

East Side Story

Palestinian Narratives On Water Supply And
Environmental Security In East Jerusalem



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Abstract

The issue of water in the Israel-Palestine conflict is a long-debated topic that continues to be one of the main obstacles in peace negotiations today. Extensive research exists on the water crisis on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but few studies scrutinizing how the situation plays out in East Jerusalem are available. This thesis aims to fill a small part of this scientific gap.

By gathering information on how Palestinians in East Jerusalem perceive their water supply and the actions they have taken to better their situation, the study strives to examine links between resource scarcity, and violence and human insecurity. Based on theories of Protracted Social Conflict and Environmental Security, a narrative approach was used to conduct interviews in East Jerusalem from April to July 2010 as part of a Minor Field Study.

Results came to find that some respondents experience their water supply as problematic, but due to more pressing issues being prioritized as well as fear of the Israeli authorities, few measures are taken to bring about improvements. In conducting the interviews, it became clear that the issue of identity plays a major part for Palestinian Jerusalemites and future studies are recommended to take this into consideration.

Key words: Israel-Palestine conflict, Water in the Israel-Palestine conflict, East Jerusalem, Environmental Security, Narrative

Words: 9999

Acronyms

ACRI	Association for Civil Rights Israel
ANERA	American Near East Refugee Agency
ARIJ	Applied Research Institute Jerusalem
FOEME	Friends of the Earth Middle East
HDR	Human Development Report
IPCRI	Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information
JWU	Jerusalem Water Undertaking
MWR	Minimum Water Requirement
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
PA	Palestinian Authority
PASSIA	Palestinian Society for the Study of International Affairs
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
PWA	Palestinian Water Authority
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
WBWD	West Bank Water Department
WEDO	Water and Environmental Development Organization

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Table of contents

Acknowledgments	4
1 Introduction	7
1.1 Introduction to Thesis	7
1.2 Research Question	8
1.3 Overview of Theory and Method	8
1.4 Delimitations	8
1.5 Disposition	9
2 Theory and Method	10
2.1 Theory.....	10
2.1.1 Protracted Social Conflict and Environmental Security	10
2.1.2 Narrative in Theory: Background and Conceptual Unraveling	13
2.2 Method: Narrative in Practice.....	14
2.2.1 Collecting Narratives	14
2.2.2 Analyzing and Interpreting Narratives	15
2.3 Operationalization.....	16
2.4 Field Research	17
3 The Case: Water in East Jerusalem	19
3.1 Contextual Setting.....	19
3.1.1 West Bank Water	19
3.1.2 Jerusalem: A Tale of Two Cities.....	20
3.1.3 Water in Jerusalem.....	21
3.2 Narratives on Water Supply	22
3.2.1 Neighbourhoods supplied by Jerusalem Water Undertaking.....	22
3.2.2 Neighbourhoods supplied by Gihon.....	24
3.3 Narratives of Protest and Political Action	25
3.3.1 Neighbourhoods supplied by Jerusalem Water Undertaking.....	25
3.3.2 Neighbourhoods supplied by Gihon.....	26
3.4 Summary	27
4 Analysis, Conclusions and Final Reflections	29
4.1 Analysis.....	29
4.2 Conclusions.....	30
4.3 Final Reflections	31
5 References	33

Appendix	37
Experts:	37
East Jerusalemites (de-identified):	38

1 Introduction

We said things without meaning them, and we didn't carry them out. We said over and over that we would equalize the rights of the Arabs to the rights of the Jews in the city –empty talk... Both Levi Eshkol and Menachem Begin also promised them equal rights –both violated their promise... Never have we given them a feeling of being equal before the law. They were and remain second – and third – class citizens. [...] For Jewish Jerusalem I did something in the past twenty-five years. For East Jerusalem? Nothing! What did I do? Nothing. Sidewalks. Nothing. Cultural institutions? Not one. Yes, we installed a sewage system for them and improved their water supply. Do you know why? Do you think it was for their good, for their welfare? Forget it! There were some cases of cholera there, and the Jews were afraid that they would catch it, so we installed sewerage and a water system against cholera.

-Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem 1965-1993

(A Policy of Discrimination: Land Expropriation, Planning and Building in East Jerusalem)

1.1 Introduction to Thesis

The struggle between the Palestinians and the Israelis is one of the world's longest standing conflicts. Critical issues are many, of which water and the question of Jerusalem both stand at the forefront (BBC Homepage, "Israel and the Palestinians: Introduction").

Numerous reports outline the obstacles in accessing water imposed on the Palestinian population on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, ranging from Israeli bureaucracy, local management problems as well as being subjected to vandalism by the occupying armed forces. Mark Zeitoun, author of *Power and Water in the Middle East: The Hidden Politics of the Palestinian-Israeli Water Conflict* states in his concluding thoughts: "Without equal decision-making power and responsibility, wasted development funds, environmental degradation, dry taps and lingering conflict will endure" (2008:162).

As the vast majority of research on Palestinian water supply focuses on the West Bank and Gaza, this paper wishes to shed light on East Jerusalem, the proposed capital of a future Palestinian state. Reports from, to name a few, B'Tselem, ACRI and *Haaretz*, indicate that water supply is a problem for the Palestinians of East Jerusalem as well as their compatriots on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, to what extent water supply, or lack thereof, affects the daily lives of Palestinians in the area is unclear, an aspect which is important according to theories linking resource scarcity to further tensions.

1.2 Research Question

The aim of this thesis is to get an overview of the water availability for Palestinians in East Jerusalem, as experienced by them; and what consequences that have followed, if any. The study, therefore, seeks to answer the following question:

What is the situation of water availability for Palestinians in East Jerusalem and how does this, in turn, affect the conflict at large?

This has been subdivided into two more specific questions which will guide the study:

How is the situation of water availability perceived by the Palestinians in East Jerusalem?

To what extent has the issue of water led to further conflict or political action?

1.3 Overview of Theory and Method

Theories of Protracted Social Conflict and Environmental Security lay the foundation for this Minor Field Study. The thesis utilizes a narrative approach to gather information about how Palestinians in East Jerusalem perceive their water supply. In order to gather in-depth information about each respondent, I chose to conduct a qualitative case study.

1.4 Delimitations

It is not the intent of this paper to provide an unbiased overview of the Israel-Palestine conflict. The aim is to further the discussion of Palestinian water availability in the West Bank and Gaza to include East Jerusalem. Therefore, the focus at hand is on the Palestinians of East Jerusalem, not the Jewish or other non-Arab citizens. Though a discussion of settlers in East Jerusalem or Jewish residents of West Jerusalem might have provided an interesting contrast, the space allotted is not enough to thoroughly and fairly represent both sides.

1.5 Disposition

This chapter has served as an introduction to the subject, aim, and research questions of the thesis. The second chapter will outline the theoretical underpinnings of the study, as well as the method and its considerations in a field setting. The third chapter presents the empirical data through first a contextual setting of water in the West Bank and Jerusalem in the conflict, followed by the narratives offered by the respondents. Finally in the fourth chapter, these empirical findings will be analyzed and discussed alongside the underlying theories after which I will offer some final reflections.

