Zelda van der Velde

Prof. Dr. Rianne Letschert/Dr. Anthony Pemberton

Tilburg University

MSc Victimology and Criminal Justice

Master Thesis, December 2013

APA American English

"The Forgotten People": Victimological Responses to Collective Victimization of Refugees

A case study of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

Jerry Lampen-Reuters, published in the Guardian on August 27, 2010 with the article `Lebanon´s Law on Palestinian Workers does not go far enough´ by Ahmed Moor.

“De tekens van het geleden onrecht zouden voor altijd in ons blijven: in de herinnering van wie erbij was, in de plaatsen waar het gebeurde, in de verhalen die we erover zouden vertellen. Omdat, en dat is het huiveringwekkende privilege van onze generatie, en van mijn volk, niemand beter dan wij heeft kunnen begrijpen dat onrecht onherstelbaar is en om zich heen grijpt als een besmetting. Het is dom te geloven dat menselijke gerechtigheid het kan verzoenen. Het is een onuitputtelijke bron van kwaad: het breekt de getroffenen naar lichaam en ziel, blust hen uit en ontmenselijkt hen; het slaat terug als schande op de onderdrukkers, leeft voort als haat in de overlevenden, en woekert op duizend manieren verder, tegen ieders wil, als wraakzucht, moreel verval, negatie, moeheid, verzaking”.

Primo Levi – Is dit een Mens

“Memory is the battlefield of identity: Whose part is bigger in realizing society’s ideals? Whose side is historical justice on? Who is the oppressed and who is the oppressor? Who is the righteous one and who is the sinner? In this struggle, forgetfulness has an equally important role as that of memory: One remembers the expedient and forgets the rest. Historiography can’t disentangle itself from the struggle of memory. At its best, it reflects memory’s contradictions, and balances the various ‘narratives’. At its worst, it becomes a weapon in the battle for identity, which is, among others, also a political battle”.

Shapira, 1977, translated by S. J. Cohen

*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis would not be what it is today without the help and feedback of Prof. Dr. Rianne Letschert, whose devotion, enthusiasm and knowledge are a great source of inspiration. Many thanks also to Dr. Anthony Pemberton who has been the second reader of this thesis, and whose lectures on theories of justice underpin parts of what is argued in this work. I would also like to mention QC Peter Haynes, Dr. Kinga Tibiri-Zsabo and Tamara Kosic who supervised me during my internship at the Special Tribunal for Lebanon. Learning about this country would not have been as lively without this experience. The same gratitude I feel towards Hoda Samra, who on behalf of the UNRWA swiftly responded to my questions relating to (nonexistent) psychological relief for Palestinian refugees in Lebanese camps. First-hand information is very useful in relation to refugee schemes, as scholarly articles often date years back. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude towards Peter and Rowan van der Velde, Yolanda Haighton, and Emil Koski who always showed unconditional support and interest in my study, and encouraged me to make the most of it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Victimologists have until now only sparsly engaged in studying collective victimization. To close this gap in literature, this thesis explores in what ways victimologists could contribute to developing refugee relief schemes. Refugees are often scapegoated by States under negative labels such as "undesirable alien" and "terrorist" that overshadow the victimization which constitutes the root of their displacement. Moreover, the hostile approach to refugeehood, both by the host-State society and the society from which the refugee fled, enhance the refugee's proneness to suffer forms of revictimization. In this paper I aim to identify the dominant vulnerability factors in place in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Overall, I stress that victimologists should advocate for a discourse of refugees as victims, in order to override the negative associations that the term refugee evokes today.

Key words: Victimology, Human Rights, Social Construct, Palestine, Lebanon, Refugee

INTRODUCTION

> *"We have no rights and no future. We have a lot of problems; We can't work freely, we cannot own a house, we cannot move around. We are treated as if we are not human"*
>
> - Samar, 20 year old (Shatila refugee camp, Beirut)[1]

> Scrolling through images of the "temporary" Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, one might feel smothered by the idea as such of walking through the camps' narrow allies. Only the graffities on the brick walls, and the omnipresent piles of rubbish serve as points of coordination to distinguish one "street" from another.[2] The posters of "martyrs" carrying guns, add to a slightly macabre feel. Nevertheless, it is in these over-crowded, poorly facilitated camps, that the last three generations of Palestinian refugees were born and raised; their health, education and shelter left at the mercy of the UNRWA and the international community.[3]

About 100.000 Palestinians entered Lebanon as refugees following the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. The newcomers were received by Lebanese Sunni clans in the south of Lebanon, and gradually moved to UNRWA-established refugee camps throughout the country. Here most have lived for the past 65 years, experiencing various civil and international conflicts. Despite the relative political voicelessness and vulnerability of the Stateless refugees, the Lebanese State actively bars the socio-political participation of this long-term diaspora in Lebanese society. Fearing that naturalization of the Palestinians might disturb the sectarian balance, the Lebanese government denies the Palestinians rights that are normally inherent to citizenship, and put strict restrictions to inter alia property ownership, employment options and access to education. This adamant policy has resulted in the structural marginalization and deprivation of the Palestinians, which has in turn precipitated tensions between the Lebanese Forces, and armed groups in the camps.[4]

The emerge of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in the late 1960s and the creation of radicalized organizations such as al-Queda affiliated Fatah Al-Islam, have served as an incentive for the Lebanese government to take an ever more cautious approach to the Palestinians. Camps are framed as breeding places and safe havens for terrorist organization, and heavily guarded by the Lebanese Armed forces since the violent revolt in 2007 at the Nahr al-Bared camp.[5] The current influx of Syrian refugees is prone to further enhance tensions, and warrants a sustainable solution for the Palestinian refugee problem in Lebanon in order to prevent the escalation of future conflict and victimization.[6] Restricted by short mandates and lack of funding, the UNRWA encounters difficulties to create a sustainable form of refugee relief that addresses both ad hoc humanitarian needs for those who currently enter Lebanon, and structural, development-related forms of aid that are fitting in the context of the long-term refugees.

---

[1] *In* Chassay, C. and Campbell, D. (May, 2007). "We have no Rights and No Future". Retrieved from the official website of The Guardian on November 12, 2013: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/may/29/syria.israelandthepalestinians

[2] For an overview of pictures of some Palestinian camps in Lebanon, please see Appendix I

[3] Note by author made in response to the creation of an overview of Palestinian refugee settlements in Lebanon (see *ibid*. 3).

[4] Ramadan, A. (2008). "The Guests' Guest: Palestinian Refugees, Lebanese Civilians, and the War of 2006". *Antipode, 40*(4) pp. 658-677

[5] For a description of the battle, please see: Ramadan, A. (2009). "Destroying Nahr El-Bared:Sovereignty and Urbicide in the Space of Exception". *Political Geography, 28* pp. 153-163, pp. 153-154

[6] UNSC (July 10, 2013). Statement by the President of the Security Council. S/PRST/2013/9, pp2:

> "The Security Council is gravely concerned at the dramatic influx of refugees fleeing violence in Syria, now totalling over 587,000 Syrian refugees and an additional 65,500 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The Council commends Lebanon's generous efforts in hosting and assisting those refugees and encourages the establishment of fully empowered institutional structures to carry out planning, delivery and coordination responsibilities"

Considering the cemented vulnerability of the Palestinians in Lebanon, it is curious that this long-term refugee population has not yet come to the attention of victimologists.[7] "Curious" because, as the case described in the remainder of this paper will illustrate, proneness to victimization is an inherent aspect of the life of a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon. An event of "original victimization" turns regular citizens into refugees, in this case the persecution and violence during and following the first Arab-Israeli war. Moreover, the reality of life in exile, often marked by adamant host-State policy, trauma, and deprivation, sets the stage for forms of revictimization.[8] Refugees are therefore not only victims of the events that drove them to leave their States, but also of the vicious cycle that is often inherent to losing a home and a State. Indeed, refugees are victims par excellence, whose vulnerability is manifested in various and complex ways. Victimology, being a young discipline that approaches the causes, consequences and remedies to victimization from an interdisciplinary angle, could play a crucial role in shedding light on the factors that reinforce the cycle of victimization, and might in addition identify the material, social and psychological needs of refugees, both ad hoc and long-term.

In this light, a number of questions arise. In the first place: why is it that victimologists have so far not engaged in studying refugee-relief? If the victimization of refugees is really so obvious, why have those who study victims not recognized this category of people as deserving imminent attention in terms of research and assistance? The horrors of refugeehood are frequently meted out in public media, reflecting that victimization of refugees is acknowledged and evokes shared outrage. Paradoxically however, most States are resentful to the idea of hosting refugees, implementing hostile asylum procedures that consider refugees first as a potential criminals, before they are allowed to apply for asylum in the State.[9] On a general level one could wonder therefore, why it is that refugees are perceived in such ambiguous ways? A third essential question is why the Palestinians "deserve" to be considered as victims. News and scholarly articles reporting on terrorist organizations that found safe havens in refugee camps are almost as common as appeals to sympathize with refugees.[10] What is the nature of Palestinian victimization? And how has it manifested itself in Lebanon in specific? Lastly, what could the "vicitmological approach" contribute to the situation of Palesitnian refugees in Lebanon? What does the victim-label as such add to the standing of this refugee population, and why is it so important that victimology lends its interdisciplinary, holistic research methods to this cause?

Seeking to answer the queries above, the overarching aim of this thesis is to demonstrate why refugee populations ´deserve´ a place in victimological research. Presenting the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon as a case-study, I propose that victimologists should transform the current

[7] Although there are a number of studies focusing on traumatization among refugees, most of these are conducted in the fields of psychology and social work and focus on the context of Western asylum States. Sparse literature is available that considers the victimbood and vulnerability of refugees from a victimological angle (*see* i.a.: Jupp, J. (2003). "Refugees and Asylum Seekers as Victims: the Australian Case". *International Review of Victimology, 10* pp. 157-175 *and* Van Ee, E.; Kleber, R. J.; Mooren, T. T. M. (2012). "War Trauma Lingers On: Associations Between Posttraumatic stress Disorder, Parent-Child Interaction, and Child Development". *Infant Mental Health Journal, 33*(5) pp. 459-468), and few engage in studying situations *in* refugee camps that are prone to cause secondary victimization.

[8] Moreover, refugeehood as such currently constitutes one of the most imminent challenges for the international community, as is reflected by the shocking fact that in 2012 alone, an estimated 23000 people fled their homes fearing violence and persecution *daily. See:* UNHCR (2013). "UNHCR: Global Trends 2012". Retrieved from: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendocPDFViewer.html?docid=51bacb0f9&query=+number +of +refugees +worldwide. Last visited November 12, 2013

[9] A strange ambiguity exists in the sympathy evoked by images of human suffering of Palestinian refugees in for instance Syria, but lack of empathy to shelter those who have lost their homes in the own State. Moreover, refugees are frequently approached with caution and seen as potential terrorists, or internal security threats rather than victims of violence. In the Netherlands for instance, upon arrival at Schiphol refugees are placed in detention centers. The Immigration and Naturalization Service then starts the asylum procedure with an investigation into the applicability of article 1(f) of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Article 1(f) is an exclusion clause that prevents rendering asylum to former war criminals. Considering that most applicants are victims of war rather than offenders, this approach appears rather adamant and has been subject to controversy. See: Handmaker, J. (2005). "Seeking Justice, Guaranteeing Protection and Ensuring Due Process: Addressing the Tensions Between Exclusion from Refugee Protection and the Principle of Universal Jurisdiction." *Netherlands Human Rights Quarterly, 21*(4) pp. 677-695

[10] As said above, the Palestinian refugee camps host several radicalized political organizations, most notably Al-Qaeda affiliated Fatah-al-Islam. These organizations have planned an executed rages, killings, and suicide attacks. See: Ramadan, 2009 *supra* 4

discourse on refugees into one that considers *refugees* predominantly *as victims*.[11] As I will highlight in this thesis, Palestinian victimization is politically controversial; this may be part of the reason that the incentive to provide adequate relief remains absent.[12] Besides elucidating the victimization of refugees on an abstract level, I will explore what role victimologists could play in designing refugee relief schemes. I argue that victimological research methods and a victimological approach are highly useful in this respect, and may tackle factors of structural victimization that have long gone unnoticed. Although the creation of a watertight relief scheme for the Palestinians in Lebanon requires long-term field study more suitable for a PhD research than for a master thesis, this paper identifies several factors that should be taken into account when victimologists engage in designing refugee relief, drawing from literature from various disciplines. It serves to encourage fellow victimologists to conduct extensive field research in this area.

This thesis is structured as follows: in the first chapter, the tension between the refugee discourse and the victim-discourse is highlighted. I show how victimologists have themselves been influenced by the dynamic, political nature of the victim-label and I argue that this has had negative consequences on the way in which refugee populations are framed in general, and the Palestinian refugee population in specific. In the second chapter I will describe the ´original victimization´ of the Palestinians. The ´original victimization´ plays an important role in the various forms of revictimization that have been endured by the Palestinians during exile. This chapter hence provides an historical insight into the Palestinian `core´ victimization. From here we move to the various forms of revictimization the Palesitnians have faced in Lebanon. Chapter three serves to elucidate how the interplay of Lebanon´s national politics and the presence of the Palestinians creates a complex boiling pot of interests. The policy approach that has been adopted, in combination with the various internal and international wars in Lebanon, have led to repeat revictimization and cemented social marginalization. Having sketched a clear image of the past and ongoing victimization of the Palestinians in Lebanon, chapter four aims to identify the structural and ad hoc risk factors that reinforce patterns of violence and victimization. I propose that these factors require further study during field research in Lebanon. The synthesis brings together the preceding four chapters and discusses how the victimological approach might influence both refugee relief schemes and the overall social construction of refugees.

[11] Today, the refugee-label is often used as a tool for scapegoating by political authorities. This issue will be discussed more elaborately in the remainder of this paper. See for instance: Goodley, J. (2005). "Victims and Victimology: Policy and Practice". Routledge: London, pp. 19

[12] I make this claim on the basis that, when skimming through comments under newspaper articles dealing with Palestinian victimization, the comments tend to be hostile, blaming the Palestinians for evoking their own misfortune. *See* for instance: Gubash, C. (September, 2013). *Palastinian Massacre a Grim Reminder to Syrian Refugees Flooding Lebanon.* Retrieved from the official website of NBC news on November 14, 2013: http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/09/18/20561511-palestinian-massacre-a-grim-reminder-to-syrian-refugees-flooding-lebanon

CHAPTER I. *REFUGEES* AS *VICTIMS*

> To flee from one's home is to experience a deep sense of loss, and the decision to flee is not taken lightly. Those who make this decision do so because they are in danger of being killed, tortured, forcibly recruited, raped, abducted or starved, among other reasons. They leave behind them assets and property, relatives, friends, familiar surroundings and established social networks.[13]

Refugeehood is a label used to refer to a victim of violence and persecution,[14] who is manoeuvring in a situation of (irreversible) homelessness. As such, a refugee is a victim of an event of "original victimization", but also of the loss of shelter and State that this original victimization precipitated. Naturally, when a person flees a home as a consequence of conflict or structural discrimination, vulnerability and revictimization does not seize with the arrival in a host-State. Refugee camp environments often force people to live in uncertainty and deprived circumstances. Relatively little is known about the structural forms of vulnerability and victimization within these camps, partly because victimologists have so far merely engaged with studying *refugees as individuals* in the contexts of Western host-States. Moreover, in public discourse and domestic policy, the terms "refugee" and "victim" are frequently constructed as mutually exclusive rather than inherently related. *Refugees* evoke associations with "undersirables", "aliens", "criminals"[15]; whereas *victims* deserve pity, compassion and reparation.[16]

This chapter seeks to explore why it is that collectives of long-term refugees have not yet come to the attention of victimologists. Are refugees not "deserving" of recognition as victims? Looking at victimology's history, and the development of the victim-label in international law, I hope to emphasize that the term "victim" is a social construction that, like the term "refugee", is frequently applied in the political context to legitimize certain policies. In addition I argue that the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon may not directly be recognized as victims, because they do not live up to the expectations that the *Ideal Victim* label evokes.

1.1 *Understanding The Social Construct*

What was once considered "virtuous" may today be deemed "silly"; those who were once considered "criminals" might currently be described as "heroes". Language is an essential form of human communication, but fails to reflect the absolute truth. The meaning of words is subject to the socio-political tide and cultural values that make things what they are. Words are truths, but not realities – this is essential to understand when practicing academia. Language *constructs*, as well as *is a construction*, of qualities and values that are created in a respective society at a certain moment in time.

