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What factors can be identified as the cause of disempowerment and empowerment in Palestine?

*A descriptive analysis using Friedmann's (dis)empowerment
model.*

Bachelor thesis in political science III
Fall term 2015
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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to identify and analyze cause of disempowerment for the population of Palestine.

The design of the research took the shape of a descriptive case study and the method used to fulfill the purpose was a qualitative text analysis. The material used for the study derives from various books and research journals on the Israeli-Palestine conflict, but most of all observational reports from international organizations.

The theory used is a multi-dimensional one and is Friedmann's (dis)empowerment model where five mechanisms; defensible life space, surplus time, knowledge and skills, instruments of work and livelihood and financial resources have been used as the analytical framework.

The conclusion of the study is that there are several factors causing disempowerment following the analysis or the theoretical mechanisms respectively. These are connected to armed hostilities between Israel and Gaza, settlement expansions in the West Bank and the occupational status of Palestine. Supported by the material analyzed, these infringements need to cease combined with exterior help in order for the situation to markedly improve.

Key Words

Israel, Palestine, Gaza, West Bank, Peace, Occupation, Alternative development, Disempowerment, Empowerment, Livelihood, Settlements, Friedmann's (dis)empowerment model

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Abbreviations

ACRI - The Association for Civil Rights in Israel

CMWU - Coastal Municipalities Water Utility

EU - European Union

HRW - Human Rights Watch

ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross

IDF - Israeli Defense Forces

IFDA - International Foundation for Development Alternatives

OCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

PA - Palestinian Authority

PIF - Palestine Investment Fund

PLO - Palestine Liberation Organization

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

UNRWA - United Nations Relief and Works Agency

WHO - World Health Organization

1.0 Introduction

Studies of conflicts and development are an ever-going topic of research. However, the field on conflicts has, during recent years, bridged from simply focusing on peace talks and mediation strategies to addressing social inequalities, weak governance, poverty and local insecurity as a resultant of conflict.¹ This idea has created new ways of looking at the effects of conflicts. A multi-dimensional approach looks at the relationship between poverty and conflicts, highlighting the argument that violent conflicts is likely to be the “*driver*” or “*maintainer*” of constant poverty.² As a lead to support this claim, efforts have been made in order to draw attention to the indirect costs of conflict such as weak government system, lack of access to medical and various essential services and most of all, the collapse of household livelihood.³

One can address this idea of the relationship between conflicts and poverty through the scope of alternative development. Where poverty is viewed as a result of virtual exclusion from economic and political power, or as Freidmann labels it, “*as a historical process of systematic disempowerment*”.⁴ Freidmann explains that poverty, or disempowerment, in the most extreme case, takes the shape of a dictatorship backed by military power, which hampers the political community, institute forceful controls over social movements i.e. through governmental and political intimidation undermine collective citizen action.⁵

One area that immediately connects to studies of conflict and development is Israel and Palestine, which is one of the longest ongoing conflicts and extends over 60 years.⁶ Israel today controls 90 percent of the total territory,⁷ something that brings about implications for millions of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, living under Israeli military occupation.⁸

¹ E. O’Gorman – *Conflict and Development: Development Matters*, London & New York: Zed Books, (2011), p. 15.

² Ibid, p. 39.

³ Ibid, p. 39.

⁴ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 30.

⁵ Ibid, p. 30-31.

⁶ D. Di Mauro – *The UN and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, London & New York, Routledge, (2012), p. 41.

⁷ M. Levine – *Impossible Peace – Israel/Palestine since 1989*, Canada, Winnipeg, Fernwood Publishing Ltd, (2009), p. 75.

⁸ K. Yehudit Kirstein – *Checkpoint watch: testimonies from occupied Palestine*, Zed, London, (2006), p. 32.

However, O’Gorman states that connecting causes of conflict to poverty is not without difficulties.⁹ Her statement is based on the consensus that establishing a relationship between poverty (i.e. income inequalities) and conflicts on empirical grounds is difficult due to the lack of accessible data from war-prone regions.¹⁰ Alternative development goes beyond looking at poverty and decreased livelihood in terms of level of income. It regards poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon where the poor must take part in the provisioning of their own needs rather than rely on the state to solve their problem.¹¹ In accordance with this statement, people who are considered poor are actively trying to engage in the production of their own lives and livelihood.¹² Although alternative development advocates self-reliance, those affected must acquire the means to achieve this.¹³

This creates a notion that even if the Israeli occupation has left the Palestinians stateless in their own land, with no political rights and few civil rights¹⁴; they are still prone to do what they can in order to increase their livelihood. However, to what degree they are available to do so remains questioned as this field, through the scope of alternative development remains neglected.

How Israeli occupation hampers Palestinian empowerment differs. For an example, Israeli authorities have through military measures uprooted agricultural land belonging to Palestinian villagers. This has been followed by erected military checkpoints as a mean of prevention from reaching this land,¹⁵ prohibiting the usage of cultivated land and consequently lowering agriculture production and income possibilities.

Another issue can be drawn from Gaza where Palestinian farmers and business people have, due to critical statements of the Israeli government, been kept at checkpoints during several days until their crops had rotted.¹⁶ There are reports of Palestinians homes being demolished by Israeli bulldozers claiming that the land was a necessity for the Israeli government or that

⁹ E. O’Gorman – *Conflict and Development: Development Matters*, London & New York: Zed Books, (2011), p. 38.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 38.

¹¹ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 66.

¹² Ibid, p. 66.

¹³ Ibid, p. 66.

¹⁴ K. Yehudit Kirstein – *Checkpoint watch: testimonies from occupied Palestine*, Zed, London, (2006), p. 32.

¹⁵ M. Levine – *Impossible Peace – Israel/Palestine since 1989*, Canada, Winnipeg, Fernwood Publishing Ltd, (2009), p. 75.

¹⁶ J. Carter – *Palestine – Peace Not Apartheid*, USA, New York, Simon & Shuster, (2006), p. 116.

the inhabitants were a security threat.¹⁷ The motive behind these actions might remain contested; what can be concluded is that actions taken by the Israeli government have an indirect or even direct effect to the Palestinians ability of increasing their livelihood and empowering themselves.

The scientific relevance of this research is derived from Anders Persson, who states in his dissertation “*Defining, Securing and Building a Just Peace: The EU and the Israeli-Palestine Conflict*” that the EU and the international community has failed in pressuring Israel to make concessions regarding Area C¹⁸, a clear sign of ineffectiveness and difficulties in resolving the conflict.¹⁹ He further mentions the insecurity amongst observers regarding the possibilities as to whether divide the land being fought over, or achieving a one state solution. Persson also expresses the tragedy of such a problem since promoting a one state solution or not solving the conflict at all will lead to further violent outbreaks due to the existing status quo.²⁰ There is thus a necessity in describing and identifying the possibilities for self-empowerment for Palestinians while the conflict is ongoing.

Through Friedmann’s thoughts on alternative development, which is based on the most fundamental ideas of individual and collective empowerment, the research aims at highlighting the livelihood situation in Palestine. Ideas regarding conflict, poverty and alternative development has contributed in formulating the purpose of this study.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this essay is to investigate, identify and analyze the possible causes of disempowerment in Palestine. The purpose is answered with a theory regarding individual and collective empowerment: *Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model*.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 116.

¹⁸ Following the Oslo II Accord, West Bank was divided into three administrative areas depending on the level of authority, A, B, C. Areas C is mainly under Israeli security and administrative control.

¹⁹ A. Persson – *Defining, Securing and Building a Just Peace: The EU and the Israeli-Palestine Conflict*, Lund University, Sweden, Lund, (2013).

p. 221.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 222-223.

1.2 Research Questions

The purpose will be answered with the help of the following questions:

- *What factors, according to Friedmann's model, can be identified as the cause of disempowerment in Palestine?*
- *What factors, according to Friedmann's model, can be seen as necessary in promoting empowerment within Palestine?*

1.3 Disposition

The essay begins with chapter 1. This starts with the introductory part, which leads up to the purpose, later on research questions and ends with the disposition.

Afterwards comes chapter 2 which is comprises of the origin and theoretical foundation used in the analysis. Since this is the theory the essay is leaning on it was deemed vital to begin with and explanation of this to better understand the research design.

Chapter 3 describes the research design, method and material chosen for the research, and how these have been motivated.

After research design it is time for chapter 4, earlier research. Focus here is a short description of research done on the Israel-Palestine conflict and connects to the theory used for the analysis.

In chapter 5 it is time for the research itself, where the empirical material and analysis interact with each other. The mechanisms described in the beginning of the essay is here processed one by one as explained in chapter 3.

Lastly, the essay is finished with the conclusion, chapter 6. This part will conclude the analysis and tries to answer the research question and thus the purpose of the study.

2.0 Theoretical Foundation and Origin

In order to comprehend the research design and the method used for analyzing and processing the material it is vital to understand the theoretical foundation used in the essay. This chapter will thus present the origins and background of alternative development and also the theory itself along with its mechanisms used in the essay.

