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The impact of life's difficulties resulting from the occupation in undermining mutual trust and support for the Palestinian-Israeli peace process:

A case study on

Areas Adjacent to the Separation Wall

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The impact of daily life hardships resulting from the occupation in undermining mutual trust and support for the Palestinian-Israeli peace process:

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Introduction

Mutual violence and daily life hardships resulting from the conflict and the continued Israeli occupation produce negative perceptions on both sides. These perceptions play a major role in undermining any peace agreement between the two parties, as the two sides lose trust in the other's intentions to reach a real peace that ends the conflict. In this study, we try to focus on the areas most facing the difficulties of life

"I have a desire to move from the area for a certain period, until conditions improve, because our situation is hard because it is difficult to commute from the village to my workplace in Ramallah or for my children to go to their universities. We live daily suffering at the checkpoints, in addition to our fear for our children from the moment they leave the house until they return."

Participant in the focus group meeting

1 March 2021

resulting from the practices of the occupation authorities, to find out how this could affect trust and the peace process. The paper focuses on studying one of the areas where suffering is high, those directly impacted by the construction of the Israeli separation wall, with the consequent barriers and restrictions on the residents, and how this affects the attitudes and perceptions of the people residing in the area towards the Israelis and the peace process.

The paper is intended to be a policy paper, discussing ways to alleviate the difficulties of life experienced by citizens in the areas adjacent to the wall, in an attempt to present a set of recommendations to the Palestinian government, Palestinian civil society, the international community, and the Israeli government that can be built upon in an attempt to enhance trust between the two parties if they want to move forward, in a serious peace process that ends all outstanding issues.

The paper utilizes the findings of two public opinion polls conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) on trust in the other side. The first poll was conducted in August 2020 among a representative sample of 1,200 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 120 population locations. The second poll was conducted at the end of October-November 2020, among a representative sample of 1,560 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We also conducted three survey experiments in January 2021 among a sample of 243 individuals, including 162 who live in areas of severe hardships due to the wall and other hardships of daily life under occupation, and 81 individuals from areas of less suffering that are more remote from areas of friction. We also held two focus groups to discuss the results of the two surveys and the survey experiments to explore perceptions of individual directly affected by daily life difficulties in the selected hardships areas. The paper also relied on many interviews with decision-makers, specialists, and citizens, and on several press reports that dealt with the subject, in addition to reports issued by Palestinian and international institutions.

Forms of hardships facing Palestinians as a result of the separation wall:

The occupation government decided to build the separation wall in June 2002 to prevent Palestinians from the West Bank from entering Israel except through certain crossings. According to the Israeli narrative, the wall was built following a long series of operations carried out by Palestinians. However, the path of the wall proves that the wall had settler-colonial goals inn mind as it swallowed large areas of Palestinian land estimated at more than 10% of the area of the West Bank.

Approximately 85% of the wall's and barrier's route passes inside the West Bank rather than along the borders between Israel and the West Bank. The length of the wall's route is 712 km, including sections that have been completed, sections that are under construction and others that are still being planned. This means that the length of the wall is more than twice the length of the Green Line, which is 320 km. If Israel completes the construction of the wall along the entire specified path, it will carve out 526,677 dunums of West Bank lands.¹

Through the wall, Israel separated the residents from their lands in about 150 Palestinian communities in the West Bank, including agricultural and grazing lands, as it locked these lands between the wall and the Green Line. Thus, Israel has denied thousands of Palestinians free access to their land and denied them the use of it. It is true that Israel has made 84 gates along the wall, which has been completed, that Palestinians can cross – theoretically. However, these gates do not actually allow free access to the lands behind the wall but were intended to create a false image that gives the illusion that life continues to be normal. As entry to these lands requires a permit from the Civil Administration, and the permit is not granted to everyone who applies for it, to enter their land.² The construction of the separation wall has left several difficulties on the life of the Palestinian citizens, especially those living on both sides of the wall. These difficulties varied between social difficulties, affecting the social ties of Palestinian families on both sides of the wall, or forcing some families behind the wall to move to other areas; or economic difficulties related to agriculture, with Palestinians unable to work in their lands throughout the year; in addition to depriving livestock owners of access to pastures behind the wall, and other economic losses. Other hardships revolved around access to educational, health, and environmental needs and facilities.

