, with sub-questions being elaborated in Table 1.

- How is the Palestinian diaspora characterised?
- What Palestinian diaspora organisations exist in Germany, and what are their aims and activities?
- In what ways does the diaspora contribute to the development of the Palestinian Territories?
- What are the potentials for constructive cooperation between the Palestinian diaspora and the GIZ?

Table 1: Research sub-questions

Topic	Research sub-questions
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Characteristics of the Palestinian diaspora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the demographic and socioeconomic profile of members of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany? • In what ways has the diaspora developed (e.g. through home- and/or host-country factors?)
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What networks, organisations, associations, and initiatives of the Palestinian diaspora exist in Germany, and what are their aims and activities? • What kinds of cooperation (e.g. in the form of umbrella organisations) exist among different groups within the Palestinian diaspora? • What lines of division or conflict exist among different groups within the Palestinian diaspora?
Transnational practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What forms of engagement and involvement with the Palestinian Territories do different types of diaspora organisations pursue, and what factors influence these initiatives? • What are the prospects for mobilisation of these organisations to foster development in the Palestinian Territories and in their wider region of origin? • What lines of conflict, if any, exist with or in the country or origin?
Potentials for cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the needs and goals of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany? • How can these goals be connected for constructive involvement and cooperation between the GIZ and members of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany?

The rest of this report is outlined as follows: Section 2 defines the concept of diaspora as it is used in this study and considers the role of organisations in diaspora engagement. The methodology used in the study is described in Section 3. In Section 4, the migration patterns and history of the Palestinian diaspora are considered. The characteristics of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany are also examined in this chapter. Section 5 analyses the Palestinian diaspora organisations as well as their characteristics and engagement practices. Section 6 considers the existing Palestinian policies toward the diaspora as well as the development and diaspora policies in Germany. Key challenges and avenues for cooperation are outlined in Section 7, while Section 8 concludes the report.

2. Concept of diasporas

Defining the concept of diasporas

Research on diasporas has significantly proliferated in recent decades, especially starting in the 1980s and 1990s. It was not until the 1990s and 2000s, however, that the concept was taken up by the policy world, that states began engaging with their diasporas, and that diasporas called themselves as such. Since then, the term 'diaspora' has grown to describe immigrant populations, displaced communities, ethnic minorities, and transnational social formations (Brubaker, 2005). Well-known definitions and conceptualisations of the term 'diaspora' come from Hall (1990), Safran (1991), Gilroy (1993), Van Hear (2014; 1998), Brubaker (2005), Sökefeld (2006), and Cohen (2008), among others.

Hall (1990) sees diasporas as a form of cultural reproduction linked to globalisation, while Gilroy (1993) imagines them as a form of consciousness requiring collective memory. Safran (1991) and Cohen (2008), rather, lay out the common features of diasporas. Specifically, they suggest that diasporas require a dispersal of the original homeland to two or more other places (either forcefully or voluntarily in search of work or trade). Moreover, for Safran (1991) and Cohen (2008), diasporas are characterised by the presence of a common myth or idealisation of the homeland; a commitment to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland; the eventual development of return movement; the development of an ethnic group consciousness and the mobilisation of this diasporic identity in sustained solidarity with co-ethnics; as well as a troubled relationship or tensions with the host society (Cohen, 2008; Safran, 1991).

Similarly, Van Hear (1998) outlines three minimal criteria for the definition of a diaspora, namely (1) the dispersal from a homeland to two or more other places, (2) the enduring presence abroad, which may be mediated by back and forth movements, and (3) a social, political, and/or cultural exchange between those who are spatially separated. To this, Brubaker (2005) adds that there must be a maintenance of boundaries, namely "the preservation of a distinctive identity [of a diasporic group] vis-à-vis a host society (or societies" (p. 6). Like Brubaker (2005), Sökefeld (2006) also suggests that the proliferation of the concept of diaspora has resulted in a loss of its analytical power. As such, Sökefeld (2006) argues for conceptualising diasporas as "transnational imagined communities" that span across different geographical spaces (p. 267). Moreover, Sökefeld (2006) maintains that there must be a consciousness of the diaspora in order for it to exist and that there cannot be a diaspora "in itself."

Drawing from these conceptualisations of diaspora, however, Brubaker (2005) illustrates that the application of the concept has grown rapidly to result in "a dispersion of the meanings of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space" (p. 1). Brubaker (2005) further critiques the concept of diaspora, suggesting it should be treated as "an idiom, stance, and claim" that can be

deployed by its members (p. 1). Particularly, this line of thinking allows diaspora to be conceptualised in ways beyond substantialism and cultural essentialism; it draws from the social movement approach to analyse diasporas and also allows for seeing diasporas as practices.

In this regard, Sökefeld (2006) suggests that, based on the social movement approach, there must be opportunities and structures that enable the mobilisation of diasporas, particularly when seeing diasporas as “contingent on the imagination of a transnational community and upon the self-identification of actors as members of this community” (p. 271). As such, he argues that diaspora formation relies on the mobilising practices of its networks for the proliferation of collective action (Sökefeld, 2006). Adamson (2012) similarly understands diasporas using a framework of social movements, suggesting that diasporas are formed by “political entrepreneurs acting rationally and strategically through the strategic deployment of identity frames and categories” (p. 32). In addition, Koinova (2011; 2014) relies on the literature of transnational social movements when considering the mobilisation of diasporas. Koinova (2014) suggests that, similarly to transnational social movements, “diaspora entrepreneurs can act on global and local opportunity structures, [...] reframe issues during foreign policy lobbying, [...] and use ‘transnational brokerage’ to connect smaller networks into larger ones” (p. 4).

In line with such newer analyses within diaspora literature, this study sees diasporas as fluid, complex, and dynamic. In particular, this study focuses on the Palestinian diaspora in Germany, its organisational framework, as well as its transnational practices and linkages. This project recognises that diasporas, being heterogeneous and multi-layered, consist of various groups with different interests, agendas, and degrees of organisation. In this regard, the findings of this study should not be considered representative of the Palestinian immigrant population as a whole. Rather, this study’s findings should serve to highlight characteristics of the Palestinian migrant organisations, associations, and initiatives based in Germany. As such, this study aims to improve the current understandings of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany as well as of the contribution of Palestinian immigrant organisations to development in the Palestinian Territories. Moreover, the study intends to reveal potential for cooperation between Palestinian diaspora organisations and GIZ.

Organisations & the role of diaspora engagement

Whether formal or informal, diaspora organisations and networks – as also explored in this study for the case of the Palestinian Territories – channel collective action to promote engagement and mobilisation by the diaspora. Considering diasporas, Sökefeld (2006) maintains that “[m]obilising structures can be networks of people that are bound to the same issue or formal organisations that are established for the purpose of making particular claims” (p. 269). According to Van Hear (2014), such organisations can, among others, include schools, religious entities, as well as community organisations. It is especially important, however, to critically reflect on the role of

diaspora organisations as they often state to represent the diasporic group as a whole, without necessarily having the legitimation to do so. In this regard, it often tends to be a rather small elite that mobilises in the name of the diaspora (Marinova, 2017; Baser, 2014; Portes, Escobar, & Arana, 2008; Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003). Keeping these considerations in mind, Section 5 of this report analyses the Palestinian diaspora in Germany, its organisational framework, its transnational linkages and practices, as well as its role in the development of the Palestinian Territories.

Considering the role of individuals and organisations, diaspora engagement is a concept central to this study. In this regard, the role of conflict-induced diasporas in the development of their homeland is also important. Though conflict-induced diasporas are well-established in the global political economy, their role in conflict and post-conflict settings is unclear and often remains controversial (Van Hear & Cohen, 2016; Smith & Stares, 2007). This controversy stems from the question of whether diasporas are peace-bringing or conflict-maintaining. Drawing from a range of scholars from different disciplines, Van Hear & Cohen (2016) show that the influence of diasporas has been largely inconsistent over time and even among groups. In the last decade, literature has shown diasporas to “move between roles as ‘war-mongers’ and ‘peace-wreckers’ fomenting conflict and spoiling the chances of reconciliation, or as ‘peace-makers’ and ‘peace-builders’ assisting with relief and recovery during and after conflict” (Van Hear & Cohen, 2016, p. 2).

Importantly, diaspora engagement is extensively heterogeneous and reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves. Because diaspora members may face different social, economic, and political conditions in their destination countries, diaspora engagement is highly dependent on individual diaspora communities. The size, composition, and distribution of diasporic groups also differentially drives diaspora engagement. Despite sharing a country of birth or origin, diaspora communities can also differ from one another in terms of interests, values, aims and objectives, aspirations, activities, and institutions (Shain & Barth, 2003; Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001). In this regard, it is also important to distinguish between the capacity and desire to participate in diasporic forms of engagement. Particularly, the ability to engage in the diaspora is driven by factors such as distance, security, wealth, resources, social capital, and class (Van Hear & Cohen, 2016). Considering these complexities, Section 4 of this report provides an overview of the characteristics of Palestinian emigration and the diaspora in Germany, both historically and currently. Moreover, Section 6 of this report is devoted to furthering the understanding of the diaspora- and country-specific factors that influence the engagement of the Palestinian diaspora and its potentials for development.

3. Methodology

The research performed for this study took the form of an extended exploratory mapping using mixed methods (e.g. extended desk research, snowball sampling) for the collection and analysis of data. Specifically, the study is focused on the diaspora organisations that target the Palestinian Territories or the Palestinian community in Germany. As such, a literature review on diaspora engagement and the Palestinian diaspora in Germany was first conducted. Secondary data and statistics were also analysed to provide an overview of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of members of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany.

Second, to construct a comprehensive overview of the organisational landscape, a mapping of Palestinian migrant organisations in Germany was performed. As part of this, a search of the Common Register Portal of the German Federal States (*Handelsregister*, 2017) was conducted using the German and English keywords *Palästina*, *palästinensisch*, *palästinensische*, *palästinensischer*, *Palestinian*, and *Palestine*. As part of this search, 110 organisations of relevance were identified. Contact information for these organisations was taken from the *Handelsregister* or was found through additional online searches. Fifteen contacts for Palestinian organisations in Germany provided by GIZ were also included in the mapping. After the identification of key contacts through the initial mapping, snowball sampling and extended desk research were used to identify additional contacts. Seventy-five contacts were excluded due to missing contact information (telephone number, physical/ mailing address, email address) and lack of a web presence or Facebook page. The findings presented in this study relate to the thirty-five organisations for which contact information (telephone number, email address, or a web presence) and information on their aims and activities were available. Information about the activities and aims of the organisations included in the mapping has been taken from their websites or Facebook pages as well as from the interviews.

Third, to gain a deeper understanding of the engagement of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany, members of the diaspora were interviewed. In total, nineteen interviews with members of the Palestinian diaspora as well as stakeholders were interviewed between October and December 2017. Characteristics of the interview respondents can be seen in Table 2. For most of the respondents, migration to Germany was largely driven by educational reasons. At the time of the interview, the duration of stay in Germany ranged between approximately one year and fifty years. The sample also included respondents that were born in Germany and could be considered second-generation migrants. In addition, the vast majority of the respondents were male.

Table 2: Characteristics of interview respondents

Code	Gender	Main organisational focus	Reason for migration	Year of arrival in Germany	Date & place of interview
IN1	Male	Advocacy	Education	2000	October 2017; Skype
IN2	Male	Advocacy; Development (civil society)	Education	1960s	October 2017; Phone
IN3	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Political persecution & personal reasons	2016	October 2017; Phone
IN4	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education	1986	October 2017; Phone
IN5	Male	Advocacy	Education	1961	October 2017; Bonn
IN6	Male	Student network; Culture & integration	N/A	Born in Germany	October 2017; Phone
IN7	Male	Professional network; Culture & integration; Development; Humanitarian aid	Education & financial reasons	1986	November 2017; Phone
IN8	Male	Professional network; Development; Humanitarian aid	Education & family ties	1972	November 2017; Phone
IN9	Male	(Individual)	Education & work	1958	November 2017; Düsseldorf
IN10	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education	1969	November 2017; Munich
IN11	Male	Political activist	N/A	Born in Germany	November 2017; Siegen
IN12	Female	Professional network; Culture & integration; Development; Humanitarian aid	Education	1992	November 2017; Hamburg
IN13a	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education	1980	November 2017; Wuppertal

IN13b	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education	1990	November 2017; Wuppertal
IN14	Male	Representative of the Palestinian Mission	N/A	N/A	November 2017; Berlin
IN15	Female	Advocacy; Culture & integration	N/A	Born in Germany	November 2017; Phone
IN16	Male	Advocacy	Education	1985	November 2017; Hannover
IN17	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education	1991	December 2017; Siegen
IN18	Male	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Education & family ties	1973	December 2017; Cologne
IN19	Male	Advocacy	Education	1981	December 2017; Cologne

Source: Fieldwork data

The interviews were carried out in a semi-structured manner based on an interview guide (found in Appendix B) with the following focuses:

1. **Introduction and migration history:** As an introduction, respondents were asked to share their migration experience: about their life before leaving the Palestinian Territories, about their reasons for migration, and the year in which they migrated to Germany.
2. **Palestinian diaspora:** These questions dealt asking respondents about the characteristics of the Palestinian diaspora (in terms of socioeconomic and demographic factors, political aspirations, ethnicity, and religion) as well as its networks and ties to the Palestinian Territories. Moreover, the questions addressed the evolution of the diaspora since the respondent's arrival in Germany.
3. **Basic organisational information:** Respondents were asked information about their organisation, specifically about how and why it was established. Questions aimed to determine the origins and goals of the organisation, its registration status and financing, as well as the size and composition of its membership.
4. **Current organisational activities in conflict:** This section aimed to determine the current activities and events contributed to or organised by the organisation. Questions also addressed the reasons behind the organisation's core activities and the role of the organisation in the development of the Palestinian Territories (e.g. though fund-raising events, raising collective remittances, and mentorship programs).
5. **Cooperation:** These questions dealt with understanding the forms of cooperation and networks that exist among diaspora organisations, other stakeholders in both the German and Palestinian contexts, as well as programs that facilitate such collaboration. Further, the

questions aimed to explore potential cooperation between Palestinian migrant organisations and GIZ.

- 6. Main challenges and future plans:** This section sought to uncover what the Palestinian migrant organisations planned to achieve in the coming months and years (i.e. short-, medium-, and long-term goals). Moreover, the questions aimed at identifying what organisations saw as challenges and obstacles in their current and future engagement.

Though these questions served as a guide for each of the interviews carried out as part of this study, they were asked in flexible manner that allowed for natural and fluid discussions with each of the respondents. All of the interviews were recorded, based on the permission of the interview respondents. To ensure in-depth analyses of the interview data, all interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using inductive content analysis to identify common and unique narratives of diasporic experiences.

In addition to the interviews with the Palestinian diaspora organisations, members, and stakeholders, informal and unstructured interviews with GIZ staff members were also conducted. These interviews provided an overview of the work of the GIZ in the Palestinian context as well as with regards to migration and development more generally. Serving as additional background knowledge for this study, these interviews helped to inform Section 6.2 on development and diaspora engagement policies in Germany.

4. Palestinian diaspora: Migration patterns & history

The dimension and nature of diaspora involvement depends on the size, composition, and distribution of diaspora groups, as well as on individual capabilities and aspirations. Therefore, it is essential to understand the broader migration patterns and the social, economic, and political conditions that Palestinian migrants encounter in their destination country. As such, this section provides a brief overview of general emigration trends from the Palestinian Territories and considers the characteristics of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany.

4.1. Palestinian emigration profile

According to the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) (2013), between 725,000 individuals emigrated from the Palestinian Territories – for the most part, in forced circumstances – as a direct consequence of the 1948-1949 Israeli-Arab War. In a second wave of significant outward migration, another 250,000 Palestinians fled due to the 1967 Israeli-Arab War (MPC, 2013). Palestinian refugees also fled their homeland as a consequence of the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) from Jordan in 1970 as well as of Palestinians from Iraq in 2006; in addition, Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the 1990-1991 Gulf War, and insecure living conditions

overall have created further waves of emigration from the Palestinian Territories (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011).