2 Theory and Method

This chapter will describe the theory and method of this study. In particular, it will focus on Environmental Security and narrative analysis, and how these concepts have informed the field study and the subsequent analysis of it. The subsections of this chapter will discuss each of these topics in turn.

2.1 Theory

2.1.1 Protracted Social Conflict and Environmental Security

Edward Azar's Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) refers to the struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation. The idea is that when those basic needs are not being met, those feeling deprived will, ultimately, react (Ramsbotham et al 2005:84). As a starting point for this study, PSC embodies the reasons why it is important to know how the civilian actors in a conflict experience or perceive their situation as this may cause grievances which in turn could spur violence or some form of protest through political action. The theory is thus about how the failure to meet a population's basic needs can give rise to, or escalate, a conflict. The way in which such perceptions materialize will inevitably depend on the nature of the conflict and the actors involved. Particular in this regard to the Palestinian water situation is the absence of a formal Palestinian state structure and the Israeli occupation.

As an introductory remark to the discussion of Environmental Security, it is important to point out how the definition of security has changed. In the 1994 Human Development Report (HDR), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) widened the traditional notion of security that centered on national and global security to include human security. The aim was to move focus from the state to the individual. In its new definition, UNDP defined seven main categories of human security, namely: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (HDR 1994: 22ff). The foundation of both the theorists within Environmental Security discussed in this paper lie in this understanding of individual human security.

Thomas Homer-Dixon argues that resource scarcity causes violent conflict, and further points out that these types of conflict tend to be "persistent, diffuse, and sub-national" (Homer-Dixon 1994:6). In his texts, Homer-Dixon is

careful to attest that the link between resource stress and violent conflict is indirect. He puts forth that ecological, institutional, economic and political factors *in combination with* resource stress can lead to violence (Homer-Dixon, 2008:26). The term “environmental scarcity” is intended to encompass three sources of scarcity: environmental change, population growth and unequal social distribution of resources. Having found that these three sources interact, Homer-Dixon reports the two most common forms of interaction to be Ecological Marginalization and Resource Capture. Ecological Marginalization refers to a scenario where unequal social distribution of resources combines with population growth, causing migration to ecologically fragile or already overpopulated areas, which may result in economic hardship. This, in turn, could incite insurgency or rebellion. Resource Capture is described as a decrease in quality and quantity of renewable resources combined with population growth which may lead the more dominant group in a society to shift resource distribution in their favor (Homer-Dixon 1994:8ff,17, Homer-Dixon 1991:78).

Homer-Dixon specifically mentions the case of uneven water distribution between Israel and the West Bank as a case of Resource Capture. He suggests that the economic effects and grievances that arose from water scarcity contributed to the (first) intifada (Homer-Dixon 1994:8ff). In *Water Into Politics: The Water Issue in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*, Alwyn R. Rouyer argues that Homer-Dixon’s causal sequence is not applicable to the Israel-Palestine water dispute as the question is not one of resource scarcity but Israel’s internal politics (Rouyer 2000:8). However, given the possibility that Resource Capture may represent Israeli internal politics, Rouyer’s position is not necessarily irreconcilable with Homer-Dixon’s argument.

According to Homer-Dixon, the effects which Ecological Marginalization and Resource Capture give rise to, could result in, or contribute to, violence. The theories are similar to Azar’s PSC on the notion that people who perceive themselves as lacking their basic needs will not stand idly by. Homer-Dixon points out that if heightened grievances are to occur, “people must perceive a relative decrease in their standard of living compared with other groups or compared with their aspirations, and they must see little chance of their aspirations being addressed under the status quo” (Homer-Dixon, Percival 1998:280). And in order for these grievances to result in widespread civil violence, at least two other factors must be present, namely “groups with strong collective identities that can challenge state authority, and clearly advantageous opportunities for violent collective action against authority” (*Ibid*).

A critic of the aforementioned notions is Jon Barnett who feels that Homer-Dixon’s findings are limited due to his methodology as well as selection of cases. Barnett argues that the positivist methods used by Homer-Dixon are insufficient as the issue at hand cannot be explained through positivist research strategies alone (Barnett, Walton 2008:2; Barnett 2000:283). Barnett regards perceived links between resource scarcity and wars and conflicts as exaggerated, maintaining that both past and present evidence suggest that peace is as likely an outcome as any. In his later work, he does recognize environmental degradation as a possible threat to human security. However, he goes on to

point out that environmental scarcity in and of itself should not be seen as a single causal factor in conflict, but must look to economic, political and social factors (Barnett, 2000:276).

Barnett makes a case that environmental degradation, can harm human security, but points out that the link between lesser human security, from here on referred to as human insecurity, and violent conflict is unclear (Barnett, Adger, 2007:642). He contends that the decision to act violently, or to join a militant group, is complex and highly influenced by a lack of opportunities for marginalized groups to improve their lives (Barnett, 2000:274).

As opposed to Homer-Dixon's focus on violent conflict, Barnett argues that scholars should concentrate more on the daily insecurities that arise out of the corrosion of welfare and spirit. While scrutinizing the traditional view of security, i.e. national security, he discusses the possibility of a "water war" in the Middle East. He puts forth that this is an instrument of the North's security agenda in the way of constructing a "barbaric Other" (Barnett, 2000:277, 284). If the focus of scholars and strategists was on peace as opposed to conflict, there would be less room for a justification of strategic interventions. He furthers his point by referring to studies that see water as a source of dialogue in the Middle East. In sum, he strives to move the academic discourse on environment and security away from Realist assumptions of national security to the security of human itself: "The absolute peace and security problem is not that in the face of intolerable oppression the oppressed may resist; the problem is the oppression and injustice itself" (Barnett 2000:275).

Barnett puts forth that "research into environmental conflicts would benefit from relaxing the categories it applies to understanding conflicts, and instead seek to understand conflicts from the perspective of those that experience them, and as they transpire" (Barnett, Walton, 2008:13). In the present thesis, focus is on unequal distribution of social resources as a form of environmental scarcity. However, this unequal distribution may express itself differently to different people, which is why the aim of the first research question is to assert how people perceive their situation to begin with.

While they differ as to what the most common expression of grievances is (violence or non-violence), both Barnett and Homer-Dixon agree that people's perception about their access to basic needs will be expressed in one way or another. That is the basic tenet of this thesis. Which one of the two authors' predictions will prevail with regard to the perceptions surveyed herein remains to be seen in Chapter Three below. Suffice it to note at this point that Barnett's emphasis on the individual perceptions of the people affected by the conflict appears more meritorious to me as a basis for this thesis than Homer-Dixon's general assertion that violence will most often result.

Consequently, this paper proceeds on the basis that grievances can be expressed and be significant without being violent. Therefore, the study aims to show not only whether there is a reaction to possible perceived water restriction, but also what type of reaction. The collection of this information necessitates a true understanding of the affected people's experiences, which in turn requires letting them tell their stories, their narratives. In the following

section, the history and theories behind narratives are discussed before turning to the practical implications of these in the study.

2.1.2 Narrative in Theory: Background and Conceptual Unraveling

In making sense of our world, in arranging the tidbits of information we have about our existence, we tend to produce stories; or narratives. Narrative embodies the process of how people make stories of different pieces of information as a way of arranging that information for themselves. Phoenix, Smith and Sparkes define narrative as “a technique that seeks to interpret the ways in which people perceive reality, make sense of their worlds, and perform social actions” (2010:3).

