



OSRA Grant Cycle 4 Public Reports

Project title: The Impact of Political Conflict on Palestinian Families (Hebron Old City as a Prototype)

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1. Introduction

Hebron city lies 35 KM to the south of Jerusalem and is the largest city in the West Bank of Palestine in terms of population and area. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) the estimated mid-year population in the city of Hebron in 2021 was 221,136, (PCBS, 2021).

In 1997, after the Oslo accord, the PLO and Israel signed the Hebron Protocol which stipulated the rules of administering Hebron city (UN Peacemaker, 1997). The city was divided into two areas H1 and H2 (appendix 1). The H2 area comprises 20% of the city and includes the old city and all of the Israeli settlements, n=6 (UN Peacemaker, 1997). According to the protocol, the Israelis retain control over the security and public order of H2 while the Palestinians have control over civil services. Article 9 of the Protocol requires that both sides should ensure smooth and normal movement of people, goods, and vehicles within, into, and out of the city without obstacles or barriers. The results of this research show that the Israeli authorities are violating the protocol by imposing severe restrictions, barriers, and obstacles on the movements of Palestinians, vehicles and goods. About 40,000 Palestinians live in H2 area, along with 800 Israeli settlers who are protected by 650 Israeli soldiers.

The conflict in the H2 area of Hebron, including the Old City is more intense than in other parts of Hebron and Palestine partly due to the presence of contested religious sites that are sacred to both Jews and Muslims. Tensions between the Arab and the Jewish settlers' communities arise daily. To safeguard Israeli settlements, entire sections have been cordoned off. Shuhada Street, formerly a lively market in the Old City, is now a "sterile zone" where Palestinians are not allowed to walk, despite the fact that their homes are still there (Euronews, 2019).

In the heart of the old city lies the Ibrahimi Mosque also known as the Cave of the Patriarchs or Tomb of the Patriarchs which is the second holiest site after the Temple Mount for the Jews and the third holiest site for Muslims. Hebron city was enlisted on the UNESCO endangered world heritage sites in 2017 (UNESCO, 2017).

The map in appendix 1 show the division of Hebron city into H1 and H2 areas and the position of the Ibrahimi Mosque or Tomb of the Patriarchs in the heart of the old city. The maps also show checkpoints, roadblocks, and health centers.

As the map shows, the Israeli authorities further subdivided H2 area into two political divisions: 1) The military closed or prohibited areas to the west and 2) The restricted areas to the east.

- 1) The military closed areas to the west are encircled with bold black-dashed lines (appendix1) and include Tel Rumeida, Ash-Shuhda street, As-Sahleh, and the old city. The movement of Palestinians and their vehicles in the closed areas are severely obstructed in stark violation of article 9 of the Hebron Accord. No one can enter or exit these areas without passing through strictly controlled checkpoints. Every resident inside

of the closed areas of H2 is assigned a number. To pass through the checkpoints, residents should show their assigned numbers. Anyone without a specified number cannot pass through the checkpoints without special coordination (Btselem, 2019).

- 2) The restricted areas to the east are encircled with the thin blue-dashed line (appendix 1) and include: Wadi Hussein to the east next to the largest Israeli settlement Kiryat Arba. The Palestinian neighborhoods of Ar-Ras to the far north, Al-Ibrahimi Mosque and Al-Ja'abari area in the center, and As-Salaymeh area to the far south. Compared to the closed areas, the movement of people within the restricted areas is less controlled but vehicles are not allowed in and out. People in restricted areas still need to reach health and other services by foot only.

2. Objectives

1. To describe the political conflict in the Palestinian old city of Hebron and the surrounding H2 area as a prototype of the wider Palestinian political conflict.
2. To study the impact of the political conflict on the families in the old city of Hebron and H2 areas in terms of
 - a. Their health and education
 - b. The relationships among the family members and with other families
 - c. The social and economic conditions in the family
3. To explore the strategies the families use to cope with the oppressive environments that result from the conflicts
4. To generalize the applicability of the findings to other conflict areas

3. Significance and Justification

The Israel-Palestinian conflict has been ongoing since 1948. After the 1993 Oslo accord, Hebron city was divided into H1 area under Palestinian control, while Hebron H2 areas came under Israeli full security control while Palestinians are only given administrative affairs. Living under military occupation (by Israel) has seriously impacted the health, education, social and economic standing of the Palestinians. Countries affected by political conflicts are less likely to achieve the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (Garry & Checchi 2020). The aims of this research were to assess the status of residents and share their stories. The findings and recommendations may serve others working in the international care arena to learn and adapt their own work in conflict settings.

4. Methodology

Design

Our study design, data collection, and data analysis were guided by the methodologies of the grounded theory (GT) approach. By providing standard and systematic guidelines of inquiry, grounded theory imparts systematic rigor to qualitative research that otherwise would have been lacking (Thomas & James, 2006).

Strengths of GT methods

1. Because themes are based on data (grounded in data), this approach buffers against confirmation bias of preconceived beliefs about the topic.
2. Unlike other descriptive qualitative methods such as ethnography and content analysis, GT is more analytic, explanatory, and creative than descriptive (Charmaz, 2008) (LaRossa, 2005). GT results are therefore more in-depth and generalizable.

For these reasons, analyzing qualitative data using GT has become the most valid and widespread systematic method in the qualitative research domain (Thomas & James, 2006).

Data collection

A sample of 20 persons, aged 22 – 63 from H2 restricted and closed areas were interviewed. 14 were males and 6 females, 13 were married and 7 were single. Ten resided in the restricted areas, while two came from open areas and 8 persons from closed areas. Because there are advantages and disadvantages for personal interviews and focus groups, we conducted both types of interviews to gain from the advantages of both. In focus groups, participants will stimulate the discussion by interacting among each other but some participants may be less likely to express themselves in front of others because of privacy concerns or because of introverted personalities. In personal interviews, participants have more time to express their own views and may reveal more about their personal experiences but will not have the chance to interact with peers. We used a combination of personal and focus groups interviews. One focus group included 6 participants and another 2 focus groups included 2 participants. The rest of the interviews were one-to-one interviews. A total of 20 persons were interviewed.

Personal interviews lasted between 45 to 90 minutes. Each interview was transcribed and translated to English verbatim.

Ethical considerations

At the beginning of each interview, participants were informed of the objectives of the research and that their participation is completely voluntary that they can withdraw from the interview at any time. Oral informed consent was obtained. Participants were also told that their identifying information will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. Participants were also free to mention their names or not to do so.

Analysis

As is recommended for qualitative research (Baker et al., 1992), data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously. After each interview, the transcript was analyzed independently by 3 researchers and a consultant. The team members then shared their themes and discussed discordances and concordances. This multiple coding strategy ensured the validity of the results. The team members also put forth recommendations for the next interview/interviews based on

the results and experience gained from the previous interview/interviews. Recommendations included those themes that needed more probing, what areas needed more focus, what themes had been repeated and have become redundant, what lessons were learned from the conduct of the interview that should be considered to facilitate better quality in the next one. The questions are presented in appendix VII.

We continued data collection till theme saturation was achieved.

Our analytic strategy followed guidelines in the scholarly literature. The steps of analyzing qualitative data were first described by (J. M. Corbin & Strauss, 1990) and elaborated by (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). The analysis proceeded as follows:

1. Open coding: data were broken down analytically. Line-by-line sentences and paragraphs were given descriptive codes. Then the codes were then organized under major codes or themes by grouping conceptually similar categories together.
2. Axial coding: categories were related to subcategories and to other categories.
3. Selective coding occurs when all the categories are unified in a single framework. Selective coding has been defined as “the explication of the story line.” The story line is the research narrative revolving around the central core category. LaRossa (2005) describes that it is within the story line that the researcher can impart the slant.
4. Finally, we conducted a conference at the end of the project during which we presented the findings and participants were given the chance to provide feedback on the findings

5. Results

Themes and subthemes derived from our open coding analyses are presented in the following section

5.1 The conflict concept

The interviews started with a general question attempting to get an understanding of how participants conceptualize political conflict. Answers to the question of *what is your understanding of political conflict?* varied greatly among participants. Participants expressed their understanding of the conflict in different ways. Some thought the conflict itself and its causes are not clear, while others asserted that it is religious more than political. A central theme among all the answers, however, was the ‘Israeli Military Occupation’. Almost all participants thought of the ‘occupation’ as central to political conflict and their struggles of everyday life. Few participants thought of political conflict as a struggle among internal Palestinian political factions. Others extended the concept to include the impact of occupation on economic, social, moral, and psychological aspects as well.

According to some participants, the political conflict is mainly about the land. *"I consider the political conflict as a conflict over land. The Jews want this land and we are defending this land."* A 21-year old university student, living in Tel Rumeida. Another H2 resident stated that *"The Zionist project is meant to replace the indigenous population; it is not a project of*

occupation. In other words, settlers came to the land and took over the space owned by the original owners of the land.”