Alternative development had its growth period during the 1970's. Where a focus was raised on a self-reliance principle in order to secure "basic needs" for people in terms of water, food and shelter in contrast to simple growth-maximization.²¹ The first step towards addressing this new way of thinking was the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, which published in 1975, a critical report criticizing the mainstream models of development claiming they had failed to deal with the real issues of poverty and sustainability.²²

The next year, in 1976, IFDA was formed in Nyon, Switzerland with the purpose of launching the *Third System Project*. The foundation were innovative in the sense that they identified the different layers at which development occurs i.e. local, national and globally, where the local dimension was seen as the most vital in promoting development.²³ Their idea can be summed up with saying that "*Development is lived by people where they are, where they live, learn, work, love, play – and die*",²⁴ meaning the process of development should take place as close as possible of the population affected.

However, many proponents of alternative development believe that development can arise from communal action and social participation and that the political dimension is to be at fault for the problems. Friedmann however refrain from this idea. He agrees to the extent that development needs to begin at a local level, but the state still remains a big part of the system. It might be the cause to many things but it is also necessary in order to significantly improve the conditions of the people affected.²⁵ Friedmann claims: "*If an alternative development is to advocate the social empowerment of the poor, it must also advocate their political*

²¹ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 2.

²² Ibid, p. 3.

²³ Ibid, p. 3.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 4.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 6-7

empowerment."²⁶ The basis of this claim is that the state remains important according to alternative development. Friedmann means that states need to be more accountable towards poverty and the poor people's claims. Cause without the states collaboration and awareness of poverty, the livelihood of poor people cannot be improved.²⁷ The political empowerment in this sense, are the resources mainly controlled by the state, used in order the better the lives of the population. But also the removal of structural and political constraints that help to keep the poor, poor.²⁸

The connection between Friedmann's earlier statement and his (dis)empowerment model is that it is descriptive in helping us define poverty from the perspective of those affected, who are trying to acquire basic standard of living and if possible, better their lives.²⁹ But the model is also prospective in the sense that people who are relatively disempowered are engage in a struggle to improve their situation in accordance with the mechanism of social power.³⁰ Simply put, the model aims at identify causes of disempowerment and empowerment alternative development needs to address, i.e. political claims.³¹

Although he admits that alternative development isn't a complete method he does argue that it brings fourth the existing imbalances in social, economic and political power, centered on people rather than profits and economic beneficial terms.³² Friedmann's (dis)empowerment model is a variant of the basic-needs approach. The starting point of the model is the assumption that poor populations lack the social power to promote and improve the conditions of their families' lives. It places the people affected in the center of social power in which it has relative access to the bases of empowerment.³³ It is important to understand what the various mechanisms entail. Therefore an explanation will follow for each of the 5 pieces used and how they are related to the purpose of the essay.

1. *Defensible life space* – this refers to the territorial foundation of the household economy, which includes families' physical space where they can eat, sleep and retain a sense of security. However it doesn't merely limit itself to the "home" itself,

²⁶ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 71.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 71.

³¹ Ibid, p.71.

³² Ibid, p. 9.

³³ Ibid, p. 66.

rather it extends to the surroundings of the neighborhood where socializing and interaction with other members of the community is available. Acquiring a sense of affiliation to the community is the most highly prized social power, which households are striving to secure.³⁴

2. *Surplus time* – This mechanism refers to the quantitative and qualitative time a household has for its disposal apart from the time needed for acquiring a subsistence of livelihood. One can refer to this as the time it takes to get to your work; also the ease one can acquire basic consumable goods such as water and food; illness frequencies within the home and the availability for obtaining medical services. Without this the population is severely constrained of doing other things for promoting empowerment.³⁵
3. *Knowledge and skills* – Can be implied as the educational level of the household. However it can also mean the level of certain skills the household want to increase. Households with lower financial standing; poor household tend to strive for acquiring these certain factors for at least some of its members. It is a vital part of a population's possibilities of empowering themselves and they will invest a great deal of time towards this objective.³⁶
4. *Instruments of work and livelihood* – Refers to what is necessary to contribute to the household economy. One can see this as healthy and vigorous bodies; physical strength, access to water and productive land, when speaking of agriculture.³⁷
5. *Financial resources* – This refers simply to the monthly income a household has, the financial capital a population can use to increase their level of empowerment.³⁸

Friedmann explains that these mechanisms are interdependent. Meaning that each and every one separately refers to what is necessary for the process of obtaining other means to increase their livelihood; i.e. in a spiraling motion.³⁹ However, Friedmann also mentions that this alternative development theory is based on a relative assumption of the level of empowerment a household or population may conceive. In this essay, it will remain difficult to make comparisons between variance of empowerment among the population in Palestine. Although Friedmann gives us a reason how this theory still might be useful. He states: “*Relative access*

³⁴ Ibid, p. 67-68.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 68.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 68.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 69.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 69.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 69.

*also allows us to conceptualize a level of absolute poverty consistent with the model's multidimensional view of poverty. People living at or below this "line" may be unable to move out of poverty on their own".*⁴⁰

It may seem hopeless to apply this model to the case regarding the Palestinian population since we can't make any comparisons between the households. However following Friedmann's statement, the research might, with the help of the model, contribute to generalization whether the population are disempowered or has the means for empowerment and increased livelihood.

3.0 Research Design

This research took the shape of a descriptive case study since it aimed at describing and identifying causes of disempowerment in Palestine.⁴¹ However, when conducting a descriptive research it is important to be precise in what the study is about; this is achieved by having a clear theoretical foundation.⁴² It is thus a single case that is the center of analysis, the issue regarding empowerment and disempowerment in the Palestinian territory. The proposed theory contains mechanisms for self-empowerment. Since focus was on describing the underlying reasons behind disempowerment and chances for empowerment in Palestine, chosen theory deemed necessary to reach a good conclusion with the ability of generalization. The essay is also a case study in the sense that the research aims to, through theoretical parsimonious, explanatory richness and a narrowed, manageable case reach a good conclusion of the conditions and mechanism under which the specified phenomenon occurs.⁴³

The chosen theory regards development, and even though it is only one theory it contains multiple factors relevant in order to get a holistic view of implications for empowerment and disempowerment, which was preferable for the purpose of this essay. It was necessary to approach this research with a multidimensional theoretical foundation, as it might contribute to a varying and faceted explanation of the case at hand. The theory is also international

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 69.

⁴¹ P. Esaiasson et al – *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*, Stockholm, Nordstedts Juridik, (2012), p. 36.

⁴² Ibid, p. 37.

⁴³ A.L. George, A. Bennet – *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Science*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT, (2005), p. 31.

renown and derives from John Friedmann's book "*Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*". I thus deemed the theoretical framework used trustworthy as a foundation for the upcoming research. The theoretical features worked as a structure for gathering and processing the empirical material. The descriptive design of the research was also preferable since the theory itself is of descriptive nature according to Friedmann. It will help us look at poverty from the perspective of a given population who are trying to achieve basic needs for survival and in best cases, improve their standard of living.⁴⁴

Since the purpose was to accomplish a good analytical research, it was necessary to focus on a narrow and qualitative choice of material. This was deemed favorable for the study that was to be preformed. A larger amount of material would supposedly contribute to a lower degree of quality in the research due to the limited time available. There was a good amount of material on the conflict between Israel and Palestine in the form of books, scientific articles and organizational reports. Material regarding development within the Palestinian territory and empowerment projects along with observational reports was also seen as important since it was based on the central mechanisms the theory comprises of.

The material was an important factor of the research strategy for achieving the purpose. Therefor it was vital to formulate and take into the consideration the conditions and variety of the mechanisms that affects empowerment according to the theory.⁴⁵ Since it is text material and literature that will be the source of information, it was necessary to describe the characteristics of the theory in order to comprehend what empirical material is important to achieve the purpose of this study.

The characteristics used to analyze the material according to the theory are:⁴⁶

1. Defensible life space
2. Surplus time
3. Knowledge and skills
4. Instruments of work and livelihood
5. Financial resources

⁴⁴ J. Friedmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 71.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 79.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 67-69.

These are the five theoretical mechanisms to be applied in the research. However, there are additional three mechanisms in Friedmann's model that hasn't been mentioned. These are, *appropriate information*, *social organization* and *social network* and will not be used in the continuing of this research. The main argument is the lack of empirical material and the limited time available. Even though Friedmann claim that mechanisms such as *defensible life space* and *surplus time* might be dependent on households' social networks and its participation in social organizations,⁴⁷ the research design of this essay and the lack of empirical material to support that claim leave me with the choice of excluding them from the analytical process. Same argument can be used to explain the decision to exclude appropriate information as a mean to fulfill the purpose of this essay. Once again Friedmann claims that without continuing access to relevant information, mechanisms like *knowledge and skills* are virtually useless as a tool for self-empowerment.⁴⁸ However the absence of available material showing the degree of accessible information and its effects on the population is deemed enough of a reason for excluding this mechanism from the analysis. It will be difficult to present the actual importance of correct information and its effect for the Palestinian population.