Table 3: Characteristics of Palestinian emigration, 1940s-2010s

Time period	Characteristics
1940s-1950s	Forced migration due to 1948-1949 Israeli-Arab War
1960s-1970s	Forced migration due to 1967 Israeli-Arab War, expulsion of PLO from Jordan in 1970 Labour migration to present-day Jordan, oil-producing states in the Gulf (also to European and North American destinations after 1967)
1980s-1990s	Forced migration due to Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, 1990-1991 Gulf War Reduced labour migration to the Gulf due to closure of labour markets
2000s-2010s	Migration due to political and security situation as well as worsening socio-economic conditions (e.g. as a result of the 2000-2005 Second Intifada)

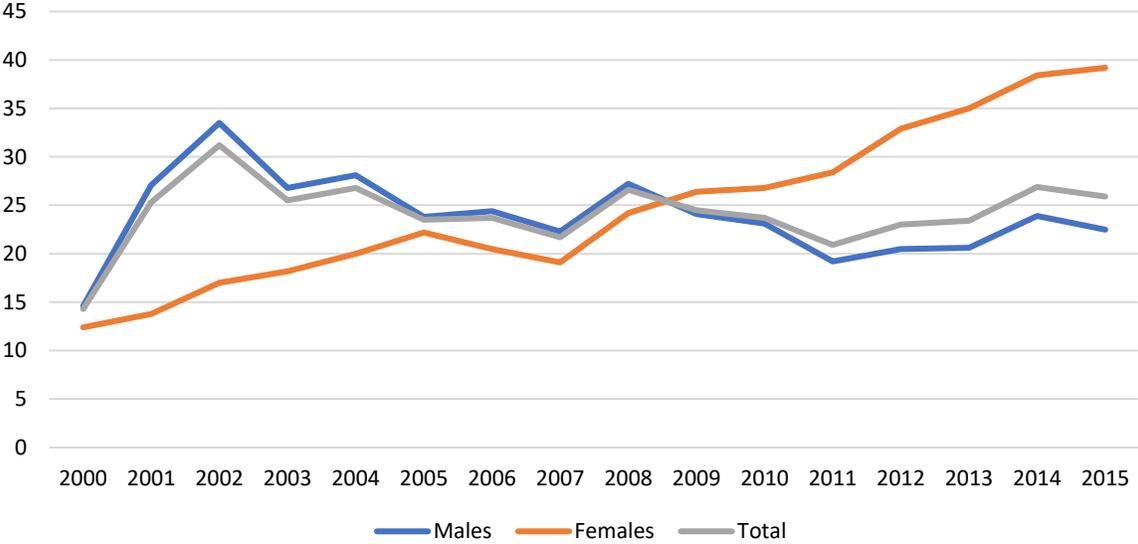
Source: Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011

As shown in Table 3, many Palestinians also emigrated for purposes of labour migration, starting primarily in the 1960s, and in search of improved livelihoods. During this time, many Palestinians emigrated from West Bank to the East Bank, especially to Amman in present-day Jordan. During the Jordanian occupation and annexation of the West Bank between 1949 and 1988, Palestinians often emigrated for labour purposes to oil-producing states in the Gulf; after 1967, some of this emigration also shifted to include destinations in Europe and North America (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011). These labour migrants were generally highly skilled and often migrated

with their families. More recent waves of emigration from the Palestinian Territories starting in the 2000s have been due to the political situation and socio-economic conditions (MPC, 2013). Specifically, there are a significant number of Palestinians that commute to Israel, fulfilling jobs in the construction, services, and agriculture industries; these jobs are largely semi-skilled and unskilled (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011).

Such labour migration to Israel originally stemmed from Israel’s economic growth in the early 1970s (Feiler, 1994), though it has continued to this day. In this regard, an estimated 107,000 Palestinian emigrants were working in the Israeli economy in 2015 (ILO, 2015). According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2015), the political situation in the Palestinian Territories and the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank have led to economic decline that has been detrimental for the Palestinian labour market. In fact, unemployment rates increased by 25 per cent between 2013 and 2014, creating an average 27 per cent unemployment rate in the Arab territories. Youth employment is especially high, being 40 per cent for male youth and 63 per cent for female youth (ILO, 2015). Figure 1 shows these fluctuations in Palestinian unemployment rates amongst labour force participants aged 15 years and above between the years 2000 and 2015 (PCBS, n.d.).

Figure 1: Palestinian unemployment rates, 2000-2015 (in per cent)



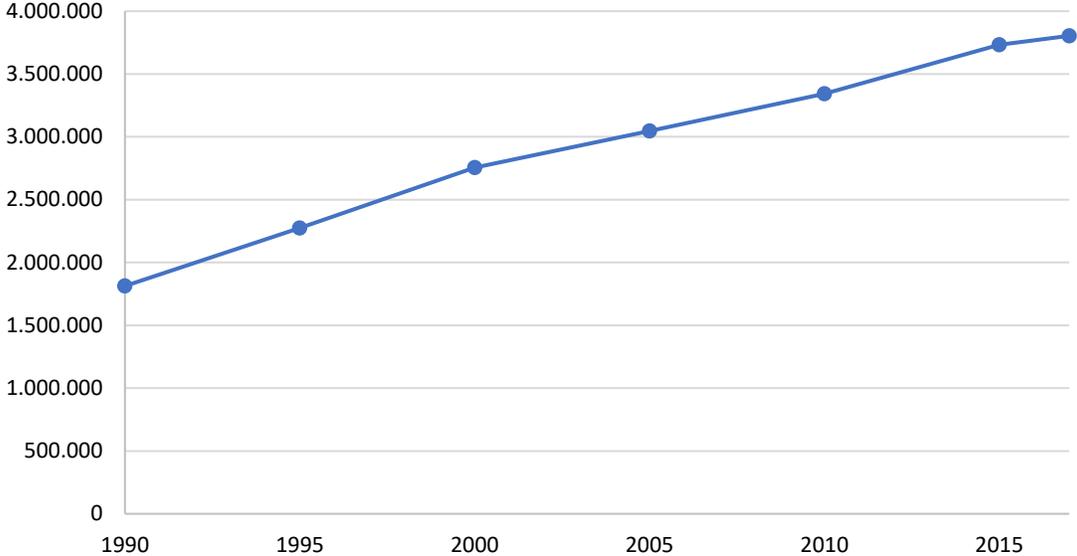
Source: PCBS, n.d.

Though estimating the number of Palestinians abroad is not easy (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011), the stock of Palestinian emigrants was estimated to be 1,008,065 in 2011, with top countries of residence being Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt (MPC, 2013). As previously mentioned, it is important to recognise that “Palestinian emigrants are defined according to the country of birth [...] or country of nationality criterion according to countries of

residence”; as such, many Palestinians abroad – especially those in Syria and Jordan – are often second and third generation Palestinian refugees and did not emigrate from the Palestinian Territories themselves (MPC, 2013). Of the Palestinian Territories’ emigrant stock, an estimated 51.2 per cent emigrated before 2000, while 28.4 per cent left after 2005 (PCBS, 2010). Outflows were generally small (only 32,848 individuals) between the years of 2005 and 2009; this figure, though, excludes families which have entirely emigrated (MPC, 2013; PCBS, 2010).

Based on data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) (2017), Figure 2 shows the growth in the Palestinian emigration stock between 1990 and 2017.

Figure 2: Growth in Palestinian emigrant stock, 1990-2017



Source: UN DESA, 2017

Though these figures do, to a certain extent, contain the numbers of Palestinian refugees as reported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN DESA (2017) estimated the Palestinian emigrant stock to be 3,803,893 in 2017. In this regard, it should also be noted that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) (n.d.) suggests that more than five million Palestinian refugees (though, also including those residing in the West Bank and Gaza) are eligible for its services.

As seen in Table 4, the destination countries for these emigrants included Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (UN DESA, 2017). In slight contrast to these figures, PCBS (2015) suggests that, of the 12,365,761 total Palestinians globally at the end of 2015, only 4,749,486 lived in the Palestinian Territories. The remainder lived mainly in Israel (1,471,201; 11.9%) and other Arab countries (5,459,678; 44.2%), with only 5.5 per cent (685,396) living in other foreign countries.

Table 4: Top 10 destination countries for Palestinian emigrants, 2017

Rank	Destination Country	Stock	% of total stock
1	Jordan	2,046,650	53.8
2	Syria	630,490	16.6
3	Lebanon	506,966	13.3
4	Libya	292,545	7.6
5	Egypt	127,186	3.3
6	United Arab Emirates (UAE)	55,608	1.4
7	United States	39,529	1.0
8	Algeria	31,477	0.8
9	Kuwait	15,532	0.4
10	Iraq	12,291	0.3

Source: UN DESA, 2017 // Note: In the cases of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, the UAE, Kuwait, and Iraq, UN DESA (2017) adds the number of refugees (as reported by UNHCR) to the estimates of international migrants.

There are limited data (especially recent ones) on the profiles and characteristics of Palestinians abroad. Calculations from 2011 suggest, however, that the Palestinian emigrant stock was predominantly male (55.2%), with females accounting for the remaining 44.8 per cent (MPC, 2013). Based on 2010 numbers, the main reasons for emigration included engaging in study (34.4%) or work (13.7%) abroad, moving for family reasons (21.9%), and searching for better living conditions (14.6%). The main justification for emigration among the majority of female emigrants (64.0%) was for family reasons (Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin, 2011, p. 5). This gender imbalance, suggest Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin (2011), shows that migration is still seen as a “male activity” among Palestinians (p. 5).

Based on the 2011 figures previously mentioned, 67.2 per cent of Palestinian emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 64. In terms of education, 2006 figures suggest that 20.6 per cent of Palestinian emigrants had a primary education level or below, 30.2 per cent had secondary education, and 14.2 per cent had a tertiary education. In terms of occupation, these same 2006 figures suggest that 21.9 per cent of Palestinian emigrants were professionals; 17.6 per cent legislators, senior officials, and managers; and 14.2 per cent service or sales workers (MPC, 2013). Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin (2011) also suggest that, in general, Palestinians abroad “show an extremely high socioeconomic profile, their education being historically considered as the main tool of empowerment within the Palestinian community” (p. 3).

More specific and recent information about the numbers and characteristics of Palestinian emigrants is provided by the Palestinian Territories’ first, though also most recent, migration survey. The *Migration’s Survey in the Palestinian Territory* was carried out by PCBS in 2010. The

survey suggests that more than 32,000 individuals emigrated from the Palestinian Territories between the years of 2005 and 2009. Moreover, the survey's data show that these emigrants are members of an estimated 6.7 per cent of Palestinian households. It is also reported that 3.4 per cent of households in the Palestinian Territories have one emigrant, while 1.1 per cent have two emigrants. Only 1.2 per cent of the total Palestinian households have five or more emigrant members (PCBS, 2010, p. 15). At the household level, 43.1 per cent of Palestinian emigrants are classified as sons, while only 26.1 per cent are daughters (PCBS, 2010).

For the reporting period of the survey, the majority of emigrants from the Palestinian Territory were young, with 33.0 per cent being between the ages of 15 and 29 years and 25.6 per cent being between the ages of 33 and 44 years. Emigration motivations for these individuals included purposes of education/study (34.4%), desires for improved livelihood (14.6%), and limited occupational opportunities in the Palestinian Territories (13.7%). Another 21.9 per cent emigrated for purposes of family reunification or marriage. In terms of education, 35.7 per cent had secondary education, 6.2 per cent held an associate diploma, and an additional 35.7 per cent held a university degree or higher. In comparison, 1.3 per cent of emigrants from the Palestinian Territory had less than elementary education. These figures are shown disaggregated by gender in Table 5.

Table 5: Percentage distribution of emigrants since 2000 by educational attainment, 2010

Educational Attainment	Females	Males	Both genders
Less than elementary	2.5	0.8	1.3
Elementary	9.1	3.2	4.9
Preparatory	25.3	11.6	15.4
Secondary	26.5	39.3	35.7
Associate diploma	7.6	5.6	6.2
Bachelor and above	28.5	38.5	35.7
Not stated	0.5	1.0	0.8

Source: Adapted from a table of the same name shown in the Migration's Survey in the Palestinian Territory (PCBS, 2010, p. 29)

With respect to Palestinians living abroad, the World Bank (2017) suggests that Syria is the country with the highest numbers of international migrants in relation to the total national population. The Palestinian Territories rank second (World Bank, 2017). As such, the World Bank (2017) suggests that remittances to the Palestinian Territories are of great magnitude and importance. Specifically, in 2015, the Palestinian Territories received US\$2.2 billion in incoming remittances, making up an estimated 17 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Moreover, the compensation for Palestinian employees in Israel was an estimated US\$1.2 billion during the same year. When this compensation is considered, inward remittances contribute to 26 per cent of the

GDP of the Palestinian Territories. These remittances are approximately equivalent to the aid received, twice as sizeable as exports, and ten to fifteen times as large as foreign direct investment received by the Palestinian Territories (World Bank, 2017, p. 16).

4.2. Characteristics of Palestinian immigrant population in Germany

Section 4.2 provides an overview of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany. The German Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) collects annual data on the immigrant population in Germany and supplies, where available, information on the gender, age, average length of stay, and residence status of migrants disaggregated by nationality. It is important to note, however, that this annual publication does not include information for migrants that have naturalised to gain German citizenship. Moreover, it does not provide information on key demographic and socioeconomic indications (e.g. education, labour market performance) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a).

Rather, such information is collected as part of the annual microcensus, which provides valuable data on the education status and income situation of migrants living in Germany. The microcensus, however, does not provide disaggregated data on Palestinian migrants in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017b). Therefore, few conclusions can be made about the current socioeconomic status of Palestinians in Germany. Moreover, data published by Germany's Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*; BMBF) (BMBF, 2016a; 2016b) do not provide disaggregated information for Palestinian students. Rather, these numbers are provided by the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2017c) in their report on students. During desk research, the *Statistisches Bundesamt's* GENESIS database as well as the German Socioeconomic Panel (SOEP) were also consulted. No meaningful conclusions, however, could be made based on the German SOEP due to a limited number of observed households.

In response to the limited data found during desk research, a number of institutions were additionally contacted via email with the intentions of gaining a more statistically-informed overview of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany. The contacted institutions included: the Central Register of Foreign Nationals (*Ausländerzentralregister*; AZR) of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees' (*Bundesministerium für Migration und Flüchtlinge*; BAMF); the Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*); the German Centre for Research on Higher Education (*Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung*; DZHW); the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*; BMBF); the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (*Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration*; SVR); as well as the *Statistisches Bundesamt*. Despite establishing these contacts, little to no additional information could be accessed. In general, this was the result of the Palestinian Territories not being recognised as a state in data

sources or as a result of ethnicities not being recognised. Often, the accessible data also provided too few observations to make broader conclusions about the characteristics of Palestinians in Germany. Despite these difficulties and significant data limitations, the characteristics of Palestinian immigrants in Germany (based on available data) are presented here to the greatest extent possible.

4.2.1. Size and geographical distribution

Wari (2015) suggests that migration from the Palestinian Territories to Germany has happened in four waves. The first wave, which consisted of approximately 3,000 students, occurred following World War II in the 1940s and continued to the early 1960s. Many of these Palestinian students – from Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza, as well as Israel – settled in Germany after being trained as engineers and doctors. Lasting from the early 1960s to the early 1970s, the second wave of Palestinian immigrants was diverse and consisted of significant labour migration for professional purposes. The wave was also composed of many students and their families. The third stage of immigration started in the 1970s and continued through the 1980s. Migration to Germany during this time was driven by the flow of refugees, stemming from the Black September massacre in Jordan, the start of civil war in Lebanon, and the fall and demolition of refugee camps, including Te-Al-Za'tar and Al-Nabatiyeh (Wari, 2015).

Most of the refugees in the 1970s entered West Germany through East Berlin and were recognised as *de facto* refugees, rather than political refugees (Doraï, 2003). According to Doraï (2003), this settlement in West Germany was facilitated by flexible asylum policies. Employment opportunities were also easily accessible during this time (Doraï, 2003). More Palestinians refugees arrived in Germany in the 1990s from Kuwait and in the 2000s from Iraq. Entire families, many of which settled in West Berlin, characterised this third wave of migration. Following this, the fourth wave of migration took place largely from Kuwait in the early to mid-1990s. During and after the Gulf War which was characterised by an Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, a number of Palestinians left Kuwait due to fear of facing persecution, detention, and harassment (Schulz & Hammer, 2003). This wave also consisted of unskilled youth seeking work in Germany as well as irregular migrants from Lebanon (Wari, 2015).

Wari (2015) adds that Palestinian migration to Germany continues to this day for purposes of education and family reunification. Most recently, there have also been flows of Palestinian refugees from Syria to Germany. Under the German asylum procedure, these individuals' applications are generally handled in the same way as those of refugees from Syria with Syrian citizenship. Many of the Palestinian nationals arriving in Germany from Syria were issued travel documents by the Syrian Arab Republic, which are treated like Syrian passports upon entry to Germany (Bolongaro, 2016).

