Chapter One:

The Importance of Establishing an Independent Palestinian State to the Achievement of Sustainable Human Development.

Section One: Themes of The Human Development Report.

Section Two: Objectives and Target Audience of The Current Report.

Section Three: Challenges and Tasks Ahead.

Section Four : The Palestinian Intifada: Characteristics and Features.

Section Five : Report Methodology: A Participatory Approach.

Half a century on, the suffered continues unabated!

- The Palestinian Intifada erupted on September 28, 2000. Since then, Israeli forces and settlers have committed ongoing and egregious violations of established international law. 120 military checkpoints divide the West Bank and Gaza Strip into 220 isolated, closely-guarded segments. Thousands of kilometers of road are closed by concrete blocks and dirt barricades. Additional examples of Israeli violations of international law through March 2002 are cited below.
- Palestinian deaths total 1,125, including 269 children and more than 25 women. (Using population ratios, this figure is equivalent to the deaths of approximately 90,000 U.S. citizens).
- More than 35,000 Palestinians have been injured, and 2,000 of those are now permanently disabled. (This figure equates to the permanent disabling of approximately 160,000 U.S. citizens.)
- The number of settlers increased by 4.4% in 2001 alone. The increase in settler population is accompanied by the confiscation of thousands of acres of land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. During this time, bulldozers guarded by army personnel and the settlers themselves have uprooted more than 34,600 agricultural trees in Palestinian orchards.
- Home demolition claimed 580 houses, with an additional 6,534 homes sustaining partial damage. Also, roughly 50 businesses and economic enterprises were destroyed.
- The entire physical infrastructure of the Palestinian security apparatus throughout Palestinian-controlled districts was eradicated.
- The new Palestinian airport in Gaza, an \$18.5 million project, was destroyed.
- The Palestinian harbor and port facilities under construction in Gaza were destroyed.
- The headquarters of Palestine Television and the buildings of Palestine Radio in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were demolished.
- Losses in the Palestinian economic sector are estimated at between \$2.4 and \$3.2 billion, which does not include the costs of physical damage to public and private property. Losses incurred as a result of halted agricultural activity exceeds \$60 million, and daily losses are estimated between \$6 and \$8.6 million.

Section One:

Themes of the Palestinian Human Development Report

- The Palestinian Human Development Report (PHDR) is born of the conviction that active pursuit of sustainable human development must continue. Despite the difficulties they currently face, the Palestinian people, like all the peoples of the world, are entitled to live in dignity within the embrace of freedom, justice and peace.
- Palestinians have the right to strive for sustainable human development that expresses and incorporates the unique cultural and social characteristics of the Palestinian way of life.
- The right to self-determination must be fully realized before sustainable human development

- can be achieved. The Palestinian people have not yet secured their right to self-determination in accordance with international declarations and UN resolutions.
- The establishment of a modern, independent and democratic state is a prerequisite for sustainable human development in Palestine. The Palestinian people are entitled to live in security and freedom within stable borders, governed by institutions with a comprehensive vision and commitment to the human development process based on the principles of partnership, institutional capacity building, and justice for all.
- Future development efforts must meet both the challenges and opportunities that globalization imposes and affords, and must strictly adhere to recognized international human law conventions.

The Palestinian people, like all the peoples of the world, are entitled to live in dignity within the embrace of freedom, justice and peace

Box (1 - 1) Quote from the speech of Mr. Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine, at the sixth conference of the Palestinian Legislative Council:

"We are determined to continue the reform process and internal development of our national institutions and organizations of various responsibilities. I, from this forum, declare that our National Authority and I personally, posit the issue of legislative and judicial reform and development at the helm of our priorities. This includes the law concerning the independence of the judicial system which has been proposed by the Legislative Council, and is currently undergoing the three required sessions of legislative deliberation. Also under deliberation is the law that will organize and harmonize the operations of our courts of law. Priority will be given to all laws that are concerned with courts and judicial matters, as well as the law that forms a higher judicial council invested with all authority and facilities necessary for proper performance. The rule of the law and the independence of the judicial system are the hallmarks of our civilization and our state. They underscore our commitment to the principle of clearly delineated lines of governmental authority and enable all institutions to work under the law. Therefore, we must ensure that the law receives the highest priority in reform and development.

10/03/2001 Gaza

Box (1 - 2) UN Resolutions:

- Resolution 194 (D-3,) issued on 11 December 1948, grants refugees the right
 to return to their homes and live peacefully with their neighbors. It also
 mandates fair compensation for those displaced persons who opt not to return.
 The resolution proposed positing the city of Jerusalem under the active
 supervision of the UN and called for disarmament within the boundaries of
 the city.
- Resolution 242, issued on 22 November 1967, defined two primary principles. The first principle states that the occupation of land acquired through warfare is illegal. The resolution called for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the land they occupied in the June 1967 war. The second principle asserts that the sovereignty of each state in the region must be recognized and respected, and that each state has the right to political independence as well as the right to live securely within internationally-recognized borders.
- Resolution 338, issued on 23 November 1973, called for an immediate truce and demanded that both parties immediately declare a ceasefire and implement Resolution 242.
- Resolution 3236 (D-29,) issued on 22 November 1974, included a declaration by the General Assembly assuring that the rights of the Palestinians are non-negotiable, especially the right to self-determination, the right of sovereignty and national independence, and the right of refugees to return to the land from which they were displaced. The General Assembly reiterated the resolution several times, rendering it obligatory.
- In 1974, the PLO was invited to participate in the proceedings of the General Assembly as an observer.

