Negotiating Authority and Masculinity in Households Living in Crisis Situation: The Case of Palestinian Male Breadwinners Losing Jobs

<div dir="rtl">

التفاوض حول السلطة والرجولة داخل الأسر التي تعيش في ظل أزمة:
حالة الرجال الفلسطينيين العاطلين عن العمل والمعيلين لأسرهم

</div>

By
Ziad Mahmoud Ali Yaish

4 February, 2010

Thesis Committee

Dr. Reema Hamami – Supervisor

Dr. Islah Jad – Committee Member

Dr. Robert Weston – Committee Member

This Thesis was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters Degree in Gender and Development Studies from the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Birzeit University, Palestine

Student`s Name
Ziad Mahmoud Ali Yaish

Thesis Title
**Negotiating Authority and Masculinity in Households
living in Crisis Situation: The Case of Palestinian Male
Breadwinners Losing Jobs**

4 February, 2010

Thesis Committee Signatures:

Dr. Reema Hamami

Dr. Islah Jad

Dr. Robert Weston

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep thanks and gratitude to my advisor Dr. Reema Hamami, who provided me with tremendous support and guided me all through this study. Her commitment and professionalism were inspirational to my work on this study.

My appreciation and thanks go also to Dr. Islah Jad, the Director of the Institute of Women Studies (IWS) at Birzeit University for her continuous encouragement and support all through my studies at the IWS.

I would also like to thank Dr. Sumaya Sayej from Al-Quds University for her valuable comments and feedback all through my work, and Mr. Wassim Borgal and Ms. Kifah Odeh for assisting me in conducting the field work for this study. Moreover, I would like to thank Mr. Mohammad Serafi for assisting me in preparing the study figures and tables, and Dr. Malek Quttaina for helping me in editing the final version of this study.

A very special expression of gratitude is extended to my family for their encouragement and support, and special thanks and appreciation to my dear wife for her patience, sacrifice and continuous support.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all the men and women who shared their personal stories with me and allowed me to enter their world and get closer to their suffering, aspirations and dreams.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

This study attempted to uncover the world of masculinity within the Palestinian context, an area that has been ignored in gender studies in Palestine. The study examined the ways that older and younger Palestinian men negotiate their masculinities in relation to losing their roles as breadwinners. Accordingly, this study was designed to achieve the following objectives: (1) assess the impact of the political and economic crisis on Palestinian masculinity, and (2) assess the impact of this crisis on gender roles and relations within the Palestinian family and society. As such, it is hoped that this study will contribute to the understanding of gender relations in the Palestinian society, including the challenges that Palestinian men face with their masculinity, as a result of the Israeli closure, and their expected roles towards their families and societies.

The field work for this study took place in the city of Nablus, which is considered one of the cities that faced long and severe closures by the Israeli occupation. The design of the study instruments went through an iterative process that included different phases and were based on extensive literature review of different researches, articles and case studies. Each phase of findings led to re-appraisal and further development of the study's instruments. Phase one included informal group interviews in coffee houses to get a general sense of issues and discourse about masculinity. The second phase included four focus group discussions with thirty men and women. The final phase of the field work included a validation of the focus groups results through in-depth interviews with five men.

The results were analyzed and presented through the following themes; Masculinity and Its Crisis in Nablus, Jobless Men, Economic Coping Mechanisms, Psychological and

Emotional Impacts, Families and Households Negotiating the Crisis, and Masculinity in Transition. The results showed that that changes in gender roles during conflicts could be temporary and not sufficient to challenge existing patriarchal-based gender identities and relations. Moreover, the results revealed the different forms of masculinities in the Palestinian society, including hegemonic masculinity that is cantered around authority, power and money, in addition to complicit masculinity that was evident in younger men's narratives, and marginalized masculinity that was clear in older men's stories. Additionally, the results showed emphasized and resistant forms of femininities that both based their behaviours on Islamic values and codes of conduct, which in itself is also a type of masculinity that is growing and gaining popularity in the Palestinian society. These results implied that, in the Palestinian context, conflict sustains hegemonic masculinity and women encourage men to maintain their control and power.

الملخص التنفيذي

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى تسليط الضوء وزيادة المعرفة بعالم الرجولة في السياق الفلسطيني، والذي تم تجاهله في دراسات النوع الاجتماعي في فلسطين. تفحص هذه الدراسة الطرق المختلفة التي يتعامل بها الرجال كبار وصغار السن مع مفهوم الرجولة في ظل فقدان هؤلاء الرجال لعملهم ودورهم كمعيلين لأسرهم. وقد تم تصميم هذه الدراسة لتحقيق الأهداف التالية: 1) دراسة أثر الأزمة السياسية والاقتصادية على الرجولة الفلسطينية. 2) دراسة اثر هذه الأزمة على ادوار وعلاقات النوع الاجتماعي داخل الأسرة والمجتمع الفلسطيني. وبناء عليه فإننا نأمل أن تساهم هذه الدراسة في فهم علاقات النوع الاجتماعي في المجتمع الفلسطيني، بما فيها التحديات التي تواجه الرجال الفلسطينيين في التعامل مع رجولتهم ، نتيجة للحصار الإسرائيلي والدور المتوقع منهم بالنسبة لأسرهم ومجتمعاتهم. وقد تم اختيار مدينة نابلس لتنفيذ العمل الميداني الخاص بهذه الدراسة، نظرا للحصار المستمر والطويل الذي شهدته هذه المدينة خلال الانتفاضة الثانية من قبل الاحتلال الإسرائيلي. وقد مر تصميم أدوات هذه الدراسة بمراحل مختلفة رافقتها مراجعة مستفيضة ومستمرة للأدبيات، شملت أبحاثاً ومقالات ودراسة حالات. وقد نتج عن كل مرحلة إعادة تقييم وتطوير لأدوات الدراسة. وتضمنت المرحلة الأولى مقابلات أجريت في عدد من المقاهي في مدينة نابلس هدفت إلى التعرف بشكل عام على مفهوم الرجال للقضايا الخاصة بالرجولة. أما المرحلة الثانية فتضمنت تنفيذ أربع مجموعات نقاش مركزة مع ثلاثين رجل وامرأة. وشملت المرحلة الأخيرة من العمل الميداني تأكيد نتائج المجموعات المركزة من خلال مقابلات معمقة مع خمسة رجال.

تم تحليل وعرض النتائج من خلال المحاور التالية: الرجولة وأزمتها في مدينة نابلس، والرجال العاطلون عن العمل، وآليات التكيف الاقتصادي، والأثر النفسي والعاطفي، وتعامل الأسرة مع الأزمة، والرجولة المتحولة. وأظهرت النتائج أن التغييرات التي تطرأ على ادوار النوع الاجتماعي خلال الأزمات هي تغييرات مؤقتة وليست كافية لإحداث تغيير في علاقات النوع الاجتماعي السائدة والمبنية أساساً على مفهوم بطريركي (ذكوري). إضافة إلى هذا، فقد أظهرت النتائج الأشكال المختلفة للرجولة السائدة في المجتمع الفلسطيني، والتي تضمنت الرجولة المسيطرة، والمتمحورة حول السلطة والقوة والمال، أما الشكل الآخر فتضمن الرجولة المتواطئة، والتي كانت واضحة في أقوال الرجال صغار السن، فيما تمحور الشكل الثالث حول الرجولة المهمشة، والتي كانت أيضاً واضحة في روايات الرجال كبار السن.

إضافة إلى هذا، فقد أظهرت النتائج أشكال أنثوية/نسوية مختلفة تضمنت الأنثوية المثبتة والمقاومة، وقد استند هذان الشكلان في سلوكهما على القيم والقواعد الإسلامية، والتي هي في حد ذاتها شكل من أشكال الرجولة يزداد انتشاراً بشكل كبير ويحظى بشعبية واسعة في المجتمع الفلسطيني. تشير هذه النتائج ضمنياً إلى أن الأزمة، في السياق الفلسطيني، تدعم استمرار شكل الرجولة المسيطرة، وأن المرأة تشجع الرجل على المحافظة على قوته وسيطرته.

List of Abbreviations

CAP	Consolidated Appeal Process
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CFTA	Culture and Free Thought Society
ETV	Exposures to Trauma/Violence
EU	European Union
Fafo	The Institute for Applied International Studies
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDF	Israeli Defence Forces
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monitory Fund
IUED	Development Institute, University of Geneva
IVF	In Vitro Fertilization
IWS	Institute of Women Studies – Birzeit University
MAS	Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute
MoH	Ministry of Health
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OCHA	UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PA	Palestinian Authority
PAMS	Palestine Assistance Monitoring System
PAPFAM	Palestinian Family Health Survey
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics

PNA	Palestinian National Authority
PNGOs	Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
TIM	Temporary International Mechanism
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees
WFP	World Food Organization
WID	Women in Development

Chapter I: Introduction

Men and masculinity became a widely debated issue in the late twentieth century, and different terms referring to men surfaced within the international gender and development arena; among these are "men in crises," "male involvement," "troubled masculinities," and "men at risk" (Chant & Gutmann, 2002). This research will use the term masculinity in crisis that refers to the changing of men's position within institutions such as family, work and education, in addition to men experiences of changes (Edwards, 2006).

The issue of masculinity in crisis is affected by different factors on the global level, including employment, family, sexuality, and media. However, this crisis intensifies in times of armed conflict. The impact of the conflict on people, and also the coping strategies adopted by them, tend to differ between women and men. Recently, a number of studies have been conducted in different parts of the world to examine the different ways that conflict influences gender relations in the household or society at large. One of the areas that experienced a long and complex conflict is Palestine, which was often looked at as an exceptional type of conflict in international studies; nevertheless, it shares many characteristics of other crises studied around the world. At the same time, the strict Israeli measures imposed on Palestinians have resulted in a humanitarian situation that is often labelled as chronic and acute, with long-term effects on the whole population (OCHA, 2009). This study will examine these effects on fathers and mothers within the family, but most importantly it will look at

the effect on gender roles, with particular focus on men and their role as breadwinners. Accordingly, this study will examine masculinity in the Palestinian context and it will look at the impact of the conflict on the attributes that constitute Palestinian masculinity.

1.1 Study Objectives

The absence of comprehensive knowledge on the effect of the current crisis in Palestine on men and masculinity requires an exploration of its impact on their relationships with their families in general and women in particular. Accordingly, the main purpose of this research is to:

> *Understand the effect of the crisis resulted from the Israeli occupation on Palestinian masculinity.*

This will be achieved through the following objectives:

1) assess the impact of the crisis on Palestinian masculinity; and

2) assess the impact of the crisis on gender roles and relations within the Palestinian family and society.

1.2 Organization of the Study

This study is organized in seven main chapters. It starts with an introduction of the main research questions and the objectives of the study, in addition to providing a definition for gender mainstreaming and discussing the main approaches to gender. Mainly, this first chapter will attempt to provide an answer to the question of why mainstreaming men in gender and development is important, which will be discussed

from global developmental perspective, in addition to the importance of its application in areas of conflicts. Chapter two is organized into two parts; first part presents definitional strategies of masculinity, before moving to providing a historical background on masculinity based on European and North American cultures. This will be followed by an overview for understanding conflict, including its impact on gender dynamics. Then it will move to discussing masculinity in crisis, which will be addressed from global, regional and national perspectives. Chapter four will present the research methodology, including its approach, sample, data collection procedures, ethical considerations and the research limitations. This will be followed by a presenting the research context that includes historical background on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and ways that Palestinians are coping with this conflict. Next, chapter five will end by presenting information and data on Nablus city, the site of this research.

Chapter six will present the main results of the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, focusing on six main thematic areas; masculinity and its crisis in Nablus, jobless men, economic coping mechanisms, psychological and emotional impacts, families and households negotiating the crisis, and masculinity in transition.

The final chapter will present a summary of the main results with further discussion and explanation of the findings, in addition to providing a set of recommendations to address Palestinian men needs and concerns.

1.3 Importance of the Study

It is no doubt that the severe mobility restrictions imposed by Israel since the start of the second Intifada in Palestine have affected all segments of the population in different ways and degrees. However, most of the literature available on the effect of the Israeli closure policies is related to its impact on economic life, including employment, poverty and food security (OCHA, 2009. PCBS, 2009. OXFAM, 2009. World Bank, 2008. Fafo, 2007). Other literature address its social impact on the household and family survival, focusing primarily on its effects on women's roles and responsibilities, while men were looked at as a secondary focus and most of the time under the shadow of women (Abu Nahleh, 2006. Kuttab, 2006). Accordingly, the importance of this study is based on its attempt to examine the impact and effect of Israeli measures, including mobility restrictions, on Palestinian masculinity within the overall frame of gender. These measures have resulted in sharp increase in unemployment among men who are traditionally the main breadwinners for the Palestinian families. As such, this study will contribute to the understanding of gender relations in the Palestinian society, and therefore it will shed some light on the challenges that Palestinian men face with their masculinity, as a result of the closure and how it affects their expected roles towards their families and communities.

There were few studies conducted on Palestinian masculinity, which will be discussed in later chapters. However, most of these studies focused on Palestinians

living inside Israel and examined masculinity in relation to national identity influenced by Israeli culture and values (see Kanaaneh, 2005, Sa`ar, 2006, Herzong and Yahia-Younis, 2007). The only study that could be found that examined Palestinian masculinity in relation to Israeli occupation of the West Bank is Julie Peteet study, which was conducted during the first Intifada (see Peteet, 1994). However, Peteet study examined the relation between masculinity and imprisonment and torture inflicted by Israelis on Palestinian men.

 It is therefore hoped that this study will add to the other studies in understanding Palestinian masculinity, especially that this study is examining masculinity from a different angle that is based on a male's economic ability to provide for his family. Accordingly, it is envisaged that this study will be used by academic researchers, policy makers and civil society organizations working on gender issues to contribute towards the enhancement of interventions that aim to achieve gender equality, equity and women's empowerment, which cannot be achieved without mainstreaming men in gender interventions, whether it is developmental or humanitarian. Thus, and in order to have a comprehensive understanding of this issue, we need first to define this concept and to examine the different ways that gender approaches and concepts have addressed men, including Individualist, Inter-actionist and Institutional approaches. It is also equally important to discuss the different concepts applied in order to dismantle gender inequalities, including Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD), which both offer different and valid solutions to

eliminate women's subordination and oppression. Finally, this section will discuss the issue of mainstreaming men within the Palestinian context, as it is the focus of this research.

1.3.1 Definition of Gender Mainstreaming

Most of the literature that discusses the crisis facing masculinity suggest gender mainstreaming as a means that could contribute to overcoming this crisis. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) gender mainstreaming is a "*process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality*" (UNESCO, 2003:18).

1.3.2 Individualist, Inter-actionist and Institutional Approaches to Gender

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (de-Beauvoir, 1972:295). It can be said that this sentence summarizes the three approaches to gender, if gender is to be considered as a system of social practices that is responsible for producing gendered persons characterized as either masculine or feminine, and also for producing gendered cultures, institutions and social relations. Accordingly, the three approaches discussed below will provide an overview on the ways that these social

practices form people as different and produce relations of inequality (Wharton, 2005).

1.3.2.1 Individualist Approach

Individualist views on gender agree that gender is a characteristic of people. Therefore, their focus is on individuals rather than institutions or the social environment. Individualist approaches see differences between women as a group and men as a group as greater than differences within each group. Individualist thinkers do not focus on differences in class, race, ethnicity or other characteristics, as they believe that sex distinctions are the most powerful organizers of human capabilities and behaviour. Individualist approaches argue that gender operates through the individual traits, characters and identities. All individualist researches that have different views always make the direct connections between biological sex, personality and behaviour (Wharton, 2005).

1.3.2.2 Inter-actionist Approach

Inter-actionist approaches to gender focus on the social context of the individual, which includes other participants in the environment surrounding the individual and the interaction between the individual and the participants. Inter-actionist thinkers view social categorization as important to social interaction. Social categorization is the process through which individuals classify others and themselves as members of a certain group. The Inter-actionist approach focuses on the ways that social context and social interaction influence the expression and significance of gender.

Furthermore, it emphasizes ways in which gender emerges and is reproduced in social interaction (Wharton, 2005).

1.3.2.3 Institutional Approach

Institutions are an important source of cultural beliefs about the social world, including beliefs about gender. Institutional perspectives capture the ways how gender is embedded within social structure and is part of the taken-for-granted reality in modern society; thus, these ways produce a socially shared account of their existence and purpose. Because of these accounts, institutions are rarely challenged. The Institutional approach focuses on gender as an aspect of social structure and culture. Therefore, it directs attention to the practices and policies of organizations and to the material and symbolic dimension of large scale social institutions such as education, work and family. Institutions play a significant role in the perpetuation of gender distinction and inequalities (Wharton, 2005).

Based on the above discussion on the three main approaches to gender, one can conclude that gender is a multi-layered system that operates at the individual, inter-actional and institutional levels. This research will use the institutional approach as it is concerned with the family, education and work. However, and in order to have a comprehensive view on these approaches, we need to examine the ways that these approaches were used to integrate gender into development policies. Accordingly, the following section will discuss the two main approaches used to dismantle gender inequality in the development process.

1.3.3 Gender Equality between WID and GAD

Different feminist scholars agree that GAD is a good alternative to WID approach, as WID aimed to integrate women in the development process without questioning the sources of women's subordination. GAD on the other hand offers a holistic perspective to all aspects of women's lives, through its focus on gender as a relation of power. However, scholars offered different means to dismantle gender inequalities, one of these is that of Kate Young. In her book titled *Planning Development with Women: Making a World of Difference*, Young considers women as active subjects of the social process. For her, the important issue in any analysis of social process is taking into account the structure and dynamic of gender relations. Based on this, Young sees the problem in the structure and processes that give rise to women's disadvantages and not their integration into development. The solution that Young offers is to dismantle the structure that supports women's disadvantage, including changing laws, religious and political institutions. She views true development as a complex process of which all citizens have a voice in decision – making, and both men and women are viewed as active agents in and not passive recipients of development. For her, true development entails a form of organization of society which allows for equal distribution of social wealth in order to raise standards of living. Furthermore, Young views the state as a locus of support to women, as the services that are provided by the state are essential to women's well-being. Young also places a great deal of emphasis on development planners. In her

critique of WID approach, she notes that one of the main weaknesses of WID is the resistance of development experts and planners to challenge what they consider cultural practices and values. Thus, the re-examination of social structure and institutions, which the GAD approach will ultimately leads to, requires recognition by these development planners and policy makers of the link between women's subordination and poverty, population crises and unsustainable forms of economic organization (Young, 1993).

Criticism of development planners was also echoed in a different way by Sylvia Chant and Mathew Gutmann (Chant & Gutmann 2002). They both argued that mainstreaming gender entails the reworking of structures of decision making and institutional cultures so gender will become a central issue, which also means mainstreaming men at the operational and project levels. Therefore, their argument focuses on the need to involve men in the gender development process, as changes in women's lives mean also changes in men's lives as well, and a shift in male-female power relations. They attribute the fact that little efforts were taken to involve men to the lack of interest and reluctance among male and female development workers (Chant & Gutmann, 2002).

Bina Agarwal, on the other hand, adapted a different focus in her argument to change gender relations (Agarwal, 1995). She argues that women's struggle for their legitimate share in landed property can prove to be the most critical entry point for women's empowerment, as it provides the chance for women to share a valuable

resource that determines economic well being and shapes the power relations. The idea of women acquiring independent rights to land is about acknowledging that women's economic needs differ from those of men. Hence, this challenges the assumption of development policy that considers the household as a unit whose members benefit equally from available resources despite their gender differences. It also challenges the other assumption that women's economic needs can be fulfilled through employment and other income generating projects set up by development experts. Agarwal notes that development planners now accept the fact that development is not gender-neutral, but the approach they use treat gender as an additive category with women as a special target group, without seeing gender as a lens through which the approach to development should be re-examined. Therefore, the types of development they implement fulfils the basic needs of women whether in establishing separate cells in government ministries to monitor and coordinate the integration of women's concerns in development policies, or incorporating policy directives on women and development in the planning process, and initiating special programs for women. Furthermore, all of these programs are implemented without questioning the existing distribution of productive resources and political power or social division of labour (Agarwal, 1995).

In conclusion, the different and valid solutions for dismantling gender inequalities and eliminating women's subordination and oppression discussed above might disagree on the means, but at the same time they all agree on the main objective for

these solutions, which is centred on changing the power balances between men and women, which entails addressing the needs and the involvement of both men and women. Thus, the changing role of men in the institutions, whether it is family or work, means re-distribution of power relations between men and women that entails analyzing not only women but men. Bringing back masculinity into gender will ultimately lead to our understanding of masculinity, and consequently our interventions to change the power balances, whether on the structural or process levels, will be more effective. On the other hand, the danger from excluding men from our analysis and interventions will result in confining women in the role of victims, and will create imbalances in our understanding of the factors that produce gender in both men and women. The following section will discuss the importance of mainstreaming men in gender and development, in addition to proposing different strategies that could be applied to achieve this.

1.3.4 Why Mainstreaming Men in Gender and Development?

Widening the gender perspective to include men and masculinities should broaden and deepen our understanding of power and inequality, not only between men and women but in other social relationships, and thus the effectiveness of development interventions will increase. Sylvia Chant and Mathew Gutmann warn in their article "Men-streaming for Gender? Questions for Gender and Development in the 21st century" that if the growing unmet needs of men continue to be neglected, women may become the main victims (Chant & Gutmann, 2002).

This is because the exclusion of men from projects will increase hostilities between men and women, as men will block any move to enhance women's lives. This exclusion will also lead to greater workloads and responsibilities for women, and will support the assumption that women should continue to be largely responsible for problems related to domestic violence and reproductive health. They identify different strategies to increase male participation, including recruiting more male staff in gender related work, so they can reach other men and raise their awareness and ultimately their involvement in gender issues.

On the other hand, they acknowledge that there is uncertainty regarding the ways to include men in gender and development, but they call for continuing the debate and explore practices based on the outcome of further studies and researches on men and masculinities, as there is limited knowledge and information available on men's beliefs and practices towards gender related issues. They conclude by stating that incorporating men as well as women will make gender interventions more relevant to people's lives, and therefore this will enhance their chances for success. Moreover, involving men will not only reflect effectively in dismantling gender inequalities, but will also hold men responsible for the change (Chant and Gutmann, 2002).

Gender inequality can also impact women and girls through the internalization of negative roles applied to them (weak, powerless, etc). Females may start to believe that they really do possess those negative characteristics and act according to behaviours prescribed by the society. Furthermore, gender inequality can have

serious consequences on women's health, as when women are not allowed to understand and control their own bodies, they are unable to control their reproductive health. As such, they are at a higher risk for sexual abuse and exploitation and for exposure to HIV (UNAIDS, 2004). Furthermore, current gender roles compromise men's health by encouraging them to equate risky sexual behaviours with being "masculine", which imposes a terrible burden not only on them but on their spouses, partners and children as well (Ruxton, 2004, p. 10). Accordingly, the first step in ending gender inequalities is by focusing on masculinity, which will make the concept of gender visible and relevant for men. Additionally, it will make men conscious of gender as something that affects their lives (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005) Thus, including men and masculinities in gender and development should widen and deepen the understanding of power and inequality, and thus increase the effectiveness of development interventions (White, 1997).

However, there is resistance in the feminist arena to mainstream men in gender. This is rationalized by the fact that it could give the impression that women no longer require assistance and that men are more disadvantaged than women. Moreover, opponents express their concerns that the inclusion of men could affect the visibility of question of power and empowerment, as the focus on men will lead to a discourse that focuses on men's rights, which could be viewed in contradiction with women's rights. Nonetheless, the inclusion of men in the struggle for gender equality will

strengthen the fight for achieving gender justice and ultimately ending gender-based discriminations. A number of researchers went as far as connecting the marginalization of men to the failure of development, the same way as this failure was connected previously with the marginalization of women (Cornwall, 1997, White, 1997). In any case, sustainable development and poverty alleviation cannot be achieved without fully engendering the development process (McIlwaine and Datta, 2003).

Sarah White argues that changes in gender relations cannot take place in a vacuum; this is the foundation for believing that men and masculinities must be made an issue in gender planning. Accordingly, if positive changes are to be achieved for women, men must change too. She sees that the most sustainable kind of change must be based on a `bottom-up' approach. While women may need to be the prime movers, their task will be impossible unless a dynamic is generated amongst men to question their personal practice and the ideologies of masculinity which it embodies. White concludes that the best way to change men is by indirectly questioning gender relations in the context of another shared struggle. She offers the example of the Green Movement, which is not explicitly concerned with gender, and yet in its methods of organizing and opposing the values which threaten the environment challenges men and women to question the way they operate, and to seek alternatives. Making an issue of masculinity therefore means not only focusing on men, but on the institutions, cultures, and practices that sustain gender inequality

(White, 1997). Without an approach that moves beyond generalizations and works with and from personal experience to open up spaces for change, men will continue to be left on the sidelines and remain 'the problem' (Cornwall, 1997). If this situation is left unchallenged, men will continue to be under pressure to live-up to their gender roles and norms of masculinity, including, among other characteristics, the breadwinner and provider roles, which if lost will lead men to look for other negative ways, such as aggression and anger, to reaffirm their masculinity.

As this research main focus is on masculinity in the Palestinian context, we should therefore briefly examine if and how Palestinian institutions working for gender equality are mainstreaming men in gender. This is particularly important due to the fact that NGOs in Palestine have played a vital role in the fabric of Palestinian society, as Palestinian NGOs (PNGOs) grew fast during the years of the first Intifada (1987-1993), led by younger and more professional leaders. Accordingly, and in the absence of a national government, they have become the backbone of the construction and development processes of Palestinian society under Israeli occupation. In a study conducted in 2007 by Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) and compared with another study carried out by the same institute, the number of NGOs in Palestine reportedly increased from 926 organizations in 2000 to 1,495 in 2007, with 51.7% of these organizations focus on charitable work, and with 60.5% established after 1994. Moreover, the study showed that PNGOs funds received from external sources have risen from 38.9% in 2000 to 46.8% by the

end of 2006, and organizations that depend on foreign funding as a basic source increased from 19.4% in 2000 to 33% in 2007 (MAS, 2007).

1.3.5 Mainstreaming Men in the Palestinian Context

To examine ways that PNGOs mainstream men in their work, two women's organizations were studied by the author of this research, through in-depth interviews with their directors and review of their programs, structure and by-laws (1). The concepts of accountability, sustainability and evaluation were applied to analyze efforts made to mainstream men in these organizations` programs, as these three areas have a great impact on NGO work, in addition to the growing concerns and attention they are receiving from development agencies and donors around the world. The analysis concluded that men are currently secondary beneficiaries in both organizations and that these organizations' programs do not have multiple effects, as their interventions address women's short-term practical needs. Moreover, their interventions create a win-lose situation, as men are not strategically included in their programs. An example on this is the program that both organizations implement to raise women's awareness on gender equality, equity and empowerment, without addressing men's concerns and experiences. This contradicts the essence of gender mainstreaming as explained above. Thus, women become aware of their rights, but at the same time they cannot achieve them, as men were left behind in the whole process. Additionally, these types of programs will contribute to the continuation of men's misunderstanding towards gender equality that is often perceived by men as

women's issues. Finally, the paper notes that evaluation of both organizations' programs are carried out by their donors, which implies that these evaluations are based on pre-specified objectives that usually compare benefits with costs. Applying this approach in evaluation tends to ignore external factors, which are greatly influenced by men. If evaluation took into consideration these factors, then men needs would be addressed in both organizations` programs. However, the paper concludes by acknowledging the fact that including men in Gender and Development is not an easy task, especially in the Palestinian context, where masculinity is challenged daily by the Israeli occupation. Conversely, it strongly recommends that the debate on including men in gender must continue based on new studies and researches on Palestinian masculinities.

In conclusion, the debate on bringing men and masculinity back into gender within the overall development programs and interventions applies in the same manner to conflict situations that include providing humanitarian assistance. Thus, and in the case of Palestine, mainstreaming men in gender is even more important due to the fact that Palestine – as it will be explained in later sections – is in a state that combines both developmental and humanitarian aspects.

Chapter II: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Definitional Strategies of Masculinity

Scholars agree that there is no universal standard of masculinity, and they admit that there are problems in the definition. (Hearn, 1996. Clatterbaugh, 1998). The term masculinity or masculinities is used in inconsistent manner by different researchers (Connell, 2000). Some even went as far as dropping the whole concept altogether, and as Clatterbaugh puts it, "talking about men seems to be what we want to do", why bother to introduce the muddy concept of 'masculinities' at all?" (Clatterbaugh, 1998:41). Whether it is men or masculinity that we are trying to study, the fact remains that understanding men's gender practices is significant, as gender is a crucial aspect of our daily lives. This understanding will contribute to the achievement of two long-term goals: identifying men's interests in change through understanding masculinity dynamics and forms; and probably solving problems that not only affect men but others, such as violence against women (Connell, 2000).

On the other hand, theorists argue that cross-cultural conceptions of masculinity focus on the ability to impregnate women, protect dependents and provide for one's family. "We might call this quasi-global personage. Man is the Impregnator-Protector-Provider" (Gilmore, 1990:221). These universal traits of masculinity are an example of what Robert Connell calls 'essentialist masculinity'. This definitional strategy focuses on one core feature that is in the heart of masculinity. This approach has been criticized as being uncertain and easy to falsify as different essentialists will

not agree on the same core feature. Connell identified three other definitional strategies for masculinity; these are: positivist, normative and semiotic.