For these reasons, the exact number of Palestinian refugees having fled from Syria to Germany is unknown (Aziz, 2017). In this regard, it should be noted that it is difficult to, even more generally, accurately estimate the numbers of Palestinian emigrants. A number of reasons for this lack of data are discussed by Wari (2015):

Since Palestine is not a recognized state as yet, Palestinians are stateless and exist in the world with different statuses, which makes their numbers difficult to determine. Their entry is recognized based on different definitions that have been changing in the last three decades. They have entered Europe as Palestinian refugees, stateless persons, persons of undefined nationality, and/or as illegal/undocumented immigrants. In many cases, they have been associated with the countries they migrated from rather than their country of origin, so some were recognized as Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian, Iraqis, etc. This is not to mention Palestinian immigrants with Israeli citizenship, who are registered as Israelis (p. 59).

The city of Berlin is considered to host the highest numbers of Palestinians in Germany. According to a report from Berlin International (2010), there were an estimated 30,000 Palestinians living in Berlin alone: “Berlin is said to be home to the largest Palestinian community outside of the Middle East. [...] Palestinians referred to Berlin as the biggest ‘Palestinian Refugee Camp’ outside of the Middle East” (cited in Wari, 2015, p. 67). As is also true for the whole of Germany, it is difficult to accurately estimate the numbers of Palestinians in Berlin. Despite this, the Statistical Bureau of Berlin-Brandenburg (2011; cited in Wari 2015, p. 75) estimates the number of Palestinians in Berlin to have been 14,227 in 2011 and 11,573 in 2013. It should be noted that these figures are in contrast to the aforementioned statistic from Berlin International (2010; cited in Wari, 2015, p. 75). This variable nature of the figures estimating the number of Palestinian citizens in Berlin is visualised in Table 6.

Table 6: Estimated figures of Palestinians in Berlin, 2010-2016

Estimated # of Palestinian citizens in Berlin	Year	Source
30,000	2010	Berlin International (cited in Wari, 2015)
14,227	2011	Statistical Office of Berlin-Brandenburg (cited in Wari, 2015)
11,573	2013	Statistical Office of Berlin-Brandenburg (cited in Wari, 2015)

455	2016	Statistical Office/ <i>Statistisches Bundesamt</i> (2017a)
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Considering Germany more broadly, the *Statistisches Bundesamt's* figures (2017a) specifically include the numbers of individuals who have entered the country with travel documents from the Palestinian Territories. Ghadban, however, maintains that Palestinian nationality is not recognised nor recorded in official statistics (cited in Shiblak, 2005, p. 32). Moreover, it is suggested that, since 1999, the majority of all Palestinians living in Germany have naturalised to receive German citizenship (Seidel & Kleff, 2009), meaning that they are no longer included in the *Statistisches Bundesamt's* (2017a) categorisation of Palestinian citizens.

Due to these complexities, there are large discrepancies among the existing numbers on Palestinians living in Germany. Drawing from the available studies, Wari (2015) provides that the largest Palestinian community in Europe is situated in Germany: “The few studies available on Palestinians in Europe agree that Germany has the largest Palestinian community in Europe” (p. 67). Based on 2001 estimates, Ghadban suggests that “the Palestinian delegation in Berlin estimates the number at approximately 80,000 [of the estimated 300,000 in Europe]. [However], surveys conducted by the Palestinian community estimate a significantly lower number” (cited in Shiblak, 2005, p. 32). Monika Kadur & Fadia Foda (2005), however, suggest that the German “federal government has no exact figures for the number of Palestinians in Germany and estimates that 75 per cent of the 47,439 people with unclear nationality [in Germany] are Palestinians from Lebanon (35,579)” (p. 61). Providing another different figure, the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2017a) suggests that there were only 3,470 Palestinian citizens living in Germany at the end of 2016; importantly, these numbers refer to the individuals who entered Germany with Palestinian travel documents.

Table 7: Estimated figures of Palestinians in Germany, 2001-2016

Estimated # of Palestinian citizens in Germany	Year	Source
80,000	2001	Ghadban (cited in Shiblak, 2005)
35,579	2005	Kadur & Foda (2005)
3,470	2016	Statistical Office/ <i>Statistisches Bundesamt</i> (2017a)
Over 250,000	2016	Palestinian Mission (IN14)

As a result of these highly variable figures illustrated in Table 7, these data provided by the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2017a) as well as other data about Palestinians in Germany more

generally must be critically considered. Given that the data from the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2017a) reflect a very specific group of Palestinians, they are not discussed in more detail here.

4.2.2. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics

Aggregated data on Palestinian citizens in the past German microcensuses (*Statistisches Bundesamt*, 2017a) makes it challenging, if not impossible, to comment on their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Moreover, the *Statistisches Bundesamt's* (2017a) measure of citizenship does not allow for an accurate measurement of all those with Palestinian origin living in Germany. The general lack of any additional data severely limits attempts at accurate and detailed comparisons as well as analyses of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany. As such, it is especially recommended that disaggregated data about the understudied characteristics of the Palestinian population in Germany (population size, age, residence status, geographical distribution, educational background, employment status, etc.) be further collected and analysed.

5. Palestinian diaspora organisations and their engagement in development

Existing literature on the Palestinian diaspora in North America and Western Europe largely deals with the relationship of the Palestinian diaspora to the idea of peace (Bamyeh, 2007), diasporic negotiations of identity, belonging, citizenship, and home (Zaidan, 2012; Mason, 2008; Mavroudi, 2008; Dorai, 2003; Aoudé, 2001), as well as the degree of “diaspora-ness” of the Palestinian diaspora (Hanafi, 2003). Considering the growing role of new digital technologies, Ben-David (2012) and Hanafi (2006) analyse web-based networks of Palestinian communities. Moreover, Koinova (2017) and Mavroudi (2017) consider the diasporic mobilisation of the Palestinian diaspora in times of conflict, and Gillespie et al. (2001) also investigate diasporic investment in the Palestinian Territories as well as the barriers thereto.

Despite the existing literature, there is still a lack of literature on the nature and dynamics of the engagement of the Palestinian diaspora and diaspora organisations, in their host countries as well as with the Palestinian Territories. Moreover, there is limited literature on the engagement of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. As such, an overview of the emergence and the developments of the Palestinian diaspora is given in Section 5. Additionally, Section 5 provides a subjective view of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany and its development, its organisational landscape, and its transnational practices and linkages.

5.1. Subjective view on the Palestinian diaspora in Germany and its development

The Palestinian diaspora mainly originated with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; before 1948, Palestinians did not leave the country in significant numbers. As a result of the conflict, tremendous flows of people left the Palestinian Territories, especially in 1948 and to lesser extent also in 1967. Even though Palestinian communities formed throughout Western Europe and the US as a result of their emigration, the majority live in the Arab countries. With regards to Germany, different waves and patterns of Palestinian migration contributed to the creation of an immigrant population which, among other factors, is marked by great diversity in terms of origin places, socio-economic factors, religion, political affiliations, and reasons for migration. Palestinian migration to Germany first started in the 1950s, when predominantly low-skilled migrants were admitted under agreements for temporary workers.

Since the 1960s, there has been an increasing trend in higher skilled migration, mainly for the reason to study in Germany. Conflicts in Lebanon caused mass displacement in the mid-1970s and early 1980s, with high numbers of Palestinian refugees residing in the country seeking protection in Germany. Given the lack of educational opportunities for displaced Palestinians in Lebanon, this wave was mainly composed of lower-skilled refugees. More recently, the conflicts in Libya and Syria, which erupted in 2010 and 2011 respectively, led to another wave of forced displacement of Palestinians, with a considerable number again seeking protection in Germany. The configuration of different factors, including various, distinctively patterned waves of migration, led to the creation of a very diverse, heterogenous, and multi-layered population and has contributed to a dynamic pattern of diaspora mobilisation.

The emergence and evolution of Palestinian diaspora mobilisation in Germany must be analysed in the light of the broader Palestinian resistance movement, which was initially sparked by the creation of the PLO after 1967. Even though the aim of liberation was shared by all Palestinians, the PLO largely operated in centres of the diaspora, which became the main feature for the Palestinian national project. This period was characterised by a remarkable institutional evolution, in which the PLO created a representative worldwide structure. The size and strength of the movement was attained by the formation of professional associations, political groups, independent intellectuals, and think tanks, which then formed the broader national movement (Bamyeh, 2007). According to some of the older generations of respondents, Germany could be considered an important base of the PLO at the time; among the leading forces that founded the organisation, some – such as Hani Al-Hassan and Abdallah Frangi – lived and studied in Germany. Student networks, professional organisations, and worker's associations connected the Palestinian diaspora in Germany into global structures of PLO activism.

“The PLO was always the big house for us, in the sense everyone identified with the PLO, not necessarily with the leadership, but with the PLO as such. That is, we all

considered the PLO to be the only legitimate representative of our people without exception. We worked for the PLO for days and nights” (IN18, personal interview, Cologne, December 2017).

The PLO provided not just a political home by mobilising Palestinians in Germany to support their acts of resistance but also a social-cultural one as it contributed, through its structures, to the creation of a collective identity based on a shared consciousness:

“The people were also enthusiastic after all, also very moved by their history. They celebrated a lot of festivals, there was a strong sense of community, they also invited groups from Palestine, PLO representatives came to Germany. [...] And despite any criticism of the political attitude or distance, but it was a life in the diaspora. You felt that. We hold together” (IN10, personal interview, Munich, November 2017).

According to Koinova (2017), the Oslo Accords in 1993 can be considered a critical juncture as it shifted the centre of gravity of the Palestinian struggle from the diaspora to the homeland territory. The creation of the Palestinian National Authorities (PNA), responsible for the self-government in the West Bank and Gaza, moved the focus towards the project of state-building and away from the right to return, one of the key concerns of Palestinians in the diaspora. Many interview respondents highlighted that the Oslo Accords marked a turning point in Palestinian diaspora mobilisation in Germany. Emotionally, people were frustrated and unsatisfied with the PLO leadership, as the right to return and other fundamental refugee rights were neglected in the negotiations. At the same time, organisational structures which were constructed by the PLO tended to receive far less support, which led to the creation of more independent diaspora associations and networks in Germany that tried to unify the different political views under one umbrella.

While the First Intifada in 1987 was mainly characterised by peaceful uprisings against the Israeli occupation, the Second Intifada in 2001 saw the rise of armed resistance, largely propelled by the militant group Hamas, which consolidated its power over the Gaza Strip as a result of elections in 2006. Due to the escalation of violence between the two fractions as of August 2007, the Palestinian Territories eventually became politically, ideologically, and geographically divided between the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip and the Fatah-controlled West Bank (Koinova, 2014). Although united on a common ground, their different ideas, strategies, and divergent solutions to the Palestinian question, which became manifested through the internal conflict, were also reproduced in the Palestinian diaspora:

“Before the conflict in Gaza between Hamas and Fatah, we agreed that we only represent our interests here in Germany and use the community here as a stage to represent our activities. Even this micro-project was an example to us that we

Palestinians can come together, even if we are not politically unified [...] Until this conflict occurred in the Gaza Strip. The people were no longer in agreement” (IN1, skype interview, October 2017).

Hence, the Palestinian diaspora tends to be fragmented across Germany and, for a large part, divided because of different political opinions that mirror the cleavages on the ground in the Palestinian Territories to a certain extent. This also led to diversification of the organised diaspora, with associations and networks emerging that tended to be affiliated to the different fractions of the Palestinian polities. Next to this, other dichotomies were entrenched along secular and religious divides, generations, and different experiences of displacement to mention a few:

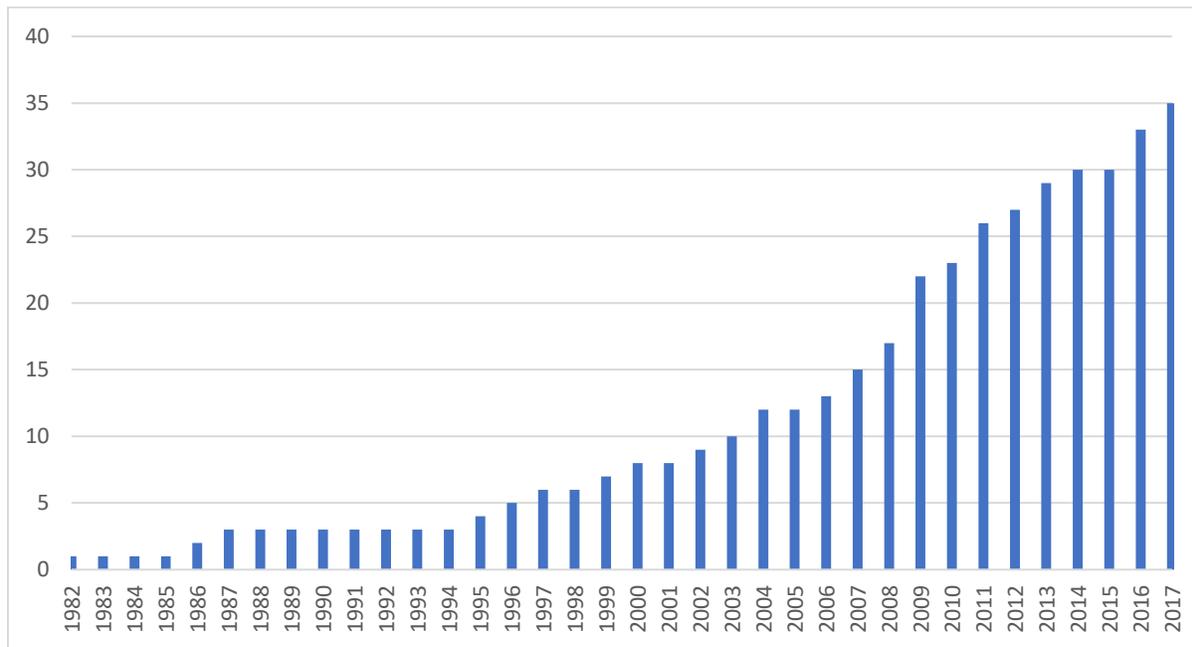
“In any case, there are fragmentations, that does not mean that there cannot be cooperation sometimes [...] But I do not believe that this is always possible or even necessary, because the visions are just different. And if the visions differ, then you do not work towards the same goal and therefore do not pull together” (IN11, personal interview, Siegen, November 2017).

This, however, does not mean that the conflict lines are intractable, as a space for dialogue, rapprochement, and collective action among Palestinian diaspora groups has been identified throughout the interviews. In particular, in times of crisis due to reoccurring phases of violence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (such as Israeli bombing campaigns of Gaza in 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2014), Palestinian diaspora groups in Germany tended to bundle their resources to respond more effectively to the needs of the Palestinian population. Next to organising joint demonstrations to raise awareness of the situation in the Palestinian Territories, organisations collectively engaged in providing humanitarian aid to alleviate the suffering of Palestinians most affected by the conflict. Moreover, many articulated a strong desire for unification and reconciliation between the two political factions in the Palestinian Territories but also within the diaspora, as a strong collective voice seems needed to find a political solution to the enduring conflict.

5.2. Organisational landscape

Section 5.2 provides an overview of the organisational landscape of Palestinian migrant organisations in Germany. The sub-sections will address the membership and capacities of these organisations as well as the cooperation and networks among them. A mapping of each of these organisations – including their contacts, year of establishment, aims, and activities – can be found in Appendix A. As shown in Figure 3, the number of Palestinian migrant organisations established in Germany has gradually increased between 1982 and 2017. Though not captured here, a number of organisations also dissolved or became inactive during this same time, particularly due to internal organisational issues.

Figure 3: Number of Palestinian organisations established in Germany, 1982-2017



Source: Based on fieldwork data and authors' compilation from the Handelsregister (2017)

The categorisation shown in Table 8 illustrates the main fields of engagement – humanitarian assistance, integration, development, civil society sector, and cultural – that were identified in the mapping of the Palestinian migrant organisations in Germany.

Table 8: Fields of engagement of Palestinian diaspora organisations

Fields of engagement	Count	Proportion of total organisations (%)	Proportion of total engagement (%)
Advocacy	23	65.7	31.5
Culture & integration	18	51.4	24.7
Development	11	31.4	15.1
Civil society sector	2	5.7	2.7
Humanitarian aid	11	31.4	15.1
Professional/academic/student network	8	22.9	10.9

Source: Fieldwork data // Note: In order to calculate the proportions, a total engagement count of 73 and a total organisation count of 35 were used.