¹ The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories - B'Tselem. https://www.btselem.org/arabic/separation_barrier

² The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories - B'Tselem, a previously mentioned source.

The social difficulties of the separation wall

The state of disintegration and social isolation has become a feature imposed on the residents of the areas west of the separation barrier. As a result of the complex occupation measures imposed by the occupation authorities, the Palestinian families who were separated and placed on both sides of the wall weakened their family relations causing them to begin to live in a state of social isolation, due to the difficulty in communicating with their family on the other side of the wall. In addition, the transportation process, if possible at all, becomes more expensive,

"What peace are you talking about when our lives are turned upside down as a result of the measures taken by the occupation? I am a citizen of Jerusalem villages and married to my relative from Jerusalem. Sometimes I am denied entry to my house in Jerusalem (inside the wall) for several months because I was not granted an entry permit to enter and stay overnight in Jerusalem, and thus our lives turn into hell."

"How do you want me to trust the Israelis and how do you want me to make peace with him? They seek to displace us from Jerusalem, and they do not want peace, but rather they want to waste time in continuing with the schemes of expulsion and settlements."

A respondent who refused to reveal his name for fear of not obtaining a permit

Interview on 23 May 2021

because of the long distance, and the need to cross the checkpoints set by the occupation. In most cases, Palestinian families residing east of the wall cannot visit their relatives on the west of it. In the opposite direction, the occupation allowed one visit per month.

The data of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics indicated that about 35,000 families are affected by the wall, not to mention the presence of about 67,000 Palestinians in isolated buildings between the wall and the Green Line.³ This makes it difficult for Palestinians to socialize with each other. This complaint was expressed by the participants in the focus group meetings, where one of the participants said that visits of relatives and friends to his home are no longer possible because of this wall.

Residents of the areas behind the wall or close to the wall suffer from these and other concerns more than others, such as fear for the family, and displacement. The results of the survey experiments conducted by PSR in January 2021 showed that 78% are worried that they or their family members will be attacked by the Israeli army, and 50% fear being displaced from their places of residence, as can be seen in figure 1 below.⁴

³Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. <u>pcbs.gov.ps > portals > pcbs > PressRelease > Press_Ar_LandDayA2020</u>

⁴ Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Survey Experiments Survey, previously mentioned source.

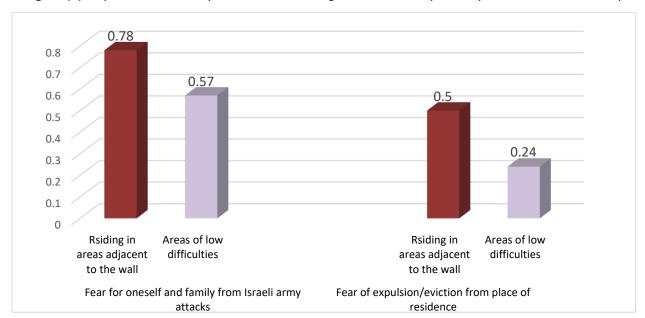


Figure (1): Expressions of worry and concern among the Palestinian public by nature of area of study

The economic difficulties of the separation wall

The erection of the wall caused great economic damage, represented by the regular deprivation of farmers from accessing their lands behind the wall (due to the required permits to enter behind the wall). During the 2020 olive season, a number of areas were closed, and farmers were prevented from entering their lands for most of the season, thus causing the owners of these lands to suffer heavy losses.⁵ The construction of the wall also deprived the Palestinians of many water sources, as the separation wall included a large number of these sources.

The wall also left other negative economic impacts on the life of the Palestinian citizens in terms of land confiscation and the loss of tourism, as the wall included many areas containing historical and religious sites, in addition to nature reserves. The wall left its impact on citizens by generating a high rate of unemployment among those who lost their source of livelihood. Data from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics indicated that there are about 2,700 isolated

⁵ An interview with lawyer Bassam Karajeh (Jerusalem Center for Legal Aid and Human Rights) on 25/5/2021.