Positivist definitions of masculinity are descriptions of men in a particular place at a particular time. This is a limited definition due to researcher bias and descriptive redundancy. The third definition used by Connell is 'normative masculinity', which emphasizes manly ideals and sex role stereotypes. This type is based on cultural and historical assumptions, and it is criticized for being selective, and therefore it tends to exclude most men as its assumptions stress on ideal types of masculinity. The last definitional strategy by Connell is 'semiotic masculinity', which is based on the contrast between masculine and feminine. This definition is limited as it focuses on discourse and symbolism that tend to overlook the material and structural dimensions of the social constitution of gender meanings (Nagel, 1998; Connell, 1995).

This research will use and refer to the following definition of masculinity developed by Robert Connell. According to Connell, masculinity "*conveys that there are many socially constructed definitions for being a man and that these can change over time and from place to place. The term relates to perceived notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting. Masculinity and femininity are relational concepts, which only have meaning in relation to each other. Masculinities are configurations of practice structured by gender relations. They are inherently historical; and their making and remaking is a political process affecting*

the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change" (Connell, 1995:44).

Connell divides gender into two levels: masculinity and femininity. For Connell, "*practice that relates to this structure, generated as people and groups grapple with their historical situations, does not consist of isolated acts. Actions are configured in larger units, and when we speak of masculinity and femininity, we are naming configuration of gender practice*" (Connell, 2005, p. 72). The two levels of this configuration include five forms. At the top level, there is hegemonic masculinity, which is an ideal type of masculinity that few actual men live up to, but most gain advantages. This type of masculinity is the culturally dominant ideal of masculinity centred around authority, physical toughness and strength, heterosexuality and paid work (Pilcher & Wheelan. n.d.). The second form in the gender hierarchy is complicit masculinity that accepts the broad structure of gender relations, but is not militant in its defence, and is embodied by the many men in society who do not themselves live up to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, yet benefit from its dominant position in the patriarchal order (Connell, 1995). The third form is subordinate masculinities that include different masculine behaviours, which do not match the characteristics found in hegemonic masculinity. The other two forms that fall at the bottom of the gender hierarchy are emphasized femininity and resistant femininity (Pilcher & Wheelan. n.d.).

Theorists note that the hegemonic version of masculinity can be used to promote self-respect in the face of discredit from, for example racist denigration. They also note that the gender order constructs multiple masculinities that are influenced by class and generation. Furthermore, masculinities are subject to change according to culture contexts and issues (Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005). Besides being different and subject to change, theorists argue that different types of masculinities could overlap, as it is not a fixed entity and therefore its pattern of practice could differ according to gender relations in a particular setting. Furthermore, men can adopt hegemonic masculinity when it is desirable, but at the same time and according to their inter-actional needs, they can distance themselves from it at other moments (Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Based on the constructionist theory of gender, Connell drew six common themes on masculinity. First, masculinity is never singular or has one pattern; instead various forms of masculinity coexist and interrelate to each other. Second, the different forms of masculinity compete for hegemony that is usually culturally dominant and signifies a position of leadership, and it is hegemonic in relation to the whole gender order. Third, masculinity is a collective pattern of characteristics that are found within institutions such as the workplace, schools and the media. At the same time, masculinity is sustained by the way we behave in everyday life. However, masculinity is not a set of homogenous patters, and therefore it constitutes tensions between contradictory desires or practices. Finally, masculinity is created in specific

historical and cultural circumstances, and thus it has the possibility to change (Connell, 2000, pp. 3-5. Sa`ar and Yahia-Younis, 2008, pp. 306-307).

The concept of masculinity developed by Connell has faced criticism from different researchers (Collier, 1993. Maclnnes 1998. Wetherell and Edley, 1999. Petersen, 1998). It has been argued that Connell left the question of how the forms of masculinity he identified actually regulate men's lives. In his explanation, Connell argues that men might conform to hegemonic masculinity, but he does not explain the way this conformity looks in practice. Moreover, hegemonic masculinity as presented by Connell seems to be a wishful objective than a reality lived by ordinary men. Researchers argue that what is missing from Connell`s description of complicit and subordinated masculinities is the way these two forms look in practice, and the way of how men negotiate regulatory conceptions of masculinity in their everyday interactions as they account for their actions and produce their identities (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). Others argue that the concept is inconsistent because it essentializes men's character, and thus implying a false and artificial unified reality of men, leaving one to wonder who is in reality the hegemonic masculine. Accordingly, the usage of the concept in a fixed manner ignores the changes that happened over history on social definitions of masculinity.

Despite these criticisms over the concept of masculinity, essentialist views of gender are still the most dominant in everyday life, and at the same time it are under constant challenge, which is producing disturbances in the whole gender system.

Therefore, and because gender is a living social system, it is inevitable to study men and masculinity (Connell, 2000).

2.2 History of Masculinity

It must be noted that most of literature reviewed for this research discuss the production of masculinity within the European and North American cultures. Other literature that address masculinity in third world countries discuss it in relation to war and violence (Agadjanian, 2002. El-Bushra, 2003 Hume, 2008. Hutchings, 2008). Consequently, this section will present the ways that masculinity has evolved in the West. This literature agree that masculinity has a complex history that goes back to the start of the modern capitalist economy, which began to take shape in the North Atlantic from 1450 to 1650. Robert Connell identifies four main developments during that period, which influenced the making of masculinity.

The first is the culture changes that emerged in Europe as a result of the disruption of medieval Catholicism and the spread of secular culture. The declining role of the church in controlling everyday life and the intellectual world produced new understandings of sexuality. Accordingly, the image of the unmarried monk presented by the church as the most honoured form of sexuality was substituted by a household that constitutes a married couple. On the other hand, new emphasis on individuality led to the formation of the concept of autonomous self. The second development was the creation of empires and the beginning of imperialism. Building overseas empires is a gendered process as it divided the roles between men as

soldiers and sea traders and women as housewives and servants in the new colonies. Therefore, men had full control over the imperial state created to rule the new colonies using force applied by organized groups of men. These groups created the basis for the emerging of masculinity in its modern sense. As a result of these groups' force, clash started over the ethics of using unlimited force by the conquerors to gain control. The third development was the growth of cities, such as London and Amsterdam, as centres of commercial capitalism based on accumulated wealth from trade and slavery. This has institutionalized a form of masculinity based on creating a gendered character shaped by one`s work and labour. During the same period and in the eighteenth century, new sexual sub-cultures emerged. Historians documented gender practices that included men, with cross-dressers among them, meeting in special places, dancing together and having sexual intercourse with each other, which in result influenced the requirement of having a personal identity based on one`s body organs. The fourth development was a result of civil wars that took place in between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. All of these wars, whether they were influenced by religion or imperialist conquest, resulted in the creation of a centralized state with professional armies. Accordingly, a gender order defined through opposition with femininity and institutionalized in the economy and the state was established and maintained. Over the past two hundred years, other forms of masculinities have emerged, including subordinated and marginalized masculinities, in addition to hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

The reasons behind these changes were due to the fact that women were challenging the gender order. The nineteenth century has witnessed the emergence of feminism as a form of mobilization for women's rights, which was linked to the growth of liberal state that is based on concepts of citizenship (Nagel, 1998). The second reason is based on the spread of industrial economies and the growth of bureaucratic state that combined violence with rationality and constant technological advance in weaponry and transport. This has its effect on transforming the peasant populations into industrial and urban working classes, which produced other forms of masculinity based on new characteristics, such as wage earnings and mechanical skills. This new working class masculinity, which excluded women from heavy industry, was connected with family wages emphasizing the ideology of separate spheres. The third reason for the emergence of new forms of masculinity was related to the transfer of labour forces to the new colonies. In this context, conquered population were made into a subordinated labour force and colonizers imported new gender roles to the local cultures and constructed different forms of masculinity for different peoples under their rules (Connell, 2005).

Currently, the export of European/American gender roles continues on a global scale—as economies worldwide attempt to compete with Western capitalism and the still-male-dominated corporations, armies, bureaucracies and politics of these global powers (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). Men in western countries are the major beneficiaries of the contemporary world order, based

on their vastly increased power over resources and over the services of other people, and the accumulation and concentration of wealth this has brought to them. They are being imitated by ever-growing numbers of male counterparts in the rest of the world; imitated because men gain a dividend from the current model of patriarchy—honour, prestige, the right to command, as well as an economic or material dividend. Nowadays, and from a western perspective, male domination of women is being legitimized by the corporate economy's promotion of individualism and competition rather than by being legitimized by religion or imposed by force, as was previously the case. Economy refers to the cash economy and paid work in industry, agriculture and commerce, which is work done primarily by men—and do not include unpaid, non-monetized work such as raising children, washing and ironing, cleaning, caring for the sick and elderly, food preparation and cooking (work historically done by women). Thus, and when jobs are stereotyped by gender, there are often negative consequences for 'women's' jobs in terms of pay, benefits and security (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005).

As currently masculine role is much defined by economic success, the loss of breadwinner status can have very damaging effects on men. In less-developed countries, large numbers of youth are now growing up without any expectation of stable employment, around which familiar models of masculinity are defined; these marginalized youth are resorting to violence, vandalism, terrorism and drugs to cope with this loss of male role status. Furthermore, developed countries are also impacted

by these economic changes. For example, a 2002 World Bank report on 27 transition countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia suggested that there has been a sharp increase in unemployment, mental illness, suicide, and risk-taking behaviour among men in some of the countries in the region (World Bank, 2002). A recent survey showed that an average of five suicides occur every day in Australia, and 80 per cent of people who commit suicide are men (Al-Ayyam newspaper, 2008). All of these changes in masculinities have become widely known as 'Masculinity in Crisis'.

The fact that this crisis is intensifying due to the deteriorating economic conditions in countries that are politically stable brings us to discussing the ways that this crisis is shaped in countries that are in conflict situations and politically unstable, which will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter.

Chapter III: Gender, Masculinity and Conflict

3.1 Understanding Conflict

Conflicts are increasing worldwide. This is evident by the fact that in 1960 there were ten major wars underway; this figure had risen in 1992 to reach 50, and it increased in 1993 to reach 84 wars (Byrne, 1996). On the other hand, the estimated number of refugees in 2007 reached 16 million. At the end of 2008, the number of forcibly displaced people reached an estimated number of 42 million worldwide; out of which 26 million were displaced as a result of armed conflict. In addition, while often not considered as being displaced, it is estimated that there are some 12 million stateless people worldwide (UNHCR, 2008).

Conflict could be defined as "*a process evolving over time and responding to and altering different underlying factors. This framework presents critical thresholds – moments when a situation is poised to move in either a positive or negative direction"* (Byrne, 1996, 34:8). Others defined conflict as "*a struggle between individuals or collectivities over values or claims to statues, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those of others*" (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999:14).

International literature divides conflict into four main phases: pre-conflict, conflict, stabilization and post-conflict. The pre-conflict stage occurs before the outbreak of full-scale conflict. It is generally characterized by deteriorating economic and social circumstances, civil disturbance and growing instability. The conflict phase can go

through relative stability and intense fighting. The conflict phase includes emergency assistance that involves the initiation of a humanitarian response to the needs of the displaced and refugee populations. The purpose is to provide a secure environment to meet people's basic needs for water, shelter, food, sanitation and health care. The emergency phase is generally characterized as a period in which chaos is gradually replaced by structure and organization in order to meet the basic needs. The stabilization phase occurs when the initial emergency has passed, people have reorganized themselves into families and communities, and facilities to meet basic needs are established. Life returns to some level of normalcy. Return and post-conflict phase is when refugees or internally displaced persons may return to their country or area of origin, either spontaneously or as part of a planned resettlement. Post-conflict is a period of what has been known as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) (El-Jack, 2003; Byrne, 1996).

However, the phases of conflict in a particular moment in time often constitute a political decision which may be strongly contested, as war can never start and end in a defined moment or date. Furthermore, conflict can take different shapes from armed fighting, economic sanctions, siege or political pressure. Parties in a conflict may have interests in claiming that conflict is taking place, or that there is a process of peacemaking occurring. Also, the different phases in a conflict may occur in varying orders, for instance with a peace process leading to an escalation in conflict. Additionally, conflicts often reoccur and should be understood in their historical

context as unresolved problems and tensions at the end of one conflict lay the basis for the development of the next (Byrne, 1996. World Bank, 2008).

This is true in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, where the unresolved conflict between the two parties has been reproduced over the last sixty years. The history of this conflict will be discussed in more details in later chapters. Meanwhile, one can even say that the four phases of conflict mentioned above can be applied at the same time in Palestine, especially Gaza and the West Bank. For example, tight mobility restrictions are enforced on all of the West Bank and Gaza; at the same time there is geographic fragmentation due to the separation wall, and the economic siege on Gaza, in addition to the continuous violence inflicted on Palestinians by Israeli military and settlers. All of this is in parallel with the ongoing peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Israeli government.

3.2 The Gender Dimension of Conflict

People's experiences during and after crisis situations and conflict are not gender neutral. The impact on people and also the coping strategies adopted by them tend to differ between women and men. In all phases of conflict, gender inequalities are exacerbated. Women, men and children suffer from abuses and traumas during conflict periods, disruption of services and loss of resources (El-Jack, 2003).

Until recently, most literature on conflict did not address its affect on gender relations. However, some researchers started recently to examine the different ways that women and men struggle in conflict situations over resources and power, which

ultimately influence gender relations in the household or society at large. Gender studies that addressed conflict have widened our understanding of the many roles of women in conflict. As some literature showed, women are not always passive victims, but they can also be active agents, and their roles could extend from being effective perpetrators of violence to being the main force behind initiatives to promote peace (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999).

In conflict situations, men are always seen as perpetrators of violence. However, men can be victimized as they face, for instance, involuntary recruitment into armed forces. In crisis settings, men often have great difficulties in dealing with their changed identities. As a result, they may act out in terms of increased violence or self destructive behaviour (IASC, 2006).

On the other hand, the construction of the identities of women and men in their gendered roles renews the patriarchal ideology and deepens the differentiation between masculinity and femininity. In time of crisis, women are reminded that by biology and by tradition they are the keepers of the home, and men by physique and tradition are there to protect women and children. Accordingly, the conflict-ridden discourse usually assigns strict gender roles to men as warriors, martyrs and protectors of the nation's honour, while women are portrayed as mothers and guardians of the nation, which implies that they are victims, thus justifying the use of power and violence to protect them (El-Jack, 2003).

The fact remains, however, that women too become directly involved in conflict as fighters and aggressors. Yet women active engagement in wars does not bring them equality, as their joining in militaries are affected by the culture norms of the society, and whether in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, or in their roles as aggressors, women continue to experience discrimination, due to the unequal power structures that govern their relationships with men (El-Jack, 2003; Cockburn, 1999; Karam, 2001).

For instance, Azza Karam identifies a number of features that reshape women's lives in situations of conflict. Among these are: sudden change of becoming a household head with limited resources, direct involvement in conflict through their mobilization in armies or other structures with strict patriarchal ideology, increase in their health and social vulnerabilities, facing increased security risks due to weak or absent role of authoritative structure, being targeted for sexual violence, and experiencing increase in domestic violence (Karam, 2001).

Moreover, Judy El-Bushra stresses the fact that conflict has given women greater responsibilities, and with them the possibility of exerting greater leverage in decision making and increasing their political participation. Her qualitative research was based on 125 oral interviews and focus group discussions carried out in Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Mali, and Angola. The results of the research revealed that conflict does not lead to shifts in gender identities, but rather to growing tensions between masculinity and femininity, and increasing stress between men and women, as they

try to live up to the society's expectations. Furthermore, the results showed that gender roles change significantly in conflict situations, as women take on more economic responsibilities, while men lose access to their resources and with it their customary role of providers for the household. Therefore, changes in gender roles will occur at the micro level and within the existing gender ideology. However, this will not be accompanied by changes in women status or changes in political or organizational influence. The research concludes by stating that there is evidence of changes in consciousness among women and men, which can be built upon, as many respondents in the research stated that things will never be the same (EL-Bushra, 2003).

In conclusion, crisis will not affect the status of women on the long run, as the moment the crisis comes to an end, women are brought back to their traditional roles. Accordingly, this research will examine this conclusion in the context of the Palestinian society, which will be discussed in more details in later chapters.

3.3 Masculinity in Crisis: A Global Perspective

This section will discuss masculinity in crisis from a global perspective. It will review the factors affecting and maybe changing male identity. (2)

Tim Edwards discusses masculinity in crisis in his book *Cultures of Masculinities*. He attributes this crisis to two interlinked states: the first is crisis from without, which relates to men's loss of their positions within institutions such as family, education and work. The second is crisis from within, which comes as a result of the

shift in men's experiences of their position as men, and causes a feeling of powerlessness and uncertainty. Edwards notes that the crisis from within and the crisis from without are pretty much interlinked with each other and influence one another. Edwards' main argument in this book is that masculinity is not in crisis, but rather it is the crisis. He explains that masculinity as a set of values and practices could be suffering a crisis as it is being devalued, but he continues to say that masculinity has always been in crisis as it has always been associated with a set of negative connotations (Edwards, 2006:17).

This argument is much in agreement with Connell's point in regard to masculinity in crisis: "*As a theoretical term, 'crisis' presupposes a coherent systems of some kind, which is destroyed or restored by the outcome of the crisis. It [masculinity] is rather a configuration of practices within a system of gender relations. We cannot logically speak of a crisis of configuration; rather we might speak of its disruption or its transformation. We can, however, logically speak of the crisis of a gender order as a whole and of its tendencies towards crisis"* (Connell, 1995:84).

Edwards further explains the ways that masculinity practices are suffering a crisis by highlighting the significant changes that occur lately in employment and the family. Although their effects on men are hard to measure and uneven if they are linked to class, race, age and ethnicity, the fact remains that men and boys are under considerable pressure from their society to fulfil their gender roles and norms of masculinity, which make it difficult to be different. The social expectations may lead

to personal insecurities conferred by a failure to fulfil the masculine image. Even the threat of such failure is enough to generate emotional tension and internal conflict expressed through fear, isolation, anger, self-punishment, self-hatred and aggression among many men, particularly young men. Young males' self-doubts about their masculine credentials negatively impact their self-esteem. They may feel that they do not live up to the societal construct of masculine. Feelings of rejection and failure can lead to an unhealthy self-image and result in anti-social behaviours. For psychologists masculinity remains an internal individual-difference variable, a variable shaped by cultural norms and ideologies, but exerting its influence largely through the personalities of individual men (Addis, 2003).

In any case, the issue that is important to discuss is the effect of the crisis of masculinity or its configuration transformation on gender relations in general and women in particular. Edwards discusses the following seven key areas that were affected by this transformation.

3.3.1 Work and employment

As highlighted above, work has become a fundamental dimension in men's identity and masculinity, as successful masculinity is equated with success at work, whether in career or physical labour. In Western societies, this has been undermined due to a number of reasons. Firstly, working class men have lost their jobs and become unemployed due to the technological advancement and the transfer of industry by manufacturers to third world countries to increase their revenues through cheap

labour and reduced taxes. Secondly, market driven policies have led to rising job insecurities in the financial and professional sectors, which has undermined the positions of middle class men. Thirdly, the increasing participation of women in the labour market has led to breaking the strong linkage between work and masculinity, in addition to undermining equating the breadwinner status with masculinity. Accordingly, the equation that associated men with the public sphere and work, and women with the private sphere has become complex, even though it did not break down yet.

As far as crisis from within is in concern, this has its psychological affect on men, as their identity is now undermined because it is no longer equated with or defined through work.

3.3.2 Education

It has become a fact in Western societies that females are scoring better in education than males. However, the impact of this on masculinity comes from the media that is associating this with the inability of boys to study due to their rebellious behaviour. Furthermore, hidden curriculum in schools draws gender roles and contributes to defining masculinity traits that some men cannot fulfil.

3.3.3 Crime

It is a known fact that the majority of crimes committed through history were done by males and not females. What is new here is the fact that, recently, crimes

committed by youth and working class men are strongly related to unemployment, and for them aggression is becoming an outlet or a form of expression.

3.3.4 Family

As mentioned before, the rising participation of women in the paid work, coupled with increasing unemployment among men, has affected the image and practice of men as providers and breadwinners. Furthermore, the image of fathers within families has also been affected due to the focus of the media on domestic violence, which has contributed to the stigmatization of men as potential violators who perpetrate violence against women in their families. Furthermore, the role of the father has been undermined through the advances in technology such as In Vitro Fertilization (IVF). Also, it is becoming evident that the judicial system tends to favour mothers as primary care-givers to children, which has resulted in forming pressure groups in Western societies defending fathers' rights.

3.3.5 Sexuality

It is well documented that men have difficulties in expressing their emotions and in communicating interpersonal intimacy. However, pressure has recently increased on men to develop their capacities in these areas due to rising sexual and emotional expectations of women in the wake of second wave feminism. Moreover, the growing representation of men in the media as muscular with sexy bodies and attractive looks has led to growing low self-esteem among men who cannot live up to meet this image.

3.3.6 Health

There are three factors in health that contribute to crisis in masculinity. Firstly, men's mortality rates are generally higher than women in all Western societies. Researchers attribute this to genetic and social reasons, such as practicing habits that could affect their health including smoking, drinking and reckless driving. The second factor is morbidity, where a series of diseases are affiliated with men, such as colour blindness, which affects 1 in 20 men compared to 1 in 200 women. This is in addition to the cancers that affect men, such as prostate cancer, liver cancer where men are twice as likely to develop it than women, and testicular cancer where according to a new research the number of cases has increased by an average of 60% over 25 years in 21 populations across five continents (Men`s Health, 2008). The third factor is the fact that men tend to neglect their health and try to solve their health problems through sports instead of going to the doctor for personal check-ups.

The issue here is not that men are affected by diseases more than women, but it is the lack of health education programs that target them in comparison to the ones that target women, especially in underdeveloped countries. Men's difficulty with accessing health services is thus attributed to a mismatch between available services and traditional masculine roles emphasizing self-reliance, emotional control, and power (Addis, 2003).

3.3.7 Representation

Media in general and the entertainment business in Western societies are fuelling the idea that masculinity is in crisis. This is evident in the conflicting ways that men are represented in the media in the UK and in the US. Men are now represented as emotionally incompetent, as they appear in the television series *Grey*`s A*natomy* to less important as they appear in *Sex and the City*. All of this is accompanied with the image of the hero that still dominates the movie industry.

From the above seven key areas, one can conclude that men throughout the world are behaving in ways that conform to their sense of what it is to `be a man' in their context; and women throughout the world are manoeuvring within or contesting this behaviour. As this research is concerned with two main key areas, which are family and employment, it is important therefore to highlight these areas within the Palestinian context, as literature showed that these two areas are interlinked and affect one another (see Abu Nahleh, 2006; Kuttab, 2006; World Bank, 2008). The literature illustrated that although the Israeli occupation undermined the Palestinian male breadwinner role, men do not compromise their previous socioeconomic status, while women seek opportunities to enable the family to survive. Accordingly, and in their constant struggle for survival, Palestinian households are in continuous dynamic interaction within the boundaries of the familial patriarchal system, the occupation, the institutional support system and the community (Abu Nahleh, 2006: 180).

3.4 Masculinity in the Arab Context

This section will review the literature and approaches that have addressed masculinity in the Arab world. It is worth noting, however, that the issue of Arab masculinity has been neglected, despite the great interest in the subject in relation to American, European and Australian societies in the wake of feminism. Among the very limited work in this area is a book edited by Mia Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb. This book, titled *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East*, presented the work of fifteen academics, journalists and writers of various cultural backgrounds, all of whom share the premise that masculinity, like femininity, is socially constructed with complex webs of power relations. This book does not limit its selections to one particular mode of critical exploration, but it attempts to combine different approaches. Therefore, interviews and articles from different journalists and novelists are treated as systems of knowledge. Although this is a positive notion that could add to one`s knowledge on masculinity in the Middle East, it does not, however, go into analyzing why masculinity is constructed the way it is. Additionally, since it covers countries out of the Arab World, such as Turkey and Israel, it does not provide analysis on the way that masculinity is shaped in the Arab world.

Another work that is more relevant to this research is a study done to identify the profile of masculinity in Morocco. This qualitative study revealed that the psychological traits (reason, courage, respect, personality, authority, and self control)

came in the foremost position of definitional notions of man, followed by moral (keep his word, responsible and honest) and social qualities (home supporter, has money, hard working, and protecting the family). Political traits (loyalty to the country, personal opinion) ranked fourth. Reason (psychological trait), keeping one's word (moral quality), and supporting the family (social quality) came in the first positions of man's definitional notions. The study concluded that the risks that masculinity is facing because of social evolution change are felt and expressed. Financial difficulties are identified as responsible for the de-masculinisation of young people, which means the loss of patriarchal "qualities" of masculine identity. This de-masculinisation constitutes the starting point of a new masculine identity in Morocco (3) (Dialmy, 2004).

Although these results could not be, by any means, generalized over the Arab World, they nevertheless could indicate that there is a slight positive change in the traditional concept of Arab masculinity. This might be true in some Arab countries that are not experiencing conflicts, but how is masculinity affected in countries that are going through conflicts or occupations?

Although most of the current conflicts in the world are concentrated in Arab countries, including Sudan, Somalia, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, and Yemen, studies on the affect of war and armed conflict on masculinity in the Arab World are limited. Researches in this regard conducted in other parts of the world agreed that men and women are tortured and abused in different ways, both because of physical

differences between the sexes and because of the different meanings culturally ascribed to the male and female body (El-Bushra, 2003; Al-Jack, 2003; Karam, 2001). Thus, the instruments with which the body is abused in order to break the spirit tend to be gender differentiated (Cockburn, 1999).

One of the rare studies that was conducted in the Arab World on using masculinity as a means to break the spirits of the victims concluded that a strategy of gender-selective victimization of males was in the heart of United States occupation policies in Iraq. The measures directed, overwhelmingly, at males include harassment, humiliation before family members, mass roundups, incarceration, torture, selective killing, and denial of the right to humanitarian evacuation from besieged cities. As one Iraqi survivor of alleged torture at Abu Ghraib prison explained, *"It is fine if they beat us, as beating does not hurt us as much as making us feel like women by shattering our manhood"* (Jones, 2004).

3.5 Masculinity and Conflict in the Palestinian Context

Available literature addressing Palestinian masculinity, whether directly or indirectly, could be divided into three types. Palestinian masculinity inside Israel (Kanaaneh, 2005; Montersecu, 2006; Sa`ar, 2006; Herzog and Yahia-Younis, 2007; Sa`ar and Yahia Younis, 2008), Palestinian masculinity under Israeli occupation (Peteet, 1994; Johnson and Kuttab, 2001) and Palestinian masculinity in exile (Kanafani, 2008).

Although the three types mentioned above examined Palestinian masculinity in different contexts, at the same time they all agree that a form of hegemonic masculinity is always constructed and influenced by the other, which in all cases is the Israeli, whether in the form of the occupier or state institutions, and this other with his militaristic masculinity is constantly challenging Palestinian masculinities within the three settings. This reaction to the other produces a need to reconstitute forms of masculinities that are constructed and influenced by its surrounding environment. However, all forms meet on controlling women, which serves as a vehicle of cultural continuity and identity and as a response to men's insecurity (Herzog and Yahia-Younis, 2007).

Most of the literature available is done on Palestinian masculinity inside Israel and focuses on ways that different types of masculinities are negotiated in relation to the Israeli hegemonic masculinity that dominates the public life. In this regard, and following Connell`s model of hierarchical masculinity, Daniel Monterescu identified three types of Palestinian masculinities inside Israel. The first is Islamic masculinity that views the West as a moral and cultural threat. The second is the secular/liberal type of masculinity that tries to gain from the progress of the West but at the same time keeps at distance in order not to be accused of fully adopting the Western system of values. Monterescu argues that between these two essentialist options there is the third type, which he calls the situational and multi-essentialist type of masculinity that has no clear ideological stand to cope with the dominant type of

Israeli masculinity. However, this type of masculinity is always shifting between the two essentialist types of masculinities (Monterescu, 2006).

On the other hand, Rhoda Kanaaneh, in her article *Boys or men? Duped or "made"? Palestinian soldiers in the Israeli military*, discusses other forms of Palestinian masculinities inside Israel. Using Connell`s model of hierarchical masculinity, Kanaaneh argues that the state and colonial powers play a role in setting the parameters for contests over the masculinities of both dominant and non-dominant men. Her research was based on interviews with 36 Arab men, who served in different branches of the Israeli security system for a period ranging from eight months to 19 years. The majority of interviewees identified themselves economically as lower or lower-middle class. The majority did not complete their secondary education, and all were living in Arab villages or towns in Israel (Kanaaneh, 2005).

Building on Connell`s work, Kanaaneh identifies three forms of masculinities: hegemonic, complicit and subordinated. For hegemonic masculinity, there are two types discussed by Kanaaneh. First, is the Israeli army which is described in the article as the central cultural site for the construction of a hegemonic masculinity within the Israeli society. On the other hand, there is the Palestinian hegemonic masculinity which is demonstrated by participating in resisting the Israeli occupation and its forces. For Palestinians, resisting the occupation is always associated with heroism, manhood, leadership, and authority. Kanaaneh argues that Palestinian

masculinity refers to the ability to protect, defend, and sustain family and home (Kanaaneh, 2005).