I have also made an active decision in excluding these mechanisms based on the fact that when dealing with a complex case study about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict involving Palestinian empowerment, it is impossible to cover everything that could be seen as an answer to the purpose. George and Bennet pointed out that a case study is a "*well-defined aspect of a historical episode that the investigator selects for analysis, rather than a historical event itself.*"⁴⁹ This left me with the opportunity; in strive for limitation to choose five well defined factors that might contribute to the purpose.

The method of using these characteristics in collecting and processing the material took the shape of a qualitative text analysis since it contributed with practical guidance on how to continue with the analysis part.⁵⁰ The descriptive design of the essay thus benefited from a systematized approach where the aim was to logically categorizing the content considered important in the collected and processed material. This was necessary in order to get an

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 69-70.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 68.

⁴⁹ A.L. George, A. Bennet – *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Science*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT, (2005), p. 18.

⁵⁰ P. Esaiasson et al – *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*, Stockholm, Nordstedts Juridik, (2012), p. 194.

overview of where the material belonged and how it was to be used.⁵¹ The categories that were used were the mechanisms behind disempowerment according to the theory. To exemplify, a text that contained the phrase "*Currently, freedom of movement and access for Palestinians within the West Bank is the exception rather than the norm...*"⁵² would be classified as a text describing a problem of movement restriction for the Palestinian population. This phrase would thus be seen as an issue of *surplus time* and therefore marked to be used in that analysis part.

Another example can be derived from the phrase "*twenty-five per cent of the population in Gaza - 450,000 people - currently have no access to running water and most areas of Gaza are now without electricity for 18 hours a day.*"⁵³ This could be classified as a problem of achieving an average household production and healthy bodies through access to water and electricity and marked for the analysis of *instruments of work and livelihood*. Phrases were categorized either with (1), Defensible life space with (2), Surplus time with (3), Knowledge and skills, etc. according to the characteristics listed above. These phrases were later put into a separate document depending on which group they belonged to. A single document would only contain phrases marked with (1) for defensible life space etc. The sources where the texts are drawn from were written next to the phrase. From these documents it was possible to see what contributes to empowerment or disempowerment and what conclusions could be derived from the material collected.

4.0 Earlier Research

4.1 Research Regarding Armed Conflict

The armed hostilities brought along by the ongoing conflict have raised awareness amongst international organizations in observing and identifying its effects on the populations, mainly in Palestine. Amnesty International published last year a report with regards to the latest Israeli airstrikes over the Gaza strip in 2014, an operation that targeted homes and affected whole families.⁵⁴ In this report Amnesty International examines targeted Israeli attacks carried

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 211.

⁵² D. Haase – *Introduction: Development under Occupation*, University of Toledo, Perspectives on Global Development & Technology. 2013, Vol. 12 Issue 5/6, p535-539. 5p. p. 537.

⁵³ Oxfam International – *Crisis in Gaza*, 18 September 2014

⁵⁴ Amnesty International Ltd, *Families under the rubble: Israeli attacks on inhabited homes*, 5 November, 2012, p. 5.

out on inhabited civilian homes in the light of Israel's obligations under international humanitarian law.⁵⁵ This was done by focusing on eight cases where all cases shows a failure in taking necessary precautions to avoid excessive harm to civilians and civilian property, as required by international humanitarian law. In all cases, no prior warning was given to the civilian residents to allow them to escape.⁵⁶

However armed conflicts between Israeli and Palestine has affected other parts of the infrastructure. OCHA have published monthly reports earlier years documenting the destruction of water sources such as wells and water tanks supplying several families.⁵⁷ During the Israeli offensive in 2014, CMWU engaged in processing all damage reports on water and wastewater facilities affected by the clash on a daily basis.⁵⁸ The main purpose of the report was to establish an emergency response to secure water for people who couldn't obtain it themselves due to the hostilities.⁵⁹ The report showed the quantity of the mass destruction of water resources in Gaza and it established the effects of the armed conflict and the importance of access to water for the Palestinian population.⁶⁰

OCHA's also documents the effects of armed conflicts on the education system. The reason for this is the negative impact on the Palestinian population's right to education, with the destruction of school building and deaths of enrolled students.⁶¹ International organizations have contributed to the work of offering a basic education for the population. This has resulted in management reports on how this is working. The World Bank released in 2013 a report on UNRWA work on setting up a school system for Palestinian refugees and their contribution to basic education in the region.⁶²

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁷ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, 2011, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Coastal Municipalities Water Utility – Damages Assessment Report 2014 - *Damages Assessment Report, Water and Wastewater Infrastructure (Gaza Strip; 7 July - 14 August 2014)*, 2014, p. 2-3.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 3.

⁶¹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, 2011, p. 9.

⁶² World Bank – *Palestine Refugees: Education Resilience Case Report* – Country Report 2013, (2013)

4.2 Research Regarding Occupation and Settlements

There has been numerous observation reports on occupational issues connected to the Israeli settlements⁶³ in the West Bank. Once again OCHA is engaged in identifying the effects of the conflict through special focus reports. In this case, the extended settler activities keep impairing Palestinian access to water resources and consequently livelihood needs. They concluded that this issue is strongly connected to longstanding settlements policies Israel has been promoting over the duration of the conflict.⁶⁴

OCHA has also contributed to the observation and research of Palestinian development by publishing special focus reports, especially regarding movement access in the West Bank. These have been completed with regards to the access restrictions implemented by the Israeli authorities.⁶⁵ The reports have been used to register restriction affecting Palestinian access to large areas, including those outside the Barrier.⁶⁶ They proclaim that the restriction investigated somewhat correlates to the settlements established in the region and where the restrictions are aimed at protecting settlements, securing areas for expansion and improving connection between the settlements and Israel.⁶⁷ Notable is that the limited freedom of movement has had brought along a focus on its implications towards health care systems. This has resulted in WHO monitoring access of patients from Gaza and the West Bank to gain a better understanding of the particularities surrounding the movement restrictions upheld by the Israeli authorities.⁶⁸ In 2013 they thus published a report examining permit application procedures and the outcomes by using data on application and interviews with patients and health professionals in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza in order to gain credibility.⁶⁹ OCHA has also contributed to this area of observation by compiling material regarding accessibility to health care services in the region through their special focus reports.

⁶³ Settlements refer to Israeli civilian communities built on occupied lands during the six-day war in 1967. These housing facilities have gradually expanded and are inhabited by Jewish citizens of Israel. Settlements range from farming communities, villages, urban suburbs and neighborhoods.

⁶⁴ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus March 2012 – *How Dispossession Happens: the Humanitarian Impact of the Takeover of Palestinian Water Springs by Israeli Settlers*, (2012), p. 1.

⁶⁵ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus September 2012 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*, 2012, p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁶⁸ World Health Organization – WHO special report 2013 - *Right to health: Barriers to health access in the occupied Palestinian territory, 2011 and 2012*, 2013, p. 8.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

Earlier conducted research therefore shows that there evidently exist knowledge and understanding of the hardship the Israeli occupation has brought the Palestinian population. This has resulted in observation and monitoring of the occupational situation and what might be seen as hampering of increased livelihood in the region. This has mainly been done by international organizations and strongly connects to the material used in this essay.

5.0 Analysis

The process of analysis will follow the order explained in the chapter 3.0, research design. The goal is hopefully to achieve a result that might answer the research questions and the purpose of the essay. Note that the empirical material presented here should be regarded as examples of the situation in Gaza and the West Bank, in order to generalize the evidence derived from the material, and does not necessarily cover the breadth of every detail.

5.1 Defensible Life Space

Starting with the physical household dimension and the space a family need as a base for empowerment, the settlements conflict between Israel and Palestine must be highlighted. Throughout decades of occupation there has been a noticeable increase in the settler population. In 1983, sixty-seven settlements or 22,800 people were registered in the West Bank compared to the thirty-nine settlements inhabiting 7,400 people, five years earlier.⁷⁰ This number has consistently increased. Well aware that the settlement projects have been occurring since the start of the occupation, this chapter will focus on the most recent settlements, since the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords.

In 1993 Israel and PLO signed the first Oslo Peace Accord. PLO formally recognized Israel as a state and Israel recognized the Palestinian people and PLO. When signed, Israel also agreed to halt settlement constructions.⁷¹ In September 1995 the second Oslo Peace Accord was signed which solidified some of the principles in the earlier signing, as in land concessions for Israel. This stirred a heavy reaction from more radical Israeli groups, and in November an

⁷⁰ I. Zertal, A. Eldar - *Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories 1967-2007*. Nation Books, New York (2007), p. 99.

⁷¹ C. Malek, M. Hoke. *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 301.