While others thought the political conflict is mainly religious in nature. A 30-year old single male, resident of a closed area said *“Political conflict means that there is a difference between two sides over something among many things what you call as the political conflict is from a wider perspective a religious conflict not a political conflict.”*

Yet others believed that the political conflict is mainly due to ideological struggles. A 35-year-old male resident of closed areas remarked that *“it is a Zionist ideological conflict, an ideology that does not accept a partner on the land.”*

Others thought of the conflict in terms of its impact on their safety and social and economic well-being. A 50-year-old divorcee replied that political conflict means *“No safety, bad economic situation. We are living under occupation.”* A married male with 6 children, living in the closed area explained *“The Israeli conflict is not only political; it is also economic, military, social, moral, and psychological conflict.”*

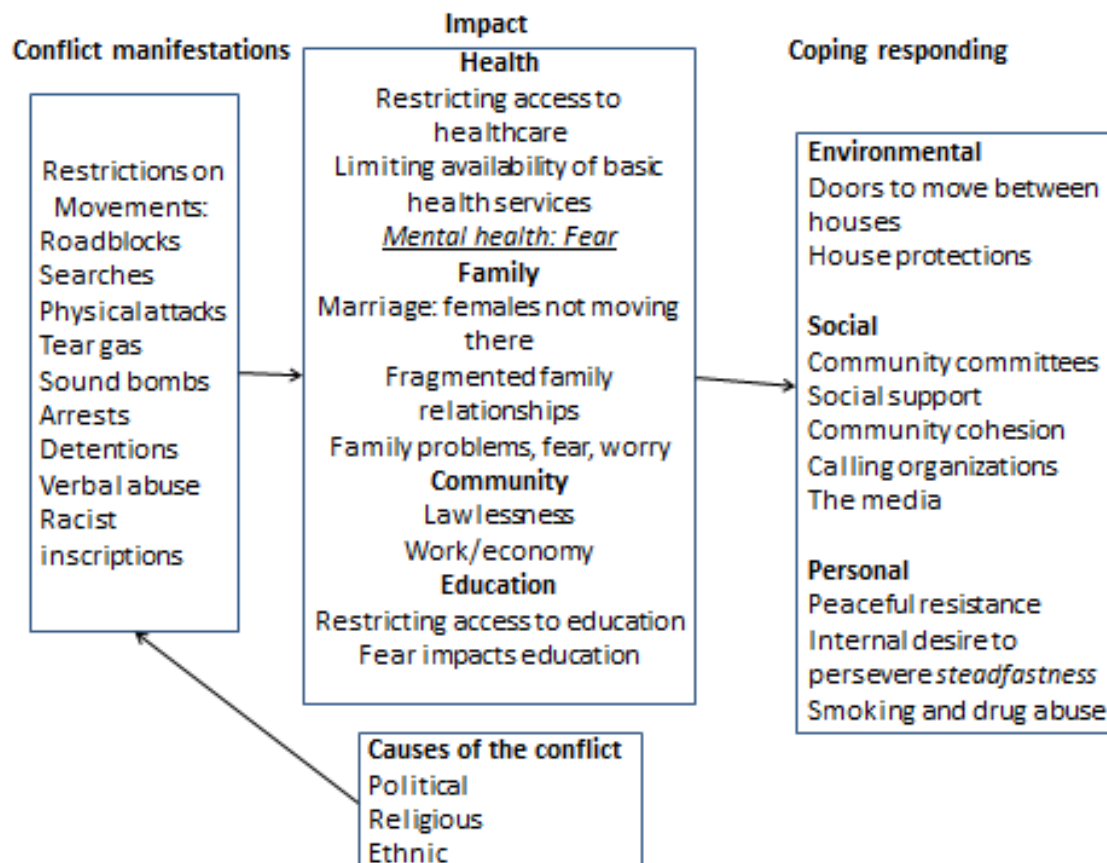
Participants acknowledged that there are internal political conflicts among the Palestinians but they thought that the general and more pressing conflict is with the occupation. *“We, as Palestinians, are involved in internal political conflicts. As for the general political conflict, it is the struggle with the occupier.”* A 28-year-old father of two from a restricted area

For some, the political conflict is an existential condition, to be or not to be.

A 63-year old female, living in the closed area of Tel Rumeida stated that *“I will not allow anyone to take my house, full stop. They want my house because it is the highest point in Hebron and it stands in their way to connect all the settlements. My house is the thorn in their throat. They came and offered huge amounts of money and incentives for me to sell the house but I refused, then they resorted to extortion. Now they use provocation tactics. In my case, political conflict is not about negotiation, it is to be or not to be.”*

Regardless of how residents perceive the conflict, it has a profound effect on the lives of individuals, families, and the community. Our qualitative interviews revealed how the conflict affects the lives of residents at the individual, family and community levels. Our main themes and subthemes are shown in figure 1. The main themes included the impact of the conflict on daily activities, on education, on health, on family life, and on the community. Our subthemes included ways residents use to persevere and cope with the oppressive environment created by the conflict.

Figure 1. Main themes and subthemes of the impacts of political conflict on Palestinians living in H2 areas of Hebron city



5.2 Impact on daily living: manifestations, effects, and coping strategies

The first main theme that emerged from the interviews was the ways the conflict impacts the living environment and activities such as going to work, shopping, visiting friends, or even simply staying at home. The conflict is manifested in various forms of abuses which include: physical abuse, verbal harassments, body and property searches, arbitrary arrests, delays at checkpoints, delays and obstacles in simple everyday activities such as reaching homes and carrying goods (Figure 1). Checkpoints, searches, and movement restrictions negatively impact not only health access and education but activities of daily living as well.

5.2.1 Checkpoints causing delays on carrying out everyday activities

The first subtheme of the impact of the conflict on daily activities is the presence of numerous checkpoints that impede movements and delay all activities.

According to the OCHA (2019) report; Page 5

“There are 121 such obstacles, including 21 permanently-staffed checkpoints. ... some 5,600 Palestinians must cross a checkpoint on foot to reach their homes, including virtually all those residing in the prohibited area and two thirds of the population in the restricted area. In total, nearly 90 per cent of households, representing approximately 6,200 people, reported that they cannot reach their homes by vehicle.

This impact is particularly severe for persons with disabilities (PwD), the elderly and parents with young children, who often must walk hundreds of metres, and undergo checkpoint searches, before they can leave the area."

A 35-year-old male resident of Tel-Rumeida confirmed the experiences, *"The Israelis are killing all aspects of Palestinians life inside these areas, through putting dozens of checkpoints. We are talking about 120 checkpoints inside less than 1 kilometer square in the H2 and the closed areas". The occupation calls them "crossings" not "checkpoints."*

Another participant who lives in a closed area said *"We are prevented from entering or leaving our homes without being searched and showing documents to prove that we are residents of this area."*

A 35-year-old male resident of Tel-Rumeida added *"The occupation uses a numbering policy, that means all of us are assigned special numbers on our ID's, these numbers help us to get in and out of Tel-Rumeida."*

A pervasive theme that emerged throughout all of the interviews was the delays in carrying out daily activities because of the checkpoints, obstacles, and searches conducted by the Israeli army.

"In addition to everyday chores, for example daily purchase of goods, I am always exposed to the checkpoints closing at any time. It is time consuming. What I expect to take half an hour often takes 2-3 hours." A male resident of the old city. He later added *"Cars cannot reach the front of our houses. Another thing; if we want to carry anything to our homes, like packages, food, drinks, etc. we have to walk a long distance to reach our houses."*

Coping strategies with checkpoints and roadblocks

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, to cope is defined as *"to deal with and attempt to overcome problems and difficulties."* The third objective of this study is to explore how residents overcome their problems and difficulties. The following quote shows how the residents in H2 area are able to persevere in extraordinarily coercive environment and what strategies they employ to overcome the ongoing challenges imposed by the political conflict.

How do you cope with closures? *"If they close the main road, they come from another road or through the rooftops or homes; they come to the school after all."* A 57-year-old female teacher from an open area who teaches at a school in closed area.

Residents try to overcome the checkpoints by finding other routes to reach their destinations.

5.2.2 Physical and verbal violence against residents

The second subtheme of the impact of the conflict on daily activities was the physical attacks that the residents have to endure while going around doing their everyday businesses or even while staying in their own homes. Physical attacks on people are a daily common occurrence mostly perpetrated by the settlers while the Israeli soldiers do not interfere and if they interfere

they side with the settlers against the Palestinians. Physical attacks occur in many forms such as throwing rocks, bottles, hitting, kicking, pepper spraying, unleashing of dogs, and even gun shooting (Appendix III).

"The settlers throw rocks and bottles on my roof and windows. That's why we have iron mesh on our windows as they have broken our windows many times." A 63-year-old female resident of Tel Rumeida, a prohibited closed area.

"This happened many times, where a girl who does not know Hebrew, she does not know their language at all. They ask her to enter the checkpoint, where an alarm starts ringing because she might have a pin, but they tell her "you have a knife", the girl gets scared and then she is shot." A married male with 6 children who lives in a closed area.

"The settlers ran over my foot with their car and broke my bones. My medical report is at Ahli hospital. They also broke 2 ribs in my chest because I did not allow them to get to my rooftop. They threw a stone on my mother's head. Also they attacked my father with an iron rod while he was plowing the land." A 63-years-old female resident of Tel Rumeida a prohibited closed area.

"Recently they (the settlers) have devised a new way of scaring us. They are unleashing dogs to attack us." A family in Wadi Hussein, a restricted area near the Israeli settlement, Kiryat Arbaa.

Physical attacks – On young children and the disabled

The most disturbing types of reported physical attacks were stories of settlers attacking young children and even disabled people and children. Such incidents require special attention.

"Just 2 weeks ago, my 4-year old disabled daughter was crawling in front of our house when settlers threw rocks at her. She cannot run and escape. Even people in wheelchairs are sometimes attacked." A wife at Wadi Hussein, a restricted area near Kiryat Arbaa.

A 21-year old university student, living in Tel Rumeida told us that *"Once a settler tried to break a glass window near where my disabled brother was sitting."*

Currently, people with special needs have to go through the same checkpoints and are exposed to the same abuses as fully abled individuals, regardless of age or sex. The above quotes illustrate cases exposing flagrant violations of basic human morality. Children, young girls, and the disabled are vulnerable populations with limited capacities to escape and protect themselves. Even in legitimate warfare, these populations are offered special protections. Resolution 2475 (2019) of the United Nations Security Council at its 8556th meeting, on 20 June 2019 calls for *"ending impunity for criminal acts against civilians, including those with disabilities, and to ensure that such persons have access to justice and effective remedies and, as appropriate, reparation"* (United Nations Security Council, 2019). Currently, the transgressions are not dealt with by the Israeli authorities and perpetrators continue their violence.

In addition to physical violence, residents are continuously exposed to verbal harassment.

"Settlers practice massive violations on people. They harass them sometimes, and say offensive words to them." A resident of the old city.

Not only are people attacked physically and verbally but their properties as well. Physical attacks on property include breaking windows, smashing cars, occupying rooftops and even occupying houses if left empty. *“They break windows, smash cars, and sometimes burn houses and cars.”* A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children from a restricted area.

Soldiers and settlers have a habit of occupying houses if left unoccupied. *“We cannot leave the house empty for a second. Anytime they may break in and occupy the house.”* A 43-year-old female resident of Tel Rumeida prohibited closed area.