Development at its core requires freedom from the shackles of political, social and economic dominance

Section Two: Objectives and Target Audience of the PHDR

■The PHDR covers the years 2000 and 2001, and chronicles an important and sensitive period in the history of the Palestinian people. The report is shaped and guided by the central premise that sustainable human development requires freedom from the shackles of political,

social and economic dominance.

■ This report, like its predecessors, strives to make a contribution to the growing body of sustainable and emancipatory development knowledge in Palestine. The long absence of functioning state institutions created an information gap that newly established PNA ministries are struggling to fill. The PHDR also endeavors to gather empirical data concerning Palestinian institutions in order to build a

historical record for civil society.

- The PHDR recognizes that societies learn from experience and that this knowledge must be employed constructively in future development initiatives. It is also designed to encourage the creation of policies that will foster a development atmosphere in which the Palestinians can concentrate their efforts on building a civil society and on the human development process in general.
- The participatory methodology of the PHDR encouraged interactive dialogue regarding development. It pushed political parties to assume a proactive role in the production of periodic progress reports on human development initiatives and encouraged them to sponsor workshops addressing these issues. Widespread discussions regarding sustainable human development helped raise awareness of the integral and necessary connections between the political and development arenas.
- Despite attempts to isolate the Palestinians and to stereotype them as extremists and terrorists, the PHDR positions Palestine as one of several countries that regularly produces human development reports. The PHDR also emphasizes the conviction sustainable that human development is a means to achieve justice and dignity for the Palestinians and all peoples of the world. Many Palestinians actively participate in open discussions about sustainable

- human development in Palestine and throughout the world. The PHDR gives voice to their perspective and reinforces the importance of their role in such discussions.
- The PHDR catalogues the results of a dynamic debate taking place at all levels of society, and attempts to present those results objectively. The data and analyses in the report are derived from the discussions currently underway within the Palestinian society. The PHDR is but one contribution from among many worthy initiatives that deserve attention. The data in the report reflect the sum of professional, public and local opinions; hundreds of Palestinians have offered their personal viewpoints for inclusion in the PHDR through workshops, research projects, questionnaires and newspaper articles, thousands participated via opinion polls.
- The PHDR presents analysis that strives for balanced honesty in the interest of general national welfare. Its findings are set forth with critical sympathy, and are intended to strengthen the role of the PNA and to support its many achievements. The PHDR also hopes to increase the visibility and scope of both Palestinian civil society and the private sector, as well as to support international institutions offering aid to Palestinian human development efforts.

The target audiences of this report are: the Palestinian people, decision-makers at all levels, and The PHDR
Provides a
Palestinian
prespective with
regard to
Development
efforts of the past
few years

members of the public actively involved in development work. The participation of international institutions, donor countries, and non-governmental organizations has had a great impact in shaping the current Palestinian condition,

and this report will enable those parties to more deeply understand the Palestinian perspective with regard to development efforts that have taken place during the past few years.

Box (1 - 3) From the 1996 - 1997 PHDR: De-development.

Palestinian Society is a victim of a process called "de-development." In general, the forces which promote de-development seek to disrupt the development process, with the eventual aim of halting it altogether. De-development is achieved by preventing a society from using is political and economic potential, and by preventing rational structural transformation of the society through indigenous means. In the case of Palestine, de-development mechanisms include those originating from outside the society, the most important being those employed by the Israeli occupation with its military mechanisms have been extremely injurious to the process of social and political transformation.

From the 1998 - 1999 PHDR: Sustainable human development is not possible under occupation.

The transitional stage under which Palestinian society has been living since 1993 still continues. Despite achievements that took place in recent years, namely the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) on Palestinian land, and Palestinian takeover of responsibility for social and economic development, the Israeli occupation continues to maintain its control, in different ways and to varying degrees. Over more than 85% of the lands of the WBGS (about 90% of west Bank lands) remains under Israeli control, and Israel continues to isolate the two regions from each other while closing off Jerusalem to both regions. Moreover, Israel continues to control natural resources, including water and nature preserves. Israel has also maintained is military control over the borders and border crossings, thus perpetuating the dependency of the Palestinian economy on the Israeli economy, and preventing the building of an independent Palestinian economy, subject to responsible and sound planning. The achievement of sustainable human development in Palestine is conditional on a crucial factor: putting an end to Israeli occupation and Israeli control over Palestinian resources, and enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state.

