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The Consequences of the Hebron Protocol on Businesses

The case of the old city of Hebron (H2 area)

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M.A. Thesis

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Thesis Approval
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Jerusalem – Palestine

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Dedication

إهداء:

أهدي بحثي المتواضع هذا الى سكان البلدة القديمة في مدينه الخليل رمز والصمود والثبات على الحق،
والى كل الشرفاء في الوطن وكل من يقدم الدعم والمساندة للمرابطين القابضين على الجمر.

الى جميع من وقفوا الى جانبي وقدموا الدعم لإنجاز هذا البحث من سكان البلدة القديمة وخارجها.

إهداء خاص الى والدي العزيز المربي الفاضل رئيس جمعيه المربي الفاضل في الخليل (الأستاذ يحيى
الأدهمي).

إلى زوجتي الحنون (أم يحيى) وابنائي الاعزاء، الى أمي الحنون، وإخواني وأخواتي وإلى جميع الأصدقاء
والاقارب والأحبة في الوطن والخارج.

مع كل الحب والاحترام

منذر يحيى حامد الادهمي

Munther Yahya Hamed Adhami

Declaration:

I certify that this thesis, submitted for a Master's Degree, is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this study (or any part of the same) has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:

Munther Yahya Hamed Adhami

Date: 7/5/2020

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Abstract:

The importance of Hebron's old city stems from its religious, cultural, and economic significance. Since the Israeli occupation, Hebron has been a contested place between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Palestinians of the old city have always suffered the consequences of the occupation and the presence of Israeli settlements within Palestinian neighbourhoods. In the aftermath of Oslo Accord (in 1993), a special agreement was developed for Hebron, the *Hebron Protocol* at a later stage (in 1997). The agreement resulted in dividing the city into two parts, with main religious, historical, and commercial venues kept under Israeli security control. The direct consequence of the protocol is segregation between H-1 and H-2, and fragmentation of the Israeli-controlled area (H-2). The agreement has granted the Israelis extra power that enabled them to isolate the old city through the imposition of harsh security measures, which severely isolated the old city; therefore contributed significantly to cease of businesses and abandonment of many residences, and resulting restrictions on access to services and hindrance of natural growth.

The main goal of the study is to diagnose main factors that contributed to the decline of businesses and investment concerning the terms of the Hebron Protocol. To achieve this, the study staged interviews and focus groups, in addition to a questionnaire distributed to the study sample, to explicitly illustrate the negative impact of the protocol on businesses from all of its dimensions. The main motivators for doing this thesis are: To demonstrate the weak terms of the agreement and highlight Israelis' breach of the agreement terms and therefore demonstrate the consequences on businesses and investment in the old city.

The study results concluded that the Protocol contributed to the isolation and segregation of the old city, decline in security and services, and therefore decline in businesses and investment, with severe economic losses for all economic sectors.

Despite what the study showed about the existence of a relationship between the protocol and businesses, and lack of commitment of the Israelis to the terms of the Protocol resulted in security, economic, and social consequences, altogether pushed businesses and investment to abandon the area, it appears that this protocol gives way to the Israeli occupation to further control civic space in favour of Israeli settlements' expansions, and hence impose their sovereignty over the old city. Such circumstances created a coercive environment and forced

the majority of businesses and many residences to leave the area. This is reflected in a significant negative impact, not only on the demographic composition of the old city and on Palestinian businesses, but also all other sectors such as transportation, tourism, and services.

تبعات بروتوكول الخليل على النشاطات الاقتصادية البلدة القديمة في الخليل (H-2) نموذجاً

إعداد: منذر يحيى حامد الأدهمي

إشراف: د. عفيف حمد

الملخص

تتبع مكانه البلدة القديمة في مدينه الخليل من أهميتها الدينية والحضارية والاقتصادية. وتعتبر البلدة القديمة بؤره صراع بين الفلسطينيين والاسرائيليين منذ الاحتلال الاسرائيلي عام 1967، حيث عانى السكان الفلسطينيون باستمرار تبعات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي على المنطقة والتواجد الاستيطاني بين الاحياء الفلسطينية.