The use of narrative as a way of understanding the world is not a new concept, although its applicability to science has been debated. Washbourne and Dicke point to Aristotle and Herodotus as examples of narrative analysis used to study social reality (2001:93). The acknowledgment of narratives’ usefulness to the Social Sciences is relatively new however, and Patterson and Monroe attribute this development to the recognition of novels as justifiable areas of literary study. From only recognizing the value of poetry and drama due to their form and technique, to attesting that form and technique could be deciphered also from novels; the 1940s and 1950s saw an increase in proponents of the novel’s importance to scrutiny due to its content and effect on the reader. When debates arose regarding which aspects of the novel were to be considered the most dominant, the discussion turned to theories of narrative, as opposed to theories of the novel. Influences from structural anthropologists, French structuralism and Russian formalism drove the debate that a few universal plots lay the foundation for all narratives, and studying these is vital in understanding the human essence (Patterson – Monroe 1998:317).

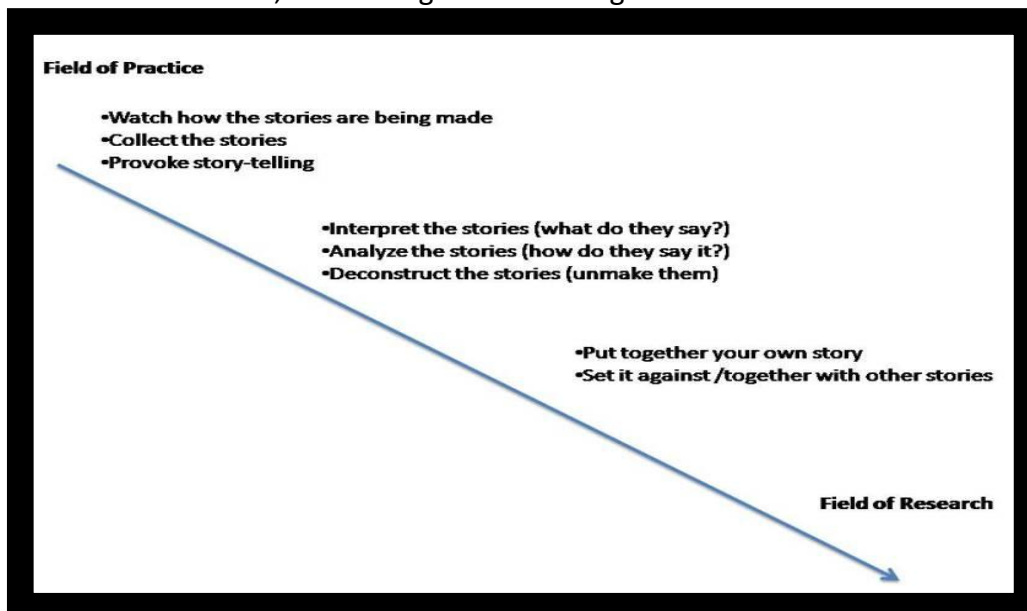
What is in a narrative, then? Czarniawska argues that narratives have plots as well as characters (albeit not always human, in this study for example, Israel as well as Palestine can be characters in themselves) (2000:14ff). The concept of plot is explained through Tzvetan Todorov’s explanation of a minimal plot that begins with an equilibrium disturbed by a problematic force. Similarly Bruner and others, as related by Patterson and Monroe describe narrative as a “sequence of events arranged around a problem and designed to restore equilibrium” (1998:324).

Patterson and Monroe attest that “insofar as narratives affect perceptions of political reality, which in turn affect our actions in response to or in anticipation of political events, narrative plays a critical role in the construction of political behavior” (1998:317). This relates to PSC, the theories on Environmental Security as well as the research questions in contending that how Palestinians in East Jerusalem perceive their restriction to water and the role water plays in the conflict may impact their own political actions. Furthermore, Patterson and Monroe point out that narratives carry a potential to give voice to members of society often not listened to in academic discourse,

therefore challenging established theories and methods (1998:327). This is reiterated by Anna Johansson who connects narratives to postcolonial ideas of letting “the Other” be heard and seen (Johansson 2005:80). The applicability of a narrative analysis in this study, is thus not only to give a voice to Palestinian Jerusalemites, but also relying on them as valuable resources of information.

2.2 Method: Narrative in Practice

In her report “The Uses of Narratives in Organization Research”, Czarniawska summarizes the main steps in the use and application of narrative and narrative analysis in the social sciences. Her illustration will be rendered here, but without her contextual notes, i.e.: management and organization research.



(Czarniawska 2000:5)

This illustration serves as a blueprint for the gathering of empirical data for this thesis which the coming sections will outline in further detail. The rest of this chapter will describe how the narratives were collected, then account for the analysis of these narratives. The following chapter will serve as its own narrative in the form of retelling the stories collected in East Jerusalem. The fourth and final chapter will analyze the narratives alongside the theories of Environmental Security.

2.2.1 Collecting Narratives

The way of collecting narratives in this thesis was through interviews with local Palestinians in East Jerusalem, as well as some “experts” in the form of NGO employees or local authorities. There are many areas where the use of

interviews is beneficial, but a few relevant to this study as outlined by Esaiasson et al are as follows: when exploring previously unexplored territory, when curious as to how people perceive their surroundings; and when we wish to fill in the gaps on previous research (2007:285ff).

Czarniawska argues that offering stories as answers to interview questions is not at all uncommon, especially when the respondents are allowed some room to speak (2000:13). Therefore, semi-structured interviews were chosen with the reasoning that they would allow adjustment of questions specific to each person being interviewed, as well as allowing them to pose questions back to me as the interviewer. Another point Czarniawska makes is to prompt for narratives by changing the terminology to one of narratology (2000:14).

In selecting the respondents, the method heavily relied upon was the "Snowball selection"-method (Teorell, Svensson, 2007:86, Johansson 2005:264). First, experts were interviewed to get an overview of the situation of water supply in different localities in East Jerusalem. After this, contact was made with local Palestinians in areas of interest, as suggested by the experts. After each interview, the respondent in question would then be asked if they knew of anyone else who would consider sharing their experiences and views for the purposes of this paper.

After careful consideration through discussions with others who have conducted field studies and trial interviews, a decision was made not to use a dictaphone. The reason for this was due to respondents in trial interviews responding less freely than those in trial interviews without a dictaphone, as well as similar stories being told by others who have found the same to be true during their field studies.

Regarding the ethical aspect, the idea of informed consent is central to people-related research (Vetenskapsrådet, 84f). Confidentiality, information and consent are the pillars of good ethics and this study has aimed to abide by these fully. When interviewing experts, they were asked for their consent to be quoted by name and occupation in relation to what they had shared. When interviewing local Palestinians, they were assured that their identity would be protected, and that fictional names would be used in order to refer to their accounts in the text.