For complicit masculinity, there are also two types described by Kanaaneh. The first is the immature or shallow masculinity that is demonstrated by the young Palestinians who join the Israeli army in order to boost their weak masculinity and increase their self-esteem. For these young recruits, the word solider gives them power and strength. Men who exercise this type of masculinity are considered weak and vulnerable, and they become an easy target for Israel, which uses them to recruit other Palestinians and divide and rule the Arab community. The other type of complicit masculinity that Kanaaneh focuses on all through her article is what she calls family-provider masculinity, for which having a house for the nuclear family is a central component, in addition to economic opportunities and ownership. Kanaaneh analyzes most of her study subjects based on this type of masculinity, and notes that as members of a group against whom Israel masculinity culture is defined, these Palestinian soldiers could never access that culture or be part of the Israeli hegemonic masculinity, even though they are benefiting from that culture. Subordinated masculinity was illustrated in the article by other groups of men who refuse to join the army, which Kanaaneh calls idealized masculinity. This is described in the article as the unemployed labourer who sees himself as superior to these soldiers because his honour is not based on economic benefits but on his commitment to the nation and its honour, which is closely associated with gender

and sexual honour (Kanaaneh, 2005). Kanaaneh confirms that hegemonic masculinity can be diverse and different, especially between cultures and even between the same group. This is true between Palestinian and Israeli hegemonic masculinities and between the soldiers and their community. This article demonstrates the fact that hegemonic masculinity can be used to promote self-respect in the face of marginalization, discredit or discrimination. As Kanaaneh stresses in her article, these soldiers emphasized their independence as free thinkers and their drafting as part of pursuing higher personal dignity, which could be attributed to their denigration by Israel.

While Kanaaneh article examined the different forms of masculinity, other researches took a different angle to examine masculinity within Palestinian Arab communities in Israel. For example Hanna Herzog and Taghreed Yahia-Younis discussed how male identity in this population is entrapped in dual crisis. On one side, there is the civil/national crisis that deprives the Arab male from a national identity as a result of the 1948 war with Israel, which later intensified through their exposure to the Jewish foreign culture and to their subordination to Israeli/Jewish institutions, and dependency on the Israeli government.

Amalia Sa`ar. on the other hand, examined gender relations and power among Palestinians inside Israel by comparing masculine power to feminine strength. In her discussion, she notes that most individuals are unlikely to live up to the cultural ideals of masculinity, but within a certain range a good number do stand to reap the

fruits of respectability and potential power that goes with it due to the fact that they are men (Sa`ar, 2006). In this case, Sa`ar analysis is in line with Connell description of hegemonic masculinity, where most men cannot acquire its characteristics but at the same time they benefit from it.

The most evident commonality in the researches that discussed Palestinian masculinity inside Israel is their stress on the fact that the old patriarchal order has lost its power yet in the new, ethnic state patriarchy, men gendered advantages are useless.

When comparing the above discussion with the descriptions of masculinities among Palestinians occupied by Israel, we find that researchers based their analysis of Palestinian masculinity on the ability to resist the occupation and to endure the different types of violence and injustice inflected by the occupying power, which also produced different forms of masculinities. Julie Peteet explains that beating and torture have been part of the Israeli domination since the beginning of the occupation in 1967. But what is new is beating of Palestinian males in public, which was used by Israelis in the first Intifada (1987-1993) to re-constitute the Palestinian male as a non-resistant. However, physical violence used by the Israelis against Palestinians reaffirmed and transformed internal Palestinian forms of power; as signs and marks of beating and torture were used as experiences of transformation and empowerment not humiliation. In this context and according to Peteet, masculinity is gained through endurance of severe physical and mental pain and individual bodies

comprise arenas of personal agency, which she calls (rites of passage into manhood), as the representation created to humiliate Palestinians was revised into one of honour, manhood and moral superiority. Peteet illustrates this by describing her observations of one family treatment of their son after his release from Israeli detention, where he was beaten and humiliated. She noticed that the family, especially the father, who traditionally is on the top of the family hierarchy, granted their son a higher status in the family, as his imprisonment and torture acquired him masculine and revolutionary credentials. She notes that Palestinians, on the other hand, consider Israelis who beat unarmed youth as men who lack emotional and moral qualities of manhood. Meanwhile, and in this context, physical violence is not central to the construction of Palestinian femininity. Women experience violence in different ways, such as saving their men from Israeli soldiers or telling their stories as witnesses of the suffering, which is considered a form of political activism. Peteet stresses that while beating and torture reproduce masculine identity, they also reaffirm men's authority over women, which includes mobility restrictions, control over their style of dressing and even using violence against women (Peteet, 1994).

Penny Johnson and Eileen Kuttab note that Peteet's interpretation that physical violence endured by Palestinian men is framed as 'rites of passage into manhood' with critical consequences for political consciousness and agency, does not apply to the second intifada, as the image of the male freedom fighter that resists the occupation and at the same time stays alive has shifted to an image of a martyr, as a

result of the brutal violence inflected by Israelis on Palestinians, and accordingly masculinities endorse higher levels of violence. Consequently, Johnson and Kuttab argue, "*Crisis in masculinity is not resolved through popular resistance, and indeed increased militarism is perhaps the only 'solution' that is offered. As the intifada continues... the crisis becomes more militarized and even more restricted in its participation, except as recipients of increased Israeli violence... Power is fragmented and disassociated with the community"* (Johnson and Kuttab, 2001: 35-36).

The different effect of political violence experienced by Palestinian males and females was explained further in a survey conducted in 2006 by the Institute of Community and Public Health at Birzeit University, involving a representative sample of 3415 students of 10th and 11th grades from Ramallah District (Birzeit University, 2006). The primary independent variables were scales of individual and collective exposures to trauma/violence (ETV) by the Israeli military and settlers. The results showed that girls had a higher prevalence of depressive-like symptoms than boys, particularly for the individual ETV. These results may be explained as gender differences stemming from the way in which boys and girls socialize, with societal norms allowing greater freedom to boys, especially of movement outside the domestic sphere or the school, and consequently leading to higher exposure among boys, compared to girls. Thus, the manifestations of these differences in socialization in the face of enormous daily life pressures on boys and girls are expressed in

different ways. In comparison to girls, boys are more likely to experience injury and are exposed to higher levels of violation by the Israeli army. They tend to externalize this violence by using abusive language and aggressive behaviour to a higher level than girls. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely to feel isolated at home, with less access to social support with possible protective effect on mental health, and thus experience more psychological effects related to depression and loneliness (Giacaman, 2006).

Masculinity for Palestinians living in exile is more complex, as it has to be negotiated within different factors that include national belonging, religion, residency, socioeconomic status, and level of integration within the host society. In her article *Leaving Mother-Land: The Anti-Feminine in Fida'i Narratives*, Samar Kanafani analyzes the way retired Palestinian fighters in Lebanon narrate their years of combat within the Palestinian resistance movement. She argues that "*the symbolic mutual dependency between nationalism and hegemonic masculinity is contingent on the shunning of "feminine" spatial and symbolic spheres"* (Kanafani, 2008:299).

Kanafani argues that ignoring women's histories and challenges in these fighters' "anti-feminine" narratives is a mechanism to resist the shift in these men's masculine identity that once was defined by characteristics that are heroic and militant and now is more related to that of a non-militarized and non-political man who has failed to fulfil his national aspiration (Kanafani, 2008).

One can conclude from the above discussion that masculinity is never singular. Instead, various models of masculinity coexist in hierarchical order and all compete for hegemony, and then translated into forms of conduct. Additionally, and despite their differences in the Palestinian context, they all share a common interest in maintaining patriarchal control. However, what is missing from the above discussion is the way that different forms of masculinities are shaped and compete for hegemony when men lose their traditional role as breadwinners, which is the main focus of this research. Consequently, this research will attempt to analyze the way that Palestinian men conform in practice to hegemonic masculinity, and ways that different forms of masculinity actually regulate men's lives, in light of losing their roles as providers.

Chapter IV: Research Methodology

4.1 Study Approach and Design

The selection of an appropriate research method depends largely on the research objectives. For this research, it was decided to use qualitative research method, as this research is mainly concerned with practices, behaviours, relationships, and roles in relation to masculinity in particular and gender relations in general, and seeks to understand the social aspect of this relation and describe its relations with other factors. As such, it entails observations of this social phenomenon in its natural setting, focusing on its processes and meanings that cannot be measured in terms of numbers.

The design of the research instruments went through an iterative process that included different phases and was based on extensive literature review of different studies, articles and case studies. Each phase of findings led to re-appraisal and further development of the research instruments. Phase one included informal group interviews in coffee houses to get a general sense of issues and discourse about masculinity. A total of five coffee houses were visited several times to find participants that fit the research sample criteria. After several attempts, a total of 6 interviews were conducted. Interviews used open-ended questions based on the results of the literature review and included one coffee house owner, a waiter, an unemployed 45 years old married man with 6 children who has elementary education, an unemployed 40 years old married man with 2 children who holds a

university degree, an unemployed 49 years old married man with 6 children with secondary education, and an unemployed 40 years old married man with 7 children with elementary education. The first phase also included two interviews with experts: one with Nablus mayor and the other with a judge in one of the Islamic district courts in Nablus. Based on the results of these interviews, a set of questions were developed addressing the following twelve thematic areas: effect of the economic situation, coping mechanism, household relations, relation with the wife/husband, relation with the extended family, gender roles, psycho-social conditions, masculinity, the Ideal Male, religion, leisure time, and future prospects. This set of questions was used in facilitating four focus group discussions that included 30 men and women. All these discussions were tape recorded, transcribed, reviewed and analyzed. Based on the preliminary analysis of these results, another set of questions was developed in order to validate these results and used in the third phase that included in-depth interviews with five men.

This research used the focus group technique as its main method for collecting data, in addition to in-depth interviews and review of relevant literature and data as explained below. The reasons behind selecting this approach is mainly due to the fact that focus groups reveal not just what people think or feel on certain issues, but also why they think and feel that way, how they form opinions and how strongly these opinions are held, thus providing insights into why people feel and act the way they do. The organized discussion allows participants to stimulate each other in an

exchange of ideas that may not emerge in quantitative surveys, and is especially helpful in understanding the language people use when discussing particular ideas and concepts. The focus group method has a long history in social, market and health research. The highest value of focus groups comes in the insights they provide on the social dynamics that drive people's attitudes and behaviour (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

In their book *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln compare qualitative research to the making of a quilt, as *"the quilter stitches, edits, and puts slices of reality together. This process creates and brings psychological and emotional unity – a pattern – to an interpretive experience"* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 7).

In any case, in both qualitative and quantitative methods, researchers should take measures to ensure research objectivity and to distance themselves in order to reach scientific results. Furthermore, researchers have ethical obligations to other researchers and their research subjects to report their results fully and accurately as well as to highlight their limitations and errors in the research. However, social scientists have learned over the years that maintaining a state of complete objectivity is impossible in their researches, and in every research, whether it is quantitative or qualitative, there is some extent of subjectivity. Social research can never be totally objective because researchers are humans and therefore necessarily subjective. This subjectivity comes from the knowledge and experiences that one accumulates in his

or her daily live, to provide means to understand and explain different issues or certain phenomena that surround us, and to provide solutions to the problems that we might face (Anselm and Corbin, 1998).

In general, one can note that it is difficult to maintain objectivity, especially when research involves disputes between two peoples with different interests, such as the Israelis and Palestinians. Although, most researchers agree that political orientation should not influence research, in practice it is difficult to separate politics and ideology from the conduct of research. The ideal situation to avoid subjectivity in this case is to achieve equivalent of objectivity through inter-subjectivity. This means that different researchers with subjective views should arrive at the same results when they employ accepted research techniques, which will ultimately happen when each set aside his or her personal views all through the duration of the research (Babbie, 2004).

4.2 Sample and Data Collection Procedures

This research collected its data through organizing four focus groups, which included 30 men and women participants from the city of Nablus. The first was with young unemployed married men, while the second was with women married to men with these characteristics. The third focus group consisted of older unemployed married men, and the forth group was with women married to men with these characteristics. The level of education was taken into consideration in all four groups.

In order to get a better understanding of the impact of male unemployment on gender roles and relations within the Palestinian family and society, and to examine the scope of the relation between employment and masculinity, it was decided to target males who were unemployed for the period of six months or more from the date of the interview. It should be noted that the definition for unemployment used by PCBS, which is based on ILO standards, did not serve the purpose of this study as it defines unemployment as "*All persons aged 15 years and older who did not work at all during the reference week, who were not absent from a job and were available for work and actively seeking a job during the reference week. Persons who worked in Israel and were absent from work due to closure are considered unemployed*" (PCBS, 2007:78). The second characteristic that was taken into consideration in the selection of participants in the focus groups was their educational level, which was set at first university degree and higher. The reason behind setting the education at this level is due to the fact, illustrated in figure 5, that Palestinian males tend to have better chances of getting jobs if they have more years of schooling. The third characteristic that was important for this research is the age group. However, it was decided to consider the age of 40 years as the border line that distinguishes old and young.

The focus group discussions were complemented with 13 in-depth interviews that included unemployed educated and uneducated men representing different age groups, a coffee shop owner, the mayor of Nablus city, and a Shari`a judge in one of

the Islamic district courts in Nablus. Eight interviews were conducted before the focus groups. In order to validate the results of these discussions, 5 more interviews were conducted, using a more developed set of questions. The in-depth interviews also included three women married to educated and uneducated unemployed men. However, these three interviews were not used as part of the results or analysis of this research for ethical reasons that will be explained in the following sections.

In addition to this, literature on gender and masculinity on the global, regional and national levels were reviewed. Moreover, information and data were gathered from a number of national institutions including PCBS, An-Najah university, Palestinian Labour Union, Nablus Municipality and Nablus Chamber of Commerce. In the focus group discussion and in-depth interviews, a series of open-ended questions were used with logical sequence that addressed topics related to the research purpose. This open-ended format allowed participants to respond in their own words, and provided the opportunity to explore attitudes and opinions in a more in-depth manner.

4.3 Data Analysis Procedures

The qualitative data analysis was based on a thematic analysis approach guided by the objectives and key questions of the in-depth interviews and focus groups. A tape recorder was used during the focus group discussions, and then a detailed transcript was drafted for each focus group. All the data collected, including the transcripts, field notes and personal comments were assembled and carefully read through and

thoroughly until the investigator became intimately familiar with them. This process has facilitated the formation of the themes by clustering the statements expressed by the respondents under each question. Also, the findings were compared and contrasted with existing literature and other theoretical perspectives of the proposed study.

4.4 Access and Ethical Consideration

Formal meetings were conducted with Nablus mayor and one Shar`ia judge in one of the Islamic courts in Nablus city, in which the research objectives and methodology were presented and discussed. Both dignitaries offered to provide assistance and support that might be needed during the field work. Additionally, all participants were ensured anonymity and confidentially and it was clearly explained to them before the interviews and during discussions that the information obtained from them will be used for the research purposes only. As a tape recorder was used during all interviews, the researcher explained the purpose of taping the interview. Additionally, and as mentioned above, three interviews with individual women were excluded due to the fact that these women showed reluctance to share their experiences and stories with the main researcher and his assistance as both are males. Accordingly, the researcher was not able to go into details with the interviews out of respect to the feelings of the three women. In order to solve this issue, the main researcher recruited and trained two females to facilitate the two women focus groups.

4.5 Study Limitation

- The findings and results of this research by no means assume to represent the whole Palestinian community, as this research attempts only to show the type of processes that masculinity and gender relations go through in times of conflict. However, the findings of this research will provide a snapshot of the ways men renegotiate their masculinity and gender role in the Palestinian context, which can be used in the future as basis for other researchers.

- The whole concept of masculinity is new in the Arab World. Such lack of data and information on the subject was an obstacle to this research, especially in relation to conflict situations. After visiting a number of book stores and libraries in different Arab capitals, including Cairo, Amman, Damascus and Jerusalem, few reference books and articles were found.

- Finding participants who fit the sample criteria was very difficult for both processes, in-depth interviews and the focus groups, especially for participants who are married, young, educated and unemployed. A total of five coffee houses were visited several times to find such participants, and after several attempts, few agreed to be interviewed. Thus, a different strategy was applied to conduct the focus groups, including establishing contacts and requesting the assistance of the Palestinian Labour Union, Nablus municipality and UNRWA.

- The fact that the study location is not close to the researcher's place of residency was another difficulty that faced the field work, as a significant amount of time was

lost on a number of checkpoints while commuting from Jerusalem to the City of Nablus. In order to overcome this difficulty, the researcher had to stay a number of nights in Nablus on different occasions.

- All the field work was conducted in Arabic language, while the research was written in English, which needed very careful translation that was often reviewed by other external persons in order to ensure the correctness of statements and interpretations.

Chapter V: The Research Context: Gender, Masculinity and Conflict in Nablus

5.1 Historical Overview of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The history of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is complex. It is well documented in a lot of scholarly literature and a full description is beyond the scope and purpose of this research. Nevertheless, a short description of the historical context is necessary to understand the current humanitarian and legal situation and the challenges it imposes on the Palestinian population, particularly women, men and young people.

The term Palestinians refers to the people who lived in British Mandate Palestine before 1948. The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181, passed on 29 November 1947, called for the creation of the state of Israel as well as an Arab state, thereby dividing British Mandate Palestine into two lands. Israel controlled far more land than its original allotment in UN Resolution 181, Jordan controlled the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Egypt controlled the Gaza Strip. Further wars in 1967 and 1973 changed the territorial configuration of the region even further. The June 1967 Six-Day War, in which Israel gained control of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, marked the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) is the term used by the UN for those parts of Palestine occupied by Israel after the Arab–Israeli war of 1967 (UN, 2009). It

consists of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, and has a population of 3.77 million, 1.8 million of whom are registered refugees (PCBS, 2007).

The first Palestinian Intifada (uprising) broke out in December 1987. It was a widespread protest against Israel's long-term occupation of Palestinian land. Arrests, detention and frequent clashes between Palestinians with stones and Israeli soldiers with rubber bullets characterized the first Intifada.

A period of high hopes for peace occurred in the 1990s, particularly in 1991, after the peace conference on the Middle East that was convened in Madrid between Israel and Palestinians and Arab states. Several subsequent negotiations led to mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and in 1993, the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, known as the Oslo Accords, was reached. The Oslo Accords aimed to achieve a resolution to the conflict and established the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) for a transitional period, during which negotiation of a final peace treaty would be completed. On the basis of these accords, the authority assumed control over some, but not all, areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, hopes dimmed and frustration grew with the subsequent collapse of the Oslo accords as the decade wore on. In September 2000, Ariel Sharon, then the leader of the Israeli opposition, visited the Haram Al-Sharif in the Old City of Jerusalem with a Likud party delegation. The

violence that erupted after this event marked the beginning of the Second Intifada, also known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, which continues to the present day.

The second Intifada was fuelled by widespread discontent, on the one hand for the shortcomings of the PNA, and on the other for the acceleration of Israeli confiscation and colonization of Palestinian lands in defiance of international laws. Since 2000, life for Palestinians has become much harder, more dangerous, and less secure. Under the justification of protecting Israelis from Palestinian violence, hundreds of Israeli military checkpoints have been established accompanied by curfews, invasions, detentions, the use of lethal force against civilians, land confiscations, and house demolitions, all of which have made ordinary life for Palestinians almost impossible. According to the Israeli human-rights organization B'tselem, 4,908 Palestinians were killed by Israelis between September 2000 and December 2008, and over 1,062 Israelis were killed by Palestinians (B`tselem, 2009). In addition to this, many people were seriously injured and became disabled.

According to the Palestinian Ministry of Detainees' Affairs, 11,000 Palestinian political prisoners are held in 30 Israeli prisons, including 118 female prisoners. Up to 84.9 per cent of prisoners are from the West Bank. The high percentage could be attributed to the continuous Israeli incursions into Palestinian territories, especially into areas that are under Israel's control (Palestinian Ministry of Detainees' Affairs, 2009)

In 2002, and right after a massive invasion of the West Bank by Israeli military, Israel started the construction of the Separation Wall, in defiance of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion issued on 9 July 2004, which stated clearly that the construction of the Wall is illegal; that Israel should dismantle the wall; that Israel should compensate individuals who had suffered as a consequence of the construction of the Wall; and that the United Nations should consider what action to take, in accordance with the Opinion, to ensure compliance with the Opinion. The Wall violates freedom of movement, as well as the rights to adequate housing, food, family life, education and health. Furthermore, the Wall violates important norms of international humanitarian law prohibiting the annexation of occupied territory, the establishment of settlements, the confiscation of private land and the transfer of people by force. A survey conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) on the impact of the Wall revealed that since the beginning of its construction and until the end of May 2005, 149 Palestinian localities were affected, including 675,000 Palestinians; 47,921 dunums of land have been confiscated; 1,702 economic establishments were closed, and 14,364 persons (7,333 males, and 7,031 females) were displaced from the localities that the Wall passes through (PCBS, 2006).

The Israeli military closures restrict Palestinian access to basic services, such as health and education, and separate communities from their land and places of work. In the West Bank, the physical separation has been tightened even further. Over the

course of 2008, the number of staffed and un-staffed checkpoints and obstacles in the West Bank increased from 569 in January to 630 in September. Random or 'flying' checkpoints averaged more than 85 per week during April-September 2008 (OCHA, 2009).

On 28 January 2006, the Palestinian population elected Hamas to the majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), giving it the right to form the government. The United States (US) government and the European Union (EU) view Hamas as a terrorist organization because Hamas has not renounced violence nor recognized Israel's right to exist. In response to the Palestinian elections, the international community decided to suspend all aid to Hamas-controlled government. In 2007, a national unity government was formed representing the two main political parties: Fatah and Hamas. However, the international community did not accept this government and decided to continue boycotting this newly established unity government. This sudden and complete interruption of the financial pipeline for Palestinians and the PA has caused severe hardship among Palestinians. Consequently, an emergency government was formed in June 2007 right after the eruption of internal clashes in Gaza between the two main political factions, which has led to Hamas controlling the whole of the Gaza strip.

In December 2008, the Israeli military started a war on the Gaza strip that lasted for 23 days and included bombardment by land, sea and air and incursions into Gaza by Israeli military forces. The three weeks of war resulted in extensive casualties and

destruction of homes, livelihoods and infrastructure. This has intensified an already serious humanitarian situation resulting in large part from the 18 months of tight closure imposed by the Israelis on Gaza. According to the Palestinian Ministry of Health, the war that ended on January 18 resulted in killing 1,326 Palestinians and injuring 5,450 persons. Moreover, an estimated 21,000 homes were destroyed or badly damaged and nearly 51,000 people were displaced (OCHA, 2009).

5.2 The Effect of the Conflict on Palestinian Women, Men and Young People

Most if not all the data available focuses on the effect of the conflict in Palestine on women and their suffering, changing roles and coping mechanisms, or on the effect of the crisis on the population as a whole (Peteet, 1994; Johnson and Kuttab, 200; World Bank, 2008). What is still lacking is information on the impact of the crisis on the family and gender dynamics and its affect on gender roles and responsibilities. Most of the literature available shows that Palestinian woman's roles and responsibilities within the household have expanded, while their socio-economic position has deteriorated significantly and the opportunities and resources available to improve their situation have decreased (Fafo, 2007; Kuttab, 2006; PCBS, WFP and FAO, 2009). With the increasing poverty rates, women have adopted various coping strategies aimed at increasing family income through development of domestic economy. Increased domestic burden on the already physically and emotionally exhausted Palestinian women due to the increasing numbers of injured

and disabled, economic crisis and movement restrictions resulted in additional stress and worries for women (UN, 2008).

Although movement restrictions affect both men and women, there is a differential impact on women. Women are generally responsible for child care and for ensuring that the educational and health needs of their families are met under difficult circumstances. For example, 7 out of 100 women experienced difficulties in accessing health facilities, including delays at Israeli checkpoints. This is more prominent in the West Bank, with 11.5% of women enduring such delays (PCBS, 2006). The Palestinian Ministry of Health (MoH) 2006 annual report assesses the proportion of deliveries outside health facilities as high as 13.2%. An estimated number of 2,500 births per year faced difficulties while seeking to reach a delivery facility. Furthermore, the Palestinian Public Perception Survey conducted in 2007 by the Palestine Research Unit at the IUED – Graduate Institute for Development Studies at the University of Geneva revealed that 8.8% of the respondents sought health care but were unable to access it. Nearly 20% of the surveyed population reported a delay of two hours before getting to the health care sought. In spite of the modest increase in postnatal healthcare over the past ten years, coverage has not reached the required level. According to recent Palestinian Family Health Survey data, only 30% of women received postnatal healthcare during the six-week period following childbirth. Variation between districts is negligible with Jericho and Jordan Valley governorate registering the highest coverage of postnatal healthcare at

39.5%, compared to other West Bank governorates. Deir Al Balah in Gaza Strip recorded the highest coverage at 37.8% in Gaza.

On the other hand, a survey carried out by the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in the northern West Bank found that 72% of Palestinians had experienced regular verbal abuse and humiliation by Israeli soldiers at checkpoints. For women, the cultural, religious and personal implications of being verbally or physically harassed are particularly acute, and this significantly contributes to the reluctance of women to travel outside their local area and of their families to allow them to travel alone, negatively impacting women's enjoyment of the right to movement, particularly in comparison to men (OCHA, 2006). Restrictions on mobility and safe access for young women and girls are currently being compounded by the deteriorating economic situation and eventually will contribute to worsening the situation of girls' education. Parents in rural areas will not allow their daughters to attend school if they have to travel long distances and/or cross checkpoints leading to high dropouts. Accordingly, the policy of checkpoints has enforced the cultural limitations imposed on women's mobility and, thus, reproducing the male breadwinner as the only model for economic production (Kuttab, 2006).

However, changes in gender equality and relations are hard to measure in normal situations, and even more difficult in conflict situations. UNIFEM developed five indicators in its project in Solomon Islands, which led to a better understanding of

the effect of conflict on gender relations, and provided insights to help enhance women's role in the peace building process. The five indicators are: avoidance of markets due to fear, fear of reprisal from prisoners, incidence of rape, domestic abuse, and marriage break-ups (Moser, 2007).

These indicators were adapted to the Palestinian context in a focus group discussion with women. The discussion held in the city of Nablus revealed that there are restrictions on women to travel from one area to the another due to different reasons, among these are inability to afford transportation fees; husbands objection; fear from neighbours starting rumours; worries from getting detained at checkpoints; and people negative perceptions on women who work outside Nablus. The majority of participants agreed that women avoid going to places controlled by militants, who are usually very suspicious of women unknown to them. Women also avoid getting in taxis alone due to their fear from sexual harassments. All participants agreed that incidents of sexual harassments are increasing and taking new forms, such as duplicating photos of women and girls and sending them through mobile phones. Rumours on women have also increased as well, causing more restrictions imposed by families on women. Most of the participants agreed that domestic violence has increased, mainly because men are unemployed. As for marriage break-ups, participants referred to the increased incidents of marriage break-ups between prisoners and their wives, as the prisoner's family starts to control the wife, and the

monthly salary she gets from the Palestinian Authority (PA) on behalf of her imprisoned husband (4) (Yaish, 2008).

The Israeli restriction measures that were imposed on Palestinians during the first Intifada and intensified during the second Intifada contributed to the sharp rise in unemployment among Palestinian adult male population in the West Bank and Gaza. According to the International Monitory Fund (IMF), the 2008 unemployment rate was estimated at an average of about 40 per cent in Gaza and 19 per cent in the West Bank, up from an average of 30 per cent and 18 per cent (respectively) in 2007. Moreover, IMF estimated that poverty levels are much higher in Gaza than in the West Bank, with 80 per cent of households in Gaza living below the poverty line compared to 45 per cent in the West Bank (IMF, 2009).

Table (5.1) shows the increase in the closure measures imposed on West Bank governorates from 558 in December 2007 to 630 in September 2008, not including the so called "flying" checkpoints, in comparison with the size of the labour force present in each governorate, which indicates the constraints that Palestinian labourers face by these measures.

Table 5.1: Internal closure measures (physical obstacles) and estimated workforce by West Bank Governorates

West Bank Governorates	No. of Closures in December 2007	No. of Closures in April 2008	No. of Closures in September 2008	Labour Force (2008 Q4)
Bethlehem	30	33	32	48700
Hebron	191	227	202	133200
Jenin	17	16	21	64300
Jericho	11	11	14	12500
Jerusalem	40	36	41	115300
Nablus	102	104	128	79200
Qalqilya	20	23	20	21800
Ramallah	82	81	97	63000
Salfit	33	36	36	15900
Tubas	10	11	13	10900
Tulkarem	22	29	26	39200
Total	558	607	630	604000

Sources: OCHA, 2007–08. Labour force data from PCBS, 2009a.

As the main focus of this research is to study the linkages between masculinity and unemployment, it is important, therefore, to draw a profile of the unemployed in Palestine. Table (5.2) below shows the main characteristics of the unemployed.

The table also shows that the variables have been quite stable over the past ten years, and are expected to continue to be the same in the future, if the overall political and economic situation does not change significantly over time. The period 2001 and 2002 is a notable exception, particularly for female and urban unemployment. It seems that the proportion of the unemployed decreased during the second Intifada; this is attributable to fewer females seeking employment during that period. Accordingly, one can conclude from this table that the average unemployed person in Palestine is married, 30 years old, urban, male with ten years of schooling.

Table 5.2: Profile of the unemployed by some indicators: 1999-2005

Indicator	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Average age	30.0	30.0	31.0	32.0	31.0	31.0	31.0	31.0	30.6	30.5
Average years of schooling	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.3	10.6	10.6
Proportion married	51.4	53.1	56.0	57.6	51.0	54.3	53.1	57.3	53.3	55.2
Proportion camp	19.6	17.3	17.5	19.3	16.5	16.8	17.8	17.0	16.5	18.6
Proportion rural	28.4	30.2	31.9	30.6	30.1	29.0	29.0	26.9	27.8	26.2
Proportion urban	52.0	52.5	50.6	50.1	53.4	54.2	53.2	56.0	55.7	55.1
Proportion male	83.7	86.8	92.6	92.6	88.6	87.5	84.5	85.0	83.6	83.3
Proportion female	16.3	13.2	7.4	7.4	11.4	12.5	15.5	15.0	16.4	16.7

Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. *Labour Force Survey Database: 1999-2008. Ramallah-Palestine*. (Unpublished Data)

All of this has contributed to increased levels of stress and incidence of domestic and gender-based violence. Although there is lack of data on the relation between domestic violence and occupation in Palestine, nevertheless the findings of the only national survey that was recently conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) on domestic violence found that 66.1% of ever-married women were subjected to psychological violence during the period preceding 2005, including 60.0% who were subjected to shouting and yelling and 45.3% who were subjected to cursing and insulting. The West Bank rates are higher than the Gaza Strip at 73.5% and 53.4% respectively. Moreover, 33.9% of ever-married women were subjected to physical violence, including 14.9% who were subjected to strong grabbing and 18.2% who were subjected to strong pushing. The percentage of ever-married women who were subjected to sexual violence by the husband during the pre-2005 period reached 15.5%. Only 1.2% women who had experienced domestic violence filed a complaint with the police and less than 1% sought counselling (PCBS, 2006).