في سياق اتفاق اوسلو عام 1993، تم ابرام اتفاق خاص بالخليل (بروتوكول الخليل) والذي تم توقيعه لاحقا في عام 1997 نتج عن تلك الاتفاقية تقسيم مدينة الخليل الى قسمين، مع ابقاء المقدسات الدينية والمعالم التاريخية والمراكز التجارية الرئيسية تحت السيطرة الأمنية الاسرائيلية. النتيجة المباشرة للاتفاقية هي عزل منطقة السيطرة الإسرائيلية (H-2) عن منطقة السيطرة الفلسطينية (H-1) وتقطيع اوصال المنطقة الخاضعة للسيطرة الإسرائيلية. فمنذ وجود بروتوكول الخليل على أرض الواقع فرضت الاجهزة الأمنية الاسرائيلية اجراءات امنيه صارمه على السكان الفلسطينيين ادت الى عزل البلدة القديمة عن باقي المدينة وبالتالي ساهمت بشكل كبير في اغلاق معظم المنشآت الاقتصادية وهجره العديد من السكان، حيث منحت الاتفاقية الطرف الاسرائيلي مزيدا السيطرة على البلدة القديمة. أدى ذلك ايضا الى اعاقه التطور الطبيعي للمنطقة وتقويض امكانية الوصول للخدمات الاساسية.

إنّ الهدف الاساسي من الدراسة هو تشخيص العوامل الأساسية التي ادت الى تراجع الاستثمار في البلدة القديمة وعلاقه ذلك باتفاقية بروتوكول الخليل. لتحقيق ذلك، تم إجراء مقابلات وعمل مجموعات التركيز، كذلك الاستبانة حيث وزعت على عينه مجتمع الدراسة، بهدف توضيح الأثر السلبي للاتفاقية على الاعمال الاقتصادية في ابعادها المختلفة. هناك دافعين أساسيين لإجراء هذا البحث، الأول: هدفت هذه الدراسة لإبراز ثغرات هذه الاتفاقية (نقاط الضعف)، والجانب الآخر هو ابراز انتهاكات الطرف الاسرائيلي لبنود الاتفاقية، ومن ثم استعراض نتائج الاتفاق على الاعمال الاقتصادية والاستثمار في البلدة القديمة.

وقد أنت أهم نتائج الدراسة إلى أنّ بروتوكول الخليل ساهم في عزل و تقطيع أوصال البلدة القديمة، مما أدى الى تراجع الوضع الامني والخدماتي، وبالتالي تراجع الوضع الاقتصادي والاستثمار، رافقه خسائر فادحة في جميع القطاعات الاقتصادية.

وعلى الرغم مما اثبتته نتائج الدراسة من وجود علاقة بين الاتفاق والحركة الاقتصادية، وأن عدم التزام الطرف الاسرائيلي بنود تلك الاتفاقية نتج عنه تبعات امنيه واقتصاديه واجتماعيه ادت بالمجمل الى توقف الحركة الاقتصادية في المنطقة، فقد أشارت تلك النتائج أيضاً إلى أن الاتفاق قد منح الاحتلال أدوات اضافية مكنته من السيطرة المكانية لصالح التوسع الاستيطاني وفرض السيادة الاسرائيلية على البلدة القديمة. لذلك فإنّ استمرار تلك السياسات أدى إلى فرض بيئة صعبة جداً بل طارئه للسكان والاستثمار في البلدة القديمة، وبالتالي فقد انعكس ذلك أيضاً ليس فقط على التركيبة الديموغرافية وسير الحياة الاقتصادية في البلدة القديمة، بل على جميع القطاعات الأخرى كالسياحة والمواصلات والخدمات.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

Hebron is considered one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. It has its exceptionality inspired by its economic, historic, cultural, and religious significance¹, the most important of which is the Ibrahimi Mosque (Tomb of Patriarchs). In 2017, UNESCO recognized the old city of Hebron as a world heritage² site, which enlightens its cultural and historic values. Hebron is the largest Governorate in the West Bank in terms of area, population, and economic activity (17,661 active businesses, comprising 18% of the West Bank's total) (UN Hebron Strategy, 2016). About 60% of all imported products enter the West Bank via Hebron and 40% of Palestinian industries rely upon the city of Hebron to sell products (Badil, 2016).