A politician might have a ready-made answer to the question what the concepts "victim" and "refugee" entail, in reality however these concepts are fluid rather than rigid.[17] The hegemonic apparatuses in a society are influential in steering the meaning of certain terms.[18] When I ask the question "who is a victim" in Israel, I will receive a completely different answer than when I ask the same question in Palestine. If I ask a Sunni who is "wrong" in the war against Syria, I will get a different answer than when I ask a Shiite the same. What a victim deserves, who the victim is, or how

---

[13] Machel, G. (1996). *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children.* A/51/306, para. 67

[14] *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1967). A/Res./2198(XXI), art. 1(b)

[15] Arendt, H. (1973). "Chapter 9: The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Men". *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, pp. 267-302.

[16] Van Dijk, J. J. (2009). "Free the Victim: A Critique of the Western Conception of Victimohood". *International Review of Victimology, 16* pp. 1-33

[17] Much interesting research in this regard is conducted on the term "State". See: Sharma, A. And Gupta, A. (2006). *The Anthropology of the State: a Reader*. Blackwell Publishing: Oxford.

[18] Althusser, L. (1971). "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards an Investigation)". *In:* Ibid., pp. 86-111; Kurz, D. V. (2001). *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power.* WEstview Press: Oxford, pp. 128-130 (on cultural hegemony)

a victim should act, is hence depending on cultural values and the reality of the society.[19] The dominant institutions in a society are influential in giving meaning to certain ideas. Hence, it is crucial to shed light on the discursive patterns that underlie constructs like "victimization" and "refugeehood" to understand the implications and biases of using these terms. Following Van Dijk:

> Although the results of such narrative analysis can only be tentative and should be followed up by further empirical research, they do seem to *point to serious biases in current representations of victims*. I will therefore subsequently argue that the young discipline of victimology, by uncritically adopting the concept of the 'victim' as its subject-matter, has reproduced many of the underlying assumptions and connotations of that label.[20] [emphasis added by author]

1.2 *Who is the Victim?*

There are numerous definitions of the term "victim", yet for the purpose of this paper I will use the one proposed by the 1985 *UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power* (hereinafter: "Victim's Declaration") today known as the "Magna Carta" of victim rights. Using this definition I hope to minimize implications of socio-cultural diversity on the perspectives on victimization, accepting the United Nations representativeness of the international community in its entirety.

The Victims' Declaration distinguishes between two manifestations of victimhood: one specific for victims of crime, the other focusing on victims of abuse of power. "Abuse of power" is a term used to refer to the abuse of political or economic power of a legitimate authority, for instance a State, which results in the victimization of certain (groups of) people. In preparation of the provision on victimization caused by "abuse of power", and emphasizing the urgency of recognizing such victimization, the Secretary General and the *Committee on Crime Prevention and Control*, reiterated that:[21]

> "[….] the united Nations should continue its present work on the development of guidelines and standards regarding the abuse of economic and political power".[22]

and further maintained that:

> "[….] while victims of traditional crimes should also be dealt with, major attention should be given to the victims of illegal abuses of power, especially of a large-scale nature, and those which may not even yet be proscribed, yet whose impact may be far greater than assumed, with particularly serious consequences for vulnerable disadvantaged segments of the population (see E/CN.5/l983/2, paras. 137-143). Persecution, especially when institutionalized, may victimize masses of people, and economic malpractices perpetrated by powerful trading partners can inflict great harm on unsuspecting consumers, especially in developing countries."[23]

Because the present paper will look at a case of *refugeehood* caused by Arab-Israeli conflicts, a situation that following some amounts to the crime of persecution[24], there is sense in

---

[19] Andersson, K.(2008). "Constructing Young Masculinity: a Case Study of Heroic Discourse on Violence". *Discourse and Society, 19* pp. 139-161, pp. 141-142

[20] Van Dijk, 2009: pp. 3

[21] For an overview of the procedural history of the Victim Declaration see: United Nations, Office of Legal Affairs. (2013). "Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power: Procedural History". Retrieved from the official website of the *United Nations* on March 29 2013: http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ha/dbpjvcap/dbpjvcap.html

[22] Count 1, "Introduction" In: E/AC. 57/1984/14, 12 March 1984: "CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOFMENT: Guidelines for measures on behalf of victims of crime and abuses of power". Report of the Secretary-General: Economic and Social Council.

[23] Ibid., count 3

[24] As will be outlined later in this thesis, the "persecution" of Palestinians by Israelis is controversial, perhaps partially because the Jewish people themselves are considered the persecuted nation par excellence. Much interesting literature is available dealing with this paradoxical

formulating the definition of "victims of abuse of power" as perpetuated in the Victim Declaration, instead of the definition relating to "victims of crime". Following article 18, the term "victims of abuse of power" refers to:

> "[….] persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that do not yet constitute violations of national criminal laws but of internationally recognized norms relating to human rights."[25]

In this light, victims are people who suffer injustices due to violations relating to their physical integrity, emotional integrity, or their economic welfare, which are not necessarily condemned legally criminal in their State of residence. How does this formulation link to refugeehood? Following the *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (hereinafter: "Refugee Convention"), refugees are persons who flee violence or persecution[26] that results from their membership to a specific national, ethnic, religious, political or social group.[27] This membership per se, in other words, results in (threat of) violence and discrimination from another group, as such jeopardizing the person's security to such an extent that the person feels imminently forced to leave the homeland. Because refugees lose their homes, and are likely to have witnessed violence, physically experienced violence, or in the least case, emotionally suffer from the implications of discrimination against their group, victimhood is inextricably linked to refugee status.[28] Indeed, victimhood and vulnerability are the very markers for defining 'a refugee', constituting the conditions under which this term is assigned to a person who has fled his home State.

It is therefore curious that neither the Refugee Convention, nor the 2010 *Introductory Note by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (hereinafter: UNHCR), at any point refer to "victims" when listing the conditions under which refugee status applies.[29] Why is it that the United Nations systematically refrain from speaking of "victims" in relation to refugees? To provide a discursive explanation, this might be attributed to the associations attached to the "victim label". As Lacau notes: '[….] naming is not just the pure nominalistic game of attributing an empty name to a preconstituted subject. It is the discursive construction of the subject itself.'[30] Consequently, when one refers to a "victim" one sends certain unspoken socio-political messages that have become inherited in the term. *Ideal Victims* are seen as a persons who suffered passively, are weaker than the offender, have no voice, are vulnerable, distressed, innocent, helpless and needy.[31] The reference to a "victim" invokes an appeal to empathy and compassion. Meredith (2009) comprehensively demonstrates that one should be cautious to grant such compassion, and first embed the usage of the term "victim" in the respective socio-political context. Discourses on "victimhood" might for instance be "instrumentalized" in the public space.[32] Meredith refers to State leaders who emphasize collective victimhood of their nation in public speeches, to legitimize certain policies related to the national interest, that might in fact be hostile to other national groups.[33] A straight-forward example of a State that frequently applies this technique is the State of Israel, which justifies militarization on the basis of self-defense relating to its own victimhood as a Jewish State under current threat of hostile Arab

---

role of persecuted and persecuting nation, see for instance: Cocks, J. (2006). "Jewish Nationalism and the Question of Palestine". *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 8*(1) pp. 24-39

[25] A/Res/40/34, B(18) November 29, 1985: here I looked at the provision relevant for the group of victims described in this paper. For victims of crime see A(1,2).

[26] Although persecution has been deemed a crime against humanity since the entry into force of the 2002 Rome Statute , (persecutive policies in States continue to cause refugee flows until this very day).

[27] GA/Res/2198(XXI) art. 1

[28] Jupp, J. (2003). "Refugees and Asylum Seekers as Victims: the Australian Case". International Review of Victimology, 10 pp. 157-175

[29] UNHCR. (2010). "Introductory Note by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees". *In* "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees". Retrieved from the official website of the *UNHCR* on March 28th, 2013: http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html, scanning the Convention, the Protocol and the Introductory Note on the term "victim" or "victims" yields zero results.

[30] Laclau, E. (1989). Preface in Zizek. In Zizkek, S. (1989). *The Sublime Object of Ideology* Verson:, London/New York, p. xiv

[31] Van Dijk, 2009

[32] Meredith, V. M. (2009). "Victim Identity and Respect for Human Dignity: A Terminological Analysis". *International Review of the Red Cross, 91*(874) pp. 259-277

[33] Ibid.

neighbor States. The past "suffering" of the group, and the measures taken to prevent future suffering, outweigh the prevention of new victimization of "Others" who become victimized as a consequence of these measures. "Victim" as such, is a highly political *label*.

In this light, how could one explain the absence of referring to refugees as victims at any point in the Refugee Convention? Did the office of the UNHCR, which should represent the international community, not consider refugees "deserving" of victim status? Were the drafters of the Convention afraid for unintended political statements they might make by including the word "victim" in the Convention? I opt for the latter. By refraining from terming refugees "victims", the United Nations remained neutral as to whether a refugee group were deserving of international compassion or not. Meanwhile, it did grant rights to people who, under certain conditions, left their homeland and sought shelter elsewhere, and who, now that they had become refugees, were in urgent need of practical aid.

Apart from top-down "instrumentalized" usage of the victim-discourse as described above, van Dijk[34] further demonstrated that not living up to the associations of an *Ideal Victim*, might have negative implications for the victim's social status – even when the suffering of the person is widely known and recognized. Despite initial sympathy, support may relinquish when the victimized person starts to show behavior that deviates from the Ideal victim-image, for instance by denouncing his or her passivity, or presenting him or herself as "in charge" and "verbal". In some cases this results in outright victim-blaming, when the public no longer deems the victim worthy of victim status, because the person has behaved in a manner that is socially recognized to resemble an offender-discourse more than that of a victim.[35] In case of refugees, such a reversion in victim-offender roles might occur for instance when refugees organize themselves in the host country in the quest of demanding equal rights. As I will elaborate more extensively in the following chapters, the hostility between the local Lebanese population and the refugees, might to some extent be due to such a reversion, for the Palestinian refugee population actively demands certain civil rights in Lebanon, and also continues to voice and practice its sense of injustice towards Israel.[36]

In short, it appears that which victims are deemed "deserving" and which victims are deemed "non-deserving" of victim status and the compassion following therefrom, highly depends on the social context in which the usage of the term "victim" is embedded. In addition, a victim should match the criteria attached to the "Ideal Victim"-label, in order not to be excluded from social recognition as a victim. Although it makes good sense that the United Nations refrains from inheriting a politically sensitive and essentially vague term like "victim", this appears to have had grave implications for the recognition of refugees as people who suffered and are in need of compassion and assistance. A negative refugee-discourse has caused States to implement increasingly hostile asylum procedures, which treat applicants as undesirable aliens rather than victims and potential witnesses of mass violence, deprivation and persecution.[37] The same happens in States that deal with large scale refugee intake such as Lebanon and Jordan, where newcomers are looked at as people who bring poverty, and pose a threat to the labor market.[38] As long as the victim-identity of the refugee does not yield dominance, *refugeehood* invokes negative associations, instead of the compassion attached to the victim-label, which has dire implications for the person who has obtained refugee status. The absence of the word "victim" in the Refugee Convention reflects this systematic misrecognition of refugees as victims, and constitutes as such an unintended political statement about the "deservingness" of refugees.

[34] Van Dijk, 2009
[35] Ibid.
[36] See Chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis for an historical overview of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its practical implications in Lebanon.
[37] Reijven, J. and Van Wijk, J. (2012). "Dealing with the Consequences of Article 1(f) of the Refugee Convention in the Netherlands: A Crisis for Migration Policy Makers and Excluded Asylum Claimants". *Migration, Policy, Practice 2*(5) pp. 26-30
[38] For a discussion of the European history of treating refugees, see: Arendt, 1973

1.3 The Victim-Label in Victimology

What impact has the relative nature of the victim-label had on the discipline of victimology? If the term victim is really as political and fluid as outlined above, how could victimology at all function as an "objective" academic discipline, dealing "neutrally" with victimization, regardless of the background of the person enduring it? To provide an answer to this question it is essential to take a closer look at the developments in the field of victimology as such.

International recognition for victims came to the forefront after the Second World War, when the mass extermination of Jews sparked internationally shared outrage and discussion on how to respond to mass crime and victimization.[39] This partially inspired the protective paradigm of human rights law based on the recognition that every person is an end in him or herself.[40] Rather paradoxically however, the first generation of victimologists primarily focused on researching the extent to which victims were to blame for their own victimization.[41] The term "victimology" as such was first used by Israeli criminologist Mendelsohn in 1947. Mendelsohn stressed that the role of the victim was necessary to research in the context of the commission of a crime, and saw the victim as an active player, invoker, of the criminal event.[42] Such "precipitation theories" are today seen as rather victim-unfriendly, as they hypothesized that victims are themselves responsible for the misfortune that strucks them. Studying the nature and consequences of victimization per se went beyond the scope of the research of pioneer victimologists, reflecting that little sympathy for the victim's cause was still present in the academic sphere. Nevertheless, precipitation studies marked the offset of what is today known as the discipline of victimology, and are characteristic for the first phase of penal victimology that constitutes the roots for the discipline as we know it today, heavily influenced by criminology and criminal law.[43] In following decades, the interest expanded to studying the victim's role in the criminal justice system. Studies were offender-oriented and resulted in policy that improved the condition in prisons and the rights of offenders during criminal procedures. Offenders themselves were essentially portrayed as victimized by system, whereas the situation of the direct victims remained unattended.[44]

Van Dijk has argued that the study of victimology did not become a separate scientific study until the 1970s, when the rapid emerge of social movements started to increase public sympathy for the victim's cause. A discourse of *pathos* for victims has hence emerged only recently. The Feminist Movement and a multitude of Victim Groups focusing on specific forms of victimization, were especially successful in demanding recognition for victims in the criminal justice system. Besides claiming rights and recognition, these groups drew attention to the "discovery" of "new victims", such as victims of marital rape, racial discrimination, slavery, colonialism and domestic violence.[45] Collective victimization as a consequence of abuse of power has more prominently come to the attention of scholars since the end of the Cold War – potentially as a consequence of what some term the "decline of the State". State sovereignty has become less and less significant in international relations, whereas the international nature of crime and victimization is increasingly acknowledged by the international community. This is for instance reflected by legal instruments such as the ICC Statute and the Statutes of the International Tribunals which manifest an international legal order to prosecute the gravest among international crimes. Victimology has followed this development, increasingly focusing on issues relating to the nature and consequences of collective victimization.[46]

---

[39] Cryer, R., Friman, H., Robinson, D., Wilmshurst, E. (2010). An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure. Cambridge University Press: Camebridge

[40] Henkin, L.; Cleveland, S.; Helfer, L. R.; Neuman, G. L.; Orentlicher, D. F. (2009). *Human Rights: Second Edition*. Foundation Press.

[41] Goodley, J. (2005). *Victims and Victimology: Research Policy and Practice.* Edinburg: Pearsons Education.

[42] Kostić, M. (2010). "Victimology: A Contemporary Theoretical Approach to Crime and its Victim". *Facta Universitas, Law and Politics, 8*(1) pp. 65-78

[43] Van Dijk, J. J. M. (1999) "Introducing Victimology". *In* van Dijk, J. J. M., van Kraam, R. G. H., Wemmers, J. (1997). "Caring for crime victims: Selected proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Victimology, Amsterdam, August 25-29, 1997" Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press, pp. 1-12

[44] O'Connell, M. (2008). "Victimology: A Social Science in Waiting?" *International Review of Victimology*, 15(2) pp. 91-104

[45] Goodley, 2005

[46] For a victimological study that reflects this trend, please see:: Letschert, R.; Haveman, A.; De Brouwer, A.; Pemberton, A. (2011). *Victimological Approaches to International Crimes: Africa* .Intersentia: Nijmegen

It is clear that who is a victim, and what constitutes victimization is subject to constant change, and closely intertwined with developments at the societal level. Racial discrimination was long accepted as a legitimate practice; today it is considered an outrageous act. Domestic violence is widely condemned; mere centuries ago it was looked at as a private issue. Collective victimization is recognized as an eminent international problem; before the Cold War it was seen as a collateral aspect of warfare, being the primary responsibility of the State to solve. Victimization as such, is an ever-developing, dynamic concept, which constantly adapts itself to the reality of the Zeitgeist. This has put its stamp on victimology, where first victims were seen as partially responsible for the perpetration of a crime, then offenders where themselves considered as victims of an inhuman penal system, gradually several "emancipated" social groups where acknowledged to be vulnerable to suffer victimization, and today collective victimization as a consequence of abuse of power is recognized as being of the concern of victimologists. From an individual, domestic focus, victimology went to a therapeutic, feminist focus. Following the trend of internationalization and magnitude of crime, victimology should expand its scope to studying collective victimization, and political crime.