“They (the settlers) write racist inscriptions on the walls and in the house, they break the windows, they smash our properties, burn our houses. There have been several cases of arson, burning of houses and shops, and smashing of cars.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children, resident in the closed area.

Coping strategies with attacks on people and property

To deal with ongoing attacks and harassment, residents re-modulate their environment by building internal doors to move between apartments. They also install metallic wire nets to protect them from stones thrown by the settlers. Residents also adapt by not going outside alone at night and only for necessities. If everything fails, they resort to calling the police, recording the attacks, and reporting to the media (Appendix IV).

Residents also install protections around their homes. *“We install iron wires around our windows and terraces which will protect against the stones and the molotoves sometimes, but sometimes two settlers appear in the night and try to break the protection.”* A 32-year old university employee and a father of two.

If I decided to live in the old city, what advices would you give me?

“You need to have a safe and fortified house; you have to pay attention to not being late, and make sure to close your house very well.” Sahar, a 57-year-old female teacher from an open area, teacher at a school in closed area.

Residents have adapted to extreme and weird life situations. For example, to avoid attacks by dogs released by the settlers they used to describe them by throwing away meat.

“I give my kids sandwiches and tell them if you are attacked by dogs, through them the sandwich. My child said he always carries stones in case attacked by a dog.” A housewife from a restricted area.

5.3 Perpetrators of the violence

According to reports and interviews, the Israeli settlers are the main perpetrators of the abuses and the creators of conflicts. The Israeli occupation forces (soldiers) are there to protect the settlers. However, when the settlers attack the Palestinians, the soldiers will side with the settlers and fail to protect the abused.

“Like once, the settlers attacked us, and because we stood up to them, the soldiers sprayed us with waste water. All the houses were sprayed with waste.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

“When the settler attacks us, the soldier will arrest us and will testify that we attacked first, even though we are the victims.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children, restricted area.

Do soldiers attack you as well?

“No, soldiers do not attack but they arrest us if we defend ourselves against the settlers. If we complain to a soldier that this settler attacked me, he will say I am here to protect the settlers, go tell the police. As long as the settlers attack, the soldiers see nothing but when an Arab responds the soldiers sees everything. Also, the soldiers get their orders from the settlers not from their government. If a 4-year old settler tells the soldier that this person does not live here, the soldier will not allow the person in. Once the settlers prevented the ambulance from reaching my house and they (the settlers) succeeded. Neither the soldiers, nor the police nor the civil administration could stop them.” A 63-year old female, Tel Rumeida closed area.

The worst perpetrators of violence are the settlers who come from other areas, followed by the local settlers, followed by the soldiers.

“The settlers mostly harass children while the soldiers harass adolescents by stopping and searching them. When we complain to a soldier that a settler is harassing us, some soldiers will ask them to stop, other soldiers will do nothing, and some soldiers will even encourage them. The Settlers are more abusive than the soldiers, especially those who come from other settlements during holidays. Those are much worse than the local settlers.” Housewife from Wadi Hussein.

Although some participants said that all the Israelis are the same in their abuse, others pointed out differences in behavior. Some interviewees stated that sometimes a soldier may show compassion or fairness towards the Palestinians.

“Once an Israeli civil administration officer (they are responsible for providing services and support to the Palestinians) came to me and asked me why I do not contact him directly when I have problems. By the way, most of the workers in the Civil Administration are Druze (Arabs) not Jews and they speak Arabic. The Druze are worse than the Jews by the way.”

How are they worse?

“In the way they treat us, they are more vindictive. Some of the Jews are nice but the Druze are more difficult. Once a Druze Civil Administration officer came to my house talking in Hebrew. I told him I do not understand Hebrew and he immediately switched to fluent Arabic, better than me. He wanted to install cameras on my roof. I rejected and shouted him out of the house.” A woman, from a closed area.

5.4 Impact on education: manifestations, effects, and coping strategies

The conflict also negatively impacts the education in the region in terms of *access, disruptions of the educational process, school performance, and school dropouts* (Figure 1). Participants talked about the difficulties and obstacles facing both teachers and students. In addition to attacks, obstacles and delays accessing schools and educational institutions, there is also the effect of the psychological health on the educational process itself. Physical attacks cause fear which in turn causes psychological distress which affects the ability to concentrate on studies. The negative impact is higher for weaker students.

5.4.1 Delays and obstructed access to education

The first subtheme or impact on the educational process is delaying or obstructing the process. The educational process is greatly hindered by the political conflict. Obstacles to education include: checkpoints, searches, and physical attacks (Appendix II). One father of 6 children described how 3 of his children have to pass through 4 checkpoints to reach their school which is only 500 meters away from their home.

How does the Israeli conflict affect the educational process?

"I have 3 kids who were studying at Al-Ibrahemeyye School, it is 500 meters far away from my home, there were 4 checkpoints between my home and their school." A married male with 6 children Works in construction, lives at Harit Jaber, closed area.

Students have to reach their schools by foot since cars are not allowed to move in the area.

"Around the Ibrahemi Mosque and inside the Old City, no car is allowed to enter." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

The environment created by the Israeli occupation is also volatile and unpredictable. In addition to permanent checkpoints, soldiers sometimes install temporary and unexpected checkpoints which cause unpredictable delays

"However, we still have something called a "flying checkpoint" or a "temporary checkpoint", where soldiers stop cars, search them, and ask for their Identities, they might also hold them for half an hour or more." A 57-year-old female teacher from an open area, teacher at a school in closed area.

Delays affect students and teachers reaching schools as well

"There is a school called "Ziad Jaber School" where the teachers are attacked a lot. Sometimes they do not allow the teachers to reach the schools, obliging the teachers to go back home." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

Checkpoints delays affect not only schools but university students as well.

"As a university student, I have to cross over 2 checkpoints every day to reach the university and back home. Also, the checkpoints are opened only during specific hours from 8:30 AM to 9:00 PM. They will absolutely not allow us get out or come into our residential areas outside of the opening hours."

Students will not only pass through the checkpoints, the soldiers also search their clothes and bags causing further delays, fear, and humiliation.

"I know a lot of girls at my school who come from the area near the Israeli settlement Kiryat Arba, whose bags are being searched daily." A 57-year-old female teacher working at a school in the closed area.

5.4.2 Physical attacks on schools

Students and teachers do not only have to live with educational delays, they also are intimidated with attacks even when they are in the schools.

Why does the army come to the school? What are the reasons?

"..... some soldiers throw sound and gas bombs as a way to provoke or relieve their anger, or a reaction to stone throwing regardless if stones were thrown from inside the building or not." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

"At the school where I work, there have been many school invasions, and exposure of students and teachers to tear gas, sound bombs, and shootings sometimes, or arresting people, and threatening some students with death. Many students were actually martyred." A high school teacher.

5.4.3 Fear and mental health impede school performance

Fear mediates the effects of political violence on education: Political violence causes fear which in turn impacts education

How does the conflict/ fear affect the educational process?

"It affects the motivation to study; it makes the students feel unsafe inside the classrooms. And, the students' parents panic after seeing what happens at the school on social media, they start calling the teachers and their children to make sure they are okay." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

"Once, I had a girl in the 4th or the 5th grade and sometimes the army start to throw gas bombs which caused her to feel scared to go to school." A 57-year-old female teacher from an open area, teaches in a closed area.

What do the settlers do to the young children?

"They create terror inside of them; they will not let them go to the streets, the child will stop going to school." A 50-year-old female living in the restricted area.

"Even if the checkpoints are opened, it is still difficult. Like when I was a student at Al-Quds Open University studying social science, when something happens, I will lose my ability to focus and concentrate on my studies. I am not able to study; I am not able to get high grades. When the soldiers bang on the door and enter our house or on the rooftop, I lose my concentration then I

throw away the book, unable to continue reading and studying.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

5.4.4 School closures and student dropouts

The difficulties in accessing education, completing the schools, and focusing on studies all contribute to students dropping out of schools.

“Each year we have around 600 new students at the school, but only 500 show up. We record them as school dropouts. And throughout the year, maybe another 100 students will dropout, only 400 will remain. The situations definitely affect their decision, but mostly it affects the students with low averages more. That student will say I am weak at school and I may get arrested, so I do not want the school.” A 34-year old high school teacher.

"I got my kids out of the school, despite they were academically excellent students. I got them out, and made them work at building, so they can get out of this area." A married male with 6 children, lives in the closed area.

5.4.5 Coping strategies with educational obstacles

Ways that residents use to cope with the aforementioned educational challenges include: finding roundabout routes to reach schools, going out in groups, parents accompanying kids to school, and employing school counselors to assist students.

How do you deal with this situation?

“I accompany my kids every day to the school. I wake up one hour earlier to take them to school because they are afraid of the soldiers.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

"Younger girls wait for the older until they leave so they can leave with them, as groups. Because there is danger if a young girl left alone, we always send them as groups." A 57-year-old female teacher from an open area, teacher at a school in closed area.

“I accompany my kids every day to the school. I wake up one hour earlier to take them to school because they are afraid of the soldiers.” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

What do you do to improve students' morale?

"There is an educational counselor inside the school; who takes the responsibility of guiding students and evaluating their achievements. The school also implements psychological support programs, in partnership with the ministry of education office in Hebron, or even with partner institutions." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

5.5 Impact on Mental Health

Mental health appeared as a core theme that affects all other themes (Figure 1). In terms of psychological impact, participants talked a lot about fear, humiliation, insecurity, nervousness, irritability, and lack of tranquility. The psychological impact is greater on children. Fear was a dominant theme in the discussion. Younger children and disabled children are not spared. Specific symptoms and reactions that were mentioned include: waking up screaming at night from nightmares, bed wetting, sensitivity to noise, and inability to concentrate. Most of the symptoms mentioned were internalizing symptoms. Interestingly, no one mentioned externalizing symptoms such as aggression.

Fear, anxiety, and other mental health problems can have a negative impact on other themes such as physical health, education, and family relationships.

"We are always in fear. In fear that the settlers will burn our houses. Our psychological health is difficult and in jeopardy." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children, restricted area.

"There is no tranquility in life. Even as you are sleeping with wife and children, there is no tranquility. At any time, the person is at risk of being searched or arrested by the soldiers or attacked by the settlers." A 28-year-old father of two from a restricted area.