Since the Israeli occupation, the city of Hebron is a contested place for both Palestinians and Israelis. For the Palestinians, the Mosque symbolizes their religious heritage *Turath (history, heritage, and culture)* (University of California, 1994). Within the context of Palestinian—Israeli attempts to resolve the conflict in the aftermath of Oslo accords, Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) signed Hebron Protocol in 1997, which divided the city of Hebron into two parts (UN Peacemaker, 1997). The area identified as H-2 covers approximately 20% of the municipal boundary in the city of Hebron and it had become under Israelis' full security control. It comprises the entire religious, historical sites, the Old Market (Al Suq), and areas adjacent to the Israeli settlements. Hebron 1 (H-1), comprising 80 percent of the city and had become under the full Palestinian Authority (PA) security and civil control. H-2 area is home to approximately 40,000 Palestinians and a few hundred Israeli settlers living in four settlement compounds and guarded by approximately 1500 Israeli security personnel (Protection Cluster, 2014).

Since Hebron Protocol came into existence in 1997, the old city of Hebron has been on the constant decline in the entire livelihood as a result of Israeli harsh security practices against Palestinians in the area. Such a policy is believed to have been exacerbated by the terms of the agreement and Israelis' abuse of these terms. Previous studies indicated that the agreement has been manipulated as an instrument of evacuating the Palestinian residents and businesses rather than restoration of normal livelihood (Shhadeh, 2016; B'Tselem, 2019).

In economic terms, the restrictions arising from closure created a high level of uncertainty and increased transaction costs (World Bank, 2007, 2008). About 60 thousand people from H-1 are disconnected from the markets, with an immediate impact on 80% of the shops used to be operating in the old city. An estimated loss of segregation resulting lack of commercial exchange with the old city is \$ 1.5 million per month. At present, the value of commercial exchange between H-2 with H-1 and the district does not exceed \$ 8,000 per month (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019).

Since 1997, marking the creation of the protocol, 210 business remained operating out of a total of 1,829 businesses, way below their potential; 512 businesses are closed by military commands. The remaining 1107 businesses have closed due to Israeli physical barriers. The

¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1DQ79hHBeU&has_verified=1

² <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1565/>

vast majority of businesses have relocated their businesses to H-1 since the existence of the protocol. This number represents 76.6 percent of all the commercial establishments in the surveyed area. Out of the closed businesses, 62.4 percent (1,141) were closed during the second intifada, which is considered the first security crackdown since the creation of the protocol. As a result, out of the remaining population of the old city of Hebron, 75% live below the poverty line. A survey conducted by the Ministry of National Economy indicated that poverty and unemployment rates have been on a steady increase since 1997 (Badil, 2016). The average income per household in the H-2 area is about \$160 per month compared to its average for the West Bank is \$405. In 2002, the harsh economic situation led the International Committee of the Red Cross to launch a long-term food-distribution program, extended to cover 2,500 families in the Old City, to include all households in the restricted areas (B'Tselem, 2007).

1.2. Problem Statement of the study.

While the Hebron Protocol sanctioned that closures should be lifted and unity of the city would be maintained, many studies indicated that Israelis' practices, demonstrated in a division of the city and segregation of the Palestinian Neighbourhoods in H-2, are exacerbated by the terms of Hebron Protocol that provided the Israelis extra security instruments by which they created a coercive environment that led to cease of investment in the old city of Hebron. Israelis' interruption on the deployment of Palestinian security in H-2 to reinforce law and has vacated the old city of its security needs necessary for the sustainability of businesses. Such volatile living conditions, including closures of businesses by military commands, significantly undermined the commercial activities (LRC, 2006; World Bank, 2008; OCHA, 2017; Shhadeh, 2010; B'Tselem, 2007, 2019; NRC, 2013, 2019).

In breach of the agreement, closures further reinforced, and H-2 has suffered a big security vacuum as a result of the lack of law enforcement. This environment turned the area into a resort for criminals, which encountered a major challenging factor for Palestinian residents and businesses (Shhadeh, 2010). Many studies illustrated that while the agreement aimed at maintaining a normal life and retrieving access to the entire area of H-2, it became an instrument of segregation and restrictions (OCHA, 2018; Badil, 2016).

As a result of the above conditions, out of 1829 businesses, the remaining active businesses are 210, while the majority (1107 businesses) have closed due to lack of access to customers and suppliers (B'Tselem, 2007, Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, 2011). The economic losses out of the decline in revenue and investment are estimated to **620 million USD**, with a daily loss of **70,000 USD** over more than 20 years of closures. The direct and indirect cost of closures of businesses indicated a loss of **485 million USD** of economically active businesses. (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019). Nowadays, after 22 years of signing the protocol, remaining businesses are **estimated to 10%**. The economic damage also shows that eight out of ten adults are unemployed and an estimated **75%** of the families live below the poverty line (Land Research Centre, 2006; B'Tselem, 2007).