Israeli citizen murdered Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.⁷² With the signing of the second Oslo agreement 1995, both sides agreed not to initiate any steps that would change the status of the West Bank or Gaza, pending the outcome of the permanent status negotiations. However, the term ‘status’ in this case was unclear and resulted in Israel being enabled to continue their expansion of the settlements. The argument was that it existed a need for social and economic growth of the already inhabited population,⁷³ thus avoiding the commitment made in earlier agreements. The “land grabbing” as documented by several human rights organizations did not stop, rather it seems the increasing threat towards the settlements project had a reverse effect.⁷⁴

Benjamin Netanyahu - who was elected Prime Minister after late Yitzhak Rabin - lifted the 4-year cease on settlement expansion in 1996 and construction increased rapidly. During the next decade the settler population grew from 125,000 to 250,000 people.⁷⁵ OCHA claim in their report from 2012, that the settlements are illegal under international humanitarian law. Settlement-related practices have resulted in the infringement of a number of regulations regarding international human rights. This includes those establishing the right to private property, adequate housing and freedom of movement amongst others.⁷⁶ However it seems as if the situation is being neglected by the Israeli people. Many of the settlement issues forced upon the Palestinians are; trespassing, intimidation, physical assault, stealing of private properties and construction projects without legal permits and documents, initiated by Israeli settlers.⁷⁷ OCHA are clear in their report when stating that these infringements are not only illegal under international law but also according to Israeli legislation. Despite this, the Israeli authorities have failed to enforce the law on those responsible and to provide Palestinians with an effective solution.⁷⁸

This long lasted settlement expansion has escalated into serious problems for the Palestinian population in the West Bank where clashes amongst settlers and Arabic inhabitants are in the

⁷² Ibid, p. 301.

⁷³ I. Zertal, A. Eldar - *Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories 1967-2007*. Nation Books, New York (2007), p. 151.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 306.

⁷⁵ C. Malek, M. Hoke. *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 301.

⁷⁶ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus March 2012 – *How Dispossession Happens: the Humanitarian Impact of the Takeover of Palestinian Water Springs by Israeli Settlers*, March 2012, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 3.

center. The settlements being a cause of disempowerment for the Palestinian population can be drawn from OCHA as their report states:

*"The continuous encroachment on Palestinian land for the purpose of settlement expansion is a key cause of humanitarian vulnerability of the Palestinian population and the most significant reason behind the ongoing fragmentation of the West Bank."*⁷⁹

Palestinian empowerment continues to be hampered by not having opportunity to secure and stable life space in areas within the Palestinian territory. In the West Bank this is exemplified through loss of security from being displaced with lesser geographical land to relocate. HRW stated in their world report from 2014 that the Israeli authorities began construction work on 1,708 housing units for settlement purpose during the first half of 2013, an increase of roughly 70 percent when compared to same period the year before.⁸⁰ They continued mentioning, that since November 18 this year, Israeli authorities demolished 561 Palestinian homes and other buildings in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), displacing 933 people. It has also been reported that Israel has demolished every single building in several villages within the West Bank.⁸¹ This creates severe problems not only in the sense that achieving a home and secure space to live and increase ones livelihood is constantly threatened. It also entails a bureaucratic challenge for the Palestinian population that is forced to relocate elsewhere as building permits are difficult or impossible to obtain in East Jerusalem. It also serves a problem in the remaining 60 percent of the West Bank under exclusive Israeli control, namely Area C, whereas separate planning processes readily grant settlers new construction permits, according to HRW.⁸²

There is clear evidence that secure and stable homes are a necessity for the Palestinian population. What is probably the most contributing factor in Gaza is the constant bombings and shelling over the territory. This takes place despite the lack of knowledge over who lives there. Amnesty International reported in 2014, several cases where Israeli aircrafts dropped bombs or launched missiles at buildings despite having assumed knowledge about the buildings being inhabited by civilians.⁸³ In these reported cases, the attacks resulted not only in the deaths of 104 civilians and several injured but also in the destruction of 34 apartments

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Human Rights Watch – World Report 2014 – *Events of 2013*, p. 557.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 557.

⁸² Ibid, p. 557.

⁸³ Amnesty International Ltd, *Families under the rubble: Israeli attacks on inhabited homes*, 5 November, 2012, p. 8.

and neighboring buildings, which housed more than 150 people.⁸⁴ However, this does not just constitute a problem for families in acquiring a physical home to live in. It also serves problem in the sense that bombings creates an insecurity and disability in “*gaining a secure and permanent foothold in a friendly and supportive urban neighborhood*”.⁸⁵ The possible air strikes cause significant residential damages where families are forced to seek shelter elsewhere. Amnesty International says that the population sizes in areas that are unaffected as of yet, are growing; neighborhoods have become overpopulated, primarily with relatives seeking shelter after fleeing unsafe neighborhoods in Gaza.⁸⁶ The necessity of housing options for families in Palestine and the lack of it can further be brought by Amnesty International who describes one case:

“Ibrahim Shaker Abu Shouqa, who lost his wife and two daughters in the attack on the al-Bayoumi house, had moved the 10 members of his family five times during the conflict in a bid to seek safety. They went to a relative’s house in al-Zuwayda, which was overcrowded with fleeing relatives, then spent 10 days camping out in an office building, until the Israel military started targeting it. Next they went to the al-Bayoumi house, then to a school run by the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), where they spent one night. According to Ibrahim Abu Shouqa, ‘the school was full of people, there were no other facilities... They couldn’t sleep’”⁸⁷

However, it appears as though the homes in Palestine and what it means for the families goes beyond something than mere roofs and walls in their struggle for empowerment i.e. the physical space where they eat and sleep.⁸⁸ Amnesty International’s report on bombings over Gaza gives a testimony to the feelings of affected individuals and families, this through a woman who has lost her entire family except for one son:

“I can never go back to that house again – even if they fixed it and it was perfect. I would never go back there again. Until this day I still hear the voices of my kids and their laughter so there is no way I could back to the house where I had my

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 8

⁸⁵ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 68.

⁸⁶ Amnesty International Ltd, *Families under the rubble: Israeli attacks on inhabited homes*, 5 November, 2012, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

⁸⁸ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 67.

memories with them... Not one day passes without thinking about what happened, without feeling the guilt.”⁸⁹

Families clearly have an emotional attachment to the household environment they live in which seems highly valued. It thus gives us a notion that households that have secured space of living entrust it as more than simply a physical space but also a place of creating and storing memories, therefore it is highly valued amongst the population - something that cannot simply be replaced.

Settlements have served huge problems for Palestinians in the West Bank where the Oslo agreements didn't have any effect in preventing this. After Benjamin Netanyahu was elected president of Israel, the settlement expansion increased rapidly. The settler population has grown over several hundred thousand, creating insecurity for the Palestinian population by displacement and relocation. This has been done despite international organizations proclaiming it being illegal under international law. The settlements projects have also brought along insecurity for the Palestinian population in the form of harassment, physical intimidation and violation of private property. In Gaza the situation is different but ever so grave where the biggest threat towards securing and establishing a place to live is threatened by bombings and shelling of the region. According to international organizations, these actions have occurred despite knowledge of people residing in targeted buildings. This has resulted in overpopulated facilities throughout Gaza and contributes to disempowerment and prevention of increased livelihood.

5.2 Surplus Time

The way people in Palestine can get around, for an example to and from work evidentially remains a big obstacle for the possibilities of empowerment in the region. It seems that following the second intifada⁹⁰ in 2000 there was a notable increase in preventative obstacles impeding Palestinians possibilities of movement in the region as well as access to various public services within the West Bank.⁹¹ These obstacles can be divided into two groups:

⁸⁹ Amnesty International Ltd, *Families under the rubble: Israeli attacks on inhabited homes*, 5 November, 2012, p. 15-16.

⁹⁰ Intifada means rebellion or uprising and refer to the Palestinian resistance in 1987; the first intifada, and 2000; the second intifada.

⁹¹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus August 2011 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: August 2011, p. 4.

physical (e.g. checkpoints and roadblocks) and administrative (prohibited roads, permit requirements and age restrictions).⁹² OCHA documented and mapped, in a survey from 2011, 522 movement obstacles existed: 62 of them constituted permanently manned checkpoints, 25 partially manned checkpoints and 436 unmanned physical obstacles such as roadblocks, earth mounds, earth walls, road gates, road barriers and trenches.⁹³

For parts of the population these sorts of restrictions and preventative obstacles have resulted in long detours in order to reach basic services and increased livelihood options. OCHA describes how residents of Aqraba and Yanun villages have to travel an extra 20 kilometers in order to reach services in the city of Nablus due to travel restriction on the main road. Similar for the residents of Beit Furik and Beit Dajan villages, who must travel through densely populated and often congested streets in Nablus city when trying to reach central or southern areas of the West Bank. This is due to a travel ban on another main road.⁹⁴ There is evidently a reason to raise awareness to the occupational situation between Israel and Palestine and the difficulties the population face everyday. Cate Malek and Mateo Hoke, together with the Non-governmental organization *Voice of Witness*, compiled and edited a book containing testimonies of the life inside the occupied territory of Palestine. Examples of the disempowerment regarding surplus time can be drawn:

*"I remember the first time I tried to go home to Battir from Bethlehem in 2000 just after the intifada started. It was just a couple of miles, and the checkpoint was closed. Nobody could cross to or from the five villages on the other side of the checkpoint. The soldiers refused to let anyone go back home. Children, old men, workers – imagine, all these normal people who wanted to go back home at four p.m., the end of the working day. Hundreds of people!... I waited that day from four p.m. to seven p.m... finally, a little after seven p.m., I gave up and came back to Bethlehem and stayed at the center."*⁹⁵

However, through testimony from the same person, it is evident that the checkpoints in this case also proves a difficulty not only for wage-paying workers but also for the younger population enrolled at school in achieving a good education:

⁹² Ibid, p. 4.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 5.