Has their (the Israeli) practices affect your health status? Or any member of your family?
"It affected our psychological status more; there is constant fear and tension, and there is a feeling of insecurity." A 34-year high school teacher.

People are afraid not only about their own lives but the safety of their family members as well.
"The Israeli conflict affected me and my wife psychologically, always worrying for about our 3 kids who have to pass 4 checkpoints daily to reach their school." A father whose sons dropped out of school to avoid harassment and anxiety.

The impact of the conflict is more severe on the psychological well-being of children.
"The children are always afraid and in continuous fear. I mean you are in a place where you cannot protect your children, so what do you think?" A 28-year-old father of two from a restricted area.

"My children have become paranoid (حالة نفسية); when they hear soldiers banging on the door, they hide in a room and close the door on themselves." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children from a restricted area.

"The army stops the little girls when they are alone, this affects them psychologically." A teacher at a school in the closed area.

"Because they are seeing the army attacking people, they start having psychological effects, they become anxious." A 50-year-old, female, restricted area.

“This is a young kid who will see settlers carrying guns, will hear sound bombs, will smell tear gas, will come to his or her house to see the windows are broken. A settler will grab his school bag and through it to the ground, tear away his books. They will watch as the soldiers storm into their schools. All this cause reaction in the children; fear. The child is afraid to walk alone, wants to be accompanied by parents. A father of 3 children, restricted area.

“Once the settlers attack was so vicious and violent, my daughter was so terrified that now she wakes up crying at night from nightmares.” A housewife from Wadi Hussein.

Fear, anxiety, and psychological problems can affect family relationships and may lead to family problems.

“Most of the residents, women, children, and men in these areas now need psychological help due to their exposure to daily violations. Entering these areas is humiliating, you are not allowed to enter with your car, even a bag of flour to carry on your back is not allowed, this causes psychological pressures that lead to family problems.” Mnuer.

5.6 Impact on physical health

Another main theme that appeared throughout the interviews was the effect off the conflict on the health of the community (Figure 1). Many health problems were mentioned that can be directly linked to the abuses, harassment, and restrictions caused by the conflict. The environment created by the conflict is also hazardous to the health of the family.

“My mother is 60 years old and now she has asthma and breathing difficulties because of repeated exposure to gas. My kids and many others suffer from bed wetting at night.” A 28-year-old father of two lives in a restricted area.

5.7.1 Restricted access to Health Care

A subtheme of the impact on health is the impediment to accessing healthcare. The conflict negatively affects all aspects of health care. Access is severely impeded, availability of drugs, medical specialties, and equipment are limited, and the quality of health care is below standard.

“The ambulance takes more time than our personal cars. We take the students with our personal cars to Mohamad Ali Al-Mohtaseb hospital because it is near the school, it only takes 3 minutes. But, the ambulances might take 10-15 minutes; sometimes they don’t let it in or delay it at the checkpoint.” A 34-year-old male teacher from the old city.

To deal with inadequate health access, residents form emergency committees or call the media.

“We have an emergency committee which works on protecting students and closing the main school entrances for preventing the army jeeps to enter in. Regarding injuries, minor injuries are treated on the field with alcohol or water compresses while we transfer more serious cases using our private cars to the nearest hospital which is Mohamad Ali Al-Mohtaseb.” A 34-year-old male teacher from the old city.

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"Last year the settlers attacked our neighbors so I started to video record the event with my friend. They immediately pelted us with rocks. I was injured in the head and my friend who is a journalist was injured in his arm. He bled profusely. The soldiers saw the blood and I asked them to offer medical assistance. They ordered us to stay for about 30 minutes not allowing the ambulance to reach us. Then we started to cry and shout. Then they carried us in the military ambulance to the market place. I told the military officer, look my friend's arm is swollen, it is broken, please bandage it. He did not reply. He did not offer assistance or medical aid until he saw the Palestinian ambulance coming, then he took a bandage and covered his arm." A resident from the restricted area.

5.7.2 Basic Health Services Not Available

In addition to impeded access to healthcare, the available services in H2 are limited in scope and quality. The few health centers in the area do not provide for all the medical needs of the community. Also, the services that are available are of low quality and need to be supported.

"... Our area lacks health centers and hospitals that offer comprehensive health care. "Mohamad Ali Al-Mohtaseb" hospital is a small hospital that is more like an emergency clinic with some other simple health services. There are difficulties in reaching the health care that is needed. The healthcare system itself is also weak. When my wife was pregnant, I took her once to Mohamad Ali Al-Mohtaseb Hospital, they transferred her to another hospital, because they do not offer all needed services." A teacher from the old city.

"At Tel-Rumeida "the closed areas ", there are no clinics, if anyone gets sick at night, they will not let the ambulance in." Imad.

5.8 Impact on the family

All the above mentioned impacts on the mental and physical health of the residents have great consequences for family life. The conflict impacts family relationships, familial conflict, age of marriage, and nuptial potentials (Figure 1).

5.8.1 Family relationships

The psychological fear has a great impact on the relationships between family members. Extended family members and friends are reluctant to visit residents in the H2 closed and restricted areas for two reasons 1) because of difficulties accessing the areas 2) because they are afraid to be exposed to harassment and abuses by the settlers and the army. This leads to difficulties keeping family cohesion and support and social isolation from the outside world.

How has the conflict affected your life? Your family or relatives?

"If your family and relatives are not visiting you, because you live in a closed area, there is no word to describe how bad it makes you feel." A 21-years old university student.

"On the family level, no one comes to visit me. I am a socially active person but family and social visits are limited. Visits are few." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

Do the checkpoints and Israelis practices affect your family? *"Of course, they affect. There is no social communication between the people inside and outside Tel-Rumeida. The occupation uses assigned numbers policy, that means all of us have to hold numbers on our ID's, these numbers help us to get in and out of Tel-Rumeida, so for example my mother who lives outside this area cannot come and visit me, it is almost impossible, my father is not allowed too." A 35-year-old male resident of Tel-Rumeda.*

"80% of our friends do not visit us because they are afraid of the settlers." A woman from Tel Rumeida.

This conflict finally leads to fragmentation of family relationships because family members are not able to maintain their usual family visits, socialization, and ties.

"I have sisters living in Jerusalem and carrying the Jerusalem identity card. Sometimes, they do not allow them to enter. I go to them and tell them that they are my relatives and still they may not allow them to visit us. There are so many obstacles for the residents, for the relatives and for non-relatives. Our relatives know the situation and how much we are suffering." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

5.8.2 Transference of political conflict and violence into family conflict

On the one hand, the oppressive conditions imposed by the political conflict lead to irritability, anxiety, and stress which can negatively impact relationships among family members. On the other hand, the stressful conditions can lead to greater family cohesion and support.

"Problems will arise between the husband and the wife. Problems will arise between the parents and their children. For example, if something happens outside, the children want to look from the window to see what is going on. Because they want to see who was arrested, who is being assaulted, how this will affect them? But if they look from the windows or doors, the soldiers will hurl insults and curses on the onlookers and I as a father who wants to protect my family I will start rebuking my kids for this. Rebuking my wife for this. You tell them, get away from the windows, do not expose us to risks and problems. Sometimes, the settlers raise their weapons on the onlookers or shoot their guns or fire bombs or tear gas. All this causes problems among the family members" A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

Although the conflict can increase tension and irritability among family members, it can also increase support and cohesion among relatives. This may appear contradictory but the following quotes explain this contradiction. Conflict among family members arises because of the irritability of the situation and because of worry about the safety of family members. However, underlying the intra-familial conflict is a deeper cohesiveness and stronger family ties. One can understand this by imagining parents rebuking their children for engaging in behaviors

endangering themselves. While this act of rebuking is an apparent conflict on the surface it stems from deeper love and concern about the safety of the children.

How does the situation affect your family relationships?

"We are all irritable and anxious but supportive of each other." A woman from Tel Rumeida.

Another participant confirmed *"There is solidarity among the family members and even the neighbors and the community. If someone is exposed to something, all the family will stand by and offer support."*

"The relation between me and my brothers are strong, it does not decrease, and it is more cohesive". A 21-year old university student, living in Tel Rumeida.

5.8.3 Marriage, Females not moving there, early or late marriage

Because of the difficulty of the living conditions marriage prospects are difficult. In Arabic cultures it is the custom for the wife to move to her husband's house. Women from lower-conflict areas are reluctant to move to higher conflict zones. This affects the marriage opportunities of men more than women. Men's marriages are delayed whereas for girls, marriage can be delayed due to lower opportunities or early if families wish their daughters better life elsewhere early on.

How has the situation affected marriage?

"It is a problem in our area, not all of families will let their daughters live in this area. If they want to propose to girls from here, they say, "I must go through the checkpoint every time I come to my family in law." I do not want this, so they step back. She might marry late, because men find it difficult to marry girls from that area." A 21-years old university student.

"Some girls are over the age of 25 without marriage because their homes are located inside closed areas so the mother of the groom cannot come to see and get to know her, so some families were forced to rent and live outside these areas to marry off their daughters. The same problem is faced by young people when they are getting married, so they have to find houses outside their area because the bride's parents are afraid of not being able to see and visit their daughter." A 35-year-old male resident of Tel-Rumeida.

"My wife is from the same area so she is used to the situation. Some girls from the new city will not accept to get married and relocate here." A 28-year-old father of two living in a restricted area.

"My daughter married early to get out of this situation. I know a man from our area who got married and the father of the bride wrote in the wedding contract that his daughter will not reside in husband's family house." A 63-year old female living in a closed area.

5.9 Impact on the community

The inability of the Palestinian authority to reach the Israeli controlled areas and the lack of will of the Israeli authorities to maintain order created a state where law and order cannot be enforced. Criminal activities and outlaws from other regions have a sanctuary in these areas.

5.9.1 State of lawlessness in the restricted areas

Due to extreme control of movement by the Israeli occupation forces in the closed areas of H2 this state of lawlessness, disorder, and criminal activities are not present in the closed areas such as Tel Rumeida.

Criminals from H1 and other areas under the Palestinian Authority control often escape and hide in H2 restricted areas where the Palestinian police cannot reach them. Those criminal often continue their criminal activities in the area, leading to a chaotic state of lawlessness making it even more difficult for the local residents. Those fugitives are only able to roam in the restricted part of H2 not the closed part because the Israeli police and soldiers do maintain order in the closed areas but do not care about the restricted areas.