1.4 Palestinian Refugees: Deserving Victims or Terrorists?

The *Ideal Victim* is a person who suffers passively, comes across as innocent, and is weaker than the offender.[47] The militants among the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, participating in violent revolts, engaging in fundamentalist wars, and publicly swearing that violence constitutes the only means to elevate their ongoing deprivation, do not fit this discourse. The refugees are active agents of their own misery, and to some extent contribute to reinforcing it by restoring to violence as a means to empowerment. As a consequence, their ultimate victimhood has become overshadowed by the aggressive, deprived stigma of a desperate community willing to use whatever means to Return Home; a terrorized and terrorist people who fell subject to a complex conflict, and whose faith is unresolvable. Homes of the refugees are no longer theirs, and now belong to the Jewish inhabitants of the State of Israel. The Jews have been victims of persecution for millennia themselves, and since the end of the Holocaust the unique nature of their suffering has been widely acknowledged by Western States, often framing the Jews as the *ultimate victimized nation* – a victimization for which these States are themselves responsible. Any violence targeted against this group naturally evokes a specific kind of outrage, actively maintaining the image of the "suffering Jews", and endorsing violence targeted against their "terrorist enemy" as a legitimate force of self-defense.

There might be no other conflict in which socio-political discourse has had such far rearching consequences as in the one between Israel and the Palestinians. Political lobbies on both sides have successfully created imperia of alliances to defend their cause. Jews of Israel and the Palestinians hardly encounter each other in daily life however, and are as such especially sensitive to adopt distorted images about the "Other".[48] During my visit in Israel/Palestinian in the summer of 2012 I heard rumors on the Israeli side about bloodthirsty Palestinian terrorists, whereas the Palestinians I encountered told me to watch out for the Jews, for they were planning a mass genocide against Palestinian residents of the West Bank. The Wall and exile have been successful in fuelling monsterization of both groups. The international media has free play to determine which incidents of violence it will expose, and which it will silence. The truth about the conflict, in other words, does not really exist. Action is based on distorted views and propaganda, a game of which the entire world has become a player.

Besides the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Holocaust and the difficult relation between victims and victimizers in this specific case, another process has put its stamp on the misrecognition of refugees as victims in need of support. Both in the West and in Arab countries, in the course of the nineties more hostile asylum policies were adopted, entangling asylum procedures for political refugees. The trauma and harm suffered by the individual refugee have become subordinate to the

[47] Van Dijk, 2009
[48] Golan-Agnon, 2010

internal security of the host-State. Refugees are first examined as potential war criminals, before they were recognized as victims of violent State regimes.[49] This process is ongoing, and many States emphasize exclusion from asylum rather than inclusion.[50] Lebanon goes as far as to exclude the entire Palestinian refugee population altogether, fearing their inclusion would create a misbalance between Sunni Islamic fractions, Shiite Muslims and Maronite Christians.[51] As such, recognition for refugees as a vulnerable group is limited, handling a discourse of refugees that is infected by suspiciousness. It is essential to understand here that the life situation of Palestinian is to a large extent determined by such top-down processes of political discourse making, both on the Palestinian, on the Israeli and on the Lebanese side. An individual Palestinian, born as a refugee in Lebanon, has little impact on how his or her life will proceed, and is born with an outstandingly difficult label, imprisoned by his statelessness.

These factors may contribute to the fact that victimologists have not directly recognized Palestinian refugees as "victims", "deserving" to be studied and supported. Moreover, as the previous section illuminated, victimology as such finds its origins in the schools of criminology and criminal law dominated by Western *men*, who researched the *individual* victim's influence on a crime, rather than the reality of the experience of victimization by a collective. Mendelsohn, the inventor of the term victimology, was himself an Israeli, who lived in the aftermath of WWII and during the first Arab-Israeli conflict. The founding fathers of victimology, it could be argued, carried into the science a Western bias that was heavily influenced by WWII and the world order that was constructed in its aftermath. *Palestinians as victims* did not make sense in the context of this paradigm, both because the resistant Palestinians did not live up to the expectations of the victim-label, and because they targeted their resistance against the Israeli Jews – the ultimate victims.

1.5 *Victims: to be or not to be?*

Does the inherent relativism of the victim-label imply that there is no objectivity possible in victimology? After all, if victims are socially constructed, and if the deservingness of the victim-label depends on the political tide, can there be such thing as absolute victimity? I believe there can. Although recognition of victims is socially dependable, there are simple parameters that help to determine whether a person is factually a victim or not. Injury or death for instance, depending on their causers, are clear markers of victimization. The same goes for material loss.[52] In the remainder of this thesis I will discuss at first the "original victimization" of the Palestinian people, and then the various manifestations of revictimization that Palestinians endure in refugee camps in Lebanon. It is imperative to identify the various forms of victimization the Palestinians are and have been exposed to in order to demonstrate that victimology indeed has a role to play in studying this population's victimhood.

[49] For a discussion of this practice in the Netherlands, see: Handmaker, J. (2005). "Seeking Justice, Guaranteeing Protection and Ensuring Due Process: Addressing the Tensions Between Exclusion from Refugee Protection and the Principle of Universal Jurisdiction." *Netherlands Human Rights Quarterly, 21*(4) pp. 677-695

[50] The Dutch "Freedom Party" (PVV) is notorious for instrumentalizing refugees as scapegoats in their political campaigns. Recently, the party expressed its outrage about the hosting of 600 Syrian refugees in an attraction park in the Netherlands, noting that the average Dutch family would not be able to afford a holiday in the bungalows now reserved for the refugees. *See* for instance: Vossers, A. (November, 2013). "Duinrell wordt deze winter een Asielzoekerscentrum". *In.* Elsevier. Electronic copy retrieved from: http://www.elsevier.nl/Nederland/nieuws/2013/11/Duinrell-wordt-deze-winter-een-asielzoekerscentrum-1404078W/?pagenr=2#comments on November 11, 2013.

[51] An elaborate discussion on this issue will follow below.

[52] This is recognized inter alia in the international criminal jurisdictions of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon. A victim is a person who has suffered physical, material or mental harm as a direct or indirect consequence of crimes under the courts' jurisdiction. *See*: STL, Rules of Procedure and Evidence (2013). Rule 2(A); The ICC upholds a lower threshold for the victim-label, recognizing victims simply as (legal) persons who have suffered "harm", see: ICC, Rules of Procedure and Evidence (2002). Rule 85

CHAPTER II: THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEE POPULATION

> No one can pass by the enormous, monument-like sign of U.N. resolution 194 in Dheisheh refugee camp without grasping for air, and getting the sense that human rights are a hopeless, even silly, legal edifice. The enormous "memorial" refers to "the right of refugees to return home". Dheisheh, a huge, slum-like "temporary refugee camp" shelters over 10000 Palestinians, and was built on the edge of the holy city of Betlehem in 1949. Ironically, in the same place where Jesus was born, preacher of compassion and forgiveness, the Palestinians as an ethnic group continue to be subject to political discourses that deprive them from their humanity, and legitimize the neglecting of rights like Resolution 194. Was this sign put here to parody international law? The prospect of returning home seems far off for the inhabitants of Dheisheh, whose living conditions go beyond all imagination. Sadly, when I turned to my friend Mohamed Abu Maria for a comforting pep talk, I noticed that he too had started making jokes about the Resolution, and we were all quiet when Rawan Fares, 19 year old International Law student at the Birzeit University had uttered: "Human rights!? What human rights? Are we no humans?"[53]

*

It is challenging to trace the roots of the Palestinian refugee problem without drowning in a bulk of propaganda-like academic articles supporting either the Israeli or the Palestinian cause. There are disputes concerning the total number of refugees, the nature of Arab and Israeli violence, and the direct cause of what is today termed the Israeli War of Independence.[54] As a scholar, it is vital to understand that when studying the history of the Palestinian refugees, one inevitably becomes subject to a variety of political discourses that make it impossible to remain "neutral" or "scientific". I have attempted to write this paper not from an Israeli perspective, nor from a Palestinian perspective, but from a perspective that I belief should govern policy making with regards to refugee populations: the human rights norms as proclaimed by the United Nations' body of international law. It is for this reason that I start this brief analysis of the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem with the introduction of yet another historically problematic refugee influx: the Jews who fled the Nazi regime in the dawn of World War II.[55]

2.1 *The offset of the Palestinian refugee problem*

In the 1930s, when fascism started to flourished in Europe, large groups of Jewish refugee settlers sought shelter in by Britain governed Mandate Palestine.[56] From 1931 to 1939 an estimated 300.000 Jews fled to this country, hoping for a better future.[57] The English colonial administration attempted to regulate the influx of these refugees by means of adamant intake-quotas, fearing escalation of hostilities between the native Muslim populations and the Jewish newcomers, as well as economic problems. When WWII ended, the number of refugees grew rapidly[58], and intake-quotas were brought down to admitting 1.500 refugees per month[59], despite the heinous harm and deprivation

[53]Diary fragment from author made after a visit to the Dheisheh refugee camp in July 2012. *Edited on March 27th, 2013.*
[54] Forsythe, D. P. (1983). "The Palestine Question: Dealing with a Long-Term Refugee Situation". The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies, pp. 216-230
[55]Biblical conflicts over Palestine, that ground the argumentation of the Zionist movement, go beyond the scope of this paper. Here I merely look at those events that constitute direct catalysts of the contemporary Palestinian refugee problem.
[56] Cohen-Almagor, R. (2010). "Leslie Stein: the Making of Modern Israel 1948-1967". *Democracy and Security, 6*(1) pp. 88-96
[57] Zalashik, R. and Davidovitch, N. (2006). "Professional Identity Across the Borders: Refugee Psychiatrists in Palestine, 1933-1945". *Social History of Medicine, 22*(3) pp. 569-587, p. 570
[58] Cohen, G. D. (2006). "The Politics of Recognition: Jewish Refugees in Relief Policies and Human Rights Debates, 1945-1950". *Immigrants & Minorities, 24*(2) pp. 125-143
[59] Cohen-Almagor, 2010 p. 88

suffered by the 250.000 European Jews who were in need of immediate shelter. As the end of the British colonial mandate was nearing, casualties from Jewish resistance groups targeting British institutions became increasingly common.[60] Jewish Zionists, basing their claim on the 1919 *Balfour Declaration*, wished to establish a Jewish nation-State in Palestine[61] - an aim that was partly endorsed by the November 1947 UN Partition Plan.[62] Violent casualties between the native Arab population and the Jews started to become prominent after the adoption of this plan, for the indigenous Palestinians and neighboring Arab States refused to recognize the partition. These tensions marked the offset of the Israeli War of Independence in December 1947.[63] Overall, this war had two dimensions: in the first place it was comprised of a civil war between the Israelis and the Palestinians, secondly, the war gained a regional dimension after the official establishment of the Jewish State of Israel since May 14th 1948, when neighboring Arab States started to actively take part in the conflict.[64]

The War was ended with the signing of the last armistice agreement in July 1949[65], leaving the young State of Israel with challenges of reconstruction and reconciliation. By that time, it had already become clear that violence and persecution had resulted in mass eviction of native Palestinians, who had been living as refugees in neighboring countries since early 1948. Estimate numbers of displaced Palestinians as an effect of the 1948 internal violence range between 700.000 and 800.000; a vast amount of the overall Palestinian population.[66] The mass exodus of the Palestinian people might be explained by the violence-tactics applied initially by Zionist guerrillas, and later by the Israeli army.[67] Casual attacks on villages, most notoriously the massacre at Deir Yassin, spread fear among the Palestinian population, and precipitated the flight of hundreds thousands of Palestinians mere months after the offset of the Israeli War of Independence.[68] In Deir Yassin, a small village located strategically en route to Jeruzalem, approximately 150-250 Palestinian inhabitants were brutally murdered and mutilated by Israeli troops. This massacre took place on the 9th of April 1948, and rumors of brutal Israeli killing forces en masse evoked Palestinians from neighbor villages to flee their homes. The impact of the massacre was huge, and even contemporary youth still blame the events at Deir Yassin for the ongoing exile. As one respondent in a study by Dawn Chatty notes:

> "Old people were scared by Deir Yassin; some places had a cease-fire agreement but people ran away. My father made a white flag and ran because we heard shooting. My father was scared that Jews would come and kill us like they have done in Deir Yassin. My father was concerned about us for they killed young men of 20–25 years of age and buried them; their families were looking for them (West Bank, third generation, female)".[69]

The international outrage that followed the Deir Yassin attack, guided the Israeli troops to tactics of indirect, rather than direct violence, most notably mass eviction-campaigns, that forced ten thousands of Palestinians to leave their homes[70]. This war tactic, that would today be condemned as a form of ethnic cleansing, was most notoriously applied in the cities of Lydda and Ramleh, where villagers

[60] Ibid. p. 88
[61] The original text of the Balfour Declaration refers to a Jewish homeland, yet never explicitly mentioned the formation of a State: "[….]His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."
[62] A/Res./181(II), November 29th, 1947
[63] Naor, M. (2008). "Israel's 1948 War of Independence as a Total War". *Journal of Contemporary History, 43*(2) pp. 241-257
[64] Ibid. p. 241
[65] Ibid. p. 241
[66] This estimate is based on official numbers from the UN Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees. See: UNRWA. (January, 2007). "The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees". Report retrieved from the official website of the United Nations on March 27, 2013: http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/2010011791015.pdf. Other sources dispute this number, and argue it is lower. See: Karsh, E. (2011). "How Many Palestinian Arab Refugees Were There?" Israeli Affairs, 17(2) pp. 224-246
[67] Today numerous authors go as far as to describe the Jewish warfare policy as a sort of "ethnic cleansing", the contemporary Israeli government however neglects this argument. *See* inter alia: Siklawi, R. (2010). "The Dynamics of Palestinian Political Endurance in Lebanon". *Middle East Journal, 64*(4) pp. 597-611
[68] Bloom, M. (2001). "Atrocities and Armed Conflict: State Consolidation in Israel, 1948-1956". *Conflict, Security and Development 1*(3) pp. 55-78
[69] Chatty, D. (2010). "Palestinian Refugee Youth: Agency and Aspiration". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 28*(2/3) pp. 318-338: p. 318
[70] Cohen-Almagor, 2010

were lead into the desert, and many died in the summer heat due to dehydration.[71] Other massacres in al-Khisas and al-Dawayima nearby the Lebanese border targeted children and women specifically in order to spread fear and break cultural patters on honor and shame.[72]

The internal violence hence caused an estimated 700.000 Palestinians to leave their homes in 1948 alone[73], creating an imminent refugee-crisis in neighboring countries. The United Nations, at the time a young organization established as an antithesis to the heinous events of WWII, took up responsibility to help resolve the urgent refugee problem. Recognizing the suffering and deprivation of the expelled Palestinians, the UN General Assembly initially voiced its concern and compassion for the poor situation in which the refugees were forced to live, and requested UN Member States and international organizations to fund projects targeting refugees.[74] A month later, the GA adopted resolution 194(III) *inter alia* resolving that:

> " [….] the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and [….] compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible"[75]

Besides perpetuating return and compensation, the Resolution demanded the creation of a Conciliation Commission for Palestine (hereinafter CPC)[76]; a Commission that would aim to repatriate as well as to resettle refugees living in exile. Israel agreed to repatriate 100.000 refugees, arguing that the majority of the exiled population did not meet the condition of living "at peace with their neighbors", and could therefore not be repatriated. As such, the refugee-issue appeared to take a permanent rather than a temporal shape, and the United Nations deemed it necessary to focus on a long-term refugee relief plan, aiming at resettlement rather than repatriation. For the High Commissioner of Refugees was not brought into existence until 1951, a special relief agency was created to deal with the Palestinian refugee matter, today termed the *United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East* (hereinafter: UNRWA)[77]. The UNRWA's mandate was initially set to end at April 1st, 1950, when host States should be sufficiently enabled to deal with the refugee communities themselves.[78] Soon however, it became apparent that the mandate had to be extended, and the UNRWA plays a primary role in the Palestinian refugee life until this very day.