Although the findings of this study were debated and criticized by the Institute of Women's Studies at Birzeit University in its report prepared on behalf of the World Bank, nevertheless the same report highlights that women in households where husbands lost their job due to the Israeli occupation are at greater risk of physical violence. On the other hand, the report main finding on this issue suggests that family relations mediate the effects of long-term unemployment in different ways,

which either enable or prevent violence and conflict in the family (World Bank, 2008:99).

On the other hand, reasons behind women reluctance to turning to the police or seeking counselling could be attributed to the sensitive and complex nature of the issue, as women may be concerned that by speaking out they will increase their vulnerability to violence (Moser, 2007). However, there is lack of baseline data on the level of domestic and gender-based violence in Palestine that could be compared to the findings of this survey. Accordingly, there is a need to conduct more researches on the effect of the occupation on domestic and gender-based violence. In this regard, a study to investigate how Lebanese women were affected by the July 2006 conflict that erupted between Hezbollah and Israel revealed that there was an increase in domestic violence after the end of this armed conflict (Usta, Faver and Zein, 2007).

Additionally, Palestinian young people, both males and females, who represent the majority of the Palestinian population, have been left with no productive outlets for their energies. Their immediate human needs for education, health care and recreation remain largely unmet, leaving them at great risk of mental disturbance, domestic violence and self destructive behaviour. For Example, a 2004 study involving Al Quds University's Centre for Development in Primary Health Care and Herzog Hospital's Israeli Centre for the Treatment of Psycho-Trauma reported that approximately 71 per cent of Palestinians under 18 years old in the West Bank have

been directly exposed to political violence and that, when controlling for exposure, more girls than boys report post-traumatic symptoms (the study observes that girls are more likely than boys to witness violence, but boys are more likely to experience it.)

Furthermore, a 2006 Quality of Life survey in the West Bank and Gaza, by WHO, Birzeit University and PCBS, reported that approximately 45 per cent of respondents seriously fear losing their homes and/or being displaced, and that – of all respondent groups – adolescents are at most risk due to the longer-term trans-generational implications of exposure to traumatic events.

Additionally, a 2007 psychosocial assessment by Save the Children UK reported that 86 per cent of respondents suffer sleeping disorders, 77 per cent suffer a deterioration in family relations, and 72 per cent suffer increased tensions with other children (UNRWA, 2008).

Under such harsh and inhumane circumstances, Palestinians continue to adapt and cope with this situation. The following section will review the different coping mechanisms Palestinians have utilized for their survival.

5.3 Coping Mechanisms

Palestinians have been copying and adjusting to the daily challenges that they have been facing since the start of the Israeli occupation in 1967, and maybe it is fair to state that their coping for survival actually started in 1948 right after their forced displacement. This section will review the different coping strategies applied by

Palestinian households in the West Bank and Gaza that were identified by a number

of studies conducted in Palestine (Fafo, 2007; Kuttab, 2006; PCBS, WFP and FAO,

2009). It should be noted that these studies looked at the household as a unit and did

not analyze the effect of these survival strategies on gender relations inside the

household. Accordingly, the identified strategies will be discussed in later sections in

relation to this research findings. It is important to note that household strategies are

affected by different factors, including geographic location, needs and

socioeconomic conditions (Kuttab, 2006). Thus, it is important to categorize these

strategies under different themes as described below.

Reducing household consumption

The application of this strategy takes different forms, as households can reduce

consumption of food or choose other, mostly low quality food items. Utilizing this

strategy can have short-term effect, but at the same time it has long-time effects on

health and education. Moreover, households also cut down on services such as

medical care and transportation and postpone purchasing necessary items that family

members are in need for, such as clothes. Cutting down on food consumption was

reported by a Fafo survey which confirmed that the majority of its interviewees have

either cut down on red meat entirely or eat it seldom. Several interviewees reported

that they had not eaten meat for months and some buy frozen meat which is much

cheaper than fresh meat (Fafo, 2007). Another recent survey revealed that half of the

household's income in the West Bank is now spent on food, and 97 per cent of

households reported being affected by a rise in food prices in the past six months. Moreover, 24.1 per cent of the Palestinian population in the West Bank are food insecure, and food insecurity is higher among non-refugees than refugees (PCBS, WFP and FAO, 2009). This shows that food is the main item that family spend their income on and at the same time is the first item that is reduced in terms of quantity and quality, jeopardizing the health of all members of the family, especially children, elderly and pregnant women.

Selling household's assets

In times of crisis selling family assets such as land or gold is the most widely used strategy. However, the value of these assets decreases in times of crisis, but families are forced to apply this strategy for the sake of family survival. In the Palestinian context, selling land is the last resort, as land has significant cultural, financial and social value and, therefore, selling one's land will have severe impact on the overall family's status. A Fafo poll showed that only 3 per cent had sold their land before Ramadan of 2006. However, this percentage increased to 6 per cent in the first half of 2007 (Fafo, 2007), which could be due to the deterioration of the living conditions in Palestine as a result of the international aid boycott and the withholding of transfer of clearance taxes to the PA by Israel.

Accordingly, the first thing that Palestinian families sell is the wife's gold, which could be a short-term solution, but at the same time it has negative long-term effects, especially on women, as gold is usually the only thing that is entirely owned by the

wife alone, and is kept to provide insurance and financial security to women in the future, in case of divorce or husband death. By selling this asset, women become vulnerable, as they lose their only source of future financial security.

Borrowing and living on credit

A widely used strategy, even before the start of the second intifada, is buying on credit from shop owners. However, applying this strategy has intensified during the current crisis. A Fafo survey showed that nearly everyone interviewed had credit often in several different shops and many stated that they rely on credit in everyday life (Fafo, 2007). Undoubtedly, this has been the most important form Palestinian families use to keep afloat, as this credit does not entail interest and borrowers are often offered reduction as an incentive to pay, in addition to allowing them to pay their debts in instalments, as many shop owners offering credits are related to or closely acquainted with their customers.

Another form of credit is not paying public utility bills such as electricity and water, which has become a very common way used by people as a coping mechanism. These utilities are often provided by the PA and under the current hard living circumstances, people doubt that the authority will deny them these services due to their inability to pay their bills.

Sharing inter-households resources

Family network has been one of the main safety nets in the Palestinian society. Relying on extended family or close friends can take different forms, such as paying

Zakat, which is an Islamic compulsory act where the rich give to the poor, and cannot be given to anyone as payment for services. Another form of sharing is remittances from relatives working abroad. However, one study found that Palestinian migrants seem to support relatives in their home country less than what migrants from other poor countries do, which could be explained by the fact that many Palestinian migrants do not return back to live at home, and therefore they do not invest in their country (Fafo, 2007). Additionally, the global financial crisis that affected the United States and the Gulf countries, the main two areas that the majority of Palestinians migrate to, could have a role of the low remittance received from abroad. Nevertheless, remittance is one coping strategy that is applied by some families in Palestine.

International Aid and humanitarian assistance

Palestinians are often characterized as people who receive one of the highest aid ratios in the world (ILO, 2009), and there is no doubt that this aid has increased significantly since the start of the second intifada. However, there has been an ongoing debate in the Palestinian arena that often questions the essence and nature of this aid.

Although this issue is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to examine it closely, as it is very much related and often contributes to the overall dynamic of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

According to the Palestine Assistance Monitoring System (PAMS) of the Ministry of
Planning, Figure (5.1) shows that total aid disbursed to Palestine increased from
USD 1,083,077,939 in 2005 to USD 3,040,763,590 in 2008. According to the World
Bank, foreign aid provided to Palestine in 2008 constituted 30 per cent of the
Palestinian Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, as long as this aid is not
directed towards long-term benefit that includes sustainable employment, it will
always remain a short-term coping strategy without significant impact.

Figure 5.1: Total aid disbursed during 2005-2008
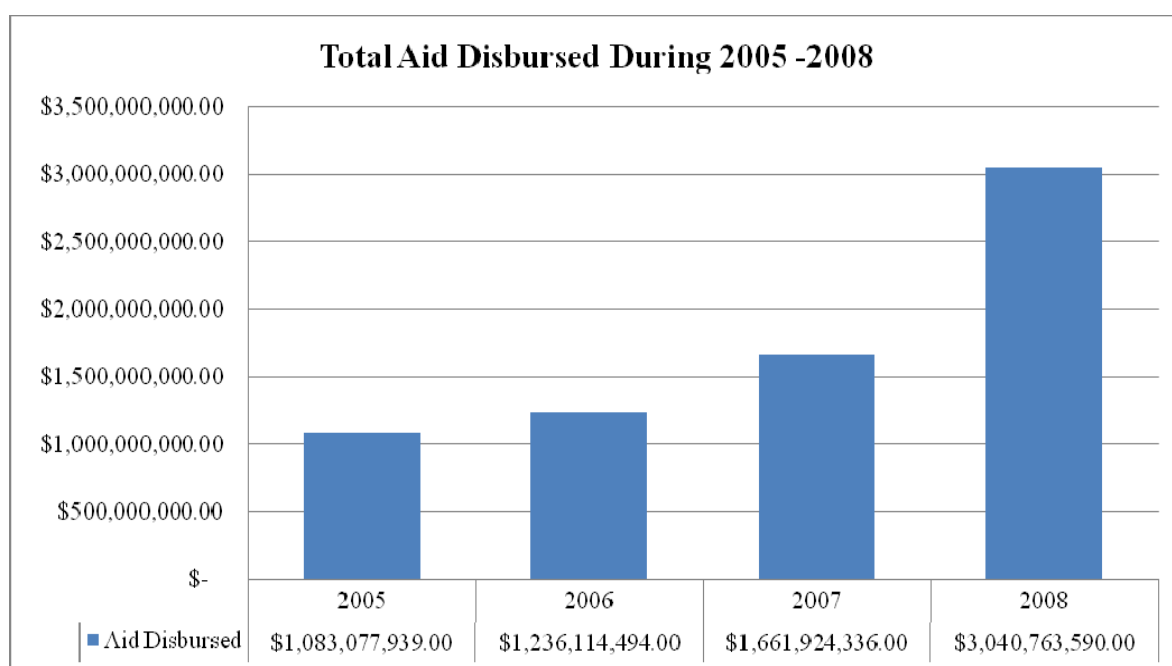
Source: Palestinian Ministry of Planning, data retrieved and calculated from

http://db.mop.gov.ps/amc/sectorprofile.asp, on 18 June 2009.

In its economic monitoring report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee in September
2007, the World Bank (2007b, p. 5) emphasized the fact that aid has not been

arranged collectively and jointly in coordination between the international community and donors, rather it was more in the form of bilateral arrangements, which are directed towards short-term plans rather than long-term national development plans. The nature of aid has been shifting from development aid to humanitarian and relief aid. Instead of investing resources in institutional building and reform, infrastructure, and national capacity development, resources are being mainly directed towards basic humanitarian support. This has resulted in shifting funds from local institutions to other channels that may not be responding to the local development priorities.

In general, humanitarian aid has increased in the last few years. Figure 5.2 below compares the amount provided to the three different types of aid. In 2008, the highest amount provided was to support the PA budget, which mainly means covering public sector employees' salaries. The figure also shows that humanitarian aid increased from $353,932,240 in 2005 to $664,068,337 in 2008. At the same time, development aid also increased from $505,087,807 in 2005 to $712,542,745.00 in 2008. However, an in-depth examination should be conducted in order to know the type of projects that this development aid has targeted, and whether these projects are linked to the destruction and damages caused by the Israeli occupation -- an issue that is beyond the scope of this research, but at the same time needs further exploration.

Figure 5.2: Type of aid disbursed during 2005-2008
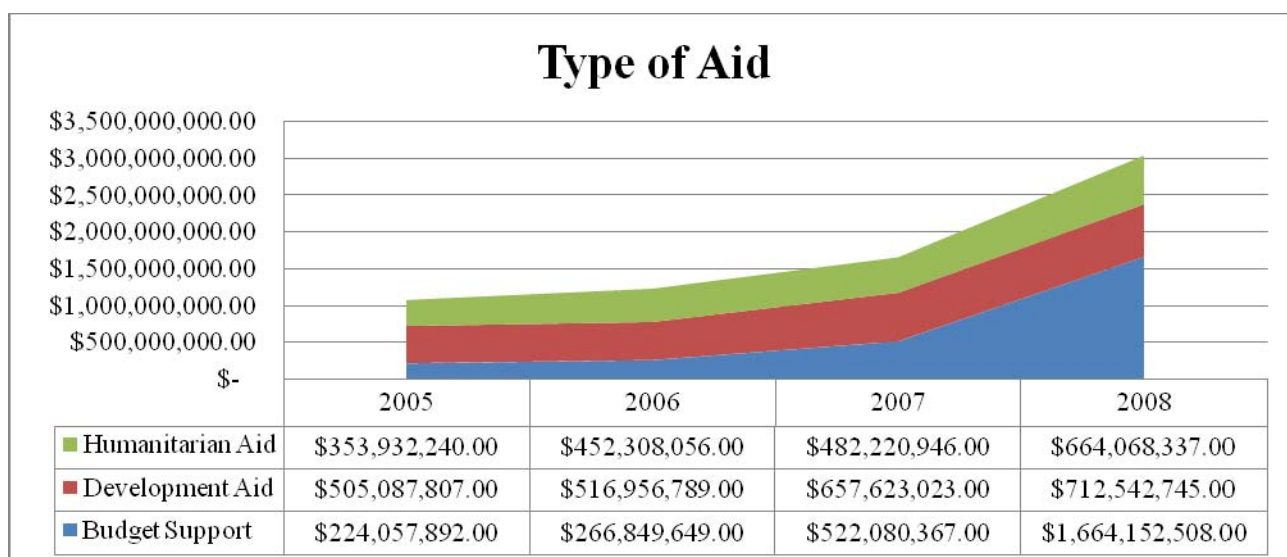
Type of Aid

	2005	2006	2007	2008
■ Humanitarian Aid	$353,932,240.00	$452,308,056.00	$482,220,946.00	$664,068,337.00
■ Development Aid	$505,087,807.00	$516,956,789.00	$657,623,023.00	$712,542,745.00
■ Budget Support	$224,057,892.00	$266,849,649.00	$522,080,367.00	$1,664,152,508.00

Source: Palestinian Ministry of Planning, data retrieved and calculated from

http://db.mop.gov.ps/amc/sectorprofile.asp on 18 June 2009.

Conversely, humanitarian aid needs also further exploration. For example and according to OXFAM survey on poverty in Palestine, only 10% of households who received payments under the Temporary International Mechanism (TIM) of the European Commission managed to meet their needs, while a significant percentage of 63% said that these payments only met less than half of their needs (OXFAM, 2007, p. 5). This indicates that emergency assistance does not have impact on the elimination of poverty, nor on improving the welfare of the household.

In conclusion, one cannot predict how Palestinian households can maintain their coping mechanisms in light of the intensity of the Israeli aggression and the continued deterioration of living conditions with no improvement in sight.

Undoubtedly, this situation will eventually exhaust the ability of households to cope. On the other hand, and while the West Bank has escaped the shocking destruction which recently drew world attention to Gaza, Palestinians in the West Bank continue to be exposed to physical danger from Israeli military operations and from Israelis living in settlements. Secondly, their livelihoods continue to be threatened as the economy in the West Bank has continued to perform badly with no improvement in key economic indicators. One of the major cities in the West Bank that was hard hit by the tight Israeli closures and continuous incursions during the second Intifada is the city of Nablus, which is the site of this research. The following section will provide detailed information on the effect of the siege on Nablus city`s inhabitants.

5.4 Nablus: a City under Siege

The city of Nablus is the largest city in the West Bank. Palestinians consider Nablus as a main commercial and business centre, as well as a focal point for services. It is the home of An-Najah university, the largest university in Palestine. Moreover, it is the location of important medical facilities that consist of 13 health centres and six hospitals, out of which two are major referral hospitals. The city of Nablus has a population of 124, 215 (62,720 males and 61,495 females) (PCBS, 2007).

The Israelis considered Nablus as "the capital of terrorism" with more than 60% of militant activities in the West Bank are planned there. Nablus city was one of the first localities in Palestine to witness the impact of the second Intifada that resulted in the construction of Huwwara checkpoint, the first and most notorious checkpoint

established by the Israelis after the second Intifada. The city witnessed the longest curfew imposed by the Israelis on any locality. The tight curfew imposed between April to November 2002 lasted for 151 days and was only lifted for a total of 65 hours to allow residents to get food and medicine (OCHA, 2005). According to OCHA, the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) conducted over one thousand search and arrest campaigns in Nablus governorate between June 2005 and April 2007 – an average of more than 10 each week.

Nablus residents have been constantly arrested by IDF. Table 3 below shows the percentage and number of Palestinian Prisoners per West Bank governorate. According to this table 14.5 per cent of the total prisoners from the West Bank are from Nablus governorate. Additionally, one third of Palestinians killed during the second intifada from different West Bank cities are from the city of Nablus (Al-Jazeera TV, 2009).

Table 5.3: Percentage and number of Palestinian prisoners in West Bank Governorates

Governorate	Number of Prisoners	Percentage
Jericho	117	1.1%
Hebron	1550	14.9%
Bethlehem	1135	10%
Jenin	1722	15.6%
Ramallah and Al-Birah	1356	12.1%
Salfit	128	1.2%
Tubas	170	1.6%
Tulkarem	975	9.4%
Qalqilia	570	4.5%
Nablus	1705	14.5%

Source: Palestinian Ministry of Detainees' Affairs. 2007.

Nablus is encircled by 14 Israeli settlements that are connected with each other by a number of roads cutting across Nablus governorate and around the city. Palestinians need permits to drive on these roads, and if caught without a permit, they risk to be arrested and fined. These roads are linked to ten checkpoints, out of which seven surround the city from all sides. Accordingly, all Palestinians going in or out of the

city are forced to cross these checkpoints. Under these conditions, many businesses were forced to close or relocate out of the city borders. The city's famous soap industry has been particularly hard hit. While there was once as many as 80 soap factories manufacturing in Nablus, there are only three fully operating today. According to Nablus Chamber of Commerce, the closure has resulted in 40 per cent decline in the industrial sector, 70 per cent in the commercial sector and 100 per cent in the tourism sector (Al-Jazeera TV, 2009).

Additionally, and due to mobility restrictions, producers started to sell their goods in new produce markets out of Nablus city, which deprived the municipality from revenues collected from renting the market spaces owned by the municipality and used previously by these vendors. Accordingly, these revenues declined from 1.3 million USD in 2000 to 127, 323 USD in 2006, and the number of people working in the market decreased by 75 per cent (MA`AN, 2008:13).

Nablus City has the highest concentration of businesses vis-à-vis the rest of major cities located in other governorates in the West Bank; one-third out of 42,884 businesses in the Nablus governorate are located in Nablus City, compared to 10 per cent of businesses hosted by, for example, Ramallah and Hebron cities (PCBS, 2008). As a result, the impact of the tight closure on Nablus City and the shrinkage of commerce activity have been greater than that of similar restrictions imposed on other West Bank cities. For example, in 2007 only, 10 per cent of buses and 7 per cent of taxis from Nablus had permits to access and use the checkpoints.

Figure 3 below illustrates the fluctuation of unemployment rate in Nablus Governorate in the last five years. Although the table shows that unemployment decreased among males and females in 2008, the rate, however, is still high by international standards. According to a recent ILO report, employment rate (population aged 15 and over) increased slightly in the West Bank, to reach 34.3 per cent in the last quarter of 2008. However, the report warns that this rate is extremely low by international standards. ILO report also notes that another measure of the scarcity of employment is the dependency ratio, in which one employed person supports on average 4.7 persons in the West Bank. On the other hand, the report stresses the fact that all persons counted as "employed" may not be in full-time employment, and warns that boundaries between employment, unemployment and the economically inactive population (outside the labour force) are increasingly blurred, and people may be employed but temporarily absent, or working very few hours per week, or even working but not being paid (ILO, 2009).

Figure 5.3: Unemployment in Nablus Governorate for females and males aged 15 and more (2004-2008)
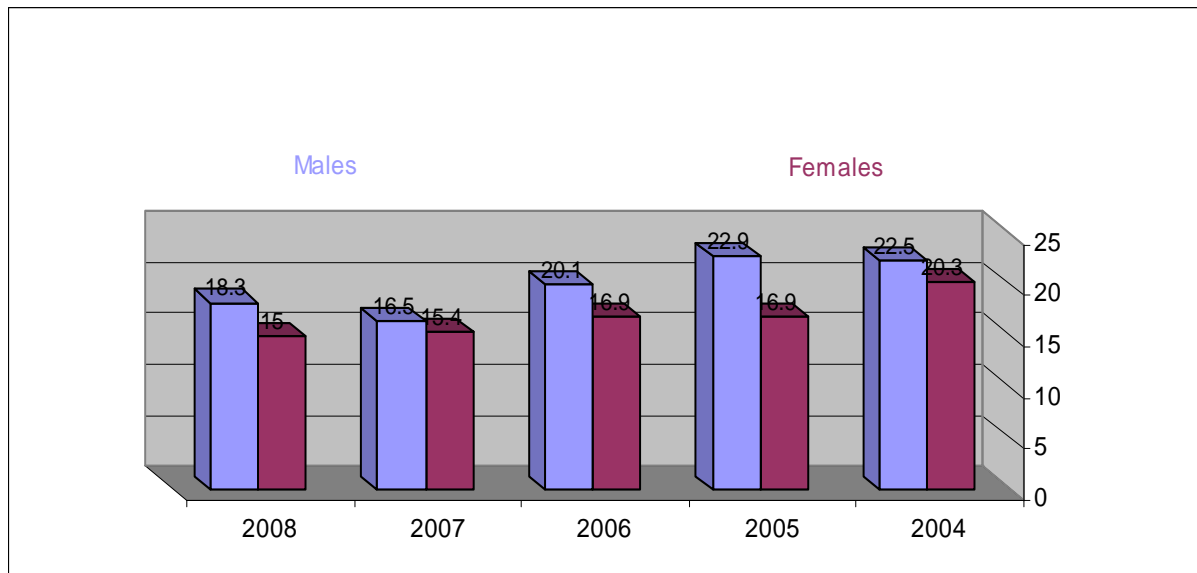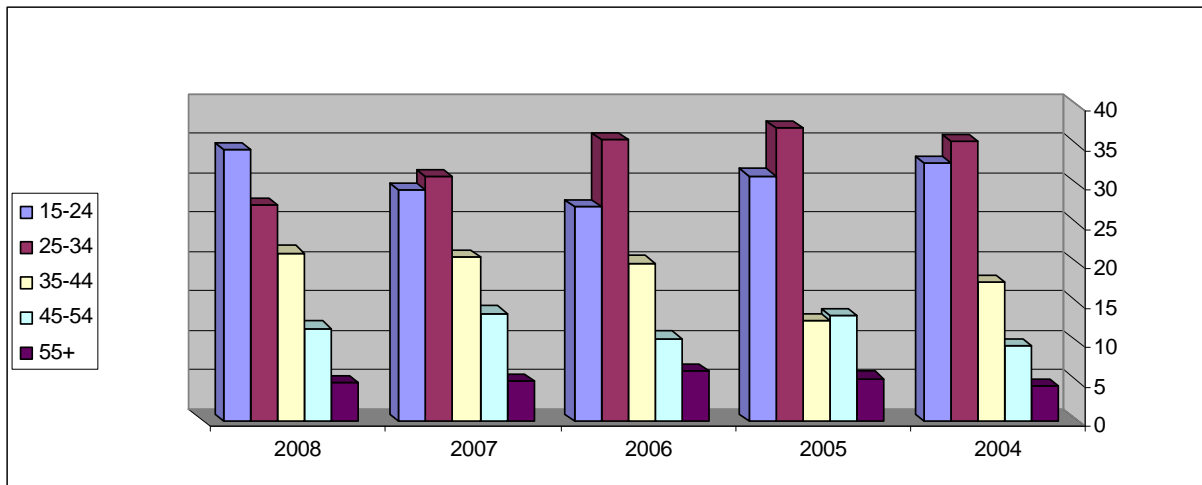

Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2004-2008. *Labour Force Survey.* Ramallah-Palestine.

(Unpublished Data)

Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show unemployed males in Nablus Governorate according to age groups and years of schooling. In general both of these variables are in line with the national profile of unemployed males highlighted in table 2 above. Based on this, one can conclude that the average unemployed male in Nablus governorate has an average of ten years of schooling and is slightly above the age of thirty years. Accordingly, both of these variable were the basis for selecting the research sample as discussed above.

Figure 5.4: Unemployed males in Nablus Governorate according to age group (2004-2008)

Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008. *Labour Force Survey*

Figure 5.5: Unemployed males in Nablus Governorate according to years of schooling (2004-2008)
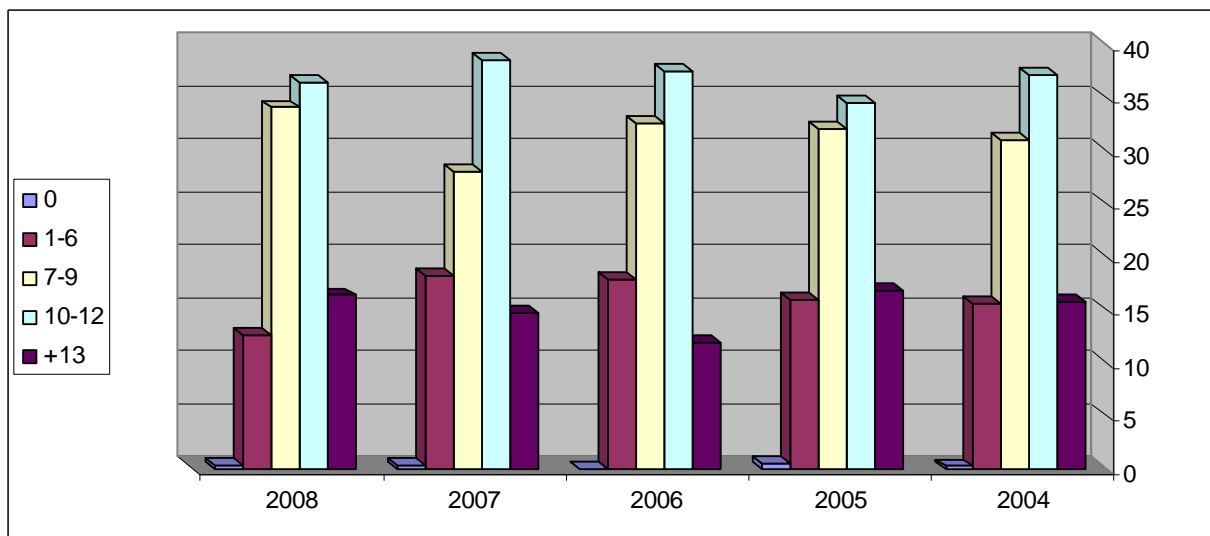
Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008. *Labour Force Survey*

Chapter VI: Study Results and Analysis

This chapter will present the research's main findings from the focus groups and in-depth interviews, divided into six thematic areas. The findings will be presented mainly in comparison between older and younger unemployed married men. The second main factor that will be taken into consideration is these men's level of education. Additionally, the results from the two women's focus groups will be also presented in relation to the age of the husband, while the level of education will be discussed and referred to within all groups and interviews.

6.1 Masculinity and Its Crisis in Nablus

In-depth interviews were conducted with two official figures from Nablus. The objective of these two interviews was to learn about the public discourse on the issue of men unemployment. In this regard, Mr. Adli Yaish, the Mayor of Nablus city blamed the Palestinian Authority for not investing in projects in the city and diverting most of its developmental activities to the city of Ramallah, which made Nablus a vulnerable target for the Israelis. The mayor stated, "*The Palestinian Authority is to blame for this situation, as they are not investing in more projects in the city of Nablus. This situation will have a long time effect on men even if the unemployment issue is resolved as men need psychological rehabilitation to heal their psychological wounds, and they will need a long time to recover. One can compare this situation with the prisoners who need rehabilitation after their release."*

He also provided examples on the deteriorating economic situation in Nablus. "*It is evident that the financial situation is affecting the family in general and men in particular. The closure imposed on Nablus city and the inability to obtain permits to work inside Israel contributed to the increase of unemployment among men, which is affecting their self-esteem and psychological and mental health. This situation is contributing to the increase in violence and divorce as well. Men are spending too much time in coffee houses and on the streets instead of investing their time in other meaningful ways. Citizens come to me on an average of 10 persons daily to apply for jobs. One woman who sold all her jewellery to cover her son's university studies begged me to employ her son who graduated recently from An-Najah university, as her son is going through depression because of his inability to find a job. Extended families are now playing an important role in supporting and safeguarding these men and their families. The only solution to this problem is to reach a comprehensive political solution, which will result in economic improvement in people's lives.*"

As hegemonic masculinity has multiple meanings and is embedded within formal institutions, it could be said that the words expressed by the Mayor demonstrated a type of hegemonic masculinity within the Palestinian society. In this sense, a man who has power, wealth and respect from his society is a type of masculinity that most men can never acquire, but at the same time they are regulated by and use it to judge other men's behaviours.