"The H2 area is under the control of the Israeli Security. The Palestinian Security is not allowed to be there. This has an impact on the citizens' behavior; they feel the lack of discipline, which leads to behaviors outside the law. Like, assault on the public property, idleness cases, illegal cars, shootings, weapons trade, etc." A 34-year high school teacher.

He later added, *"Sometimes the Palestinian security summons the defendants; they try to make them stop doing these actions, but defendants do not always respond to the police call. Sometimes they stay at the old city where the security officers cannot reach them, and they keep doing their unlawful actions."*

According to a 50-year-old female resident of the restricted area. *"The Palestinian authority is ineffective at the Old City, any one wants to do corruption comes to the old city because there is no authority there, and the authority (PA) cannot do anything."*

The above quotes show that the Israeli authorities are not honoring their commitment to preserve law and order in areas under its administrative control, nor are they allowing the Palestinian police to access the certain areas to enforce justice. This attitude reveals malicious intentions to create a chaotic lawless environment to increase the pressure on the local population (see appendix VI)

"If we leave the house for more than a month, they will consider it abandoned and will be confiscated." Female resident of Tel Rumeida, a prohibited closed area.

"If we have to go to any event, someone must stay in the house all the time. We cannot leave the house empty or the settlers will immediately occupy it." A family from Wadi Hussein, a restricted area near Kiryat Arbaa.

5.9.2 Negative impact on work and the economy

Residents in the conflict zones reported difficulties accessing their workplaces, being late due to obstacles, or even their inability to work at all.

"The economic life is very difficult. Like I am a government employee with a weak income. I need to work overtime or manage a business to complement my salary. The area is locked. No cars are allowed in. Supplies and equipment are not allowed in. You cannot work in the evening or at night and leave your kids, wife, and family without protection." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

5.9.3 Coping strategies with community problems

Because the Palestinian Authority cannot enforce the rule of law and the Israeli occupation is not interested in maintaining law and order in the restricted areas, the local residents resort to various means to solve their problems. Sometimes they resort to tribal law, or they form resolution committees from community elders and experts, but sometimes tensions break and vigilante justice prevails.

How do people deal with the effects of the political conflict?

"Civil committees are formed when social problems occur between families, which led to shooting, killing, and stealing. These committees try to put pressure on families to solve their problems, but I feel they are temporary and do not have executive powers." A 34-year-old male teacher resident of the old city.

Despite the chaotic situation and lack of law and order residents support each other and there is a sense of solidarity and community obliging members to help each other in case problems arise.

"But on the other hand, there is solidarity among the family members and even the neighbors and the community. If someone is exposed to something, all the family will stand by and offer support. They offer support and help for the neighbors and even for strangers, like a stranger who is passing by. Everybody offer their help and support whether it is an assault by the settlers or the soldiers. For example, by calling the Red Crescent or the Coordination and Liaison Office or with the Israeli police. We have extraordinary social support because all of the area we live in is exposed daily and during the night." A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children.

"People stand with each other when problems occur, they support each other, and no one stands away. If a problem happens at my school, all the neighbors come to help. In addition, at the closed area there is a great social support between people, if anyone has a problem, everyone comes for help." A 57-year-old female teacher from a restricted area, teacher at a school in closed area.

"We stay around each other, especially at night, if we need to go outside we go all together to the center of the area." A 21-year-old university student, living in Tel Rumeida.

Forming community-based committees, resorting to clan law, and the elders, are some strategies residents resort to maintain law and order. People also stick together and as a result social cohesion is enhanced. However, in the areas where the Israeli authorities allow fugitives to enter, social trust is weakened. Therefore, the effect of political conflict on the community level can be either to increase social ties or to weaken them. This may appear contradictory but it is not because if the conflict is only with the settlers, then the Palestinians stick together in areas where the Palestinians know each other. But in areas where fugitive Palestinians from other areas are allowed to enter, then they will break up the social trust, leading to a chaotic and socially volatile environment.

“The law of the jungle” predominates in this situation, the strong assaults the weak. And the weak is obliged to remain silent. In case of a big problem, the clans or the elders of the region or the family will intervene to solve the problems between families. If they fail, problems between families escalate and they start shooting, burning properties, burning of cars, shooting homes at night, and kidnapping sometime.” A high school teacher.

5.10 Personal coping strategies: Internal desire to preserve / steadfastness

We were interested in understanding how and why people persevere despite extraordinary oppressive conditions, so we asked them directly “what keeps you going? Or why do you stay and not leave? Answers varied but a common theme was that they have developed an internal power that motivates them to survive and remain on the land or *steadfastness*. This internal power stems from their allegiance to their forebears and their connection to the land.

Why do you stay at your home and not leave the area?

“I am living at my father and grandparent’s house; I was raised at this area and lived my whole childhood, I had the best days of my life here, so I am related to this area. In addition, these land and house are our property, we inherited them, we must protect them, so it is difficult for me to live at another area, because I lived at this area.” A married male with 6 children Works in construction, lives in a closed area.

“I adapt automatically to the situation. Every day there are gas bombs, children being suffocated by the gas, etc. Finally, one gets used to it, despite the fact that everything one does becomes calculated.” A 30-year old university employee.

A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children confirmed the experience “we have been living in these conditions for years, to the point that we have something internal, an internal reaction that these difficulties we must endure. We developed an internal reaction that whatever they do with us, we are ready for it.”

The strong connection to the land is illustrated by the following poignant quote.

“Our father built the house for us on our land when we were children. We used to carry with him the sand, the bricks, the cement day and night to complete the construction. Our blood and flesh

is mixed with the land. On his death bed, he pledged to us not to leave the house even if the bulldozers will crush our bodies, we will not leave. Those were his last words, and then he surrendered his soul to the almighty. We pledged to our father not to leave the house. Because we believe that God, is protecting us. We will not allow them to take our house over our dead bodies. By God, I have been asking for martyrdom.” A 63-year old female who lives in the closed area.

5.11 Community coping strategies calling support organizations and the media

Our research demonstrated the essentiality of support organizations and the media in helping people under conflicts. Recording the aggressions of the settlers and soldiers on camera is the most powerful deterrent for their aggression.

What else do you do to cope with the closures?

“A family that lives next to a settlement was thrown with rocks. They started filming and sending to organizations.” A 21-years old university student, living in Tel Rumeida.

“I exposed them in the media and submitted court complaints.” A 63-year old female who lives in Tel Rumeida, a closed area.

“Sometimes, you are obliged to take your mobile phone and record the event. You have to take photos or video recordings for documentation purposes. We are required to document everything for human rights organizations, or for the legal authorities, or for the Palestinian authorities, but the soldiers will take the phone and smash it” A 33-year old government employee and a father of 3 children. The same participant later added, *“In case they attack me, my wife, or my children, the first step is to go to the Red Crescent or the Palestinian Liaison Civil Administration Office, or the Military Coordination Office or the Israeli police. The media and the journalists are critical because the settlers are scared of recording, videotaping, and documenting.”*

Organizations that provide assistance

Organizations that can help people in H2 areas include: The Red Crescent, the Red Cross, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, and the Hebron Municipality.

What organizations provide support?

“Nobody offers financial support, but some psychological support is provided by the Red Cross and health support by the Red Crescent but only by helping us reach the doctor and they do not charge us fees. The Red Crescent is just a way to communicate with the outside world but there has been a big problem with them recently. They switched to a central dial-center. Now when I call them I go to the central in Ramallah where they know nothing about Tel Rumeida, when someone finally reaches them, it is often too late. After the director Dr. Hijazi retired, their services decreased by 60%. Our problems are with people managing institutions not the institution per se.

Medicines Sans Frontier was good till 2013 but then they switched to psychological support only, and matters got worse when they hired a new manager, a woman from Nablus, I forgot her name but she is nasty to the Hebronites

How so?

Like before I used to call them when I am sick and they send me doctors but now she had cut me off.

The Hebron Rehabilitation Committee can offer material support if available. Honestly, I would not have been able to persist without the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. They are helpful in rehabilitating damages in the house. The Hebron Municipality helped us in picking olives.

So the municipality is helpful?

“Not so much, we have to keep asking them. Why? They know the situation, why do they make us feel like begging. To be frank with you, the current administration is not helping much, the best was Khalid Al-Osaily, and he was always helping because he has the nationalistic duty.”

A 63-year old female from Tel Rumeida, a closed area.

When we asked the same question from a participant from another area, the restricted area of Wadi Hussein, his answers differed from the above quote. This indicates that organizations offering support give priority to certain regions over the others and this prioritization process is not transparent for the residents.

Who helps you?

Mostly the Hebron Municipality, but the Governorate does nothing and the Red Cross does nothing. The Red Cross interferes if a child is arrested. The Red Crescent has no role here. When the settlers attack, the community supports each other, no organization will help. The Governorate never reached the region nor asked about the residents. The municipality is on the contrary because its chair is fighter for our cause. One call for him and he personally comes to the area. If we have no water, I call him and he solves the problem in the same day and if he cannot, he brings a water tank. The municipality strengthened our endurance and steadfastness. They come here without us asking them. They rehabilitate roads and do whatever is necessary. On the contrary, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee comes here every year to take pictures behind the wired fences to show they are strengthening our persistence and in fact, they are not. We applied many times for the Rehabilitation Committee to help us to no avail. They rehabilitate in Tel Rumeideh and Shuhada Street but for whom? The Rehabilitation Committee people come here and take pictures; here we are near the wall, here we are behind the fence, then they post on the net.” A man from Wadi Hussein, a restricted area.

The differences in satisfaction with services also indicate that organizations that provide support in conflict areas should be transparent to the community regarding the services they provide and the regions they cover.

Recommendations

At the end of each interview we explored the needs of the participants. We found that participants need people from outside of the H2 areas to visit the region. This finding is contrary to what Palestinians from outside of the H2 believe. Palestinians who live outside of H2 areas think that residents who live inside of the H2 areas are wary of outsiders and not welcoming of

outsiders. Contrary to this belief however, our interviews showed that H2 residents not only will be welcoming outsiders to visit but they need people to visit them and support them.