2.2 *Palestinian Refugees Since 1948*

One could divide the history of the Palestinian refugee population into four phases: the direct aftermath of the 1948 Israeli War of Independence, the strengthening of the Palestinian national conscious from 1967 to 1979, the outside-UN negotiations from 1979 to 1993, and the post-Oslo phase from 1993 until today. As said, international policy (as reflected by resolution 194) initially aimed at repatriating Palestinian refugees. When this appeared problematic, and unrealizable on the short-term, the UNRWA was brought into existence to facilitate continuous relief to exiled Palestinian refugees in December 1949. Being an interim organization dealing specifically with the Palestinian refugee issue, the UNRWA was expected to end its mandate in early 1950, yet this goal was never

[71] Bloom, 2001
[72] Holt, M. (2010). "Palestinian Women, Violence and the Peace Process". *Development in Practice, 13*(2/3) pp. 223-238
[73] This estimate is based on official numbers from the UN Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees. *See*: UNRWA. (January, 2007). "The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees". Report retrieved from the official website of the United Nations on March 27, 2013: http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/20100117910l5.pdf. Other sources dispute this number, and argue it is lower. See: Karsh, E. (2011). "How Many Palestinian Arab Refugees Were There?" *Israeli Affairs, 17*(2) pp. 224-246
[74] A/Res./212(III), November 19, 1948 "Assistance to Palestinian Refugees"
[75] A/Res./194(III)/11, December 11, 1948 "Palestine-progress Raport of the United Nations Mediator" Note: Especially interesting is the timing of Resolution 194. This resolution was adopted 1 day after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, possibly reflecting the proximity between the Palestinian question and the human rights-paradigm.
[76] Ibid. par. 2
[77] A/Res/302 (IV)/7, December 8, 1949
[78] Ibid. par. 12

achieved[79]. One stakeholder that has until now only sparsely been discussed, yet has played a significant role in the history of the Palestinian refugee problem, is "the Arab host State". Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan, directly bordering Israel, constituted the Middle Eastern States most prominently affected by refugee influxes. These States were predominantly hostile toward the creation of Israel, and opposed the UN refugee-resettlement approach, arguing it would weaken the Palestinian claim for repatriation and compensation of property loss. The rhetoric of the "right to return" legitimized the rather hostile stance host-States took towards refugees. El Husseini and Bocco (2010) note: "the 'right of return' has been instrumental in shaping the refugees' legal status as well as their daily relationships with host societies".[80] Despite the UNRWA's attempt to make the refugee population economically attractive for host States, through schooling and employment training programs, a sharp dichotomy remained between host States' local communities and Palestinian refugees.[81] This dichotomy was reinforced by the host State's policy as well as Palestinian refugee groups themselves, both holding that naturalization in the host State would mean the end of the Palestinian people and the plight for self-determination.[82] The 1965 Casablanca Protocol was aimed towards improving the relation between host-States and refugees, yet only few States really implemented the provisions that meant to tackle the social marginalization of Palestinian refugees. Host-States saw the democratic weight and the politicization of Palestinian refugees as a threat to internal stability, especially when Palestinian nationalism started to flourish in the mid-1960s. Consequently, statelessness was reinforced, and the refugees continued to live in deprivation. Poverty and a lack of rights and recognition is prone to create a "politics of marginalization" that might fuel tensions in host-countries that were already fragmented. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, this in a nutshell accounts for what happened in Lebanon.

Attempts to a united Palestinian stance among the Diaspora communities seemed to become successful when in 1964 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (hereinafter: PLO) was established. The PLO formed military units which attacked Israel from Sinai, Jordan and Lebanon.[83] The emergent combativeness provided the Palestinian refugee population with a revived nationalism, and a new extent of Palestinian-self-awareness.[84] The 1967 6 Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbor States had precipitated the displacement of another 200.000 Palestinians. Despite the Security Council's demand to achieve "a just settlement for the refugee problem"[85], little was undertaken to realize this. Palestinian refugees had lost faith in their by Israel defeated host-States, and PLO support started to flourish. The new nationalist tendencies within refugee camps worried Israel as well as the Arab host-States, and when the PLO headquarters started to become a virtual State-within-a-State in Jordan, the Hashimite Kingdom forcefully repressed PLO activity. As a consequence, the PLO was forced to move its main offices to Beirut in Lebanon in 1970-1971.[86] In this period, the PLO started recruiting heavily from refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, creating a military resistance guerrilla organization that battled for Palestinian recognition, and ultimately, self-determination. In lieu of the new battle-paradigm, the outlook of the Palestinian issue changed from one concerning a victimized refugee population into that of a people demanding a homeland. In 1974, the Arab League officially recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, yet Israel continued to refuse starting direct negotiations with the al-Fatah leading factions of the PLO.[87]

A controversial period of recognition of the Palestinian cause started with the ratification of the Camp David Agreements in September 1979. On behalf of the PLO, Egyptian president Sadat negotiated with Israel on the independence of a Palestinian State. Israel agreed to recognize a self-governing Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Gaza, yet factually continued to deny true

[79] A/Res/302, December 8, 1949
[80] Al-Husseini and Bocco, 2010: p. 261
[81] This will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter. See also: Forsythe, 1983
[82] Hanafi, S.; Chaaban, J.; Seyfert, K. (2012). "Social Exclusion of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Reflections on the Mechanisms that Cement their Persistent Poverty". *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 31(1) pp. 34-53
[83] Siklawi, 2010 p. 600
[84] Khalili, L. (2008). "Commemorating Battles and Massacres in the Palestinian Refugee Camps of Lebanon". *American Behavioral Scientist, 51*(11) pp. 1562 - 1573
[85] S/Res./242/2b(1967)
[86] Siklawi, 2010
[87] Forsythe, 1983

Palestinian self-determination.[88] Further progress was booked when international peace negotiations resulted in the Declaration of Principles, also known as the Oslo Accords, in 1993. Although the refugee problem constituted one of the main points on the agenda, refugee host-States were not involved in the peace talks held at Oslo. Rather than resolving the refugee problem, the negotiations aimed at establishing an extent of Palestinian self-determination, which resulted in the administrative recognition of the Palestinian Authority over the West Bank and Gaza. This agreement entangled rather than facilitated the promise of return for refugees and displaced persons living outside of the Occupied Palestinian Territories: the people who found return to their villages and compensation for their property more important than the creation of a State.[89] The trend towards a two-State solution would mean that refugees were not able to return to their villages of origin, and as such left to the mercy of their host-States. Farah (2006) contends:

> "The signing of the Declaration of Principles (DoP) in 1993 and related agreements that followed, also known as 'Oslo', [….] lured Palestinian partners into 'peace' proposals, which threatened to give away the refugees' right of return, through political agreements signed by the Palestinian 'partner' and blessed by the international community."[90]

Certain States, most notably Lebanon, reacted adamantly to this new, permanent outlook of the refugee issue, by pushing emigration of refugees, fearing that resettlement of the refugees would threaten the stability in host-States.[91]

Today the total Palestinian refugee population is estimated around 7.5 million. Two thirds of this group resides in the Near East, and 80% are registered with the UNRWA. The UNRWA today still works according to 3 to 5 year mandates, which prevents long-term planning of refugee relief programs. Lack of funding thereby complicates adequate implementation of projects in camps and gatherings. Meanwhile, the peace process appears to have failed, and the Palestinian Authority and Israeli State have put a hold on their negotiations. In 2000 a new *Intifada* started, heating the conflict.[92] Refugees still live in limbo, the extent of marginalization depending on the host-country. In Jordan for instance, Palestinian refugees are granted temporary Jordanian citizenship, whereas in most other host-States Palestinians remains stateless, relying on a refugee pass issued by the UNRWA.[93] The current unrest in the Middle East thereby once again displaced ten thousands of refugees, most notably in Syria. Lacking any indication that the refugee problem might be solved in the near future, young generation trod through life in bitterness and ongoing frustration wishing for revenge, as well as hopeful for compensation, acknowledgement and restitution in the form of return to "their Palestine".

2.3 *In Exile*

Virtually 65 years after the "Nakbah", a term today used by Palestinians to refer to the "catastrophe" of 1948 when hundreds of thousands of contemporary refugees and their offspring lost their homes, property, and virtually all entitlements to a Palestinian State, refugees still live in exile.[94] The quality of life differs from context to context, for some host-States have adopted more inclusive refugee-policies, whilst others continue to marginalize the Palestinian refugee population. Hope to Return to "Palestine" remains, and has become the cornerstone of what I would like to term the "Palestinian Dream": the glue that binds Palestinian Refugees in exile together, and accounts for the

[88] Ibid.
[89] Farah, 2006
[90] Farah, R. (2006). "Palestinian Refugees". *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 8*(2) pp. 228-252
[91] Al Husseini and Bocco, 2010
[92] Holt, M. (2010). "Palestinian Women, Violence and the Peace Process". *Development in Practice, 13*(2/3) pp. 223-238
[93] Al-Husseini and Bocco, 2010
[94] Iskander, N. N. (2011), "Palestinians in Lebanon: Refugees Living with Long-Term Displacement." International Migration Review, 45(3) pp. 746-747

hope these people retrieve strength and resilience from.[95] The "Dream" is actively cultivated by Nongovernmental Organizations that specifically focus on gathering narratives of the 1948 Wars, like the in 1990 established *Arab Resource Center for Popular Arts* in Beirut, the Khalil Sakakimi Cultural Center, and the Palestinian Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies.[96] Folklore and tradition is actively preserved in refugee camps, creating a romanticized image of the *Watan*, the homeland, and a collective memory of Palestine.[97] Active commemoration of *Martyrs,* Palestinian resistance members who have died in conflict, and specifically bloody massacres like the one in Deir Yassin, also reflect the aim to cherish moments that symbolize the united struggle for national unity.[98] [99] Farah argues that this coping mechanism of storytelling is a manner to prevent fragmentation within the Palestinian Diaspora, raising younger generations with the knowledge that what unites and signifies the Palestinian people is their life in exile, and their geo-ethnic roots in the physical territory of Palestine[100]. UNRWA funded education, that constitutes a successful facilitator for transgressing these ideas from generation to generation [101], as did the nationalism that flourished after the 1964 establishment of the PLO.

[95] Richter-Devroe, S. (2013). " "Like Something Sacred": Palestinian Refugees' Narratives on the Right of Return". Refugee Survey Quarterly pp. 1-24
[96] Farah, 2006
[97] Richter-Devroe, 2013
[98] Abujidi, 2009: p.287
[99] Khalili, 2008
[100] Farah, 2006:. p.19
[101] Forsythe, 1983

CHAPTER III: "THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE"

> The youth who play football on the small streets and narrow alleys of Bourj El Barajneh represent an entire generation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who live in a day-to-day low intensity war. This is a war waged against Palestinian refugees by the government of Lebanon. It is not waged through military campaigns and guerrilla battles as in the Lebanese civil war, but through policies and laws which are slowly choking the life from Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps.[102]

Neighbouring country Lebanon faced acute problems dealing with the vast refugee influx[103]. In 1948, an estimated 100.000 refugees fled to Lebanon[104]; this number has multiplied at least fourfold over the past decades.[105] 65 years after the "Nakbah"[106], most refugees still live in camps and gatherings at the margins of Lebanese society. Today they refer to themselves "the forgotten people", as the by poverty and violence stricken settlements have been their permanent homes for over 4 generations, and prospects of a brighter future remain far off. Hope to Return to what was once their homeland continues to exists, and has become the cornerstone of the "Palestinian Dream"; the glue that binds Palestinian refugees in exile together, and accounts for the hope that these people appear to live on.[107][108] This chapter will provide a closer look into the case of Lebanon. By addressing Lebanon's socio-political context, an explanation is given for its rather adamant refugee policy.

3.1 *Lebanon: Historical Background*

Before turning to the Palestinian refugee problem in Lebanon, it is essential to highlight some of the challenges Lebanon has faced since the National Pact established its independence from the French Mandate in 1943. The persisting conflicting political stances with respect to the Palestinian refugee population are to a large extent due to the deep-rooted internal fragmentation of Lebanese society. The country's population is comprised of at least 18 different confessional groups, most notably the Christian Maronites, and Islamic Sunnis, Shiites and Druzes.[109] These communities uphold diverging, and often conflicting political and religious interests.[110] Potential instability caused by the rivalry among these groups is contained by a "sectarian balance", which resolves that neither the Christians, nor the Muslims alone will constitute the hegemonic political representation of the country.[111] Instead the President is always a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni, and the Speaker of Parliament a Shiite. The arrival of the Sunni Palestinian refugees in 1948, challenged the balance among religious groups.[112]

Demographically, this balance came under even more pressure in 1967, when the 6-day War again caused refugee flows from Palestine into Lebanon. The Maronites, who had been the dominant sectarian community, felt concerned about losing influence. Simultaneously, as an effect of the 1967-

---

[102] Statement made by Christoff, S. (2004). *Living War: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon.* Retrieved from the official website of the electronic intifada on behalf of the international solidarity movement on April 29th, 2013: http://electronicintifada.net/content/living-war-palestinians-refugees-lebanon/4961

[103] Forsythe, D. P. (1983). "The Palestine Question: Dealing with a Long-Term Refugee Situation". *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, pp. 216-230

[104] Richter-Devroe, S. (2013). " "Like Something Sacred": Palestinian Refugees' Narratives on the Right of Return". Refugee Survey Quarterly pp. 1-24

[105] Hanafi, S.; Chaaban, J.; Seyfert, K. (2012). "Social Exclusion of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Reflections on the Mechanisms that Cement their Persistent Poverty". Refugee Survey Quarterly, 31(1) pp. 34-53

[106] Iskander, N. N. (2011), "Palestinians in Lebanon: Refugees Living with Long-Term Displacement." *International Migration Review*, 45(3) pp. 746-747

[107] Richter-Devroe, S. (2013). " "Like Something Sacred": Palestinian Refugees' Narratives on the Right of Return". *Refugee Survey Quarterly* pp. 1-24

[108] Farah, R. (2006). "Palestinian Refugees". *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 8(2) pp. 228-252

[109] NB. There are no recent numbers regarding the demographic balance. These numbers are based on: Haddad, S. (2004). "The Origins of Popular Opposition to Palestinian Resettlement in Lebanon". *International Migration Review, 38*(2) pp. 470-492

[110] Also before the Lebanese Civil War, this frequently resulted in armed clashes. *See*: Haddad, S. (2002). "Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitudes in Post-War Lebanon". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 28*(2) pp. 291-306

[111] *Note*: rivalry among the ethnic and religious sects is not limited to conflict between Christians and Muslims. These main religious groups are also divided amongst themselves as will become more elaborately discussed below.

[112] Khalili, L. (2007). "'Standing with My Brother': Hizbullah, Palestinians and the Limits of Solidarity". Comparative Studies in Society and History, 49(2) pp. 276-303

war, nationalism flourished among Palestinian refugees, and the PLO gained in popularity among Lebanese Muslims and Palestinians. The main office of the PLO moved from Amman to Beirut in 1970, as an effect of the Cairo Agreement.[113] The Maronite authorities feared internal escalations as well as reprisals from Israel. Palestinian Fedayeen rebels had intensified fighting at the Lebanese-Israeli border. As Haddad notes:

> "A major repercussion of the 1967 war was that the PLO gained political and military power in Lebanon, and it increasingly touched off a resonance of sympathy from Sunni Muslims, who had 'their own homegrown grievances against the institutionalized domination of their state apparatus by the Maronites".[114]

A side effect of the 1967-war thus included the deepening of divisions among Lebanon's religious sects, and an enhanced resentment of the Maronites against the Palestinians. The South of Lebanon had turned into "Fatahland" and constituted a warzone from which the PLO and other Palestinian militant fractions launched attacks on Israel. These attacks were supported by some Lebanese sects, yet deceived by others. In 1975 tensions escalated, and a bloody Civil War started that would last until 1990.[115]

The internal division encouraged neighbouring States to get involved in Lebanon's domestic affairs. The Israeli Zionist Movement had hoped for an alliance with the Maronite Christians in Lebanon since the establishment of Israel in 1948.[116] At the other border, the pan-Syrian aspirations of Hafez al-Assad framed Lebanon as part of the Syrian empire. The arrival of the PLO, and subsequent intensified attacks on Israel, heated international manipulation. With the offset of the Civil War in 1975, the Lebanese State apparatus was rendered powerless, and various Lebanese fractions started to take right into their own hands. The Maronite communities asked Israel for military help, and also encouraged Syria to lend military assistance through manpower and troops. As such, Syrian troops entered Lebanon in 1976, aiming to temper the civil unrest as well as the expansion of the PLO.[117] This resulted in the heinous siege at Tal al-Zataar refugee camp, where the Lebanese Maronite Phalangist and Syrian militants caused the perishing of 4280 Palestinian and Sunni Lebanese refugees.[118]

Israel initially endorsed the Syrian occupation, believing that it would help resolve the PLO attacks from the South borders of Lebanon. This stance radically changed when Ariel Sharon became Israel's new minister of defense in 1981.[119] Sharon actively promoted "the Big Pine Plan" a military strategy that aimed to end PLO attacks on Israel, as well as the Syrian occupation of Lebanon. Israel hoped to install a pro-Western Lebanese government that would sympathize with the Zionist cause. The Maronite alliance of Lebanon was trained by the Mossad in preparation of the Big Pine Plan, yet the arrival of the Israeli Defense Forces (hereinafter: "IDF") in Lebanon in 1982 failed to reach the desired result. Leaving a trail of bloodshed and destruction, most notably at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in South Beirut[120], IDF forces withdrew from Lebanon in 1985. Their presence had inspired the creation of the Hizbollah fraction, a political party that claimed solidarity with the Palestinian cause.[121] The Syrian Occupation remained, being the sole State to successfully hold ties with the Lebanese Hizbollah party and the Shiite fraction Amal. In cooperation with Syrian troops, the Amal fraction organized "the War of the Camps" which lasted from 1985 to 1988 and was meant to mop up the last remaining Palestinian freedom fighters. In the autumn of 1989, the signing of the Ta'if Agreement among representatives of all Lebanon's communities, represented the end of the Civil

[113] The Cairo Agreement held that Palestinians should be entitled to political organization and autonomous government of their refugee camps. This phase in Palestinian and Lebanese history will be more extensively discussed in section 4.2 of this chapter.
[114] Haddad, 2004: 474 (and Cobban 1984: 47 in Haddad, 2004:474)
[115] Zisser, 2009
[116] Ibid, Khalili, 2007
[117] Ibid.
[118] Khalili, L. (2005). "A Landscape of Uncertainty: Palestinians in Lebanon". *Middle East Report, 236* pp.34 - 39
[119] Zisser, 2009
[120] Khalili, 2005
[121] Khalili, L. (2007). "'Standing with my Brother': Hizbollah, Palestinians, and the Limits of Solidarity". *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 49*(2) pp. 276-303.