Section Three: Challenges and Tasks Ahead

- The PHDR calls upon all concerned local and international parties to recognize that the liberation of Palestinian society from external control is a prerequisite for the establishment of a modern state. Only an independent state can initiate a comprehensive and balanced development process that broadens the range of freedoms and choices available to the Palestinian people. The PHDR also aims to strengthen the role of the PNA in the development process and emphasizes the need for a strong national government to deter any attempts to deprive Palestinians of their rights in the future.
- The second Palestinian Intifada. which began on 28 September 2000, launched a public debate about the current paths being chosen to deal with political. economic, and social matters. It is clear that the most vital precondition to the realization of an acceptable level of human development is broadened opportunities for all Palestinians, including the right to selfdetermination and the right to sustainable human development. These goals cannot be achieved under a military occupation which systematically destroys the capabilities of an entire population.
- Sustainable human development requires the presence of a

- legitimate government with the authority and resources that will enable it to persevere in difficult times. Legitimate governance necessarily entails wide participation from all segments of Palestinian society to help erase the cumulative negative impact of years of occupation.
- Emancipatory development empowers a population to take the initiative in defense of its legal and civil rights and creates a sense of national belonging. Striving for independence and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state are certainly legitimate rights, supported by international resolutions.
- The Intifada and its root causes require responsible assessment of performance since 1994 at all levels. Geographical, social and administrative repercussions from failed processes should be the focus of such assessment in order to catalyze a renewed engagement in the struggle for independence and the quest for sustainable human development.
- Occupation has played a major role in shaping the form and content of development efforts in Palestine. The emergence of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), even if limited in its scope of governance, has also played an important role in the development process. The presence of a national authority offered, for the first time in Palestinian history, renewed opportunity for public participation in the struggle for self-determination and the

Legitimate governance necessarily entails wide participation from all segments of Palestinian society

The Intifada and its root causes require responsible assessment of performance since 1994 at all levels

Box (1 - 4) Impediments to achieving peace and development:

- Israeli occupation of Palestinian land in violation of international resolutions.
- The inability of the Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination and development.
- The continuation of the Israeli-imposed siege of the Palestinian people, destruction of the national infrastructure, obstruction of economic activity, and the negative social and psychological ramifications of these actions.
- Deterioration of the overall economic condition, which has lowered living standards and has led to an unprecedented increase in poverty.
- Inadequate internal institutional capacity building and the relative absence of the rule of the law have increased levels of disaffection between the Palestinian public and its institutions.

formulation of policies for dynamic self-development. These opportunities must be maximized to the fullest extent possible.

■ The importance of the role of non-governmental and private sector organizations and its impact on the development process cannot be understated. Civil society and its representative organizations

interact with the local, regional and international communities. The regional and international communities' ongoing provision of financial aid to the development process cannot be ignored. The continuance of Palestinian-Israeli conflict affects the political outlook of neighboring Arab nations as well as the large Palestinian communities that reside within their borders.

Box (1 - 5) Palestinian refugees

The number of Palestinian refugees is estimated at 4.4 million persons living in exile. More than 1.5 million Palestinians live in Israel, 15% of them are refugees. Registered refugees for the year 2000 totaled more than 3.8 million, dispersed throughout the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Most of the refugees are confined to 57 refugee camps. Numerous reports have documented the dire social, economic, and political conditions of these camps, especially those located in Lebanon.

Section Four:

The Palestinian Intifada, Characteristics and Features

This section presents a short analysis of the most notable characteristics and features of the Palestinian Intifada and the Israeli occupation.

The results of a failed peace process:

■ Undoubtedly, the Palestinian Intifada resulted at least in part from a failed peace process. Palestinians have never been granted the rights promised to them throughout the course of political negotiations, including the right to pursue sustainable human development that would

guarantee them freedom and an independent state.

■ The destruction of the Palestinian infrastructure, which essentially wiped out all Palestinian governing institutions, and the ongoing siege of Palestinian cities, have resulted tremendous levels of human suffering. Moreover, repeated attempts have been made to coax the Palestinians to make further concessions on their most important issues, such as the status of Jerusalem and the issues of refugees and settlements. The Intifada revealed clearly that the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be resolved without a fair solution for the Palestinian people, awarding them the rights for which they have struggled for decades.

The Palestinian
Intifada resulted
at least in part
from a failed
peace process

Box (1 - 6) Isolated Jerusalem:

Israel continues to enforce a policy that prohibits Palestinians from reaching Jerusalem and its religious sites despite several Security Council resolutions that have declared any attempt to change the status of Jerusalem unlawful. On 28 October 2001, Israeli forces seized and closed several service-related, educational, political and research institutions, such as the Orient House, the Arab Studies Organization, the Arab Chamber of Commerce and Trade, and the Higher Council of Tourism. Others include the Palestinian Center for Small Business, the Jerusalem Relief Agency, the Palestinian Prisoners Agency, the Palestinian Political Prisoners and Former Prisoners Organization, and other PNA institutions serving Jerusalem in accordance with ratified Palestinian-Israeli agreements.

The Palestinians have worked tirelessly during the past eight years in an attempt to build an independent state based on democracy

The Palestinians .. Continuing efforts to build and develop

The Palestinians have worked tirelessly during the past eight years in an attempt to build an independent state based on democracy, the rule of the law, and effective institutions. Although the policies and methods of occupation are designed to extinguish those Poverty threatens increasing numbers of Palestinians, and has dramatically increased levels of reliance on charitable organizations

High fertility rates lead to levels of population growth that often exacerbate poverty and unemployment

dreams, national aspirations for an independent, modern state remain strong, and the justice of the Palestinian cause will ultimately result in the realization of that objective.