Are you afraid of outsiders coming to live in the old city?

"They are welcome; we will guide them. It is important that the old city remains full of people; it must get empty of settlers and the army." A 50-year-old female resident of the restricted area.

A 22-year old male university student, who lives in a restricted area said: *"People were afraid to reach the Ibrahimi Mosque. When this recent support campaign was launched, they started pouring to the city in large numbers, they started to live with us, and they see how the occupation is present, how the checkpoints are present. This support was not available previously. We appeal for more people to go to the Haram in large numbers. Please reach us"*

He also added *"We are in great need to have more human and population activities in the old city so that people start going down there. So that people will know the situation, so that the occupation knows that we are there that we exist. What weakened us and what allowed these attacks to escalate is the lack of human presence in the old city. Most people no longer pray in the Ibrahimi Mosque, you rarely find a couple of rows or three of prayers. Only with the recent campaign that occurred do you find an increase in the number of people praying in the mosque."*

To improve the situation, participants in our interviews said that their communities need clinics and health centers a fire station social centers and parks.

What do you ask the international community or the authority to do for you?

"We ask, to open clinics at Tel-Rumeida and Harit Jaber. To open a fire station, social centers, and parks. Also, repair the sewer line, provide water permanently, electricity, and home renovation." A married male with 6 children who lives in the closed area.

Axial coding and the storyline

The relationships among the above mentioned open codes are illustrated in the figure 1 which shows that the harassment, abuses, and restrictions on movements imposed by the Israeli occupation and the settlers can cause huge impact on the families. Those impacts include negative effects on health, education, family relationships, and social order. The figure also shows that as a result of these effects local residents resort to various strategies to help them cope with the oppressive situation. Mental health emerged as a core category that mediates the relationship between political conflict manifestations and their impact on health, education, family and the community. When people are in fear, this affects their ability to concentrate and focus on their studies, their relationships with other family members, and the social relationships.

Discussion

The aims of this research project were to describe the political conflict in the old city of Hebron and the surrounding H2 area, its manifestations, its impact on the local residents, and the strategies the families use to cope and persevere within the oppressive environment they are living in.

Our results revealed that the residents in the research areas are living in extremely oppressive environments imposed by the Israeli military occupation. The residents are exposed to daily harassments, abuses, and restrictions on movements and freedoms to a degree immensely higher than residents living in other areas of Palestine. These results are consistent with previous descriptive reports of the situation in H2 area indicating that the situation has not changed or improved (OCHA, 2019; Btselem, 2019, United Nations, 2021). This harsh environment impacts every aspect of family life. The health, education, and financial situations of families are negatively impacted. In spite of the extremely intolerable conditions, the families devised extraordinary strategies to help them cope and persevere.

Impact on daily living

The first objective of this study was to describe the political conflict and explore its impact of the lives of residents in H2 area of Hebron city. Our findings reveal that residents of this region are exposed to daily violations of their basic human rights. Those violations include: assaults, severe restrictions on movements, verbal abuses, and destruction of property and homes. Those violations are disrupting normal activities of daily living such as shopping, visiting friends, and going to work. Many residents have left the area. Those who remained are characterized by extraordinary resolve and have devised numerous strategies to cope with their harsh environment. If a road is closed, they pass through a roundabout route. If their homes are attacked, they install wire protections and fortify them. If they are attacked by dogs, they throw away pieces of meat to distract them away. If they are physically attacked, they document the incidents and report them to the media. But above all, they have developed an internal power motivating them to remain anchored to their land. This power stems from their sense of allegiance to their motherland, their roots, and their ancestors who lived on the land for centuries.

Impact on health

The second objective of this study was to investigate the impact of the conflict on health. We found that health services are insufficient to meet the needs of residents in H2 areas and the available clinics are ill-equipped and lacking of crucial supplies. The settlers in H2 area often prevent ambulances from reaching the sick and sometimes even attack health personnel. The looming threat of being attacked at any moment causes a mental state of continuous fear that negatively impacts the physical health of the population. Young children are especially vulnerable.

Impact on education

Students and teachers have to pass through checkpoints and get their bags searched to reach schools. This impedes access and disrupts the educational system. Students at schools are also exposed to attacks by Israeli soldiers who through tear gas and sound bombs at schools. Such actions scare the kids and negatively impact their mental and physical health and their school achievements.

To cope with the oppressive environment, the residents devised strategies that can be categorized into: personal, inter-personal, and community-level strategies.

At the personal level, participants reported that the ongoing and protracted adversities have sparked in them an internal hardiness that empowers them with defiance, callousness, and indomitable honor. Hardiness was first described by (Kobasa, 1979) and elaborated by (Maddi, 2004) and (Maddi, 2006). Hardiness is described as a tripartite construct comprised of commitment, control, and challenge. *Commitment* is described as the desire to commit to activities, people, or things that one has genuine interest in and curiosity about (Maddi, 2006). *Control* is the belief that one is capable of influencing events and surroundings. Challenge is the view that changing and stressful events present challenges to endure and overcome rather than to escape from (Maddi, 2006). Answers to our question “*what motivates you to stay and endure the daily troubles?*” All participants reflected on aspects of the above mentioned hardiness theory. Our research adds to the above theory dimensions of defiance, steadfastness (*sumud* in Arabic), resolve, desensitization or habituation to the status quo. All of these internal personal dispositions, however, stem from their connections to the land that they feel has been bequeathed to them by their parents and they have an obligation for their forebears and their progeny to preserve (Appendix V).

We believe that these nuanced revelations on internal coping dispositions can add to extant theories of personal factors that alleviate the impacts of stressful events and environments.

Impact on the family

The political violence impacts the family in contradictory ways. On the one hand, the fear and irritability outside of the family can be transferred to intra-familial conflicts. On the other hand, family members can become more supportive of each other.

Similarly, the conflict can increase the age of marriage or increase the number of bachelors, especially among males because brides are reluctant to move into the area. On the other hand, some families may tend to marry their daughters at a young age to get them out of the area.

Movement restrictions and the coercive environment make it difficult for family members to visit each other and disrupt family networks.

On the interpersonal or family levels, our results are consistent with transference theories positing that political violence can be transferred to the inter-personal space through the mediating effect on mental health (Meyer et al., 2017; Sim et al., 2018; Timshel et al., 2017; Halevi et al., 2016). Participants in this study agreed that external stressors cause irritability and mental distress which can strain interpersonal relationships. The current research, however, uncovered another important mediating factor; *fear*. The powerful emotion, fear for other family members, emerged in all of the interviews. Participants described having constant fear for the safety of their kids and spouses. This fear motivated them to be always on the lookout to support their near and extended families. These findings are consistent with the results from other scholarships revealing that parents can become overprotective of their children during times of violence (Sriskandarajah et al., 2015). This overprotection however can become negative for example if parents become excessively restrictive of and intrusive in their children’s behaviors which can lead to negative influences on children’s cognitive and emotional developments. Participants in this research mentioned that in addition to the direct effects of the occupation on the educational system, the political conflict also impacts educational performance indirectly through its effect on mental health. It appears that the mental health consequences of political violence play a central mediating the impact of political violence on the health, educational, and social well-being of the individual and the family. Future quantitative research is needed to confirm these findings.

Impact on the community

The Israeli occupation divided the H2 area into restricted and prohibited areas. Israel retains complete control over the prohibited areas and imposes strict restrictions on movements. Israel's tight control over security in the prohibited areas maintains higher safety in terms of inability of fugitives to reach the area but the settlers' attacks are even more vicious. Despite restrictions on movement of vehicles in the restricted area, Israel does not enforce the rule of law in the restricted areas allowing fugitives from other regions to take refuge in these areas. This creates a state of lawlessness, crimes, and community mistrust.

At the community level, solidarity sentiments were expressed similar to those at the family level. In the face of violence and abuse by an external and foreign occupying power, community members set aside their difference and stick together. It is interesting to note that tribalism and family ties are strong culturally entrenched customs in the south of Palestine where favoritism and nepotism impart biased advantages to members of the same family or clan (*Hamula*) than to those from another clan in everyday dealings such as disputes, marriage, and employment opportunities. Participants from H2 areas said that these nepotistic attitudes are set aside and that all families come together as one in the face of the foreign occupier.

"When settlers attack, all the neighbors come to the rescue. We all become the same family." A family, from Wadi Hussein.

This apparent contradiction of residents supporting each other under some circumstances while distrusting each other under other circumstances let us to develop in theory which we named we name as the *separation oppression-unification theory* which we describe the tendency of cultural groups, when colliding with a foreign culture, to ignore the intra-group differences and form a unified front separating their group from the opposing culture. Intra-group cohesion and support are increased while at the same time inter-group animosity is amplified. This theory explains why during conflicts social support might increase or decrease depending on the context. If the Environment where the oppressed group lives is safe then individuals will ignore their intra-group differences and become supportive of each other. If on the other hand the environment where the oppressed group lives is not safe then social support may not develop. Fugitives and criminals are not allowed into the closed areas of H2, they are present only in some parts of the restricted areas where they are causing mistrust and tearing apart the community fabric.

This theory has applications not only in the context of conflicts and violence but also in peaceful contexts such as when groups of immigrants move to a foreign country with a dominant culture distinctive from the immigrants' culture. Previous literature lends credence to this theory in various contexts (De Beer & Koster, 2009; Thelamour et al., 2019; Giacaman & Johnson, 2013) a study of Palestinian mothers and wives of political prisoners Found that solidarity and support for the women were highest during times of heightened political conflict (Giacaman & Johnson, 2013).

It is important to note that this unification phenomenon depends on context and can only occur in areas where the rule of law is maintained. Our research shows that in closed and some restricted areas, solidarity among families prevailed but in areas where the Palestinian police was not allowed to reach and where fugitives and criminals escaped, this solidarity among families and neighbors was not strongly present. This is likely because when the outside environment becomes chaotic due to the presence of outlaws from the local community, social trust begins to erode.

“Partners will start having conflicts, neighbors as well; people are not helping each other.” A woman from a restricted area.