War.[122] Nevertheless, anti-Israeli strikes from South Lebanon continue to occur, the organization of which has been supported and facilitated by Hizbollah.[123]

During the 1990s, Lebanon slowly started to recover from the Civil War. Political disagreement remained, yet the various religious fractions managed to uphold the stability of the country. War criminals and massive human rights violators were granted amnesty, in the hope that this would support peace among the sectarian groups.[124] Rafik al-Hariri, Lebanon's Sunni prime minister at this point, invested millions on rebuilding the country, and soon became appreciated in the Western world as "Mister-fix-it" – a welcome ally after the times of turmoil that had marked the preceding decades. Since the start of the new millennium, Hariri began to campaign strongly against the enduring Syrian occupation in Lebanon, and supported Security Council Resolution 1559, which calling for withdrawal from foreign forces for Lebanon. He hence promoted Lebanon's full sovereignty and independence, a quest that according to many resulted in his controversial death through an assassination attack on February 14, 2005. Hariri's killing sparked mass demonstrations against Syria in Lebanon, and resulted in what has become known as the Cedar Revolution; the birth of the anti-Syrian, pro-Western March 14 alliance, and the pro-Syrian March 8 alliance headed by Hizbollah.[125]

The situation in Lebanon has remained unstable. On July 12th 2006, in response to Hizbollah kidnappings of several Israeli soldiers, Israel invaded Lebanon once again.[126] Due to heavy airstrikes and shelling of civilian targets, 900.000 Lebanese were forcefully displaced (an impressive number, considering the overall Lebanese population rates around 4.000.000). The war ended mid-April of the same year, leaving numerous villages and refugee camps partially or fully destroyed.[127] Attacks on the civilian targets in the South were heavy. Following arguments from the Israeli defence the South was infiltrated by Hezbollah terrorist, as such legitimizing the heavy air strikes.[128] Hizbollah continues to support the Syrian and Iranian government, a stance that further feeds internal divisions in Lebanon. It is also the only party in the Lebanese parliament that broadly encourages recognition of the human rights of Palestinian refugees.[129] Increasingly, Sunni militant groups have organized attacks against Hizbollah targets, including a bombing of the Iranian Embassy carried out by Al-Qaeda in Beirut earlier this year.[130] Moreover, the massive influx of Syrian refugee, and the fighting nearby the Lebanese border, further put pressure on Lebanon's domestic security. It is curious what Lebanon's future will look like. If the various political parties are unable to reach agreements on the war in Syria and the contemporary refugee problems, as well as the trial before the Special Tribunal for Lebanon dealing with the assassination of Rafik al-Hariri, it is likely that tensions will escalate.

3.2 *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon Since 1948*

Today the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon number 441.543[131], making up for nearly 10% of the overall Lebanese population. Half of this population lives divided over 12 UNRWA refugee camps or gatherings. Some of the UNRWA registered refugees are expected to live outside of Lebanon, but no

[122] Haddad, 2002, pp. 293
[123] Khalili, 2007
[124] Wierda, M., Nassar, H., Maalouf, L. (2007). "Early Reflections on Local Preceptions, Legitimacy and Legacy of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon". *Journal of International Criminal Justice, 5* pp. 1065-1081
[125] Ibid.
[126] Khalili, 2007
[127] Interesting accounts on the impact of this war can be read in: Kfoury, A. (2007). *Inside Lebanon: Journey to a Shattered Land with Noam and Carol Chomsky*. Monthly Review Press
[128] Ramadan, A. (2008). "The Guests' Guest: Palestinian Refugees, Lebanese Civilians, and the War of 2006". *Antipode, 40*(4) pp. 658-677
[129] For an extensive discussion on the relationship of the Palestinians and Hizbollah, please see: Khalili, 2007.
[130] Barnard, A, Erdbrink, T. and Gladstone, R. (November 19, 2013). *Beirut's Bombs Strike at Iran as Assad's Ally.* Retrieved from the website of the New York Times on December 8, 2013: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/20/world/middleeast/blast-hits-shiite-area-of-beirut.html?_r=0
[131] Numbers on December 31, 2012. On January 1, 2012, the total number of registered refugees was 436.154. The overall number of refugees thus enhanced with over 10%. This is reflected by the number in camps: on January 1st, 2012 the there were 12 camps; in the course of 2012 this went up to 15. The total number of refugees went up from 4.797.723 to 4.919.917. This stark rise in refugees might be attributed to violence in Gaza and the West Bank in November 2012. *NB*: Excluded are refugees who are only registered with the Lebanese government and not with the UNRWA, or refugees who reside in Lebanon illegally.

exact number of this population is available.[132] The expansion of the refugee population is sparked by the influx of Syrian-Palestinian refugees, who flee ongoing unrest in Syria, and find themselves in hardly bettered circumstances in their new Lebanese host-State. The refugee population is comprised of the approximately 100.000 original refugees of 1948, refugees from 1967, and the offspring of both these groups. The majority has been uprooted several times in the course of their refugeehood, preventing the refugees from building an adequate livelihood.

The local Lebanese population initially responded friendly to the arrival of Palestinian refugees. The majority of Palestinians who fled to Lebanon originally lived in the Galilee region of today's Israel and were farmers of Islamic descent. When the refugee influx started in 1948, the local Sunni-Muslim population in the South helped to shelter refugees until the government facilitated their relocation to refugee camps in other parts of Lebanon. By 1951 approximately 28.000 Christian Palestinians were granted Lebanese citizenship, whilst Sunni-Palestinians remained *ghuraba* ("foreigner"), unless they had the means to hire a lawyer who could proof ties to Lebanese descent. Until the early 1960s, another 50.000 Palestinians achieved Lebanese citizenship, mainly Christians.[133] The remaining refugees lived on government lands on the outskirts of cities like Beirut, Tyre, Sidon and Tripoli, and in rural areas. Lebanese employers saw a useful workforce in the Palestinian refugees and hired them to conduct agricultural tasks against low wages. Palestinians tended to accept the jobs – even those who were educated to practice higher professions, for they were banned from seeking such employment by the Lebanese law. The *Deuxième Bureau*, the Lebanese Military Intelligence, controlled the camps. Poor and suppressed, the refugees became increasingly frustrated with the treatment they received from their host-State.[134]

The status quo remained in place until the establishment of the PLO in 1964. Systematic suppression proved to constitute fertile ground for the emergence of fierce nationalism. The PLO provided the Palestinian Diaspora with a shared identity and quest: the demand to Return to their homeland, Palestine. In Lebanon, government fractions were divided about the PLO's presence in Lebanon. Increased opposition lead to open fighting between the Lebanese Army and PLO guerrillas in 1969. The PLO successfully forced the *Deuxième Bureau* out of the refugee camps. In November 1969, Lebanon and the PLO signed the Cairo Agreement, which forced the Lebanese government to grant the PLO full authority over the Lebanese refugee camps, creating a situation where refugee camps were virtual States-within-a-State. When the PLO authority moved its headquarters to Beirut in 1970, Israel started to fear increasing attacks from the South of Lebanon. In response to this threat, it bombed villages and gatherings home to local Lebanese, in order to weaken the public approval in Lebanon for the PLO's manner of combating Israel. This tactic appeared successful – the widening of the gap between those supporting the PLO and those resenting the PLO constituted one of the catalysts for the outburst of the 1975 Lebanese Civil War.[135]

From 1967 to 1982, refugee camps in Lebanon constituted the heart of the Palestinian-Israeli as well as the Lebanese civil conflict. This period is today referred to as the *Thawra*, the Revolution, and marked a shift away from earlier political strategies that sought to resolve the Palestinian Refugee problem through international solutions. Possibly fuelled by the decolonization trend that marked the 1960s, a guerrilla war unfolded, led by the Fatah fraction of the PLO. Palestinian refugees seemed certain there was no other way to Return, but to take up arms and fight for the nation. Romanization of "the battle" and martyrdom have become essential in the collective memory of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.[136] Massacres are also commemorated as historic events in Palestinian history. In Lebanon, especially the atrocities committed by the Kata'ib and Phalangist Maronite Christian forces that took

[132] It is estimated that this number might amount to 200.000, see: Chatty, 2010
[133] Siklawi, R. (2010). "The Dynamics of Palestinian Political Endurance in Lebanon". Middle East Journal, 64(4) pp. 597-611
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] In her study on Palestinian mnemonic practices, Laleh Khalili finds: "The battle came to be the iconic representation of the thawra and the means to achieving a Palestinian nation-State. As such, the representation of the battle in Palestinian political rhetoric and iconography contained the abstract virtues associated with the modern nation-state, including sacrifice for the nation and heroic defense of national identities." Emphasis added. *In*: Khalili, L. (2008). "Commemorating Battles and Massacres in the Palestinian Refugee Camps of Lebanon". *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(1) pp.1562-1574

place between 1975 and 1976 in Dbaya, Tal al-Zataar and Jisr al-Basha camps and gatherings, were memorized.[137]

The Lebanese Civil War hence came with horrific consequences for the Palestinian refugee population. Christian armed forces, most notably the Kata'ib and Phalangist, as well as Muslim Shiite party Amal, destroyed numerous refugee camps on the outskirts of Beirut, killing thousands of refugees, and uprooting even more. Due to violence and corruption the PLO's legitimacy weakened. When the IDF entered Beirut in 1982, it swiftly forced the PLO authority to leave Lebanon. The absence of the PLO radically changed the reality in the Palestinian refugee camps. Where they used to be the centre of the political struggle of the Palestinians, they are today places of suppression and deprivation.[138] In 1987 the Lebanese government revoked the Cairo Agreement, reversing the control over refugee camps to the pre-1969 state. Systematic discrimination and poverty has resulted in the rise of multiple fundamentalist groups within the camps, most notably Fatah al-Islam,Usbat al-Ansar, and Jund al-Sham.[139]

3.3 *Current Situation in Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon*

In light of the above, two things should be noted about the Palestinian refugee population. In the first place: it is hardly surprising that the current politics and nationalist tendencies of the Palestinians in Lebanon continue to be based on "the battle" and "massacres" when legitimizing their claims to Return, for "[….] almost every refugee in Lebanon had a kin, friend, or acquaintance who has been a victim or survivor of a massacre over successive decades makes these horrific events not only a locus of official rhetoric, but an acute and consequential component of Palestinian popular experiences of exile, violence and war in Lebanon"[140]. As such, victimization due to violence is widespread, and sentiments of frustration and revenge are shared. In addition, the refugee population can be divided into three generations-groups that all hold different ideas of what "Palestine" entails. There are those who fled Palestine during the Nakbah, who hold a practical, romantic idea of the homeland, and might be considered the most passive, peaceful refugees, who simply want to return to their former farm. Then there are those who were raised during the *Tharwa* (revolution), who believe that violence constitutes an adequate mean to achieve self-determination. Self-determination of the Palestinian State is the main aim, and the past success of the PLO has proven that armed aggression might be fruitful to reach a goal. Lastly, there is the contemporary youth, a generation that might be most divided on what Palestine is. There are those who are highly politicized and turn to fundamentalist objectives to achieve Palestinian independence, as well as those who focus on the reality in Lebanon and hope to achieve citizenship rights[141].

Lebanon currently hosts 12 Palestinian Refugee Camps[142], most of which are kept under tight control of the Lebanese Armed Forces (hereinafter: "LAF") since the 2007 civil struggle at Nahr al-Bared refugee camp. This conflict was catalyzed by the assassination of numerous Lebanese soldiers at a refugee camp checkpoint, and escalated into an armed clash between the in-camp fundamental Islamist group Fatah al-Islam and the LAF, when camera footage demonstrated that refugees had been responsible for the killings. Media covering of this event sparked sentiments of outrage among the Lebanese public, resulting into widespread support for the LAF's incentive to infiltrate in the Camp – a place that had been a no-go zone since the 1969 Cairo Agreement. In response, Palestinian refugees in other camps and settlements took up arms, and violence soon spread to Beirut and Tripoli, although Nahr al-Bared remained at the center of the conflict. 27.000 camp residents were displaced due to the

[137]Tal al-Zataar, situated on the outskirts of Beirut, had been besieged for 55 days. Over 4280 refugee residents, both Palestinian and Lebanese, died in fighting, or due to starvation. Another notorious massacre is the one that took place at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. After the assassination of the newly elected Lebanese president Bashir Jumayyil in September 1982, Ariel Sharon demanded the Israeli Defense Forces to besiege West Beirut. Assisted by the Lebanese Forces and the South Lebanese Army, an estimated 1.200 to 2.700 camp residents were slaughtered See: Ibid.
[138] Khalili, 2007
[139] Siklawi, 2010
[140] Khalili, 2009: 1566
[141] Richter-Devroe, 2013; Chatty, 2010
[142] UNRWA, 2013

struggle, and a mere 8% of the camp has so far been rebuilt. The Lebanese Government responded to this event by taking up a "constructive policy" when rebuilding the camp, that would serve as "the Model" for improved relations between Lebanese citizens and Palestinian refugees.[143] Five years ahead however, alarming reports from NGOs in refugee camps indicate that this "Model" appears to fuel frustration and dissatisfaction, rather than to resolve the bad relations between the Lebanese and the Palestinians[144]. Today 68 UNRWA schools, provide for the basic education of over 32.000 pupils. 28 UNRWA health centres constitute the sole medial relief available to Palestinian refugees. Furthermore, there are 9 UNRWA women centres and 1 community rehabilitation centre present in Lebanon. Half of the population is under 25 years of age, and approximately 56% of the workforce remains jobless. Camps are impoverished, overcrowded, and lack adequate infrastructure. Housing conditions are poor, and the lack of civil and political rights prevents the refugees to improve their situation[145].

3.4 *The Politics of the Right for Return in Lebanon*

> "The passion for the Return is an expression of our identity, and ecstatic embodiment of its inward movement and preoccupations. It is as if the ultimate Palestinian question were: I want to Return, therefore I am."[146]

As presented in the previous chapter, the Right for Return as stipulated in UN Resolution 194 has become the core element of the "Palestinian Dream"; the glue that maintains unity within the Palestinian diaspora, and perhaps constitutes the defining factor of the Palestinian identity. The content of Return narratives differ from generation to generation, from political context to political context. Members of the Nakbah generation in Lebanon, the generation that physically experienced the 1948 exodus, might hold another view of what Return entails, than members of the Nakbah generation residing in Jordan[147]. Youth in Lebanon, living in sustained deprivation, might be more concerned with improving their socio-economic status in the country of residence, than youth in Syria, who suffer relatively less deprivation due to discriminate refugee policies in the host State[148]. Nevertheless, the aim for Return has become a prominent political excuse for Arab host States to maintain the restrictions of civil rights for Palestinian refugees, arguing that granting such rights would weaken the Palestinian claim for self-determinaton[149]. Discrimination is legitimized on the grounds that it preserves Palestinian nationality and hence the "right to return" that might be derived from this nationality[150].