Based on the analysis provided in Table 8, the majority (65.7%) of Palestinian diaspora organisations engage within the field of **advocacy**. This advocacy, which primarily focuses on raising awareness of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its history amongst the broader German public, makes up 31.5 per cent of the total engagement. Through their advocacy, Palestinian

diaspora organisations aim to promote bilateral and intercultural knowledge exchange, deepen the German-Palestinian dialogue, garner solidarity from Germans for the Palestinian cause, and support international understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

More than half (51.4%) of the associations are active within the sphere of **culture and integration**, making up 24.7 per cent of total engagement. In general, by encouraging the recognition of the Palestinian culture's diversity, these activities aim to foster German-Palestinian intercultural dialogue and enable mutual understanding. These cultural activities also serve as a way to preserve the traditions of the Palestinian people. In this regard, significant efforts are made to teach younger generations of Palestinians in Germany about their origin and about Palestinian history. In addition to their cultural activities, Palestinian diaspora organisations in Germany also aim to promote the professional and economic integration of Palestinians and provide support for newly incoming refugees from other Arab-speaking countries.

A total of 31.4 per cent of the organisations engage in **development**, representing 15.1 per cent of the total engagement. Two of the organisations, namely 5.7 per cent, are also engaged in **development of the civil society sector** in the Palestinian Territories and make up 2.7 per cent of the total engagement. Many of the activities supported by the diaspora organisations are focused on the longer-term development of the Palestinian medical system and health sector by promoting infrastructure development as well as the training of medical professionals. Development, especially through business collaboration and investments, is also supported by the professional organisations. In their activities in the Palestinian Territories, other organisations focus on promoting education, supporting gender equality and women's empowerment, as well as enabling Palestinians in their search for employment opportunities and improved livelihoods.

Another 15.1 per cent of the engagement falls within **humanitarian aid** and represents a total of 31.4 per cent of the organisations. Much of the humanitarian aid provided by the diaspora organisations is focused on providing financial support as well as medical relief aid. Especially with the escalation of conflict in the Palestinian Territories and the wars in the Gaza Strip between 2008 and 2014, many Palestinians in Germany formalised their engagement to support victims of these crises in the Palestinian Territories and neighbouring countries.

Based on the mapping, 22.9 per cent of the organisations are **professional, academic, or student networks** that make up 10.9 per cent of the total engagement. In addition to these networks, the mapping also includes three umbrella organisations, namely the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft*, the *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft Deutschland*, and the *Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland*.

It should be noted that the use of categorisations here does not imply that there are always clear distinctions between the various fields of engagement. Moreover, the majority of the Palestinian diaspora associations in Germany do not have a single focus but, rather, have a scope of activities

that are often complex, interconnected, and overlapping and may fall within numerous fields of engagement. As most organisations realise activities related to both Germany and the Palestinian context, the findings are in line with the debate on transnationalism, which emphasises that migrants, being connected to several places, commonly engage in exchanges and interactions across borders and are involved in multiple societies at once (Hammond, 2013; Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2007). Integration in the host society and commitment to the origin country is, therefore, not a zero-sum game but instead, tend to happen simultaneously.

5.2.1. Membership

Analysing the composition of the organisations reveals **diversity in terms of organisational size**. A large proportion of the organisations had a membership ranging between less than 10 individuals and around 50 members. A few organisations had a membership of 100-200 members, and another few had between 600 and 800 individuals as members. Umbrella organisations were often bigger, having up to 3,600 members. Organisational size, however, should be placed in comparison with active membership. In general, it was observed that the majority of ongoing efforts are carried out by a small proportion of active members and, in some cases, only one individual. Respondents of the especially large associations also stated that, though they had a large membership on paper, they had much fewer active members and many were just sympathisers. In some cases, it was stated that small numbers of members were preferred in order to streamline the control and management of the organisation. Conversely to this, some organisations stated that there is always a circle of interested individuals coming to events, at which turnout can reach between 700 and 1,000 individuals.

Organisational diversity is also reflected in the composition of membership, which is characterised by members of **different nationalities, ages, and professional backgrounds**. In terms of age, one organisation stated that its membership covered a range of different generations, with older generations teaching the younger generations activities such as knitting and cooking Palestinian dishes and younger generations being more actively involved on social media platforms. Similarly, another organisation had a number of families (in addition to individuals) involved in its membership. A number of organisations, especially the student and professional organisations, were characterised by members that are young adults and of working age. It should also be noted that a number of organisations stated that the proportion of female members was very low in comparison to their male membership. In this regard, one organisation was actively trying to get women more involved on its board. In addition to the few women's organisations, other organisations had an additional focus in trying to better understand the situation of women in the Palestinian Territories and to support their initiatives.

All respondents described their organisations as being heterogenous in terms of background and nationality. Some organisations described themselves as having all Palestinian members from the Gaza Strip or the West Bank, in addition to Palestinian members from Syria and Lebanon or those that had been born in Germany. Many associations also had non-Palestinian members: Israelis, German-Jewish individuals, American-Jewish individuals, Turkish individuals, Egyptians, Libyans, and Tunisians. Germans, especially those that had previously worked in the Palestinian Territories, were also often members. One organisation in particular, however, revealed that its membership was composed of 93 per cent Germans, with only 7 per cent being of Palestinian background. The respondent suggested that this small percentage of Palestinian members also had German citizenship.

With respect to skills levels and professional backgrounds, the vast majority of the organisations had members that were either studying or had an academic and/or professional background. In addition to students, noted professions of members included doctors, pharmacists, dentists, former pastors, engineers and those with technical backgrounds, economists, as well as professors. One organisation noted that it has members that worked for GIZ, also in the Palestinian Territories.

In general, it was highlighted that, though there was not always consensus or agreement among members, the heterogenous makeup of the organisations – in terms of professional and academic backgrounds as well as nationality and origin – allowed for diverse discussions about the Palestinian Territories:

“We had several nationalities. But we talked about the problem of Palestine. And it was not that we were one heart and soul, no” (IN9, personal interview, Düsseldorf, November 2017).

5.2.2. Capacities

Despite a desire to professionalise their engagement to further realise their organisation’s potential, a **lack of capacity – especially at the financial level – was clearly articulated** by many organisations. A vast number of the organisations are financially dependent on membership fees, if even charged, to carry out their work. One organisation stated having membership fees of 180 EUR, while another organisation did not want to burden its members (especially students and unemployed individuals) with any costs. To fund their activities, many organisations also rely on donations from members, from external parties, or from donation boxes placed out at events. A few organisations noted that the donations they received were especially high during the Gaza War. Moreover, despite efforts by some organisations attempting to raise public funds, few organisations have been able to receive public funding to support their activities. Three organisations relied on grants from the city of Munich, from the federal state of North Rhine

Westphalia, as well as from the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM). A number of organisations also expressed that they had been able to access limited financing for certain projects, activities, or areas of work. One association, for example, noted that funding for a medical congress had been externally supported by pharmaceutical companies. Investing in building a lasting and trustful relationship with local and national stakeholders as well as strong commitment from the founders have been identified as key success factors for professionalisation.

In many of the organisations, **work is carried out by members on a voluntary basis**, even by board members of the organisations. Most members of the organisations are unsalaried and are responsible for covering their own costs when carrying out organisational activities or travelling on behalf of the organisation. It should also be noted that some respondents communicated being overwhelmed by balancing the number of ongoing events and invitations with their other responsibilities, especially with regards to last-minute calls for participation. This was especially the case for organisations with only few active members:

“Nothing changes about the fact that I remain a one-man-show, that I do not get any effective support or any support whatsoever. That is a dilemma, although [...] the situation should actually require one to become more active” (IN5, personal interview, Bonn, October 2017).

In facing a lack of funding, a number of organisations also articulated having to invite speakers and guests to events on an unpaid basis. Associations also expressed relying on the networks of their members for support in cost minimisation for projects. In particular, one organisation noted that one of its members owns a company that constructs solar panels for companies and homes in Germany and that supported a solar panel project in Gaza by training the involved individuals in Gaza. The respondent suggested that this collaboration allowed the project to run smoothly, with minimised costs and in accordance with German quality standards.

5.2.3. Cooperation and diaspora networks

The heterogeneous nature of the Palestinian diaspora is reflected in the diversity of Palestinian migrant organisations that exist in Germany. These organisations are varied in their capacities, fields of engagement, interests and aspirations, as well as in their strategies for the future. Generally, however, there is a strong desire among these organisations and their members to support efforts in achieving peace in the Palestinian Territories. Moreover, there is a willingness for cooperation in this regard:

“We [all] have something to contribute. We will not bring about peace ourselves” (IN2, phone interview, October 2017).

As was determined from the mapping as well as the interviews, cooperation and collaboration take place through the Palestinian umbrella organisations and diaspora networks based in Germany as well as throughout Europe. As mentioned earlier, the various networks and umbrella organisations tend to be affiliated to the different factions of the Palestinian polities, mirroring to a certain extent the cleavages on the ground in the Palestinian Territories.

Founded in 1986, the ***Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V. (DPG)*** is an extensive umbrella organisation based in Germany, with regional groups in Berlin, southern North Rhein Westphalia, Cologne and the surroundings, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Hannover, Frankfurt am Main, Trier, Oldenburg/Ostfriesland, Ruhrgebiet, Osnabrück, Bremen, Kassel, southern Bavaria, as well as Göttingen. It should be noted that the majority of the organisation's members are German, and less than 10 per cent are of Palestinian origin. The aims of DPG are to uphold human rights, support the building of a democratic Palestine, and inform the German public about the situation in the Palestinian Territories. Activities include political lobbying, supporting civil society organisations in the Palestinian Territories, cooperating with human rights groups in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, creating friendly relationships and exchange between the Palestinian Territories and Germany, monitoring media in Germany, as well as holding cultural events related to the Palestinian Territories in Germany. In this regard, DPG also regularly collaborates with Israeli and Jewish organisations as well as with solidarity and coordination groups (e.g. *Frieden für Palästina und Israel*, *Frieden für Palästina*, *Arbeitskreis Koordination Palästina Nahost*, *Deutscher Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel*). The organisation also participates when there are workshops put forth by the Palestinian Mission in Berlin. Other members of the Deutscher Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel include, among others, the ***Deutsch-Palästinensischer Frauenverein e.V.*** as well as the ***Deutsch-Palästinensische Medizinische Gesellschaft e.V. (DPMG)***.

Similarly to DPG, the *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.* and the *Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland* also serve as umbrella organisations for Palestinian diaspora organisations based in Germany. ***The Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.*** is a Berlin-based network founded in 2009. Its aims are to promote the German-Palestinian relationship as well as to cooperate with existing organisations in Germany. Its activities are to provide information on the history and culture of the Palestinian people through events and publications. The association also supports various forms of aid (e.g. legal, humanitarian, medical) for Palestinians. Likewise, the ***Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland*** is the umbrella organisation for twenty-one branches, for example, in Kassel, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, Hamburg, Oldenburg, Munich, and Siegen. Its aims are to spread Palestinian culture and the creation of friendly relations in Germany, to promote the union of all Palestinians in Germany, and to offer social services. The development of a Europe-wide coordination committee is also planned for 2018. The association also supports other organisations (e.g. *Deutsch-Palästinensischer Frauenverein*) with their initiatives in the Palestinian Territories. These initiatives include, for example, supporting the development of women and

children, collecting donations for providing clean water, and enabling German-Palestinian youth exchanges.

More widely based across Europe, *PalTech Europe* is the umbrella organisation for Palestinian engineers and includes the German branch of *PalTech*. The association was formed in September 2013 in response to the need for a scientific, professional institution that is able to speak on behalf of Palestinian engineers in Europe. Moreover, *PalTech Europe* aims to unify efforts in support of the Palestinian cause and carries out projects at the European level. More specifically, the German branch of *PalTech* aims to help Palestinian engineers integrate into the German industry, to improve civil engineering services in the Palestinian Territories, and to support Palestinian students in Germany. As such, the organisation's activities include establishing partnerships between German universities and Palestinian technical institutes, helping to increase the willingness of engineers to support humanitarian operations in technical facilities in the Palestinian Territories, promoting contacts between German and Palestinian engineers, as well as implementing seminars for students in German universities.

A similar profession-specific umbrella organisation, *PalMed Europe* is one of the largest associations for Palestinian doctors and other medical professionals in Europe. Founded in 2007, the association has branches in eleven countries across Europe (e.g. in Germany, France, Spain, the UK). *PalMed Europe* grew out of the German branch of *PalMed*, which aims to support cooperation between Palestinian organisations both inside and outside of Germany, to increase the willingness of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany to carry out humanitarian work in the Palestinian Territories, and to support the training of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany. Activities include creating contacts between Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany, researching and publishing on the Palestinian Territories' medical history, building partnerships between German and Palestinian universities and medical institutions, as well as supporting Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany through education and training. There are regular telephone conferences held between the different national branches, and the *PalMed Europe* Conference is held yearly.

Other such professional and academic networks include the *Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland e.V.*, the *Verein Deutsch-Palästinensische Ingenieure NRW e.V.*, and the *Palästinensischer Studentenverein*. The ***Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland e.V.***, or the Palestinian Association of Physicians and Pharmacists in Germany, was founded in 2006 and is based in Wuppertal. Its aims are to bring Palestinian doctors and pharmacists to Germany, to organise events on the medical problems of Palestinian refugees, as well as to provide financial and material support for the medical facilities serving Palestinian refugees. Similarly, the ***Verein Deutsch-Palästinensische Ingenieure NRW e.V.***, or the German-Palestinian Engineering Association of North Rhein Westphalia, was formed in Dortmund in 2011. It is a professional organisation for engineers. An academic association for students, the Berlin-

based *Palästinensischer Studentenverein* was also formed in 2011. Its aims are to promote understanding and cooperation between German students and foreign students, especially those from the Palestinian Territories and the Middle East. Activities are related to supporting education, sports, as well as social and political work in addition to organising cultural events. Another such student association, called the *Palästinensischer Studentenverein – Nordrhein-Westfalen e.V.*, is based in Cologne and was formed in 2013.

In addition to these formally organised diaspora networks, cooperation among organisations and with other external parties (e.g. local governments, politicians, schools, authors, musicians, journalists, as well as TV and radio stations) also exists on a more informal level through joint events, projects, and collaborations. The *Deutscher Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel* (KoPI, n.d.) can be seen as an example of cooperation with external actors. While some member organisations include the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.*, the *Deutsch-Palästinensischer Frauenverein e.V.*, and DPMG as previously mentioned, other members include a range of other Germany-based human rights and solidarity organisations as well as labour groups and circles (e.g. *Arbeitskreis Nahost Berlin*, *FrauenNetzwerkNahost*, *pax christi*, *Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions Deutschland*, *Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon e.V.*, *Jüdische Stimme für gerechten Frieden in Nahost*). Such forms of more informal collaboration are also seen among organisations that tried to form umbrella organisations but were unsuccessful in doing so.

5.3. Transnational practices

Section 5.3 gives an overview of the diverse contributions of the Palestinian diaspora within the spheres of the origin country and within the destination country. Importantly, it should be noted that the nature of diaspora engagement varies at different points in time and based on the contexts in both the origin country as well as the destination country. Moreover, the fields of engagement of these activities are not always easily distinguishable from one another and may even overlap.

5.3.1. Contributions and activities in the origin country

Contributions and activities of Germany-based Palestinian diaspora organisations in the origin country, namely in the Palestinian Territories, primarily fall within fields of engagement related to **development** and **humanitarian aid**. Especially with the escalation of conflict in the Palestinian Territories and the wars in the Gaza Strip between 2008 and 2014, many Palestinians abroad in Germany formalised their engagement to support victims of these crises in the Palestinian Territories and neighbouring countries. Much of the humanitarian aid provided by the diaspora organisations is focused on providing **financial support** as well as **medical relief aid**. The *Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland – Paderborn*, for example, was especially active during

the wars in Gaza in collecting monetary donations. During this time, the organisation also worked together closely with the *Palästinensischen Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung* to collect medicines and medical supplies from German doctors and clinics to send to the Palestinian Territories. Similarly, the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Medizinische Gesellschaft e.V.* also provided financial and material support for Palestinians and Palestinian refugees during the wars in Gaza. Particularly, the organisation sent multiple shipping containers filled with clothes, medicines, and medical equipment as well as financial donations to refugee camps. In their engagement in the origin country, DPMG works mostly in Gaza but also in the West Bank and in refugee camps in Lebanon. The organisation also supports a drinking water project in the Yarmouk camp in Syria. Moreover, the *Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.* supports war-wounded children in Gaza and in Germany through gathering financial and medical donations, and the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft* supports a children's hospital in Bethlehem. The *Deutsch-Palästinensischer Arbeitskreis* as well as the *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.* also support the Palestinian population through financial donations, medical support, and humanitarian aid. Similarly, the *Palästina Forum München* also supports aid projects in Palestinian refugee camps.