The other interview took place with Sheikh Saleh Abu Farha who works as a judge in one of Islamic Shari'a courts in Nablus city. Sheikh Saleh stressed that he recently noticed in the cases he handled an increase in violence within families, where men use verbal and physical violence against their wives. He gave an example of a lady who was stabbed by her husband with an axe because she cursed his father. He added that in these cases, he tries to resolve this issue peacefully between the couples. Most of the reasons behind the problems he encounters between couples are a result of interference from extended family members. He added that there is an increase in the number of divorce cases, as a result of lack of financial resources due to the husband's unemployment. Sheikh Abu Farha mentioned cases where wives started to work and brought an income to the family and then they started to show off in front of their husbands, and talk to family members about stuff they bought from their income. "*This situation hurts men a lot and they become violent."* He dealt with cases where unemployed men took a second wife who is usually employed and can provide for them. Moreover, he said that he noticed in cases he handled that women are becoming stronger and somehow aggressive.

"*Women are becoming rebellious against their husbands and base their argument on religion when requesting divorce from their husbands, using a verse in the Qur'an that states, 'Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient and guard in (the*

husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard' (An-Nisa': 34). *Women's interpretation of this verse is that they do not have to be obedient to their husbands if they are not able to support them."*

It could be said that the public discourse presented by these two public figures states that complicit masculinity is the most prevailing form of masculinity in the Palestinian society, as it seems that men hide behind the form of hegemonic masculinity, the culturally dominant ideal of masculinity that is centred around authority, and therefore they defend it by becoming more violent or refusing to change their gender roles, so they can continue their dominant position in the patriarchal order. Thus, the Mayor and the Sheikh agree that men tend to continue to have the power within the family even though they lost their role as breadwinners, and therefore are unable to provide for their family, which means that being the provider is not the main attribute that constitutes masculinity in the Palestinian society. Accordingly, having control and power over the family is in itself one of the characteristics of Palestinian masculinity.

As mentioned earlier, the field work for this research started by visiting a number of coffee houses; the original idea was to conduct one interview with a coffee shop owner or waiter in order to learn more about the ways unemployed men deal with their situation. After having a brief discussion with the waiter in one of the coffee houses, two other men who happened to be there joined the discussion. The two men were unemployed and they are regular patrons of this coffee shop, which was

founded over hundred years ago, and is located in the heart of an old neighbourhood. One of these men was Ali who is 45 years old with 6 children. He used to be a construction worker and has been unemployed for over one year. He comes to the coffee shop in the morning and stays until late in the evening. He says that the reason for this is to avoid getting into arguments with his wife and children over money. His coping strategy with this issue has been lately to ignore his wife's requests and pretend as if he did not hear anything she says to him. Ali's only income is 850 Shekels he receives each month from renting an old shop that he inherited from his father. This income is not enough to pay his monthly bills, so in order to get by, he borrows from his family members and friends. However, he says that this situation did not undermine his authority at home and did not change his wife's attitude towards him: "*She cannot do anything as she knows that this situation is not in my hands.*"

Anan is another man who happened to be at this coffee house. He is 40 years old with 7 children. He does not have a steady job, but he does occasional work as a house painter. However, he has been unemployed for the last 6 months. Anan says that he did not pay his monthly bills for the last four months, and he cannot afford buying anything for his family.

"*My daughter asked me the other day for 100 Shekels, so she can buy clothes for school, I told her where am I going to get you this money? She started to cry and I really felt bad and useless.*" He continued to say, "*Do you know? I am ashamed to*

say that my family has not eaten meat for a long time! Actually, we do not eat the way we used to." Anan's oldest son is 18 years old, and he had to drop college, so he can help his family. He claims that his son was not angry about leaving his studies, as he knows that his father is facing financial difficulties, and he will return to college as soon as things get better. Anan says that his father-in-law keeps pressuring him to find a job, as this situation cannot continue like this, but Anan says that it is very difficult to get work as a painter in the winter and it is also difficult to get a permit to work inside Israel.

The stories told by these two men and their daily struggle to have a decent live for their families, reflect the conditions of thousands of other men. Based on these narratives, more interviews and discussions were conducted with men and women, which will be presented in details in the following sections.

Older men

When the issue of masculinity and the meaning of being a man was discussed in the focus groups and interviews, different opinions were presented as all men and women, old and young, educated and uneducated, agreed that being a breadwinner is the most important characteristic of masculinity. However, they varied on other characteristics, as older educated and uneducated men agreed that to be respected from society members was the second most important, and then defending your rights and taking what is yours came on third, followed by rationality and ability to cope under pressure. The major difference between educated and uneducated men,

whether young or old, is the fact that uneducated men stressed on having an education as an important characteristic of masculinity. This is understandable as this category of men assumes that having education will bring them more power within their families and society. In the words of Hashem, a 54-year old married man with primary education, masculinity means *"a man who makes money and has the ability to provide. Masculinity attributes include one who prays regularly, doesn't harm others; one who doesn't get in troubles."* When he was asked about the meaning of a failed man, he said, *"A loser is a person who doesn't work.. no.. no, I meant a loser is not a person who does not have a job, as this person perhaps could not find a job."* It must be noted that Hashem has 7 children: 5 sons and 2 daughters, and he has been unemployed for the last 15 years. Before losing his job, he used to work as a carpenter, but he got injured in his hands and couldn't do carpentry anymore. Since then, he started to work on and off. He worked in the produce market selling vegetables on a cart and then stopped due to hand condition. He was employed for 3 months under UNRWA emergency employment program. He reapplied for this program again but was not accepted.

The same words were echoed by Ayoub, who is 50 years old with a university degree in accounting. When Ayoub was asked to explain the meaning of masculinity, he said, *"Masculinity means to have a job and be able to provide for one's family and be productive. I myself worked for 24 years and suddenly I do not have anything. I believe both men and women should work in order to provide for their families, as*

now life is so expensive.. Ayoub continued to say, "*I worked in a ceramic factory inside Israel for 16 years and got fired on the first day of the second Intifada. I remember the Intifada started on Friday and I was off that day; they called me and said don't come back to work anymore. The Jew that I used to work for turned out to be a good guy. He paid all my work benefits, and with that we were able to build our own house, so we don't have to pay rent."* For Ayoub to stress on his belief that both men and women should work and share the responsibility within the household could be attributed to the level of education he has, as this was not mentioned by other older men who have a limited level of education. For example, Mohammad who is 55 years old unemployed man with primary level of education said, *"Masculinity means to work and be able to go around and to provide for your family. These days men and women became the same in the house and that is very bad, as it affects the man, who starts to think to do evil things, but then he thinks of his family. The man who doesn't have a job becomes like a child in the house as he is supposed to be the core of the family. But if he doesn't have a job and an income, he loses his authority and nobody obeys him or even listens to him."* For Mohammed, who has 9 children, a real man is someone who has dignity and leaves his faith in the hands of God.

Younger men

The most important issue that was raised in this group in comparison with the other group and explained eloquently by the participants is the issue of family planning, where young men stressed on the importance of using family planning methods so

they would not have a large number of children that they will not be able to nurture or support in the future. One young man stated in this regard, "*The real man is the one who learns from other people's mistakes by using family planning methods, so he will not have a lot of children. Imagine if I have five children now! What will happen to them?"* The issue of reproductive health was also mentioned on a different level by a young uneducated man, when he spoke comfortably and openly about his inability to impregnate his wife. *"I am the reason why we are not able to have children, and my wife has been so patient with me; she even sold all her gold, so I can pay for my treatment. I saw a number of doctors and took different kinds of medicines which cost me lots of money. All of this with no luck."* All participants in this group showed genuine sympathy towards this man. Men's sexual life was also discussed openly in a survey conducted recently after the war on Gaza, where many men reported disruption in their sexual intercourse with their wives for several reasons, including psychological disturbance, living apart or having many people taking refuge within the household (CFTA and UNFPA, 2009).

This could mean that in the Palestinian society, to have fewer children is becoming a necessity. Consequently, to have fewer children is no longer synonymous with non-virility and non-masculinity. In this context, one can even go further than that and conclude that infertile man is considered a man despite his infertility. Does this mean that the Palestinian man is undergoing a transition with his masculinity? This is an issue that definitely needs further exploration through future researches.

For Amar, who is unemployed 38 years old with a university degree in social science, "*A man stays a man whatever happens, but if he doesn't have a job, he feels odd in front of his family and relatives, and he feels less than everyone else, and when his kids grow up, they might think the same as their father. To think of this makes me feel mad."* Amar, who has 3 children and has been unemployed for the last 8 years, explains this by saying, "*Masculinity doesn't mean to have money, but in order to complete your manhood you need a job, because you need to provide for your family. It is not realistic to say you are a man and can't bring your son a book or a pair of pants that he asked for. So you can't say you are a man and can't even give your son his daily allowances."* Amar, who has 2 sons aged 12 and 8 and one daughter aged 14, added, *"A successful man is the man who has a stable life. If he doesn't have stability in his work, he will never have stability at home. A man who is able to provide for his family is a stable and successful man. From what I have said, I consider myself a loser, but it is not my fault, as it is the circumstances and the environment that we are in. On the other hand, the circumstances can be positive, but at the same time you don't have someone who is willing to help you get a job. They always say it is difficult to help you get a job at this age; it would have been possible if you are 24 or 25 years old. At the same time, you see this exact person helping others in similar situation like mine. Maybe it is my fault, maybe it is the way I approached or talked to that person, I don't know."*

For Ahmad, who is 39 years old married man with 4 children and has primary level of education, "*Manhood means the ability to provide for your family, and not to go out and get drunk for example."* Ahmad, who has been unemployed for the past two years, continued to say, *"It also means to help people around you and respect others. The unsuccessful man, on the other hand, is the man who gambles and gets drunk... someone who always gets in trouble with other people."*

The most surprising point resulting from this discussion is the fact that none of the participants in all groups mentioned physical toughness, protection or being sexually potent as one of the qualities of masculinity. This in a way contradicts the universal definition that included the ability to impregnate women, protect dependents and provide for one's family. However, the focus on providing for one's family is in agreement with Connell`s essentialist strategy discussed earlier, although, and as discussed above, men tend to still preserve their position to control their families despite their inability to provide for them. Accordingly, it can be said that in the Palestinian society, being in control of the family is the main attribute of masculinity. Furthermore, there was a difference in the description between men and women, as women considered men being affectionate and tender towards their wives and children as an important virtue of masculinity. On the other hand, when participants were requested to define femininity, they all mentioned obedience to one's husband as a major quality, followed by patience and ability to take care of her home and children. When asked about the ideal woman, similar responses came from all

participants, regardless of their educational background, age or sex. For example, one educated man said, *"The ideal woman is the one who takes good care of her children, and favour her husband and her children over herself."* Similar opinions were echoed in both women's groups, where one woman said, *"It is a shame for a woman to fulfil her own needs and ignore her children's needs."*

Women narratives presented above illustrate the emphasized form of femininity, as these women's discourse focused on the importance of being obedient and patient towards their husbands, despite the reality that their husbands lost their important role as a breadwinner. This implies that women are not accepting the fact that gender roles are changing or at least undergoing a transition within the household, and somehow they are in denial as they are defending and sustaining the dominance of their husbands.

6.2 Jobless Men

Older men

All participants in the focus groups and interviews stated that their economic situation has deteriorated significantly during the second Intifada. The majority of older uneducated men used to have stable jobs in different firms and institutions in Nablus city, and they were laid-off from their jobs due to the economic difficulties that faced these establishments as a result of the closure and checkpoints. According to recent reports, it is estimated that 430 establishment closed down since the start of the second Intifada (Al-Ayyam newspaper, 2009).

When participants were asked to talk about their job seeking experience, the majority of these men said that they applied for the temporary employment program offered by UNRWA. The main reason that was given for not being able to find a job was old age, as one man mentioned, *"I am 48 years old, and I have been looking for a job for a long time, but I know that they prefer to hire a younger man than myself."*

Ayoub, who is 50 years old and haven't had a stable job since the start of the second Intifada, says, "*After I lost my job inside Israel, I started to look for another job. I applied to the Municipality and other factories, but they always tell me we don't have a job, and we will call you. The fact is you need a (WASTA) in order to work; that is the reality. Everyone takes care of his own people. The last time I applied for a job was at the nursing college as a guard. I said to myself I will work in any job, it doesn't matter if I am educated or not, but they said they will call me. I am willing to work for 30 Shekels a day.*"

On the other hand, participants in the focus groups and during individual interviews repeated on different occasions that the Palestinian Authority holds part of the responsibility for the deteriorating economic situation in Nablus. Ayoub continued to say in this regard, "*The PA doesn't help us in getting jobs. They don't do any economic projects that employ people. They get money and funds in our names, but we don't see anything. All you see is building towers here and there and you don't know the benefits of these towers, as they don't get people jobs. I wish I had a land; then I can cultivate it and sell its produce. I thought to migrate to other countries so*

I can get a job, but I couldn't because of my children. Now you can't even get a permit to work in Israel, as it is very difficult to obtain one. We used to work there without a permit, but now we have this Wall that they build, which makes you feel living in a big prison."

Mohammad, who is 55 years old and has been unemployed since the start of the second Intifada as well, said, "*I used to work in construction inside Israel. After the Intifada, I could not get a permit, and since then I started to work in odd jobs. I first worked as a guard for a car dumping company for 7 months with a monthly salary of 800 Shekels. Then I left this job as it was too risky, and I did not have a steady job for the last 5 years. I constantly look for a job; I even went to Tulkarem where a person told me about a place looking for a guard and when I got there, they told me that they already hired someone. I go to the dumpster twice a week and collect things to well, such as aluminium, and I usually make 15 to 20 Shekel. With this money I buy food. Once a while I also help in digging graves where they give me some money. I also used to work as a guard in the graveyard... that is how I knew these gravediggers... but I only did this for a couple of months, and used to get paid from the money collected at the Mosque, until this Imam came and said why do we need a guard in a place where nobody can run from, so I stopped doing that."*

Mohammad explained that his sons also have hard time finding a job. "*My sons, who are 25, 23, 18 and 12 years old, work on and off, as there are no job opportunities out there. They sometimes work in constructions, and when they have money they*

buy me cigarettes. They look for work all the time, they even went the other day to Hebron to find a job. We even borrowed money for their transportations. I feel very pessimistic about my sons' future. What are they going to become under these conditions... criminals? I also worry about my family's health; what if something happens to one of my family and they needed to be hospitalized? how can I pay for this?"

Women's narratives, on the other hand, focused on their husbands' experiences in looking for a job, in addition to their own. According to one woman, whose husband used to own a shop in the old city and lost his income due to the demolishing of the shop during the military incursion in 2002, *"We lost all our income that we used to live on all our lives, and no one compensated us for the shop. My husband tried to look for a job, but he could not find one, and then he got sick and too weak to work. I started to look for a job myself and found one as a janitor in an elderly home. They pay me 150 Dinars, but still I cannot afford to pay electricity or water bills. My family also gets some help from individuals and charitable organizations."* Another woman said, "*We had a decent life when my husband used to have a job and income, and I did not worry about anything, but now it is as if life has turned up-side down."*

It must be noted here that according to a recent survey, the majority of Palestinians have not paid their utility bills (water and electricity) for many months. While 52 per cent of Palestinian households still rely on this strategy, the other half has already exhausted this possibility (PCBS, WFP and FAO. 2009).

Younger men

Young educated men used to have jobs inside Nablus and lost them due to the long siege imposed on the city that resulted in closing of businesses or moving them to Ramallah. One young man said in this regard, "*I used to work for a men's clothing store for years and because of the low sales, the owner decided to move the store to Ramallah. I did not have a choice except to resign, as I cannot afford to pay for transportation or rent a place there. After that, I started to look for a job, but business was slow in Nablus and nobody would hire me, so I haven't had a job for over a year now.*"

The young uneducated men, on the other hand, used to work inside Israel and lost their work due to their inability to obtain permits. One young man stated, "*It takes me a long time and money to apply for a permit and if you are lucky and get one, it will expire while you try to find a job inside Israel. So what is the point from having a permit? It is all a waste of time and energy.*" When they were asked to talk about their job seeking experience, almost all men in both groups said that they applied for a job at Nablus Municipality and/or the temporary employment program offered by UNRWA. However, young educated men look for jobs on a daily basis through newspapers or by applying to local companies. This could indicate that young educated men have more resilience and hope to get a job, which could be attributed to the level of education and their young age. One young man said, "*We did not give up on finding a job. Each day, I leave my home early in the morning and I say to*

myself; today is the day that I will find a job, but I do not and I start all over again the next day."

Amar, who is 38 years old man with a university degree, says, "*I worked for 4 years with Nablus municipality and left my job because I was on a temporary contract with a monthly salary of 1000 Shekels. I thought I will get a better opportunity than the municipality. So I started to look for other jobs in hospitals and other companies, and even I got interviewed here and there, but I did not get a job because I don't know any powerful people to support me. I inquired about the results of these interviews and found out that they hired people with less credentials than mine, and I was told that interviews are only a superficial process. I applied also to the Ministry of Social Affairs and was interviewed but to my surprise they hired 3 people; 2 from Nablus and one from Jenin. After I investigated this, it turned out that these people whom they hired have less credentials than mine. I also worked three years ago for one month as a sales representative for a company, and the agreement was to get one per cent commission on my sales in addition to a monthly salary of 1200 Shekels. After one month, I sold 170,000 Shekels of merchandise and they only gave me 700 Shekels, so I argued with them and left this job."* Amar, who is married with 3 children, continued to say, "*I enrolled in a number of training courses, and I am willing take any kind of work, but people hire their own relatives. I talked to everyone and they all say getting a job these days is hard and some say the age is an important factor, and only if you were younger it would have been easier. Sometimes*

I compare myself to other people and I see some, who have less education than mine, yet they have a good job and they keep moving from one job to another without any problem, while I can't find anything."

Other reasons were given for the inability of young men to find a job. These reasons focused on health problems, including injuries resulting from clashes with the Israeli army. Ahmad, a 39 years old man, says, "*I used to work in Nablus produce market. Before that, I worked in a clothing store. I got injured in my back, and therefore I stopped working. I thought of opening a small grocery store but I cannot afford it."* Another participant from the focus group, who lives in the old city, said proudly while showing the injury he received during an Israeli incursion, "*The majority of men in the old city suffer from some kind of injury they got during the Intifada. Look at my shoulder! This is a scare from a bullet I received from the Israelis, while I was trying to assist one of my wounded neighbours, who confronted them when they entered the old city of Nablus during the incursion of 2002."*

This confirms Julie Peteet`s argument discussed earlier, in which she concluded that signs and marks of beating and torture inflicted by Israelis were used by Palestinian men as experiences of transformation and empowerment not humiliation. Accordingly, the representation created by Israel to humiliate Palestinian men was revised into one of honour, manhood and moral superiority.

Most men also mentioned the WASTA/cronyism phenomenon (5). One participant said, *"I applied for a job at a school that needed a janitor with primary education or*

higher. I did not get the job although I completed ninth grade, while they selected a person who only completed fifth grade. This is because he knew influential people who intervened on his behalf."

Moreover, some participants who came from refugee camps, mentioned discrimination against refugees as one of the reasons for not finding a job. As one man stated, *"I am a refugee. When I go and apply for a job in the city, and I tell them I am from Askar refugee camp, they say we do not have work, but the truth is that they do not like to hire people from refugee camps as they think we are trouble makers."* It must be noted that among the 315,773 population living in Nablus governorate. 26.3 per cent are refugees (PCBS, 2007).

Comparing responses of younger men to those of older men, one can conclude that both agree that WASTA, which may include political affiliation, authority, family status and connections, is key in getting a job. On the other hand, younger men have more resilience than older men as they keep looking for a job and sometimes take training courses in order to improve their chances of getting a job. The level of education also played a role in negotiating a better work conditions. However, it is noted that as men get older, their chances of getting a job decrease significantly, especially if they suffer from some type of injury. Accordingly, it could be said that the older unemployed men get, the more likely they become marginalized from other men, and therefore the less complicit to hegemonic masculinity.

6.3 Economic Coping Mechanisms

Older men

All participants had to cut down on their family essential needs, especially in the areas of education, food, transportation, clothing and health care. However, a difference was noticed in terms of supporting university education of sons and daughters: the uneducated older reported stopping their daughters from attending university, while they kept their sons, as they could not afford paying tuitions and transportations for both. On the other hand, the educated older men did not stop any of their children from receiving higher education. One man said, *"I had to make my daughter drop-out from university for one year as I could not pay her tuitions. I told her, we do not have money now to pay for your education and when things get better we will let you go back to school. I have another son going to the university, but he is in his last year and because of this, I allowed him to stay and finish his studies, so when he graduates he will be able to find a good job and help out with the family`s expenses."*

Transportations was one of the major expenses that the majority had to cut down on. Fathers and mothers make their children walk to schools or to the market; they themselves also walk instead of using public transportations, which on average costs around five Shekels. However, and on the issue of transportation, there was a significant difference in the way this group of men treat their sons and daughters, as

one man said, "*I give my daughter five Shekels a day for transportations, as you cannot make girls walk back and forth, but this is possible for a boy.*" He explained that girls could get harassed in the streets, but boys can take care of themselves.

Mohammad, who is 55 years old, said about his coping mechanisms, "*Now I receive assistance from different charitable organizations, who know about my family situation. I usually go to the produce market and collect vegetables that are left from that day, and some people give me a box of cucumbers or tomatoes. I tried to work in the produce market but in my age; it is very difficult to get a job. I leave my faith in the hands of God. Sometimes I borrow from the grocery store, and during Eid, I get coupons from different organizations, so I can buy clothes and food. We try to survive on one kilo of tomato for a couple of days... one day we cook tomatoes with eggs and in the second day we try to have it with something else.*" He continued to say, "*Sometimes, my children go to our relatives where they offer them a meal, and sometimes I go to my mother where I get a meal as well, but my relatives' conditions are as bad as ours. What I can say I leave it to God to take care of us.*"

One can notice the helplessness in Mohammad's words, which show that poorer men are more marginalized and subordinated than other men within the hierarchy of masculinity.

Older men were comfortable in mentioning their wives` role in family survival, as Ayuob, who is 50 years old, said, "*My wife and I worked all our life. I started to work when I was 16 years old, and now I don't have anything. We don't have a*

welfare system here as in other countries. I feel like we live on the moon... nobody cares. My wife is a teacher and we depend on her income. I don't know how we can survive without her income. Sometimes I worry about how we would pay for health services in case anyone gets sick. I also worry about my children, how they will get a job and manage their future, since unemployment is everywhere."

Mohammad, a 57 years old, talked more explicitly about his wife's role by saying, "*My wife doesn't complain, she always says let us leave it to God, as we are both into this together. She used to make soft drink and sell it at the neighbourhood school; 2 drinks for half a Shekel, she would make 10 to 15 Shekels a day and she would buy food for the house. But then they opened a cafeteria at the school, so she stopped doing that. Afterwards, she got a job under UNRWA`s job creation program, and while she was cleaning the class's window, she fell and broke her leg, she had to stay at the hospital for 10 days. At that time, we were supposed to pay 40 Shekels for the health insurance and I did not have the money, so I had to borrow it. I swear to God that I used to go on foot to visit her at the hospital. Now all of us applied for this program again, but we did not get an answer yet. I don't want my daughters to work as they are very shy and I need also to know and trust the person that they are going to work for, as not everyone can be trusted. But I don't have a problem if they find a decent job in a respectable place. My oldest daughter worked once as a receptionist at a doctor's clinic for 500 Shekels a month, but she used to pay 10 Shekels a day for transportations, and she would have a sandwich or something to drink; by the end of*

the month, she would not have enough money; so what is the point of her working."
Another older man said, *"My wife sews female praying clothes and sofa's covers, which she sells to neighbours. This helps a lot to cover our family expenses. I consider myself blessed for having such a wife. She is very content, she does not ask for anything because she is very considerate. Also by wearing the Jelbab and covering her head she saves money as she does not have to buy new clothes."*

This confirms the argument that women respond to fulfil their family needs and decrease expenditure by taking on production of food or services at home, which is a coping strategy adopted intensively by households that face financial crisis due to the breadwinner unemployment (Kuttab, 2006). However, women working from home will not offer alternatives for the culturally dominated image of the male as the only breadwinner for the household. Additionally, the above narratives illustrate again the type of emphasized femininity that includes characteristics and behaviours expected from women by society in general, and men in particular.

Younger men

Cutting down on their children's education was not an issue for younger men, whether educated or uneducated, as their children are not at the university education level. However, they had to cut down on the quality of food for their children. For example, a number of men stated that they had to buy low quality milk for their children in order to save money. In this regard, one man said, "*Nowadays, I cannot*

afford to buy the milk that I used to get for my children, and now I buy a low quality powder milk, as it is much cheaper. What can I do? I do not have other choices."

All participants in the four focus groups stated that they had to cut down on buying meat and sometimes they cook food with meat once a month. Some participants said that they try to have their children eat at their in-laws few days a week. One man said, *"My in-laws invite my family to stay over few nights a week; they make it look like a visit, but I know that they are trying to help me by feeding my children. However, I do not mind and I do not say anything."*

Ahmad, who is 39 years old, said, "*I face lots of difficulties... I always think of how I can provide for my family and this depresses me a lot. I receive assistance from time to time from my brothers, cousins and friends. That doesn't make me feel good about myself. For example, my grandfather sends me grocery every two weeks, and I have a cousin who also sends me meat. I am now cutting down on my family's food consumption. For example, we used to cook 2 chickens and now we cook half a chicken for the whole family, as people around me do not always assist me on regular basis. I also cut down on gas consumption and smoking cigarettes; I used to smoke 2 packs a day and now I only smoke half a pack. I also cut down on children's needs. For example, last Eid I did not buy them any new clothes; I just could not afford it, although I used to buy them everything in the past. I also did not buy them any of their school needs like uniforms or bags. One of my sisters got my daughter a new uniform and a school bag, but even that happens once a while. The other day my*

youngest son, who is 14 years old, told me why you stopped giving me my daily allowance? I said I don't have any money; what do you want me to do? go and steal?"

Cutting down on food consumptions confirms the findings of a survey conducted recently in Palestine on food security. The survey showed that Palestinians in the West Bank are reducing their food intake, especially parents, who reduce their ration to allow for their children to eat enough food. Forty two per cent of the surveyed population have decreased their spending on food, 37 per cent reduced the quality of food they buy and 34 per cent reduced the quantity. Fifty per cent of Palestinians reduced their consumption of meat, and very few now eat red meat (6) (PCBS, WFP and FAO, 2009). Reducing food intake was also confirmed as one of the main strategies that Palestinians use to cope with the situation. This survey showed that 31.2 per cent of the West Bank households faced the crisis through reducing the amounts of food the household consumed and 28.4 per cent of the households purchased food products of lower quality during the week that preceded the survey (PCBS, 2009).

This was also evident in the issue of clothing, where educated and uneducated men favoured girls over boys. One man stated, "*My son can go to university wearing the same shirt and pants, but this is not possible for my daughter! I must buy her new clothes, so she would not feel less that other girls.*" Another young man said, *"I cut down on my sons' expenses. My two sons study at the university and my daughter*

goes to school. I can't cut down on my daughter's needs; I have to get her what she needs."

Favouring daughters over sons in terms of clothing and transportation could be associated with the perception that females are weaker than males and are more vulnerable to harassment if they walk on the streets by themselves. The issue of clothing could be based on the fact that daughters at this age are expected to get engaged or married, and accordingly they are expected to look good, so they can attract other families to come and ask for their hands in marriage.

One of the main issues that this group of men had hard time to resolve, and was not mentioned by the older men, is the issue of paying for health care for their children. One man said, *"My son is mute, I took him for a check-up where I had to pay 40 Shekels. They requested that I take him for a Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI), and then we discovered that he is deaf and he needed a hearing aid which costs around 500 Shekels. Where can I get this kind of money?"* Another man said,*"before I take my daughter to a doctor, I go to the committees where they give me a coupon for 100 Shekels so I can treat my child free of charge, but still I have to pay for her medication which costs me 30 Shekels."* This was confirmed by a recent survey on socio-economic conditions of the Palestinian households, which revealed that 32.0 per cent of West Bank households' members needed emergency medical care but received such care later than appropriate (PCBS, 2009).

Amar, who is 38 years old, said about his coping mechanisms, "*I now do not work, and I live on my deceased father's monthly retirement benefit, which is around 903 Shekels. I get some assistance from time to time from charitable organizations. Also, occasionally my uncles from my mother's side give her some money, as my mother lives with me, and she is on a wheelchair, so she is like another child that we have to take care of. This in addition to my 3 children and my wife. We hardly manage with this income. I spend 300 Shekels on paying different bills and we try to manage for the rest of the month with the remaining 600. My wife cooks once a week instead of twice a week. Also, instead of buying two pants for my sons, I buy one and instead of buying a training suite, I only buy a jacket. However, out of the house, I try hard to provide for my children so they can live like other kids in their schools and don't feel deprived from anything, even if this will cost me everything. For example, my two sons sleep on one bed and my daughter doesn't have a bed to sleep on, but at the same time, out of the house, she has everything as her classmates.*"

When participants were asked about the role of their wives and their involvement in applying these coping mechanisms, most young men failed to mention that their wives are currently working or seeking an income to help their families. The only statement they offered that their wives are patient and accept the situation, as they know that their husbands are not responsible for this situation. No acknowledgment was provided for the wives and their role in coping with the situation, which was mentioned indirectly in other parts of the discussion. One man said, *"My wife; God*

bless her, she does not complain, as she knows I am trying my best to provide for the family and I do not have any choice. She does not say anything.. Another young man said, *"My wife is very patient; she doesn't complain as this is God's will and we can't do anything about it."*

In the women's groups, it was constantly mentioned that husbands are cutting down on their needs, such as smoking cigarettes or going to the coffee shops, which was considered as a coping strategy. One woman said, *"My husband stopped smoking a while ago just to save money and not to ask people for cigarettes."*

Women also stated that they are either working or seeking a job. A number of these women worked in the temporary job creation program implemented by UNRWA or worked from home in sewing, embroidery and babysitting. One woman said, *"I work at home in embroidery, and I also babysit for three children in my neighbourhood. The income I get helps in getting some food to the house."* Another woman said that she decided to go back to studying at the university and borrowed from relatives to pay for her tuitions until she gets her degree, so she can enhance her chances in getting a job.