In Lebanon this argument has frequently served as an excuse to continue denial of rights to employment, property, free movement, political representation, and social services, fearing that granting these rights would mark steps towards *Tawtween*, the naturalization of Palestinians into Lebanese[151]. In Lebanese political discourse, *Tawtween* is "an act tantamount to treason", the

[143] International Crisis Group. (March 1st, 2012). "Lebanon's Palestinian Dilemma: the Struggle Over Nahr Al-Bared". *Middle East Report No. 117*. Online copy retrieved from the official website of the International Crisis Group NGO on March 29th, 2013: http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20Noth%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Lebanon/117-lebanons-palestinian-dilemma-the-struggle-over-nahr-al-bared.pdf

[144] Abdallah, G. (June 20th, 2012). "Security for Freedom, The Impossible Trade: How the Lack of Human Rights Led to the Current Crisis in Nahr El-Bared". Published by *Palestinian Hunam Rights Organization (PHRO)* an independent NGO in Lebanon under registration no. 36/AD. Retrieved from the official website of the PHRO on March 29th, 2013: http://www.palhumanrights.org/monitor/PHRO%20Statement%20on%20NBC_Security%20for%20Freedom,%20the%20Impossible%20Trade_20120620_ENG.pdf

[145] Numbers retrieved from the official website of the United Nations Work and Relief Agency (UNRWA) on April 17th, 2013: http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=73

[146] Turki, F. (1977). "The Future of a Past: Fragments from the Palestinian Dream". *Journal of Palestine Studies, 6*(3) p. 68

[147] Richter-Devroe, S. (2013). ""Like Something Sacred": Palestinian Refugees' Narratives on the Right of Return". *Refugee Survey Quarterly,* pp. 1-24

[148] For an analytic background article on this issue see: Chatty, D. (2010). "Palestinian Refugee Youth: Agency and Aspiration". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 28*(2/3) pp. 318-338

[149] Richter-Dervoe, 2013

[150] Al Husseini, J. and Bocco, R. (2010). "The Status of the Palestinian Refugees in the Near East: the Right of Return and the UNRWA in Perspective". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 28*(2/3) pp. 260-285

[151] Hanafi, A.; Chaaban, J. and Seyfert, K. (2012). "Social Exclusion of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Reflections on the Mechanism that Cement Their Persistent Poverty". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 31*(1) pp. 34-53

"scarecrow" of Lebanese society[152], grounded on the fear that the naturalization of the Palestinian Sunnis would damage the sectarian balance on which Lebanon's government is based[153]. Besides damaging the balance between Christian and Muslim fractions of the Lebanese population, the presence of Palestinian refugees, and their strong political narratives and acts, are anxiously viewed to threaten the internal stability of host-States. [154] The continuous debate over whether or not improvements in labor market access and camp restoration constitute *Tawtween*, puts breaks on the implementation of long-term policy regarding the civil and political rights of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In the meantime, the refugees stay "warehoused" in camps, forced to build their life in a situation of legal and political limbo.[155] According to Haddad, there is a stark contrast between Shi'a Muslims and Christians on the one side, and Sunni Muslims on the other, in the extent that they sympathize with the fate of the Palestinian refugees. This contrast once again reflects internal division regarding the presence of the Palestinian refugees[156].

3.5 *Secondary Victimization*

Palestinian refugees residing in Lebanon have limited access to the labor market[157], are not allowed to own real estate, and are exempted from social services. Most refugees live confined in gatherings or refugee camps, that are "closed spaces", controlled by the Lebanese Army[158]. Mobility is restricted, demanding those who want to move in or out the camp to request a permit before movement. Permits also have to be requested for the import of construction materials to improve the in-camp infrastructure. Overall, camps constitute virtual States-within-a-State in Lebanon, allowing its residents only limited exposure to the outside world, and systematically excluding the community of Palestinian refugees as a whole from socio-political participation in Lebanese society.[159] In addition, camp residents argue that the permit system has retarded the camp-economy, deterring local Lebanese clients, who now frequent markets elsewhere. Stateless, without any civil and political rights, the Palestinians in Lebanon are left to the mercy of the UNRWA to provide for most of their basic needs.[160]

Besides the permit and checkpoint regime per se, camp residents complain that the LAF soldiers treat camp dwellers without dignity when they are passing through the checkpoints. Palestinians are searched multiple times, cursed at, and sometimes kicked. In spite of being treated as victims of violence and poverty, they are considered potential threats to internal security, terrorists, which is to a large extent attributable to the violent history between the Lebanese Christians and Shi'a Muslims and the Sunni Palestinian refugees. One respondent from Nahr al-Bared in a research by Long and Hanafi (2010) notes:

> "If a man is stressed out as a result of the checkpoints, he goes home and takes it out on his wife and son because they are weaker than him." [161]

Other respondents in the same research put forward that they fear clashes between the LAF and the camp community if the LAF does not take on a more constructive policy when dealing with the

[152] Ibid, p. 42
[153] Iskander, 2011
[154] Al Husseini and Bocco, 2010
[155] Iskander, 2011:p. 746
[156] Haddad, S. (2004). "The Origins of Popular Opposition to Palestinian Resettlement n Lebanon". *International Migration Review, 38*(2) pp. 470-492
[157] Halabi, Z. (2004). `Exclusion and Identity in Lebanon´s Palestinian Refugee Camps: a Story of Sustained Conflict´. *Environment and Urbanization, 16* pp. 39-48
[158] Knudsen, A. (2005). "Precarious Peacebuilding: Post-War Lebanon 1990-2005". *Chr. Michelsen Institute: Working Paper, 12* available through www.cmi.nl/publications
[159] Hanafi, Chaaban and Seyfert, 2012
[160] Ibid.
[161] Long, T. and Hanafi, S. (2010). "Human (in)Security: Palestinian Perceptions of Security in and around the Refugee Camps in Lebanon". *Conflict, Security& Development, 10*(5) pp. 673-690; 682

Palestinians. Some go as far as to argue that the Palestinian camp dwellers should start arming themselves again in case riots unfold in the future[162].

Despite recent improvements in labor rights for Palestinian refugees, still a mere 37% of the overall refugee population is employed. Hanafi et. al.'s study based on the national *Socio-Economic Household Survey of Palestinian Refugees living in Lebanon*, dating August/July 2010, demonstrates that employment remains fragile, and only 7% of the workers hold contracts. More of an indicator of income than employment per se, is *occupation*, for the wages of those who are employed, especially in the agricultural sector, often do not suffice to provide for a decent livelihood. Women make up for a mere 18% of the workforce, yet they do generally perform more professionalized jobs. "Feminized sectors" such as health care and education, are overrepresented by women, whereas the craft work and construction sectors, see hardly any female staff.[163] Until this very day, Palestinians are excluded from 20 professions by Lebanese policy, including journalism, law, medicine, and engineering. As a consequence, well earning jobs are difficult to attain.[164] [165]

[162] Ibid.
[163] Hanafi, Chaaban and Seyfert, 2012: p. 47-51
[164] Iskander, 2011
[165] Chaaban, J. M.; Seyfert, K.; Salti, N. I. & El-Makkaoui, G. S. (2013). "Poverty and Livelihoods among UNHCR Registered Refugees in Lebanon". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 32*(1) pp. 24-49

CHAPTER IV – MAPPING VULNERABILITY

The historical framework presented in the previous two chapters described the "original victimization" of the Palestinian nation, as well as the various forms of revictimization that the Palestinian diaspora have faced as refugees in Lebanon. The influences at the political level are imperative to understand, when grasping the nature of vulnerability of Palestinian population. Some social segments are inherently more prone to fall victims of this situation than others. The present chapter aims to indicate as well as to motivate why this is the case, and also tries to demonstrate in what manners structural victimization proneness might be controlled. To grasp the complexity of vulnerability, I will address vulnerability first at the structural level, and then move on to address the different ways in which vulnerability might manifest itself, as a consequence of differences in factors like gender and age. This way, I attempt to motivate why vulnerability is present and how current cultural and political structures reinforce it.

4.1 *Capturing Vulnerability in an Ecological Model*

It is difficult to determine what vulnerability really means, especially when one tries to understand the impact of vulnerability on a society at large. Academics as well as drafters of human rights documents have until now only defined vulnerability on an ad hoc basis, concerned mainly with groups or risky circumstances that impact a group, such as women, children, refugees, stateless persons, persons with a handicap, minorities and indigenous people.[166] Vulnerability is however more complex than such categories imply. Indeed, often categories overlap suggesting that some vulnerable people are more vulnerable than other vulnerable people. In a comparative study on vulnerability measures, attempting to grasp the complexity of the term in simple phrase, Naudé et.al. (2009) contend:

> "From the common definitional elements it is clear that vulnerability relates to an undesirable outcome (e.g. vulnerability to poverty, vulnerability to food insecurity or vulnerability to natural hazards) and that such vulnerability is due to "exposure to hazards", which cause "perturbations" [….]. These hazards can have many origins: environmental, socio-economic, physical and political. It is also clear that the "system" can imply different spatial levels of analysis that exhibit vulnerability, from micro (household), to meso (regional) and macro levels (countries, the globe).[167]"

Naudé et. al. show that the interplay between various layers of a person´s life (the individual level, the institutional level, the cultural level, and the environmental level) together determine the extent and severity of certain vulnerability factors. This so-called ecological approach is highly useful to map the complex vulnerability of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, including both the outside-caused vulnerability (that is, caused by the enemy, in this case Israel or Lebanon) or inside (by fellow camp dwellers or in-camp culture). The analysis below should be considered as a start of a broader victimological inquiry into the complexity of vulnerability and victimization proneness of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The selected vulnerability factors and groups are therefore not exclusive.

4.2 *Cultures of Violence in Palestinian Refugee Camps*

Victimology approaches patterns of victimization from an interdisciplinary angle. In doing so, victimology attempts to shape a comprehensive context for the causes, consequences and remedies to by humans inflicted suffering. It is clear by now that political science, history, anthropology,

[166] This list is not exclusive. See for an extensive discussion on the usage of the term vulnerability: Chapman, A. R.; Carbonetti, B. (2011). "Human Rights Protections of Vulnerable and Disadvantaged Groups: the Contributions of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights". *Human Rights Quarterly, 33*(3) pp. 682 - 732

[167] Naudé, W.; Santos-Paulino, A. U. and McGillivray, M. (2009). "Measuring Vulnerability: and Overview and Introduction". *Oxford Development Studies, 37*(3) pp. 183-191; p. 184/185

economics and psychology all contribute a great deal to understanding the sustained, structural nature of Palestinian victimization. Violence and deprivation are sustained by factors and enemies which lay outside of the direct control of a Palestinian individual: the policies of the Lebanese government, the Israelis, the Syrians, the silent politics of the international community. *It would not be fair however to create an image of the Palestinians as a people completely passive in relation to their own victimization, both because such an approach would fail to recognize the agency of the Palestinian victims, as much as it would fail to acknowledge that victimhood is indeed to some extent precipitated.* As outlined in the first chapter, early victimologists including Hans von Hentig and Mendelsohn already argued, albeit in different contexts and situations[168], that a victim to some extent can have a share in his or her own victimization. Where the previous two chapters mainly approach the fate of the Palestinian refugee population from an historical-top-down political angle, demonstrating the manners in which outside forces caused harm to Palestinians, the present chapter aims to shed light on the bottom-up socio-political and environmental structures that reiterate harm in the Lebanese refugee camp setting. It will shed light on the various aspects of the long-term refugee-camp culture that cement violence into daily routine and as such make inhabitants more prone to inflict as well as to suffer harm.

Everyday life in a Lebanese-Palestinian refugee camp is not about honey and roses. Camp dwellers reside in an environment that is dominated by damaged, over-crowded homes which may have been demolished and rebuilt several times after attacks.[169] Poor sanitary facilities, lack of construction materials, and continuing influxes of refugees from neighboring countries make that most camps, since their foundation in 1949, reflect the violence, deprivation, and temporariness that they have been subjected to.[170] Pictures of martyrs and dates of massacres are carved on the walls and honoured; carrying weapons remains common practice despite prohibitions of the LAF, and death and injury caused by violence are part of everyday life.[171] The urbanscape as such breaths, "makes", and probably reinforces the legitimization and celebration of ongoing and ever-present violence and its consequences.[172] Considering this geographic, environmental context alone, it is hardly surprising that a third generation Palestinian refugee child might endorse violence as an inevitable part of reality. Being raised in surroundings that continually confront an individual with harm and destruction, both indirectly (through the destroyed landscape) and directly (through narratives, and witnessing attacks) accumulates to a culture where violence becomes instilled in the daily routine and influences patterns of thinking and acting.[173]

For victimologists who wish to understand the relation between the suffering of violence and the perpetration of violence by the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, it is essential to take a closer look at the cultural patterns that underlie its legitimization. Carolyn Nordstrom (1998) has conducted extensive research on what she terms the "warscape" in an attempt to explain how violence manifests and reinforces itself in a society.[174] She foremostly found that organized violence is a cultural system/strategy which serves to attack places and activities that are commonly accepted as "safe" aspects of daily life, as to destroy pre-war ideas of stability, humaneness, right and wrong. Nordstrom maintains that violence is a dynamic structure that might be naturalized by any person, rather than an incidental symptom that only occurs through perpetration by individuals who are inherently "evil". *By destructing, damaging or otherwise destabilizing those spaces that are generally considered "neutral", "common" and "virtuous" in a community, places such as homes, hospitals, schools and public areas, fear and violence manifests itself in exactly the minutia that are essential to maintain peaceful cohesion in a society.* Terror instills itself in individuals, becoming a common concern as well as a method of acting-out. It divorces people from their sense of safety and inspires people to

[168] Von Hentig and Mendelsohn practiced a victimology that studied individuals rather than communities.
[169] Khoury, 2007
[170] Iskander, 2011
[171] Khalili, 2008
[172] Chatty, D. (2010). "Palestinian Refugee Youth: Agency and Aspiration". *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 28*(2/3) pp. 318 - 338
[173][173] Palestinian terrorist violence, in special suicide bombings, is endorsed by large segments of the Palestinian population. When used as a means to "free Palestine" or as an expression of jihad, violence is accepted as natural, desirable, inevitable. A study on the contributing factors to the "culture of death" please see: Haddad, S. (2009). "Lebanese and Palestinian Perspectives on Suicide Bombings: An Empirical Investigation". *International Studies, 46*(3) pp. 295-318
[174] Nordstrom, C. (1998). "Terror Warfare and the Medicine of Peace". *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 12*(1) pp. 103-121

"fight back". By denying Palestinian families permanent residences, employment, schooling, and access to medical care, their Otherness, the temporariness of their stay and the risks inherent to their lifestyle are constantly present and confirmed. Uncertainty, fear and violence becomes an overarching aspect of the course of a person's existence. Nordstrom argues that to end war and violence is to overthrow patterns that reiterate and reflect it from the bottom up. Put differently, a community has to actively engage in renouncing the war-culture in order to establish peace.[175]

This is of course more easily said than done. In the Palestinian refugee camps, violence is not only feared, it has also become a crucial aspect of the ideology of Return. Struggle, by some referred to in the Islamic sense of "jihad"[176], is considered a way out of suppression.[177] It is a form of resistance against the limbo-life over which they lack adequate control. This is reflected by the celebration of arms, martyrs, "the battle" on posters in Palestinian streets, mosques, public places. As Khalili (2008) stated in her research on the commemoration of battles in Palestinian refugee camps:

> "Palestinian mnemonic practices have become the manifestation of the refugees' pain and suffering, where the suffering legitimates their claim to membership in the Palestinian national polity and appeals to the international community for recognition and justice".[178]

The humiliation of being captured in the poor refugee environment, of seeing relatives getting mocked and beaten at checkpoints, of being unable to move freely - fuels frustration, anger, and in some cases, will to retaliate.[179][180] Ending cultural artefacts that promote violence, means ending a string of hope for those who see it as a form of empowerment, a way out of the current situation, a *coping mechanism*.

