

**AN OVERVIEW OF PALESTINIAN PUBLIC
ASSESSMENT OF ITS NEEDS AND
CONDITIONS FOLLOWING THE RECENT
ISRAELI MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE
WEST BANK**

(March – April 2002)



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(Report IV, April 2002)**

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Cover photo:

A damaged ambulance after Israeli retreat in Ramallah (I. Daneels)

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study follows three previous reports on the Palestinian living conditions in the Occupied and Autonomous Territories and the impact of the international and local aid during the second Intifada. The three reports were released in March, August and December 2001, and they respectively covered the period from 1st October 2000 to 31st January 2001, from 1st February to mid-June 2001 and from mid-June to 31st October 2001 (see in the references: Bocco, Brunner and Rabah 2001a, and 2001b; Bocco, Brunner, Daneels and Rabah 2001).

During the months of January and February 2002, the team was beginning to prepare a 4th report, whose scope was broader than the previous ones in terms of questions and period of time surveyed, as well as International Agencies involved in the funding of the new study. A new poll was planned for early May. However, due to the evolution of the crisis in the Autonomous and Occupied Palestinian Territories in March and especially April, the team put the new project on hold.

By early April, The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Swiss Humanitarian Aid contracted the IUED (Graduate Institute of Development Studies of the University of Geneva) to conduct an “emergency” poll in the West Bank. The survey was intended to provide stakeholders with an overview of the perceptions of the Palestinian urban, rural and refugee population on the effects of the Israeli army operations in the West Bank, and how these have been affecting the Palestinians’ living conditions.

The IUED assigned a small team of experts composed of Dr. Riccardo Bocco (professor of political sociology and deputy director at IUED) as team leader, Mr. Matthias Brunner (lecturer in political science methodology at the Department of Political Science of the University of Geneva, and director of CyberProjects), Dr. Isabelle Daneels (political scientist and independent researcher), and Mr Jamil Rabah (poll specialist and consultant for the SDC Office Gaza and West Bank).

The poll’s questionnaire (see Annex 1 for the English version) was drafted by the above-mentioned experts’ team and reviewed by a number of stakeholders who individually pointed out variables pertinent to drawing an objective assessment of the needs and conditions of the Palestinian population in the West Bank. We are particularly grateful to Mrs Katy Attfield (Assistance Coordinator, ICRC, Jerusalem), Mr Bertrand Bainvel (Programme Officer, UNICEF, Jerusalem), Mr Guy Siri (Deputy Director of UNRWA Operations & Field Technical Officer, West Bank Field Office, Jerusalem), Mrs Zeina Mogarbel Valles (Programme Officer, European Commission, Jerusalem), Dr. Hussam Sharqawi (Emergency Response Coordinator, Palestine Red Crescent Society, Ramallah), Dr. Elia Zureik (Professor of Sociology at Queen’s University, Kingston, Canada), Pierre-Yves Fux (Political Division IV, Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bern).

The IUED subcontracted the JMCC (Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre) for conducting the poll. The survey was conducted by phone between April 15th and 23rd under the supervision of Mr Ghassan Khatib, director of the JMCC. This study could not have been conducted without the cooperation of the Palestinian Telecommunications Company (PALTEL) and the Palestinian Mobile Phone Company (JAWWAL). We are particularly grateful to Mr Walid Najjab, Mr Hakam Kanafani and Mr Ahmad Ouweida for their most appreciated efforts to select and facilitate the supply of random phone numbers. While their companies were targeted by the Israeli army operations and their services were disrupted, they worked relentlessly and voluntarily around the clock to salvage what had become an almost impossible task.

Special thanks are also due to the group of JMCC fieldworkers who turned "phoneworkers" for this somewhat special survey, as under the prevailing circumstances it was not possible to conduct a survey except by phone. Their commitment has also been rewarded by the population surveyed, who generally showed a great enthusiasm and cooperation in answering the questions.

Finally, we are particularly thankful to Mr. Daniel Meier (research assistant at IUED), who participated in the collection of secondary sources of information and was able to provide quickly the needed summary of the information available on the internet.

The experts' work was conducted between Geneva, Jerusalem and Ramallah under difficult circumstances. The secondary sources of information utilized in this report mainly cover the period between early March and late April 2002. The authors of the report do not pretend to have included all the available sources of information: the time constraints and the practical problems resulting from the still ongoing military operations have limited the access to wider data under production by local and international stakeholders.

The data were collected and entered by the JMCC, while the data cleaning, weighting and interpretation are the sole responsibility of the authors of this report.

Geneva, 30th April 2002

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INTRODUCTION

During the past two months, the violence of the latest Palestinian-Israeli confrontations has reached unprecedented peaks. Though it is still too early to present a detailed and comprehensive assessment¹ of the impact of the Israeli Defense Forces' (IDF) operations in the Occupied and Autonomous Palestinian Territories (OAPT), this report aims at presenting the reactions and needs expressed by the population sample chosen for our poll² in the week that the military operations in the West Bank became less intense. While the main results of the survey are presented in the following chapters, this introduction has three main objectives. Firstly, we will recall the main events between the beginning of March and late April; secondly, we will offer a synthesis of the information made available by a number of experts and humanitarian organizations during or in the immediate aftermath of the Israeli army's operations; thirdly, we will briefly sketch some main trends affecting Israeli and Palestinian societies, in a situation characterized by a local and international political stalemate.

The Downward Spiral of Violence

On March 5th 2002, the Israeli Prime Minister declared that: "It won't be possible to reach an agreement with the Palestinians before the Palestinians are hit hard. Now they have to be hit. If they aren't badly beaten, there won't be any negotiations. Only after they are beaten we will be able to conduct talks"³.

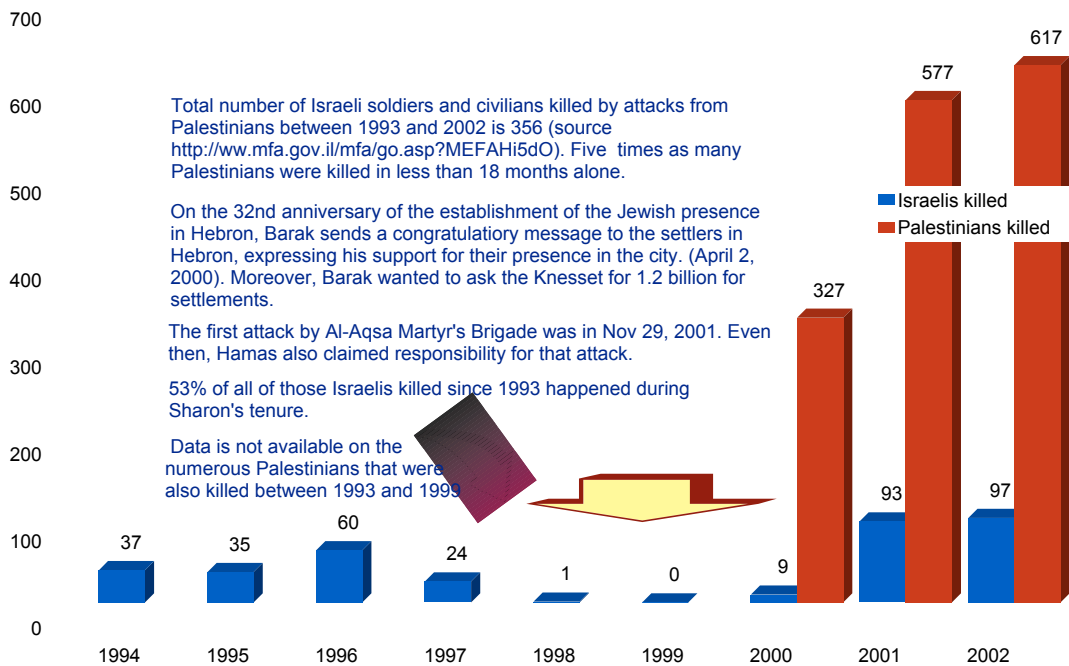
This declaration came in a context marked by an increase in violence and counter-violence which intensified after almost three years of relative calmness (see figure 1 below) and the escalation of Israeli measures against the Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority in the wake of a surge in Palestinian resilience against the occupation, and the subsequent increase in the suicide attacks against Israelis.

¹ It is also important to mention that the Palestinian institutions, like the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), who usually gather and analyze data in the OAPT have been unable to operate under the siege conditions imposed by the Israeli army during the months of March and April. Actually, the PCBS' offices have already been victim of an IDF incursion during the month of December and an important part of their equipment destroyed.

² The focus of this report on the West Bank does not implicitly mean that during the period of March and April 2002 the situation in the Gaza Strip has turned "calm". The analysis of the situation there will be the object of a study in the near future.

³ See the daily newspaper Ha'aretz, 5 March 2002.

Figure 1 Deaths among Palestinians and Israelis



In the days preceding Mr. Ariel Sharon statement, the IDF had actually began a sustained three-week campaign. Several refugee camps in the West Bank have been the main targets of the “Colorful Journey Operation”. By the end of March, while the IDF had already declared having met its objectives and put a halt to its offensive, the Israeli Prime Minister responded negatively to a Saudi proposal – adopted by the Arab Summit in Beirut - for a comprehensive resolution of the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict based on international law⁴. After a suicide-bomber’s attack⁵ in Netanya on March 27th, Mr. Ariel Sharon declared that Palestinian President Yasser Arafat was an enemy of Israel and that Israel was in a state of war.

Starting from March 29th the Israeli army launched a new campaign – “Operation Defensive Shields” – aiming at the continuation of the “terrorist infrastructure’s eradication” in the OAPT. On the same day, the IDF tanks re-occupied Ramallah and began setting a very severe siege around the Palestinian Authority President’s headquarters⁶. On March 31st, following another suicide-bomber’s attack in a Haifa restaurant⁷, Ramallah was officially declared “closed military zone”.

⁴ On the Israeli government’s refusal of the Saudi peace plan, BADIL (2002d) quotes former Israeli Prime minister Ehud Barak who told CNN that « it is not enough for the Arab States to recognize Israel. They must recognize it as a Jewish State. Israel is not a normal democracy in the Middle East. It is a State for the Jewish people ».

⁵ With 28 people killed and officially perpetrated by Hamas activists, the Netanya attack scored the heaviest death toll since the beginning of the second Intifada.

⁶ The UN Security Council resolution 1402 of March 30th asking the IDF to pull back was not implemented.

⁷ In the attack, 16 people were killed.

On April 1st, Tulkarem and Qalqilya were reoccupied, on April 2nd the IDF entered Bethlehem and the headquarters of the Palestinian Preventive Security in Ramallah were seized. On the same day, Mr. Arafat rejected Mr. Sharon's proposal of leaving definitively Palestine for a foreign country. The Israeli army entered Nablus on April 3rd, around 50 tanks arrived in Jenin and around 200 people took refuge in the Bethlehem Church of Nativity. Starting from April 6th, the IDF launched a massive attack on Jenin refugee camp, lasting almost two weeks. The Israeli military forces pulled back from Qalqilya and Tulkarem on April 9th; the day after 8 Israelis were killed in another suicide-bombing attack near Haifa. On April 11th the IDF declared having imprisoned more than 4000 Palestinians since the beginning of the operation "Defensive Shields".