Deterioration in human development indicators

- The deteriorating political situation has led to unprecedented regression in economic conditions, as demonstrated by increasing unemployment and poverty rates extending to every segment of society. Many Palestinian families have lost their sole breadwinners, and poverty threatens increasing numbers of Palestinians. Levels of reliance on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and other charitable organizations funded by Arab and international countries have dramatically increased, especially in rural locales. Concurrently, the phenomenon of begging, especially among women and children, has also risen markedly.
- The closures enforced on Palestinian areas have negatively impacted school attendance, with checkpoints making the travel of students from remote areas increasingly difficult and denying them the right to seek an education. Also, the physical occupation of many school buildings by soldiers and the shelling of school grounds have led many families to believe that schools are unsafe. A total of 163 students have been killed and elementary several and secondary schools have been

- bombarded. Many university students have been unable to continue their academic studies for the same reasons.
- The expanding economic crisis and rising levels of poverty prohibit many families from sending their children to school. Worsening economic conditions have led to increased school dropout rates as children are forced to work to help support their families. Instances of negative social phenomena such as child labor are on the rise. Children are now at risk for jobrelated injuries and exploitation, and are subject to pressures that can result in socially deviant behavior such as crime and drug abuse, especially among males.
- As for girls, increased school dropout rates may lead to an increase in early marriages, a situation which frequently deprives young girls of many of their rights. Also, early marriage often correlates with a rise in serious health and social issues related to teenage pregnancy. High fertility rates lead to levels of population growth that often exacerbate poverty unemployment. In this scenario, competition for already scarce resources builds up and further impedes progress towards sustainable human development.
- The prevailing political conditions have led to deterioration in health care and educational services, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The unprecedented rise in poverty levels and the limited resources of the Ministry of

Social Affairs prevented the Ministry from offering adequate assistance to the needy. Similarly, the effectiveness of local charitable organizations which rely heavily on foreign aid also regressed. The Ministry of Local Government practice of dictating the appointments of local council heads has decreased the public level of trust in those organizations. Finally, decreased per capita income has resulted in far fewer voluntary contributions to support the work of charitable organizations.

- The strength of social and family ties has increased, as have contributions by Palestinians living abroad to cover the expenses of families or university students. A large sum of direct financial aid was donated by Palestinians abroad to improve living conditions in Palestine.
- ■Closure of the Israeli labor market to Palestinian workers has driven many of those workers to accept jobs in the local market at very low rates of pay that they would have rejected under normal market conditions. Many of them have started independent endeavors, mostly vending at checkpoints or driving public transit vehicles on treacherous roads to carry passengers around checkpoints. It should be noted that these types of business enterprises are unregulated, unpredictable and ultimately, unsustainable.

- Women's participation in the work force ebbed as men who are no longer able to work in Israel take up available jobs in the local market. Women are left with the choice of staying at home or accepting menial jobs for low pay. Unskilled laborers, owners of small businesses, women and children are the segments of society most harmed by Israeli closures.
- The number of Palestinian casualties exceeded 1,000 in the first 15 months of the Intifada. More than 25,000 Palestinians have been injured, 2,000 of whom are permanently disabled. The huge increase in the number of disabled persons will clearly impact the effectiveness of existing rehabilitation programs.
- ■The Israeli occupation is leaving psychological scars on the Palestinian population. Many sought individuals have treatment for unusual levels of emotional distress and chronic or temporary states of depression. Children are among the most deeply affected in this regard. Daily images of continuing violence translate into a decreased sense of security, as parents seem no longer able to protect them. Also, children have lost confidence in their ability to solve their own problems, with increasing instances of violence among children a growing issue.

Children are among the most deeply affected by the ongoing violence

Box (1 - 7) The Psychological Effects of the Siege and Violence¹

A field study conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics between 11 April-15 May 2001 on a random sample of families revealed that 10% of Palestinians were subjected to direct attacks in various forms at the hands of Israeli forces (35% of those attacked were females and 65% were males). Children made up 32% of the total number of people attacked.

The survey showed that 41% of children between the ages of five and 15 experienced uncontrollable bouts of crying during the Intifada and that 45% felt "depressed". A survey poll conducted by the Development Studies Programme at Birzeit University (DSP) on 10 February 2001 regarding the effects of the Israeli siege on Palestinian life showed that almost 70% of children between the ages of four and 14 in the West Bank suffer psychological disorders as a result of Israeli measures, rising to 72% in the Gaza Strip. Also, 78% of women surveyed said that the state of war and the siege have caused them to experience unusual levels of emotional distress. In February 2002, another survey by the DSP revealed that 66% of children in the West Bank and 74% in the Gaza Strip suffer clinical psychological disorders.

In addition, 51% of Palestinians reported being exposed to humiliation and abuse, 42% were physically abused, and 20% reported their homes and other property were damaged by the Israeli forces³.

■ The displacement of Palestinian families has led to intensified economic, social and psychological problems. Many families have been forced to abandon their homes to escape

incessant Israeli shelling or have lost their homes altogether to demolition. Also, several families were broken up; their members unable to gather even for religious or family occasions.

^{1.} For more on the condition of children and the challenges facing them, see: Thahab Misleh, paper contributed to the Human Development Report 2002.

^{2.} Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics Survey: Effects of Israeli Measures on Palestinian Children, Women and Families 2001, Ramallah, July 2001.

^{3.} DSP poll # 6, February 2002.

Box (1 - 8) Women and children: the victims of a failed peace process⁴

Despite the poverty under which the Palestinians live, many are coping with the crisis in ways that may prove to be positive or negative in the long run. One of the mechanisms employed to alleviate poverty is the encouragement of uneducated or minimally-educated women and children to work or seek assistance, with the support of male family members. The number of women working as house maids or begging on the streets has increased noticeably, but the real danger lies in the increase in the number of children begging or vending on the streets. Farmers interviewed have stated that they have been forced to replace young male laborers with children to cut costs.