⁶ Institute for Economic Policy Research - MAS. Aforementioned source, pg 5.

establishments between the wall and the Green Line, and about 5,300 establishments affected by

the construction of the wall.⁷ The occupation continues to harass the Palestinian economic establishments behind the wall and abuse their owners. One of the owners of these facilities estimated his losses as a result of the occupation demolishing his facilities twice at more than one million shekels.⁸

"In the olive season, we are given permits to enter our lands behind the wall, and we must be at the gate on which the soldiers are in the early morning (5:45 am). In the event that we're late, it is not possible for us to enter; this is the normal situation and sometimes if the army suspects something, they detain us for hours until midnight."

Participant in the focus group meeting
1 March 2021

Image (1): Palestinian farmers waiting for the gate to open to access their land behind the separation wall⁹



The results of the aforementioned survey experiments showed that 83% of the residents of the areas adjacent to the separation wall are worried about losing their land, 81% have not been able to reach their land behind the wall during the past year, 98% suffer from delays and restrictions due to the construction of the wall, and 98% of the respondents or their family members have their land confiscated by the Israeli authorities, 100% said they were denied access to their lands

⁷ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, a previously mentioned source.

⁸ Telephone interview with Noureddine Jaradat, owner of a stone and marble exhibition in Barta' al-Shargiya - Jenin, on 5/24/201.

⁹ Website of Awda channel on Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/AWDEH.NET/photos/pcb.3011836005532539/3011835582199248

many times, and 98% said their access to their lands was delayed. The results also showed that 91% of the respondents had trees ruined due to the inability to reach the land to take care of it, and 89% said that the destruction of crops occurred due to the inability to reach at the time of harvesting, in addition to 91% who said that trees were cut down for them. ¹⁰ Figure 2 below illustrates these difficulties.

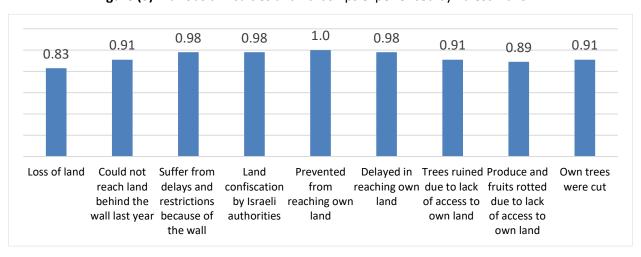


Figure (3): Various difficulties and hardships experienced by Palestinians

This suffering reflects negatively, as we will explain later, on the citizens' trust in the other side, as well as on their attitudes towards the peace process. This was also demonstrated by the interviews with decision-makers, specialists, and citizens, which were previously referred to.

Other Difficulties of the Separation Wall

The wall affects various other aspects of the citizens living adjacent to the wall, especially behind the wall. It affects the education and health sectors, and the wall has also harmed the Palestinian ecosystem:

¹⁰ Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Survey Experiments Survey, previously mentioned source.

- The construction of the wall had negative effects on the educational process in the areas adjacent to the wall because a number of teachers were prevented from moving to and from schools located behind the wall. School students in the areas behind the wall also faced problems due to the daily movement to their schools and waiting for hours at military checkpoints, and the same on university students. This led to

"When I was prevented from entering Jerusalem, I tried to settle in my village and I took my children and my wife with me. But the biggest obstacle for us was movement. How will my children go to their schools in East Jerusalem every day and how will my wife go to work? We did a week's experiment that was exhausting for them in terms of time to reach their schools and then go back home, so we agreed that they would return to our house in Jerusalem."

A resident who refused to reveal his name for fear of not obtaining a permit

interview on 23 May 2021

increased costs for parents and increased pressure on students as a result of the long time they spend between the educational process and waiting at the checkpoints, and this led to the deprivation of a large number of them of their right to education. Many university students inside the wall were forced to live far from their homes and families, although the distance between their homes and universities sometimes does not exceed several kilometers.¹¹

- The health sector, like other vital sectors, was affected by the construction of the separation and expansion wall, as it impeded access to health facilities in the villages surrounded by the wall. The wall also prevented or made it difficult for patients to reach hospitals and medical centers. In addition, the wall tightened the closure on the city of Jerusalem, which has several health care facilities and hospitals with specialties that are not found in West Bank hospitals, thus depriving patients of access to these hospitals to receive appropriate treatment. Also, many deaths are recorded annually for the residents of the areas surrounded by the wall, as a result of the delay in the patient's arrival to receive the necessary ambulance due to the military checkpoints.¹²
- The construction of the wall affects the Palestinian environment, as it has caused damage to a large number of natural reserves (40 reserves) in the West Bank and the diversity of flora and fauna they contain, as well as isolating 62% of the forest areas behind the wall in the West Bank. The wall surrounded water aquifers, including about 35 water wells out of 50 wells in the area adjacent to the wall, and this means that the Palestinian share of water will be reduced.¹³

¹¹ Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, focus group meetings, 1/3/2021.