Potential Policy Impacts and Beneficiaries

Organizations that provide support to the locals were invited to a final conference where we presented the recommendations based on participants’ quotes. Specific recommendations included the importance of having qualified, dedicated, and trained personnel who are familiar with the conditions on the ground to offer support services. Financial assistance is important but there are some low cost administrative details that can have a huge beneficial impact on the lives of people under conflict. For example, staff and managers of organizations providing support in conflict zones should receive training on how to set priorities, how to allocate funds, how to assess needs, and on ethical and moral principles of assisting communities in distress. Such training will increase the efficiency and equity of their work. The specific needs of the people under conflict are best determined using a bottom-up approach, i.e. by getting feedback from the affected persons on the ground.

The results of this research reveal that at the root of political conflicts lie religious, sectarian, cultural, and ethnic differences. Resolving these differences may be difficult but mitigating the impact of violence on families is possible. Peaceful co-existence is the ideal outcome and as our research has shown in areas where injustices against Palestinians have been lifted, the residents’ harbor less negative views about the Israelis. In areas where the restrictions are more extreme, the residents are more defiant and antagonistic towards the Israelis. This implies that harshness towards another group engenders more animosity and that exhibiting conciliatory behaviors among groups, can improve relations and promote peaceful co-existence.

Our research also highlights the critical role of the media in exposing aggressions and transgressions on basic human rights. Publishing events from the ground, is now a powerful tool in exposing unacceptable behaviors to national and international audiences and this can deter aggressors from further acts from fear of public backlash.

Our results also show the importance of providing support to people exposed to political violence. Services and programs supporting mental health are crucial as our research shows that mental health mediates the effects of violence on almost all other aspects of family life. Fear, irritability, depression, and other mental health problems can negatively affect physical health, academic performance, and intra-familial relationships.

Participants in this research emphasized the importance of social support from organizations, family members, neighbors, communities, and other regions in helping them persevere. In fact, one peculiar outcome of this research is that when faced with oppression from external and foreign powers, the oppressed communities tend to stick together and support each other to a greater extent than during times of peace. We termed this positive outcome of political violence as the *separation oppression-unification theory* to show how when one group separates itself and oppresses another group, members of the oppressed group tend to set aside their differences and stick together against their common oppressor by increasing social support and cohesion.

In addition to psycho-social support, our research also shows that victims of political violence need physical support for their health and economic well-being. Financial assistance is critically needed to repair damaged properties, cover healthcare costs, and basic educational needs.

At the individual level, our research revealed personal characteristics that are cultivated in times of adversity such as steadfastness (*Summud* in Arabic), a sense of duty for the nation and for the

family to persevere, enhanced resolve to resist, resilience, and habituation to the status quo. Those traits are internal tributes that allow the individual to beat the odds and accomplish extraordinary feats of self-preservation.

Benefits to Arab countries in terms of issues related to the Arab Family

Families in Arab countries influenced by political conflicts and organizations providing support in these conflicts can benefit from this research. Families in Arab countries can learn from the steadfastness, resilience, and coping strategies revealed in this study to deal with stressful situations.

The results of this research reveal that at the root of political conflicts lie religious, sectarian, cultural, ethnic differences, land disputes, and oppression. Resolving these differences may be difficult but mitigating the impact of violence on families is possible. Peaceful co-existence is the ideal outcome and as our research has shown in areas where injustices against Palestinians have been lifted, the residents' harbor less negative views about the Israelis. In areas where the restrictions are more extreme, the residents are more defiant and antagonistic. This implies that harshness towards another group engenders more animosity and that exhibiting conciliatory behaviors among groups, can improve relations and promote peaceful co-existence.

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The below quotes illustrate how social support is context specific. The first two quotes below are descriptions of social support in safe areas such as the closed area and in Wadi Hussein which is a safe neighborhood in the restricted area. The third quote describes the situation in the Old City where law and order are not maintained by the authorities causing disruption in the social support system.

“When settlers attack, all the neighbors come to the rescue. We all become the same family”. A family from Wadi Hussein

Another participant confirmed *“There is solidarity among the family members and even the neighbors and the community. If someone is exposed to something, all the family will stand by and offer support.*

“Partners will start having conflicts, neighbors as well; people are not helping each other.” A woman from the old city, a restricted area.

In addition to psycho-social support, our research also shows that victims of political violence need physical support for their health and economic well-being. Financial assistance is critically needed to repair damaged properties, cover healthcare costs, and basic educational needs.

Impacts (societal impacts, and/or legal impacts)

The findings of this research have implications at many levels:

At the health services level

- Our finding that there are not enough health centers in the H2 area to meet the needs of the residents implies that
 - It is important for the Palestinian Ministry of Health to prioritize the area in its health education campaigns and interventions activities.
 - It is important for the organizations that are already providing health services (ICRS, Red Crescent, and MSF) to step up their activities and become more efficient in their services. Efficiency in terms of training their personnel on providing basic health services and training their managerial staff in administrative details.

As one participant said

The Red Crescent is just a way to communicate with the outside world but there has been a big problem with them recently. They switched to a central dial-center. Now when I call them I go to the central in Ramallah where they know nothing about Tel Rumeida, when someone finally reaches them, it is often too late. After the previous director retired, their services decreased by 60%. Our problems are with people managing institutions not the institution per se.

The above quote illustrates that simple administrative measures such as the location of the central phone line or the dedication of the director of the organization can have a huge impact on the residents' physical and mental health.

Implications for international and national donors

- Organizations that provide assistance to locals afflicted by conflict are crucial and need to be supported by international donors and organizations. In our case, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, the Hebron Municipality, and the health care organizations. Therefore, donors and funding agencies need to prioritize these local organizations in their assistance which could be financial, logistical, managerial, or operational.
- Based on our finding that there are variations in perceptions of what services local support organizations such as the HRC, Hebron Municipality, and Hebron governorate provide. This implies that these organizations should be more transparent and clarify for the public what kinds of services and where do they provide their services. According to

a female from Tel Rumeida, the Hebron Municipality offers help only when asked but the HRC is more helpful: *The Hebron Rehabilitation Committee can offer material support if available. Honestly, I would not have been able to persist without them. They are helpful in rehabilitating damages in the house.* But according to a man from Wadi Hussein, the opposite is true; the Hebron Municipality is more helpful than HRC: *The municipality strengthened our endurance and steadfastness. They come here without us asking them. They rehabilitate roads and do whatever is necessary. On the contrary, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee comes here every year to take pictures behind the wired fences to show they are strengthening our persistence and in fact, they are not.* Organizations providing support in conflict areas should open communication channels among each other and with the public to avoid duplication of services and to inform the public of the regions they are responsible for and the types of services they provide.

- Given our finding about the importance of the media in holding back settlers' aggression, this implies that media outlets should pay more attention to the area and coordinate their activities with the residents by providing them with journalistic materials to document aggressions. Advocating for change through forums and employing the media are crucial for survival. Raising awareness about the oppression and insecurity are needed.
- It is important for legal national and international organizations to exert political pressures to force the occupying power to respect the human rights of the occupied people.
- It is important for legal national and international organizations to exert political pressures to force the occupying power to abide by its international commitments not to restrict freedom of movement and coerce residents to leave their homes.

At the family level

- Programs and interventions aiming at improving family health should consider contextual and environmental factors influencing the family. Such programs should also include all family members to promote family support.
- Interpersonal level interventions to promote pro-social behaviours, empathy, and helping activities among friends, classmates, and neighbours, and co-workers. This can begin in the schools as the children are most vulnerable but also more likely to accept change.
- Health professionals should pay attention to the psychological well-being of their clients and how mental health can influence other aspects of life such as work, education, family relationships, and physical health.
- A common theme that appeared in the interviews is that residents in H2 are living in constant fear from the settlers and soldiers. This fear impacts their mental health, ability to focus on their studies, their physical health, family relationships (fear for their kids as well). In other words, mental health and fear affect all aspects of life. As one interviewee said, *"In case they attack me, my wife, or my children, the first step is to go to the Red*

Crescent or the Palestinian Liaison Civil Administration Office, or the Military Coordination Office or the Israeli police. The media and the journalists are critical because the settlers are scared of recording, videotaping, and documenting.”

- One apparent impact the conflict has on families is making contact among family members difficult. This leads to social isolation.
“On the family level, no one comes to visit me. I am a socially active person but family and social visits are limited. Visits are few.”
- The conflict also impacts family relationships. The external stressful environment can cause irritability and fear which leads to interfamilial conflicts. On the other hand, the worrying environment can also lead to family members exhibiting more support to each other. How does the situation affect your family relationships? *“We are all irritable and anxious but supportive of each other.”*
- Another impact the conflict has on families is delaying the age of marriage, especially for men because girls are reluctant to move into the area. On the other hand, the conflict may contribute to early marriage, especially among girls because families will seek to marry their daughters early to get them out of the conflict zone.
“My daughter married early to get out of this situation. I know a man from our area who got married and the father of the bride wrote in the wedding contract that his daughter will not reside in husband’s family house.”

At the community level

- The conflict can impact social relationships within the community by increasing or decreasing social support, depending on the context. If the environment is controlled and law and order are maintained such as in the closed areas, social support within the oppressed group is increased. If the environment is not controlled and law and order are not maintained such as in certain areas of the restricted regions, Social support declines.

For organizations providing support

Based on our finding that residents do not like to approach organizations for help, this impacts those organizations in that they should know that they should become proactive rather than reactive to the needs of the population by actively looking out for residents and asking them about their needs, since houses and property are always attacked and damaged by settlers. As one participant protested: So the municipality is helpful? *“Not so much, we have to keep asking them. Why? They know the situation, why do they make us feel like begging. To be frank with you, the current administration is not helping much, the best was Khalid Al-Osaily, and he was always helping because he has the nationalistic duty.”*

Recommendations

At the family level

- Given the importance of parental mental health for a child's developmental outcomes it is important to make available training and consultation services for parents to help them cope with their mental health challenges.