Although violence is to some extent promoted as a means of resistance, the aftermath of atrocities is not tackled with concerted policies of reconciliation. Victims of inter alia the 2006 Lebanese war and the 2007 civil war, mainly Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Sunni citizens of the South, were never psychologically treated or compensated for their material losses.[181] Moreover, those who inflicted damage and suffering where never held accountable for the atrocities that took place during the various wars, and are shielded by amnesty laws.[182] The Lebanese are said to suffer from "public amnesia" in relation to the horrors that marked the past four centuries.[183] As a result, refugees are left to deal with their victimization, and to negotiate their encounter with violence with the discourses that promote violence as a way out of the current situation. Many were left to rebuild their house for the umpteenth time, or forced to relocate once again. Social institutions had to be rebuild, fear had to be tempered, frustration had to be channelled, lost loved ones had to be let go – again. Violence and destruction, in other words, constitutes an intrinsic part of Lebanese refugee life, and as such inevitably infects those who live this life with behavioural patterns that fit to cope with these harmful contexts, some positive, others destructive. Chatty (2010) notes that younger generations generally restore to religion or political activism to cope with the reality of chronic injustice and

[175] Nordstrom, 1998. To provide an example of relief practices witnessed by Nordstrom in Mozambique when it was subjected to Renamo's terror regime: as soon as victims of the war, for instance kidnapped children or raped women, arrived at refugee camps, they were sent to a traditional healer, a Cureideras, who by assisting these victims through several cleansing rites relieved them from their illness-of-violence. Mozambiquans regarded violence as something contagious, and believed that actively renouncing a person's engagement in fighting or witnessing aggression would heal him or her from traumatic experiences and consequential recidivism. As such, Mozambiquans appeared to take a restorative approach to those who participated in violence, seeing their heinous acts and experiences as a symptom of the war culture that stands apart from a person's identity, *and might as such be cured*. This example is interesting not only because it shows a means in which non-Western cultures provide relief to the traumatized, it also demonstrates a view of violence that is dynamic, transgressive, "contagious", and curable, rather than confined, incidental, and part of a perpetrators intrinsically evil nature

[176] In Arabic Jihad means struggle regardless of religious associations with the term. In the Quran it has the connotation of meaning holy struggle against the Godless. Referring to the Palestinian struggle as Jihad thus provides a special meaning to the fight of the Palestinians. For an extensive discussion see: Haddad, 2009: p. 298 - 300

[177] Chatty, D. (2010). "Palestinian Refugee Youth: Agency and Aspiration". *Refugee Surbey Quarterly, 28*(2-3) pp. 318-338

[178] Khalili, 2008: p.1563

[179] Haddad, 2009

[180] Long and Hanafi, 2010. Several respondents contended that humiliation at checkpoints had negative effects on the Palestinian community due to the stress it caused. As an illustration, one refugee from Nahr al-Bared stated (p. 681): "If at the inspection point they tell you: "Walk Off Dog!" you must swallow it, because you cannot tell them, 'Could you please not call me dog', because then you would be arrested for assaulted an officer of duty".

[181] Except a low sum offered by Hizbollah to Lebanese families in the South to rebuild their homes after Israeli shelling. See: Ramadan, 2008

[182] Wierda et. al., 2007

[183] Ibid., 1071.

omnipresent violence.[184] In some instances such engagement evolves into radicalism, as reflected by young, radicalized groups as Fatah al-Islam that govern life and thinking in several Lebanese refugee camps.

4.3 *Breaking the Culture of Violence*

Fear, frustration, witnessing of violence, destructive routine-activities, and the inescapable violent environment are factors that contribute to the reiteration of the culture of violence. Violence it seems, is contagious, and has a dynamic rather than an incidental character. As such, it has been stated, it is crucial that victimized societies from the bottom-up actively engage in renouncing violence and aggression, and in turn promote behaviour that is peaceful. In the Palestinian refugee case, this could for instance be realized through a UNRWA project that employs local volunteers to organized community activities tackling the issue of violence. Such an initiative would not comprise a heavy burden for the small UN budget.

This emphasis on creating, imagining, and ultimately reshaping cultural patterns and social cohesions is also put forward by De Jong and Kleber (2007) in a study on refugee relief in Sierra Leone for *Médecines Sans Frontières*[185]. The authors stress that coping comes through community engagement such as sports programs, drama projects and other cultural activities unique to the by war destructed society that contribute a great deal to creating a positive atmosphere in a refugee camp, whilst also improving the individual's mental well-being, and community sentiments of togetherness. He refers to such activities as psycho-social interventions that aim at reducing "psychological consequences of mass violence [….] [by facilitating] the reconnection of the affected individual to his environment, his community and his culture, [as well as to] create an environment that facilitates the individual, or rather groups of affected individuals, to re-integrate."[186] The "psycho-part" should include psychological support and referral to specialist, counseling based on problem-solving and self-help, training of local staff and advocacy on behalf of those who have become victims of human rights violations. The "social-part" includes community activities, community mobilization, advocacy, and direct practical relief (infrastructure, shelter, water).[187] Although the long-term refugees in Lebanon might have different direct needs that than the ad hoc refugees in Sierra Leone had, the frequent encounters with violence during the various civil wars and uprising make social programs that encourage peaceful teamwork imperative. The UNRWA currently does not have PTSD related projects running in Lebanon, despite the proven harmful implications of witnessing for instance shelling[188]. Following Hoda Samra, public information officer of the health department of the UNRWA in Lebanon, the upcoming Health Report will include a framework in which a PTSD program is incorporated. Especially regarding the current influx of Palestinian refugees from Syria, many of whom have witnessed shelling and other forms of traumatizing violence, such psychological relief appears urgent.[189] Beyond the psyche however, it is vital that the refugee community is encouraged to work together on activities that strengthen peaceful culture and renounce violence. Promoting peaceful coping mechanisms that facilitate togetherness may to some extent control cultures of violence. Given the current tension in Lebanon that has occurred as a consequence of refugee influxes from Syria, it is highly imperative that the Lebanese authorities commit to invest in

[184] Chatty, 2010
[185] De Jong, K. and Kleber, R. (2007). "Emergency Conflict-Related Psychosocial Interventions in Sierra Leone and Uganda". *Journal of Health Psychology, 12*(3) pp. 485-497
[186] Ibid. p. 489
[187] Ibid. p. 490-493
[188] Highly traumatic events cause arousal and stress in the future. Cues that remind the traumatized person of the past event might bring back emotions that were felt during the experience. Times of arousal and flash-back give the individual a sense of "otherness", isolating the individual from the community due to his very unique, and personal encounter with violence. See: Karenian, H., Livaditis, M., Karenian, S., ZZafiriadis, K., Bochtsou, V., Xeniditis, K. (2010). `Collective Trauma Transmission and Traumatic Reactions Among Descendants of Armenian Refugees´. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 57)4', pp. 327-337, Kenzie, .(2004). "Some Effects of Terrorism on Refugees". *The Trauma of Terrorism, pp.*
[189] In e-mail correspondence Hoda Samra (2013), public informant of UNRWA in Lebanon, states: "in reply to your query regarding UNRWA PTSD-programs, I would like to inform that we do not currently have such a program, but we will have soon in the framework of a new health project that will be launched soon". April 19th, 2013

such incentives. Poverty and social marginalization is impossible to "cure" overnight, and it is likely that these factors will continue to put their stamp on everyday life in Lebanese refugee camps. In combination with violence, persecution, fragmentation and radicalization, a hotbed for injurious eruptions is ever present.

4.4 *Statelessness*

Perhaps the core cause of the ongoing persecution and deprivation of the Palestinian people is their statelessness. Earlier it was stressed that the Lebanese government deliberately maintains the statelessness of Palestinian refugees. There is much bottom-up opposition against *Thawtween* or naturalization, both on the side of the Lebanese and on the side of the Palestinians residents in Lebanon, claiming that naturalization would weaken the refugees' claim for Return[190]. More importantly however, the naturalization of Palestinians would damage the sectarian balance in Lebanon, posing a potential source of internal instability, fueling tensions among Muslim and Christian fractions. What are the implications of statelessness for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon? How does statelessness enhance vulnerability? And what remedies could reduce the implications of statelessness?

Rights and entitlements of an individual are inextricably linked to nationality, for the State is the body responsible for monitoring and enforcing such rights. Not being a citizen of a State hence excludes the individuals from legal protection. As such, "the stateless" are inherently discriminated against and prone to become marginalized and socially excluded on multiple levels – even if they have lived in their State of residence for several generations. To prevent these implications of statelessness, the UDHR added "the right to nationality" in article 15 of the Declaration, recognizing the essentiality of the bond of citizenship between an individual and a State in order for rights to be protected[191]. Statelessness is further condemned on an individual level by UN conventions such as the 1954 *Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* and the 1961 *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*[192], both only ratified by a very limited number of States, indicating the complex political character of the Statelessness Issue. Although a vast number of human rights provision *denationalize* such entitlements – that is, they explicitly refer to *persons* and not to *citizens* – many continue to exclude those without a nationality, especially in the realm of political participation, and freedom of movement[193]. As noted by Hannah Arendt, the lack of nationality, beyond complex issues of identity and belonging, very practically means that a person *lacks the right to have rights.* The frustrations and challenges that a stateless person faces, such as exclusion from political participation, and social rights, might precipitate unrest between the stateless and the non-stateless in a society, when the first begin to resist their cemented social marginalization, and the misrecognition of their existence[194].

Palestinian Statelessness originates in the 1948 Palestinian exodus.[195] At this point it is vital to reiterate that the approximately 750.000 Palestinians who fled Palestine during the 1947/1948 war, were excluded from Israeli naturalization when the State of Israel was created in May 1948. Before the war, the Palestinians had been holders of a British Protected Persons Passport, a document that lost its value when Mandate Palestine seized to exist and Israel was created. Despite the reference in the UN Partition Plan of 1947 that both Palestinians and Israelis would be granted nationality and subsequent rights, the Israeli authorities nullified this option by confiscating property of "absentees" in 1948, and barring their rights to citizenship and return. Similar events resulted in the stateless-making of another 400.000 Palestinians during the Israeli Occupation in the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Today,

[190] See chapter 2 and 3
[191] UNHCR. (2013). "Stateless People: Searching For Citizenship". Retrieved from the official website of the UNHCR on April 28th, 2013: http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html
[192] Blitz, B. K. and Lynch, M. (June, 2009). "Statelessness: the Global Problem, Relevant Literature and Research Rationale". *In:* Blitz, B. K. and Lynch, M. (2009). *Statelessness and the Benefits of Citizenship: a Comparative Study.* Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights: Switseland. pp. 4-18
[193] For a concise discussion see: Van Waas, L. (2009). "Nationality and Rights". *In:* Ibid. pp. 19 - 36
[194] Blitz and Lynch, 2009
[195] See chapter 2

stateless Palestinians are holders of refugee travel documents issued by host-States, temporary convenience passports as issued by Jordan, a passport issued by the PA (which has limited value until Palestine is fully recognized as a State), or none of the aforementioned[196].

Stateless Palestinians in Lebanon are not entitled to politically participate, to work, to own property, to make use of social services such as public health and education, to move freely etc.. As a consequence, the bulk of Palestinians have lived in poor and marginalized circumstances for over 6 decades. "Home" is in an over-populated, by ongoing war destructed refugee camp. Moving is prohibited without LAF permits, and leaving Lebanon would entangle return. Unemployment thereby forces the majority of the Palestinian refugee workforce to sit in their houses and wait for improvement of their situation. Accumulating frustrations resulting from this futureless limbo-life are potentially channeled by interpersonal violence, fundamentalism, and other destructive forces that misbalance Palestinian refugee society, as well as threaten overall Lebanese society. Put differently, "[….] lack of empowerment and denial of an opportunity to effect political processes through regular channels creates a breeding ground for dissident that may take a more destructive form"[197]. The recent uprisings at Nahr al-Bared refugee camp support this claim, and with the growing influx of Syrian and Syrian-Palestinian refugees, it seems ever more imperative to provide a remedy to Palestinian statelessness.

The stateless Palestinian population in Lebanon is ever expanding. The 100.000 registered refugees of 1948 have by now multiplied fourfold, as their offspring is born stateless too. Another worrying catalyst of Palestinian statelessness is the Lebanese marriage system, that deprives Lebanese-born women from their Lebanese nationality when they marry Palestinian men. Their children, despite Lebanese blood-ties, are rendered stateless too.[198] It is unlikely that Lebanon will willingly grant nationality rights to its permanent Palestinian refugees in the near future, seeing the fragile national political situation, and the current regional unrest.

4.5 *Gender*

Statelessness affects all segments of Palestinian society, yet some groups are to a larger extent affected than others. Because Palestinian society is patriarchally organized, it might be argued that men suffer more from their statelessness, in the sense that they are no longer able to provide for the family - as such failing to fulfill their traditional masculine role as the family protector. This, on top of material deprivation and other socio-political challenges, might fuel frustration, lack of self-worth, and ultimately lead to aggressive behavior as a means to channel these sentiments. Such frustration is likely targeted to fellow household members, most notably women, for they traditionally play a subordinate role in the family. In this section, I thus propose that as a consequence of the vulnerability factor "statelessness" women are placed in an extra vulnerable position due to their womanhood – mainly prone to become victims of violence from within their own community.

Although there are few reports of Palestinian refugee women whom have become the subjects of large scale sexual violence and other forms of aggression caused by the Lebanese or the Israeli "enemy" recently, the vulnerability of refugee women remains enduring, and has gained a structural character.[199] *Violence* is caused by militants and policy of enemy States as well as by community-

[196] Shiblak, A. (2010). "Stateless Palestinians". *Forced Migration Review, 26*(3) pp. 8-9
[197] Van Waas, 2009: 26
[198] Besides facilitating the making of statelessness this practice is in stride with gender equality as outlined by the CEDAW to which the Lebanese State is a party, and should be put to an immediate halt to actively reduce the stateless population in Lebanon. For an elaborate statement on the effects of statelessness on Lebanses women see: Frontiers. (2008). "Women's Rights in Lebanon: Gender Discrimination in Terms of Nationality and Residency". Retrieved from the official website of Frontiers NGO on April 28th 2013: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/FrontiersLebanon.pdf
[199] Holt, M. (2010). "Palestinian Women, Violence and the Peace Process". *Development in Practice, 13*(2/3) pp. 223-238, NB, for the nature of sexual violence during the Civil War, see± Wierda, et. al., 2007

fellows. As argued by Holt, the Palestinian Liberation Struggle is male-defined, and based on patriarchal structures of resistance that undermine an active role for women in peace making and the creation of a Palestinian State. The patriarchal principles of Islam thereby promote a significant role for family honor and shame in Palestinian communities. The family honor system demands from men to protect their families for shame caused by sexual humiliation, rape or adultery of wives, as well as poverty and social deprivation. In the war that lead to the 1948 exodus, family honor became a structure that was targeted by the Zionist militants in their ethnic cleansing policy. During village sieges, especially children and women were targeted for sexual humiliation, precisely because their child and womanhood – the highly valued shame and honor paradigm evoked many Palestinians to flee their homes fearing such "shameful" events, rather than staying in their villages, and risking that such shame might dawn upon the family. The same happened during the revolts in the Saba and Shatila refugee camps. Today, such traditional principles of family honor and shame constitute a mechanism to legitimize domestic violence. Following Holt (2010):

> "For Palestinians forced into exile after 1948, the concept of honour became more than a framework through which to live their lives; it defined the loss of the land and the idealisation of women as guardians of national dignity. The shock of being abruptly removed from their land and dumped into the alien and crowded environment of refugee camps gave rise to feelings of despair and powerlessness among Palestinians, particularly among men. Having lost everything, many men found themselves with only one outlet through which to express their authority—the family—and, in some cases, this led to abuses of male power within the home."[200]

The patriarchy of Palestinian society, the culture of honor and shame, and the daily confrontation with the humiliation of living in a refugee camp – unemployment, spending much time inside the home, being unable to provide for the family – might fuel feelings of hopelessness amongst Palestinian men. Processes of integrating are often more easy for women, for they are traditionally to a lesser extent pressured to provide. The success on the side of this traditionally subordinate party, might further fuel frustration on the men's side. Gender relations lose their balance, and to some extent reverse, when women find jobs that keep the family running, and men do not; or when men are unable to move through the country without a permit, whereas women do[201]. The humiliation and frustration that is integral to Palestinian refugee life and especially experienced as shameful by the disempowered husbands might enhance risks for victimization of women. In a study on domestic violence amongst Palestininian refugees in Sidon, Lebanon, Hammoury and Khawaja interrogated over 349 pregnant women in a health clinic. 59% of the respondents indicated to have experienced physical violence at least one time in their lives. 19,1% stated to have been subject to such violence in the past year and 26.2% indicated to have been forced to sexual intercourse[202]. These high numbers appear to reflect that family violence is common, and in line with findings of studies on patriarchal refugee populations elsewhere[203]. As straight-forwardly summarized by Sabbagh:

> "In [Palestinian] patriarchal culture, women and children have always been in a weaker position than the patriarch, the male head of the family. When a husband can no longer contain his anger, his humiliation, his frustration due to the conditions of occupation, he

[200] Ibid. p. 27
[201] Wallach, H. S.; Weingram, Z.; Avitan, O. (2010). "Attitudes Towards Domestic Violence: Cultural Perspectives". *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 25*(7) pp. 1284 - 1297
[202] In a study conducted in a refugee camp nearby Sidon in Lebanon, the authors found that 26,2 percent of the respondents had experienced forced sexual intercourse at least one time in the past year. Educational level and fear of husband came to the forefront as risk indicators for sexual abuse. See: Khawaja, M and Hammoury, N. (2005). "Coerced Sexual Intercourse within Marriage: a Clinic-Based Study of Pregnant Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". *Journal of Midwifery, 53*(2) pp. 150-154
[203] See for instance Pavlish, C. and Ho, A. (2009)."Pathway to Social Justice: Research on Human Rights and Gender-Based Violence in a Rwandan Refugee Camp". *Advances in Nursing Science, 32*(2) pp. 144-157, where the author trace perceptions of justice relating to gender equality.

is likely to find an outlet for his anger within the home. Women are often the victims of this anger.[204]"

The effects of interpersonal violence might be far-reaching. Not only is its subject likely to suffer from the physical and sexual injuries; on the long-term the perpetration of such violence might cause enduring trauma, depression and attachment disorders at the end of the direct victims as well as the witnesses. Victims of family violence are thereby more prone to future-victimization in whatever sense than non-victims, for they might adopt malfunctioning coping strategies, fall back in substance abuse, or adopt high risk social networks. Furthermore, it is important to understand that interpersonal violence is "contagious", meaning that children exposed to the battering of their mothers are more likely to themselves become perpetrators of domestic abuse in the future if they are not properly treated.[205] Breaking the cycle of violence and victimization, it is therefore imperative that victimologists take into account the family level when they investigate vulnerability factors in a refugee relief scheme. Violent patterns within the family are prone to be reinforced from generation to generation, and adequate attention is therefore needed to stop these patterns.