¹² Institute for Economic Policy Research - MAS. Previous Source, pg 6.

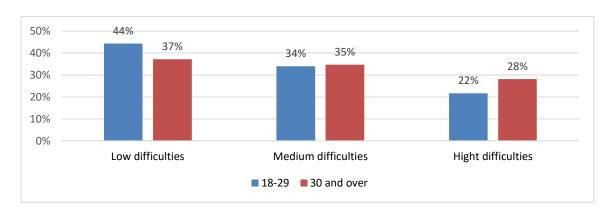
¹³ Institute for Economic Policy Research - MAS. Previous source, pg 7.

Image (2): A Palestinian ambulance waiting for permission to access an Israeli military checkpoint



A comparison between the suffering of young people (18-29) and those of older people (30+) shows that the older age group faces more difficulties than the young. The survey experiments show that the percentage of those who face high difficulties among the older age group is 28%, while this percentage stands at 22% among the youth. On the other hand, 44% of the youth face low difficulties, while 37% of the old face low difficulties. Figure 3 below illustrates these findings.

Figure (3): Daily life difficulties and hardships by age group



¹⁴ Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Youth Survey.

The impact of life's difficulties on mutual trust and support for the Palestinian-Israeli peace process

To explore the effects that suffering leaves on Palestinian-Israeli relations, the survey experiments examined the differences in attitudes toward trust in the other side and toward the peace process between the two study samples: those who live in areas of high suffering and those who live outside them. These

"The Palestinian society has lost trust in the other side and in the peace process. To restore trust, the international community should pressure Israel to take concrete steps on the ground, represented by stopping settlements, stopping the Israeli army's entry into Areas A, expanding areas A and B, and other steps that contribute to easing the tension in the area, and in the Palestinian public opinion, to launch a serious peace process."

Telephone interview with journalist Mohammed Daraghmeh, director of Al Sharq TV office in Palestine 29 May 2021

survey experiments show that the degree of suffering is very high in the area affected by the construction of the wall. But it decreases sharply in areas far from it, as shown in figure (4) below.

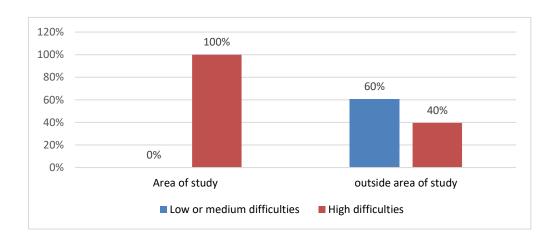


Figure (4): Daily life difficulties and hardships in areas behind the separation wall

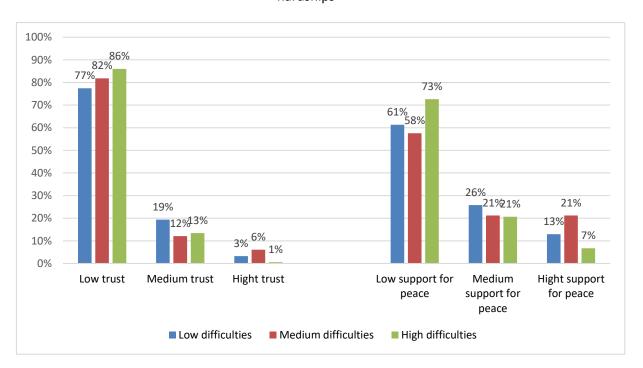
The construction of the separation wall contributed to the hardening of attitudes among the Palestinian citizens living near the wall, as trust in the other side decreased and support for the

peace process decreased. Polls conducted by PSR in August and November 2020 and the experiments of January 2021 show that the Palestinian public residing along the wall is less trusting of the Israeli side and more hawkish towards the peace process compared to those who live in areas with less suffering.