Although child labor is widely viewed as a threat to the future of the entire society, it appears to be the only available way for a growing number of families to secure sustenance. Interviews with women and children revealed that fathers, especially those previously working in Israel, force them to look for work they themselves would not accept, considering it degrading for a man.

Women have employed other mechanisms to cope with poverty, such as cutting back on food and clothing expenditures. Several women said they no longer use meat in cooking, and others indicated they use firewood instead of gas stoves in order to save for more important necessities, which has in turn encouraged women in remote villages to cut and sell firewood. In Gaza, women are making mud ovens and selling them.

Wives of men that used to work in Israel mentioned that they sold their jewelry to cover family expenses and after that, came to rely on family aid or assistance from institutions. As for clothing, many women said they no longer buy new articles, but resort instead to the old habit of borrowing from sisters or neighbors when a special occasion arises. There is also a growing trend toward early marriage and interfamilial marriage to cut family expenditures and to save on wedding costs.

Achieving institutionalization and participation

■ Several social, economic, institutional and cultural phenomena surfaced or have increased noticeably in the past two years. These phenomena serve as indicators that

Palestinian society possesses certain behavioral resources that might be capitalized upon in an institutional manner and in the context of clear and just legislation. Examples of those strengths are the ability to solve problems, a high degree of flexibility, and a marked resourcefulness in facing unusual

^{4.} This material was prepared by Itimad Mhana, member of the PHDR Advisory Committee, and is based upon data collected to prepare a study on poverty that included hundreds of Palestinian families. The families were interviewed in order to understand their comprehension and definition of poverty and the ways to handle it. The study was conducted in conjunction with the UNDP, the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, and the British Development Agency.

Participation requires potent institution and a leadership in possession of a vision, a strategy and defined institutional standards

Widespread use of violence led to lower rates of

participation

challenges in a short span of time.

- Various data gathered during the Intifada revealed the importance Palestinians place on the concepts of democracy and free elections. The majority of Palestinians are calling for institutional change, especially at the local government level. Public. decentralized participation in governance, management and tax collection could be effectively engaged to achieve Palestinian rights. It is obvious that participation requires potent institutions and a leadership in possession of a vision, a strategy and defined institutional standards to achieve these goals.
- The Intifada also uncovered weaknesses that must be corrected, such as the failure of leadership to communicate with the people and the inability or lack of preparedness of some PNA institutions to help society to resolve daily economic and social problems.
- The Intifada led to a rallying of the Palestinian people around their cause and its objectives, beginning with the implementation of international resolutions. Nonetheless. national unity remains a social rather than an institutional concept, thereby preventing the participation of large segments of society. Among the factors contributing to flagging levels of participation was the widespread use of violence.
- Vocal criticism against practices that are in discord with Palestinian aspirations such as human development, human

has been weak. Civil society institutions and human rights organizations for the most part stood silent, unable to criticize the use of violence against civilians, choosing instead to promote the rationalization that the continuation of occupation and failure to honor international resolutions were responsible for violence.

- The PNA focus on the Palestinian political agenda as the highest priority resulted in the lack of coordinated defined and economic and social programs. The absence of leadership and direction led to a high degree of chaos within governmental organizations. Many agencies ceased to function altogether. The situation was also reflected in the failed performance international institutions, which were restricted by measures enforced by the occupation government or those which existed primarily to advance their own agendas.
- The absence of a long-term development vision and the lack of clear economic, social, and cultural policies led to widespread discord and the exhaustion of resources. It also served to weaken the bonds between the public and its representatives at various tiers of government, such as the Palestinian Legislative Council and local authorities.

Regression in the rule of law

■ The declaration of a state of emergency by the PNA following the eruption of the Intifada led to regression in the implementation

of the rule of law. The weakness of PNA institutions in the face of external aggression decreased public confidence in these institutions and gave rise to contradictory perceptions of the concept of authority. On the one hand, Israel had control of the situation on the ground, preventing the Palestinians from leading normal lives, and on the other hand, the people expected the PNA to solve all their problems, even those caused by occupation.

- The convoluted Palestinian perception of authority in any capacity resulted continuing Israeli authority over occupied land and was bolstered existing as Palestinian institutions failed to offer a robust alternative in the areas of personal security and public services. Changing the political status quo by ending occupation and establishing a strong and independent national authority will lay the foundation for reeducating the Palestinian people regarding the role of the state and public's relationship with it with regard to rights and duties. And while removing occupation is necessary, democracy and sound institution-building are equally so in reinforcing the meaning of a state, especially during the time in which the foundations of a new state are being constructed.
- The inability of the Palestinian security apparatus to protect the Palestinians from danger and the ineffectiveness of Palestinian law enforcement bodies has

created a sense of general distrust in the rule of law. The siege and a shortage of judges led to an enormous backlog of cases in the legal system, further weakening the public's faith in its effectiveness. Distrust of the legal system has spilled over into the banking system as well. A program must be created to specifically deal with this social phenomenon, and must be incorporated into the cumulative human development vision.