2.2.2 Analyzing and Interpreting Narratives

In analyzing and interpreting narratives, and indeed all qualitative research, the researcher may experience difficulties in convincing the reader that the impression they hold of the interview is valid. Depending on one's assumption within Theory of Science, one may uphold criteria of validity differently. In "Validity in Narrative Research", Polkinghorne writes that one's background beliefs and epistemological assumptions affect how one regards the validity of a claim (2007:475). If one maintains a Positivist view of the world and the knowledge of it, one may be inclined to recount for one's results differently than would someone of a Hermeneutic position. Within Hermeneutics, the researcher

as an interpreter becomes part of the process and the respondent of an interview, for example, is interesting in their entirety: their actions, feelings, values and ideas (Alvesson, Sköldbberg, 2000). The underlying assumption in this thesis is that the researcher is part of the process and is therefore able to make analytical conjectures of the material at hand.

Polkinghorne puts forth that there are degrees of validity, as opposed to either valid or not valid and that it is up to the researcher to, in the case of understanding human experience, provide evidence in the form of personally reflective descriptions as to make it easier for the reader to relate and accept the analysis of a narrative, even though they weren't there (2007:479). I attempt to do this by offering numerous direct quotes in my retelling of the narratives.

In analyzing the narratives gathered, a thematic analysis was used, with certain adjustments. In an analysis of this kind, what is of interest to the researcher is the content of the narrative: *what* is said, rather than *how*. Thematic analysis comes from the idea that language is a "direct and unambiguous route to meaning" (Kohler Riessman 2003:2). This paper distances itself from this idea, maintaining the notion that *how* something is said does play a part, and can affect the content; but it is the content, nonetheless, that is in focus. The manner in which thematic analysis is accomplished is by inductively creating conceptual groupings from the narratives at hand, finding common elements in them that can be used to form new theories. A critique against this method is that it is too simple, seeing as the language is "viewed as a resource, not a topic of investigation" (*Ibid*). Furthermore, a categorization of narratives may mislead the reader into thinking everyone in a specific grouping held exactly the same views. It is the aim of this study to categorize the narratives, while discussing the ways in which people within these categories differed from one another. The reason for using thematic analysis is that the content, the Palestinian perception of water availability in East Jerusalem, is what is of interest for this paper, and the respondents are indeed viewed as resources as opposed to areas of study.

2.3 Operationalization

Some terms used in this paper need further explanation, as outlined below:

East Jerusalem

The defining of East Jerusalem's borders could be a thesis in itself. The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics categorize East Jerusalem into J1 and J2. J1 refers to those parts of Jerusalem which were annexed by Israel in 1967, and J2 refers to the remaining parts of the governorate (*The Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*). However, since some parts of J1 today fall outside of the Separation Wall, the *de facto* border this creates will have to be considered. OCHA operationalizes East Jerusalem as the part of Jerusalem between the 1949 Armistice Line (the Green Line) and the municipal boundaries as defined by Israel (OCHA Report 2000: 50).

Perception of water availability

Based on the discussion of Environmental Security as per Homer-Dixon and Barnett, possible grievances which may result in political action take their origin in people perceiving themselves as marginalized. The focus here is thus not on water availability *per se*, but rather people's perception of it. The aim of the first research question is to examine the ways in which water is experienced as a problematic issue (see more on *water availability*) below.

Water

This paper refers to water mainly for domestic use, cooking, cleaning, drinking etc.

Water Availability/ Water Access/ Water Supply

These terms refer to the availability of water in the home in the broadest sense possible. A perceived problem of water supply may not entail only dry taps, but perhaps prices such that people are unable to pay for their water, or only receiving new water a few days a week. The terms indicated are used interchangeably.

Palestinians in East Jerusalem

This term is used to refer to people who identify themselves as Arabs or Palestinians, living in East Jerusalem.

Political Action/ Further conflict /Further tension

The second research question mentions "Political Action" and "Further Conflict." These terms in this paper are derived from the theories of PSC and Environmental Security. As mentioned in the discussion on Environmental Security, Barnett advocates relaxing the categories applied when analyzing conflicts. I aim to do this by using the above terms to embody a sense of reaction, of in one way or another showing dissent or action. Examples could include demonstrating and rallying, but also more personal actions, like deciding not to pay taxes or boycotting certain products.

Separation Wall/Barrier

The barrier being built between the West Bank and Jerusalem is in this paper referred to as "Separation Wall" or "the Wall", the terms being used interchangeably. The reason for using the term "Wall" (as preferred by the Palestinians) as opposed to "Security Barrier" or "Security Fence" (as preferred by the Israelis) is that it is the term used by the International Court of Justice ("Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory").

2.4 Field Research

Primary material was gathered in East Jerusalem between April and July 2010. In total, 24 interviews were conducted, of which one was omitted at the request of the expert in question. The interviews were conducted in English. Respondents were offered the possibility of a translator present, but none opted for it. Efforts were made to maintain a variety of age and gender in the sample of

respondents, however more men than women were interviewed. In some cases, family members were present for the interviews and partook, but are not individually listed. The interviews were supplemented with written accounts by NGOs and local authorities in the form of reports, and books and articles authored by experts in the field.

3 The Case: Water in East Jerusalem

If there's a problem with water in the West Bank, it's worse in East Jerusalem.

-Yousef A. Awayes, Palestinian Water Authority

This chapter will firstly offer a brief contextual setting of water in the Israel-Palestine conflict, with a focus on the West Bank. Then will follow a synopsis of Jerusalem's role in the conflict, after which a background on water in East Jerusalem is presented. Having set the scene, I will then turn to outlining the narratives according to a thematic analysis. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the respondents' stories.

3.1 Contextual Setting

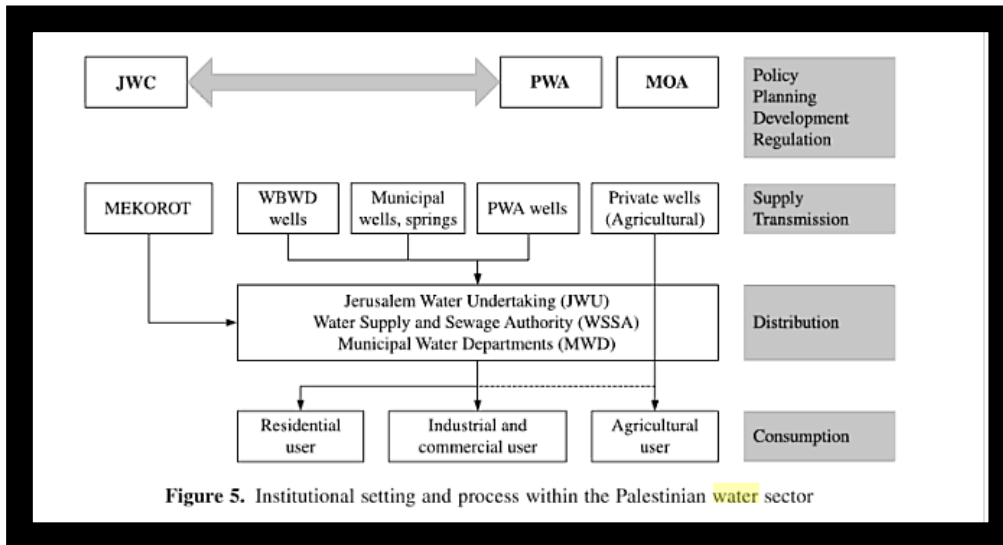
3.1.1 West Bank Water

There are two types of water resources in the West Bank and Israel area: groundwater resources in the form of the Mountain Aquifer, lying under both Israel and the West Bank; and surface water in the form of the Jordan River (Amnesty Report, 8). The Minimum Water Requirement is "an estimate of a reasonable amount of good quality water to meet the basic vital human needs for drinking water and for domestic aid and urban use in the Middle East" (Shuval 2007:11), and is calculated at 125 m³ per person and year (*Ibid*). The Palestinian domestic and urban use is at approximately 35 m³ per person and year, while that of Israeli settlers in the West Bank is estimated at 175 m³ per person and year (Khateeb 2010-05-16).