Much of the medical support provided by the Palestinian diaspora associations is also focused on the longer-term **development of the Palestinian medical system and health sector** through promoting infrastructure development as well as the training of medical professionals. In this regard, *mediPalestine e.V.* – a Swiss-based association with an address in Germany – aims to ensure that all members of the Palestinian public have access to high quality medical care. As such, the organisation develops solution approaches to meet medical needs of the Palestinian population and helps to improve their medical service provisions. The *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.* also collaborates with the Hammer Forum, which is a children's aid organisation based in Hamm, Germany that aims to provide medical support to children in conflict regions around the world. In one such collaboration between these organisations, members – namely an oral and maxillofacial surgeon as well as nurses and anaesthesiologists – travelled as specialists to Gaza and Nablus in the West Bank for over a week to engage in the training of local doctors and to support their medical surgeries and operations. With a range of diverse activities related to humanitarian aid and the development of the Palestinian Territories' medical infrastructure, the *Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland e.V.* has activities that include supporting study programs of Palestinian medical and nursing students at hospitals in Germany, sending material donations (e.g. medical supplies, clothing, toys, educational supplies) to Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and supporting children with diabetes in the Gaza Strip.

With regards to medical aid and development, the activities of *PalMed* are also diverse. The organisation has an emergency delegation team of forty doctors that flies to Gaza or the West

Bank when needed to provide treatments for patients and medical facilities in the Palestinian Territories with the required supplies. Moreover, *PalMed* is also working on a project supported by CIM to assist a medical clinic in Jerusalem and to help train its doctors. In addition to providing trainings for medical professionals, the organisation also helped to rebuild more than five clinics in Gaza following the wars. *PalMed* also runs a project that focuses on providing **psychotherapeutic support**, which has involved the visit of a renowned psychotherapist to the Palestinian Territories. The project has also involved bringing a group of Palestinian patients to Germany for counselling. In addition to its ongoing activities, *PalMed* is also planning to build a rehabilitation centre in the Palestinian Territories.

Development through business collaboration and investments is also supported by the professional organisation, *Deutsch-Palästinensischer Wirtschaftsrat e.V.* The association aims to support German companies who are interested in reconstruction and investment in the Palestinian Territories. Specifically, the organisation provides information on general and sector-specific developments, potential business areas, and investment opportunities in the Palestinian Territories. To contribute to **infra-structure development** within the Palestinian Territories, the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft* is currently running a project in Hebron that aims to revitalise the Al-Shuhada Street. The commercial street in Hebron in addition to its many shops were closed down to Palestinians by the Israeli military as a result of the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in 1994. Since the Second Intifada starting in 2000, the street has been closed to Palestinian vehicles and residents. As such, many efforts – such as regular demonstrations – are made to re-open access to the street (Waldman, 2014; Hatuqa, 2013). Moreover, in the field of **professional development** the professional organisation *PalTech* aims to help Palestinian engineers become self-reliant and to increase their access to employment opportunities. As such, the organisation runs a number of training programmes for engineers in Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. In a project supported by CIM, *PalTech* also supports outsourcing jobs (e.g. translation, app/website development) to high-skilled experts in Gaza. The organisation has also worked with *PalMed* on a project that helped to train surgeons in East Jerusalem and with a society for engineers in Gaza Strip to equip a training room with IT equipment, tables, chairs, and televisions, among other things. More generally, *Bildung und Begegnung Palästina e.V.* works within the areas of advocacy and development to alleviate the distress of the Palestinian population in the Palestinian Territories by supporting the Evangelical Lutheran School in Beit Sahour and providing financial and ideological support of Palestinian projects.

In their activities in the Palestinian Territories, some diaspora organisations in Germany are also focused on **promoting education, supporting gender equality and women's empowerment**, as well as **enabling Palestinians in their search for employment opportunities and improved livelihoods**. The *Palästina Forum München*, for example, provides financial support to women's organisations in the Gaza Strip and runs the project "*Schulranzen für Gazakinder*," or "School Bags for Gaza

Children,” through which financial and material donations (e.g. of backpacks and clothing) are collected at the beginning of the school year. *The Deutsch-Palästinensischer Frauenverein e.V.* also aims to improve the social and economic situation of Palestinian women and children in the Palestinian Territories and in refugee camps throughout the Middle East. In addition to providing humanitarian assistance in emergency situations, the organisation promotes sustainable self-help initiatives and supports the development of kindergartens and training programmes in the Palestinian Territories.

In a recent project, the *Palästinakomitee Stuttgart* is supporting a group of female artists in Gaza. Through actively involving the local population in various artistic and volunteer activities, the aim is to help alleviate the current living conditions of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. To provide a free space for cultural production and artistic work, the initiative is currently seeking support to open the gallery and exhibition centre “Atelier Gaza.” A number of organisations also collaborate with and **promote civil society (i.e. human rights) organisations** in the Palestinian Territories. The *Association for a Palestinian Existence in Dignity*, for example, aims to strengthen Palestinian civil society through social projects and non-profit activities. Moreover, the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.*, among other goals, is focused on upholding human rights and supporting the building of a democratic Palestine. As such, the organisation works to support Palestinian civil society organisations and cooperate with human rights groups in the Palestinian Territories as well as in Israel.

5.3.2. Contributions and activities in the destination country

Contributions and activities of Palestinian diaspora organisations within the destination country, Germany, are largely characterised by activities related to **advocacy** as well as **culture and integration**. The majority of the organisations that are included in the mapping are involved in advocacy to various degrees, with only very few emphasising that they do not have a political aim. Many of the associations active in advocacy work are especially focused on **raising awareness on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and history among the broader German public** and **garnering solidarity from Germans for the Palestinian cause**:

“We simply want to talk about the Palestinian story and to raise awareness among the German people, because many people do not know or [are] mix[ed] up and take the Jewish story as one package” (I3, phone interview, October 2017).

“[Our goal is to] to raise awareness among the Palestinians, but also among the Germans about why we Palestinians have a yearning for our freedom. What is happening in Palestine, with the Palestinian conflict? Many do not know, and the media conceals it. This means that our voice is never heard” (I1, Skype interview, October 2017).

Through their advocacy, Palestinian diaspora organisations focus on promoting bilateral and intercultural knowledge exchange, deepening the German-Palestinian dialogue, as well as supporting international understandings of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Concretely considering these activities, the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.*, for example, engages in education work. In doing so, the organisation aims to inform the German public about the current political situation in the Palestinian Territories and to correct misunderstandings of the Israel-Palestine conflict. In addition to this, the organisation engages in political lobbying to support efforts of facilitating peace and security in the Palestinian Territories. In promoting solidarity with the Palestinian people and refugees, the *Palästina-Komitee Stuttgart* similarly aims to support Palestinian movements for democracy, freedom, and social justice and to help realise the Palestinian rights to self-determination and return of refugees. As such, the organisation organises art exhibitions, cooperates with other organisations opposed to human rights violations, as well as disseminates information and promotes research on the history and current events of the Palestinian Territories.

More generally, a number of Palestinian diaspora organisations – such as the *Palästina Forum München* and the *Palästina Initiative* – host a range of political and cultural events (e.g. seminars, lectures, demonstrations, conferences) to provide information and raise awareness about the history of the Palestinian people, about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and about the political relationships in the region. Exhibitions about the *Nakba*³ are also common among the Palestinian diaspora organisations, and such events are often a platform for cooperation. In many cases, these organisations also invite guest speakers from Germany or internationally from the Palestinian Territories to such events.

Two organisations with a more specific focus in their advocacy work are the women's association the *Palästinensischer Frauenverband in Deutschland e.V.* and the professional organisation *PalMed*. The *Palästinensischer Frauenverband in Deutschland e.V.* specifically aims to define the history of women's work in the Palestinian Territories past and present and to raise the level of education and knowledge of Palestinian women in Europe. In doing so, the organisation works with the media, organises demonstrations, as well as holds educational and awareness sessions on Palestinian history and on the adherence to rights for Palestinian women. Moreover, by hosting of podium discussions and other information events, *PalMed* is specifically concerned with the elucidation of the political and medical situation in the Palestinian Territories.

³ The Nakba refers to the period of the 1948 Palestine war during which the new state of Israel was created, resulting in the displacement and expulsion of more than 700,000 Palestinians (MPC, 2013).

In addition to such advocacy activities, a number of organisations also **engage in activities to promote the cultural heterogeneity of the Palestinian Territories**. These activities tend to manifest as a form of advocacy that is also meant to teach Germans about Palestinian culture:

“Palestine has more to offer than just problems. [...] It does not just work to talk about the problems. We have a people, we have an intact structure about which we can explain more” (IN2, phone interview, October 2017).

In general, by encouraging the recognition of the diversity of Palestinian culture, these activities also aim to **foster German-Palestinian intercultural dialogue and enable mutual understanding**:

“We want to preserve our culture and [establish] an exchange” (IN4, phone interview, October 2017).

For example, some regionally-based diaspora organisations – such as the *Palästinensische Gemeinde in Oldenburg und Nordwest e.V.* and the *Palästinensische Gemeinde Siegen e.V.* – aim to cultivate Arab-Palestinian culture in Germany and promote German-Palestinian relations in their respective areas through cultural events and festivals celebrating the Palestinian culture. The *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.*, the *Palästina Forum München e.V.*, and the *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.*, for example, also host and organise a number of cultural events, seminars, and lectures to promote German-Palestinian interculturalism. Organisations also offer Arabic courses, cooking classes, Palestinian folk dance (*Dabke*) courses, some of which are also open to the more general public.

In addition to promoting mutual understanding between the German and Palestinian populations, these cultural activities also serve as a way to **preserve the traditions of the Palestinian people**. Moreover, for many organisations, their understanding of integration in Germany is also supplemented by the desire to maintain a transnational connection to the Palestinian Territories:

“We participate in German society without forgetting our roots, our origin. [...] And through our organisation and our activities, it is our responsibility that our children not only learn the history, but also visit [the Palestinian Territories]” (IN13, personal interview, Wuppertal, November 2017).

As illustrated by the previous interview respondent, there is a particular desire to inherit a Palestinian identity to future generations. In this regard, significant efforts are also made to **teach younger generations of Palestinians in Germany about their origin and about Palestinian history**:

“Like I have always said, I was born in and grew up in a diaspora, and I personally find it very important to pass this identity and connection to Palestine on to our children” (IN4, phone interview, October 2017).

The *Palästinensischer Frauenverband in Deutschland e.V.*, for example, runs a children's project called "The beautiful country Palestine" ("*Das schöne Land Palästina*"). Through the project, children of Palestinian origin in the second, third, and even fourth generation receive a research-based assignment where they are encouraged to familiarise themselves with their own background and with their parent's origin:

"It was an interesting project to watch [...Many children] here in Germany did not know much or many details about their own origin, about their own roots" (IN15, phone interview, November 2017).

Another project of the *Frauenverband* also teaches Palestinian children in Germany cultural dances such as *Dabke*. Similarly, the *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.* also emphasises its responsibility to ensure that Palestinian children in Germany are familiar with their origin and their history, by promoting visits to the Palestinian Territories and by hosting a Palestinian folk dance group, sporting activities, and a range of cultural events.

In addition to their cultural activities, Palestinian diaspora organisations in Germany also aim to **promote the professional and economic integration of Palestinians in Germany**. This is especially notable for the student organisation *Palästinensischer Studentenverein, Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.*, as well as the professional organisations *PalMed* and *PalTech*. The *Palästinensischer Studentenverein, Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.* particularly promotes relations between German students and foreign students, especially those from the Palestinian Territories. As such, the organisation helps incoming students to familiarise themselves with the German education system, offers dancing and sporting activities (e.g. football, handball, table tennis, swimming, volleyball), and participates in cultural festivals like the *Karneval der Kulturen*, or the Carnival of Cultures.

Working with medical professionals, *PalMed* aims to increase the willingness of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany to carry out humanitarian work in the Palestinian Territories and to support the training of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany. The organisation focuses on creating contacts between Palestinian medical professionals in Germany as well as supporting these professionals through education and training. Similarly, *PalTech* helps Palestinian engineers integrate into the German industry and supports Palestinian students in Germany through seminars, lectures, and conferences. Moreover, the organisation *Partout, Verein zur Förderung der Medizin in Palästina e.V.* assists medical professionals from the Palestinian Territories to find trainings and internships in Germany and organises medical trainings and congresses in Germany and abroad.

Integration-related efforts of the Palestinian diaspora organisations are also often focused on **providing support and orientation for newly incoming refugees to Germany**. Importantly, these activities do not just target Palestinian newcomers but also refugees from other Arabic speaking

countries, such as Syria and Iraq. In addition to its cultural activities as well as its Arabic school, the *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein* in Wuppertal provides German classes and integration courses to asylum seekers and hosts twice-weekly advisory sessions on questions related to the authorities, the German medical system, language, as well as searching for housing. Moreover, the association offers a mother-child playgroup for refugee children and their mothers as well as organisation members, in addition to arranging get-togethers for refugee families and families of the organisation. The organisation also has a 'refugee café' on their premises. Similarly, the organisation *Partout, Verein zur Förderung der Medizin in Palästina e.V.* supports Palestinian newcomers by accompanying those who have fled to Germany for medical care and helping them in their search for medical specialists. Next to these formal initiatives, some organisations (e.g. *Palästinensischer Frauenverband in Deutschland e.V.*, *Palästinensische Gemeinde in Oldenburg und Nordwest e.V.*) also engage in providing refugees with both material and financial support on a more informal basis.

5.3.3. Building bridges between Germany and the Palestinian Territories

As can be seen through the activities of the Palestinian diaspora organisations both in Germany and in the Palestinian Territories, the aim of many of these organisations is to raise awareness of the Palestinian situation among the German population. In many cases, however, this awareness-raising is meant to **promote a productive form of exchange and knowledge transfer** between the German and Palestinian populations. In this regard, a number of organisations engage in activities that connect, or rather build bridges between, Germans and Palestinians as well as their organisations:

"In the end, the organisation wants to make a contribution to the mutual understanding of the German and Palestinian population and is devoted to the development of active, friendly relationships between the Palestinian and German people. This means that the dialogue with fellow citizens, organisations, and institutions across Germany is, of course, also of great interest" (IN15, phone interview, November 2017).

"We have gotten to know many movements and institutions and have also linked them with the people of Palestine so that they can do something together. We mostly were a bridge [between them]. We ourselves cannot do much for the Palestinians, but we can, so to speak, link the right movements or institutions here in Germany with the right people who really need it and act as a bridge" (IN6, phone interview, October 2017).

The Palestinian Mission also supports the collaboration that is enabled by German-Palestinian cooperation and joint projects. By considering these bridge-building activities in more detail, it can be seen that they usually take the form of exchanges or visits between the Palestinian

Territories and Germany. Many diaspora organisations (e.g. *Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland-Paderborn*, *Palästinensischer Studentenverein-Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.*, *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.*, *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.*) regularly **invite Palestinian individuals – such as activists, politicians, authors, musicians – and groups to Germany**. These invitations usually occur within the context of an organised event for individuals to give lectures and speak about their experiences in the Palestinian Territories. In some cases, organisations have also invited Israeli individuals to their organisations, as did the *Palästina Forum München* with their invitation of Israeli journalist Gideon Levy to an event in 2017.

Complementing the visits of Palestinians to Germany, a number of Palestinian diaspora organisations in Germany also organise visits to the Palestinian Territories. These visits mostly take place within the realm of **professional or student exchanges** to promote German-Palestinian relations and knowledge transfer. The *Palästina Forum München*, for example, has organised a number of educational trips to the Palestinian Territories. In addition to a trip to Iran, the organisation has already traveled twice to the Palestinian Territories with a teacher's union, *Gesellschaft für Erziehung und Bildung (GEB) Hessen*. A third trip to the Palestinian Territories with the GEB Hessen and another trip to a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan are both planned for the spring of 2018. These trips to the Palestinian Territories are used to help the German teachers adapt their teaching curriculum upon arrival back in Germany.

In addition to this, professional exchanges for medical professionals and engineers are also common. *PalTech*, for example, establishes partnerships between German universities and Palestinian technical institutes as well as organises contacts between German and Palestinian engineers to promote exchange. Similarly, *PalMed* builds partnerships between German and Palestinian universities and medical institutions. The association often sends expert teams to the Palestinian Territories, Jordan, and Lebanon and regularly brings doctors from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to work in German clinics for three-month periods. Moreover, *Partout, Verein zur Förderung der Medizin in Palästina e.V.* aims to even out scientific deficits in the Palestinian Territories (especially in terms of medicine) and to promote exchange and collaboration between German and Palestinian medical professionals.