The relationship between life's difficulties and loss of trust

The results of the surveys conducted among the residents of those areas adjacent to the wall indicate that the greater the difficulties, the less trust in the Israelis and the less support for the peace process. As shown in Figure (5) below, 86% of those who suffer from high difficulties say they have low trust in Israeli Jews, only 1% of them have high trust, and 13% have medium trust. Trust increases slightly among those who suffer from fewer difficulties, as 23% of them have medium trust and 77% have low trust. This is also reflected in support for the peace process. While 73% of those who suffer from high difficulties have low support for the peace process, 58% and 61%, respectively, of those who have moderate or little difficulties have low support for the peace process.

Figure (5): Level of trust in Israeli Jews and level of support for peace by level of difficulties and hardships



These results confirm the existence of a negative relationship between suffering and the level of trust in the other. The greater the suffering, the lower the trust, the fewer the cases of suffering, the greater the trust. The same applies to the relationship between suffering and support for the peace process. Bassam Karajeh, a lawyer working at the Jerusalem Center for Legal Aid, says:

"When a person lives in prosperity and all these freedoms are available; from freedom of movement, ownership, opinion, and expression, and all rights are protected and there is no discrimination, the orientations of this person are more loving and peaceful and they would be loving to others and willing to accept them, a person is the child of its environment. While the person who lives in a difficult environment and his freedom is restricted and his rights are stolen, his orientations are more stringent towards the values of justice, peace, and acceptance of the other. Negative practices always lead to hopelessness". 15

One of the participants in the focus groups says that those who live in suffering at the checkpoints that separate the areas west of the wall on a daily basis back and forth to get to work in Ramallah, cannot trust Israel, or that it wants peace, but rather it puts these difficulties into displacing us from our land to seize it.¹⁶

The results of the survey experiments among young people (18-29) also show that there is a close relationship between difficulties and trust, the more the difficulties, the lower trust, and the same applies to older people (30 and more), but to a lesser degree as can be see in figure (6) below with 92% of the young people who faced high difficulties had low trust in the other party, and 88% among the older ones with the same level of difficulties.

¹⁵ An interview with the lawyer Bassam Karajeh - Jerusalem Center for Legal Aid and Human Rights, on 25/5/2021.

¹⁶ Focus group meetings, 1/3/2021.

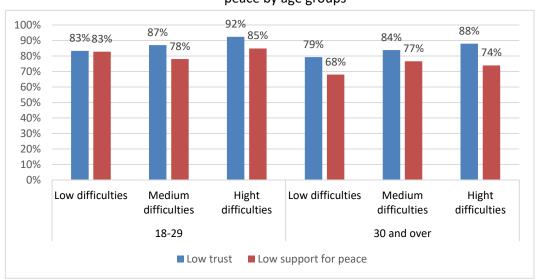


Figure (6): Corrolation between daily life difficulties and hardships and level of trust and support for peace by age groups

Figure No. (6) above also shows a relationship between the difficulties faced by young people and support for the peace process. The greater the difficulties, the lower the support for the peace process among the youth, and the same applies to the older age group, but to a lesser degree (85% among the youth compared to 74% among the old). These findings confirm that young people are more affected by suffering than the elderly. This was also confirmed by the young speakers in the focus group meetings: "Every day I spend at least one hour at the checkpoint, because of the waiting at the gates going back and forth. How do I trust the Israelis, or believe they want peace."

The relationship between exposure to violence and loss of trust

The survey experiments conducted for this report found that exposure to suffering in the areas adjacent to the wall and other areas of high suffering also means that these areas are also more exposed and witness to violence. The results of these experiments also indicate that there is a negative relationship between the degree of exposure to and witnessing

"I feel hatred towards the Israeli Jews because they occupy our land and practice all kinds of oppression and injustice towards us. I have been arrested for 3 and a half years and have always suffered at the checkpoints. How do you want me to trust them or believe they want peace and coexistence with? I don't hate them because of their religion, but their policies that confiscated my land."

Participant in the focus group meeting
1 March 2021

violence and the degree of trust in the other side.