At the community level

- Parks, sports, and places for communal activities for entertainment and socialization. Playgrounds and entertainment centers for children or especially needed.
- Supporting the health services to improve them in terms of quality and quantity
- Establishing more centers for psychological support
- Increasing visits by outsiders, foreigners and people living outside of the conflict zones
- Policies and laws should be in place and communicated to the general public regarding the protection and treatment of vulnerable population such as young children, girls, and the disabled during conflicts.
- This research highlighted the importance of media and arts in combatting political conflicts and violence. Therefore, we recommend for international donors such as QNRF to fund projects that use innovative methods such as drawings, murals, drama, theater, songs, etc. to promote peace and tolerance around the world

At the legal level

- Human rights organizations are needed in conflict areas to document and report human rights abuses
- Legal teams and advocates are needed to offer legal advice for families on how to deal with abuse and to inform families of the rights they have guaranteed by the law
- Neutral third parties are needed to observe and mediate disputes

For future research

- Future scholarship can utilize the results of this research to develop quantitative scales to measure exposures in prolonged sectarian or political conflicts.
- The pathways and relationships among the themes in our study were based on qualitative in depth interviews. Future research should consider using the themes and concepts we derived in quantitative longitudinal research designs.

At the economic level

- Investment is needed to sustain and attract businesses (and families);
- Promoting the old city and religious sites to attract tourists, pilgrims and visitors

Conclusions

Conflicts among people arise for different reasons. These include

- Ethnic differences.
- Religious differences.

- Political and ideological differences.

Conflicts can result in severe abuses and human rights violations. These include

- Verbal harassment.
- Physical attacks on people including women, children, and the disabled.
- Physical attacks on properties.
- Arrests and detentions.
- Checkpoints, roadblocks and restrictions on freedom and movement.

Conflict can have profound negative impact on the families including

- Physical and mental health.
- Education.
- Family relationships.
- Work, economy and
- Social relationships.

Most people are unable to tolerate the harsh conditions under political violence and immigrate to areas less prone to violence. Those who remain, however, resort to various strategies and techniques in order to live and persevere. Those include:

- Physical protections and fortifications of homes and houses.
- Resorting to national and international organizations for support and assistance.
- Forming local communities to support each other.
- Social cohesion and support.
- Expressing their voices through the media.
- Personal desires to persevere.

It is, therefore, incumbent on the international community to support innocent people impacted by violence. This support can be in various forms including:

- Providing financial assistance.
- Supporting health services including physical and psychological health.
- Supporting houses and infrastructure.
- Providing a platform for the residents to voice their challenges and needs on the media.
- Support for organizations that provide local assistance.
- Exerting pressure on the occupying forces to abide by international human rights conventions.

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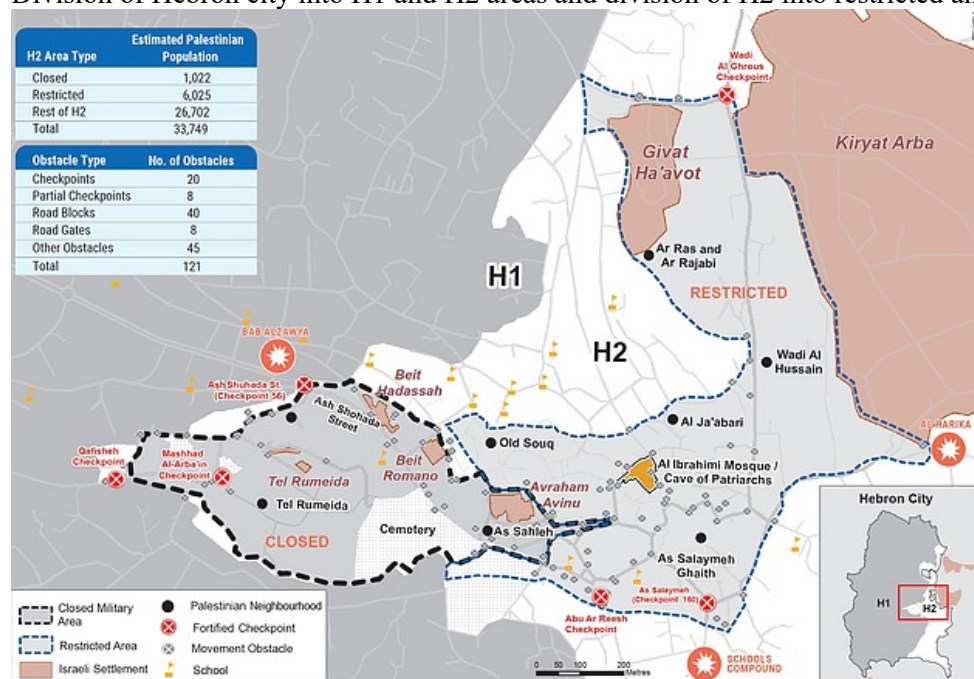
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Appendices

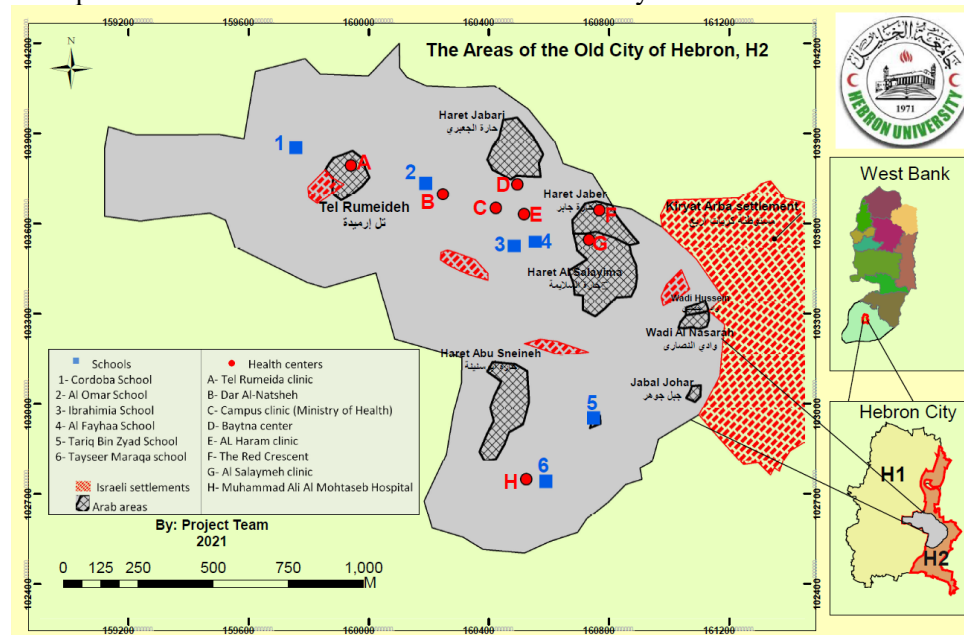
Appendix 1

Division of Hebron city into H1 and H2 areas and division of H2 into restricted and closed (prohibited) areas



Source: (OCHA, 2019)

A map of Israeli settlements in and around the old city of Hebron and Palestinian schools and health centers



Source: HU

Appendix II

Palestinian schoolboy has his bag searched at checkpoint 56



Source: (Melanie ward, 2013)

Appendix III



Source: (Countercurrents, 2019)

Appendix IV

Coping strategies

Video recording and the media are the most effective defenses against aggression



Source: Btselem (2019)

Nets to protect Palestinians from garbage and stones thrown by Israeli settlers



Source: (Tripadvisor, 2019)

Appendix V

Expressive drawings that we collected in course of this research showing internal feelings of fear of the future, uncertainty, but steadfastness and connectedness to the land



Appendix VI

Articles on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Geneva Convention (IV) on Civilians (OHRCHR, 2021)

Article 9

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.
2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.
3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgment.
4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that that court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.
5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

According to the Geneva Convention Relative to The Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949

Article 12

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.
2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.

Article 17

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Articles on the 1949 Geneva Convention on Civilians

(ICRC, 2021)

ART. 49. — Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive

ART. 50. — The Occupying Power shall, with the co-operation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children.

ART. 55. — To the fullest extent of the means available to it, the Occupying Power has the duty of ensuring the food and medical supplies of the population; it should, in particular, bring in the necessary foodstuffs, medical stores and other articles if the resources of the occupied territory are inadequate

Appendix VII

الدليل الإرشادي لأسئلة الدراسة النوعية لتأثير الصراع السياسي على وضع الأسرة في البلدة القديمة في الخليل

1. ما مفهومك للصراع السياسي؟ ماذا يعني الصراع السياسي لك ولعائلتك؟
a. أعط أمثلة
2. هل تعرضت أنت شخصيا أو أحد من أفراد عائلتك أو معارفك لممارسات ناتجة عن الصراع؟
a. أعط أمثلة
مجسات ومحفزات
المستوطنين
الجنود
3. هل أثر على حياتك الخاصة، الأسرية والاجتماعية؟ وضح؟
أو كيف ينعكس الصراع السياسي على حياتك الشخصية، الأسرية، والمجتمعية؟
أو كيف تصف أثر الصراع السياسي على حياتك الشخصية، الأسرية، والمجتمعية؟
مجسات ومحفزات
a. وضعك الصحي، النفسي، الدراسي؟
b. أفكارك وسلوكياتك؟
c. علاقتك مع أفراد اسرتك؟
d. علاقتك مع أولادك؟
e. علاقتك مع الزوج أو الزوجة؟
f. علاقتك مع المجتمع؟
g. أعط أمثلة محددة
4. كيف يتكيف ويتعامل الناس في المنطقة مع الآثار الناتجة عن الصراع السياسي؟
مجسات ومحفزات
a. يتمشكوا مع بعضهم
b. تزداد حدة العنف
c. هل طورت عادات معينة أنت شخصيا
d. ضرب الزوجة؟ مثلا
e. التنفيس النفسي
f. الدعم العائلي أو المجتمعي؟ كيف؟
g. التدخين، المخدرات،
h. أعط أمثلة محددة
5. لنفترض أنني شخص جديد يريد أن يعيش في منطقتك، ماذا تقول لي؟ ما هي القواعد التي يجب علي اتباعها؟
الاحتياطات التي يجب اتخاذها؟
6. إذا كنت ستأخذني إلى حيك، فما الذي سأراه؟
7. هل لديك توصيات/نصائح للعائلات، للمسؤولين؟
8. هل يمكنك التعبير عن أثر الصراع على حياة الأسرة وعلاقاتك العائلية بالرسم التعبيري؟
إذا نعم، تفضل بالتعبير الصوري