Organisations – such as the *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.* and the *Palästinensischer Frauenverband* – especially encourage such visits among youth and students, so that they are able to get to know the Palestinian Territories by being there. Within the realm of student exchanges, the *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.* has organised an exchange of German and Palestinian school students. Through this exchange, a German-language class of forty students from the Palestinian Territories visited Osnabrück, which was followed by the return visit shortly thereafter. The *Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.* has also organised an exchange between two German schools and two in Hebron and the surrounding areas. The organisation has also created partnerships between the universities in Wuppertal, Düsseldorf, and Dortmund with

the university in Jerusalem. With these activities, the organisations aim to build relations between Germany and the Palestinian Territories, encourage a productive Palestinian-German dialogue, as well as promote cultural, economic, and scientific exchange.

6. Policy influence on Palestinian diaspora activities

Section 6 considers the influence of policies – in both Germany and the Palestinian Territories – on diaspora activities of the Palestinian diaspora. Diaspora engagement and the transnational engagement of migrants is highly shaped by the political context in origin and destination countries. Policies driving the political opportunity and engagement structures of migrants, targeting the sending and receiving of remittances, as well as shaping conflict dynamics play a role in how migrants engage in both their origin and destination countries. As such, it is crucial to understand how such specific policy-related factors interact to influence the engagement of the Palestinian diaspora and its potential for development in this regard.

6.1. Palestinian policies toward the diaspora

According to Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin (2011), it is difficult to consider Palestinian migration policies: because Israel governs the Territories' borders, the issuance of visas, as well as movements between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the Palestinian Authority has no power in this regard. Moreover, the Palestinian diaspora is not currently represented by any structure within the PLO or the Palestinian Authority, though "the now defunct Palestinian National Council [namely, the parliament in exile] included representatives of the diaspora" in the past (Younes, 2017a).

However, despite the statement by Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin (2011) about the challenges related to Palestinian migration policies, the State of Palestine's **National Development Plan 2014-2016** lays out a number of strategic objectives, though limited, related to engagement of the Palestinian diaspora. One of these objectives is the development of "more effective Palestinian presence in Arab and international forums as well as within Palestinians communities in the Diaspora" (State of Palestine, n.d., pp. 58-59), by which the government planned to continue developing consular activities in representing and protecting its citizens abroad. Another policy detailed in the document aimed to "strengthen relations and build bridges with Palestinian communities and refugees in the Diaspora" (The State of Palestine, n.d., p. 59).

An additional objective of the 2014-2016 National Development Plan aimed to preserve national identity and cultural heritage of the Palestinian Territories: "To preserve the national identity, which is being constantly targeted by Israel's systematic attempts to undermine it, we have worked to promote social cohesion and cultural contact between Palestinians both inside

Palestine and in the Diaspora” (State of Palestine, n.d., p. 67). In this regard, President Mahmoud Abbas has promoted investments from the Palestinian diaspora to support development project, create jobs for the Palestinian youth, and boost the economy. Specifically, Abbas made such remarks to Palestinian businessmen, who live both in the Palestinian Territories and abroad, during an investment conference hosted by the Palestine International Business Group: ““We salute this initiative and invite you to take part in more economic meetings, projects and initiatives. These alone will build the nation”” (Ma’an News Agency, 2015).

Similarly, the first global conference of the Palestinian diaspora, namely the **Palestinians Abroad Conference**, was held in Istanbul, Turkey in February 2017. The conference was attended by more than 5,000 people from fifty countries, of which many were representatives of Palestinian diaspora communities around the world. As the Palestinian diaspora is lacking formal, institutionalised representation, the organisers of the conference aim to represent the Palestinian diaspora and its rights and to support the end of Israeli’s occupation of the Palestinian Territories. As part of this, the still unnamed organisation created as a result of the conference advocated for “the end of the Oslo agreement signed between Israel and the PLO in 1993, the restructuring of the PLO on a more representative basis for all Palestinians, and the formation of a democratically elected Palestinian National Council, which is the PLO’s legislative body in exile” (Younes, 2017b).

Despite these engagements and agreements, the State of Palestine’s more recent **National Policy Agenda 2017-2022** makes no mention of the Palestinian diaspora nor Palestinians abroad. It is also important to recognise that, despite the significance of remittances for the Palestinian economy (incoming remittances made up 26 per cent of the Palestinian Territories’ GDP), no policies related to such monetary transfers exist (World Bank, 2017). In light of these limitations of Palestinian policies related to the diaspora, Islaih (2011) provides a number of suggestions for the development of a comprehensive diaspora engagement strategy for the Palestinian Territories. The strategy suggests that the Palestinian Territories should aim to allow for transnational cooperation between all Palestinians abroad and support their contributions to the development of the Palestinian Territories. The components of this suggested strategy include (Islaih, 2011, p. vii-viii):

- Mapping the characteristics of the Palestinian diaspora (e.g. location of residence, gender, age, occupational status)
- Promoting the Palestinian diaspora’s potential to support development in the Palestinian Territories
- Encouraging social, cultural, economic, and cultural engagement amongst the Palestinian diaspora and minimising obstacles in this regard
- Forming a Palestinian Institute for Diaspora and Transnational Studies to facilitate diaspora-related research and the study of diaspora policies of other states

6.2. Development and diaspora engagement policies in Germany

Bilateral political relations between Germany and the Palestinian Territories have been strengthened in the last years, particularly through the establishment of the German-Palestinian Steering Committee at the federal level in 2010. The committee meets every two years and promotes bilateral cooperation related to economic affairs, state-building and development, education, as well as scientific research (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017). In addition to cooperation at the federal and state levels, city partnerships and project coordination exist at the municipal level between Hebron and Mannheim, Bonn and Ramallah, Cologne and Bethlehem, Xanten and Beit Sahour, and Bergisch Gladbach and Beit Jala, as well as between Jena and Beit Jala (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017).

Coordination that aims to **promote development cooperation** between Germany and the Palestinian Territories is also of relevance. According to the BMZ (2017), German development cooperation dates back to the 1980s. By focusing on both quick-impact and long-term solutions, German involvement is directed at promoting Palestinian development and promoting livelihood opportunities for individuals living in the Palestinian Territories (BMZ, 2017). Efforts include stabilising the economic and social situation in the Palestinian Territories as well as supporting infrastructure development, capacity building, and state-building efforts (BMZ, 2017). On behalf of the BMZ, GIZ also works in the Palestinian Territories in areas of water and sanitation; economic reform, employment and the labour market; institution building and civil society; and civil peace service (GIZ, n.d.-a). Moreover, GIZ has cooperated closely with the KfW Development Bank since 2005. With offices in Al-Bireh/Ramallah and the Gaza Strip, GIZ has 145 employees in the Palestinian Territories, including 95 national experts, 24 seconded experts, 24 development advisors, 8 peace experts, and 2 experts from CIM (GIZ, n.d.-a).

CIM – which is a joint operation between GIZ and the German Federal Employment Agency – also implements the BMZ-funded programme called *Programm Migration für Entwicklung* or, in English, Programme Migration for Development (GIZ, n.d.-b). The main fields of action of PME in the Palestinian Territories are the *Returning Experts* and *Diaspora Cooperation* components:

- *Returning Experts*: This field of action aims to support qualified migrants in their return from Germany to their home countries to work in development-related fields and engage in knowledge transfer with the local community and institutions. Though many of the current returning experts are PhD holders and former DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*; German Academic Exchange Service) scholars, this is not a condition to apply for the program. The programme specifically provides assistance to the returning experts with job placements, networking opportunities, as well as financial support (i.e. a salary “top-up”) connected to a local employment contract. In this regard, the programme also works to match the returning experts directly with employers, although challenges faced include difficulties with gaining a comprehensive overview of the job market in the

Palestinian Territories. Returning experts can also apply for additional funds to host workshops, trainings, or networking trips as well as to purchase workplace equipment. To engage in the programme, the migrants returning from Germany to the Palestinian Territories must have lived in Germany for at least a year, during which they either earned a degree or worked at the professional level. As of December 2017, there were nine returning experts supported through the programme in the Palestinian Territories, five of which are located in Gaza and four in the West Bank. Due to the currently homogenous nature of the participants in the *Returning Experts* programme, PME is looking to expand the field of action to also include sectors and occupational fields other than academia.

- *Migrant Organisations*: This part of the programme aims to support Palestinian migrant organisations in Germany to apply for a grant (up to 40,000 EUR) to collaborate with a local organisation based in the Palestinian Territories to implement development activities. Collaboration should be based on a joint project, programme, or activity that preferably also engages in knowledge transfer. In this regard, the programme also provides trainings and networking opportunities to support participating organisations. To participate, organisations should be able to indicate that at least half of their members, board members, or individuals involved in the project have a migration background (Bonfiglio, McGregor & Siegel, 2015). Through this programme, the PME aims to support the foundations of collaboration for sustainable development-related activities. In Hebron in the West Bank, there is currently one such activity running.
- *Diaspora Experts*: In addition to this, PME developed the new field of action *Diaspora Cooperation*, which supports experts from the diaspora who temporarily return to the Palestinian Territories in a short-term timeframe (between three weeks to six months). Though this part of the programme is still in its beginning and has not yet been started in the Palestinian Territories, interested experts from the diaspora can apply for logistic and monetary support to cover the expenses for their voluntary/unsalaried commitment.

Moreover, according to the German Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*), official bilateral development cooperation with the Palestinian Territories also aims to improve the living conditions for Palestinians and is focused on the areas of “water, sanitation and water disposal”; “sustainable economic development and employment promotion, including education and vocational training”; as well as “establishing statehood and promoting civil society (governance)” (*Auswärtiges Amt*, 2017). The annual commitments for these activities amount to 100 million euros. The German government also works closely with the UNRWA and the Civil Peace Service (*Ziviler Friedensdienst*; ZFD) (*Auswärtiges Amt*, 2017).

The *Auswärtiges Amt* (2017) describes a number of ways in which **Germany also supports a range of cultural relations with the Palestinian Territories**. First, the Goethe-Institut and the Institut

Français run the Franco-German Cultural Centre in Ramallah, which “is an important part of local cultural life” in the city (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017). Also in Ramallah, Germany has its Representative Office, which supports the organisation of cultural exhibitions and concerts by local institutions and promotes a drama school. **Sports activities in the Palestinian Territories are also supported** by the German Olympic Sports Confederation and the German Football Association. While most of this support has been focused on women’s sport and has taken place through short-term coaching workshops, efforts have also tried “to professionalise and institutionalise Palestinian sport structures” (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017).

In **supporting religious activities**, the Representative Office in Ramallah helps to fund the restoration of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Moreover, Schmidt’s Girls College in East Jerusalem and the Talitha Kumi Evangelical Lutheran School in Beit Jala are two church-affiliated German schools that help to prepare students for the German Abitur and the Palestinian school-leaving qualification. These schools are run by representatives of the German Catholic and Evangelical churches, which also organise cultural projects as well as theological and archaeological study programmes. The *Auswärtiges Amt* helps to fund these initiatives by providing financial support to cultural work of the German Church abroad (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017).

There are also **a number of academic initiatives that enable cooperation** between Germany and the Palestinian Territories. Particularly, a range of German and Palestinian universities engage in partnerships that allow for bilateral and trilateral master’s programmes. DAAD also supports the exchange of students and teachers between German and Palestinian universities and is working to establish a German language programme at Birzeit University. At the federal level, the BMBF signed a memorandum of understanding with the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education in 2014 to support research and education cooperation. As a result of this cooperation, the Palestinian-German Science Bridge project has been established (Auswärtiges Amt, 2017).

7. Key challenges and avenues for cooperation

Informed by this study’s interviews, Section 7 considers the key challenges of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. Avenues for cooperation between the German government and the Palestinian diaspora to support development in the Palestinian Territories are also discussed.

7.1. Key opportunities and challenges

A strong desire for peace was clearly articulated throughout the interviews, though there exist divergent ideas, strategies and solutions to the Palestinian question. On the one hand, some interviewees advocate for a two-state solution within the borders of 1967. On the other hand,

there is an increasing opinion among diaspora entrepreneurs that a lasting and just peace in the region can ultimately only be achieved in a common, democratic state, where every person regardless of his or her religion, ethnicity, political affiliation, or place of residence has the same duties and rights to live in freedom and dignity:

“Basically, everyone is welcome. If the Jews say, ‘this is our home,’ then please stay. But that is also my historical home. Let's live together and make the best out of it. It is my wish that we will reach this someday. So, a common state, a democratic, secular state” (IN10, personal interview, Munich, November 2017).

In general, there seems to be a strong commitment and willingness to contribute to peace and development in the Palestinian Territories through activities both in the host country and in the Palestinian Territories. The Palestinian diaspora in Germany is also seen as very resourceful and as able to make positive contributions due to their expertise, knowledge, and skills. Supporting Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, & Perrin (2011)'s argument that Palestinian engagement is partially driven by their high socioeconomic and educational background, one of the interviewees voiced that:

“The topic of education was very, very important. It is said that this is the only weapon we have, if we may call it that. And the topic has played a huge role. And also, integration in the end, we are part of this society” (IN6, phone interview, October 2017).

As transnational social agents, Palestinian diaspora groups play an important role in matching resources across spaces and in growing the network of institutions and individuals who work in (post-)conflict environments. Through their networks and context-specific knowledge about structures in Germany, Palestinian organisations are able to support the inclusion of newcomers in the labour market, education, and society. At the same time, Palestinian diaspora groups are confronted with several challenges in the origin country, the host country, and within the diaspora that hinder them from realising their full potential.

Challenges in the origin country context

Despite the tremendous needs of the population in the Palestinian Territories, the Israeli occupation is seen as the major obstacle that profoundly limits the development potential of Palestinian diaspora in Germany. Given the Gaza blockade, Israeli procedures at border crossings, and other restrictions, many interview respondents perceive it as difficult to get access to the Territories and realise activities there:

“So, the access to Palestine is simply not given. This is so difficult to get to their own country and ultimately to offer our help there” (IN15, phone interview, November 2017).

Some organisations faced difficulties and bureaucratic hurdles in getting permissions to deliver humanitarian aid to Gaza or to implement development-oriented activities in the Palestinian Territories.

Next to restrictive measurements of the Israeli state, there also seems to be a general feeling of mistrust towards the Palestinian Authorities, further limiting the willingness to engage in the Palestinian context. The overall fragile political context characterised by weak political institutions and corrupt practices is, hence, perceived by some interviewees as another challenge for realising development-related activities.

Moreover, some organisations mentioned that, despite the aspiration of supporting the Palestinians in the Territories, they lack the capacity to become actively engaged in the origin country context. The protracted nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, along with the complex and diverse needs of the Palestinian population, makes it difficult for some organisations to identify fields of development-orientated engagement and to make positive contributions from a distance. These patterns highlight the needs and opportunities for capacity development amongst Palestinian diaspora organisations in Germany.

Challenges in the host country context

Given the unique German-Israeli history, the Palestinian diasporans experience their positionality in the host country as rather weak:

“At the moment, there is the problem of anti-Semitism in Germany. Every criticism of the state of Israel is viewed as anti-Semitic [...] Of course we are against any kind of anti-Semitism and racism and discrimination. But the criticism [of the state] is justified. At the moments the rights of Palestinians are being violated” (IN19, personal interview, Stuttgart, December 2017).

Many diasporic political entrepreneurs perceive it as a balancing act to raise critique on Israel as a state or against Israeli politics in their advocacy work, without seeing themselves confronted with accusations of anti-Semitism. In recent years, several city councils in Germany passed legislation that prohibits any public support of or cooperation with supporters of Boycott Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS). BDS is a transnational Palestinian solidarity movement that demands the ending of Israeli occupation and colonisation of all Arab territories, the abolition of discrimination, as well as the equality of the Palestinian citizens of Israel and the right of repatriation and reparation for the Palestinian refugees. For many, this not only limits the discursive opportunities to engage in open discussions and an exchange of facts and opinions about the Israel-Palestine conflict but also poses a practical challenge to the realisation of activities. Many organisations frequently experience difficulties in finding venues for their political and cultural events or even have to deal with the cancellation of locations due to external pressure. Next to this, Islamophobic or anti-

Arabic attitudes as well as racist and xenophobic resentment, amplified by rising right-wing movements and parties in Germany, was mentioned as another challenge in the German context.