Following its occupation of the West Bank in 1967, Israel has denied the Palestinians access to the water resources of the Jordan River, leaving the Mountain Aquifer as their only source of water. The Oslo Accords outlined the recognition of Palestinian water rights in the West Bank, but left these to be negotiated further. However, this never happened, and the division is now such that Israel extracts 85% of the water of the Aquifer. Mohammad A. Rajab Al Tamimi of American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) contends that Palestinians were not equipped to properly partake in the negotiations and that signing was merely a political decision (2010-07-05). He, along with Nader Al-Khateeb of Friends of the Earth Middle East and Yousef A. Awayes and Deeb Abdelghafour of the Palestinian Water Authority (PWA) are all careful to point out that while Israel only *uses* 85% of the water, they do in fact control all of it. Deeb

Abdelghafour attests: “As Palestinians we don’t control one drop of water” (2010-06-14).

The institutional arrangement of the water sector in the West Bank is complex, but measures have been taken to carefully separate policy formulation, regulation and service delivery functions (Klawitter 2008:106). Due to the space limitations of this text, an in-depth analysis of the sector at hand will be omitted, though the table below illustrates the main actors and is presented as a reference point for the reader:



(Klawitter, 2008:114)

3.1.2 Jerusalem: A Tale of Two Cities

The earliest signs of settlement in what is now Jerusalem can be traced back to 4000 BCE. In the interest of saving space and shedding light on more recent events, this section will very briefly outline the major events and issues as pertaining to this study.

General Edmund Allenby conquered Jerusalem in 1917, ending 400 years of Ottoman rule (Pappe 2006:72). In 1920, the San Remo Peace Conference decided that Britain would get a mandate to rule Palestine and in July that year, the Mandate civil administration took over from the military. The League of Nations Council gave Britain the mandate to rule Palestine in 1922. This mandate also made Jerusalem the capital under British civil administration. In November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 181, the UN Partition Plan for Palestine, recommending the termination of the British Mandate, and dividing the territory into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. The resolution proposed that the Jerusalem-Bethlehem area be placed under

international protection, administered by the UN (PASSIA: Jerusalem Chronology). The resolution was accepted by the Jewish community but rejected by representatives of Palestinian Arabs and the Arab League.

Violence escalated, and eventually led to the 1947-1948 Civil War in Mandatory Palestine. The British mandate was set to expire on May 15, but seeing as that fell on Shabbat, David Ben-Gurion declared independence for Israel on May 14. This, in turn, led to the attack on Israel by Arab forces (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan –then Transjordan-, and Iraq) which started the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. East Jerusalem (including the Old City) along with the West Bank came under Jordanian military control. Armistice agreements were eventually signed between Israel and the other belligerents in early 1949. In March 1949, Jordan and Israel signed an agreement on the armistice lines in Jerusalem, leaving Jordan to replace its military rule with a civil administration (Bovis 1971:58-69). During the Civil War as well as the Arab-Israeli war, some 750,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled from their homes. The Palestinian refugees and their right of return remains a major issue of the Israel-Palestine conflict today, as registered Palestinian refugees and their descendants at present number over 4.6 million people (UNRWA Homepage).

In 1967, the Six Day War broke out, resulting in Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and declaring all of Jerusalem its united capital. Municipal services, among them water connections, were unified between East and West Jerusalem. In 1980, the "Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel" was declared, describing Jerusalem as "complete and united" and the "eternal capital" of Israel (Bovis 1971:103). East Jerusalem is part of the West Bank, but Palestinian movement between the two is restricted through the Separation Wall, checkpoints, permits and identity cards. There are three types of ID cards: West Bank Palestinian, Jerusalem Palestinian, and Israeli. Palestinians who hold blue Jerusalem IDs are considered permanent residents of Israel, and can work and buy property in Israel as well as receive taxpayer benefits. The IDs are not permanent in practice however, and Palestinians can lose their blue IDs if they reside outside of Jerusalem for seven or more years. In 2006, over 1360 Palestinians had their blue IDs revoked (OCHA Report 2007:8f).

3.1.3 Water in Jerusalem

Before 1967, the water needs of East Jerusalem were served by Jerusalem Water Undertaking (JWU) which was established under Jordanian law and is based in Ramallah. After 1967, Israel declared all of Jerusalem as subjects of Israeli water law, and connected waterworks in East and West Jerusalem (Awayes 2010-06-10). In 1968, the offices, pipelines and equipment of JWU were transferred to the Israeli Jerusalem municipality's Gihon water company. Today, most of East Jerusalem is served by Gihon, though certain areas are still under the privilege of the JWU, mostly northern East Jerusalem (Hilal 2010-05-24). The PWA points out that the JWU wishes to serve all of the Palestinian areas of East Jerusalem, and views Israel's Gihon as a political tool to gain further control of East Jerusalem.

Awayes summarizes the situation: "the war between JWU and Gihon, it's all political" (2010-06-10).

Palestinians in East Jerusalem have great difficulties in obtaining permits to build new houses and their homes are often subjected to threats of demolition. As a result, many construct new buildings illegally or convert rooms into numerous smaller units. In order to be connected to Gihon's water network, one needs to have a permit for one's house. Therefore, the illegally constructed houses most often have illegal water connections (Qutub 2010-06-08).

The neighbourhoods served by Gihon pay the same amount for water until the meter reaches a certain limit, after which tax is added on per cubic centimeter. Due to the amount of households often sharing the same water meter as well as large households, both overrepresented in East Jerusalem, this limit is reached very quickly which results in high bills (Qutub 2010-06-08; Karim Sharif 2010-06-08). As 67% of families in East Jerusalem live under the poverty line, this has detrimental effects on the Palestinian population. Out of roughly 303,500 Palestinians in East Jerusalem, 160,000 have no legal or suitable connection to the water network (Alyan 2010-05-26).

Finally, many rely on water saved in water barrels on their roofs as a means to get by and face difficulties associated with these barrels. The water pressure is often very low, the quality of the water is poor, and unsuitable for drinking. Often, the tanks are not kept clean, damaging the water quality even further. Due to caution of running out of water, people think twice before using it. This means many do not shower daily which has hygienic and medical consequences, especially when it comes to children (Alyan 2010-05-26; Qutub 2010-06-08). Due to the restricted movement of Palestinians, gathering information on East Jerusalem is difficult and the organizations and authorities on the West Bank have to rely on secondary information collected by their counterparts in Jerusalem, as they themselves cannot cross the checkpoints into the city (Hilal 2010-05-24; Samhan 2010-06-10).