⁹⁴ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus August 2011 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: August 2011, p. 11.

⁹⁵ C. Malek, M. Hoke. *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 31-32.

“One more occasion stands out from that checkpoint during the Second Intifada...I remember a little girl was crying. She needed to get to school to take exams, and the soldier wouldn’t let her. It’s not guaranteed that a child is able to go to school.”⁹⁶

The possibility of easy movement and access around the Palestinian territory varies depending on where you live. With that said, it is important to understand that surplus time is one of the key factors of vulnerability and disruption of empowerment when living in either Gaza or the West Bank. OCHA describes in their report:

“Access restrictions are one of the key drivers of humanitarian vulnerability in the occupied Palestinian territory: they are impacting the access of Palestinians to basic services and livelihoods and generate a range of protection concerns, from friction at checkpoints to risk of displacement.”⁹⁷

As mentioned before, it is not only wage-paid workers that get affected. The accessibility to health care is affected as well. In East Jerusalem there are only six specialized hospitals that provide services unable to find elsewhere in the Palestinian territory. If you are a non-Jerusalem Palestinian, accessing health services at these hospitals requires a special-issued permit.⁹⁸ Patients with West Bank ID or Gaza ID must apply for an Israeli-issued permit if there is a need to visit the East Jerusalem hospitals for acquiring health services. Patients requiring access to hospitals outside the occupied Palestinian territory, in Israel or in Jordan, must also apply for Israeli-issued permits since their access requires passage out of Gaza or travel from the West Bank through checkpoints surrounding Jerusalem.⁹⁹ The application procedure in itself is complicated and serves as an obstacle for the time it would take the Palestinian population to reach health assistance. For an example, all children between the ages of 0-17 that seeks to go to a hospital outside the Palestinian territory from Gaza must be accompanied by a first-degree relative with a valid permit. They will have to undergo the same procedures at the various checkpoints regardless of medical condition. Relatives or other individuals that wishes to go with the child-patient have to apply separately for a permit.¹⁰⁰ This results in a complicated bureaucratic process with no given time limit. Examples of the

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 32-33

⁹⁷ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus September 2012 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: September 2012, p. 3

⁹⁸ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus August 2011 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: August 2011, p. 13-14.

⁹⁹ World Health Organization – WHO special report 2013 - *Right to health: Barriers to health access in the occupied Palestinian territory, 2011 and 2012*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 9.

complicated application procedures can be drawn from WHO's report on health care accessibility in Palestine:

*"West Bank patients who need Israeli permits to travel to hospitals in East Jerusalem or to destinations outside of the West Bank must file an application at one of the local offices of the Palestinian General Authority of Civil Affairs (GACA) in the West Bank. The offices are responsible for sending the requests to the Israeli District Coordination Office in their area and receiving the responses. The Israeli procedures for permit applications are not published but are known to involve a number of Israeli authorities, including the Israeli Civil Administration Health Coordination, Israeli Security Services and Israeli police."*¹⁰¹

Physical and bureaucratic obstacles also impede the ability of an estimated 1000 hospital workers who carry West Bank IDs to access their workplace in East Jerusalem.¹⁰² With the imposition of harshened restrictions in July 2008, Employees of West Bank hospitals have been only granted access to East Jerusalem through the most crowded checkpoints of Qalandiya, Zaytoun and Gilo.¹⁰³ However during the last years there have been some lenient procedures for certain staff members e.g. physicians. OCHA states in their report from 2012 that overall, these movement restrictions have resulted in long delays for staff and results in a disruption in patient care including the scheduling of consultations, operations and other services in East Jerusalem hospitals.¹⁰⁴

OCHA claimed in another report from 2011 that the detours required to reach certain areas, the need to cross staffed-checkpoints, and the obligation to coordinate every individual entry in advance, has resulted in significant delays in the arrival of ambulances called for medical emergencies.¹⁰⁵ It is possible to infer that the problem regarding movement within the Palestinian territory contributes to an increased movement time and a decrease in personal health security. In WHO's report from 2013, it said that Palestinian ambulances are stopped at checkpoints for searches and examinations of documents and may be refused entry.¹⁰⁶ The

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁰² United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus September 2012 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: September 2012, p. 15

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 15-16

¹⁰⁵ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus August 2011 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: August 2011, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ World Health Organization – WHO special report 2013 - *Right to health: Barriers to health access in the occupied Palestinian territory, 2011 and 2012*, p. 19

coordination of access for patients travelling by ambulance to East Jerusalem is made by the referring hospital in the West Bank, the referral hospital in Jerusalem and the Israel Civil Administration authorities, who will assign checkpoints for the transfer taken place.¹⁰⁷ However it seems like this procedure is more hindering than beneficial for the population affected, whereas in 2011 only 49 (5%) occasions out of 1,074 were the ambulances granted entry. Following year, in 2012, WHO could report an increase in the number of granted permissions, albeit still very low, that only 116 ambulances out of 1,292 were allowed to access East Jerusalem.¹⁰⁸

For the population that resides in Gaza, the situation seems to be equal or even graver, since approximately 50 Gaza referral patients require ambulance transfer monthly. However, Palestinian ambulances are not permitted to directly transfer patients out of the Gaza Strip but instead must shuttle patients over a distance of approximately 200 meters between a Palestinian and an Israeli ambulance at a certain checkpoint called the *Erez checkpoint*. Before the transfer of the patient between the Palestinian ambulance and the Israeli ambulance can take place, the Israeli authorities require the ambulance staff to have prior approval. If the patient has brought a friend or a relative, that person is not permitted to travel with the patient through the crossing, rather they must be processed through the regular terminal procedures and rejoin the patient on the other side.¹⁰⁹

To summarize, there seems to exist a big issue in the Palestinian territory with the ability of movement throughout the region. After the second intifada there was serious increase in obstacles, both physical and administrative that restricts the movement of people in Palestine both for wage-paid workers and for the younger population that wishes to go to school. These obstacles that take the shape of checkpoints, roadblocks, prohibited roads and permit requirements, etc. reduces the degree of freedom for the Palestinian population. It also serves an issue in terms of accessibility to proper health services, where both the workers at the hospitals as well as the patients in need of medical assistance suffers from the difficulty in obtaining necessary permits and thus access to treatment. It also prohibits the ambulances from reaching the hospitals and thus lowers the standard of living and the chances of empowerment and increased livelihood for the population affected.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 19.

5.3 Knowledge and Skills

The acquirement of educational advantages and skills is seen as a vital step in the process of empowerment. OCHA explains, *“In situations of conflict and instability, education can be both life-saving and life sustaining. A protected and safe educational environment provides a sense of normalcy and facilitates the transmission of key safety messages and life skills”*.¹¹⁰ It is mentioned that the occupation and the armed conflict it creates has a negative effect on the right and possibilities to education for the Palestinian population.¹¹¹ Randa Hilal argues that the policies and practices performed following the occupation affects not only education but also the economy and labor force opportunities and contributes to a significant form of exclusion amongst the Palestinian inhabitants.¹¹² She states further on, that the situation has *“resulted in the marginalization of women and youth by limiting their participation, access to their rights and limiting their spaces to build their capabilities and well-being.”*¹¹³

The obstacles of obtaining basic and higher education are the lack of schools. This has resulted in numerous difficulties for the population. Using the West Bank as an example, *“the lack of schools in many small communities in Area C means that children often must travel or walk long distances to reach the nearest school.”* as mentioned by OCHA.¹¹⁴ This is strongly connected to the accessibility and movement restrictions discussed in chapter 5.2. In OCHA's report, it is stated that in some communities, e.g. areas behind the barrier, children must cross military checkpoints to reach school. As a result of this, and in order to reduce the exposure to delays and harassment, and to save on transportation costs during the school week, many children from these communities stay in towns where the schools are located, returning home only on weekends. These access restrictions have thus contributed to high dropout rates in affected schools, particularly among females.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, p. 9

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 9.

¹¹² R. Hilal - *Vocational Education and Training for women and youth in Palestine: Poverty reduction and gender equality under occupation*, International Journal of Educational Development, Volume 32, Issue 5, September 2012, Pages 686–695, p. 689.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 689.

¹¹⁴ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ Ibid p. 10.