Trust decreases, as shown in Figure (7) below, among those who have been exposed to more violence at the hands of the Israelis, as the percentage of low trust increases to 87% among those who have been exposed to a high degree of violence and decreases to 82% of those who have been exposed to a low degree of violence. The trust of the Palestinians in the Israelis is low in general. However, this additional decrease in trust increases more among those who faced difficulties in life or were subjected to violence from the occupation due to the various measures of the occupation.¹⁷

One of the participants in the focus group meetings said that "Israel practices all kinds of violence, including arrests, killing, and torture. The wall is a type of violence, the checkpoints are violence, and arrests are violence. We live with violence daily, and we do not trust all Israeli statements about peace, and I see that Israel has entered the peace process in order to buy time, in order to complete its schemes to control and seize everything." ¹⁸

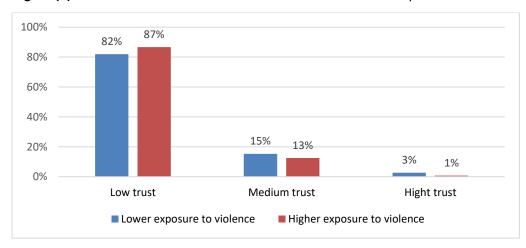


Figure (7): Corrolation between trust in Israeli Jews and level of exposure to violence

¹⁷ Survey Trials Survey, January 2021. previously mentioned source.

¹⁸ Focus group meetings, 1/3/2021.

The relationship between loss of trust and support for the peace process

The relationship clearly emerges between trust in the other side and support for the peace process, as indicated by the results of the polls and the survey experiments we mentioned earlier.

"There is a general Palestinian position that does not trust the Israelis and does not see that they want peace because of Israel's settlement and occupation policy, and the more this aggressive policy increases, the greater the loss of trust in them and the peace process in the Palestinian society with all its components. As the saying goes: "The one whose hand is on fire is not the same as the one whose hand is in water."

An interview with Minister Walid Assaf, head of the Wall and Settlement Resistance Commission 25 May 2021

The greater the trust in the other party, the greater the support for the peace process, and the more trust decreases, the more support for the peace process decreases. An opinion poll conducted by PSR in August 2020 on a representative sample of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip showed that 50% of those who have low trust in the other side have low support for the peace process, 26% have medium support, and only 24% have high support. On the other hand, high support for the peace process among those who have the highest level of trust almost doubles to 42%, as indicated in figure 8 below. ¹⁹

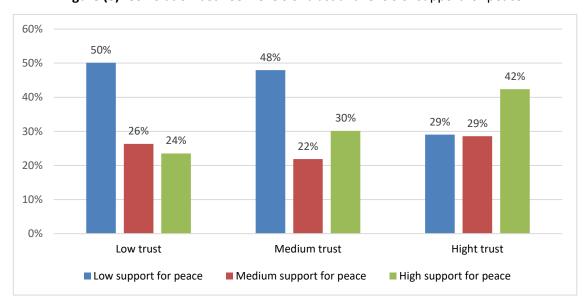


Figure (8): Corrolation between levels of trust and levels of support for peace

¹⁹ Same source as before.

This negative relationship between the level of trust and the extent of support for the peace process emerges when looking at the results of the survey experiments in areas of high suffering, such as those living in areas adjacent to the wall. The results in these areas indicate that only 3% of those who have low trust have high support for the peace process compared to 42% among those who have greater trust. The results of the survey experiments also indicate that 76% of those who have low trust in the Israelis have a low level of support for the peace process, as shown in figure (9).

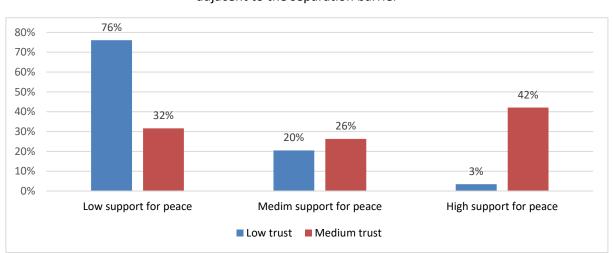


Figure (9): Corrolation between levls of turst in Israeli Jews and level of support for peace in areas adjacent to the separation barrier

Recommendations

Without prejudice to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination or detracting from their right to a sovereign state in the occupied territories in 1967, addressing the priority living conditions of Palestinian citizens, especially the right to live in housing worthy of human dignity, building the facilities necessary for their work, and continue to live in the areas in which they grew up and developed their lifestyle and social constructs, is a necessity for the residents of the areas adjacent to the wall. Reducing the burdens on the population stops the fear of forced displacement and helps build trust in the Israelis by eliminating the belief that the temporary occupation will become a permanent colonization of Palestinian lands, which positively affects support for the "peaceful" political process.