The regression of the role of civil society

- The vital role played by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) was clearly underscored during the Intifada, especially those organizations offering social, relief, and health services; those specializing in expediting agricultural distribution; and those organizing cultural activities. At the same time, some institutions stood completely paralyzed in the face of the crisis, which will necessitate serious examination in the future.
- The second Intifada was accompanied by regression in the performance and credibility of political groups that comprise the PNA and especially those that call for "democracy, equality and human rights," while religious and conservative parties seemed to gain ground. This change could seriously impact not only the political direction of the country, but also make the process of implementing needed changes in the social, cultural and democratic arenas more difficult.

The weakness of PNA institutions in the face of external aggression decreased people's confidence in them

Some institutions stood completely paralyzed in the face of the crisis, which will necessitate serious examination in the future

While removing occupation is necessary, democracy and sound institution-building are equally so

■ In the context of the current crisis, the Palestinian political leadership failed to offer any meaningful political, social or economic programs to the people and have provided little active guidance in addressing the multitude day-to-day of difficulties that the Palestinians face. The concerns of the people were not relayed to the PNA, political although some representatives have expressed sincere concern for and interest in the need to integrate political and development efforts.

Chaos in funding development in light of Israeli measures

■ The connection between funding and political agendas has recently been made clear, especially in the case of the development process, as some donors fulfilled their promises and others failed to do so. This uncertainty with regard to funding streams has affected the Palestinian political agenda and posited great pressure on the PNA in the negotiation process. Some donors simply did not understand the effects of the situation on the ground, although they did make attempts to amend their programs and working mechanisms to accommodate the realities. However. increasing Arab financial support played a major role in keeping PNA institutions afloat and in relieving some of the poverty introduced by the siege and

destruction of the Palestinian

economic infrastructure.

■ Several questions arose regarding donor funding from both Arab and Western nations. Arab funding, although vital to the survival of the PNA, was random and occasionally spent to further the objectives of various political agendas. This situation led to the weakening of some PNA institutions and the strengthening of others. In addition, some donors were more interested in media attention than in poverty relief and development of the Palestinian society. Concerns were also voiced regarding fair distribution of international aid, especially to remote and neglected areas.

Section Five: Report Methodology: A Participatory Approach

The preparation of the PHDR involved the broad-based participation of many segments of Palestinian society. The following mechanisms were employed in the report preparation process:

Active partnership in steering the preparation process was executed by the three principal partners: the Development Studies Programme at Birzeit University (DSP), the Department ofHuman Development at the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), and the Human Development Unit at the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The **Development Studies Programme**

Some donors simply did not understand the effects of the situation on the ground supervised the production of the report. The DSP conducted research and sponsored organizational meetings of the research and consultation committees in order to arrive at a qualitative, objective and balanced final report. MOPIC assumed responsibility for integration of the principle of human development into the national planning process and also into the operations of other ministries. MOPIC also coordinated the activities of the ministerial committee. The UNDP assumed the tasks of securing funding for the project and providing technical support and consultation throughout the

process.

The Technical Advisory Committee is a scientific committee comprised of select Palestinian scholars. Committee bore the responsibility of monitoring the quality of the report for content and objectivity. The Committee members presented papers that were invaluable to the preparation of the report, and they actively participated in discussions and follow-up efforts.

The Ministerial Committee included 18 representatives of Palestinian ministries from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, who

Box (1 - 9) Strengths of the Palestinian people

- The inherent justice of their struggle and the legitimacy of their claims, which are supported by international protocol and UN resolutions.
- The wealth of experience derived from the tasks of nation-building, and a willingness to learn and benefit from the experiences of other Arab nations and the international community.
- The formation of their own representative governing body (the PNA), and its gradual transformation into an internationally recognized state government.
- The solidarity and support of other Arab nations and the international community for the Palestinian struggle.
- The creation of an effective government infrastructure attuned to the principles of human development.
- The strength of the experience acquired through the pursuit of sustainable human development in an unpredictable and difficult environment.
- The relative strength of Palestinian civil society and its role in the development process and the protection of achievements.
- The advances made in achieving transparency and accountability in Palestinian civil institutions.
- The constructive growth of the education sector and the opportunities it affords for future investment.

discussed the report and reviewed its content. They provided insight and perspective on the substance and content of the report.

Workshops were conducted with representatives from many segments of Palestinian society. More than 30 workshops were organized, attended by more than 800 experts representing hundreds of Palestinian institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The workshops discussed the central themes of the PHDR, as well as its objectives and priorities.⁵ The workshops also served to formulate the research plan for each chapter.

Box (1 - 10) Highlights of the results of selected workshops held in conjunction with the preparation of the PHDR

Workshops attended by political parties:

- The need to issue a periodic report on the subject of sustainable human development in Palestine is evident, as supported by the events of the Intifada.
- Increased attention must be given to health and social affairs in light of growing poverty levels, as well as to key economic sectors such as agriculture.
- It is important to heed privacy issues when issuing the report; care must be taken with the use of primary indicators to avoid subjective interpretation.
- It is necessary to reconcile the sometimes competing objectives of the political struggle and other key initiatives, such as democracy, the nation-building process and the rule of law.

Workshops with Palestinian women, in coordination with the General Union of Palestinian Women and the Women's Affairs Committee:

- Focus on internal issues and emphasize equality between men and women, the rule of law and achieving democracy. Shift institutional priorities from relief to development.
- Bolster a sense of individual initiative among the people by developing personal, social and economic strengths. Reinforce the concepts of strong public management and raise the level of ability to adapt to various conditions.