Challenges in the diaspora

Many Palestinian diaspora associations state that they face difficulties in mobilising Palestinians to take action for a common cause. Reasons for this are seen in the fragmented nature of the Palestinian diaspora, in which diverse aspirations, opinions, and solutions to the Palestinian question make it difficult to create a strong collective voice:

“The Palestinians are in agreement, or they have a consensus, because they want to put an end to the occupation. All Palestinians are in favour of this, of course. But if it continues, where the border of Palestine should be, then we already start to have problems. And that is why there is not necessarily a consensus now. The political cleavages are also visible in the Palestinian communities [...] And to reach an agreement on that now will be very, very difficult” (IN2, phone interview, October 2017).

Moreover, the protracted nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which the solution for many seems out of the hands of the Palestinian population, can be seen as major discouraging factor for diaspora mobilisation. As a result, a lack of human capital was frequently mentioned as a major challenge since, in the majority of cases, work is mainly done on a voluntary basis and largely relies on the initiative of very few active individuals. This is often perceived as a heavy burden, causing frustration, exhaustion, and sometimes even the dissolution of associations.

Next to human resources, a lack of capacity due to limited infrastructure and scarce financial resources is also clearly visible among Palestinian diaspora organisations in Germany. The majority of organisations lack necessary working equipment, such as office space and supplies, and also heavily rely on donations, membership fees, and volunteer work to realise their activities. Only a few organisations were able to access public funding, whereby a strong commitment and ownership of the founders as well as time investment to build a trustful relationship with local authorities are seen as crucial success factors. The project-based nature of funding makes it difficult to develop strategic management and long-term planning, posing an additional challenge to organisational capacity building:

“Of course, you can plant something in the desert, but the likelihood that it will grow and eventually bear fruit is lower than planting it on fertile ground” (IN16, personal interview, Hannover, December 2017).

7.2. Avenues for cooperation

Reflecting on both the needs of Palestinian diaspora groups and the objectives of GIZ (and more specifically, PME), several forms of potential cooperation can be identified.

Diaspora Cooperation/Migrant Organisations: While there seems a strong willingness of Palestinian diaspora organisations to actively engage in development-orientated activities in the origin country, a general lack of capacity of many associations has been identified as one of the main barriers in this regard. Given the resources of the diaspora, there lies an untapped potential that could be harnessed by promoting the involvement of Palestinian diaspora groups in the *Diaspora Cooperation* component. In order to ensure more long-term and strategic capacity development of diaspora organisations, funding streams should move beyond a project-based nature towards providing more structural funding opportunities.

In addition, providing trainings in capacity development could address potential obstacles related to organisational leadership, fundraising, project management, and strategic planning. Moreover, the protracted nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, along with the complex and diverse needs of the Palestinian population, constitute major obstacles for the identification of potential development-related fields of diaspora engagement. Scenario-building workshops on potential fields of action, including a mapping of different stakeholders and potential partners in the origin country, could promote and facilitate more strategic and long-term development efforts of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany.

Diaspora Cooperation/Diaspora Experts: Temporary return to the Palestinian Territories, in which people volunteer in their holidays to share knowledge in their field of expertise, seems particularly common among members of professional networks (such as *PalMed*, *PalTech* and the *Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland*). Promoting temporary return among diaspora experts within the diaspora component can institutionalise these efforts. The professional networks may be important focal points to reach out to potential participants.

Returning Experts: The narrative of the Palestinian diaspora strongly carries the notion of an ancestral homeland and longing for return. Although an emotional and symbolic return is a central desire among participants of this study, this does not necessarily translate into real practice, even if the possibility of repatriation due to a German passport is given. A lack of personal and political freedoms, limited economic perspectives, as well as reoccurring phases of instability and conflict may be potential factors negatively influencing the willingness for permanent return. Since a centralised platform for job opportunities is not given in the Palestinian context, a mapping study of placement opportunities could facilitate the matching of potential returnees with future employers. If opportunities are presented, this may also encourage more people to participate in this programme. However, the difficulties in getting access to the Palestinian Territories presents

a practical challenge of implementing this component. Through reaching out to Palestinian and Israeli authorities, CIM can advocate for facilitating mobility in the Palestinian context.

Migrants as Entrepreneurs: This programme may be an important channel to provide knowledge and skills transfer as well as foreign direct investments by Palestinian diaspora entrepreneurs and businesses to boost the struggling economy, which tends to be characterised by high unemployment rates (particularly among youth) and low economic growth. At the same time, external restrictions such as procedures at border crossings, the Gaza blockade, and access restrictions to Area C of the West Bank, as well as internal constraints of weak governance and institutions have been identified as major barriers to economic development (World Bank, 2017). These factors may also negatively affect the potential and opportunities of Palestinian diaspora entrepreneurs. Hence, conducting a feasibility study can determine the viability of the *Migrants as Entrepreneurs* component in the Palestinian context to ensure its legal, technical, and economic efficiency and expediency.

General recommendations

Collecting data on Palestinian immigrant population in Germany: As outlined in Section 4.2, reliable data on the population of Palestinian origin in Germany is not available. Next to the lack of accurate numbers, there appears to be little to no information on socio-economic characteristics including education levels, prior or current economic activity, or the like. This general lack of data severely limits any attempts at accurate and detailed comparisons as well as analyses of the Palestinian immigrant population in Germany. As such, it is especially recommended that disaggregated data about the understudied characteristics of the Palestinian population in Germany (population size, age, residence status, geographical distribution, educational background, employment status, etc.) be further collected and analysed. Such information would go a long way in allowing improved profiling and targeting of policies towards this group.

Acknowledging the politicised nature of diaspora involvement: It has been shown throughout this study that the Palestinian diaspora is highly politicised, since both external and internal dynamics of the conflict are also reflected and reproduced in the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. The politicised nature of diaspora involvement can represent a challenge for international development cooperation as development and humanitarian organisations having to stick to the principles of neutrality, independency, and impartiality. However, instead of aiming at depoliticising diaspora action, Horst (2013) argues that development cooperation should acknowledge the political nature of such engagement and understand diaspora involvement as form of civic participation in the host country, which is characterised by diversity, differences, and contestations: “Civic participation always takes place from a particular position, and it is in the debate between different positions and in contestations of the status quo in which societal change

occurs” (p.243) This also means that development actors should not search for a unified voice and representation within the Palestinian diaspora but rather create a space for discussion and debates, in which diversity (instead of uniformity) leads to future ways of cooperation and action. This requires a more long-term approach of cooperation, as time and contact are needed to create a trustful and constructive environment for discussions and exchange.

Promoting involvement of women and (second-generation) youth: In line with other studies revealing that collective action of diaspora groups tends to be a result of the mobilisation of a small elite of political entrepreneurs (Portes, Escobar, & Arana, 2008; Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003), the profile of the diaspora organisations interviewed was comprised of mainly males from the older generation. This does not necessarily mean that Palestinian women or youth in Germany do not take action in diaspora mobilisation but, rather, that their engagement might also be more difficult to capture in the frame of this study. For instance, interviews with the younger generation indicated that their engagement tends to be characterised by more informal, loose structures and networks. At the same time, diverse structures and processes may produce social positions based, among other things, on hierarchies of class, profession, generation, and gender within the diaspora mobilisation, risking the reproduction of pre-existing societal power asymmetries. Reaching out to Palestinian women, student, and youth organisations, as well as implementing joint workshops on how promoting engagement amongst these target groups, can be a way to promote diversity in the cooperation of GIZ and PME with Palestinian diaspora groups.

8. Conclusion

In the last decades, the use of the concept ‘diaspora’ has grown rapidly through its applications in academic, cultural, and political spheres. Even more recently, there has been a growing interest in seeing diasporas as a practice, or as a form of social mobilisation, and considering the engagement of individuals and organisations in the diaspora in their countries of origin. Though the role of conflict-induced diasporas in conflict and post-conflict settings is still unclear, there has also been growing recognition of the potential for diaspora groups to play a constructive role in alleviating conflicts, engaging in peace-building, and supporting development transnationally.

As can be seen with the Palestinian diaspora associations in Germany, diaspora engagement is extensively multifaceted and reflects the diversity of diasporas themselves with regards to origin places, socio-economic factors, religion, political affiliations, and reasons for migration. Diaspora communities can also differ from one another in terms of values, aspirations, and activities. Despite this heterogeneity, the possibilities for dialogue, collaboration, and collective action among Palestinian diaspora groups in Germany remain productive. As was identified through the interviews, there is a strong desire and willingness of Palestinians in Germany to remain connected

to their homeland through forms of active engagement. Moreover, this is a commitment to contribute to peace and development in the Palestinian Territories.

As such, Palestinian diaspora organisations are involved in areas of development and humanitarian aid in the Palestinian Territories, mainly through the provision of financial support and medical relief. Such responses were especially seen during the violence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the collective mobilisation of Palestinian diaspora groups in Germany, which aimed to effectively respond to the humanitarian needs of the population in the Palestinian Territories. Other development-related activities in the Palestinian Territories are focused on supporting the development of the Palestinian medical system and health sector, promoting education, advocating for gender equality and women's empowerment, as well as improving employment opportunities. In addition to their activities in the origin country context, Palestinian diaspora organisations also actively promote engagement in Germany through advocacy work providing clarification on the situation in the Palestinian Territories as well as through cultural activities promoting the heterogeneity of Palestinian culture and German-Palestinian intercultural dialogue. Activities in Germany are also focused on promoting the professional and economic integration of Palestinians in Germany and providing support for newly arrived asylum seekers and refugees.

In realising their engagement, Palestinian diaspora associations are confronted with a range of challenges in the Palestinian Territories, in Germany, and within the diaspora community that prevent them from reaching their full potential. Within the Palestinian Territories, organisations primarily face difficulties with the physical access needed to engage in their activities. In Germany, organisations often find their discursive abilities constrained. In particular, organisations noted finding it difficult to be critical of Israel without being seen as anti-Semitic and were generally challenged by xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes. Within the diaspora community, it is especially difficult for organisations to mobilise Palestinians due to fragmentation of the diaspora. In addition to this lack of human capital, organisations also experience capacity constraints resulting from limited infrastructure and financial resources.

By considering these obstacles faced by the Palestinian diaspora, there are several recommendations and ways forward for cooperation with the GIZ and PME as well as to support the growing potential for development-related activities of the Palestinian diaspora. Particularly, initiatives of PME should focus on enabling the engagement of Palestinian diaspora organisations and active individuals through capacity-building initiatives and financial support; considering untapped potential among Palestinian entrepreneurs and professional organisations; as well as advocating for facilitated access to the Palestinian Territories. More generally, there should be increased efforts made to better statistically understand the characteristics (e.g. size, geographical distribution, socio-economic background) of the Palestinian diaspora in Germany. The politicised

nature of the Palestinian diaspora and its engagement should also be recognised in a way that creates a space for diverse discussions and long-term cooperation. In addition to this, the involvement of women and youth should be encouraged to further diversify the nature of diaspora engagement. Such aforementioned forms of cooperation and collaboration have extensive potential to support existing organisations and new initiatives to enable them to reach their full potential. Moreover, measures that address the challenges of the Palestinian diaspora in its engagement in both Germany and the Palestinian Territories will promote sustainable social transformation and developments of peace in the Palestinian Territories.

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Appendix A: Mapping of Palestinian diaspora organisations

Organisation	Year	Email/Website	Category	Aims & Activities
<i>Palästinakomitee Stuttgart</i>	1982	gav.rajab@online.de ; https://senderfreiespalaestina.de/	Advocacy	<p>Aims: To promote solidarity with the Palestinian people and refugees; to support Palestinian movements for democracy, freedom, and social justice; to help realize Palestinian rights to self-determination and return of refugees</p> <p>Activities: Organises art exhibitions; cooperates with groups opposed to human rights violations; supports Palestinians in social, cultural, and medical areas; disseminates information and promotes research on the history and current events of the Palestinian Territories</p>
<i>Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft e.V.</i>	1986	dpg@dpg-netz.de ; http://dpg-netz.de/	Umbrella organisation; Advocacy; Development (civil society)	<p>Aims: To uphold human rights and support the building a democratic Palestine; to inform the German public about the situation in the Palestinian Territories and to correct misunderstandings</p> <p>Activities: Political lobbying; supporting civil society organisations in the Palestinian Territories; cooperating with human rights groups in Israel and in the Palestinian Territories; creating friendly relationships and exchange between the Palestinian Territories and Germany; monitoring media in Germany; holding cultural events related to the Palestinian Territories in Germany</p>

<p><i>Deutsch-Palästinensischer Frauenverein e.V.</i></p>	<p>1987</p>	<p>info@dpfv.org; http://www.dpfv.org/</p>	<p>Advocacy; Development; Humanitarian aid</p>	<p>Aims: To improve the social and economic situation of Palestinian women and children in the Palestinian Territories and refugee camps in the Middle East; to open a discussion in Germany about the situation of Palestinian people</p> <p>Activities: Supporting Palestinian women and children; providing humanitarian assistance in emergency situations (medicine, clothing, food); promoting self-help initiatives in the Palestinian Territories in the areas of livelihood, education, and health as well as the development of kindergartens and training programs (in the Palestinian Territories); promoting the understanding of the problems of Palestinian women in dialogue with German women and women's associations; hosting information events, cultural events, and discussions to deepen German-Palestinian dialogue (in Germany)</p>
<p><i>Wohltätigkeitsverein Al-Huleh e. V.: Palästinensischer Verein für soziale, kulturelle und sportliche Aktivitäten</i></p>	<p>1995</p>	<p>info@al-huleh.de; http://www.al-huleh.de/</p>	<p>Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To support areas of welfare, culture, sport, and school education for children in the German language</p> <p>Activities: Organises sporting (karate and football) activities, cultural and folklore activities (e.g. Arabic dance), and school tutoring; provides individualised support to association members to help them integrate in the German community</p>

<p><i>Palästinensische Gemeinde München e.V.</i></p>	<p>1997</p>	<p>http://www.pgminfo.de/; Contact form on website</p>	<p>Advocacy; Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To support Palestinians in Munich to preserve their Palestinian identities; to build a bridge with German citizens to win their support; to promote balanced integration of Palestinians into German society; to support young people of Palestinian origin in learning about their place of origin</p> <p>Activities: Organises Palestinian evenings with food, weekly meetings, Dabke classes for children, gym classes and breakfasts for women, and cooking courses; supports Palestinians, German citizens with Palestinian origin, and friends of the Palestinian Territories</p>
<p><i>PALÄSTINA INITIATIVE</i></p>	<p>2000</p>	<p>info@palaestina-initiative.de; http://palaestina-initiative.de/</p>	<p>Advocacy</p>	<p>Aims: To inform the public about the living situation, history, economy, and culture of the Palestinian people; to respect human rights in the Palestinian Territories and Israel; to support the self-determination of Palestinians; to support the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in Germany</p> <p>Activities: Hosts musical events, festivals, and forum evenings with lectures given by invited speakers</p>
<p><i>Palästinensischer Freundschaftsverein e.V.</i></p>	<p>2002</p>	<p>info@pfvw.de; http://www.pfvw.de/</p>	<p>Advocacy; Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To promote understanding between German and Palestinian citizens; to preserve the culture and traditions of the Palestinian people</p> <p>Activities: Hosting cultural events, seminars and lectures as well as Palestinian folk dance groups; organising computer skills and language (German and Arabic) courses; supporting members in their mediation with the authorities; organising youth and adult outings</p>

<i>Bildung und Begegnung Palästina e.V.</i>	2003	info@bubp.de; http://www.bubp.de/	Advocacy; Development	<p>Aims: To alleviate the distress of the Palestinian population in the Palestinian Territories; to provide information about the social and political relationships in the region; to support peace in the Middle East</p> <p>Activities: Supports the Evangelical Lutheran School in Beit Sahour; organises visits to Israel and the Palestinian Territories; provides financial and ideological support of Palestinian projects</p>
<i>PALÄSTINA-Forum e.V.</i>	2003	aref.hajjaj@gmx.de	Advocacy	<p>Aims: To provide information and openly communicate about the situation in the Palestinian Territories</p> <p>Activities: Holds lectures; engages in radio and TV programmes; participates in podium discussions and conferences; engages in visits to the Palestinian Territories</p>
<i>Deutsch-Palästinensischer Arbeitskreis</i>	2004	dpak.bocholt@gmail.com; https://www.facebook.com/DPArbeitskreis/	Advocacy; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To support the Palestinian population financially and through medical support</p> <p>Activities: Organises regular collections of donations; hosts information events about the situation in the Palestinian Territories; supports the provision of medical services</p>
<i>Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland-Paderborn e.V.</i>	2004	mohamed@soubh.de; http://pgd-paderborn.de/	Advocacy; Culture & integration	<p>Aims: To preserve the Palestinian culture</p> <p>Activities: Organised demonstrations/rallies against the war in Gaza; invites individuals from the Palestinian Territories to events; was especially active in collecting monetary donations during the wars in Gaza; helped to organise a partnership between Bielefeld and an Israeli city; supports the <i>Palästinensische Ärzte -und</i></p>