The US Secretary of State, Mr. Colin Powell, arrived in Jerusalem on April 12th. While the IDF was continuing its operations in the Jenin refugee camp and several Palestinian organizations were denouncing a "massacre", a suicide-bomber's attack in West Jerusalem killed 7 people. Mr. Arafat condemned "the terrorist actions against the civilian populations, be they Israelis or Palestinians". On April 14th Mr. Powell met separately with the President of the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli Prime Minister: the latter suggested that the "terrorists" retrenched in the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem should be judged in Israel or banned to exile in a third host country.

On April 15th a first group of ICRC representatives was allowed in the Jenin refugee camp, while Marwan Barghouti, leader of Fateh in the West Bank and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council was captured. The IDF pulled back from Jenin refugee camp on April 19th, and the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1405 providing for the establishment of a "fact-finding commission" on the events in Jenin. The Israeli military commander-in-chief declared the end of the first phase of the "Defensive Shields Operation": the Israeli troops pulled back from Nablus and larger parts of Ramallah, but the siege around Yasser Arafat's Headquarters was not lifted⁸.

Towards a humanitarian catastrophe?

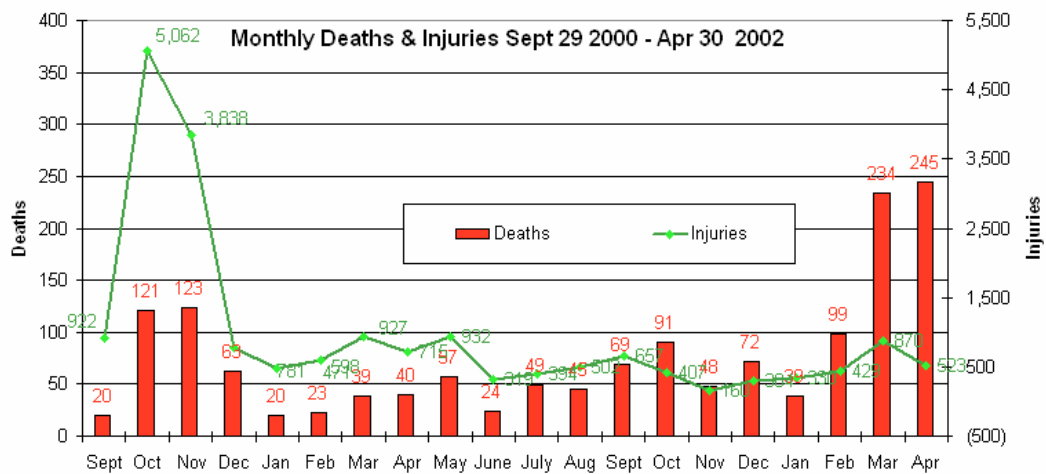
The Israeli military offensive in the West Bank has certainly been unprecedented in its severity. Reports from international and local humanitarian organizations show that a vast majority of the Palestinian population has been harmed by Israel's military campaign. The widespread civilian suffering includes lack of physical safety, deaths and injuries, food and water shortages, lack of access to emergency and regular medical care, damage to and destruction of homes and private property, as well as damage

⁸ In most cases, the retreat of the Israeli army has basically meant the lifting of the curfew and the possibility for the urban population to circulate again in the towns that had been re-occupied, but the mobility of the civilians remains severely curtailed outside most cities and villages, often still encircled by Israeli tanks. Following an attack by armed Palestinians in the Jewish settlement of Adora and the killing of four settlers on April 27th, two days later the IDF has re-occupied Hebron.

to and destruction of civilian infrastructure (electricity, sewage, roads, public institutions' buildings, etc...). Unemployment is at soaring heights and the number of people living below the poverty line has dramatically increased. Refugees, women and children have been particularly vulnerable to the IDF's operations (BADIL 2002a). In the space of a few weeks, the progress made over the years of the "Oslo Peace Process" in developing viable, independent institutions, along with any symbol of Palestinian autonomy, have been annihilated.

According to the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS), from the beginning of the Intifada up to April 30th 2002, the total number of deaths and injuries in the OAPT is of 1,521 and 19,141 respectively⁹ (see figure 2 and <http://www.Palestinercs.org>). Although the number of deaths could still be higher for the month of April in particular, the graphic below clearly shows that the last two months have scored the heaviest death toll since the beginning of the uprising. During the month of March, 234 Palestinians have been killed and 870 were injured (480 of whom by live ammunition); in April the people killed number 245 and the injured 523.

Figure 2 Monthly deaths and injuries, Sept. 29 2000 – Apr. 30 2002



During the IDF's campaign, many local and international humanitarian and human rights organizations have denounced several forms of violation of international humanitarian law. These include attacks on medic and paramedic personnel, ambulances, preventing mobility in emergency situations for health care, as well as obstructing access to hospitals in a

⁹ In a recent report on the IDF's open-fire regulations during the al-Aqsa Intifada, B'tselem (the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories) has stressed that: "The IDF's policy (...) has resulted in extensive harm to Palestinian civilians who were not involved in any activity against Israel. These incidents are not "exceptional" cases, but rather they constitute a large portion of the casualties throughout the Occupied Territories" (B'tselem 2002a).

number of cases. Organizations such as the ICRC, the PRCS, and Amnesty international, have been documenting this kind of violations and are beginning to offer evidence in reports available on the websites of the respective organizations. In a study published in early March, B'tselem (2002b) had already denounced the practices of the IDF's soldiers in the OAPT in impeding access to medical treatment and firing at ambulances. The practices reported by the Israeli human rights organization seem to have worsened during the Defensive Shields Operation.

On its side, UNRWA has stressed that curfews and closures have kept large numbers of the UN Agency's workforce from their work¹⁰. With IDF troops still occupying Bethlehem and a curfew in force, UNRWA's health centre in the town remains closed. In the adjacent Aida camp, UNRWA has retained a doctor on a 24-hour basis to treat refugees who cannot reach the health centre. Health centres in the Dheisheh, Balata, Askar and No.1 refugee camps operated around the clock as long as IDF soldiers were present (UNRWA 2002a).

Many organizations have so far denounced damages and destruction of private and public immovable property. To date, the only available report concerning the physical destruction of public buildings is the one related to the Palestinian governmental institutions in Ramallah¹¹. The report shows that there is a very consistent pattern of systematic invasion, destruction and vandalism in all of the public buildings surveyed. In the majority of the cases covered, the Ministries were invaded long after any fighting was taking place in Ramallah and destruction was purely deliberate and not an outcome of military clashes. In about a third of the ministries invaded, confiscation of documents was undertaken, while in others the damage was pure physical destruction of equipment plus general vandalism (Hammami, Hanafi and Taylor 2002).

UNRWA is preparing a comprehensive damage assessment, but it has already put forward that in Jenin approximately 30% of the refugee camp has been destroyed during the offensive. An estimated 160 buildings, many of them two and three stories high were reduced to rubble. Around 100 others were so severely damaged that they are now structurally unsound and consequently no longer habitable (UNRWA 2002a).¹²

¹⁰ Over 60% of the staff members residing in the West Bank but assigned to positions in the Agency Field Office in Jerusalem have been unable to report to work since the offensive began. Staff members with homes in Hebron have likewise been unable to reach their workplaces in Bethlehem and vice versa. The Agency's Area Office in Ramallah went unmanned for almost a month, from March 29th to April 22nd (UNRWA 2002a).

¹¹ The report prepared by Hammami, Hanafi and Taylor (updated to 22nd March 2002) documents the damage inflicted on PA civil institutions in Ramallah during the Israeli invasion and re-occupation of Palestinian population centres by the IDF, from March 29th to April 21st. The majority of the cases covered are ministries. The report covers 11 of them in detail; another four have been similarly affected but the data have not yet been collected on them. It seems that only two Ramallah-based ministries did not suffer IDF incursions: the Ministry of Planning and the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

¹² UNRWA estimates that 800 families have been made homeless.

The re-occupation of large areas of the West Bank has also turned back the clock on educational development. With almost half of the Palestinian population under the age of 15, education is a cornerstone of Palestinian society. Almost a million children – actually, one third of the Palestinian population residing in the Autonomous and Occupied Territories – are enrolled in the school system. As Penny Johnson (2002) has pointed out, the Israeli army invasion of Palestinian cities, villages and refugee camps, has damaged educational infrastructure, records and equipments, threatened the institutions and the very system's financial solvency, and harmed teachers and pupils. The education budget has constituted so far almost 20% of the Palestinian Authority regular budget. Already before the invasion, the PA was hardly managing to continue paying teachers and maintaining schools under an austerity budget. In the present circumstances this ability is gravely threatened.

Overall, the IDF attack on education and educational institutions, as well as other Palestinian institutions of self-government and non-governmental organizations, indicates that the Israeli army's target has actually been the Palestinian infrastructure, organizational capacity and self-government, with lasting consequences on the ability of Palestinian society to survive and develop (Johnson 2002). Finally, as Pierre Poupard has stressed: "UNICEF is convinced that if the current generation in Palestine is not given the chance to grow under normal circumstances, there would be little hope for stability in the region" (Abu Halaweh 2002).

The Palestinian and Israeli war-torn societies

In a recently published article (Hazony 2002), the President of the Mina Zemach/Shalem Centre has presented the results of a poll conducted during the week of 14th-20th April among a representative sample of Israeli Jews. The survey shows that most of the population is solidly united in the view that Arafat will not fight terror seriously (82%), that he is not interested in real peace with Israel (87%), that he cannot be trusted to keep agreements (90%) and cannot be believed when he condemns terror (98%). Most believe that Israel should not conduct substantive negotiations with Arafat (74%).

For a great majority of Israeli Jews, these "hard-won lessons" learnt during the last 19 months of Intifada, have meant support for Mr. Sharon's government, whose last operation "Defensive Shields" has been assessed as the "right policy" by 88% of the people interviewed. An overwhelming 83% support his unity government or would prefer a narrow Likud government, as against 8% who wish to see a narrow Labor government. Moreover, 76% consider Sharon "well suited" to his job. Opponents of the government's policies are essentially without a constituency. Shlomo Ben Ami is thought

well suited to lead the country by 11% of the respondents, while Yossi Beilin by a mere 7%¹³.

Although the death and injuries toll on the Palestinian side has been so far heavier and the living conditions in the OAPT have become close to survival strategies for a majority of the population, the Israeli society at large is deeply frightened by the suicide-bombers' attacks. Most Israelis and Palestinians today know directly or indirectly of someone killed or maimed in the attacks and counter-attacks that have taken place since the beginning of the second Intifada, and particularly intensified during the last months. The security conditions for both Palestinians and Israelis do not seem to be guaranteed for anybody. The daily potential threat and fear of suicide-bombing echoes the daily menace of military operations on a massive scale in the OAPT or the continuation of the "extra-judicial killing policy" implemented by the Israeli government against "Palestinian terrorists".

Unable to work, to go to school, and seek medical care or buy food, thousands of Palestinians have been prisoners around the clock in their own homes for extended periods of time. As Mustapha Barghouti has put it: "this is yet another example of collective punishment practiced by Sharon and the Israeli government. Furthermore, Sharon is using this as a weapon, an instrument of political aggression to put pressure on the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian people" (Palestine Monitor 2002). Besides their dire living conditions outlined in the following chapters of this study, a majority of Palestinians is presently feeling humiliated, isolated, their resentment and anger probably mounting. Whether the Operation "Defensive Shields" will bear some fruits in terms of bringing the two sides to the table of negotiations is doubtful, and it seems even less sure that the security of the Israeli civilian population at large has been increased by the military invasions.