Workshops in coordination with the Palestinian Network of Non-governmental Organizations and the Union of Charitable Organizations:

- Focus on individual initiative and empowerment as means to achieve development.
- Shine light on primary concerns, such as participation and advocacy of democracy, and furnish options to the people at times of elections.

^{5.} A list of the workshops is available in Appendix (6).

- Work to ingrain the concepts of self-reliance and the development of personal abilities.

Workshops attended by institutions working in refugee camps:

- Obstacles continue to impede the formation of a meaningful relationship between the development process and the interests of refugees.
- The developmental dimension inside refugee camps is absent as a result of the political nature of the issue of refugees. The report must discuss the standing of Palestinian refugees and ways to reconcile the national and political issues of refugees in a manner consistent with their rights.

Workshop attended by institutions working in the human rights field:

- Include in the report a vision for the formation of new relationships that reconciles human rights with the rule of law, and the rule of law with the judicial authority, especially in light of the continuing dominance of tribal law and the undue powers of the security apparatus in place of the judicial system.
- Discuss of the meaning of justice as a developmental pillar that neutralizes tribal favoritism and political and social nepotism. Expand upon development principles that are concerned with the legal system and the equal distribution of justice among the various segments of society.

Workshop with representatives from Palestinian media outlets:

- The report must include a message to encourage the pursuit of a better life that
 would reflect on all societal institutions. To that end, a clear strategy must be
 devised regarding promotion of development work in Palestine.
- Focus on the Arab and Islamic dimensions in the funding of the development of Palestine and exercise care to guarantee that international relations concerned with funding be clear and calculated.
- Focus on the importance of the humanitarian media message, which should be organized, coordinated and well-documented.

Workshop with institutions specializing in the care of children:

- Extend the report's vitality by paying attention to qualitative studies and expressing statistics not merely as such, but a meaningful analysis of the numbers and the matters they address. Integrate the issues and rights of children in various chapters of the report in recognition of the importance of this segment of society and its vital connection with the principle of sustainable development planning.

Children's letters: Twenty-eight Palestinian children wrote letters to known personalities and institutions that have an effect on the children's economic, social and political lives. The letters express only the opinions of their writers.

Box (1 - 11) Selected quotes from Palestinian children's letters regarding human development:

To Kofi Anan, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

"...I write to you this letter to ask that you consider the Palestinian cause with more attention and pressure the Israeli government and its Prime Minister into honoring agreements signed by the two sides and international resolutions."

Ahmed Waleed Hasan, 14, Nablus

To the members of the Palestinian Legislative Council:

"...I am a resident wishing to learn the nature of your work. You have promised the people so much-we will...and will...and will...and will do! I want to ask what it is you have done....? I see the siege and the poverty and the fear and am still patiently waiting. I know you condemn and admonish and explain things to officials, and no one listens. What should we do?"

Dina Sharaf Bakr, 13, Qalqielya

To the Minister of Education:

"...I hear that physical punishment is banned at schools, but we are being beaten and humiliated if we forget something or the like...is it true that beating is banned? And if it is, are you aware of what is happening at schools? Also, there are too many of us in one classroom; students cannot take in the material. In addition, why has headwear been forced upon female students when donning is the choice of the girl? I hope you will examine these issues and reconsider them."

Areej Abu Huloub, 15, Gaza Strip

Opinion polls: The DSP worked to amplify the voices of the Palestinians, especially communities on the periphery, through opinion polls that interviewed 8,400 Palestinians of varying age groups and from different locations regarding topics discussed in the report.

Box (1 - 12) Wide support of the process of reform

- 81% of Palestinians believe that reform within the institutions of the PNA is necessary.
- 97% of Palestinians believe in the need to fight corruption, employ on the basis of merit, and achieve an active and just judicial system.
- 89% of Palestinians support the use of democracy in decision-making, and a similar percentage called for wider public participation in formulating and executing government policies.
- 92% of Palestinians believe that the role of municipalities and village councils should be more active.⁶

Research: A team of qualified professionals wrote specific research papers, some of which are included in the report while others were incorporated in its preparation.

Case studies: The research team, in cooperation with the field research crew, prepared 20 case studies regarding the living conditions of the Palestinians, especially the disadvantaged and those living in remote areas. The case studies concentrated on the quality of life, opportunities available to Palestinians, and their perspectives. The data revealed great regression in human rights as defined by international law. ⁷ The importance of public participation in discussions regarding the social development was also revealed. In this area, the opinions of the public proved to be responsible and thoughtful.

Expert opinion: Twelve experts wrote summaries evaluating and expanding upon the most important priorities in their fields of expertise. The papers were integrated in various parts of the report and were distributed at the conference announcing the release of the PHDR.

Committee and expert review:

After examination by all concerned committees, the report was evaluated by developmental experts from a wide range of areas.

The media: The PHDR, its implications, its usefulness and utility, and its related activities were discussed in local newspapers and on several television and radio shows.⁸

^{6.} Results of an opinion poll, Development Studies Programme; 18 February 2001.

^{7.} A list of the case studies is available in Appendix (3)

^{8.} The articles were handed out at the conference announcing the PHDR.

Box (1-13) From articles addressing human development:

- From the article "The Palestinian Human Development Report and What is Needed of Fateh Before, During and After Statehood."