4.6 *Child-rearing processes: transgressing cultures of violence*

Much is written on the vulnerability of women both in times of warfare, and in times of peace. Little is written about the vulnerability of *Women As Mothers*. It is interesting, and perhaps reflective of distorted gender relations, that a woman performing one of her most essential role as a woman, namely the role of the mother, and preparing the child for independent life in society, is virtually absent in studies on vulnerability. The process of raising children is crucial in the creation of a strong, peaceful society: a society with unguided traumatized mothers as such inherently jeopardizes options to a stable future. Looking into the psychological specifics of mother-child relationships after a mother has been subjected to major trauma, Van Ee, Kleber and Mooren (2012) demonstrate that trauma might be transmitted across generations. Anxiety disorders, PTSD and depression of parents constitute predictors for the emerge of such symptoms in the second generation. It is essential for the child, that the mother is emotionally available and able to respond to the child's attachment needs in order to assure development will proceed positively. In case a mother has been subjected to events that caused PTSD, her enhanced arousal, reliving of the events, and depression, might complicate fulfilling her role as a caregiver[206]. Children reared in an ambivalent parent-child relationship might consequently become prone to adopt attachment disorders, identity issues and disturbances in their psychosocial development; all in turn predictive factors for future victimization.[207] Counseling and training targeting pedagogy within families that have been subject to traumatic experiences is highly imperative in order to prevent ongoing socio-psychological distortion of following generations. So far, adequate training and therapy remains absent in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. In another article, Van Ee and Kleber (2012) emphasize that even psychological health care workers often primarily focus on treating the suffering of the mother, and fail to involve in assisting her with the rearing of her child, as such failing to recognize the dynamic, transgressive nature of harmful events, by treating them as confined incidents. This is especially problematic in cases of children born out of forced sexual intercourse and rape where mother holds ambiguous feelings towards her child, for they have to process their grief of the event per se, but also learn to deal with the product of that event: their child[208].

Although mothers, especially in patriarchal culture like that of the Palestinians, are likely to fulfill the main tasks of the child-rearing process, the impact of the father's role should not be underestimated. Especially the boy-child might be vulnerable to adopt negative behaviors in case his

[204] Sabbagh, S. (1998). "Palestinian Women and Institution Building". p. 175 Cited *In:* ibid.
[205] Pavlish, C:, Ho, A.(2009). ´Pathways to Social Justice: Research on Gender-Based Violence I a Rwandan Refugee Camp´. *Advances in Nursing Science, (32)*2, pp. 144 -157, pp. 146
[206] Van Ee, E.; Kleber, R. J.; Mooren, T. T. M. (2012). "War Trauma Lingers On: Associations Between Posttraumaticstress Disorder, Parent-Child Interaction, and Child Development". *Infant Mental Health Journal, 33*(5) pp. 459-468
[207] Van Ee, E. and Kleber, R. J. (2012). "Child in the Shadowlands". *The Lancet, 380*(9842) pp. 642-643
[208] Ibid.

father is traumatized, frustrated, depressed, or channelling such feelings by battering other family members as was described in the previous section.

4.7 *Children: Ideal Victims without a future*

Children are prone to become victims of conflict due to their mental and physical immaturity, their inexperience, and their dependence on adults.[209] Refugee camps can hardly be considered healthy environments for children coming of age, continually confronting the young with poverty, negligence, injustice and undignified treatment, as well as the destructed areas of the camp. A study by Khawaja demonstrates that although mortality rates among children have declined thanks to the UNRWA's health care policies, in Lebanon the deaths of children are still more common than in other Palestinian host countries as well as in the West Bank and in the Gaza strip[210]. This is to some extent due to the ongoing aggressive incidents within the camp. Children exposed to traumatic events do not have access to mental health in Lebanon, for they are stateless. The UNRWA health institutions on which they are reliant do not yet provide trauma relief assistance. Although the education programs are successful in keeping children off the street, the destructive surroundings of the cramped camps are likely to have a negative, precipitator effect for future victimization. Following the lifestyle exposure theory, the psyche of an individual human being is to a large extent formed by direct social relations and the overall environment. In case this environment is built on injustice, visible by its destructed outlook, it appears highly likely that children are prone to adopt certain distorted behavioral patterns in order to cope with this context.

[209] Finkelhor, D.; Ormrod, R. K.; Turner, H. A. (2009). "The Developmental Epidemiology of Childhood Victimization". *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 24*(5) pp. 711-731

[210] Khawaja, M. (2004). "The Extraordinary Decline of Infant and Childhood Mortality Among Palestinian Refugees". *Social Science & Medicine, 58* pp. 463-470

CONCLUSION

An Ideal Victim is allegedly passive, distressed, weaker than the offender and voiceless. An offender on the other hand, is evil, strong, vice-loving and mean. These "myths" of victimhood and offendership have stigmatized the relation between victims and offenders as one that is dichotomous and mutually exclusive, rather than overlapping. Victims and offenders are not human beings in the way that you and I are; they are "unique", rarities, deviations from normal, who serve as examples for how not to become.[211] It is important to understand that these discourses are not mere words, they are *performative.*[212] They create patterns of actions that have implications. To illustrate, a person identified as a victim is believed to "deserve" compassion and aid, whereas an offender evokes outrage and accusation. Refugees are victims in at least two ways. They are victims as a consequence of an event of "original victimization" that forced them to leave their homes, and they are victims of the implications and dangers of this state of homelessness as such. Nevertheless, the refugee-label also invokes associations related to the perpetrator discourse, including the idea that refugees are potential "war criminals", disrupters of internal stability, and terrorists. This latter perception obviously conflicts with the fact that people have become refugees following an event of victimization, and entangles the "deservingness" of compassion that is associated with the victim-label.

This may be one of the dominant reasons for Victimology's lack of engagement in the study of collective victimization of refugees. Besides the overall political nature of granting someone the victim-label as such, the refugee-label itself may serve as a deterrent for scholars to consider the people subjected to it as victims. This claim may be especially true for the Palestinians, whose "original victimization" is very controversial. If a Victimologist would study a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon or another host-State, he or she would imply that the Palestinian is "deserving" of the victim-label, and therefore undermine Israel's stance that the Palestinians are terrorists who comprise a constant threat to Israel's right to existence. Refraining from doing so, as is currently the case, may on the other hand be interpreted as silent approval for Israel's current politics towards Palestinian refugees.

This leads us to the complex question of responsibility, of right and wrong, of victim and victimizer; a question that does not come with a ready-made answer in this case, as the victimizers are themselves victims and vice versa. As submitted in Chapter II, the "original victimization" of the Palestinian refugees was partially caused by Jewish guerrilla who successfully drove Palestinians out off Palestine during the 1948 Nakba. These Jewish settlers were themselves refugees who had been persecuted and humiliated during the Second World War. Although European States might not be ready to admit it, rather than providing adequate refugee relief to the Holocaust survivors in the aftermath of WWII, the Jewish refugee-victims were not given back their homes, and ultimately left to move to Israel. In the words of Edward Said, this was a "European solution, for a European problem, on Middle Eastern soil"[213] that had little to do with transitional justice plans for Europe in which the Jews were involved. In essence, the mass move to Israel, was precipitated by persecution and Europe's malpractice in compensating and repatriating Jewish refugees within their European home States.

Israel gradually became framed in the Western world as the nation of ultimate victims. This is interesting, since the Ideal Victim discourse already became flawed in the course of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Discussing the nature of the original victimization of the Palestinians, I demonstrated in chapter II that the Jewish Guerrilias used violent persecutive war strategies to drive the Palestinians

[211] Van Dijk, 2009

[212] For a classic on the performative nature of words see: Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism.* Vintage Books: New York. Another interesting work on the performative nature of words in the context of the international development paradigm, including words such as `poverty´, ´needs´ and ´third world´, see: Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

[213] Said, E. (1992). ´The Question of Palestine´. *In.* Cocks, J. (2010). ´Jewish Nationalism and the Question of Palestine´. *Interventions: International Journal of Post-Colonial Studies, 8*(1), pp. 24-38, pp. 26

off their land. The victim victimized, and for one reason, perhaps because the collective trauma of the Holocaust suffered by the Israeli Jews had in no way been resolved. The confrontation with violence in the years of the heinous war, might have instilled the perception that violence is a legitimate force of self-defence and security.[214] As I claimed in chapter IV in the context of the Palestinians in Lebanese refugee camps, living in a culture of violence not only victimizes people, it also infects people with the idea to behave in a violent manner.[215] The unimaginable traumas suffered by Holocaust survivors not only deserve compassion and apology therefore, it also requires caution, treatment, rehabilitation. Today the transitional justice paradigm is on its way to further develop the needs of collectives of victims, in order to propose schemes for the creation of a sustainable peace that deals with past atrocities.[216] Such schemes hardly existed in the direct aftermath of WWII, and have left the Jewish refugees from Europe to deal with violence and trauma in their own manner. Moreover, the Nuremberg Trials that were meant to bring justice to the worst among war criminals of the Nazi regime largely disregarded the involvement of the groups of Jewish victims that had been the main subject of the atrocities. This created a ´public amnesia´ of the Jewish suffering, since the voices of collective victims were not heard during the first decade following WWII.[217] Without saying that the Jewish refugees coming to Palestine after the war in Europe were solely to blame for the eruption of the Arab-Israeli conflict, I do submit that if the Jewish diaspora would be treated with more care by European home States after WWII, violence might have been less like to become a means of "self-defence".

In Chapter III I demonstrated that following the first Arab-Israeli War in 1948, Palestinians flooded into neighbouring countries, among which Lebanon. Lebanon, itself a small State with high confessional diversity and a government that was essentially made up of the elite of various clans, feared for its own internal security. The newcomers were believed to distort the sectarian balance, and threatened to spur civil strives. For this reason, the Palestinians were left to live in refugee camps outside of Lebanese society, under deprived circumstances.[218] Gradually, a Palestinian nationalist movement started to form, and attacks were organized against Israel from the Lebanese south borders. This mass organization and violent response conflict with the passivity, voicelessness, and innocence that is attributed to the victim-label. Lebanese support for the Palestinian cause has gradually weakened, and by politicians as well as local Lebanese the refugees are regarded as `dangerous´ rather than victimized. This despite the fact that Palestinian casualties were high during the civil war from 1975-1990 and during the conflict with Israel in 2006.[219] Deprived of rights to property, freedom of movement and education, the refugees live in an impasse-situation that is under severe pressure now that large numbers of Syrian refugees are moving into the camps.

Besides these outside factors, Palestinian refugees themselves play a role in their victimization. Victimization is not only caused by outside enemies, it is also reinforced in the social patterns that make up for the camp´s culture. As I demonstrated in chapter IV, in the context of the implications of Statelessness, malfunctioning gender-relations, romantization of violence, and child rearing processes are essential structural patterns within camps that cement vulnerability and proneness for revictimizaiton. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are hence victim-offenders par excellance. It is essential that concerted efforts are made by the UNRWA, NGOs and GOs that denounce violence and promote peace.

---

[214] Cohen, S. J.(2013). ´When Unconscious Wishes Become Laws: Policing Memory and Identity in Israel and Palestine´. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies, 10*(2) , pp. 152-173

[215] I referred mainly to analyses of Carolyn Nordstrom, who has researched violence as a cultural strategy that can be adopted by any person, and is thus not reserved for inherently evil offenders.

[216] An example to which I will turn briefly below is Truth Commissions. An elaborate discussion of these organizations goes beyond the scope of this paper, yet I would like to recommend the following book for an inclusive discussion on the purposes and achievements of various truth commissions: Hayner, P. B. (2001). *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions.* Routledge: New York. P. 145

[217] Shalhoub-Kervorkian, N. and Brathwaite, J. (2010). "Victimology Between the Local and the Global". *International Review of Victimology, 17*(1) pp. 1-8: pp. 3

[218] Haddad, 2002

[219] Wierda, et. al., 2007

It is here that I believe victimology can contribute a great deal. Because victimology draws on knowledge from a variety of academic disciplines, it could investigate the structural patterns of vulnerability, and identify suitable solutions to repeat victimization. It might be interesting for instance, to investigate whether a Truth and Reconciliation Commission would serve a reconciliatory function for the Palestinians in Lebanon, where Palestinian `freedom fighters´ and Lebanese officials can exchange their sides of the story – in special regarding the Civil War of 1975-1990.[220] Also in relation to the amnesty laws that were implemented in Lebanon after the War, it would be important to investigate what institutions of justice could contribute to law-and-order, and a climate where impunity is not condoned. Most importantly and urgently, more knowledge on ad hoc psychological refugee relief is highly necessary for the refugees from Syria that are currently entering Lebanon, but also for the long-term Palestinian refugees who witnessed the shelling by Israel in 2006. Such psychologically-focused schemes are presently absent, although the initiative as such is applauded by the UNRWA.

The present thesis attempted to model the approach that the making of such a design should take. As I demonstrated in relation to the Palestinian refugee population, a refugee relief scheme should at first seek to understand the nature of the ´original victimization´ that drove people to abandon their homes. Then the researcher should investigate what political associations are linked to the victim-label and the refugee-label in societies of the respective stakeholders in the refugee-issue. From this point, the design should look at the context of the host-State and identify exactly what position the refugees have vis-à-vis the government in place and public opinion. With all this knowledge of the history and politics of victimization, the victimologist should set out a field research that takes an ecological approach to identifying the vulnerability factors in the refugee camp setting. Both structural and ad hoc factors, on a personal as well as on an inter-personal level should be addressed and understood. It is hereafter that the relief designers drafts recommendations that aim for a sustainable response to the refugee´s vulnerability. Although such responses might be entangled by time and budget pressures, I believe that relatively simple, socio-psychological programs carried out by locals could be workable. Besides contributing to the practical nature of relief, victimologists should engage in philosophical and political debates that advocate for a recognition of refugees as victims that are deserving of compassion. Not doing so may precipitate a sequence of conflicts, as is reflected by the refugee population in the present study.

[220] Following Golan-Agnon, in relation to the Israel-Palestine conflict such an initiative might be too soon. See: Golan-Agnon, D. (January, 2010). "Between Human Rights and Hope – What Israelis Might Learn from the Truth and Reconciliation Process in South Africa". *International Review of Victimology, 17* pp. 31-48, pp. 43:

> "The deep-seated fear of discussing Palestinian refugees' right to return to their lands, is, in my opinion, one of the central obstacles on the road to reconciliation, if not the most significant. 18 This refusal to speak about the dispossession and expulsion of Palestinians in 1948 and the refusal to speak about Palestinian refugees' right of return, stem from the fear of some day finding that Jews are no longer the majority."