While the logic of force and military confrontation has been having the upper hand until now, most local and international observers agree on the danger that has characterized the crisis during the past seven months in particular, i.e. the absence of a political/diplomatic process¹⁴. In this context, the

¹³ Concerning the attitude towards the USA, a majority of the people interviewed (79%) believe that the super-power is a "true friend", but 89% call America's demand that Israel halts its anti-terror campaign in the West Bank "unfair" (Hazony 2002).

¹⁴ In another poll conducted in Israel by the Ma'ariv newspaper on Friday, the 10th of April, Israelis were asked which of the following peace proposals they either support or oppose. The top choice (with 57% in favour and 35% against) was a unilateral separation plan that includes a withdrawal from 80% of the Occupied Territories, the erection of a fence, the dismantling of the settlements, and the annexation of 80% of the settlers. The second choice (with 54% in favour and 40% against) was the establishment of a Palestinian State. Placing a close third was acceptance of the Saudi initiative, which means transferring all the territories in exchange for a comprehensive peace: 52% support this option, while 42% oppose it. The Israeli public was evenly split (47% in favour, 48% against) on the option of stationing international forces and an international mandate to supervise a Palestinian State. The least attractive choice to Israelis was a proposal to annex all the Occupied Territories and implement a "transfer", with 32% in favour and 60% against. (see Ma'ariv, April 12th 2002, and Harman 2002). These results may also be interpreted as a sign of "hope" since, on certain issues, they seem to show a softer attitude of the Israeli public compared to that of their Prime Minister.

humanitarian organizations are clearly becoming a hostage of the political stalemate¹⁵.

¹⁵ In a recent report, BADIL (2002b) has stressed that: "The damage inflicted by the Israeli military since the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada also means that the international community has to allocate financial resources to pay for the same projects several times due to repeated damage and destruction. Since the beginning of the Intifada, for example, the al-Nour Rehabilitation Centre for the Visually Impaired in the Gaza Strip has been damaged and repaired more than five times. In the case of the US, in particular, one of the largest donors to UNRWA's regular budget and emergency appeals, the American government is, at the same time, providing financial resources to UNRWA and providing Israel with the weapons that destroy the projects paid for, in part, by US funds".

METHODOLOGY

A survey to estimate and evaluate the conditions of the Palestinian population during the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) operations and the re-occupation of large parts of the West Bank has been conducted by the JMCC from its Jerusalem offices. Because of the curfews and closures, and hence the impossibility to carry out a regular household survey as we usually did in our previous studies, we opted for a telephone poll.

The Palestinian Telecommunications Company (PALTEL) and the Palestinian Mobile Phone Company (JAWWAL) provided 6000 randomly selected telephone numbers from all of the districts of the West Bank, excluding Jericho. While the penetration rate of telephones in Palestinian households is not comprehensive, it is safe to argue that over 50% of Palestinian households have fixed telephone lines and many of those who do not, have mobile phones (there are almost 380,000 mobile phones). The telephone list was also used in this survey.

It must be noted that the sample of the present study differs in many aspects from the samples of our three previous reports (see the methodology section in: Bocco, Brunner, Rabah 2001a and 2001b; Bocco, Brunner, Daneels, Rabah 2001). While it can be shown that the three previous polls were based on strong statistical evidence, the present one cannot offer the same level of confidence. Usually, a phone poll based on fixed telephone lines in a country where the coverage exceeds 95% requires corrections of the sample. Here, we rely on mobile phones which have a much lower coverage in a region that is at war or under curfew.

However, in checking how the sample could be representative, we have asked a question about the household size in order to compare it with the national averages. The results point to a very strong correlation between the distribution of the household size and that of the national figures.

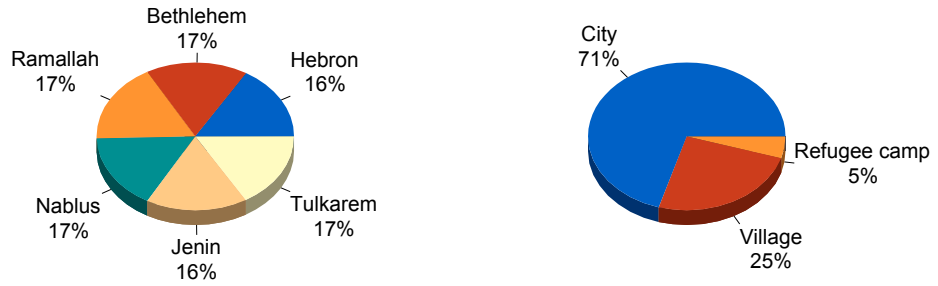
Our respondents are owners of mobile phones; this population is usually a bit better off than the average Palestinian. Furthermore, they were able to answer: this means that they were not under arrest, seriously wounded nor dead. Actually, our sample is certainly biased but towards minimizing the hardship of the regions that were re-occupied by the IDF.

The very nature of this context and its emergency were reasons for us not to try to correct the sample this time. The reader should keep in mind that our **results** are certainly less accurate in the present report but that they **tend to underestimate the severity of the present crisis**.

The survey was conducted between Monday 15th and Tuesday 23rd April. A draft report prepared for the international donors' meeting held in Oslo on April 24-25 was based on 1078 interviews. The main information for this final report is based on 1524 completed questionnaires, the analysis of which was completed by April 29th, 2002.

As shown in figure 3 below, the completed interviews were distributed according to the following areas:

Figure 3 Interviews by region and area of residence



For providing an overview of the current situation, the report has been divided into five main sections:

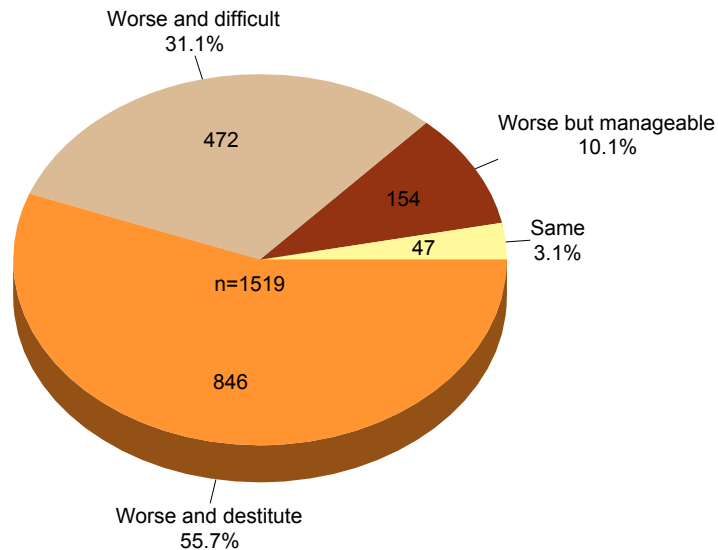
- ▶ Living conditions
- ▶ Household needs and shortages
- ▶ Damages
- ▶ Access to health
- ▶ Impact on children

PART 1. LIVING CONDITIONS

When respondents were asked to describe their current living conditions in comparison to before the recent Israeli military operations, only 3% of the sample replied that their living conditions had remained the same. All the remaining respondents described their living conditions as being worse than before the Israeli re-occupation, albeit in different degrees. As shown in figure 4, below, an impressive **56% described their living conditions as being destitute, more than 30% depicted their situation as difficult**, while a mere 10% considered it manageable.

Figure 4 Perception of living conditions

Perception of living conditions in the aftermath of the Israeli re-occupation of the West Bank



The feeling of hardship is spread all over the West Bank regions. As can be discerned from table 1, below, the perception of worsening living conditions is common in all parts of the West Bank. However, in Hebron, where the Israeli military operation was less extensive than in some other West Bank areas, only one third of the respondents described their living conditions as being destitute, and far more respondents in Hebron than in other locations stated that their living conditions remained the same (8%) or were manageable (more than 16%).

While in the Tulkarem and Qalqilya districts one finds the highest percentage of the population who perceives their living conditions as destitute (almost 70%), it is in the Bethlehem district that the population cumulates the highest percentage (95% !) of difficult and destitute living conditions. This can be

partly explained by the fact that the town of Bethlehem has experienced so far the longest period of curfew.

Table 1 Living conditions compared to before the reoccupation

	Living conditions in comparison to before the reoccupation			
	Same	Worse but manageable	Worse - difficult	Worse - destitute
Hebron	21 8.4%	41 16.3%	100 39.8%	89 35.5%
Bethlehem	4 1.6%	10 4.0%	81 32.3%	156 62.2%
Ramallah	11 4.2%	26 9.8%	79 29.9%	148 56.1%
Nablus	1 .4%	31 12.4%	85 33.9%	134 53.4%
Jenin	7 2.8%	16 6.4%	84 33.6%	143 57.2%
Tulkarem & Qalqilia	3 1.2%	30 11.9%	43 17.1%	176 69.8%
Total	47 3.1%	154 10.1%	472 31.1%	846 55.7%

In terms of cumulative percentage of Palestinians living in difficult conditions, Jenin comes second, after Bethlehem. This can certainly be put in relation to the IDF attacks, but their impact has probably been harder because the people living in the town of Jenin and the adjacent refugee camp, were already considered among the poorest of the West Bank's eight main districts. According to the recent report of R. Giacaman and P. Johnson (2002), almost half of the inhabitants of the city of Jenin are registered refugees with UNRWA; two thirds of the camp dwellers are women, children and elderly people; and more than 40% are under the age of 15. According to the 1997 national census, about 70% of Jenin refugee camp males aged 15 and over were economically active in the formal labor force and another 20% were students. Most camp residents worked in the agricultural sector, almost a third of the camp labor force were unskilled workers, and many used to be employed inside Israel.

Since the beginning of the second Intifada, **the tightening of Israeli restrictions** on movement, and the limitations on effective interchange between the towns and its neighboring villages has led to serious economic strife. The inability of laborers to travel freely has led to **very high levels of unemployment** and a severe drop in family income. Using the data from the Institute of Women Studies' survey of 1999, Giacaman and Johnson (2002) have stressed that the home economy in Jenin refugee camp seemed to be an important means to sustain families, and indicative of under-development, deprivation and poverty¹⁶.