"So the upcoming Human Development Report evades the usual traps of repetition and redundancy, I call for surrendering generalizations and instead allowing for the exploration of specifics in the Palestinian civil society burdened by occupation. We must allow research to deduce the needs of the Palestinian society in its current state. Awareness leads to the proper execution of plans, beginning with simplicity of vision and planting of the seeds for the assimilation of sustainable development plans... In order to guarantee success for sustainable human development, Fateh must work to unite human resources and announce the formation of a team entrusted with designing that role (the role in sustainable human development.)"

- From the article "Preliminary Reading into the Structure of the Palestinian Human Development Report 2000-2001":10:

"The importance of this report lies in recommendations and deductions that could come from it, but most importantly, those recommendations must have execution mechanisms in order to be of tangible value. Thus, it is important that some benchmarks be established to measure the extent to which the recommendations and their execution were achieved in the next PHDR."

- From the article "Regarding the Vitality of Empowerment and Development":

"Many Palestinian voices with different directions agree on the importance of empowerment and the bolstering of development in anticipation of the long battle, underscoring the need for the activities undertaken by the Development Studies Programme at Birzeit University. The DSP is preparing the third Palestinian Human Development Report with a primary focus on the issue of empowerment-a word that still carries influence in our current condition."

Difficulties:

Preparing the PHDR was not a simple undertaking under the

current conditions. It was not easy to monitor field changes in the political arena and their effect on economic and social life; the

^{9.} Naser Damj, Fateh Supreme Council, Al-Ayyam Newspaper, 9 May 2001.

^{10.} Ahmed Majdalani, Al-Ayyam Newspaper, 2 May 2001.

^{11.} Muhsen Abu Ramadan, Civil Work (monthly publication issued by the Palestinian Network of Non-Governmental Organizations), 30 April 2002.

changes were radical, almost daily in frequency, and certainly not patterned. Also, it was difficult to speak about human development under the weight of the deterioration of the basic infrastructure of society and the subjection of the rights of the people and their collective future to danger. Nevertheless. those involved in preparing the PHDR and many others gave voice to the message that resistance, building, and stopping the deterioration should be joined in one complete effort to achieve emancipation on the political, social and economic levels.

The difficult conditions require larger efforts and the continuation of deliberation, discussion and establishment of plans. Sustainable human development is a long-term endeavor comprising individual initiatives whose specific goals and achievements are viewed in the aggregate. Each component of the human development effort is critical to the effort to secure a better future for the children of Palestine.

Preparing the PHDR was a challenging attempt to reach an understanding of a highly complex situation. The PHDR confronts and documents honestly many contradictions, a task which required great determination and devotion. A multitude of challenges arose from the political status quo and the suffocation of Palestinian society as a whole, including universities, research centers and governmental and governmental organizations. The siege and reoccupation of parts of Palestinian cities impeded work on the PHDR. Following are some of the most notable obstacles:

- 1. The inability of the members of the Advisory and Ministerial Committees in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to meet to discuss the PHDR and exchange opinions about the content and focus of their respective contributions. Further, several members of each Committee were unable to attend meetings, denied entry by soldiers at checkpoints. Electronic mail was used extensively, and later video-conferencing was employed to unite the members.
- 2. It was difficult for research crews to confer or even reach their posts at appointed times. The majority of the researchers were incapable of reaching Jerusalem, home of the UNDP headquarters. The MOPIC building and offices of the DSP were occupied, and a curfew was enforced for an extended period of time. Crews had to meet outside headquarters on several occasions.
- 3. The closure of the road to Birzeit made use of the university library and other venues impossible and obstructed managerial and financial matters associated with the PHDR.
- 4. Field work was fraught with danger at many times, and amendments to work plans were needed to enable field researchers to reach their homes at a suitable hour after work. One of our field researchers was struck by a rubber-coated steel bullet while returning home from work, .

necessitating hospitalization, and others were subjected to physical abuse or harassment. Regardless, we were able to conduct field research in 75 Palestinian locations, including villages, neglected refugee camps, and locales under curfew.

5. Conflicting data at times led to difficulty in selecting statistics that best represent the changes and losses incurred by the Palestinian society in recent times. The multiplicity of information resources, especially regarding economic loss and the number of victims were the primary motivation behind using additional means of achieving accuracy before representing the available data.

Despite it all, the participants were determined to fulfill their tasks and produced the PHDR in

spite of the obstacles and frustration. The report came to represent the steadfastness of a people that turn challenges into hope and yearn for a better future for their children. The message of the PHDR is a civilized, humane one, positing Palestine among the ranks of nations that place human rights above all other considerations. The PHDR strives to present Palestinian society for what it is: a society that embraces peace and life and strives to achieve equality between men and women; a society that works to integrate its neglected segments, including persons with special needs, the elderly, and the underprivileged in a development process that they created and from which they will benefit; and a society that longs for freedom and excels at all aspects of life-intellectual, artistic and literary.

Box (1 - 14) Cultural life despite the obstacles

The city of Ramallah, with its many cultural and artistic centers, produced hundreds of cultural events (exhibitions and literature and poetry forums,) artistic affairs (plays and films,) and activities for children and youth. Many of the cultural and artistic events were organized by non-governmental organizations in public spaces and courtyards, where Palestinian and international art and theater groups performed. The activities were patronized by thousands, despite the siege and air raids the city endured. In spite of the importance of such activities under the current circumstances, they were confined to Ramallah.