Accordingly, women seeking education to get a better job opportunity could be considered as a coping mechanism. The majority of women do not see any problem or wrongdoing in getting a job so they can help their families, but to them the problem is in finding one. This is in line with the findings of the national data, which show that jobs available for women in the labour market either require high

education or little education. This is attributed to the structure of the Palestinian economy, which lacks a labour-intensive manufacturing sector and restricts employment opportunities for women to the agricultural and service sectors. Accordingly, women who tend to participate in the labour market either have very high education that suits the service sector, or none at all (Bank, 2008).

Younger men's failure to mention anything about their wives' attempts to get an income could be attributed to their male ego and their concerns of being perceived by other men as failing to provide for their families, which is considered, according to international literature, as one of the core attributes of masculinity. Moreover, this shows that younger men are demonstrating complicit attitude towards the dominate masculine style, which in this case is about providing for and controlling the family.

6.4 Psychological and emotional impacts

Older men

It is with no doubt that the deteriorating political and economic situation is affecting the psychological conditions of both men and women, regardless of their educational background or age.

However, older men showed more signs of desperation and helplessness than anger, which sometimes amounted to the level of thinking of committing suicide. This despair was illustrated by powerful words from Mohammad, who said, "*I spent all the time by myself. I don't like to be around anybody. I always sit alone in my*

bedroom and start to think. One time I thought to burn myself as all the doors are slammed in my face, and there is no way out. But God was merciful and I did not do it. I started to see a doctor, who gave me drugs that make me sleep all the time. I always feel bored, I always drink coffee and smoke cigarettes. When I don't have cigarettes, I go and borrow them from the neighbourhood store. I sometimes go and sit in the wilderness. The other day, I went there and felt asleep from 8 PM until 2 after mid-night. I don't talk to anyone about my problems as there is no one to talk to, even my brothers are in the same conditions, so why should I bother and talk about this?!"

Hashem, who is 54 years old, talked also about his need to be alone, "*Since I stayed home, I started to feel frustrated and sad so I keep to myself. I don't like to talk to anyone. I only want to stay by myself. Sometimes I get angry and start to break and throw things inside the house. Like the other day, I got so angry for nothing and I threw the food that my wife just cooked for the family. When I get like this, my wife and my children stay away from me, and I usually leave the house for a while. When I come back, my sons ask me why I did this or that, and I say it just happened and let's forget about it."*

He continued describing his daily routine by saying, "*When I get bored or sad, I go out and walk around for a while, but I don't talk about the way I feel to anyone, as I don't talk about things that happen to me to anyone. I usually get up around 8 in the morning and pray; then I have breakfast and go out and walk around for a while;*

then I come back around noon, and after I pray, I start watching television; then I eat and go to sleep. I try to help around the house, I make salads and sometimes I cook. I tried to look for a job with no luck, so I stopped looking, as I am 'finished' and life is almost over for me, so why even think of the future. If I had money I'd help my sons to get married and I'd go to Hajj. These are my wishes but I feel I have failed." Another older man from the focus groups said, "*When I put my head on the pillow, I start to think where I can get money, and how I can provide for my family. I feel my head is ready to explode. This never used to happen to me before."*

All this despair in these men's words illustrates the level of marginalization they feel from their families and society, as their inability to find work and provide for their families diminished their power and control within the household; and as they become unable to negotiate their masculinity, they choose to get disengaged and prefer to be alone most of the time. The age of these men is an important factor in the way they feel, as due to their old age they see no opportunity to improve their families` lives. At the same time, they feel they have failed, as they are unable to provide for or even help their children get a better future.

When the men were asked about the ways they spend their spare time, they stated that mostly they spend long time watching television or reading. Women, at the same time, confirmed these activities. However, there was a major difference between educated and uneducated men around this issue, as uneducated men, especially the ones from refugee camps, mentioned that they are more involved now

in voluntary work. One man said, *"We spend a lot of time in doing voluntary work so we can have value in our society."* This could be explained by the fact that voluntary work is more popular in refugee camps, in addition to the fact that camps as smaller communities and, therefore, men can do voluntary work so they can preserve their power over their families and respect from other men in their communities.

Younger men

This category of men expressed more anger and bitterness on the economic situation than the other group. As one man said, "*When I see other men providing for their families, I get so angry with myself, and sometimes I wish I do not have a wife or children."* The anger was evident in Amar`s words, as he said, *"This situation makes me feel so angry to the level that I want to kill someone. The other day I was at the municipality and I overheard two people arguing about a building project that the municipality suspended. I said you guys deserve this, and I wish to God that you never get the license. The guy was astonished and started a fight with me; if it wasn't for people interfering, I could have killed him, although I don't know that person and it is not his fault. But I feel that I hate every person that has a good job, because I deserve one as well. These people are not better than me. The bottom line is that if you don't have powerful people behind you to back you up, then you don't deserve a life. I became helpless lately and I stopped looking of a job in the last 6 months, as there is no point in all of this. I think to migrate to another country, but what about my family? In addition, I don't have money for transportations to go around to*

different embassies. Sometimes I feel like I am losing my mind. I am 38 years old and I did not achieve anything. I wish I did not exist on the face of this earth. My daughter will soon finish school, what am I going to do for her? How will she go to university when I can't provide her with anything?" Amar continued describing his daily routine. *"I spend most of the day out of the house, as I can't see my kids asking me for anything. I feel so small in front of them, so I usually stay for ten minutes and then I leave; I stay out all night and get back around 10 or 11 at night when I am sure that my kids already went to sleep. I always keep quite when I am in the house and if anyone asks me anything, I don't answer. I always smoke and drink coffee to relief my tension, and most importantly I try not to be alone, because if I am alone I will be hallucinating. So I spend time with my friends and talk about my problems. But I don't talk about things that go on inside my house. My usual day starts at 9 in the morning, when I go and spend a couple of hours at the labour union, and then I walk around in the city. Afterwards, I spend 4 hours at my friend's store. I go home for 10 minutes and then go out again until night time. I then go back to the house and watch television until 4 to 5 in the morning."*

Most men cope with their stress by leaving their home for the whole day, so they will not start an argument with their family members, especially their wives. The major difference between this group and the older group is the fact that younger men try to be around other people and tend to talk about their problems with their brothers and sometimes with close friends, who they meet on the streets rather than going to a

coffee house as they used to, but now they cannot afford to meet there, as they are not able to pay for their drinks, as one coffee shop waiter put it, "*Some men stopped coming to the coffee shop because they cannot even afford to pay the 5 or 10 Shekels for coffee or tea.*" Educated men, on the other hand, expressed their frustration from the situation, linking it to their level of education, which was supposed to secure them good jobs and income. One man who holds a Masters degree said, *"I studied in Moscow where I did my undergraduate and graduate studies in journalism, and I came back here and started to look for a job with no luck, as I do not know powerful people and I do not have connections. The hardest thing for me now is the fact that my family had spent so much money on my education, hoping that I will help them in the future, but instead I cannot even help myself."*

The fact that younger men become disengaged inside their homes, but on the other hand they tend be around their friends and share their problems, indicates that these men are still trying to be complicit with hegemonic masculinity. This is evident by the fact that these men do not share the problems they are facing at home with outsiders or even refuse to do so in order not be interpreted by other men that they lost their hegemony inside their household.

 Both women and men talked about reducing their social activities, especially attending weddings or other social events. where they are expected to give gifts or money. One woman said, *"My sister lives in the other part of town, and I think several times before I visit her, as it will cost me ten Shekels for the transportation.*

Can you imagine the bad situation we are in?!" Another man talked about ways he invented, so he can entertain and spend time with his family. He said, "*Every week, I take my family to the graveyard where we spend the whole day there reading the Quran and visiting our dead. This gives me and my family a great feeling, as I feel inner peace afterwards."*

One of the differences resulting from the women's group is that they try to hide their stress from their husbands. Women talked about constant headaches and weak concentration. One woman said, *"I go to the market and start to ask myself: did I pay for the vegetables I just bought? This never happened to me before, and it seems that I am losing my mind."* Another one added, "*As a result of constant thinking, I sometimes feel as if I am about to get a heart attack."* When they were asked how they release their anger and stress, most women responded by saying that they walk around and scream at their children.

All men and women respondents talked about getting more religious, as in their opinion getting closer to God and praying for mercy will heal one's sole and strengthen their ability to cope with the situation. One woman said, *"Sometimes, I start to cry heavily at night, and then I start to read the Quran and pray to God for forgiveness. This relaxes me and makes me feel strong again."* It could be assumed that the younger generation is getting more religious than the older one. This was evident from the in-depth interview conducted with an older man, who said, "*My older son is very religious and always tells me to stop going to the coffee house and*

quit smoking the water-pipe." The issue that needs further exploration here is the relation between the economic crisis and people getting closer to religion, and the possibility that this outcome will push Palestinians, especially men to become attached, or even regress, to radical religious forms that preach for ultimate masculine domination, and if this is the case, how this will affect gender equality in the Palestinian society. It could be said as well that a form of Islamic masculinity has emerged and is becoming the most popular within the Palestinian society. This type of masculinity is based on religious classical sources from the Quran and Hadith. This type of masculinity, like other types of masculinities, is not fixed and is in constant competition with other types of masculinities for hegemony, which produces codes of conduct that both men and women have to live by. At the same time, and as it changes over time, Islamic masculinity is relaxing some restrictions imposed on women; such as participating in the labour force, but yet it keeps its overall domination over women.

Participants in all groups did not mention any involvement in the different programs or activities designed to provide psycho-social support and currently being implemented in Palestine by a number of organizations. When one man was asked about this issue during an in-depth interview, he responded sarcastically, *"Some people invited me to participate in a program, which they said will help me emotionally. I did not go as this is all nonsense."* The fact that respondents did not mention their involvement in any of these programs could indicate that these

programs do not reach individuals who are most in need for these types of interventions. However, this issue is beyond the scope of this research, although it should be further explored and addressed in other researches and studies.

6.5 Families and households negotiating the crisis

Older men

Older men seem not to get any assistance from either sides of the extended family. Mohammad said in this regard, *"My wife doesn't have anybody; only her brother; and his condition is worse than ours. My children understand the situation as they don't have a choice. When they ask me for something, I leave the house, and when I come back, I don't know what to say to them. Our life is equal to the dead. I feel angry all the time; now I have high blood pressure from stress. The other day my youngest son asked for one Shekel and was so persistent, so I hit him and afterwards I felt so bad. I went and borrowed a Shekel from my neighbour and gave it to him. I get violent from time to time and I hit my wife, my daughters and my sons."* Mohammad continued to say, *"We always get into problems in the house because of my job situation. I even made my daughters drop out of school. When they attended a school around here, we used to be able to give them one or two Shekels, but when they started to go to secondary school, which is far from here, we became unable to give them 5 Shekels a day. I feel bad and guilty about this, but what can I do? My youngest son also stopped from going to school, although he was a good student; he*

now works in a factory where he sweeps the floor and cleans around. He gets 5 Shekels a day. One day, when he used to go to school, he stole one Shekel out from his classmate's bag. I got so angry and hit him and he said: What do you want me to do? I want to buy things like the other boys."

Hashem on the other hand, keeps struggling to keep control over his family. *"My daughters are more understanding and try to calm me down all the time. I know that both my sons and my wife feel bad about my unemployment, but what am I supposed to do? I don't have a choice. I know that under these circumstances, some men lose control over their home and wife, but for me, I am still in control."*

All participants in the four groups stated that the economic situation has negatively affected their relations with their family members. However, there was a difference between men and women regarding their sons' and daughters' understanding of the family economic situation. A man said, "*There is no difference between sons and daughters, they are all demanding in the same way. The other day my daughter asked me to buy her new clothes, and instead I brought her used clothes from my niece. She started to cry and said, daddy, you have changed and become a terrible father. I felt so bad and became depressed for a while, and after that, I left my home and started to walk in the streets."*

However, the majority of participants in the women's groups stated that their daughters are more understanding than their sons. One woman explained, "*My girls try hard to cope with the situation; they borrow clothes from each other, and try to*

calm me down or their father when we get angry and upset. On the other hand, my sons in general do not try to cope with the situation, but eventually they deal with It, as they do not have any other choice."

Another woman said, "*When I tell my sons that we cannot afford buying them this or that, they say if you cannot afford to take care of us, then why did you bring us to this world?"* Another woman said, "*At the beginning of the school year, I couldn't afford buying school uniforms for both of my daughters as each one costs 50 Shekels, so I bought one uniform and thought I will buy the other one when I get money. In addition to this, you have also to buy school bags and underwear, etc."*

The start of the school year is a major shopping season in the Palestinian society. Parents have to buy for their children uniforms, new clothes, books and bags. Different charitable organizations distribute mainly school bags to the needy in this season. However, and according to an unofficial discussion with Dr. Mohamed Rimawi, Director General of School Health at the Ministry of Education, this activity is not well coordinated and usually involves distributing bags in the same area. He also added that these organizations ignore other students' needs such as underwear or sportswear that usually parents do not consider as a priority, and therefore they do not buy them for their children, especially girls, which denies them the opportunity to engage in sports activities (7).

On the other hand, most men participants said that they leave home for the whole day or for a long while so they can avoid dealing with their family members`

requests for money. One participant stated, "*When my wife asks for something that I cannot afford, I start a problem about anything, so I can divert her attention and then I start screaming and yelling, before I leave my home. This way she will forget about her original request for a week or ten days while trying to resolve the problem that I have initiated."*

While most of the men said that their wives are very understanding of the situation, and are undemanding, most women were sympathetic towards their husbands and did not blame them in anyway. One woman said, *"I get crazy when I see my husband sitting at home without a job, and cannot even buy himself a shirt."* The majority of women agreed that now their husbands do not spend any money on buying clothes for themselves or any other social activities. However, they said that they spend money on cigarettes and coffee, which women see as a way for their husbands to release their tension and stress. These views expressed by women can be a direct result from the institution of the family, which is an important source of cultural beliefs about the social world, including beliefs about gender.

Younger men

Based on the narratives, it seems that younger unemployed men try to always reaffirm their masculinity with their spouses and children. Ahmad said in this regard, *"This condition has affected my spirit and made me depressed. I used to make 50 Shekels a day and used to have a good life but now I don't have anything. This situation is making me frustrated and angry. I start to take it out on my kids and*

sometimes I beat them up for no reason... I am being honest here! Afterwards, I regret what I did to my kids and I start crying. Some other times, I start destroying things around the house. My wife usually tries to calm me down and also calls my mother, who talks and listens to me.” Ahmad continued to talk about his relation with his children, *"My oldest son is 17 years old. I got him out of school and now he is learning to fix fridges at my cousins’ shop. My second son, who is in the 10th grade, wanted to drop out of school because he is not doing well, but we pressured him to stay. My daughter is in the third grade and she used to do well in school, but now she is not doing so well. I know that my situation is affecting her studies more than that of my other sons, because before I used to take her out and spent time with her, but now I don't take her or buy her anything. The other day, we were invited to attend one of my cousin's wedding and we could not go; she started to cry and said, ‘Why can't we go? We don't go anywhere anymore.’ I felt so bad about this but I don't have a choice.”*

Younger men seem to rely on the assistance they receive from their in-laws and tend to accept this without any resistance. This kind of support is not provided by the husbands` families who, according to them, have their own problems to cope with, and their families to provide for. However, women talked about the criticism they receive from their in-laws, blaming them for this situation. One woman said, "*My in-laws only watch what is happing to us from a distance and do not lend us a hand in any way.”*

One woman said, *"My family provides me with all essential food items once every three months."* Another woman said, *"While my husband was in prison, I stayed with my family for four years. This helped me to save the monthly salary I used to get for my husband while in prison, and from these savings, I was able to buy a small apartment."* The help that these women get from their families could be explained by different reasons, mainly religious reasons, which instruct men to provide for and protect their close female relatives even if they are married. This is closely linked to the concept of SUTRA, which literally means keeping things 'unexposed' and 'covered'. In this context, families are obliged to provide for their daughters, so they can get-by and their needs will not be exposed to society. Additionally, in this way, families are also preventing their daughters from asking for divorce, which, again from a religious perspective, is very much a hated option.

6.6 Masculinity in transition

Older men

Ayoub said, "*The only thing that keeps me going on is my religion and my faith in God. Otherwise, I feel bored all the time. Unemployment means poverty and it kills. I feel my life is empty. If you work, you get tired and come home and go to sleep. Now I can't sleep, although I always feel tired. I wake up at 5 in the morning and say my morning prayer, read the Quran, and then I go back to sleep. Then, I go to Nablus and walk around for a while and come back home around noon, and I say my noon*

prayer, then I stay at home for the rest of the day. I do little gardening around the house. I don't have friends; I only have my wife and children. I try to help in some domestic work, for example, by making tea for my kids. I myself drink 50 cups of tea a day." Ayoub continued by describing other men's situations, "*You see people sitting at the circle in Nablus waiting to get any type of job. The other day, I saw a Samaritan who stopped his car at the circle and 6 men jumped in; he said I only need one person. In the past nobody would work for a Samaritan. People don't have choices. I talk to taxi drivers who are in their 30s and they tell me they are single as they can't afford to get married."*

Ayoub`s narrative implies a form of hegemonic masculinity that is based on ethnicity, which in this case is the Samaritan men, whom Palestinian men consider subordinate group within the hierarchy of masculinity. This type of masculinity is changing as Palestinian men are now pressured by their economic situations to work for Samaritan men.

Hashem said, "*I stopped working at the produce market because I only made 20 to 30 Shekels a day, and with my hand condition I had to stop. I manage now with the help of my 4 sons, who all work in constructions, and sometimes they give me money when they have it, and if they do not, I manage by going back to sell produce on the cart. I used to have a better life when I was working as a carpenter, and I managed to provide everything for my family.*" Mohammed said, "*I feel so depressed as if*

there is a rock on my chest. Sometimes I do things around the house, such as sweeping in front of the house."

Younger men

Ahmad talked about the way he negotiated paying for his medical care. He said , *"I tried to seek help from different charitable organizations in order to undergo an operation for my back, and they said, 'Fine! We will help you. Just go ahead and do the operation and we will come-up with the money.' These men were lying: they did not give me anything and I had to borrow 2000 Shekels from my cousin. I also tried to get help from the Ministry of Social Affairs, who came to check out my condition and saw that I have furniture, television and other electrical appliances; they left and never came back. So my wife and I went to the Ministry's office to see what happened and the lady there said that I do not need assistance. I told them, 'Look at me! I am sick and I need an operation.' I almost started to cry. So another lady told me, 'Don't worry! I will follow-up on your application and see what we can do.' When I did the operation, the hospital told me that my health insurance was expired, so my wife requested an exemption for the operation from the Ministry of Health, who approved the exemption. Now, I need to undergo another operation and I do not know what to do."* Ahmad continued to say, *"I spend most of my time at home, because if I want to go out to Nablus, I need to take transportation, which will cost me 10 Shekels. Therefore, I say to myself with these 10 Shekels, I can buy food for my family. I also stopped going to weddings, as I have to give Noqut (a present in the*

form of money), and if I do that, it means that I can't buy my family food or anything else for a whole week."

Amar said, "*I have ideas in my head to start my own project, but I don't have any capital. I don't know where the future will take me. I don't own the house I live in, it is my family`s house and it is very old one. I don't help around the house. My main focus is on getting a job. My kids understand and if they ask me to get them things, I tell them to wait and be patient. My wife takes care of the home and my children are old enough to take care of themselves.*"

When participants were asked how decisions that affect the family are taken, both men and women agreed that decisions related to the family are taken together. However, a number of women stated that they are sensitive to the way they contribute to the decision making within the family, as not to make their husbands feel that they are controlled by women. At the same time, all women agreed that they have now the overall responsibility of managing the family financial matters, which is something they did not do in the past. This could be related to the inability of men to fulfil and provide for their family, and therefore they leave it to the women to deal with it. One woman said, "*Now we handle everything, and the entire family budget is in my hands and I am so cautious with every penny I spend.*" One can assume that this change is only temporarily, and it is due to the fact that men are trying to cope with losing their traditional role as the family breadwinner. Accordingly, they give the responsibility of managing all the family financial matters to their wives.

With regard to domestic work, all women agreed that men do not share any of the domestic work around the house. However, some said that men lend a hand in doing simple things from making coffee to cleaning vegetables. One woman said, *"Sometimes my husband helps me, but he says. 'I do this because I want to, so do not think that I am under your control.'"*

Another woman said defensively, *"God forbids, my husband does not help me and I do not want him to do so as this is my responsibility."* All men, regardless of their educational background or age, were in agreement with this and they insisted that they are helping around the house just because they want to. One man said, *"I help my wife more than before, but I make sure to let her know that this is only temporary."*

With regard to the issue of domestic violence, men talked about this issue very openly, stating that there is an increase in domestic violence, either towards their children or their wives. One man said, *"I would be lying to you if I say I did not become violent lately, especially when I have to cross checkpoints where I get humiliated from the soldiers. I come home and start to yell at my children and then my wife would interfere to calm me down and I start to yell at her and sometime I break things around the house."* Another man said, "*When I am sitting in the house and my wife comes and says hello to me and how are you doing today, I feel as if she is making fun of me because I am not working. I start yelling at her and telling her to leave me alone."* He continued to elaborate in a very emotional way, *"I never*

slapped anybody in my life, but the other day I slapped my daughter, I felt so bad and ran out of the house and stayed on the streets for the whole day."

On the other hand, women married to uneducated husbands did not talk explicitly about increase in domestic violence. They all agreed that it is the woman's role to support her husband in these difficult times. For women not to discuss gender-based violence openly could be related to the culture of silence, which means in this context that violence is a private matter and it should not be discussed in public. One woman elaborated on this issue by using an Arabic proverb, *"What you plant is what you harvest. If all the doors are slammed in his face, I have to stand beside him and encourage him to keep trying."* However, women married to educated husbands talked openly about an increase in gender-based violence, especially verbal abuse, but they indirectly did not blame their husbands as they blamed the situation that forced them to become violent. One woman said, *"Now they became very violent, as they do not have an income to buy anything for themselves."* Another woman from the same group added, *"Exactly, all this violence happens and we forget about ourselves."* The effect of the crisis on the increase in gender-based violence was also found in a recent survey of male and female heads of 1,100 Gaza households conducted between 28 February and 3 March 2009, indicating an increase in violence against women during and after the 23-day war (UNIFEM, 2009). Another survey conducted after the war on Gaza indicated similar results, as many men

revealed that they have been increasingly shouting at their wives and children and in some cases have used physical violence (CFTA and UNFPA, 2009).

Applying the gender hierarchy to these women's narratives, we notice that these women represent the emphasized form of femininity, as they are obedient towards their husbands and do not try to negotiate or challenge the gender order. On the opposite side, we also see the resistant form of femininity, which was described earlier by the Sheikh when he mentioned women seeking to divorce their husbands due to their inability to provide for their families. Both of these groups of women take their decisions based on their convictions and interpretations of Islam, yet they both use it in two opposite ways.

Moreover, four main points stand out in the narratives of both men and women. These are: men helping around the house, women controlling the household`s budget, women generating income for the family, and men using violence to reaffirm their masculinity. These facts imply that new gender roles and relations within the household are emerging and, consequently, a new form of masculinity is in the making. Focusing on women's narratives, we notice that women are playing a key role in maintaining and preventing the collapse of the hegemonic type of masculinity inside the household. However, the gender dimension of conflict needs further exploration with more focus on men and family dynamics, because without a proper understanding of how gender roles and relations are shifting, we jeopardize the goal of reaching a sustainable and peaceful post-conflict society.

Chapter VII: Conclusion and Recommendations

Masculinity was best described as being everywhere and at the same time is nowhere; it is like air we can feel, but we do not see it, known and yet unknown (Edwards, 2006:1). This research attempted to uncover the world of masculinity within the Palestinian context, an area that has been ignored in gender studies in Palestine. The research examined the ways that older and younger Palestinian men negotiate their masculinities in relation to losing their roles as breadwinners. The results raised a number of questions: Why does not the patriarchal culture inside the household get weakened in situation where men lose their breadwinner roles? Does political conflict encourage social transformation? Is there any other crucial factor that forces women to go back to their traditional roles?

Women gain new economic roles and to some extent some autonomy during conflicts. This might create new spaces to redefine social relations between men and women. However, this study showed that changes in gender roles during conflicts could be temporary and not sufficient to challenge existing patriarchal-based gender identities and relations. The fact that both men and women do not admit that changes in gender relation and roles are happening, in addition to the fact that there is a huge gap between these men and women discourses and their actions, is somehow sustaining existing patriarchal gender roles and relations in the Palestinian society.

The results illustrated the different forms of masculinities, including hegemonic masculinity that is centred around authority, power and money, in addition to

complicit masculinity that was evident in younger men's narratives, and marginalized masculinity that was clear in older men's stories. Moreover, the results showed emphasized and resistant forms of femininities that both based their behaviours on Islamic values and codes of conduct, which in itself is also a type of masculinity that is growing and gaining popularity in the Palestinian society. These results also implied that, in the Palestinian context, conflict sustains hegemonic masculinity and women encourage men to maintain their control and power.

However, the policies implemented by the Israelis, particularly since September 2000, have resulted in the continued denial of Palestinians' basic human rights, devastated the Palestinian economy, reduced to a minimum job opportunities and eroded other sources of livelihood. All of this is severely affecting men and will eventually produce new types of masculinities. This requires the whole society to provide men with alternative multiple masculine identities, which do not necessarily require men to become weak.

The research showed that poor households are most vulnerable in this conflict and have to respond by undertaking livelihoods strategies that include selling assets, going into debt, reducing expenditure by decreasing the quality and quantity of food and taking children out of school. These strategies place these families at a greater risk of economic vulnerability, as such strategies can damage current and future livelihoods. Conversely, the fact that these households need to apply these strategies to meet their immediate basic needs indicates that recent reductions in assistance due to lack of

funding are not justified in the face of increasing restrictions on movement. Cash for work programs, such as the one implemented by UNRWA, are particularly needed as people's main problem is loss of income or employment. While humanitarian efforts, such as this one, must continue to ensure that basic needs are met, greater emphasis must be placed on promoting respect for human rights and demanding accountability for violations of international human rights and humanitarian law.

One cannot expect radical changes in the short term, as we still need a more gender-sensitive analysis on conflict that includes men as well as women, and this analysis must extend beyond addressing immediate needs, such as food, water and health services, towards longer-term needs. In practice, a gender analysis of conflict interventions reveals a persistent lack of attention to gender concerns. Regardless of the stage of the conflict, mainstream interventions appear short-term in their scope, and designed to deal mostly with stereotypical needs and concerns. The Palestinian society seems to be far from taking this first important step. For example, PCBS has been recently preparing to conduct a national household survey that would collect major indicators in different areas, such as health, education, food security, and knowledge about sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS. This survey is designed to target women, children, youth and the elderly. Thus, men aged 30 to 60 years are completely ignored, as if this segment of the society is invisible. Since this survey is part of a pre-designed global survey funded by the United Nations, it seems

that reaching and working with men, let alone addressing their needs, is not as yet on the international development agenda.

Any analysis addressing critical issues and needs for gender relations in the Palestinian context must also seek to understand and address issues relevant to women, men and children, both in the public and private family spheres. While the centrality of the Palestinian family to Palestinian society is usually unquestioned, the strains and burdens on actual families and family members as they attempt to promote welfare, find work, get an education, and bear and raise children in difficult conditions, are less often examined. In this context, Palestinians are often characterized by researchers as people with great resilience, but this capacity is not infinite. The search for a stable and just peace is not only a political quest; it is the foundation for gender equity and equality.

End Notes

1. This paper was prepared in June 2008 by the author of this research as a requirement for a course titled (Non–Governmental Organizations and Gender) under the MA program in Gender and Development at Birzeit University. The two organizations that were examined are the Palestinian Family Planning and Protection Association (PFPPA), and the Rural Women's Development Society (RWDS).

2. It must be noted that most of the international literature reviewed for this research focuses on and links masculinity in crises with homosexuality, and analyzes its relation with heterosexuality. As this issue is beyond the scope of this research, it will not therefore be presented or discussed in a separate manner, but it will be incorporated in the overall issue of masculinity in crisis.

3. The research covered six areas in Morocco and used questionnaires and in-depth interviews with 567 men. Masculinity characteristics were grouped into four categories: psychological, moral, social, and political.

4. The focus group discussion was held by the author of this research on 12 January, 2008 as part of a research assignment for a course under the MA program in Gender and Development at Birzeit University. The focus group consisted of thirteen women between the ages of 30 and 40 years. The majority of participants were housewives with a high school diploma. All participants

were volunteers in a project implemented by Nablus Municipality designed to provide psycho-social support to women in the city of Nablus.

5. WASTA is an intervention in favour of an individual or group without adherence to proper procedure, such as the appointment of an individual to a certain post based on family relations or political affiliation.

6. This survey was conducted in January and February 2009 by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) in cooperation with FAO and WFP to assess the socio-economic and food security conditions of the Palestinian households. The sample size of this survey was composed of 4,760 households.

7. Based on this informal discussion, a proposal was submitted by MoEHE to different donors to provide these necessary items to Palestinian students.