¹⁶ According to the same authors, 47% of Jenin camp residents were poor, while only 23% in Jenin city fell in this category. Only 36% of the Jenin households had a phone line and 14% a private car. More than 33% of the women over 12 and living in the refugee camp were

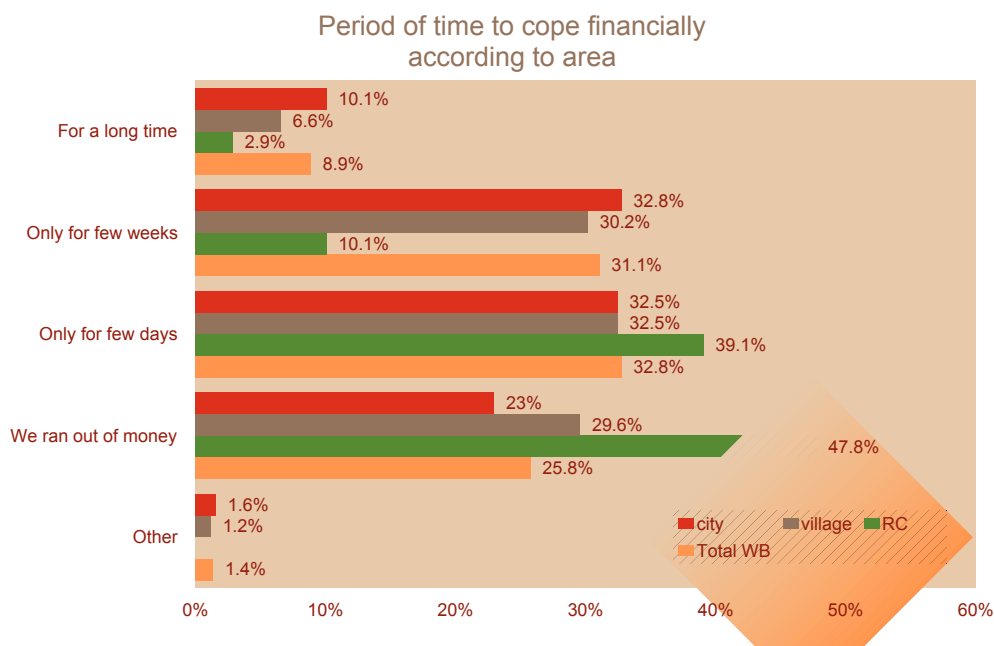
Returning to the more general situation in the West Bank, when asked for how long the households could cope with the money they currently have, one quarter of the respondents replied that they ran out of money, while one third declared that they could only cope for a few more days. As illustrated in table 2, below, only 9% of the respondents stated that they could cope for a long time with the money they have. More than 30% said that they would be able to cope for a few weeks.

Table 2 Duration of coping with money

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
For a long time	128	8.9	8.9
Only for few weeks	447	31.1	40.0
Only for few days	471	32.8	72.8
Ran out of money	371	25.8	98.6
No use for money while we are under curfew	17	1.2	99.8
No need for money because we can't go and buy anything	2	.1	99.9
Forced to manage with or without money	1	.1	100.0
Total	1437	100.0	

Although it is clear that the majority of Palestinians are currently in dire financial difficulties, it seems that **Palestinians living in refugee camps are enduring even harsher financial conditions**. As can be observed in figure 5, below, almost half of the interviewed refugee camp residents said that they already ran out of money compared to 23% of city dwellers and 30% of villagers.

Figure 5 Duration of coping by area



illiterate, compared to 21% of males; slightly more than 20% of the entire camp population had achieved secondary education.

According to the assessment made by BADIL (2002e) at the end of March, “unemployment levels have likely risen even higher than the rates in the previous three-month period. As of November 2001, unemployment in West Bank refugee camps stood at 37%, with the rate in the Gaza Strip at 50%. According to the World Bank, unemployment levels (including persons who have given up hope for finding an employment and are no longer searching for work) reached 35% at the end of 2001, up from more than 20% in September 2000. **Emergency temporary job creation programs are simply not able to cope with the massive increase in unemployment and became defunct during Israeli military raids in the refugee camps**”.

At the end of April 2002, the total proportion of Palestinian refugees living below the poverty line (US\$ 2,00 per person per day, according to the World Bank indicators) is also likely to be even higher than in the past three months. Actually, “the attacks on refugee camps (...) caused widespread damage, injuries and deaths in the refugee community, and have reduced even further what little material capital and savings refugees have to rely on during periods of economic instability and political crisis, while the large number of deaths and injuries leads to reduced and/or loss of household income. Widespread looting by Israeli soldiers (...) has further exacerbated the economic hardship experienced by refugees” (BADIL 2002e).

The impact of the recent Israeli military attacks on the camps, will likely result as well as in an increased number of refugee families seeking special hardship assistance from UNRWA. According to our previous report (Bocco, Brunner, Daneels, Rabah 2001), as well as other later sources (World Bank 2002), already by November 2001, the poverty rate among the Palestinian refugees was around 45% in the West Bank and 65% in the Gaza Strip. **As of late April 2002, it is likely that two thirds of the refugee population, those residing in camps in particular, is living below the poverty line**, despite considerable emergency employment, food and cash assistance by the UN and other international donors.

Basic living conditions and standards have also been affected by disruptions in the **water and electricity supplies**. As illustrated in figure 6, below, only 38% of the respondents had no disruptions in their water supply and only 31% had no disruptions in their electricity supply. The results of the survey indicate that most of these disruptions seemed to have been temporary in nature. Indeed, while 13% of the interviewees said that they were still without water at the time of the interview, only 5% declared that they still did not have electricity. The visits conducted by the authors of this report to some of the cities and districts of the West Bank allow them to say that in many cases the water and electricity networks have been fixed rather quickly. However, this does not allow for assessing the damages, or for estimating the durability of the reparations.

Figure 6 Water and electricity supply

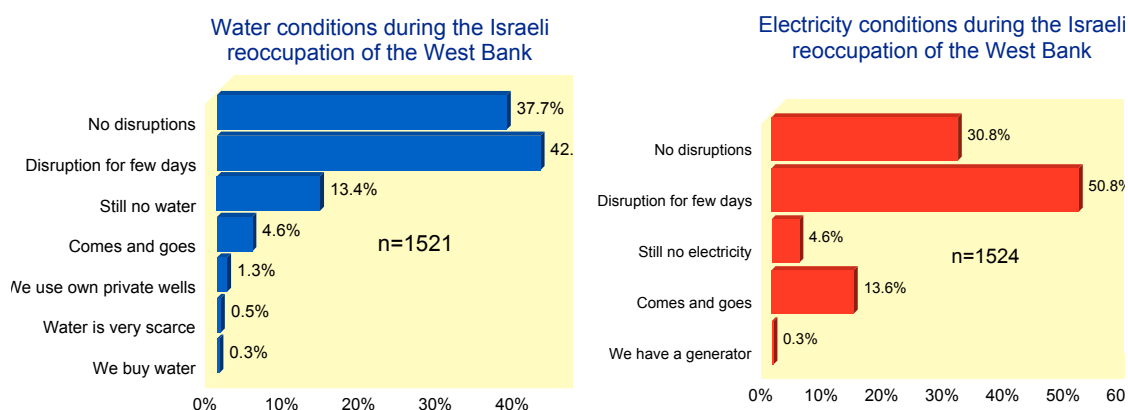


Table 3 Clean water conditions by area

	City	Village	RC	Total
No disruptions	359	194	21	574
	33.5%	51.5%	29.6%	37.7%
Disruption for few days	498	108	35	641
	46.4%	28.6%	49.3%	42.1%
Still no water	146	52	6	204
	13.6%	13.8%	8.5%	13.4%
Comes and goes	53	10	7	70
	4.9%	2.7%	9.9%	4.6%
We use own private wells	6	12	2	20
	.6%	3.2%	2.8%	1.3%
Water is very scarce	7	1		8
	.7%	.3%		.5%
We buy water	4			4
	.4%			.3%
TOTAL	1073	377	71	1521
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4 Electricity conditions by area

	City	Village	RC	Total
No disruptions	255	198	16	469
	23.7%	52.4%	22.5%	30.8%
Disruption for few days	611	130	33	774
	56.8%	34.4%	46.5%	50.8%
Still no electricity	53	13	4	70
	4.9%	3.4%	5.6%	4.6%
Comes and goes	156	34	17	207
	14.5%	9.0%	23.9%	13.6%
We have a generator		3	1	4
		.8%	1.4%	.3%
Total	1075	378	71	1524
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Tables 3 & 4 show that water and electricity conditions vary a lot by area of residence. In refugee camps and cities, only a third of our respondents had no water disruptions and a quarter had continuous electricity while these proportions were close to 50% of village dwellers. In cities and villages though, 14% of the respondents still had no water when they were interviewed and 5% no electricity.

Electricity and water conditions also differ significantly from one region to the other: tables 5 & 6 clearly illustrate this point:

- ▶ Clean water supply was particularly affected in Nablus and Jenin. While 38% of the overall respondents had no disruption, only 19% in Nablus and 25% in Jenin were in the same situation.
- ▶ In Jenin, 31% of respondents still have no water; In Hebron 25% have the same problem, while less than 10% are affected elsewhere.
- ▶ Nablus, Jenin and to a lesser extent Ramallah seem to have suffered more than other regions concerning their electricity supply. In other regions, at least 34% of the population suffered no disruptions while in these regions the proportions are respectively 21%, 21% and 25%.
- ▶ In Jenin, 17% of surveyed households still had no electricity. In Nablus, this is the case for 5% of the respondents while elsewhere it amounts at a maximum of 2%.

Table 5 Clean water conditions by location

	Hebron	Bethlehem	Ramallah	Nablus	Jenin	Tulkarem & Qalqilia	
No disruptions	93	129	109	49	62	132	574
	37.3%	51.2%	41.1%	19.4%	24.8%	52.4%	37.7%
Disruption for few days	55	99	135	170	104	78	641
	22.1%	39.3%	50.9%	67.2%	41.6%	31.0%	42.1%
Still no water	63	23	8	23	77	10	204
	25.3%	9.1%	3.0%	9.1%	30.8%	4.0%	13.4%
Comes and goes	22	1	11	7	2	27	70
	8.8%	.4%	4.2%	2.8%	.8%	10.7%	4.6%
We use own private wells	9		1	3	3	4	20
	3.6%		.4%	1.2%	1.2%	1.6%	1.3%
Water is very scarce	4			1	2	1	8
	1.6%			.4%	.8%	.4%	.5%
We buy water	3		1				4
	1.2%		.4%				.3%
Total	249	252	265	253	250	252	1521
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6 Electricity conditions by location

	Hebron	Bethlehem	Ramallah	Nablus	Jenin	Tulkarem & Qalqilia	Total
No disruptions	90	118	67	54	53	87	469
	35.9%	46.8%	25.3%	21.3%	21.2%	34.4%	30.8%
Disruption for few days	73	123	151	177	146	104	774
	29.1%	48.8%	57.0%	70.0%	58.4%	41.1%	50.8%
Still no electricity	4	4	3	12	42	5	70
	1.6%	1.6%	1.1%	4.7%	16.8%	2.0%	4.6%
Comes and goes	84	7	44	10	6	56	207
	33.5%	2.8%	16.6%	4.0%	2.4%	22.1%	13.6%
We have a generator					3	1	4
					1.2%	.4%	.3%
Total	251	252	265	253	250	253	1524
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

PART 2. HOUSEHOLD NEEDS AND SHORTAGES

When respondents were asked what the **most important needs** of their households were in light of the current situation, about 26% responded that it was **food**, while 17% declared that their most important need was **money**. An amazingly large number of the respondents also pointed to the need for **psychological support**, whether this be for children (10%), for adults (11%) or for all (3%). Figure 7, below, provides an overview of the most important needs of Palestinians.