Hilal is open in her criticism when saying that this “*multi-layered mobility restriction regime*” in the West Bank has directly affected several hundred thousand students and teachers commuting to and from schools, resulting in delays and absentees, consequently hampering empowerment capabilities for the Palestinian population.¹¹⁶ In Area C and Gaza, inability to construct the necessary infrastructure also limits access to education.¹¹⁷ School demolitions, or threats of demolition, are thus among the most serious attacks on education in Palestine according to OCHA.¹¹⁸ This places the armed hostilities between Israel and Gaza in focus where Palestinian schools get targeted by armed attacks negatively affecting the students in the area.¹¹⁹

A great impediment towards empowerment is evidently the lack of facilities supporting education opportunities. ACRI released a report in 2012, which claimed that East Jerusalem had a lack of 1,100 classrooms; this included 720 classrooms needing replacement and an additional 400 new classrooms that needed building to serve the thousands of students who had no access to formal education.¹²⁰ In the 2013 annual report, the ACRI still verified this number but also added the number of missing classrooms in the official school system, aimed for students enrolled in recognized schools outside of East Jerusalem, totaling a number of 2,300 missing classrooms in the official school system.¹²¹ The same report mentioned planning and constructions of 332 new classrooms to improve the situation. Despite this, the shortage of classrooms still amounted to 2,200 in the beginning of the 2013 school year, a shortage expected to grow the following years.¹²² To simply construct new, fully functional buildings for educational purposes remains problematic. Despite pressure on the Jerusalem municipal school system, it is almost impossible for alternative schools to obtain Israeli issued building permits. This forces some schools to be built without a permit, therefore running the

¹¹⁶ R. Hilal - *Vocational Education and Training for women and youth in Palestine: Poverty reduction and gender equality under occupation*, International Journal of Educational Development, Volume 32, Issue 5, September 2012, Pages 686–695, p. 689.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 690.

¹¹⁸ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, p. 9

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 9.

¹²⁰ Association for Civil Rights in Israel - *Failed Grade East Jerusalem's Failing Education System August 2012*, Annual Status Report, August 2012, p. 12.

¹²¹ Association for Civil Rights in Israel - *Failed Grade – The Failing East Jerusalem Education System - Annual Status Report*, August 2013, p. 6.

¹²² Ibid, p. 7.

risk of receiving demolition orders and heavy fines.¹²³ It should be noted that that these numbers only reflects the shortage in Jerusalem and not the entire Palestinian territory.

The education situation has led to international response from organizations willing to contribute to a better livelihood for the population. UNRWA has engaged in providing Palestinian refugees with a basic free education.¹²⁴ This includes the management of 700 schools, 17,000 staff members and the education of more than 500,000 Palestinian refugees students every year and operates through five regions: Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The UNRWA is one of the most active organizations in the Palestinian territories where the beneficiaries now number roughly 4.7 million through various services provided, where their education program is one of the fundamental services provided.¹²⁵

The importance of UNRWAs work in these territories is mentioned in a report published by the World Bank. The report states that students partaking in the educational process in these schools outperform their counterparts enrolled in the public school system in Gaza and the West Bank.¹²⁶ The report also brings forth key aspects of the learning process, which motivates students, providing them with a clear purpose, not only on an individual level but also in terms of the opportunity for increased well being of their families and communities.¹²⁷ The meaning and purpose-oriented education system UNRWA provides seems to be beneficial where students not only acquire a basic education but also a sense of control and competence.¹²⁸ Services provided by UNRWA can prove to be vital as a component for Palestinian self-empowerment and Testimonies from a student in the report shows that education is of importance for the population in Palestine and highly valued.

*“What motivates me is that I have a goal in my life, which is to become a doctor and work here and serve my country Gaza-Palestine. I want to become an important person in the society, and being a doctor means being an important person in our society.”*¹²⁹

¹²³ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - Occupied Palestinian Territory, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, July 2011, p. 10.

¹²⁴ World Bank – Palestine Refugees: Education Resilience Case Report – Country Report 2013, p. 11.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 12.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 15.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 13.

The Israel-Palestine conflict has resulted in exclusion regarding human rights and limited self-empowerment. The main issue is the shortcomings of the education system in the region. There is evidently a lack for educational facilities to provide the population with a basic education. This connects to accessibility whereas students, due to the lack of schools close to home have to travel long distances through movement barriers mentioned earlier. Even though alleged construction work has taking place, the quantity of schools and classrooms has not improved. However there are organizations trying to combatant this problem. UNRWA is working hard with providing Palestinians with a basic education outside the public school system. The education project has, according to testimonies been beneficial in promoting self-empowerment in the region, and among the students.

5.4 Instruments of Work and Livelihood

Through processing the material for this essay, it seems that one particular factor regarding instruments of work and livelihood is a main concern for the Palestinian population, and that is inaccessible water sources. The population is affected differently depending on where they reside in the region.

For the population in Gaza there seems to exist a good water network throughout that area. This network is however at risk due to occurring armed hostilities that takes place between Israel and Palestine. CMWU is the provider for all water and wastewater services throughout the Gaza strip.¹³⁰ 2014 they released a damage assessment report that covered the period between 7 July and 14 August, during the reoccurred escalation of the conflict between Israel and Gaza. Apart from describing the resultant fatalities of 2000 people and 10,000 injured during IDFs attack on Gaza, the reports mentioned focused bombings and shelling over targeted water sources; groundwater wells in the area.¹³¹ The CMWU claims in their report that most destruction of these water assets took place during IDFs invasion of the eastern, southern and northern borders. Tanks within 3 kilometers between Eastern and Northern Gaza demolished most of the water and wastewater facilities.¹³²

¹³⁰ Coastal Municipalities Water Utility - Damages Assessment Report 2014 - *Damages Assessment Report, Water and Wastewater Infrastructure (Gaza Strip; 7 July - 14 August 2014)*, p. 2.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹³² *Ibid*, p. 2

According to CMWU, their field teams observed several water and wastewater infrastructures being targeted directly by tanks and air strike rockets.¹³³ This testimony will most likely remain contested. What is of more importance is that the CMWU, in cooperation with ICRC, supported Israel with coordinates and locations of water and wastewater facilities both before and during the armed offensive, in order to avoid destruction of the water distribution system. CMWU advocates that these sources were deliberately targeted by the IDF.¹³⁴ CMWU which has cooperated with UNRWA, ICRC and OCHA stated in their report that the conflict occurring last summer caused an environmental and humanitarian crisis in Gaza where accessibility to water supplies and the availability of wastewater disposal significantly decreased due to destruction and total collapse of most water sources and wastewater networks.¹³⁵

After initiated ceasefire on August 26 there were reported 450,000 people in Gaza that lacked access to water due to damage of infrastructure in the region.¹³⁶ That the offensive made by IDF was the main cause of destruction is noted by OCHA:

*“All governorates in Gaza witnessed extensive aerial bombardment, naval shelling and artillery fire, resulting in the widespread loss of life and livelihoods. Damage to public infrastructure was also unprecedented, leaving hundreds of thousands of people without adequate services, including electricity, clean water and quality healthcare.”*¹³⁷

Needless to say this problem has not gone unnoticed, and organizations such as the World Bank, UNICEF and ICRC, along with CMWU have been allocating large repair budgets to the water system in the most affected neighborhoods, this includes provision and distribution of water and water tanks.¹³⁸ Despite this, there is still 20 to 30 percent of all households that lacks access to fresh water.¹³⁹ With this background, the main concern for the population in Gaza is evidently not having access to water. This results in decreased standard of living, as

¹³³ Ibid, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 2-3.

¹³⁶ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Gaza Emergency Situation Report September 4 2014 - *Occupied Palestinian Territory: Gaza Emergency Situation Report (as of 4 September 2014, 08:00 hrs)*, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 1.

¹³⁸ Coastal Municipalities Water Utility - Damages Assessment Report 2014 - *Damages Assessment Report, Water and Wastewater Infrastructure (Gaza Strip; 7 July - 14 August 2014)*, p. 3.

¹³⁹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Gaza Emergency Situation Report September 4 2014 - *Occupied Palestinian Territory: Gaza Emergency Situation Report (as of 4 September 2014, 08:00 hrs)*, p. 3.

water is a cornerstone for human survival. One can draw the conclusion that regular destruction of this asset prevents people from empowerment on a regular basis and instead fuels disempowerment in Gaza.