Interviewees (Appendix I) indicated that since Hebron Protocol came into existence the Israelis have reinforced restrictions on movement, which triggered the cease of businesses and investment in H-2. Hereafter, the Israelis applied a policy of segregation by imposing harsh security measures in H-2, and they ignored law enforcement, which turned the old city into a safe shelter for criminals and made it impossible to maintain businesses. The problem of the research is demonstrated in two aspects: **First, extra instruments that Hebron Protocol**

granted the Israelis. Second, **Israelis' breach of the terms of the agreement.** The long-term curfews during 2000-2004, frequently imposed on the H-2 area, came in the context of Israelis' absolute security control of the area, resulting in a state of uncertainty, during which hundreds of businesses in the old city closed and relocated to H-1 (Badil, 2016).

Based on the above facts and developments after the Protocol, the research problem highlights **the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on the business environment in the old city of Hebron.**

1.3. Importance and Justifications of the Study

Scientific importance:

1. The study would demonstrate a critical analysis of the terms and the conditions of the Hebron Protocol.
2. The study will be the first one to measure the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on the old city of Hebron from the economic perspective and would diagnose the main causes of economic decline concerning the Hebron Protocol.

Practical importance:

1. The research investigates continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation of the Palestinian residents of the old city of Hebron, and analyses the main causes of the deterioration of the Palestinian livelihood concerning Hebron Protocol.
2. It demonstrates the consequences of Israelis' abuse of the agreement exploitation of the (weak) terms of the agreement;
3. It will be a helpful tool for all involved agencies operating in H-2 better diagnose main factors resulting decline of businesses, concerning the Hebron Protocol;
4. Decision-makers and other studies can benefit from the results and recommendations of this study.

1.4. Justifications of the study

- The study will shed light on the weak terms of the agreement, through which the Israelis reinforced control over the main commercial venues of Hebron city.
- The study demonstrates Israelis' abuse of agreement terms that compromised Palestinian's livelihood and led to forced eviction.
- The study would provide a critical analysis of the Hebron Protocol and hence demonstrate its significant contribution to the decline of businesses in the old city.
- The research will be a helpful tool for other studies interested in the consequences of the agreements signed with the Israelis.

1.5. The research objectives:

The general objective of the study is to diagnose the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on the Businesses in the old city of Hebron (H-2 area). Besides, it investigates the root causes of the problem and the challenges residents and businesses are facing as a result of the

terms and conditions of the agreement from the security, social, demographic, and service dimensions, altogether affecting the businesses in the old city of Hebron.

1.5.1 Specific objective:

The specific objective of the study is to illustrate the negative impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and services provided perspectives.

1.6. Research questions:

The main research question will test the exact impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron during the period from 1997- 2020. Specifically, this study addresses the following research question:

- *Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on economic, security, social, demographic, and services provision aspects in the old city of Hebron?* The main question is attributed to the following sub-questions:
 1. Does Hebron Protocol have an impact on businesses of the old city of Hebron, from the security perspective?
 2. Does Hebron Protocol have an impact on businesses of the old city of Hebron, from the perspective of social relations?
 3. Does Hebron Protocol have an impact on businesses of the old city of Hebron, from the demographic perspective?
 4. Does Hebron Protocol have an impact on businesses of the old city of Hebron, from the services provided perspective?

1.7. Research hypothesis

In view of the aforementioned questions, the research examines the following main hypothesis:

There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on the economic, security, social, demographic, and services in the old city of Hebron.

The main hypothesis is attributed to the following sub-hypothesis:

- There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the security perspective.
- There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the social perspective.
- There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the demographic perspective.
- There is no impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the services' provision perspective.
- There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision

dimensions related to the demographic variables (age, type of business, and income before and after the closure).

1.8. Limitations and obstacles of the study:

1. Scarcity of previous studies on the economic aspect of Hebron Protocol and difficulty of obtaining available data from officials, possibly for security and
2. Similar agreements are not available in the international community to compare with Hebron Protocol. Therefore, a comparison was made only with agreements from certain perspectives to serve the study.
3. Difficulty identifying and reaching owners of closed businesses after they had relocated (scattered) to the H-1 area.
4. Lack of awareness of the Hebron community of Hebron Protocol and its consequences.