Figure 7 Most important needs reported

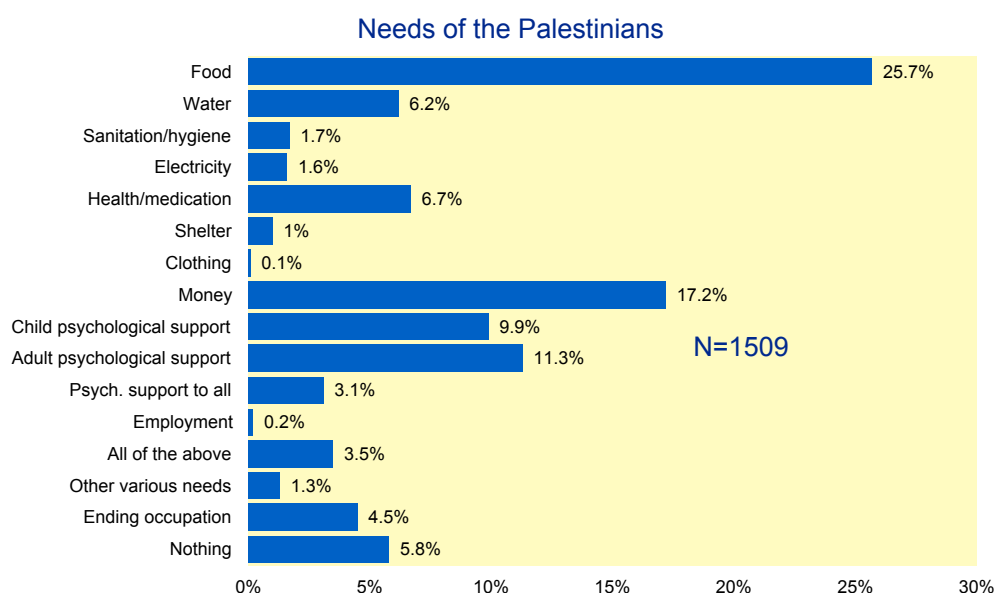


Table 7, below, illustrates the most important needs of the households in light of the current situation according to the location where the respondents reside in the West Bank. In general, food seems to be the most important need in all of the listed locations. The food problem in Bethlehem seems to be more severe than in other locations under examination. Ramallah and Hebron seem to be much less affected in this sense. However, two important points are worth noting:

1. In Jenin more than in any other location, respondents declared that they were in urgent need of a combination or even all of the listed items. This clearly points to the severe conditions in the Jenin area.
2. Employment, which in previously conducted surveys (Bocco, Brunner, Rabah, 2001a and 2001b; Bocco, Brunner, Daneels, Rabah 2001), used to top the list of needs and priorities of the respondents, is barely

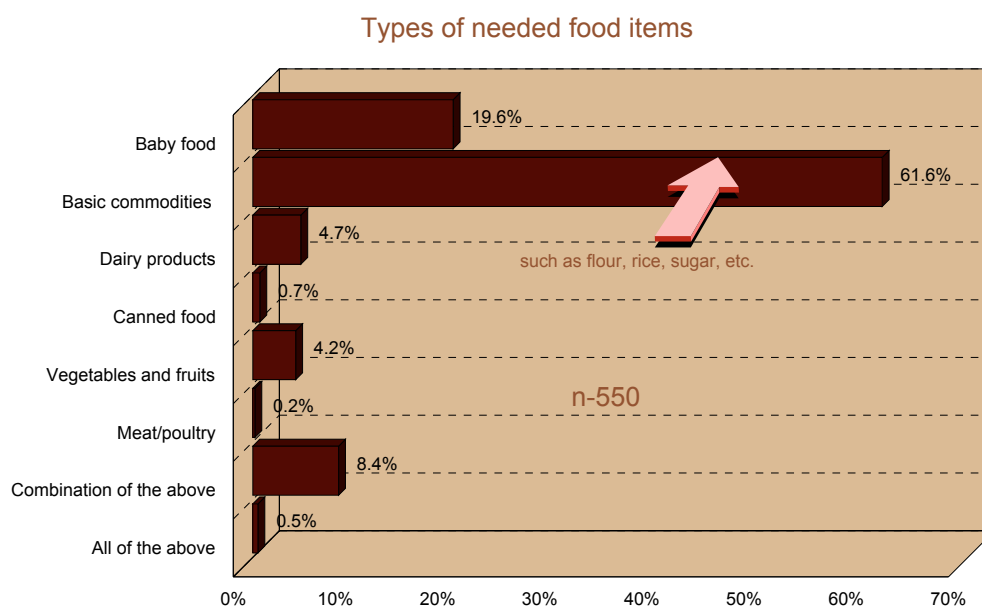
mentioned as an important need in this instance. The same consideration applies to the “political need” of ending the occupation. It might, therefore, be assumed that **the Palestinian population under the current circumstances remains primarily pre-occupied with the basic needs for survival**. Once these are met, it seems highly predictable that the priority of employment will once again re-emerge in full force.

Table 7 Most important need according to location

	Hebron	Bethlehem	Ramallah	Nablus	Jenin	Tulkarem & Qalqilia	Total
Food	18.0%	40.8%	14.5%	32.4%	27.2%	21.7%	25.7% (388)
Water	9.4%	2.4%	4.2%	7.9%	10.0%	3.6%	6.2% (94)
Sanitation/hygiene	1.6%	2.4%	3.1%	2.0%	1.2%		1.7% (26)
Electricity	1.2%		1.1%	2.8%	2.8%	1.6%	1.6% (24)
Health/medication	4.9%	4.8%	8.8%	5.9%	8.0%	7.6%	6.7% (101)
Shelter	1.2%	.4%	.4%	1.2%	2.0%	.8%	1.0% (15)
Money	14.3%	26.4%	22.5%	11.5%	9.2%	19.3%	17.2% (260)
Clothing	.4%						.1% (1)
Child psychological support	10.6%	6.0%	12.2%	11.1%	8.0%	11.6%	9.9% (150)
Adult psychological support	10.6%	6.4%	17.2%	10.7%	4.8%	18.1%	11.3% (171)
All of the above	4.1%	2.0%	3.1%	.4%	11.2%	.4%	3.5% (53)
Employment	.4%				.4%	.4%	.2% (3)
Nothing	11.4%	2.4%	4.2%	7.1%	8.4%	1.6%	5.8% (88)
Psycho. Support to all	3.3%	2.8%	2.3%	2.8%	2.0%	5.6%	3.1% (47)
Ending occupation	8.2%	1.6%	5.7%	4.0%	1.2%	6.4%	4.5% (68)
Other needs	.4%	1.6%	.8%	.4%	3.6%	1.2%	1.3% (20)
TOTAL	100.0% (245)	100.0% (250)	100.0% (262)	100.0% (253)	100.0% (250)	100.0% (249)	100.0% (1509)

Those respondents who stated that food was their households’ most important need in the current situation, were asked to indicate what specific food item they were most short of. As illustrated in figure 8, below, more than 60% of the respondents declared that their **main shortage consisted of basic commodities such as flour, sugar and rice**. For another 20% of the respondents the most important food need was baby food.

Figure 8 Types of food needed



When asked, in table 8, about the reasons behind their inability to buy essential items for their households, more than 14% of the respondents said that they were able to buy essential items. A large number of respondents (almost 40%) blamed the curfew for their inability to buy essential items. About 18% of the respondents said that there was nothing in the shops and as such they could not buy essentials for their household. Another 18% of the interviewees explained that they could not buy essential items for their households because they do not have money.

Table 8 Reasons for not buying essential items for household

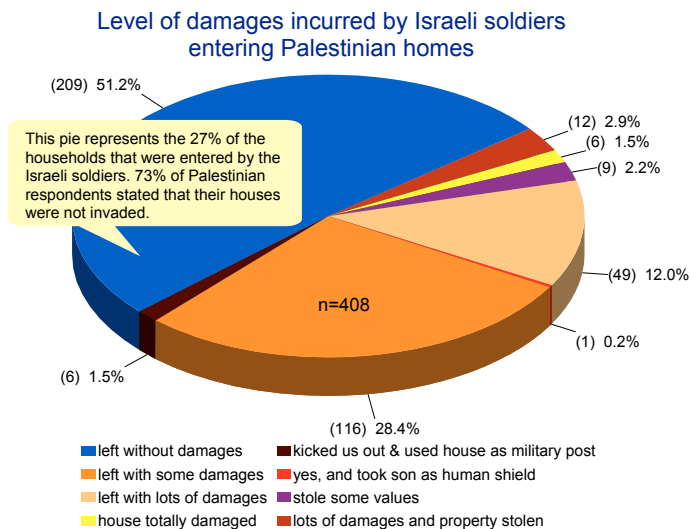
	N	Valid Percent
Because of the curfew	589	38.9
Shops are closed	18	1.2
Nothing in the shops	274	18.1
Don't have money	276	18.2
Can buy essential items	214	14.1
Other reasons	6	.4
Because of closure	26	1.7
Price increase	12	.8
Combination of the above	101	6.7
Total	1516	100.0

PART 3. DAMAGES

About 73% of the respondents declared that the IDF did not enter their house and about 76% said that the IDF did not enter their place of work. Far more respondents whose house had been entered by the Israeli army (51%) than those whose office had been entered by the Israeli army (18%) stated that the soldiers had not caused any damage. Similarly, whereas 28% of the respondents said that the army caused some damage to the house, 30% stated that the army inflicted some damage to their place of work. Also, whereas 12% of the respondents affirmed that the IDF had damaged their house a lot, 33% confirmed that their place of work had been damaged a lot. Finally, 2% (n=6) had their house totally damaged, and 5% (n=15) had their offices totally damaged.

As such, one may conclude from the results presented in figures 9 and , below, that overall **more and heavier damage seems to have been inflicted by the IDF on places of work than of houses**¹⁷.

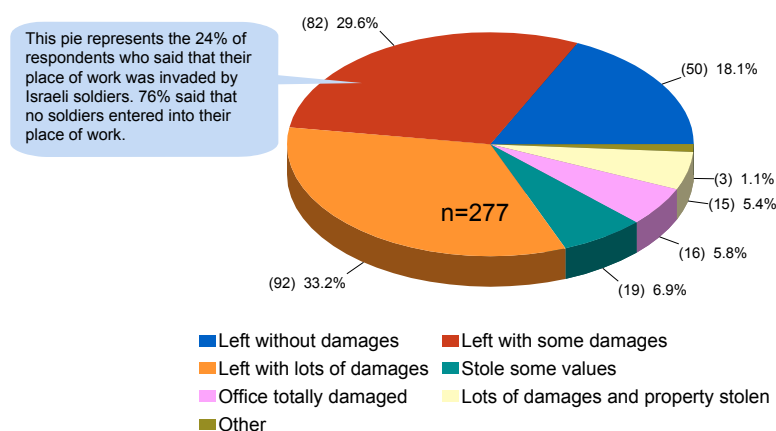
Figure 9 Reported damage by Israeli soldiers in Palestinian homes



¹⁷ See the introduction of this report for the situation concerning public buildings and infrastructure.

Figure 10 Reported damage by Israeli soldiers in Palestinian companies

Level of damages incurred by Israeli soldiers to the respondents' place of work



It is also worth noting that despite the relatively small number of respondents from **refugee camps**, it is still fair to state that camp residents **have suffered more damages to their houses than city dwellers**. It is also possible to deduct from the results in table 9, below, that by the time the survey was concluded those respondents residing in cities seem to have suffered a higher degree of damage inflicted to their residences than their counterparts in villages.