3.2 Narratives on Water Supply

In this section, respondents have been categorized according to their source of water supply, namely Gihon or JWU as based on recommendations by the experts interviewed. Through a thematic analysis, common themes in the narratives have been identified and serve as pillars for the discussion.

3.2.1 Neighbourhoods supplied by Jerusalem Water Undertaking

The interviews in this section were gathered from residents of Beit Hanina in northern East Jerusalem, receiving water from JWU. The interviewees perceive their water supply as somewhat problematic, but rely on their water barrels to meet their most basic needs.

All interviewees served by JWU initially pointed out that their water supply was not a problem because all have one or more water barrels (here used synonymously with “water tanks” –the term used by the interviewees) on their roofs. Mrs. A.E. even described the tanks as a necessity, “without tanks, you cannot survive” (2010-06-15). As the interviews went on however, all mentioned that they're disconnected to the water networks for two to three days a week, especially in the summer. When this happens, they become weary of using the water from the tanks because they do not know when the next water delivery will be. This caution has hygienic consequences; all the women interviewed described daily showers in the summer as very rare (Mrs. A.E. 2010-06-15; Miss H.H. 2010-06-23; Miss A.O. 2010-06-30).

The perceived toll on daily lives seems to differ greatly depending on family size. Mr. S.N. said his small household consisting of him, his mother and father do not perceive the lack of water supply as too problematic. Mrs. A.E., on the other hand, until recently lived with her six siblings and mother and tells of the water situation as having a daily effect on her life as it ran out very quickly and there were days when the tanks were completely empty. This is also true for Miss A.O. who lives with her parents and three brothers. She joked that they always squabble when someone is not being careful to preserve the barrel supply, but that they have become accustomed to living a lifestyle that saves on water. Having said that, she did add that daily chores become a nuisance when cooking and cleaning have to be hurried and perfectly calculated in order to not run out of water (2010-06-30).

The respondents, when talking about their problems with water supply, continually compared themselves to their compatriots living on the West Bank and Gaza, almost with a sense of shame. A common theme as the stories began to unfold was an acknowledgment that while the water supply is problematic, it is nowhere near as widespread of a problem as it is on the West Bank, and “let's not even talk about Gaza!” (Mr. A.E. 2010-06-03). The respondents put across that while they are not satisfied with their water supply, they feel awkward complaining about it, because they think it is worse on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Furthermore, the perceived water supply in the narratives was overshadowed by the fear of house demolitions or the interviewees losing their Jerusalem IDs. Despite this, most of the interviewees served by JWU perceived themselves as having more problems with water than the Israelis. Some emphasized the large number of swimming pools in West Jerusalem and that the water in the Israeli water barrels “never runs out” (Mrs. A.E. 2010-06-23). However, Miss H.H. did point out that “water is a scarce product also for Israel” (2010-06-15).

In the conflict as a whole, some rejected the notion of a possible “water war”, asserting that the right of return for the refugees, the Wall, and the '67 borders are more important. Miss H.H., however, felt that “water is *the* issue in the conflict, it points to a lack of control of our resources, the issue is not personal, it has to do with national sovereignty” (2010-06-23). All JWU respondents recognized the significance of water in the conflict; but on a personal level the issue is dwarfed by the water problems in the rest of Palestine

as well as other, more significant issues facing East Jerusalemites. The water issue is thus perceived as a grievance more as a matter of principle than on a personal level.

3.2.2 Neighbourhoods supplied by Gihon

The interviewees in this section live in different areas of East Jerusalem that receive water from Gihon, namely Mount of Olives, Sheikh Jarrah, Silwan and the Old City. The interviewees expressed concern over two issues regarding their water supply, namely the prices and the connections.

All interviewees talked about the problem of connections and how expensive the water is, some showing their phone bills and telling lengthy stories of whether or not they would be able to pay them. For example, Mr. A.I. and his extended family live in three houses on the Mount of Olives, one of them illegal, and all connected to the same water network. His latest biannual water bill was 17,000NIS (roughly 33,000SEK), and since he hasn't been able to make his last payments, a penalty fee has been added on top (2010-06-29). Mr. L.B. and his extended family are currently living in a tent as they were evicted from their house in Sheikh Jarrah, now occupied by settlers. They tried to connect to a neighbour's water tank but the Israeli authorities soon discovered and destroyed this connection, leaving the family no other choice but to buy water from neighbours and carry it to and from the tent in large buckets (2010-06-29).

Many interviewees felt that the water meters were a political tactic by Israel to keep tabs on the Palestinians, and/or to make them leave Jerusalem. Mr. T.A. for example attested "the authorities here only care about Israelis, nobody cares about the Palestinians in East Jerusalem, the high water bills, the demolitions, the soldiers on the streets, it's all to remove us" (2010-07-03). Others talked about Israel using the prices on the water meters as a way to calculate how many people are connected to it, and in this way detect illegal construction. All Gihon respondents described themselves as feeling unsettled, always under the watchful eye of the Israeli authorities.

Similarly to the interviewees living in neighbourhoods where JWU supplies water, those receiving water from Gihon also said that the problems associated with water is just one of many issues. They discussed house demolitions and evictions, as well as the fear of losing their Jerusalem IDs. Many complained about high water bills, but see this as part of a larger problem of paying a lot of money for infrastructure which the authorities don't end up funneling back into improving East Jerusalem. As Mr. T.R. pointed out, "where I live, there are no parks and nothing works, so why do I pay for it?" (2010-06-03).

Again, similar to JWU respondents, the interviewees with Gihon water supply feel water is one of the big issues in the conflict. Mr. T.A. says "the water problem, it's not less than the refugee issue or the land issue, it's very big for us" (2010-07-03). All the interviewees also felt they were not dealt with the same as their Israeli Jerusalem neighbours. Even though they said they receive the same amount of water as the Israelis, respondents felt they were paying more, and

that this was yet another example of the discriminatory treatment they receive. The water supply in itself is thus not perceived as a problem other than for one of the respondents, but the high prices appear to give rise to grievances.

3.3 Narratives of Protest and Political Action

The previous section recounted the perceived water supply of Palestinians in East Jerusalem, which this section will develop, retelling whether or not the water supply situation in the two groups interviewed caused the respondents to react.

3.3.1 Neighbourhoods supplied by Jerusalem Water Undertaking

The respondents receiving water from JWU made it clear that they take little or no action to better their water supply. The main reasons for this are that first of all, they feel that JWU gives them the water they can; secondly, because other issues are prioritized; and third, because protesting would not bring about any improvements. The only respondent who takes action in terms of her water supply does so in the form of boycotting Israeli products.

Seeing as the respondents receive water from JWU in Ramallah, most maintained that the Palestinian authorities only have a certain amount of water to give out so they are not at fault when residents do not receive water for some days a week. Even Mr. A.E. who showed strong annoyance at his lack of water said “we don't complain because we know they (implying Ramallah) give us what they can” (2010-06-03).