1.8.1. Definition of Key Terms

Hebron Protocol: The Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron was signed on 17 January 1997 by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), under the supervision of U.S. Secretary of State. It concerned the partial redeployment of Israeli military forces from Hebron under the 1995 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip ("Oslo II"). According to the Protocol, Area H-1 (about 80%) came under Palestinian control, while Area H-2 (comprising the remaining 20%) remained under Israeli control. The protocol has never been ratified by either of the contracting parties.

H-2: Stands for Hebron 2, under the Hebron Protocol. It represents the area of the city of Hebron from which Israel military forces did not redeploy. Israel retained all powers and responsibilities for internal security and public order. The civil powers and responsibilities are transferred to the Hebron Municipality (the council), except for those relating to Israelis and their property which shall continue to be exercised by the Israeli Military Government. Plainclothes unarmed municipal inspectors monitor and enforce vis-a-vis Palestinians, compliance with the laws and regulations, within the civil powers and responsibilities transferred to the Hebron Municipality.

H-1: Stands for Hebron 1, under Hebron Protocol. The Palestinian Police will assume responsibilities in Area H-1 similar to those in other cities in the West Bank. All civil powers and responsibilities will be transferred to Hebron Municipality in the City of Hebron. Palestinian police stations will be established in Area H-1, where they should exercise their security operations freely. Any activity or movement by it outside this area will be carried out after coordination and confirmation through the DCO.

TIPH: Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) was a civilian observer mission in the West Bank city of Hebron established in 1994. Both the Israeli Government and Palestinian Authority called for its creation. It “monitor[ed] the situation in Hebron and record[ed] breaches of international humanitarian law, the agreements on Hebron between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and human rights, in conformity with internationally recognized standards.” It also monitored Israeli settlers and aimed to help the Arab Palestinians who

currently live there. It was staffed by personnel from Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

Segregation regime:

The closure of five Palestinian Neighbourhoods, extending from the settlement of Kiryat Arba in the east to the Jewish cemetery in the west. It started pursuant to the Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre in 1994, tightened in the Intifada of 2000, and reinforced from 2000 onwards with manned checkpoints, creating a contiguous strip of land isolated from the rest of the city and partially or fully off-limits to Palestinians. As referred by many studies, the Hebron Protocol has contributed to the segregation regime due to the division of the city.

The old city of Hebron: Areas, suburbs, and Neighbourhoods surrounding the Ibrahim Mosque and currently under full Israeli control, which includes places of worship, museums, and shopping venues. It is divided into nine quarters:

- Sheikh 'Aly Bakka quarter
- [Zawiya](#) quarter (Haret ez Zawieh)
- Glassmakers quarter (Haret Kezazin)
- el Akkabeah (quarter of the ascent)
- Haram quarter
- Muheisin quarter (name of a family);
- Cotton quarter (Haret Kotton)
- the eastern quarter (Haret Mesherky)
- The new quarter The Old City includes three small [Israeli settlements](#) on its periphery – Beit Hadassah, Beit Romano, and Avraham Avinu – which have been described as forming a "loosely contiguous Jewish Neighbourhood or a "Jewish Quarter." Tel Rumeida Settlement was Appendix to continuously closed area since 2000.

DOC: District Liaison Office. Joint Coordination and Cooperation Committee established to provide coordination and cooperation in civil affairs between the Palestinians and Israel.

1.2.9. Structure of the Thesis:

The thesis work is organized and structured as follows:

Chapter one: In this chapter, the introduction of the study was presented. It is followed by the articulation of the problem statement. Next, the research objectives and questions were stated followed by the study dimensions. Finally, the significance of the study, the limitations, and the definitions of key terms were provided.

Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework and the literature review, which provides analyses of Hebron Protocol, consequences, and its impact on economic activities are presented in the literature.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology of the research; a detailed explanation of the research approach and design used to address the research objectives of this study.

Chapter Four presents the results of the research in qualitative and quantitative data. A profile of the context is first given before going into details of the study findings.

Chapter Five presents a follow-up to the research results presented in chap. 4. Discussions, conclusions as well as the recommendations are made based on the findings.

1.9. Dimensions of the Study

Scope: The study will examine the relationship between the Hebron Protocol and the decline of businesses in the old city of Hebron.