References

Addis, Michal. 2003. Men, Masculinity and the Context of Help Seeking. *American Psychologist.* The American Psychological Association Inc. 58:1, 5-14.

Agadjanian, Victor. 2002. Men Doing "Women's Work": Masculinity and Gender Relations among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 10:3, 329-342.

Agarwal, Bina. 1995. "Gender, Property, and Land Rights: Bridging a Critical Gap in Economic Analysis and Policy," in Edith Kuiper and Jolande Sap with Susan Feiner, Notburga Ott, and Zafiris Tzannatos (eds.), *Out of the Margins: Feminist Perspectives on Economics*. London: Routledge, pp. 264-294.

Al-Ayyam Newspaper. 2009. Interview Mr. Ali Burhan, Coordinator of the High Committee for Nablus Shopping Festival 2009. 19/7/2009. Issue 4843, volume 14, p. 6 (in Arabic).

Al-Ayyam Newspaper. 2008. Australia Experience Five Suicide Cases Each Day. 10.10.2008. Issue 4574, volume 13, p. 16 (in Arabic).

Al-Jazeera TV. Nablus Under Siege. (in Arabic) http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/88E3295B-EBDB-46EE-9648-17C4F38A719A.htm#L1. Accessed on 24 July, 2009.

Babbie, Earl. 2004. *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth/Thomson Learning: Belmont.

Bank TW. 2008. *Implementing the Palestinian Reform and Development Agenda, Economic Monitoring Report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee*.

Byrne, Bridget. 1996. *Gender, Conflict and Development*. Institute of Development Studies. Brighton: BRIDGE.

B`tselem. Statistics. Fatalities. http://www.btselem.org/English/Statistics/Casualties.asp (accessed on 24 April, 2009).

Chant, Sylvia and Gutmann, Mathwee. 2002. Men-streaming for Gender? Questions for Gender and Development in the 21st Century. *Progress in Development Studies*. 2:269.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1999. Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence. In Moser, Caroline and Clark, Fiona (ed.). *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Press, pp. 13-29.

Cornwall, Andrea. 1997. Men, Masculinity and 'Gender in Development'. *Gender and Development.* 5:2, pp. 8-13.

Connell, R.W. 1995. *Masculinities*. University of California Press. p. 44.

Connell, Robert. 2000. Understanding Men: Gender Sociology and the New International Research on Masculinities. *Social Thought and Research*, Volume 24, Number 1&2 (2001), pp. 13-32.

Connell, R.W. 2005. *Masculinities, Second Edition*. University of California Press. 8:185-203.

Connell, R.W and Messerschmidt, James. 2005. Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender Society*. 19: 829-859.

Collier, R. 1998. *Masculinities, Crime and Criminology: Men, Heterosexuality and the Criminal(ised) Other*. London: Sage.

Clatterbaugh, Kenneth. 1998. What is Problematic about Masculinities? *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 1 no. 1, 24-45.

Culture and Free Thought Association (CFTA) and the United Nations Population Fund. 2009. *Gaza Crisis: Psycho-social Consequences for Women, Youth and Men*. (in Arabic)

Dealmy, Abdulsamad. 2004. Masculinity in Morocco. *Al-RAYIDA*. Vol: XXI No. 104-105.

De Beauvoir. Simone. 1972. *The Second Sex.* New York: Penguin, p. 295.

Denzin, Norman and Lincoln, Yvonna. 2008. *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Saga Publications.

El-Bushra, Judy. 2003. Fused in Combat: Gender Relations and Armed Conflict. *Development in Practice*. 13:2&3, pp 252-265.

Edwards, Tim. 2006. *Cultures of Masculinity*. Oxon: Routledge.

Eljack, Amani. (2003). Gender and Armed Conflict: Overview Report, Bridge: *Development- Gender*. New York: UNDP.

Fafo. 2007. *Against the Odds: How Palestinians Cope through Fiscal Crisis, Closures and Boycott.* Oslo: Fafo.

Gilmore, David. 1980. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Giacaman, Rita; Abu-Rmeileh, Niveen; Husseini, Abdullatif; Saab, Hanna; and Boyce' William. 2006. Individual and Collective Exposure to Political Violence: Palestinian Adolescents Coping with Conflict. *European Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 361–368.

Goodhand, Jonathan and Hulme, David. 1999. From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peace-Building in the New World Disorder. *Third World Quarterly.* 20:1 pp 13-26.

Herzog, Hanna and Yahia-Younis, Taghreed. 2007. Men's Bargaining with Patriarchy: The Case of Primaries within Hamulas in Palestinian Arab Communities in Israel. *Gender & Society*. 21: 4, 579-602.

Hume, Mo. 2008. The Myths of Violence. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35: 5, 59-76.

Hutchings, Kimberly. 2008. Making Sense of Masculinity and War. *Men and Masculinities*, 10:4, 389-404.

IASC, Inter-Agency Standing Committee. 2006. Women, Girls, Boys and Men: Different Needs – Equal Opportunities. *Gender Handbook in Humanitarian Action.*

International Labour Organization. 2009. *The situation of Workers of the Occupied Arab Territories. International Labour Conference, 98th Session, 2009.* Geneva: International Labour Office.

International Monitory Fund (IMF). 2009. *Macroeconomic and Fiscal Framework for the West Bank and Gaza: Third Review of Progress.*

IUED, Development Institute, University of Geneva. 2007. Unpublished Report.

Johnson, Penny and Kuttab, Eileen. 2001. Where Have All the Women (and Men) Gone? *Feminist Review.* 69:1, pp 21-43.

Jones, Adam. 2004. Humiliation and Masculine Crises in Iraq. *Al-RAYIDA*. Vol: XXI No. 104-105.

Kanafani, Samar. 2008. Leaving Mother-Land: The Anti-Feminine in Fida'i Narratives. *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 15:3, 297–316.

Kanaaneh, Rhoda. 2005. Boys or Men? Duped or "Made"? Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military. *American Ethnologist*, 32:2, pp 260-275.

Karam, Azza. 2001. Women in War and Peace-Building: The Road Traversed, The Challenges Ahead. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*: London: Routledge

Kuttab, Eileen. 2006. The Paradox of Women's Work: Coping, Crisis and Family Survival. In Taraki, Lisa (ed.) *Living Palestine, Family Survival, Resistance, and Mobility under Occupation.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Lindlof, T. R., and Taylor, B. C. 2002. *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Maclnnes, J. 1998. *The End of Masculinity: The Confusion of Sexual Genesis and Sexual Difference in Modern Society.* Buckingham, UK: Open University.

MA`AN Development Centre. 2008. *Nablus: From Economic Metropolis to Shrinking City*. Ramallah.

MAS - Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute. 2007. *Mapping of Palestinian Non-governmental Organizations*. Ramallah.

Mcilwaine, Cathy and Datta, Kavita. 2003. From Feminizing to Engendering Development. *Gender, Place and Culture*. Vol. 10 No 4, p 375.

Men`s Health. [Accessed on 11 October, 2008]. *Genetic Diseases and Conditions in Men*.
<http://menshealth.about.com/od/geneticconditionsinmen/Genetic_diseases_and_con ditions_in_men.htm>

Moser, Annalise. 2007. *Gender and Indicators: Overview Report*. Bridge: Development-Gender, UNDP, New York.

Nagel, Joane. 1998. Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations. *Ethnic and racial Studies*. Vol. 21, No 2. London: Routledge.

OCHA, UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. [Accessed on 15 November, 2008] *The Consolidated Appeals Process 2007*.
http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/CAP_2007_oPt_VOL1.pdf

OCHA. Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. [Accessed on 24 April, 2009). *The Consolidated Appeal Process 2009, A Summary.*
http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_cap2008_summary_english.pdf

OCHA. Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2009. *Gaza Flash Appeal*. Occupied Palestinian Territory.

OCHA. Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2005. *Costs of Conflict – Nablus after Five Years of Conflict.*

OCHA. Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2007. *The Humanitarian Impact of Israeli Settlements on Palestinians and Other Infrastructure in the West Bank.*

Oxfam International. [Accessed on 15 May 2009]. *Poverty in Palestine: The Human Cost of the Financial Boycott.*
http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/debt_aid/downloads/bn_poverty_palestine.pdf

Paci, P., 2002. *Gender in Transition*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Palestinian Ministry of Detainees` Affairs. [Accessed on 12 July, 2009]. *Statistics on Palestinian Prisoners inside Israeli Jails.* (in Arabic)
http://www.mod.gov.ps/detainees_day/ststitics.htm.

PCBS. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2007. *Population, Housing and Establishment Census 2007.* Ramallah, Palestine.

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2007b. *Labour Force Survey: Annual Report: 2006.* Ramallah, Palestine. (in Arabic)

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2007. *Press Release on Mother's Day March 21st* Ramallah, Palestine. (in Arabic)

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2006. *Palestinian Family Health Survey (PAPFAM).* Ramallah, Palestine.

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2006. *Domestic Violence Survey (December 2005 – January 2006). Main Findings Report.* Ramallah, Palestine.

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2006. *The Impact of the Expansion and Annexation Wall on the Socio-Economic Conditions of Palestinian Localities*. Ramallah, Palestine. (in Arabic)

PCBS, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. 2009. *Survey on Socio-Economic Conditions of the Palestinian Households, 2009.* Ramallah, Palestine.

PCBS-WFP-FAO. 2009. *Food Security Monitoring Survey in the West Bank* (National Household Quantitative Survey). Ramallah, Palestine.

Peteet, Julie. 1994. Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian Intifada: Cultural Politics of Violence. *American Ethnologist* 21:1 pp 31-49.

Petersen, A. 1998. Unmasking the Masculine: "Men" and "Identity" in a Sceptical Age. London: Sage.

Pilcher, Jane and Wheelan, Imelda. [n.d.] *50 Key Concept in Gender Studies*. London: Thousand Oak. New Delhi: Saga Publications.

Ruxton, Sandy (Ed.). 2004. *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Oxfam, Oxford, UK.

Sa`ar, Amalia. 2006. Feminine Strength: Reflections on Power and Gender in Israeli-Palestinian Culture. *Anthropological Quarterly* – Vol. 79, No 3 pp. 397-430.

Sa'ar, Amalia and Yahia-Younis, Taghreed (2008) Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 35:3, pp. 305-323.

Strauss, Anselm and Corbin, Juliet. 1998. *Basic of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publication.

The United Nations. *Question of Palestine*. http//www.un.org/depts./dpa/ngo/history/html (accessed on 24 April, 2009).

Tong, Rosemary. 1989. *Feminists Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Boulder: Westview Press.

UNAIDS. 2004. *Facing the Future Together: Report of the Secretary General's Task Force on Women, Girls and HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa,* The Global Coalition on Women and AIDS.

UNESCO. 2003. *Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework, Baseline Definitions of Key Concepts and Terms*. p 18.

UNIFEM. 2009. *Voicing the Needs of Women and Men in Gaza: Beyond the Aftermath of the 23 Day Israeli Military Operations.*

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 200*8. Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons.* http://www.unhcr.org/4a375c426.html (accessed on 24 October 2009).

UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). 2006. *Special Focus: Occupied Palestinian Territory.* p. 3

United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA). 2008. *West Bank Field Assessment*, pp 22-23.

United Nations Country Team. 2008. *Report to the CEDAW Committee: Occupied Palestinian Territory*.

Usta, Jinan; Faver Ann and Zein, Lama. 2008. Women, War and Violence: Surviving the Experience. *Journal of Women`s Health*. Volume 17:5.

Wetherell, Margaret and Edley, Nigel. 1999. Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices. *Feminism & Psychology*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 335-356.

Wharton, Amy. 2005. *The Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Blackwell: London.

White, Sarah. 1997. Men, Masculinities, and the Politics of Development. *Gender & Development.* 5: 2, pp. 14-22.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. 2005. *Masculinities: Male Roles and Male Involvement in the Promotion of Gender Equality, A Resource Packet*. USA.

World Bank. 2008.   *The Impacts of Israeli Mobility Restrictions and Violence on Gender Relations in Palestinian Society: 2000-2007*. Unpublished report.

World Bank. 2007b. *Two Years after London: Restarting Palestinian Economic Recovery.* Economic Monitoring Report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee. The World Bank.

Yaish, Ziad. 2008. *Impact of the Crisis in Palestine on Gender Relations.* A research assignment presented as part of MA program in Gender and Development. Birzeit University.

Young, Kate. 1993. *Planning Development with Women: Making a World of Difference*. London: Macmillan

REFERENCE MAP - as of October 2005
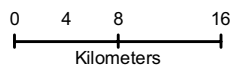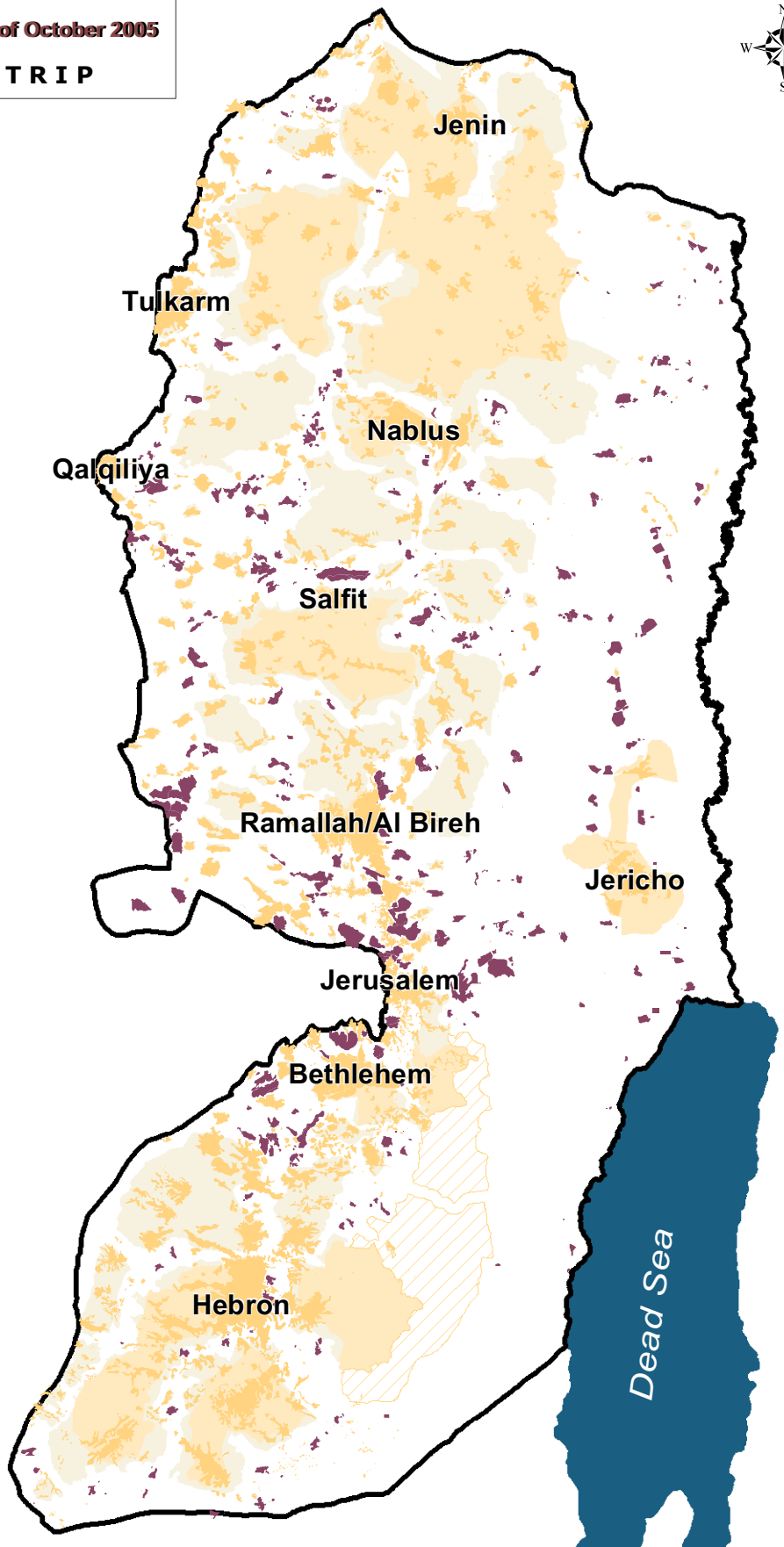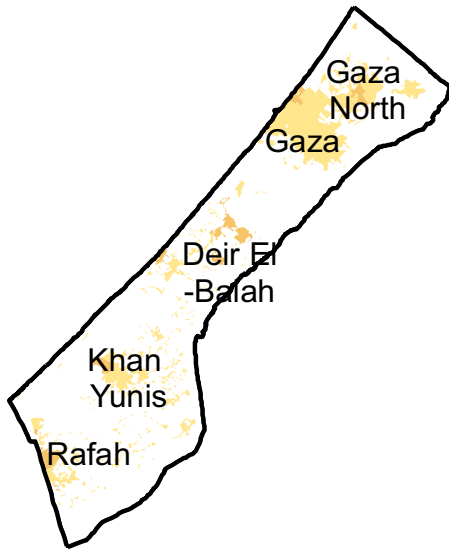
WEST BANK & GAZA STRIP

Residential Areas
- Palestinian Communities
- Israeli Settlements

Oslo Agreements
- AREA (A)[1][2]
- AREA (B)[2]
- AREA (C)[3]
- Nature Reserve
- Special Case (H2)[4]

1-Full Palestinian civil and military control.

2-Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control.

3-Full Israeli civil and military control.

4-Hebron Agreement.

Jenin

Tulkarm

Nablus

Qalqiliya

Salfit

Gaza North

Gaza

Deir El -Balah

Khan Yunis

Rafah

Ramallah/Al Bireh

Jericho

Jerusalem

Bethlehem

Hebron

Dead Sea

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

WEST BANK

JORDAN

ISRAEL

GAZA

DEAD SEA

0 4 8 16
Kilometers

West Bank Closures - Nablus

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

March 2007

NABLUS CLOSURES

Checkpoints	10
Partial Checkpoints	3
Roadblocks	4
Road Gates	11
Earth Mounds	31
Earth Walls	3,000 m - 5
Trenches	6,900 m - 6
Road Barriers	13,900 m - 14
TOTAL	**84**
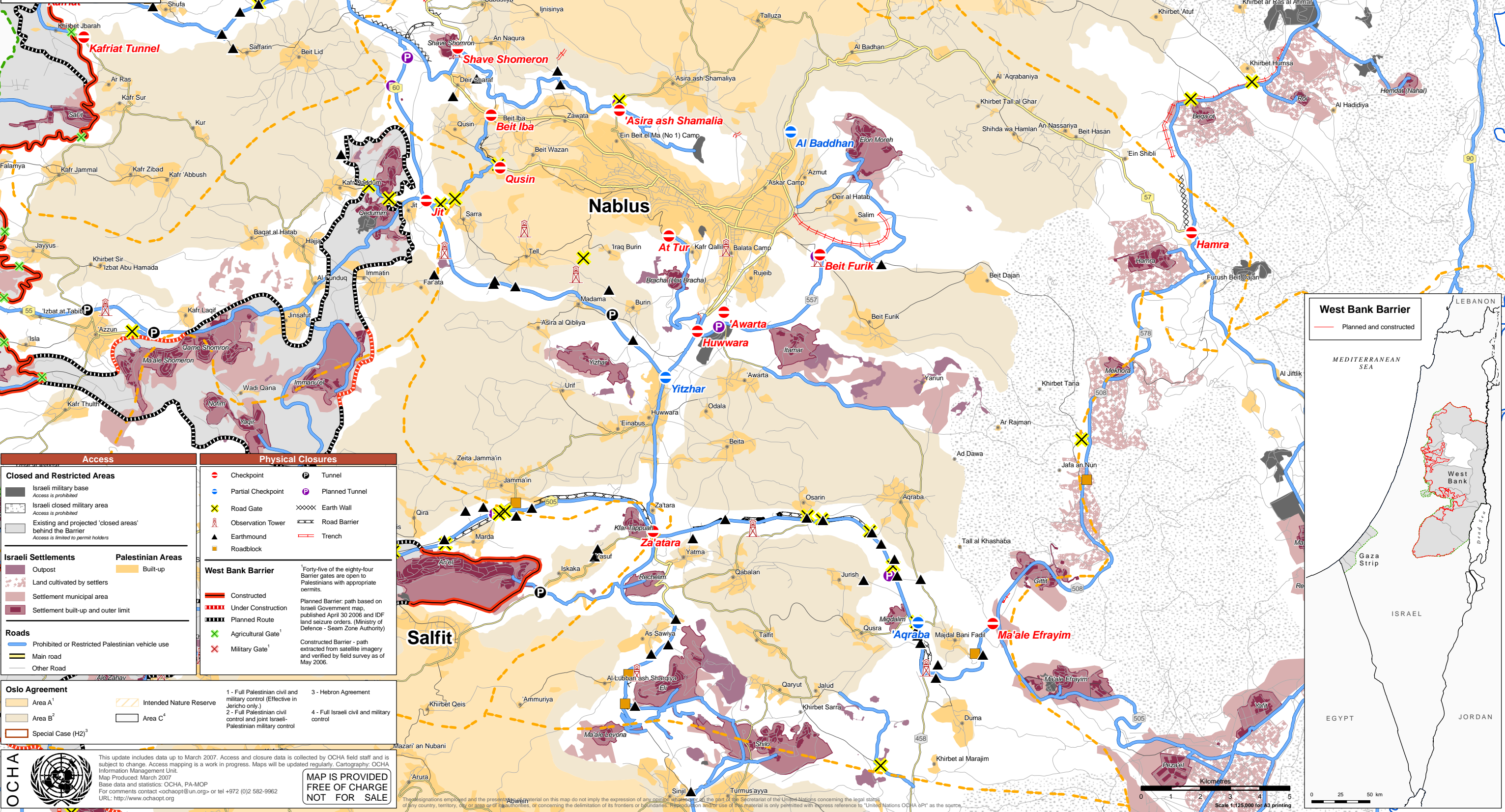
Access

Closed and Restricted Areas

- Israeli military base
  Access is prohibited
- Israeli closed military area
  Access is prohibited
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
  Access is limited to permit holders

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Oslo Agreement
- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

Physical Closures

Checkpoint	Tunnel
Partial Checkpoint	Planned Tunnel
Road Gate	Earth Wall
Observation Tower	Road Barrier
Earthmound	Trench
Roadblock	

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Military Gate[1]

Forty-five of the eighty-four Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

West Bank Barrier
- Planned and constructed

MAP IS PROVIDED FREE OF CHARGE NOT FOR SALE

Scale 1:125,000 for A3 printing

Appendix 3

<div dir="rtl">

أسئلة لمجموعة النقاش الخاصة بالرجال
متعلمون وغير متعلمون ومتزوجون وعاطلون عن العمل

الوضع الاقتصادي

- بداية بتقدر تحكيلي عن حالك؟ عمرك ..تعليمك..عملك.. مكان سكنك..الخ. ؟
- أيش الوظائف التي عملت فيها؟ ايش كانت آخر وظيفة عملت فيها؟ وكيف كانت حياتك من ناحية الوضع المالي ؟
- ليش تركت هذه الوظيفة ؟
- كيف تبحث عن عمل الآن؟
- وماذا حصل آخر مرة ذهبت للبحث عن عمل ؟

اليات التأقلم مع البطالة

- كيف بدبر حالك مع مصاريف واحتياجات البيت ؟
- هل اضطررت بسبب البطالة و قلة الدخل الى التقصير من الإنفاق على احتياجات البيت والعائلة؟ ما هي ؟
- كيف اثر هذا الاختصار على زوجتك ؟
- كيف أثر هذا الاختصار في الإنفاق على حياة الولد والبنت ؟

العلاقة مع أفراد العائلة

- كيف وضعك الحالي اثر على علاقتك مع العائلة؟ ذكور وإناث ؟
- من هم الأكثر تفهما من الأولاد؟

العلاقة مع الزوجة

- في أوضاع مثل هذه يمكن ان تتتغير العلاقة مع الزوجة ؟ هل هذا صحيح الرجاء الشرح ؟ ماذا عن علاقتك هل تأثرت؟ وكيف ؟
- هل الزوجة تعمل الآن ؟ ماذا تعمل ؟
- هل تساعد في مصاريف البيت ؟

علاقات النوع الاجتماعي

- هل تغير دورك في الأسرة بعد وضعك الاقتصادي؟ مثل المساعدة في شؤون البيت؟
- متى بدأ هذا التغيير ؟
- كيف تأخذ الآن القرارات الخاصة بالأسرة ؟
- بعد فقدانك لعملك المنتظم او بسبب البطالة هل استخدمت العنف اللفظي داخل المنزل أو خارج المنزل؟ هل استخدمت العنف الجسدي داخل المنزل (الضرب, تكسير الأشياء) أو خارج المنزل (طوشات)؟

العلاقة مع العائلة الممتدة

- هل تعيش داخل أسرة ممتدة؟
- هل تلجأ للعائلة الممتدة للمساعدة؟ الإخوة ..الخ
- عائلتك أم عائلة زوجتك؟
- هل هذا يؤدي إلى تدخل أو نوع من التوترات ؟

النظرة المستقبلية

- ماذا كانت مشاريعك/أحلامك عندما كنت بالجامعة ؟
- هل تحققت هذه المشاريع؟
- كيف تظن وضعك الاقتصادي يمكن أن يحل ؟

</div>

- ما هي خططك للمستقبل؟
- ما هي خططك لأولادك وبناتك ؟
- في المستقبل هل تريد أن تعمل ابنتك خارج البيت ؟ هل تريد أن يساعدها زوجها في شؤون البيت ؟

الوضع النفسي – الاجتماعي

- هل أثر وضعك الحالي على نفسيتك/ توتر؟ عصبية..الخ - الرجاء الشرح ؟
- ماذا تفعل للتخفيف من التوتر؟
- لمن تلجأ للتعبير عن نفسك؟
- هل أصبحت تتعاطي اي نوع من العقاقير مثل المهدئات و المسكنات؟
- بشكل عام هل انت راضي عن حياتك؟ واذا كنت غير راضي او تظن ان وضعك مقبول , ما هو السبب الرئيسي الاول لعدم رضاك الكامل؟

مواصفات الرجل الناجح

- كزوج او كرب اسرة اذكر لي ماذا كلمة الرجولة تعني بالنسبة اليك و رتبها حسب اهميتها؟
- برأيك ما هي مواصفات الرجل الناجح؟ الزوج الناجح؟ الأب الناجح؟

مواصفات الرجل غير الناجح (الفاشل)

- برأيك ما هي مواصفات الرجل الفاشل ؟ الزوج الفاشل ؟ الأب الفاشل؟

وقت الفراغ

- ماذا تفعل في وقت فراغك ؟ أين تذهب ؟
- هل اثر هذا الوضع على علاقة الأسرة الاجتماعية؟ زيارات؟ الذهاب إلى أماكن ترفية ؟
- ماذا تفعل طوال اليوم ؟ ماذا فعلت البارحة مثلا؟

الدين

- كيف يساعد الدين في مواجهة الأزمة ؟
- هل أنت تصلي يوم الجمعة؟
- هل كنت تصلي يوم الجمعة عندما كنت تعمل ؟

أسئلة لمجموعة النقاش الخاصة بالنساء المتزوجون من رجال
متعلمين وغير متعلمين وعاطلين عن العمل

الوضع الاقتصادي

- بداية بتقدر تحكيلي عن حالك؟ عمرك ..تعليمك..كم سنة متزوجة.. عدد واعمار الاطفال.. مكان سكنك..الخ. ؟
- أيش الوظائف التي عمل فيها زوجك؟ ايش كانت آخر وظيفة عمل فيها زوجك؟ وكيف كانت حياتك من ناحية الوضع المالي ؟
- ليش ترك هذه الوظيفة ؟
- كيف يبحث عن عمل الآن؟
- وماذا حصل آخر مرة ذهب للبحث عن عمل ؟

اليات التأقلم مع البطالة

- كيف بدبري حالك مع مصاريف واحتياجات البيت ؟
- هل اضطررت بسبب البطالة و قلة الدخل الى التقصير من الإنفاق على احتياجات البيت والعائلة؟ ما هي ؟
- كيف اثر هذا الاختصار على زوجك؟ هل اصبح يقتصر هو الاخر مثل عدم التدخين أو الذهاب الى القهوة؟
- كيف أثر هذا الاختصار في الإنفاق على أولادك وبناتك ؟

العلاقة مع أفراد العائلة

- كيف وضعك الحالي اثر على علاقتك مع العائلة؟ ذكور وإناث ؟
- من هم الأكثر تفهما لوضع زوجك الأولاد أم البنات؟ وكيف ؟

العلاقة مع الزوج

- في أوضاع مثل هذه يمكن ان تتغير العلاقة مع الزوج ؟ هل هذا صحيح الرجاء الشرح ؟ ماذا عن علاقتك هل تأثرت؟ وكيف ؟
- هل حاولت العمل من اجل المساعدة في مصاريف البيت؟ الرجاء شرح طبيعة العمل والصعوبات التي واجهتك؟
- يمكن ان تحدثينا عن نساء عملن في حارتك ؟ الرجاء الشرح ؟ وما هي الصعوبات التي واجهتهن؟
- ماذا كان موقف الزوج ورجال العائلة من عملك أو عمل نساء حارتك؟

علاقات النوع الاجتماعي

- هل تغير دورك في الأسرة بعد وضعك الاقتصادي؟ اصبح لك قرار أكبر او أقل مثلا؟
- هل يساعك زوجك الان في شؤون البيت؟ يغسل ، يكنس ..الخ؟
- متى بدأ هذا التغيير ؟
- كيف تأخذ الآن القرارات الخاصة بالأسرة ؟
- بعد فقد زوجك عمله المنتظم واصبح عاطل عن العمل هل استخدم العنف اللفظي داخل المنزل (معك ومع الاولاد) أو خارج المنزل؟ هل استخدم العنف الجسدي داخل المنزل (الضرب, تكسير الاشياء) أو خارج المنزل (طوشات)؟

