Deputy Head and Head of AID in the Canadian Representative Office in Ramallah, Palestine, points out that "official CIDA policy equates peace with the official Peace Process", particularly the Oslo II Agreement, a highly controversial process that has failed in many of its key objectives. ¹³ However, as a result of the absence of "quantifiable results" in Phase 1 and 2, of the CFDD, emphasis in Phase 3 will be more closely linked to the five final status issues (Jerusalem, final borders, waters, refugees and Jewish settlement) of the peace negotiations. Laine argues that important areas that have the potential to influence public opinion such as education, governance, and the media are not final status issues, and thus their exclusion from the next phase of CIDA funding is a problematic issue that needs further evaluation.

(4) The last major issue raised by the participants, particularly the Palestinians, is the reproduction of power and domination in CFDD projects themselves, related in part to the use of language. For example, the application process to CFDD funding is in English. In Israel, English is taught as a second language from primary school onwards. However, in Jordan and Palestine, command of the English language (speaking, reading and writing) is mostly limited to elites. The application process therefore, prejudices the average Palestinian who either does not speak English or is illiterate. Naseef Mu'allam, Director of the Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy, argues that as a result, "most projects have been dominated by Israelis, both in terms of submitting a proposal, designing the activity, and receiving funding" to the detriment of equality, respect and joint benefit for all.¹⁴

Policy recommendations:

In light of the aforementioned challenges to CFDD projects in Israel, Palestine and Jordan, the following is a list of concrete policy recommendations:

(1) In order to reach the grassroots, it is necessary for CFDD funding to become a more proactive process. This may be problematic during a time of scarce resources and "donor fatigue" since it would involve larger staffing of individuals that would venture out into the field to actively recruit participants. However, a good strategy in Palestine and Jordan would be to focus on organisations and established structures such as schools, clubs, mosques, and neighborhood groups that already have their own mass constituencies in place. Since many of these grassroots organisations tend to be conservative with respect to dialogue with Israel, it would be useful to conduct an initial phase of projects on a unilateral basis (intra-Arab). These projects may involve a range of activities that both encourage the participants to express their fears of normalization, and learn about the other side and its reality in order to debunk negative images and monolithic stereotypes. These activities would then promote the positive aspects of engaging in peace activism. After this initial reorientation phase, Palestinian and Jordanian participants may be

¹³ Jonathan Laine, Deputy Head and Head of Aid, Canadian Representative Office, in interview with Jacoby, August 8, Ramallah, Palestine, in English.

¹⁴ Naseef Mu'allam, Director, Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy, in interview with Jacoby, August 3, 2000, *Dahiet al-Bareed* (Israeli checkpoint), East Jerusalem, West Bank, in English.