Table 9 Level of damages to residences according to area

	City	Village	RC	Total
No	779	290	47	1116
	72.5%	76.7%	66.2%	73.2%
Left without damages	158	48	3	209
	14.7%	12.7%	4.2%	13.7%
Left with some damages	74	29	13	116
	6.9%	7.7%	18.3%	7.6%
Left with lots of damages	39	5	5	49
	3.6%	1.3%	7.0%	3.2%
Stole some values	6	2	1	9
	.6%	.5%	1.4%	.6%
House totally damaged	4	1	1	6
	.4%	.3%	1.4%	.4%
Lots of damages and property stolen	9	2	1	12
	.8%	.5%	1.4%	.8%
Kicked us out & used house as military post	5	1		6
	.5%	.3%		.4%
Yes, and took son as human shield	1			1
	.1%			.1%
TOTAL	1075	378	71	1524
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

According to BADIL (2002e), “during the first three months of 2002, Israeli military forces demolished more than 200 refugee shelters in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (...). The occupancy rate of the refugee shelters that were demolished or otherwise rendered unusable or requiring repairs was 90%. In March the IDF destroyed 141 refugee shelters in the West Bank refugee camps and damaged 1,800 other shelters.

The total damage to refugee shelters during the first three months of 2002 is equal to more than half of the entire damage resulting from Israeli military assaults since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising”.

At the end of March 2002, UNRWA estimated that IDF’s “Colorful Journey Operation” will amount to at least US\$ 3.8 million in immediate costs. Repair and reconstruction of damaged and destroyed refugee shelters alone, is estimated to cost US\$ 2.8 million. This sum amounts to nearly half of the total emergency budget requested by UNRWA for repair and rehabilitation of refugee shelters for all of 2002 and exceeds the budget for the West Bank by four times.

During 2002, the UN Agency intended to focus greater attention on the repairs on refugee shelters in the poorer areas of the Southern Gaza Strip and the hardest hit village areas where refugees reside in the West Bank. A significant proportion of the Agency’s emergency fund for shelter repair will have now to be redirected to the camps.

Respondents were also asked whether or not they saw houses or shops in their neighbourhood being damaged or looted by the Israeli army. Nearly 60% of the interviewees did not witness any looting or damaging. As indicated in table 10, below, 16% witnessed neighbouring houses being damaged and 7% saw neighbouring houses being looted by the Israeli military. About 3% declared to have seen neighbouring shops that were damaged by the Israeli troops, and 2% witnessed the looting of such shops.

Some respondents went on to specify what they witnessed exactly. A number of persons interviewed caught sight of houses and shops being looted or destroyed with people inside; others declared that they noticed the vandalizing and looting of banks, companies, offices, schools, public places, agricultural property, and even the chamber of commerce; still others witnessed the destruction of cars.

Table 10 Witnessing of looting or damage by soldiers in uninhabited property in the neighborhood

	Frequency	Valid Percent
House/s was damaged	247	16.3
House/s was looted	105	6.9
Shop/s was damaged	46	3.0
Shop/s was looted	34	2.2
House is looted with residents inside	3	.2
Shop was destroyed with owner inside	1	.1
Vandalizing banks and chambers of commerce	3	.2
Vandalizing and looting companies and offices	10	.7
Vandalizing schools and public places	18	1.2
Vandalizing agricultural property	4	.3
Destroying cars	12	.8
Other	3	.2
Combination of the above	129	8.5
Did not witness anything	901	59.4
Total	1516	100.0

Interviewees were also queried about an even more personal type of damage or suffering, namely whether or not any of their household members were injured or killed (see table 11). A large majority, 94% responded that none of their household members were injured or killed. Still, 5% of the respondents (n=70) reported about injured household members, while 1% (n=22) informed the interviewers about killed relatives.

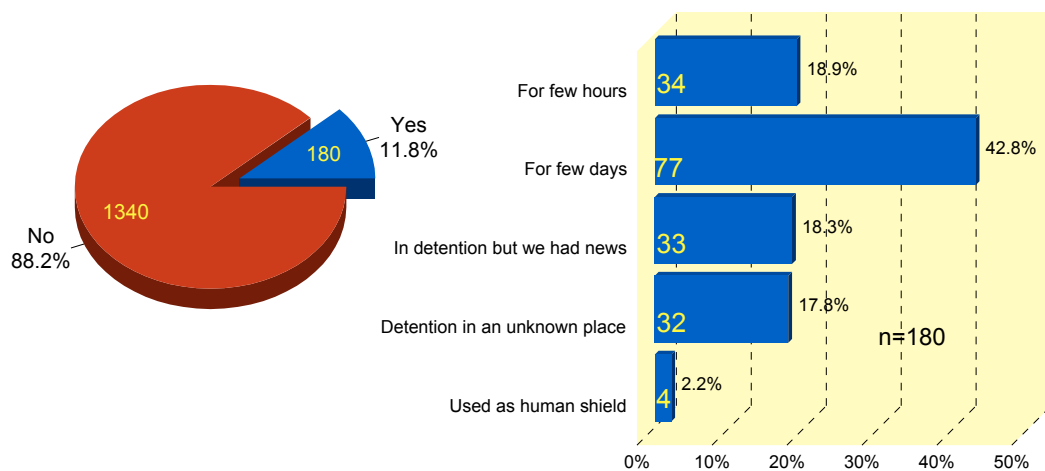
Table 11 Household members injured or killed

	Frequency	Valid Percent
No	1428	93.8
Injured	70	4.6
Killed	22	1.4
Some killed, some injured	2	.1
Total	1522	100.0

** 15 of the reported killed were from the north of the West Bank*

As illustrated in figure 11, below, 12% of the interviewees stated that members of their household had been arrested. Of those, 43% declared that the detention lasted for a few days, while 19% said that the arrest only lasted for a few hours. More than 18% still have household members in detention and have had news, while 18% said that household members are still detained in an unknown place.

Figure 11 Arrested household members

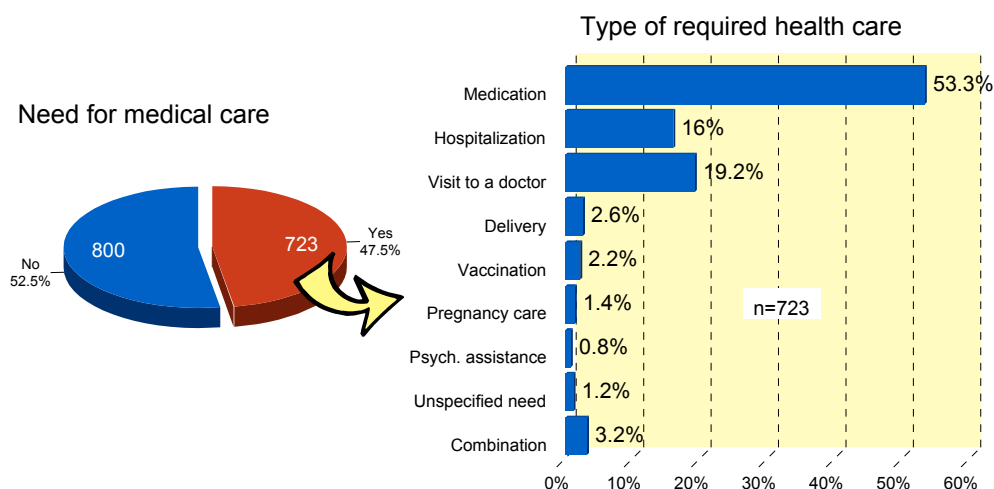


PART 4. ACCESS TO HEALTH

Health delivery was one of the most severely disrupted services during the Israeli re-occupation. The long curfew has prevented health professionals from reaching their hospitals and clinics, ambulances were often prevented from moving freely, and the inability of Palestinians to leave their homes made it very difficult for them to seek medical assistance. This has been a considerable source of concern especially with respect to childbirth, chronic disease management and emergency medical needs – surgery in particular, where hospitalization and/or specialty care is needed. On the 8th and the 9th April, Mustafa Barghouti (2002) and Miftah (2002) respectively released short reports and gave press conferences who highlighted **different forms of impediments of medical treatment for the sick and the wounded**, pointed to **attacks on medical personnel and the destruction of medical infrastructure and utilities**, and stressed as well the fact that the evacuation of casualties in most instances was not guaranteed. This view was substantiated by various press reports, by local organizations (Giacaman 2002) and international agencies (HART 2002 and OCHA 2002) through reports made available in the second half of April.

According to the respondents of our survey, **a significant number** of them stated that they were **unable to seek medical services such as medication, hospitalization, and other types of medical assistance**. As indicated in figure 12, below, almost half of the respondents said that one or more members of their household required some kind of medical care. Of those, 53% were in need of medication, 16% needed an ambulance or hospitalization, while almost 20% were in need of a doctor's visit. Household members were also in need of vaccinations, care of pregnant women who had to deliver their babies or post-natal care for the new-born babies.

Figure 12 Need for medical care



The curfew on cities had also a negative impact on villages that were not even under curfew. As indicated below in table 12, over 26% of villagers needed to see a doctor, but were most probably unable to do so because cities were under curfew and, as such, could not be reached. Cities, on the other hand, were more pressed for medication because pharmacies remained closed under the strict curfew that was maintained in most of the cities.

Table 12 Household's needs for medical care according to area

	City	Village	RC	Total
Medication	293 58.5%	74 41.1%	18 42.9%	385 53.3%
Hospitalization/ambulance	79 15.8%	31 17.2%	6 14.3%	116 16.0%
Visit to a doctor	77 15.4%	47 26.1%	15 35.7%	139 19.2%
Delivery	8 1.6%	10 5.6%	1 2.4%	19 2.6%
Vaccination	10 2.0%	5 2.8%	1 2.4%	16 2.2%
Care of pregnant women	5 1.0%	5 2.8%		10 1.4%
Psychological assistance	5 1.0%	1 .6%		6 .8%
Unspecified need	8 1.6%	1 .6%		9 1.2%
Combination of the above	16 3.2%	6 3.3%	1 2.4%	23 3.2%
Total	501 100.0%	180 100.0%	42 100.0%	723 100.0%

When respondents who were in need of an ambulance and hospitalisation were asked whether or not they were able to receive such services, only 17 respondents (5%) said that an ambulance arrived in one hour or less, and 11% said that an ambulance arrived after few hours. As indicated in table 9, below, in 28% of the cases the ambulance did not arrive at all, while 47% of the respondents were unable to call an ambulance. A closer look at table 13 according to the location the respondents reside in, also indicates that compared to elsewhere in many more cases in the northern part of the West Bank the ambulances did not arrive at all.