العلاقة مع العائلة الممتدة

- هل تعيشين داخل أسرة ممتدة؟
- هل تلجأين للعائلة الممتدة للمساعدة؟ الحماة ..الخ
- عائلتك أم عائلة زوجك؟
- هل هذا يؤدي إلى تدخل أو نوع من التوترات ؟

النظرة المستقبلية

- ماذا كانت مشاريعك/أحلامك قبل أن تتزوجين ؟
- هل تحققت هذه المشاريع؟
- أذا اتاحت لك ان تغيري شيء واحد في حياتك الان ماذا كنت ستغيرين؟
- كيف تظنين وضعك الاقتصادي يمكن أن يتحسن؟
- ما هي خططك للمستقبل؟
- ما هي خططك لأولادك وبناتك ؟
- في المستقبل هل تريدين أن تعمل ابنتك خارج البيت ؟ هل تريدين أن يساعدها زوجها في شؤون البيت ؟

الوضع النفسي – الاجتماعي

- هل أثر وضعك الحالي على نفسيتك/ توتر؟ عصبية..الخ ـ الرجاء الشرح ؟
- ماذا تفعلين للتخفيف من التوتر؟
- لمن تلجأين للتعبير عن نفسك؟
- هل أصبحت تتعاطي اي نوع من العقاقير مثل المهدئات و المسكنات؟
- بشكل عام هل انت راضية عن حياتك؟ واذا كنت غير راضية او تظنين ان وضعك مقبول , ما هو السبب الرئيسي الاول لعدم رضاك الكامل؟

مواصفات الرجل المثالي

- ماذا تعني كلمة الرجولة بالنسبة اليك ورتبيها حسب اهميتها؟
- برأيك ما هي مواصفات الرجل المثالي؟ الزوج المثالي؟ الأب المثالي؟

مواصفات الرجل غير المثالى

- برأيك ما هي مواصفات الرجل غير المثالي؟ الزوج غير المثالي؟ الأب الفاشل؟

مواصفات المرأة المثالية

- ماذا تعني لك كلمة الانوثة ورتبيها حسب اهميتها؟
- برأيك ما هي مواصفات المرأة المثالية ؟ الزوجة المثالية ؟ الام المثالية؟

مواصفات المرأة غير المثالية

- برأيك ما هي مواصفات المرأة غير المثالية ؟ الزوجة غير المثالية ؟ الام غير المثالية؟

وقت الفراغ

- ماذا يفعل زوجك في وقت فراغه ؟ أين يذهب ؟
- هل اثر هذا الوضع على علاقة الأسرة الاجتماعية ؟ زيارات؟ الذهاب إلى أماكن ترفيه ؟
- ماذا يفعل زوجك طوال اليوم ؟ هل يقضي زوجك اوقات طويلة ام قصيرة خارج البيت ، الرجاء الشرح؟

الدين

- برأيك كيف يساعد الدين في مواجهة الأزمة ؟

Appendix 4

أسماء المشاركين /ات في المقابلات المعمقة

ملاحظات	تم تسجيل المقابلة	تاريخ المقابلة	مكان المقابلة	الاسم
	نعم	2009/3/17	بلدية نابلس	المهندس عدلي يعيش
	نعم	2009/3/17	محكمة نابلس الشرعية – المحكمة الغربية	القاضي صالح أبو فرحة
	لا	2009/3/18	مقهى الهموز – نابلس	عبد الناصر الحجار
	لا	2009/3/18	مقهى الهموز – نابلس	عنان
	لا	2009/3/18	مقهى الهموز – نابلس	علي
لم يتم استخدام المقابلة	نعم	2009/4/19	مركز حمدي مانكو الثقافي	حنان أبو حجلة
لم يتم استخدام المقابلة	نعم	2009/4/19	مركز حمدي مانكو الثقافي	سماح محمد تمام
لم يتم استخدام المقابلة	نعم	2009/4/19	مركز حمدي مانكو الثقافي	نور هواش
	نعم	2009/5/10	مقهى قصر النيل – نابلس	أحمد
	نعم	2009/5/10	مقهى الميدان	أبو ثائر
	نعم	2009/5/10	مقهى الميدان	أبو يوسف
	نعم	2009/11/7	مخيم عسكر	أحمد
	نعم	2009/11/7	مخيم عسكر	عمر
	نعم	2009/11/10	مقر اتحاد العمال – نابلس	هاشم
	نعم	2009/11/10	مقر اتحاد العمال – نابلس	أيوب
	نعم	2009/11/11	مقهى الميدان	محمد

أسماء المشاركين في المجموعات البؤرية
مجموعة الرجال العاطلين عن العمل وتحت سن الأربعين

تم التسجيل		تاريخ عقد مجموعة النقاش	مكان عقد	الاسم
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال ـ نابلس	أبو السعيد
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	بشار
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	بهاء
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	محمد عزت
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	عبد الحكيم
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	ابو محمد
	نعم	2009/6/10	قاعة اتحاد نقابة العمال	أحمد حجاج

أسماء المشاركين في المجموعات البؤرية
مجموعة الرجال العاطلين عن العمل وفوق سن الأربعين

تم التسجيل		تاريخ عقد مجموعة النقاش	مكان عقد	الاسم
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	أبو محمد مطور
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	محمد درويش
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	عبد الحفيظ
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	محمد العارضة
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	مالك حميدي
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	جمال درويش
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	أبو علي السعيد
	نعم	2009/6/11	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	خالد

أسماء المشاركات في المجموعات البؤرية
مجموعة النساء المتزوجات من رجال عاطلين عن العمل وتحت سن الأربعين

تم التسجيل		تاريخ عقد مجموعة	مكان عقد مجموعة	الاسم
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	بحريه شعبان
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	عهود محمد الشاكي
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	عهود الجبالي
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	أم سمير
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	اعتدال العريضي
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	اماني ابو ياسين
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	سمر عدوان
	نعم	2009/6/18	مركز يافا الثقافي	أم أحمد

أسماء المشاركات في المجموعات البؤرية
مجموعة النساء المتزوجات من رجال عاطلين عن العمل وفوق سن الأربعين

تم التسجيل		تاريخ عقد مجموعة	مكان عقد مجموعة	الاسم
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو- نابلس	انتصار الكيال
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو- نابلس	سماح اسماعيل
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	أم شادي
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	شفاء حبش
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	سحر أبو عطية
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	أم رامي
	نعم	2009/6/20	قاعة مركز حميدو مانغو – نابلس	رجاء أحمد

الاسم: أبو ثائر

العمر : 49 عاما

الحالة الاجتماعية: متزوج (4 بنات 2 أولاد)

الخلفية العلمية: ثاني إعدادي

الوظيفة الحالية: عاطل عن العمل

مدة اللقاء: 50 دقيقة

زي ما قلتلك انا بعمل رسالتي الماجستير عن وضع البطالة في فلسطين وخاصة في مدينة نـــابلس فحابب انا اسالك كم سؤال على اساس استعمل هاي المقابلة للرسالة ولنتائج الرسالة وعلى اساسها نطلع بنتائج وننشر هاي الرسالة وان شاء الله وتساعد على حل المشاكل بداية اذا ممكن تحكيلـــي على نفسك يعني اول هيك اذا بدك تسرد حياتك؟

زي ما حكيت اسال اللي بدك اياه وانا بجاوبك

انت مواليد مثلا؟ مواليد ال 59

وتعلمت لانو صف ؟ للثاني اعدادي

وبعديها ايش ؟ وبعديها بالخياطة ما انا كنت اتعلم الخياطة من المدرسة للخياطة وطلعت من التــــاني اعدادي وكنت متعلم واشتغلت عطول

اشتغلت عند ناس ؟ اه عند ناس

هاد سنة اديش كان؟

طلعت من الاعدادي عمري 6 سنين دخول مدرسة و6 للسادس هي 12 وتاني اعدادي 14 يعني 16 سنه, 16 سنة يعني كنت اشتغل مليح ,عمرك 16 سنة وكنت تشتغل

انا فتحت فترات فتحت فترة على حسابي وفتحنا من ال 83 تقريبا ل 90 تقريبا على حـــسابي عنـا مشغل وبعدها سكرنا وصرنا نشتغل عمال عند ناس بمحلت تانية،ا **وليش سكرتو ؟** صعب ننزل على اسرائيل بدنا ممغنطة وبدنا شغلات تانية

نخيط نجيب من اسرائيل بضاعة نخيطها ونرجعها كنا ننزل على اسرائيل

هاد ب 83 وبعديها؟

وبعديها ل 86 اشتغلنا انا وواحد بعد ال 86 فتحت على حسابي فتحت 4-5 سنين من ال 83 ل 86 اشتغلت كنا نبني في بناي وورطنا يعني وبعديها تخالصت انا وشريكي ومجبـــورين نكمـــل البنايـــة تشاركت انا واخوتي عنا ماكينات يعني وجبنا ماكينات والشغل كان متوفر منيح واشتغلنا بسرعه 6 –

7 اشهر سدينا حق الماكينات وكملنا تعمير الدار . **العمارة الكم؟** اه النا الي ولاخـوتي مـشتركين اه
وبعديها كملنا البناي والامور صارت تسلك كل واحد لحالو يعني لحالي ضليت بالمحل طلعت زيهـم
اشتغلنا عمال يعني محلات .وبعديها هاد ل 86 وبعديها لليوم هيك اشتغلت 7 سـنين بالناصـرة و7
سنين بعنبتا اه كنت **تاخد تصاريح وتدخل ؟** بدون تصاريح اه كانت مهي تقريبا قبل حـرب الخلـيج
بشوي اشتغلت بالناصرة وبعد حرب الخليج روحت عبيل ما هديت الامور 3-4 سنين رجعنا شـوي
كملنا بالناصرة وبعديها المعلم سكر هناك وجينا هون هون صحلنا شغل بعنبتا 7 سنين بعنبتا شغل وبعديها
نضل نتنقل من هون وهون ..

وهلاء عاطل عن العمل؟

حاليا عاطل عن العمل

ايش بتسوي بوقت الفراغ ؟..

صرت اتاخر بالنوم ل 9 – 10 وبنزل بقعد بالقهوة شوي هيك وبنخرج وبلف لفتين وبطلع عالـدار
فش شغل .

طيب كيف بتصرف ..عندك اولاد ما شاء الله؟.

مجوز بنتين عندي وعندي بنت بالسجن محكومة 4 سنين الا 3 اشهر ضايلها 4 اشـهر ونـص وان
شاء الله تروح .. **بانو سجن ؟** بهشارون .

كيف بدبر حالك؟.

والله تسليك هيك بندبر امورنا

يعني بالدين بالعيله ؟

لا والله احنا قاعد بالعيله بس كل واحد على قده ما انت عارف وبعدين يعني نـسك امورنـا بعنـي
بصرف الواحد عبهوى وضعو .

**متل ايش يعني بطلت تصرف على اشياء محدده؟ طبعا اشياء كتيرمن يخف الشغل بدك تخفف من
مصروفك ..كيف خففت يعني ؟.**

بتخفف عندي مثلا اهل الدار بتساعد عنا ماكنتين بالدار امرر بتجيب شقف تخيط تعات صلاة بتخيط
اشياء مثلا وجوه كنبايات وجوه مخدات للجيران عنا نسبة جيران مليحة يعني كلهم بـستكلو ينزلـو
عالسوق خواتهم يشترو اشي بيجيبوالبضاعه وتوريهم يعني بتسلك من هون لهون وبندبر امورنا

عندك ولاد بالمدارس ؟

عندي حاليا بنت بالجامعه عندي خالد الكبير 27 خلص السنة من الجامعه من شهرين خلص طلـع
من المدرسه من الصف العاشر التهى هيك كان بالمدرسه مش نافع خمـس مقصرات سـت
مقصرات بس وهو صغير زي ما بتقول 12 سنة 15 سنة استلموه الشباب بالمساجد صار بالمـسجد
يصلي ويصوم وصار يقرا قران ويقرا كتب وتشوق للعلم اكتر يعني ورجع يقول بـدي اقـدم يابـا
توجيهي بعد فترة اول سنة رفضت الفكرة لانو رح يسود وجهنا تاني سنة اصر عليي وقلي بدي اقدم
توجيهي قلتلو بدك تادي ادى وراح سجل بالتربية ونجح وجاب 58 ونجح بس ما بفوته جامعه عـاد

قلي بدي اعيد مادتين قلنالو مايكون وصحابو عملولو حفله وعاد نجح وجاب 64 ونص ودخل جامعة النجاح رياضة وتخرج السنة من شهرين 28 سنه عمرة

وادى من شهرين ثلاثه امتحان بالتربية قلي زبطت بالامتحان وان شاء الله بيصحلو وظيفه وبيتعين

والبنت بالجامعه؟

اه عندي بنت خلصت جامعه غير هاي وجابت 90 درست شريعه وتزوجت ..

هلاء عندك بالبيت مين ؟

عندي ولد هيك بالتوجيهي مش قوي بالمدرسة بس بدي اخليه يوصل توجيهي لانو ممكن ظـــروف المستقبل بلزم واحد على الاقلية يكون مخلص توجيهي ولو راسب والبنت عندي ضايلها فصل صيفي وبتخلص ..

عشان الظروف والدخل محدوود حاولت تقلص هيك اشياء بتاثر على الاولاد؟

والله بدي اقلص وعم اسلك بمعاش البنت معاشها 1000 شيكل بالشهر بالسجن كمـــان هـــي الهـــا التزامات كتير يعني توخد فوق ال 500 ال 600 شيكل في الها التزامات بعني بنسلك امورنا

وقت الاجتياحات كانلك دور انك تحمي وتحافظ على ولادك واذا كان عندك توجيهي ؟

والله في عندي بنت تروح كانت تروح وقت الاجتياح القوي كانت توجيهي وتغلبنا كتير صـــحيح وتـــروح وتيجي ويوم ياجلوه ويوم لا. كنا زي هالناس نسال عالراديو تعرف كل هالناس نفس الظروف

طيب بالنسبة لانو الدخل محدود و البطالة الموجوده هل اثرت على علاقاتك مع اولادك الي عمره 28 سنة لما بدهم مصروف او جيزه؟

والله بدهم بس زي ما تقول بتقطر بالقطارة هسه البنت اللي بقلقيلية البنت عليها جامعه يادوب تاخد مصروفها خمسه شيكل بهداك النهار انت تعرف خمسة شيكل شو بدها تجيب فيهم يادوب مواصلات يعني ولسه ما بكفوهاش هم ساكنين بنابلس الجديدة فوق بدها تنزل عالدوار بدها شيكلين ونص ومن هون تروح عالجامعه تحت حجاوي كمان شيكلين ونص هي خمسة شيكل يعني يادوب الولد ياخد مصروفه بس للمواصلات يعني بدها تقعد وتشرب فنجان قهوة صعب عليها .

طيب انت كيف شعورك؟

طبعا الواحد بيكون مضايق يعني لو الواحد معاه يعطيه ابنه خمسين شيكل كل يوم لو معاه.

وبتشوف في فرق بين البنت والولد بالتعامل مع الوضع المالي؟

والله صح لانو البنت بدو توفرلها مزبوط بدك توفرلها ا ما الولد ممكن تقله معيش ممكن يكون عادي **والولد اللي عندك توجيهي كمان بدو نفس الشي بدو مـــصروف؟كيف بيــصير؟انت ملاقـــي فـــرق بالتعامل؟**

والله الولد بدك توفرله والبنت بدك توفرلها كمان اخوها كان صغير يعني كان 16 سنة اشتغل وهـو كان بالمدرسه اشتغل عند نسيبنا عنده ملحمه .

بالنسبة للمصروف كيف بتصرف عليه؟

بعطيه خمسة شيكل باليوم هو بسويش اشي بينزل من الدار وبيطلع مشي انا بنزل وبطلع مشي في شغلات بيقدر الانسان يمشي اموره حسب زي ما بده

طيب هو هاد الوضع المالي والبطالة اثر على علاقاتك انت مع عائلتك ؟

طبعا بايعني متفهمة الظروف وامرار بيصير والبيت بدو والزلمة بيكون معوش ما اشـتغلناش المرة ما بتعرفش ما الهاش البيت الو التزاماتو هداك الشهر

طيب ايش بتسوي هيك بتصير مشاكل؟

عندي المرة متفهمة الوضع متفهمة الظروف مش مثل النسوان اللي الهم مطالب .

طيب كيف بيصير تفاهم مع الولاد؟

لا والله عندي الولاد الله يخليك يعني اغلب الولاد متدينيين لما يكون الانسان مدين بتتفاهم معاه كتيـر بالبيت حتى يعني ما بجاوبكيش وبيحكى معاك بادب.

طيب هاد اثر على نفسيتك الوضع المالي بتضايق؟

طبعا بضايق والاكتر زي زي ظروفي مثل البنت اللي نسجنت صار معي ضغط جديد من يوم مـا انسجنت لانوما فيش انسان الا بيكون يحسب ضايل يوم كذا وكذا اليوم لو تسالني بقلك اديش ضايـل ضايلها اربع اشهر وخمس ايام طبعا هاد اللي بيأثر على النفسية مش الوضع المادي .

ايش عشان تحسن نفسيتك؟

والله ما بروح لحدا على الفاضي لانو في ناس اجو عالمركز طريق الجامعه مركز الفلـسطيني والله كلو حكي فاضي

ايش بتسوي عشان تحسن نفسيتك بدل الواقع؟

بدك طبعا تحاول تنسى باجي بلعبلي طابق شدة مع صحابي بالقهوة بضيعلي ساعة زمان وبروح

طيب لو نرجع زمان لما كنت تشتغل وعندك محل نموذج الرجل الناجح اللي انت تتصورو؟

والله كنت اتامل نشتري ارض ونعمر الدار وحياة ابوي كانت صعبة واتهم تهمة دم وطلــع بـراءة وربينا على خراريف ستي واديش ابوي تغلب بحياتو وعاداتنا احنا الفلاحين تعرف كيف انو عيـب الولد يكبر ويصير عمرة 16-17 سنة وانه ابوه يشتغل فعلا انا كنت اسمع هاي الخراريف واحطهـا براسي يعني ما كنت 16 سنه لما شتغلت قلت لابوي انو يبيع العرباي كان عنده عرباي قال يابا لسه انت اول واحد صغير فعلا ايامها ابوي مخليتوش يشتغل وضليت اصرف على اخوتي والظروف ما كنتش زي اليوم كانت رخيصه الحياة يعني زي ما بتقول ارجع لورا عشرين سنة كنت طلع ال 100 شيكل انا طلع ال 100 شيكل تشتري شوال الطحين ب10 شيكل وكرتونة البيض شـيكلين ثلاثـه

تاخدها اليوم العكس بطلع مش بطلع سبعين وستين وشوال الطحين ب 100 شيكل بتجيبوش المية يعني شوف الدنيا كيف اختلفت اختلفت كلها كنت بالاول طلع المية شيكل وتجيب الشي شــوف مــا ارخصه اليوم صعب اطلع المية شيكل وشوال الطحين بمية شيكل واشي كرتونة البــيض صــارت بعشرين شيكل

انت برايك الرجل الافضل اللي عنده بيت واولاده ويشتغل وعنده بيت وايش كمان؟

والله اهم شي الواحد انو يعيش هو وولاده بخير ومستور واهم شي يكون عنده بيت الواحد وكل شي الحياة اول باول تمشي مش ضروري الانسان يكون فوق فوق مش ضروري يكون عنده سيارة ممكن يستغني عن السيارة بقدر يستغني عن اشياء الواحد كتير بحياته المهم يعيش هو وولاده مستورين اهم شي الانسان يكون سمعته كويسه بالدنيا

والرجل السئ مواصفاته اللي بدكش يكون هاد الانسان ؟

اكتر رجل شئ بالحياة لمن يوصل لدرجة العمالة والشرب والمشروب وهـــاي الــشغلات تحــشيش ومشروب سئ.

طيب هون بتيجي عندك صحاب بالقهوة بتحكي معاهم بيشتغلوش؟

اه طبعا زي يعني في اصحاب بيمرق عليهم 10 – 15 يوم فش شغل خلص وبعدين فــي اصــحاب بالبنا خلص الورشة فترة مثلا قعد 10 – 15 يوم لصحلو ورشة جديدة كشغل بهالعشرو خمــسطاشر يوم بيجوز يكون حوشلو خمسين ستين دينار اربعين عشرين دينار بيسلك فيهم بيصير شوي شــوي يسلك فيهم.

كيف بتعاملو مع الوضع ؟ باثرش هاد على حياتهم العائلية؟

طبعا في ناس بتاثر على حياتهم.

كيف؟

في الها اشي جبلي خاص فستان في ناس كل شهر نسوان بدها فستان بدها حذاء نحنا الحمد لله لاء وبعدين انا بيساعدني نحنا الولاد المدينين والبنات الدينين اللي بتلبس خمار بتلبس كاب يعني شو تحت الكاب شو ما لبست مش طالعه للشارع ولا بتخرج اصلاعالشارع شو ما لبست يعني بمشي معاهـا سواء بالبيت ولا خارج البيت تلبس هالكاب ومسترة يعني اما البنات اللي بيلبسن البناطيـل واللايـز طبعا كل يوم تلبس لبسه شكل حتى توري للناس يعني اللبس الديني بيستر عالبنت وبيــوفر عليها يعني الكاب تقدر البنت كذا سنة تمشي حالها فيه وتحت الكاب محداش سائلها شو اللي لابستو .

صحيح ..وصحابك اللي هون بييجو كيف المشاكل بيلاقوها مع اسرهم؟

والله بدخلش تقريبا بهيك شغلات عندهم نفس الظروف هيك تقريبا وبعدين وضعهم مستور.

طيب هيك من ولادك مين بتشوف اكتر الولد ولا البنت متفهمين بيتفهمو الحالة ؟

والله الكل متفهمين الولاد والبنات نفس الشي متفهمين يعني ابني الكبير عمره بحياته ما طلــب منــي اغورة يعني ممكن يميل على صاحب الو يعني درس توجيهي ودرس الجامعه اربع ســنين مطلــبش مني يعني انا اشعر لحالي اعرف انو بدو ليش لانو الشب لمن بيكون مدين لا يمكن ويستحيل انو لو كل مصاري الدنيا قدامو مستحيل يمد ايده ويطل على تعريفه وبدك تقدر ظروف ابنك انت كمان هون الصعوبه بتحكي لامه يعني عندي الولد الصغير شعنوت اكتر من الكبير كيف يعني بيكون بيدبر حالو يعني بخاوي على اخوه وامه وبياخد قرش غصب عنهم بس ال كبير لا مدين بشكل مفيش عنده مدين دغري دغري يعني مستحيل يجي يقلي وشايف ظروفي صعبه بدي اغوره يعنــي قــضى 4 ســنين جامعه مقليش بدي اغورة الا انا اعصر حالي بالشغل اشتغل بزيــادة اضــافي يعنــي لولاالاضــافه مبتوفيش مع الواحد بشتغل 13-12 ساعه عشان اوفرله اعطيه كل فترة اقله يابا خــد مــصروف وميرضاش يقلي يابا دبر امور البيت ومش مشكله انا .. وغصب عنه اعطييه لانو انا عــارفو لا بيكذب ولا بيسرق ولا هاد والشب مدين من وين بدو يجيب حتى الانسان ممكن فحياتــه اذا بيكــذب ممكن يدبر حاله من هون وهون وممكن ياخد من زميله ويقله بعد شهر وميسدوش بس مفيش عنــده هاي الامور كلها لمن بتكون عارف ابنك بتكون مجبور انك تساعده لانك عارفــه انــو رح يتغلــب بحياته الحمد لله وبعدين ابني هاد مدين كتير مش مظهري ماخد الدين دين ماشي على الدين الصحيح.

طيب والصغير التوجيهي كيف بدبر حاله؟

والله الصغير كان يشتغل كان احسن من الكبير وضعه كان يشتغل يوخد 1000 شيكل تقريبا عنــد نسيبنا باللحمة بس بدوش زهق هدول نسايبنا انت بتعرف الهم مصلحة بعطلهاش ولا دقيقــه الــشغل شغل عندهم فهادا بدو يفلت تعرف ولد بدو تعرف 16 سنه يعني بحبش الالتزام مية المية هيك خلص يضله للمغرب بعد المغرب بيروح كل يوم يعني زي الفطور بيصير عنده تنزل عالشغل الــصبح او في المدرسه بتروح من المدرسه على الشغل بدو يفلت يعني ساعتين ساعه يعني بعرفش يفلت عند معلمــه كان يشتغل لكن من جديد ركزت عليه انو ما يشتغلش قلت بلكي نفد بالتوجيهي.

طيب هلاء بيروح لوالدتو بيقلها اعطيني مصاري ؟

لاء بياخد من والدتو وبس وبيوخد بس الاشي هداك النهار 4-3 شيكل طبعا لمن انا بقبض بقلو خــد يابا 20 – 30 شيكل على اساس يسلك حاله فيهم اسبوع اسبوعين فيهم .

طيب العيله الي ساكنين وفي اخوتك طبعا بيشتغلو ووضعهم احسن؟

والله وضع احسن مفيش حدا احسن في واحد بالسلطة كان محبوس ولولا حظه كان انحبس 12 سنه قضى منهم 8 سنين طلع على اساس التبادل ودخل بالسلطة ومعاشه مليح اخد رتبة مــلازم اول 3 الاف شــيكل هسه هو لولا معاشه كان اسوء واحد لانو هو زي امي هو طلع من الصف السادس اسمه بيعرفش واجا الحظ معاه على حبسته في الي اخ معلم كبير هاد التاني وضعه مليح مش لانو معلم لانو المادة اللي بيدرسها رياضيات مطلوبه وخصوصي بيدرسها والخصوصي بيطلع احسن من معاشه.

يعني بتداين منه؟

لا والله كل واحد ظروفه على قده على اساس انو عنده ولد بالجامعه وعنده ولد طلععه بره ودفع عليه درس بابو ظبي صرف عليه درس 4 سنين بالجامعه وضل هناك وتجوز هناك وبعتلو وبعدين اخوي هاد تغلب بحياته عنده ولد تصاوب وهو 4 سنين باب الدار قاعد هو والبنت المحبوسه ومـا وعيـت عليه الا وهو وقع عالارض مالو اجت رصاصه من المستوطنه وتغلب فيه اخدناه على عمان ولليوم ابنه عنده عجز 55 بالمية

الظروف اللي عندك ما لحظتش تدخل صار من العيله اخوتك بحياتك؟

لا والله محداش عنا بيدخل بيدخل للاحسن يعني ممكن ابني الكبير هاد هو بيدخل بالدار كلها كيـف بيربي ولادهم وولاد اختي بياخدهم بيعمللهم دورات حتى مش بس ولادنا ولاد بالـشارع بـيعمللهم دورات حفظ قران وتدريس وكل يوم بدك تجي حافظ واجبك احسن المدرسه

برايك ايش الحل وايش تطمح؟

احنا نطمح انو الحاله النفسية للناس تتحسن

انت ايش بدك امنيتك الوضع يتحسن؟

والله اهم شي الوطن بتحرر ويكون عنده وطن وبيكون كل شي سليم ليش لانه لما بيتحـرر وطنـه بيكون عنا حكومة خايفه على مصلحة الشعب بتكون الحكومة نظيفه انت عارف وضعنا طول عمرنا سرقه وحرامية يعني كل انسان مش بمنصبه الصحيح احنا بدنا اهم شي يكون الوضع سليم لـشعبنا ووضع الشي الصحيح بمكانه الصحيح

لما انت تعرف توخد حقك اللي تستاهله انت بتكون مبسوط هسه انا لو بدي انزل اعمل ورقـه مـن مستشفى او من دائرة حكومية اذا كان الك واسطة بتعملها

زي بنتي تخرجت صارلها سنتين ثلاثه تخرجت جابت 90 معدلها شريعه هي صارلها سنتين بتقـدم امتحان التربية وما الهاش وظيفه ليش لانو الموقف السياسي لانها عم بتصلي وبتصوم اتجاها دينـي هاي ما الهاش وظيفه غيرها ممكن معدلها 60 – 70 وتوظفت وطبعا انت لامسه والكل لامس هاي الامور

انت قلت انه الواحد ياخد حقه من مجتمعه ايش حقك؟

مهو حق ولادك هو حقك طبعا تعبره يعني انا تعبت وصرفت على بنتي يعني على قليل لو سـنتين صارلها لو توظفت بتساعد زوجها يعني

المهم حق الحق بالوظيفه انو يكون الواحد عنده عمل؟

اه طبعا العمل اهم من أي شئ امرار بيضحكو علينا بيجي الدعم بيحكيلك الجيران وزعو قرض ولا شغله هاد كله حكي تافه بعني وفرلي شغل وعمل احسن من هاي الامور بدناش كل هاي الامور ولا بنطلع على هاي الامور

انت شو رايك بهاي المساعدات؟

انا رايي انو بدناش هاي الامور بس يتوفر الشغل طبعا افضل وكمان بتبين زي الشحدة بتبين انت لما بتروح عندهم تعال عالدور امضي ورقه وكل الناس شايفتك بتكون خجلان من الوضع بس مضطررلو بس لو في عمل بدكيش هاي الامور

للتذكير اديش عندك اولاد؟

عندي 6 اولا مع البنا 4 بنات وولدين والبنات وحده بالسجن وتنتين متزوجات وحده بالجامعه الولدين واحد تخر ج من شهرين وواحد توجيهي

والبيت ملك؟

اه للوالد شقق احنا واخوتي ساكنين

ابو ثائر الاسم الاولاني فريد عبد اللطيف نجم