It is not new that natural water sources have historically played a key role in shaping human development.¹⁴⁰ The springs in the West Bank is not an exception, which today remains the single largest source of water for the West Bank, and is an important coping mechanism for communities, not connected to a fully functional water network in order to meet domestic and livelihood needs.¹⁴¹ Unlike the Gaza strip that suffers from offensive air strikes amongst else from Israel, the water shortage in the West Bank are strongly connected to the settlement expansion by the Jewish population; something that puts the waters springs at risk.¹⁴²

In 2011 OCHA carried out a survey, regarding the accessibility to water springs in the West Bank. They identified 56 springs, mainly in Area C, which is under Israeli administrative control and apparently privately owned by the Palestinian inhabitants. However 30 of these springs were deemed under settlers control due to intimidation, threats of violence and also through preventative obstacles such as fencing, all aimed at deterring Palestinians from accessing the areas.¹⁴³ It is important to mentions that these numbers, excludes water springs affected by systematic activities such as checkpoints, roadblocks and barriers; restrictions adopted by the Israeli authorities.¹⁴⁴ OCHA in their report further mentions that settler attacks and violence towards Palestinians residing in agricultural regions are well documented.¹⁴⁵ Through testimonies from a rural villager one can read:

“The first thing they did was to come to the village to see if they would have any trouble. They were pretty rough. There were some clashes at first over land. I remember one old man whom the settlers struck on the head – he almost died. They also started building a fence around the settlement and some of our farmland right away. We had a fence around most of our property, and that helped keep the settlers from building directly on our land, but they took the land where our sheep graze outside the fence, about a thousand square

¹⁴⁰ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus March 2012 – *How Dispossession Happens: the Humanitarian Impact of the Takeover of Palestinian Water Springs by Israeli Settlers*, March 2012, p. 4

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 4.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

*feet of grazing land. They also took some of my father's sheep. And they took other villager's land and sheep when they could."*¹⁴⁶

The settlements evidently creates more problem surrounding other aspects than water, where agricultural land and livelihood stock are being taken from households, decreasing their level of instruments available for work and livelihood. Water accessibility still remains an important factor for empowerment in Palestine. It also remains one of the most crucial battlegrounds of the Israel-Palestine conflict where 80 percent of the water sources are located under the West Bank. Israeli politicians generally believe, that the future of Israel depends on these waters, and hence refuses to grant Palestinians control of it.¹⁴⁷ The difficulties in understanding the Palestinian repression can be summarized by Weizman who says: "*The erosion of the principle of Palestinian sovereignty in its subsoil is carried out by a process so bureaucratically complex that it is almost invisible.*"¹⁴⁸ Weizman continues by explaining that although the aquifer is the sole water source for residents of the West Bank, Israel uses 83 percent of its annual water for the benefit of its cities and settlements, while West Bank Palestinians use the remaining 17 percent. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in the West Bank and virtually all Palestinians in Gaza thus receive water irregularly and in limited amounts.¹⁴⁹

This serves a big problem for the Palestinian population especially where the water pipes first goes through the settlements, and last the Palestinian villages. It creates severe conditions, especially during summer where drought is frequent, forcing villagers to turn to Israeli authorities for temporary water solutions.¹⁵⁰ Villagers must work harder to acquire the basic needs for empowerment, which, as argued, should be supplied by the government. This is supported by testimonies from rural villagers:

"We have to buy some water in tanks, and then we get some from a well on the property. The well doesn't have enough water in the summer so we're buying a lot. Each tank is about 60 shekels and holds few hundred gallons of water. We also save water as much as

¹⁴⁶ Malek, Cate, Hoke, Mateo & Carp, Alex (red.), *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 65.

¹⁴⁷ E. Weizman - *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*, Verso, London, 2012, p. 19.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Malek, Cate, Hoke, Mateo & Carp, Alex (red.), *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 70.

we can. Water we bathe with, we'll save and use to flush our toilets. The children all wash using the same bucket of water. There is very little waste.”¹⁵¹

Main cause of disempowerment in Palestine when analyzing instruments for work and livelihood surrounds accessibility to water sources. In Gaza the population suffered from the last offensive by the IDF where much of the infrastructure along with water distribution systems and wastewater networks was destroyed. This left a number of 450,000 people unable to access water. The Palestinian population in the West Bank has been spared from the possible shelling and destruction of water work facilities. Instead the Israeli settlement prevents Palestinians from accessing water springs. There is seemingly an access restriction to basic water, which impedes people from increasing their livelihood and possibilities of having vigorous and healthy bodies. Inhabitants in Gaza and the West Bank must put down more energy into collecting water for consumable purpose, energy that could be used for other factors of self-empowerment. International organizations are therefore engaged in distributing water to those most affected.

5.5 Financial Resources

Financial means necessary for a household to better their own livelihood constitute a cause of disempowerment in the West Bank and Gaza. Being a study based on text analysis, it is difficult to pinpoint each individual household's decisions and activities for obtaining tools of empowerment. This chapter will thus focus on the overarching problem regarding the economy in Gaza and the West Bank.

Dr. Mohmmad Mustafa, chairman and CEO of PIF and economic adviser for PA President Mahmud Abbas mentioned in 2009 that the Palestinian economy had seen an improvement in recent years, especially in the West Bank regions.¹⁵² However, he mentioned that the Israeli occupation and its harsh and inconsistent policies have a negative impact on Palestine and the regions financial performance which makes it heavily dependent on the Israeli economy. Mustafa notes that despite effort to decrease the trading quantity with Israel, it still constitutes 90 percent of total Palestinian trade, which unfortunately creates an economy with limited

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 70.

¹⁵² N.A. Karim, et al - *The Palestinian Economy and Future Prospects: Interview With Mohammad Mustafa, Head of the Palestine Investment Fund*, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 39, No. 3, University of California Press (Spring 2010), p. 40.

self-reliance and high donor dependency.¹⁵³ Mustafa brings up Gaza as an example where Israel's ban and seizure policies and the absence of Palestinian legitimacy and self-ruling has been disastrous for the economy in the area, especially within the private sector leaving multiple companies to a close.¹⁵⁴ PA supports this statement in a country intelligence report from 2014, which states that financial conditions in Gaza remains severely hampered by the embargo on Hamas, which relies on funds and goods smuggled into the territory to keep its government and the economy functioning.¹⁵⁵

PA also notes an overall growth of GDP in the region the last couple of years, with the West Bank being main contributor due to lenient restriction of movement imposed by Israel.¹⁵⁶ The movement restrictions still have significant effects regarding economic possibilities within the private sector.¹⁵⁷ In terms of household trade as a basic income and empowerment, accessibility is a key factor. Niksic, Eddin and Cali claims, that movement of people and goods in and out of the Palestinian territories, and within the West Bank, is severely limited by a multi-layered system of physical, institutional, and administrative impediment.¹⁵⁸ They further on mention that movement of goods and people is considerably restricted by systems of barriers, checkpoints, and movement permits as mentioned previously. And even though these types of restrictions have eased the last couple of years, the system of internal movement continues to fragment the West Bank, mainly within Area C.¹⁵⁹ At the end of 2012, 60 Palestinian communities were still forced to use detours that are two to five times longer than the direct route to the nearest city or village.¹⁶⁰ The costs attributed to the travel restrictions on three major routes in the West Bank have been calculated at USD 185 million per annum.¹⁶¹ This calculation refers to the losses of Palestinian income, due to work or school missed because of the lengthy travel time or inability to travel freely.

The financial troubles in Palestine have not gone unnoticed, and NGO's are working intensively to contribute to empowerment in Palestine, where UNRWA is actively assisting

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ Palestinian Authority – *Country Intelligence* – Report February 2014, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ O. Niksic, et al - *Area C and the Future of the Palestinian Economy*. A World Bank study, World Bank 2014, p. 12.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 47-48.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 48.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 48.

Palestinian refugees. In their situation report they mention cash assistance for shelter repairs, transitional shelter support and reconstruction of destroyed homes being the main intervention.¹⁶² In the same report it states that as of 25 November 2014, 15,726 families benefited from UNRWAs cash support for reparations of their homes and also transitional shelter cash assistance if homes deemed inhabitable. This assistance amounted in total of USD 17.1 million.¹⁶³ Evidently, exterior help and donor assistance are a developmental necessity. Having financial stability is of utter importance in securing basic livelihood, and without it households will continue to struggle for empowerment. UNRWA described a Palestinian family's situation in Gaza in the same report:

*“Nayef used to work as a gardener, but with so little income that did not exceed NIS 500, or less than USD 130 per month, he could barely make ends meet... With his 21-year-old son, Basel, suffering from epilepsy and losing three fingers in an accident, the family's financial conditions could not support a college education for Nayef's two daughters, Amani and Hanadi... in addition to a number of UNRWA services including health care and food assistance. Nayef and his family rely on the Collective Centre now for meals, hygiene products, mattresses, blankets, and clothes.”*¹⁶⁴

The family clearly lacks the financial resources necessary to increase other aspect in Friedmann's empowerment model, such as defensible life space as mentioned earlier. Having an economic stability and financial foundation to stand on proves vital in acquiring that:

*“Following the end of hostilities in late August, Nayef and his family still had enough money to leave the Collective Centre, and rent an apartment. This however proved short lived as their financial situation did not improve and it became impossible to maintain rental payments; higher since the conflict. The family had no other option but to return to the same Collective Centre. Having had their home assessed, Nayef's family is entitled to receive the UNRWA's transitional shelter cash assistance but so far have not been able to find another rental property as the market is currently saturated with families seeking to rent.”*¹⁶⁵