In the context of rebuilding trust and providing the basis for restoring support for the peace process, this report proposes a set of recommendations that alleviate the difficulties experienced by the Palestinians living in the areas adjacent to the wall from the relevant parties in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as follows:

(1) Palestinian government: The Palestinian government should do the following:

- ✓ Recommit the PA to the promises made to residents of "C" areas, which include the areas adjacent to the wall, as development areas, providing the necessary budgets for the development process, and translating these promises into programs and policies to address their social and economic problems and ensure the provision of basic services. For example, provide mobile health clinics, to enhance resilience in such areas.
- ✓ Enhance the sense of citizens in the areas adjacent to the wall that they are part of the local community close to their places of residence, by providing them with security behind the wall.
- ✓ Provide direct legal interventions to protect citizens from demolitions and other Israeli measures related to housing and commercial establishments.
- ✓ Provide financial aid to help residents with licensing procedures, such as survey fees, licensing fees, recourse to the courts, and other procedures that burden citizens in these areas.
- ✓ Adopte awareness programs for citizens about the procedures to be taken in the event of exposure to practices by the occupation authorities regarding building permits and confronting demolition through various programs on television and radio, and communication with the population centers in areas "C" including the areas adjacent to the wall.
- ✓ Strengthen production and marketing inputs by providing a package of exemptions for some materials that are included in the economic activities of the population centers in these areas and provide mechanisms and means to market their products in fair ways in order to enhance the resilience of Palestinian citizens in the areas adjacent to the wall.
- ✓ Continue the diplomatic effort by explaining the difficulties experienced by the citizens in these areas, especially by providing adequate housing and freedom of movement and access to their lands behind the wall in a manner that preserves the human dignity of the residents.
- ✓ Develope the use of information and social media in explaining and clarifying the processes of forced displacement and racial discrimination.
- (2) Civil society organizations and the private sector, shoule develop interventions on many levels such as the following:

- ✓ Provide assistance to facilitate life for citizens, such as providing water and electricity networks, and developing social and economic life as a matter of social responsibility.
- ✓ Develope coordination between civil society organizations to make a map of interventions in order to develop civil society interventions and coordinate of efforts and legal, health, educational, and other services.
- ✓ Provide legal support to protect the right of citizens to obtain building permits for their facilities and protect them from demolition and other occupation measures aimed at forced displacement and access to their lands and care for them behind the wall, which the occupation prevents them from for months.

(3) The international community

- ✓ The European Union and its states should pressure the Israeli government to respect international law and the pre-occupation facts and rescind amendments to the Jordanian building law that restrict construction in Area C.
- ✓ Put pressure on the Israeli government to accept the building and development committees' requests for building permits in Area C, especially the areas behind the wall for Palestinian citizens wishing to build. Press Israel to refrain from demolishing Palestinian facilities, whether private or publicly owned, and infrastructure aimed at developing life in these areas.
- 1) In light of the continuation of the building of the wall, the international community must continue to improve the conditions of citizens living behind or adjacent to the wall, and pressure must be placed on the occupation government to remove all obstacles that limit citizens' freedom of movement. At the same time, the quest and struggle to remove this wall should continue in the field and in international forums.²⁰

(4) Israeli authorities

The Israeli government should do the following to contribute to increasing trust between the Palestinian and Israeli Jewish communities:

- ✓ Accepte requests for building permits in the areas behind the wall and adjacent to it for Palestinian citizens wishing to build personal or public utilities and infrastructure, and allow the extension of water, electricity, and communications networks to these areas.
- ✓ Refraine from demolishing Palestinian facilities, whether private or publicly owned, and infrastructure aimed at developing life in these areas.
- ✓ Grant approval of structural plans for the residential communities to expand the areas available for construction in the communities in Area C, including the areas adjacent to the wall.

²⁰ An interview with Minister Walid Assaf, a previously mentioned source.





This report is part of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Project on "Mapping Sources of Mutual Distrust in Palestinian-Israeli Relations" funded by the European Union (EU). The content do not necessarly reflect the views of the European Union.