In light of other circumstances like house demolitions and evictions, the respondents feel they are better off putting their time and effort into those issues rather than that of water, as the barrels mean they get by for the time being. Mr. S.N. acknowledged that “the water issue is major and has major effects. Right now it's not significant, but it will be soon” (2010-06-21), while discussing that prioritizing efforts is important. His point is that any protest and action taken regarding the water question may only arise when people can no longer make do with the barrels, which he believes will happen. He went on to point out that for him, it's vital that Palestinians in their efforts to fight the occupation start working on their public image, “I don't blame the rest of the world for thinking all Palestinians do is throw rocks and cause mayhem because that's what they see on TV” (*Ibid*). In this sense, he believes that any action taken needs to be well-organized and peaceful.

Miss H.H. pointed out that because JWU is not to blame, she would rather make do on scarce water supplies when the barrels don't fill rather than buying extra supplies from Gihon. She said that she does not wish to spend more money on buying water from Israel when they are to blame for the water shortage in the first place. This is not only true for water, she tries to boycott as

many Israeli products as she can, and encourages others to do so as well (2010-06-23).

The other interviewees maintained that any protest against Israel is moot as “they” (implying Israel) will not listen to the Palestinians anyway. Although Mr. S.N. does support well-organized large movements, he thinks that it is dangerous for Palestinians in East Jerusalem to show dissent. He said that the Israeli authorities will not care if Palestinian Jerusalemites complain, and complaining always happens at the risk of losing one's Jerusalem ID. He pointed out that this ID has become important, as Palestinian Jerusalemites often feel out of place both in the West Bank and Israel, strengthening their ties to Jerusalem (2010-06-21). All respondents, including those from Gihon neighbourhoods, agreed with feeling a loss of identity. Miss A.O. said that people assume Palestinian Jerusalemites lead an easier life than their compatriots on the West Bank, as they can move around more freely, but asserted that this benefit comes with the cost of never feeling safe under the Israeli authorities, “they always know where you are and how to find you, I know it” (2010-06-30).

The respondents agreed that they would do more if they believed it would have an effect, and if they weren't afraid of their activism getting them into trouble.

3.3.2 Neighbourhoods supplied by Gihon

In the neighbourhoods supplied by Gihon, the respondents' narratives differed greatly when it came to taking action in order to improve their water supply. Some described feeling that there was no use in protesting against high water bills, others told of showing their dissent by refusing to pay their bills or taxes, while some of the respondents are very much involved in organizing protests and spreading awareness, but again, usually prioritizing other issues than water. As with JWU respondents, many of those supplied by Gihon described not feeling safe.

Those of the interviewees who said there was no use to take action to improve the situation of high water bills argued that the Israeli authorities do not care about the Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Mr. A.A., for example, described that his rights are constantly being taken away from him. He went on to say that it was a waste of time and effort to try to make a difference; that it would not accomplish anything and that the best thing to do was just to try and make do with what he had (2010-06-03). Mr. F.A. said that when he was younger, he would partake in protests organized by Palestinians in East Jerusalem, but now, he does not have the energy anymore. He shrugged and said “I am tired, nothing has helped and now I just want to have a nice, quiet life, there is no use. What are you gonna do?” [*sic*] (2010-06-03).

Some respondents, however, take individual action to combat the high bills for their water. Mr. A.I. (who had a water bill of 17,000NIS for six months) decided he would refuse to pay as a matter of principle. He has now had to hire a

lawyer and his case will be brought up in court.¹ He said that it is not only the water, the services in East Jerusalem in general are faulty and asserted that “they can send me to jail but I refuse to pay” (2010-06-29). Mr. T.R said that he “sometimes” pays his water bills, but will not pay his taxes due to the fact that he doesn’t believe the taxes collected from East Jerusalem are being spent there. He laughed and said that the Israeli authorities “will try and come to my house to make me pay, but I have two German shepherds! Let the soldiers come, but I will not go easy!” [sic] (2010-06-03).

The respondents that do take more collective action in organizing protests and spreading information had other issues than water closer to heart. Mr. T.A., who feels the water issue is important, holds lectures and organizes projects primarily to inform mothers of how to deal with drug problems in the family. He pointed out that drugs are becoming a very big problem in East Jerusalem and attributed this to identity problems. During his lectures and workshops, he also discusses the conflict and its issues at large, among those, water. He tries to inform mothers how to best save on water while emphasizing the importance of hygiene for a child’s health. Mr. T.A. was careful to assert, however, that in a conflict as complex as that of Israel and Palestine, the issues are interlinked. “Water problems are related to house demolitions and evictions, and those are linked to the land issue, which is linked to the settlements and so on and so on. You see? It is impossible to discuss one without the other” (2010-07-03). Mr. L.B. and his family have set up a website for their neighbourhood to spread information about their eviction and its consequences, and organize protests every Friday. As with Mr. T.A., they feel it is difficult to separate the issues of the conflict, so they try not to. Mr. L.B. pointed out, however, that when he and his family still lived in his house, he might not have been as vocal with his opinions and actions out of fear for the Israeli authorities, but now, “they have taken my state, my freedom and my dignity, I have no choice but to fight” (2010-06-29).

3.4 Summary

In this study, respondents in JWU neighbourhoods perceive themselves as lacking water and having less water than the Israelis, although this does not affect them as much personally as it does on a level of principle because they make due with water tanks on their roofs. By and large, the respondents do not take action to better their water supply, either because they doubt this bring about any improvements, or because they fear taking action could make their situation worse. The interviewees in Gihon neighbourhoods identify that while there is a steady water flow, it is very costly. Some do not react, mistrustful that any benefits would arise from protest; while others show dissent by refusing to

¹ Mr. A.I. was contacted for a follow-up in November 2010 and his court date had not yet been set, but he had been given an additional penalty fee for not having made his payments in the meantime.

pay their bills or taxes. Some organize larger projects and protests, but point out that in these cases, it is difficult to distinguish the water question from other issues. All respondents discussed experiencing identity problems, not quite feeling as West Bankers and definitely not Israelis, but insecure of their situation as Jerusalemites. The next chapter will briefly analyze these findings through the theories that lay the foundation for this study, after which I will present the conclusions of the study as well as some final remarks.

4 Analysis, Conclusions and Final Reflections

This chapter will analyze the empirical findings reported in the previous chapter through the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. After this, the conclusions will be summarized before I offer some final reflections on the study and its results.

4.1 Analysis

The narratives collected in East Jerusalem told nothing of violence as a result of the water supply, though some did express that they take action through other means in order to better their situation. Below, I will outline and consider some aspects of these findings that require further discussion.

Overall, the respondents in neighbourhoods served by JWU take no action to better their water supply, even though they have problems with new inflow of water during some days of the week. However, since they make do with the water barrels, most of the interviewees do not experience their water shortage as having a large toll on their daily lives. Based on the theories of Environmental Security, it could be argued that because the faulty water supply has minor effects on the respondents, not enough grievances to take action arise. It became clear from the narratives that the JWU respondents do not see the benefits of taking action as outnumbering the costs. They know the problem lies with water distribution between Israel and Palestine and accept that they receive the water JWU can give them. Furthermore, they fear having their Jerusalem IDs revoked by the Israeli authorities if they act upon their grievances.

Gihon interviewees on the other hand, reported being more prone to taking action in order to better their water situation. The reasons for this could be that the high prices affect their daily lives to a greater extent than the defective water supply does the JWU respondents, thus giving rise to more grievances. Another possibility for the differences between neighbourhoods is that those receiving their bills directly from Israel's Gihon feel more provoked than those receiving inferior water supply from JWU as a result of Israel's water policies. Another possibility for these results could be that the Gihon narratives cover a wider span of neighbourhoods, giving voice to a larger array of people.