Table 13 Ambulance arrival

	Hebron	Bethlehem	Ramallah	Nablus	Jenin	Tulkarem & Qalqilia	Total
Arrived in one hour or less	4	1	1	2	4	5	17
	8.3%	2.4%	2.1%	5.0%	4.7%	8.6%	5.3%
Arrived after few hours	1	2	13	4	4	10	34
	2.1%	4.9%	27.1%	10.0%	4.7%	17.2%	10.6%
Arrived after 24 hours		2	4	5		3	14
		4.9%	8.3%	12.5%		5.2%	4.4%
Didn't arrive at all	3	10	4	16	26	31	90
	6.3%	24.4%	8.3%	40.0%	30.2%	53.4%	28.0%
Used our own transportation	11	1		1	1		14
	22.9%	2.4%		2.5%	1.2%		4.4%
We couldn't call an ambulance	29	25	26	12	51	9	152
	60.4%	61.0%	54.2%	30.0%	59.3%	15.5%	47.4%
Total	48	41	48	40	86	58	321
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

When asked as to how those households who were in need of medical attention and were unable to receive it, dealt with the situation, respondents cited, in table 14, various utilised alternatives to acquire medical care. More than 40% waited for help and only received medical service after the curfew was lifted, while 20% received treatment but not by a specialist. About 16% received help from a doctor or health worker in the neighbourhood, 5% were treated by phone, while 6% found medication by other means. Out of lack of proper medication, 6% used herbal medication. In some cases waiting for help until after the curfew was lifted proved to be fatal. Indeed, one respondent said that a household member died while waiting for an ambulance. Others did not wait for help and carried the patient to hospital at their own risk (3%). One respondent explained that a woman in the household delivered a baby at the checkpoint.

Table 14 Alternatives used for dealing with the illness/emergency

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Treating by phone	27	5.2
Doctor/health worker in the neighborhood	82	15.9
Wait for help	208	40.4
No treatment was provided by a specialist	104	20.2
The Fire department	2	.4
We took a risk to go to hospital	17	3.3
We stocked on medication	11	2.1
We used herbal medication and what is available instead	29	5.6
We found medication by other means	33	6.4
Delivery took place at checkpoint	1	.1
Patient died while waiting for ambulance	1	.2
Total	515	100.0

Furthermore, according to UNRWA (2002a), the Defensive Shields Operation “crippled hospitals with food, medicines, water, oxygen, disposable supplies and fuel all in short supply. In hospitals in Jenin and Ramallah, corpses decayed in the morgues, because there was no electricity and the hospitals could not turn the bodies of the dead over to their families for proper burial. The risk of epidemic disease grew daily, owing to a lack of water and sanitation, the contamination of drinking water with sewage and, in places the bodies of the dead left in open.

PART 5. IMPACT ON CHILDREN

Children also did not escape the negative effects of the latest Israeli military operation in large parts of the West Bank. As already indicated above in section 2 of this report, 10% of the respondents affirmed that **psychological support for their children is the most important need** of their household. Almost 640'000 Palestinians under the age of 18 have been (and partially still are) subjected to military incursions and curfew. The unprecedented level of violence has increased the trend already manifested since the beginning of the second Intifada for child psychological support (Bocco, Brunner, Rabah 2001a, and 2001b; Bocco, Brunner, Daneels, Rabah 2001).

As shown in table 15, when respondents were asked what affected the children in their household the most, 39% said that it was the shooting and another 21% responded that the witnessing of military operations affected their children most. About 11% reported the violence on TV that had a major effect on the children. Moreover, eleven respondents said that the arrest and beating of relatives affected the children in the household most. Another three respondents referred to the injury and death of relatives as the most important impact on their children. More than 22% of the respondents stated that the children in their household were badly affected by a combination of all these reasons.

Table 15 Most important impact on children

	Hebron	Bethlehem	Ramallah	Nablus	Jenin	Tulkarem & Qalqilia	Total
Shooting	96 39.2%	90 36.7%	69 26.3%	135 54.0%	83 33.6%	101 41.7%	574 38.5%
Violence on TV	48 19.6%	30 12.2%	25 9.5%	15 6.0%	23 9.3%	19 7.9%	160 10.7%
Confinement at home	6 2.4%	25 10.2%	19 7.3%	9 3.6%	19 7.7%	8 3.3%	86 5.8%
Witnessing military operations	57 23.3%	47 19.2%	64 24.4%	21 8.4%	65 26.3%	54 22.3%	308 20.7%
Arrest, round up, beating		3 1.2%	3 1.1%	1 .4%	1 .4%	3 1.2%	11 .7%
Injury& death of relatives			2 .8%		1 .4%		3 .2%
Other	4 1.6%	5 2.0%	3 1.1%	1 .4%	3 1.2%	3 1.2%	19 1.3%
Combination of the above	34 13.9%	45 18.4%	77 29.4%	68 27.2%	52 21.1%	54 22.3%	330 22.1%
Total	245 100.0%	245 100.0%	262 100.0%	250 100.0%	247 100.0%	242 100.0%	1491 100.0%

As the special representative for UNICEF has stressed, “more than 2500 children and women have been displaced from the Jenin refugee camp since April 9th (...). In addition, the shock of loosing a family member to martyrdom or injury, the humiliation, the fear and the disturbance result in great harm,

decreasing children's trust in adults and possibly making them believe that violence is the way to solve problems" (Abu Halaweh 2002). Actually, **sleeping disorders and several forms of fear seem to be the more widespread manifestations of psychological difficulties of children to cope with the situation.** Furthermore, some children tend to become isolated or aggressive, and many are exhibiting attention disorders, which will directly affect their schooling.

Although the need for children psychological support is very important, it is a need connected to many others, including health and education. Actually, because of the curfew, women and children have been (and in many cases still are) unable to reach health centers to receive natal care and immunizations. The children health status has been rapidly deteriorating, especially for families who are not receiving proper diets as a result of poverty and the siege. Malnutrition and the lack of healthcare could also rapidly lead to the spread of diseases.

Concerning education, in particular for refugee children, UNRWA's schools closed at the start of the IDF offensive. Initial attempts to reopen schools in location where there was calm were not entirely successful, either because teachers were unable to reach their classrooms, or parents were fearful of sending their children to school. As of 23rd of April, most of UNRWA's schools were back to session, with the notable exception of those in and around Bethlehem, in the village of Jiftlik and the Jenin refugee camp.

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ANNEX I - ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

I am from the JMCC and we are conducting a survey to assess the needs of the Palestinian people, which are a result of the Israeli reoccupation in the Palestinian towns, cities, and refugee camps. Your number is randomly selected and we use the information only for the above-mentioned purpose.

Telephone number _____

Time of interview: Hour _____ Day _____

1	If any, what kind of medical care did any of your household members need during the Israeli incursion?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Medication. 2. Hospitalisation/ambulance 3. No, we did not need medical care (GO TO Q. 5) 	
2	If hospitalisation/ambulance, did the ambulance?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Arrived immediately 2. Arrived after few hours 3. Arrived after more than 24 hours 4. Ambulance never arrived 5. We used our own means of transportation 6. We did not call for an ambulance 7. Other _____ 8. Not applicable 9. No answer 	
3	If ambulance was needed but was late, in your opinion, what was the reason for the delay?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The ambulance was prevented from moving. 2. The ambulances had a lot of work 3. There were no ambulances in the area where we live 4. We could not call an ambulance 5. Other _____ 6. Not applicable 	
4	What other alternatives were available to you or your household for treating the ill member of the house?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Treating by telephone 2. Neighbourhood doctor 3. We had to wait for help 4. No treatment was provided by a specialist 5. We were able to have medical help only after curfew was lifted 6. Not applicable 7. DK/NA 	
5	Did any of the Israeli soldiers enter into your house? If yes, where they involved in	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No, they did not search our house 2. Yes and left without damages 3. Yes and left with some damage 4. Yes and left with a lot of damages to the house 5. Yes and stole some values 6. House totally damaged 7. Other (specify) _____ 8. DK/NA 	
5	Have any of your household members (from among those living in the same house) been injured or killed?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No 2. Yes (injured) 3. Yes (killed) 4. Other (specify) _____ 	

6	Have any of your household members (from among those living in the same house) been arrested?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No 2. Yes, for a few hours and are back 3. Yes, for a few days and are back 4. Yes, still in detention and we have had news / contacts 5. Yes, still in detention in an unknown place 6. DK/NA 	
7	How do you describe your household's current living conditions in comparison to before the reoccupation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Same 2. Manageable 3. Difficult 4. Destitute 	
8	<p>In light of the current situation, from the following, what in your opinion are the two most important needs of your households NOW?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Food 2. Water 3. Sanitation/hygiene 4. Electricity 5. Health/medication 6. Shelter 7. Money 8. Clothing 9. Child psychological support 10. Adult psychosocial support 	<p>1st priority _____ 2nd priority _____</p>	
9	If food is one of your priorities, what is the most needed food item?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Baby food 2. Basic commodities such as flour, sugar, tea, rice... 3. Dairy products 4. Canned food 5. fresh foods such as vvegetables and fruits 6. Meat/poultry 	
10	What do you think affected the children in your household most? (ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shooting 2. Violence on TV 3. Confinement at home, 4. Witnessing military operations 5. Arrest, round up and beating of relatives 	
10	When the conflict is over, what do you think your children will need most? (ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Go back to school 2. Play with friends 3. Get psychosocial support 4. Access medical services 5. Eat as before 6. Stop watching TV 7. Do sports.... 	
11	For how long can you cope with the money you currently have?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For a long time 2. Only for few weeks 3. Only for a few days 4. We already ran out of money 	
12	What are the conditions like with clean water?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We did not have any disruptions to the water supply 2. We had disruptions in the water supply for ____ days. 3. We still do not have any water 	
13	What are the conditions like with electricity?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We did not have any cuts in electricity 2. We had cuts in electricity supply for ____ days. 	

		3. We still do not have electricity	
14	If you cannot buy essential items for your household, is it because:	1. Cannot buy because of curfew 2. Cannot buy even during curfew because shops are closed 3. There is nothing in shops because of their inability to re-supply 4. I do not have money to buy 5. Other _____ 6. I can buy essential items 7. DK/NA	
15	Since when has the curfew been in place in the area where you live?	_____ days.	
16	Do you personally know of families who have taken in other people because of the situation?	1. Yes 2. No	
17	Did you witness any types of looting or damages by the soldiers to property that is uninhabited or unattended in your immediate neighborhood?	3. An uninhabited house(s) was damaged 4. An uninhabited house(s) was looted 5. A shop(s) was damaged 6. A shop(s) was looted 7. Other (specify) _____	
18	Gender	8. Male 9. Female	
19	Residence	1. City (name of city) _____ 2. Village (name of village) _____ 3. RC (name of camp) _____	
20	Area	1. Hebron area 2. Bethlehem area 3. Ramallah area 4. Nablus area 5. Jenin area 6. Tulkarem and Qalqilia	15
21	Age of respondents	_____ years	
22	Number of people in the household including children	_____ persons	
	PLEASE ADD ANY OTHER PERTINANT INFORMATION PPROVIDED BY THE RESPONDENT (eg. Witnessing killing by soldiers, stopping ambulances, using Palestinians as human shields)	_____ _____ _____	

ANNEX II - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

C1N1 Household needs medical care					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 No	800	52.5	52.5	52.5
	1 Yes	723	47.4	47.5	100.0
	Total	1523	99.9	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.1		
Total		1524	100.0		

C1N2 Household's needs for medical care					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 medication	385	25.3	53.3	53.3
	2 hospitalisation/ambulance	116	7.6	16.0	69.3
	3 visit to a doctor	139	9.1	19.2	88.5
	4 delivery	19	1.2	2.6	91.1
	5 vaccination	16	1.0	2.2	93.4
	6 care of pregnant women	10	.7	1.4	94.7
	7 psychological assistance	6	.4	.8	95.6
	8 unspecified need	9	.6	1.2	96.8
	10 combination of the above	23	1.5	3.2	100.0
	Total	723	47.4	100.0	
Missing	0 no medical needs	800	52.5		
	System	1	.1		
	Total	801	52.6		
Total		1524	100.0		