				<i>Apothekenvereinigung</i> in their work in Palestinian/Lebanese refugee camps
<i>Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Deutschland e.V.</i>	2006	abo-wuppertal@t-online.de; http://www.paav.de/	Professional/academic/student network; Development; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To bring Palestinian doctors and pharmacists to Germany; to organise events on the medical problems of Palestinian refugees; to provide financial and material support to medical facilities serving Palestinian refugees</p> <p>Activities: Supports study programme of Palestinian medical (health care & nursing) students at hospitals in Germany; sends shipping containers of donations (medical supplies, clothing, toys, educational supplies) to Palestinian camps in Lebanon; supports children with diabetes in the Gaza Strip</p>
<i>Deutsch-Palästinensische Medizinische Gesellschaft (DPMG) e.V.</i>	2007	dpmg@web.de; http://www.dpmg-ev.de/	Professional/academic/student network; Development; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To deliver humanitarian and medical aid for Palestinians and refugees of Palestinian origin in West Bank and Gaza Strip; to financially and materially support such medical operations; to create an understanding between German and Palestinian organisations</p> <p>Activities: Collecting and organising transports of medicines, medical supplies and medical devices to the Palestinian Territories; providing personnel, financial and material support for clinics and ambulances; organising regular meetings and information events on the situation of the Palestinians, especially in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; Member of the Deutscher Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel</p>

<i>mediPalestine e.V.</i>	2007	mail@mediPalestine.ch; http://mediPalestine.ch/de/	Development; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To ensure that all members of the public have access to high quality medical care; to serve society and enhance confidence about the future; to promote exchange of professional expertise between specialists in Switzerland and other international participants and the Palestinian Territories</p> <p>Activities: Develops solution approaches to meet medical needs of the Palestinian population; improves the quality of medical service provisions in the Palestinian Territories; helps with the further education of specialist personnel in the Palestinian Territories; promotes cooperation between Swiss and Palestinian institutions (among others) through exchange programs</p>
<i>Palästinensische Vereinigung Deutschlands für politische und kulturelle Förderung e.V. (also called Palästinensische Vereinigung Hamburgs e.V.)</i>	2008	www.p-v-h.de; Contact form on website unavailable	Advocacy; Culture & integration	<p>Aims: To represent all Palestinians in Germany and achieve all objectives through legal means; to organise events to bring young people to their homeland; to develop a programme to support youth in occupied territories; to increase political and cultural awareness</p> <p>Activities: Organisation of demonstrations and festivals as well as meetings between Germans and Palestinians; hosting of political and cultural lectures; supporting Palestinian community events</p>
<i>PalMed Europe + PalMed Deutschland e.V.</i>	2008	gh.easha@palmedeurope.net; dr-dada@web.de; a.dada@palmedeurope.net; germany@palmedeurope.net; http://palmedeurope.de/	Professional/academic/student network; Culture & integration; Development; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To support cooperation between Palestinian organisations both inside and outside of Germany; to increase the willingness of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany to carry out humanitarian work in</p>

				<p>the Palestinian Territories; to support the training of Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany</p> <p>Activities: Performing statistical assessments on and motivating Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany; creating contacts between Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany; researching and publishing on the Palestinian Territories' medical history; building partnerships between German and Palestinian universities and medical institutions; supporting Palestinian doctors and pharmacists in Germany through education and training</p>
<p><i>Arbeitskreis Palästina NRW e.V.</i></p>	<p>2009</p>	<p>info@ak-palaestina.de; http://www.ak-palaestina.de/index.html</p>	<p>Advocacy</p>	<p>Aims: To support the right of return of Palestinian refugees; to make the situation in the Palestinian Territories known</p> <p>Activities: Informing the German public about the situation in the Palestinian Territories through cultural events, festivals, conferences, and music events</p>
<p><i>Deutsche Jugend für Palästina (DJP) e.V.</i></p>	<p>2009</p>	<p>kontakt@djp-ev.de; https://www.facebook.com/deutschejugendpalaestina/</p>	<p>Advocacy; Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To act as a voice for young Palestinians in Germany; to share the Palestinian cause with the German public; to provide comprehensive information on the historical, international and political situation</p> <p>Activities: Focus on providing accurate information on the historical, international, and political situation in the Palestinian Territories as well as on creating a platform for exchanging ideas on current/historical events and activities of the association</p>

<i>Deutsch-Palästinensischer Wirtschaftsrat e.V. (DPW)</i>	2009	ghabusamra@dpw-ev.de; http://www.dpw-ev.de/	Professional/academic/student network; Development	<p>Aims: To act as a partner between the German and Palestinian private sectors; to support German companies who are interested in reconstruction and investment in the Palestinian Territories; to create necessary contacts and bridge linguistic barriers in this regard</p> <p>Activities: Providing information on general and sector-specific developments, potential business areas, and investment opportunities in the Palestinian Territories as well as providing legal advice to members; supporting the mediation of business partners; enabling participation of members in seminars, trade fairs, conferences, and delegation trips</p>
<i>Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.</i>	2009	info@pgd-online.de; http://www.pgd-online.de/index.php	Umbrella organisation; Advocacy; Culture & integration; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To promote the German-Palestinian relationship; to cooperate with existing organisations in Germany</p> <p>Activities: Providing information on the history and culture of the Palestinian people through events and publications; supporting aid (e.g. legal, humanitarian, medical) for Palestinians</p>
<i>Palästinensische Ärzte- und Apothekervereinigung Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.</i>	2009	PAABBeV@outlook.de; http://www.orienthaus.eu/ (under construction)	Professional/academic/student network; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To support war-wounded children in Gaza and in Germany by gathering financial and medical donations</p> <p>Activities: ongoing project "Unsere Schatzkinder"</p>
<i>PalTech e.V.</i>	2010	info@paltech.de; http://www.paltech.de	Professional/academic/student network; Culture & integration; Development; Humanitarian aid	<p>Aims: To help Palestinian engineers integrate into the German industry; to improve civil engineering services in the Palestinian Territories; to support Palestinian students in Germany</p>

				<p>Activities: Establishes partnerships between German universities and Palestinian technical institutes; helps to increase the willingness of engineers to support humanitarian operations in technical facilities in the Palestinian Territories; promotes contacts between German and Palestinian engineers; implements seminars for students in German universities</p>
<p><i>Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland</i></p>	2011	<p>soubh@gmx.de; https://palgemeinde.wordpress.com/</p>	<p>Umbrella organisation of other PGD branches in Germany; Advocacy; Development; Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To spread Palestinian culture and the creation of friendly relations in Germany; to offer social services; to promote the union of all Palestinians in Germany</p> <p>Activities: Engages in political lobby work; organises conferences; supports women's and children's projects such as the German-Palestinian Frauenverein, clean water project in Al-Yarmouk through donations</p>
<p><i>Palästinensischer Studentenverein - Berlin-Brandenburg (PSV-Berlin und Brandenburg) e.V.</i></p>	2011	<p>psv.berlin@googlemail.com; https://www.facebook.com/PSVStudenten/</p>	<p>Professional/academic/student network; Culture & integration</p>	<p>Aims: To promote understanding between German students and foreign students, especially from the Palestinian Territories and the Middle East; to provide Palestinian students with meeting places with German students</p> <p>Activities: Supporting education, sports, social and political work; organising cultural events</p>
<p><i>Nijmah e.V.</i></p>	2012	<p>mahmud2003@hotmail.de; info@nijmah.org; http://www.nijmah.org/</p>	<p>Advocacy; Development</p>	<p>Aims: To encourage and support Palestinians to become the authors of their own, sustainable success stories in various fields, like education, health, culture, environment, architecture and social business; to promote bilateral and intercultural knowledge exchange; to change the media image of Palestinians</p>

				Activities: Organisation of educational, internship, and exchange programmes for Palestinian youth
<i>Palästinensische Gemeinde Siegen e.V.</i>	2013	pgsaktuell@gmail.com	Advocacy; Culture & integration	<p>Aims: To promote relations among Palestinians, German citizens of Palestinian origin, and friends of the Palestinian Territories in and around Siegen without political or religious interests</p> <p>Activities: Organising events such as parties, festivals, and demonstrations (e.g. for Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons)</p>
<i>Palästinensischer Frauenverband in Deutschland e.V.</i>	2013		Advocacy; Culture & integration	<p>Aims: To promote the role of Palestinian women in Germany; to open horizons of cooperation among Palestinian women in the diaspora as well as at home; to document the relationship of Palestinian women and to find ways to exchange views; to define the history of women's work in the Palestinian Territories past and present; to raise the level of education and knowledge of Palestinian women in Europe; to support the steadfastness of women in the Palestinian Territories; to encourage Palestinian women to engage in voluntary work; to enable Palestinian women to face difficult circumstances through their interaction in society and taking responsibility in the fight against negative phenomena</p> <p>Activities: Working on the media arena to serve the Palestinian cause; promoting Palestinian arts, handicrafts, and cuisine; participating in all Palestinian-related activities, events, festivals and conferences held in the German and European arena (e.g. Al-Awda Conference,</p>

				demonstrations, sit-ins); launching a conference for Palestinian women; holding educational and awareness sessions on Palestinian history and on the adherence to rights for Palestinian women and future generations
<i>Palästina Forum München e.V.</i>	2016	f.hamdan@einewelthaus.de; a.ibrahim@initiativgruppe.de; https://www.einewelthaus.de/palastina-komitee-munchen/	Advocacy; Culture & integration; Humanitarian aid	Aims: Part of EineWeltHaus, which aims to promote interculturalism, solidarity, and acceptance as well as to develop and implement new creative concepts of social action Activities: Projects include organising political and cultural events on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, holding a regular vigil, and supporting aid projects in Palestinian refugee camps
<i>Palästinensische Gemeinde in Oldenburg und Nordwest e.V.</i>	2016	https://www.facebook.com/psgemeinde/	Advocacy; Culture & integration	Aims: To represent Palestinians in Oldenburg and Nordwest; to talk about the Palestinian story and provide clarification for the German people Activities: Hosts demonstrations, cultural events, Ramadan breakfasts; hopes to organise an information stand
<i>Partout, Verein zur Förderung der Medizin in Palästina e.V.</i>	2016	info@partout-ev.de; http://www.partout-ev.de/	Development; Humanitarian aid	Aims: To make cultural differences between Germany and the Palestinian Territories understandable; to even out scientific deficits in the Palestinian Territories (especially in terms of medicine); to promote exchange and collaboration between German and Palestinian medical professionals Activities: Accompanies Palestinians who have fled to Germany for medical care and help them in their search for medical specialists; helps medical professionals from the Palestinian Territories to find trainings and internships in

				Germany; organises medical trainings and congresses in Germany and abroad
<i>Palästinensische Gemeinde - Kassel e.V.</i>	2017	kontakt@pg-kassel.de; https://www.pg-kassel.de/	Culture & integration	<p>Aims: To support the Palestinians in Kassel in preserving their Palestinian identity</p> <p>Activities: Hosts social, cultural, and historical events and activities on Palestinian culture and history for Palestinians, German citizens of Palestinian origin, and friends of the Palestinian Territories in Kassel and the surrounding areas; offers Arabic courses</p>

Appendix B: Interview guide

QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTIFICATION	
x.1 Questionnaire Number	
x.2 Date	
x.3 Location interview	
x.4 Organisation name	
x.5 Organisation contact person	
x.6 Contact person phone number	
x.7 Contact person email address	
x.8 Organisation mailing address	
x.9 Consent to share contact details with GIZ?	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes

Interviewer introduction

Thank you very much for speaking with me. I am a researcher from Maastricht University/United Nations University-MERIT in the Netherlands, and I am studying the ways in which organisations like yours engage (or do not engage) with social, economic, and political life in Palestine as well as in Germany. The purpose of this study is to figure out to which extent and through what activities diaspora organisations contribute to the peacebuilding process in Palestine. The research seeks to understand how organisations like yours are structured, what kinds of activities you undertake, and what the primary goals and motivations of your organisation are. I am collecting this information as part of a project commissioned by GIZ (German Development Cooperation), which hopes to use this information both to understand different types of engagement activities and to investigate which organisations could participate in development initiatives in cooperation with GIZ. I will take note of whatever we talk about today — as we speak, you will see me writing information down. I want you to know that I will share the information with the other project staff, but we will not share your information beyond our team and will keep it confidential. To ensure I have an accurate record of our discussion, do I have your permission to record our talk?

One of this study's goals is to have a roster of diaspora and migrant organisations that can be used to foster participation in homeland development initiatives. Do I have your permission to share your contact details with GIZ?

A. Introductory question

First, I would like to start with a more personal question.

1. Can you tell me a bit more about your migration experience?
 - a. How was your life before you left Palestine?
 - b. In what year did you migrate to Germany?
 - c. What were the reasons for your migration?

B. Palestinian Diaspora

Now, I would like to ask you some questions on the Palestinian diaspora.

1. Can you tell me some details about the Palestinian diaspora in Germany?
 - a. Is it homogeneous or heterogeneous (in terms of socioeconomic factors, ethnicity, political aspirations and religion)?
 - b. Are there strong ties/networks within the Palestinian diaspora in Germany and in other countries? [What is the role of ethnicity and religion, if any?]
 - c. What is the relationship to Palestine? Are there strong connections? What is the relationship to the state?
 - d. How do you perceive the “evolution” of the Palestinian diaspora since you have lived in Germany?

C. Basic Organisational Information

Now, I would like to ask some basic information about your organisation — about how it started, why it started, and its registration status.

1. What motivated you to become engaged?
2. In what year was this organisation established? [*Potential follow-up/prompts: Have you been with the organisation for much of/not much of its history? Have you seen it change much in the time you’ve been here?*]
3. Why was the organisation established, and why at that time?
4. What would you say is the goal or the “core mission” of the organisation? Has it changed over time?
5. What kind of organisation do you consider [name of organisation]? For instance, would you consider it a humanitarian organisation, political organisation, a professional network, a religious organisation, etc.?
6. Is your organisation registered?
7. What is the size of your organisation’s membership (excluding staff)? Does this include both active and inactive members? (What is the size of both groups?)
8. Is the size of your membership consistent, or does it fluctuate?
9. What is the composition of your membership? What is the distribution in terms of:
 - a. Gender

- b. Age
- c. Generation (e.g., first, second, etc.)
- d. Ethnic group
- e. Other characteristic [Education or skill level]

10. How is your organisation financed?

11. Is the organisation part of any larger network of organisations, like an umbrella organisation for all Palestinian diaspora organisations, or a transnational migrant platform, or something similar? Why or why not?

D. Current Organisational Activities in Conflict

Now, let us talk about what your organisation *does*, about what kinds of activities or events your organisation organises or takes part in. I am also interested in your view on the conflict.

1. What does your organisation do to contribute to development of Palestine? (*Please, describe all activities in detail*) [*Prompt: Does your organisation have fund-raising events and, if so, for what causes? Does your organisation have a mentorship programme? How does your organisation engage with the wider Palestinian community?*]
2. Have these core activities changed over time?
3. Where do these activities take place? For instance, are some activities run exclusively from the country of destination while others take place in Palestine?
4. Why have these activities become the focus of your organisation? What inspired these activities?
5. Aside from these “core activities”, what other sorts of actions or events does your organisation take part in? [*Alternate formulation: In a typical year, what activities will your organisation have carried out?*]
6. Does your organisation raise collective remittances? [*Prompt: If yes, how is the money transferred to Palestine/refugee camps? What are the challenges?*]

E. Cooperation

1. Are any of your organisation’s activities run in cooperation with other organisations or institutions, either in the country of destination or somewhere else? If so, which ones and how? [*In other words: does your organisation cooperate with others to execute certain activities?*]
 - a. Do you cooperate with other Palestinian diaspora organisations from Germany or other countries of residence? Why or why not? If yes, could you give me the names of the organisations?
2. How does your organisation interact with stakeholders in Palestine?
 - a. What kind of stakeholders are these?

- b. Does your organisation support any specific group in Palestine?
3. Does the government in Germany have programs in place to facilitate cooperation with stakeholders in Palestine?
4. Do you see potentials for cooperation with the German Development Cooperation (for instance, BMZ, GIZ)?
5. If yes, through which means/forms?

F. Main Challenges and Future Plans

Finally, I would like to talk about the future of your organisation — about what is on your agenda for the coming months and years.

1. What would you like to see the organisation achieve in the future? [For instance, what are its short/medium/long-term goals?]
2. What are its key challenges/obstacles now and in the future?

Is there any other important information that you think I should know?