Respondents in both groups discussed the difficulties in separating water from the other issues of the conflict. Both Homer-Dixon and Barnett's findings suggest that resource stress has implications on human security when combined

with ecological, institutional, economic and political factors. As the interviewees related the many issues affecting them in the conflict, it seems that the extraneous factors Homer-Dixon and Barnett point to are present in this context. In some cases, these factors cause such grievances that people react, but water on its own does not seem to be an incentive for action. Out of fear for the consequences of taking action, it appears through the narratives that those with less to lose are more likely to react, as seen in the case of Mr. L.B. Homer-Dixon's theories apply in the sense that grievances result in action, but fall short in that they do not, in this case study, bring about violence. Since all respondents discussed a sense of insecurity and identity loss but none discussed violence, this case study gives more merit to Barnett's contention that focus in studies on Environmental Security should lie within the daily insecurities that arise from resource stress factors as opposed to whether or not they lead to violence.

4.2 Conclusions

This study has sought to get an overview of how Palestinians in East Jerusalem perceive their water availability, and in what sense the issue of water has led to political action, spurring further tensions.

Those interviewed for this thesis had different perceptions of water availability depending on their source of water supply. Respondents residing in neighbourhoods supplied by JWU experience two to three days a week, especially in the summer, when there is no new inflow of water. According to the interviewees, this does not take a heavy toll on their daily lives for the most part as they have learned to cope by storing water in water barrels situated on their roofs. Those who receive water from Israeli Gihon did not describe experiencing water shortages as such, but all expressed dismay at the bills, which have become very high.

The extent to which water has led to political action and therefore further tension also differs between the neighbourhoods interviewed. Most in the JWU neighbourhoods did not describe taking action to better their water supply as they know JWU only has a certain amount to distribute, and they do not believe action would make a difference in these circumstances. Furthermore, respondents described feeling afraid of losing their Jerusalem IDs or their homes if they act upon their grievances. Fear and lack of hope for change characterized some of the respondents in the Gihon neighbourhoods, too. Here, however, some do take action to battle their high costs for water, either through individual or collective means. These actions do not seem to be a major cause for further tensions though, and those respondents who try and bring about collective action do so to bring awareness to all the issues of the Israel-Palestine conflict affecting Palestinian Jerusalemites, not water exclusively.

4.3 Final Reflections

In these final remarks, I will move away from the theoretical aspect and reflect on underlying reasons and factors that may have had an effect on the results as well as recommendations for future research.

As briefly mentioned above, this study is not to be seen as characteristic of the perceptions of all Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Rather, it offers a selection of cases that could serve as an introduction or base for further studies in the field. In this sense, the conclusions and findings above are to be seen as only representative for this group of interviewees. The selection of respondents could therefore have had a major effect on the results. As mentioned in Section 2.4, I tried to gather as wide and diverse selection of respondents as possible, but the extent to which those interviewed are representative for the population at large will remain to be seen.

Another aspect that may have had an impact on the findings is language. The interviews were conducted in English which may have stifled respondents in expressing themselves freely. Due to the fact that none opted for a translator present (which also could have had a stifling effect), I found it even more important to allow respondents the time to think and phrase themselves in a way that they were comfortable with. I came to discover that, as Czarniawska mentions (See Section 2.2.1), when respondents are offered some room to speak, the accounts offered become more vivid and telling. An example of this was when interviewing Mr. A.I. who only thought to show me his water bill while trying to conjure up the English wording for an Arabic expression he could not quite bring to mind. This led to a lengthy story of his ensuing court battle, information that may otherwise have been left out. I found this non-invasive form of interviewing to be a respectful way of gathering narratives and gaining the respondents' trust in being able to share their life experiences with me.

In researching and conducting the work for this thesis, I have made my best efforts to remain objective in gathering and analyzing the narratives. However, there is always a risk that my own experiences may have influenced my work, in particular my perceptions of what security or identity in the Israel-Palestine conflict entail, not having lived in the West Bank for an extended period of time. In that my cultural background differs significantly to that of the respondents, I have strived to let their narratives speak for themselves.

I would recommend that the issue of water in East Jerusalem receive further attention. Due to the fact that Palestinians conducting studies on water on the West Bank often cannot cross the checkpoints in to Jerusalem, the water situation for the Palestinian Jerusalemites appears to be much under-researched. Furthermore, because of the complexity of the roles both Jerusalem and water play in the conflict, I believe there is much ground left to cover.

Finally, I wish to again emphasize the role given to identity by the interviewees. All respondents mentioned in their narratives that they experience a lack of self-identity. Mr. A.A. told me that he no longer feels Palestinian, and that if he had to choose one group to identify with, he would refer to himself

only as a Muslim (2010-06-03). The other respondents also pointed out that they were Jerusalemites first and foremost, and Palestinian second. Due to many respondents reporting not feeling a sense of belonging neither on the West Bank nor in Israel, I would suggest that future research also delve into ways in which these identity issues can affect Palestinian Jerusalemites' sense of security. In discussing the importance East Jerusalem plays in the Israel-Palestine conflict, I feel it would be detrimental not to reflect over the well-being of its residents.

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Appendix

Experts:

Deeb Abdelghafour 2010-06-14

Senior Hydrogeological Engineer and Director of Water Resources Development Department, PWA, PNA

Nader Al-Khateeb 2010-05-17

Director, Friends of the Earth Middle East
General Director, WEDO

Nisreen Alyan 2010-05-26

Attorney, Legal Department, ACRI

Mohammad A. Rajab Al Tamimi 2010-07-05

Director Southern West Bank Area, American Near East Refugee Aid

Yousef A. Awayes 2010-06-10

General Director of International Coordination Unit, PWA, PNA

Jane Hilal 2010-05-24

Research Assistant, ARIJ

Abed Karim Sharif 2010-06-08

Head of Biology Department, Al-Quds University

Mutaz Qutub 2010-06-08

Head of Earth and Environmental Sciences, Al-Quds University

Subhi A.R. Samhan 2010-06-10

Director for Controlling Water Quality Services, PWA, PNA

Magdalena Svensson 2010-05-26

Sida, Sveriges generalkonsulat, Jerusalem

Robin Twite 2010-04-24

Director, Water and Environment Department, IPCRI

East Jerusalemites (de-identified):

JWU:

Mr. A.E. 2010-06-03, Beit Hanina

Mrs. A.E. 2010-06-15, Beit Hanina

Mr. S.N. 2010-06-21, Beit Hanina

Miss H.H. 2010-06-23, Beit Hanina

Miss A.O. 2010-06-30, Beit Hanina

Gihon:

Mr. T.R. 2010-06-03, Old City

Mr. F.A. 2010-06-03, At-Tur, Mount of Olives

Mr. A.A. 2010-06-03, Silwan

Mr. L.B. 2010-06-10, Sheikh Jarrah

Mr. A.I. 2010-06-10, At-Tur, Mount of Olives

Mr. S.Y. 2010-06-29, Silwan

Mr. T.A. 2010-07-03, Old City