In this quote there appears to be a correlation between the armed hostilities in Gaza and Israel, where the destruction of homes/buildings prevents Palestinians from gaining financial

¹⁶² UNRWA – Gaza Situation Report 71, 27th November 2014.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ UNRWA – Gaza Situation Report 71, 27th November 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

freedom by ensuring they must use their assets to rebuild or relocate. There is an evident lack of financial resources for the inhabitants of Palestine. In Gaza, the ongoing armed conflict and insecurity surrounding destruction of homes is a cause of disempowerment and prevents households from investing money into other aspects of Friedmann's model besides defensible life space. In the West Bank access and movement restrictions hinders households from achieving a regular income as a foundation for promoting their livelihood. With a crippling high unemployment rate throughout all of Palestine there is a necessity for exterior donor assistance and freer movement of goods and people, in order for the situation to markedly improve according to PA.¹⁶⁶ These problems and efforts are also stated by the deputy commissioner-general of the UNRWA:

*“Economically, the ongoing Israeli occupation and associated restrictions on movement and access to natural resources and land continue to stunt economic activity; the occupation is clearly preventing the creation of more livelihood opportunities for Palestinians. High rates of unemployment at 16.6 per cent amongst refugees and 15.7 per cent amongst non-refugees in the West Bank are an indication of the challenges of living amidst uncertainty. Through the emergency programme, UNRWA seeks to provide 10,000 refugees with cash for work opportunities to improve their ability to meet their basic household and food needs.”*¹⁶⁷

However looking at Palestine as a whole, the region isn't doomed. According to Anders Persson, in terms of economic success the Palestinian regions have clear advantages, one being small territories with homogenous and well-educated people.¹⁶⁸ He concludes perhaps one of the most vital aspects for economic growth and also ability for empowerment, namely that it cannot be sustained without lifting many of the inhibiting restrictions that follow the Israeli occupation.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Palestinian Authority – *Country Intelligence* – Report February 2014, p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ UNRWA - *Statement of the deputy commissioner-general of UNRWA on the occasion of the launch OPT emergency appeal*, 9 December 2014,

¹⁶⁸ A. Persson – *Defining, Securing and Building a Just Peace: The EU and the Israeli-Palestine Conflict*, Lund University, Lund, Sweden (2013), p. 218.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 218.

6.0 Conclusion

This descriptive essay contributed to a generalized identification of causes of disempowerment, but also probable factors of empowerment following Friedmann's (dis)empowerment model.

Analysis of defensible life space showed that settlement expansions are a main cause of disempowerment for the Palestinian population in the West Bank. The international community has condemned this act, claiming it is a breach of international human law and infringes on Palestinians right to private property through trespassing, intimidation, physical assault, stealing of private properties and construction projects with out legal permits and documents.¹⁷⁰ In Gaza the main threat against adequate housing is bombing and shelling over the area bringing about destruction of households. This is performed regardless of having knowledge of building and facilities being occupied by Palestinians.¹⁷¹ This forces families in Gaza to seek shelter elsewhere, potentially with relatives in safer neighborhoods. Conclusively the main cause of disempowerment takes the form of armed conflict and settlement expansion in the region. In order to promote stable and secure increase in livelihood, there is a need for permanent cease of armed hostilities between Israel and Gaza. The population in the West Bank needs to be granted full rights of adequate housing and private property in order to not risk displacement through e.g. demolishing projects.¹⁷²

The analysis of surplus time showed that freedom of movement and accessibility is severely impeded in Palestine due to restrictive barriers surrounding the region.¹⁷³ This has resulted in severe difficulties in movement for the population e.g. extended detours necessary to travel to and from places.¹⁷⁴ This is strengthened by testimonies from experiences at checkpoints describing the difficulties in travelling to and from wage-paying work and even for students in

¹⁷⁰ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus March 2012 – *How Dispossession Happens: the Humanitarian Impact of the Takeover of Palestinian Water Springs by Israeli Settlers*, March 2012, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ Amnesty International Ltd, *Families under the rubble: Israeli attacks on inhabited homes*, 5 november, 2012, p. 8.

¹⁷² Human Rights Watch – World Report 2014 – *Events of 2013*, p. 557.

¹⁷³ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus August 2011 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: August 2011, p. 4.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 11.

accessing basic education.¹⁷⁵ The empirical material also showed difficulties in accessing regular medical treatment when needed due to complicated bureaucratic processes. Despite minor improvements e.g. in Jerusalem, overall these movement restrictions has resulted in long delays for staff members and disruption of patient care including the scheduling of consultations, operations and other services in East Jerusalem hospitals.¹⁷⁶ These movement restrictions are severely hampering Palestinian empowerment, as there exists insecurity in the possibility of regular income and medical treatment. A measurement towards disbandment of the barriers, or at least more lenient bureaucratic processes is a necessity in promoting empowerment.

The mechanism knowledge and skills correlates with freedom of movement in achieving basic education. The main issue is the lack of schools, which contributes to difficulties in getting to and from school, as students have to travel for a longer distance, often through various checkpoints.¹⁷⁷ There is evidently shortage of schools and classrooms in the region. In 2013 the number of classroom amounted to 2,200 in the beginning of the school year.¹⁷⁸ This number was representative of Jerusalem and the West Bank, and didn't take into consideration the probable destruction of educational facilities in Gaza during armed confrontation. By analyzing the material it seems that the shortcomings of the public education system is a main cause of disempowerment. International organizations can thus be seen as a necessary factor in promoting empowerment. The analyzed material clearly shows a difference between education systems where UNRWA schools contributes to a higher degree of empowerment and a better chance of increased livelihood.

Analysis of instruments of work and livelihood shows that non-access to water is a main cause for disempowerment in Palestine. In Gaza this problem arises from targeted water sources during armed conflict,¹⁷⁹ despite knowledge of its whereabouts.¹⁸⁰ This needs to stop if people in Gaza are to secure regular access to water. In the West Bank, Palestinian

¹⁷⁵ C. Malek, M. Hoke. *Palestine speaks: narratives of life under occupation*, 2014, Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, San Francisco, p. 31-33.

¹⁷⁶ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – Special Focus September 2012 – *West Bank Movement and Access Update*: September 2012, p. 15

¹⁷⁷ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - Occupied Palestinian Territory, *The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor*, July 2011, p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Association for Civil Rights in Israel - *Failed Grade – The Failing East Jerusalem Education System* - Annual Status Report, August 2013, p. 7.

¹⁷⁹ Coastal Municipalities Water Utility - *Damages Assessment Report 2014 - Damages Assessment Report, Water and Wastewater Infrastructure (Gaza Strip; 7 July - 14 August 2014)*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 2.

disempowerment correlates with the settlement expansions. Derived from an example in Area C many of the water spring are under Israeli settler controls, preventing Palestinians from accessing fresh water. Looking and the entire West Bank, Israel controls 83 percent of the regions water source leaving 17 percent in Palestinian control. This brings about irregular and limited water access.¹⁸¹ This forces Palestinians to rely on international organizations and Israeli authorities in acquiring water, and achieving empowerment.

Lastly, financial resources show that decade of occupation has rendered the Palestinian territory dependent on Israeli trade, with limited self-reliance and high donor dependency.¹⁸² With an overarching Israeli control of trading policies, households are severely restrained in obtaining financial resources to increase their livelihood. Movement of people and goods into and out of the Palestinian territories, and within the West Bank, is severely limited by a multi-layered system of physical, institutional, and administrative impediment ¹⁸³, which correlates to the mechanism of surplus time. Thus a main cause of disempowerment is absence of self-sustained income. In Gaza, the lack of monetary means as a tool of empowerment derives from the risk of bombings and destruction. This prevents households from investing in other factors of empowerment apart from defensible life space. UNRWA is working actively with supporting the people of Gaza with monetary aid. As previously mentioned, 15,726 families benefited from UNRWA cash support. This assistance amounted in total USD 17.1 million.¹⁸⁴ This shows the importance of exterior help in promoting empowerment in the region and the difficulties the Palestinian people have in achieving increased livelihood.

The empirical material observed shows that the cause of disempowerment is the occupied status of Palestine and the policies imposed by Israel. This is supported by Friedmann's idea that the state (in this case, Israel) remains an important factor in promoting development and creating empowerment. Friedmann means that states need to be held accountable for poverty and the needs of even the poorest people. Without the states collaboration and awareness of poverty, the livelihood of poor people cannot be improved.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ E. Weizman - *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*, Verso, London, 2012, p. 19.

¹⁸² N.A. Karim et al - *The Palestinian Economy and Future Prospects: Interview With Mohammad Mustafa, Head of the Palestine Investment Fund*, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 39, No. 3, University of California Press (Spring 2013), p. 40.

¹⁸³ O. Niksic, et al - *Area C and the Future of the Palestinian Economy*. A World Bank study, World Bank 2014, p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ UNRWA – *Gaza Situation Report 71*, 27th november 2014.

¹⁸⁵ J. Freidmann – *Empowerment – The Politics of Alternative Development*, USA, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, (1998), p. 7.

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