C2 Ambulance arrival					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 arrived in one hour or less	17	1.1	5.3	5.3
	2 arrived after few hours	34	2.2	10.6	15.9
	3 arrived after 24 hours	14	.9	4.4	20.2
	4 didn't arrive at all	90	5.9	28.0	48.3
	5 used our own transportation	14	.9	4.4	52.6
	6 we couldn't call an ambulance	152	10.0	47.4	100.0
	Total	321	21.1	100.0	
Missing	98 not applicable	1202	78.9		
	99 no answer	1	.1		
	Total	1203	78.9		
Total		1524	100.0		

C3N Alternatives used for dealing with the ill					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 treating by phone	27	1.8	5.2	5.2

	<i>2 doctor/health worker in the neighborhood</i>	82	5.4	15.9	21.2
	<i>3 wait for help</i>	208	13.6	40.4	61.6
	<i>4 no treatment was provided by a specialist</i>	105	6.9	20.4	81.9
	<i>7 Patient carried to hospital by hands with risk</i>	5	.3	1.0	82.9
	<i>8 The Fire department</i>	2	.1	.4	83.3
	<i>10 We took a risk to go to hospital</i>	12	.8	2.3	85.6
	<i>11 We stocked on medication</i>	11	.7	2.1	87.8
	<i>12 We used herbal medication and what is available instead</i>	29	1.9	5.6	93.4
	<i>13 we found medication by other means</i>	33	2.2	6.4	99.8
	<i>16 Patinet died while waiting for ambulance</i>	1	.1	.2	100.0
	Total	515	33.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1009	66.2		
Total		1524	100.0		

C4A IDF soldiers entered house					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	<i>1 no</i>	1116	73.2	73.2	73.2
	<i>2 left without damages</i>	209	13.7	13.7	86.9
	<i>3 left with some damages</i>	116	7.6	7.6	94.6
	<i>4 left with lots of damages</i>	49	3.2	3.2	97.8
	<i>5 stole some values</i>	9	.6	.6	98.4
	<i>6 house totally damaged</i>	6	.4	.4	98.8
	<i>8 lots of damages and property stolen</i>	12	.8	.8	99.5
	<i>10 kicked us out & used house as military post</i>	6	.4	.4	99.9
	<i>11 yes, and took son as human shield</i>	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	1524	100.0	100.0	

C4B IDF soldiers entered office					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	<i>1 no</i>	893	58.6	76.3	76.3
	<i>2 left without damages</i>	50	3.3	4.3	80.6
	<i>3 left with some damages</i>	82	5.4	7.0	87.6
	<i>4 left with lots of damages</i>	92	6.0	7.9	95.5
	<i>5 stole some values</i>	19	1.2	1.6	97.1
	<i>6 office totally damaged</i>	16	1.0	1.4	98.5
	<i>11 lots of damages and property stolen</i>	15	1.0	1.3	99.7
	<i>13 Entered shop, but we do not know the damages</i>	1	.1	.1	99.8
	<i>15 Shelled my place of work</i>	1	.1	.1	99.9
	<i>18 yes, and they stayed in it</i>	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	1170	76.8	100.0	
Missing	<i>8 I do not work</i>	242	15.9		
	<i>17 I work in Israel</i>	6	.4		
	<i>88 don't know</i>	106	7.0		

	Total	354	23.2		
Total		1524	100.0		

C5 Household members injured or killed					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 no	1428	93.7	93.8	93.8
	2 injured	70	4.6	4.6	98.4
	3 killed	22	1.4	1.4	99.9
	5 some killed, some injured	2	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	1522	99.9	100.0	
Missing	6 I live alone in the house	1	.1		
	88 don't know	1	.1		
	Total	2	.1		
Total		1524	100.0		

C6N1 Household members arrested					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	0 No	1340	87.9	88.2	88.2
	1 Yes	180	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	1520	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	4	.3		
Total		1524	100.0		

C6N2 Treatment of arrested household members					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	2 for few hours	34	2.2	18.9	18.9
	3 for few days	77	5.1	42.8	61.7
	4 still in detention and we have had news	33	2.2	18.3	80.0
	5 detention in an unknown place	32	2.1	17.8	97.8
	7 used as human shield	4	.3	2.2	100.0
	Total	180	11.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1344	88.2		
Total		1524	100.0		

C7 Living conditions compared to before the reoccupation					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 same	47	3.1	3.1	3.1
	2 worse but manageable	154	10.1	10.1	13.2
	3 worse - difficult	472	31.0	31.1	44.3
	4 worse - destitute	846	55.5	55.7	100.0
	Total	1519	99.7	100.0	
Missing	88 don't know	2	.1		
	99 no answer	3	.2		
	Total	5	.3		

Total	1524	100.0		
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C8N Most important need					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 food	388	25.5	25.7	25.7
	2 water	94	6.2	6.2	31.9
	3 sanitation/hygiene	26	1.7	1.7	33.7
	4 electricity	24	1.6	1.6	35.3
	5 health/medication	101	6.6	6.7	41.9
	6 shelter	15	1.0	1.0	42.9
	7 money	260	17.1	17.2	60.2
	8 clothing	1	.1	.1	60.2
	9 child psychological support	151	9.9	10.0	70.2
	10 adult psychological support	228	15.0	15.1	85.4
	11 combination of the above	8	.5	.5	85.9
	12 All of the above	53	3.5	3.5	89.4
	13 employment	3	.2	.2	89.6
	14 nothing	88	5.8	5.8	95.4
	18 Ending occupation	68	4.5	4.5	99.9
	20 To release father from prison	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	1509	99.0	100.0		
Missing	88 don't know	2	.1		
	99 no answer	13	.9		
	Total	15	1.0		
Total	1524	100.0			

C9N Nature of food needed					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 baby food	108	7.1	19.6	19.6
	2.00 basic commodities such as flour	339	22.2	61.6	81.3
	3.00 dairy products	26	1.7	4.7	86.0
	4.00 canned food	4	.3	.7	86.7
	5.00 vegetables and fruits	23	1.5	4.2	90.9
	6.00 meat/poultry	1	.1	.2	91.1
	8.00 combination of the above	46	3.0	8.4	99.5
	10.00 all of the above	3	.2	.5	100.0
	Total	550	36.1	100.0	
Missing	System	974	63.9		
Total		1524	100.0		

C10N Most important affect for children					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 shooting	574	37.7	38.5	38.5
	2 violence on TV	160	10.5	10.7	49.2
	3 confinement at home	86	5.6	5.8	55.0

	4 witnessing military operations	308	20.2	20.7	75.7
	5 arrest, round up and beating of relatives	11	.7	.7	76.4
	6 injury and death of relatives	3	.2	.2	76.6
	7 other	19	1.2	1.3	77.9
	8 combination of the above	330	21.7	22.1	100.0
	Total	1491	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	33	2.2		
Total		1524	100.0		

C11 Duration of coping with money					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 for a long time	128	8.4	8.9	8.9
	2 only for few weeks	447	29.3	31.1	40.0
	3 only for few days	471	30.9	32.8	72.8
	4 ran out of money	371	24.3	25.8	98.6
	5 no use for money while we are under curfew	17	1.1	1.2	99.8
	6 No need for money because we can't go and buy anything	2	.1	.1	99.9
	7 Forced to manage with or without money	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	1437	94.3	100.0	
Missing	88 don't know	77	5.1		
	99 no answer	10	.7		
	Total	87	5.7		
Total		1524	100.0		

C12 Clean water conditions					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 no disruptions	574	37.7	37.7	37.7
	2 disruption for few days	641	42.1	42.1	79.9
	3 still no water	204	13.4	13.4	93.3
	5 comes and goes	70	4.6	4.6	97.9
	7 we use own private wells	20	1.3	1.3	99.2
	8 water is very scarce	8	.5	.5	99.7
	10 we buy water	4	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	1521	99.8	100.0	
Missing	88 don't know	3	.2		
Total		1524	100.0		

C13 Electricity conditions					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 no disruptions	469	30.8	30.8	30.8
	2 disruption for few days	774	50.8	50.8	81.6
	3 still no electricity	70	4.6	4.6	86.2
	5 comes and goes	207	13.6	13.6	99.7

	6 we have a generator	4	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	1524	100.0	100.0	

C14N Reasons for not buying essential items for household					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 because of the curfew	589	38.6	38.9	38.9
	2 shops are closed	18	1.2	1.2	40.0
	3 nothing in the shops	274	18.0	18.1	58.1
	5 don't have money	276	18.1	18.2	76.3
	6 can buy essential items	214	14.0	14.1	90.4
	7 other reasons	6	.4	.4	90.8
	8 because of closure	26	1.7	1.7	92.5
	9 price increase	12	.8	.8	93.3
	10 combination of the above	101	6.6	6.7	100.0
	Total	1516	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	.5		
Total		1524	100.0		

C15 Personal knowledge of families who took in other people					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 yes	833	54.7	55.1	55.1
	2 no	680	44.6	44.9	100.0
	Total	1513	99.3	100.0	
Missing	88 don't know	9	.6		
	99 no answer	2	.1		
	Total	11	.7		
Total		1524	100.0		

C16N Witnessing of looting or damage by soldiers in uninhabited houses of the neighb					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 house/s was damaged	247	16.2	16.3	16.3
	2 house/s was looted	105	6.9	6.9	23.2
	3 shop/s was damaged	46	3.0	3.0	26.3
	4 shop/s was looted	34	2.2	2.2	28.5
	8 house is looted with residents inside	3	.2	.2	28.7
	12 shop was destroyed with owner inside	1	.1	.1	28.8
	20 vandalizing banks + chamber of commerce	3	.2	.2	29.0
	21 vandalizing and looting companies and offices	10	.7	.7	29.6
	22 vandalizing schools and public places	18	1.2	1.2	30.8
	23 vandalizing agricultural property	4	.3	.3	31.1
	24 destroying cars	12	.8	.8	31.9
	50 other	3	.2	.2	32.1
	60 combination of the above	129	8.5	8.5	40.6
	80 did not witness anything	901	59.1	59.4	100.0

	Total	1516	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	.5		
Total		1524	100.0		

C17A Area					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 city	1075	70.5	70.5	70.5
	2 village	378	24.8	24.8	95.3
	3 RC	71	4.7	4.7	100.0
	Total	1524	100.0	100.0	

C18 Location					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 Hebron	251	16.5	16.5	16.5
	2 Bethlehem	252	16.5	16.5	33.0
	3 Ramallah	265	17.4	17.4	50.4
	4 Nablus	253	16.6	16.6	67.0
	5 Jenin	250	16.4	16.4	83.4
	6 Tulkarem & Qalqilia	253	16.6	16.6	100.0
	Total	1524	100.0	100.0	

C20 Gender					
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Valid	1 male	882	57.9	58.0	58.0
	2 female	639	41.9	42.0	100.0
	Total	1521	99.8	100.0	
Missing	9	1	.1		
	99 no answer	2	.1		
	Total	3	.2		
Total		1524	100.0		