1. Human dimension: This study will focus on two categories of businesses that have been economically devastated as a result of the Israelis' closures and restrictions on movement, which are: Businesses that remained economically active (minority), and businesses that ceased operating.

2. Regional dimension: This study will focus on the impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron (Israeli-controlled area).

3. Time dimension: The data collected for this study during the first semester of the academic year 2020.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework & Literature review

2.1. The Importance of Hebron city:

Hebron city is located approximately 30 km south of Jerusalem. It is named after the Prophet Abraham, 'AL Khalil' (in Arabic, الخليل), the friend of God. Its 'old city' is one of the oldest constantly populated cities in the world. Its religious value has contributed to cultural heritage. The old city is enriched with a variety of cultures inherited throughout the generations, and hence it has its exceptionality, stems from its historic, cultural, religious, and economic significance. The presence of the Ibrahimi Mosque where prophets' remains are held gave it fame and secrecy (Shhadeh, 2010). Hebron is best known as a large trade center in the West Bank and has long been known for its traditional trades and handicrafts. (Ma'an Development Center, 2008).

Therefore, the diversity of cultures and nations lived in it throughout history enriched the city with significant cultural and historic legacy³. The history recorded excavations during the 1960s and the 1980s of the last century, which indicated that the Canaanites first lived in Tell Rumeida suburb in Hebron, their center of living where prophet Abraham had stayed until he died and buried with his family in the Ibrahimi mosque (the Tomb of Patriarchs). Moslems had added to the legacy and the culture of the city, especially in the regime of Mamelukes and the Ottomans, which appeared in their architecture surrounding the Ibrahimi Mosque (Dandis, 2016).

2.1.1. Contested place since 1967:

Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, the old city of Hebron is a contested place and is marked with its political and security tension and instability, largely due to the presence of settlements within Palestinian Neighbourhoods. Given the intensive presence of the Jewish community in the heart of the old city, more concentrated in proximity to the Ibrahimi Mosque (Tomb of Patriarchs), the Israeli security imposed severe movement and access restrictions in the friction areas, which triggered relocation of businesses and abandonment of residences. (B'Tselem, 2007, Badil, 2016).

2.1.2. The Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre:

Following the massacre of Muslim worshipers in the Ibrahimi Mosque, carried out by the settler Baruch Goldstein in 1994, the Israelis issued military orders for the closing of many Palestinian businesses that provided a source of livelihood for thousands of Palestinian families (Badil, 2016). The tragic event encountered a significant change in the general security situation in Hebron and led to a dramatic decline in the humanitarian situation for the entire city, resulting from the Israelis' imposition of harsh security measures, including long-term curfew (Ma'an Development Center, 2008).

The assailant sneaked into the praying area after being permitted by the security guards with his weapon. He opened fire on Moslem worshippers, killing 29 worshippers instantly and

³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1DQ79hHBeU&has_verified=1

injuring tens of others. Following this criminal act, riots spread throughout the city, which increased the number of death into 50 within hours. Israel closed down the Holy site for long months, then seized more than half of the mosque and transformed it into a Jewish Synagogue. Muslim worshippers were prevented from reaching the Mosque, while more and more checkpoints had been installed around it, making access to it very difficult. (Ma'an Development Centre, 2008).

2.1.2.1. Consequences of the massacre:

Following the Israeli investigation on the Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre⁴, Moslem worshippers have to go through two checkpoints with turnstiles and electronic gates before being allowed access to perform their prayers. Such measures turned the location into a permanent tension (Hebron Rehabilitation committee, 2011).

The Israeli occupation had reinforced harsh security measures on the old city of Hebron, by tightening closures through installation checkpoints and physical barriers at all roads leading to the old city, which hindered the livelihood of the entire residents and businesses. The long term curfew imposed following the massacre had its detrimental impact on the Palestinian Neighbourhoods located in the vicinity of the Ibrahimi Mosque and surrounding the Israeli settlements. Several hundreds of businesses are sealed shut by Israeli military orders, while the rest of businesses suffered a lack of access to customers and suppliers. Because of this tension, the Palestinian population within the H-2 area has constantly declined, more remarkably since the division of Hebron city, as sanctioned by Hebron Protocol in 1997, creating a further unfriendly environment for both Palestinians and the Jews (Izghayyer, 2010; B'Tselem, 2019).

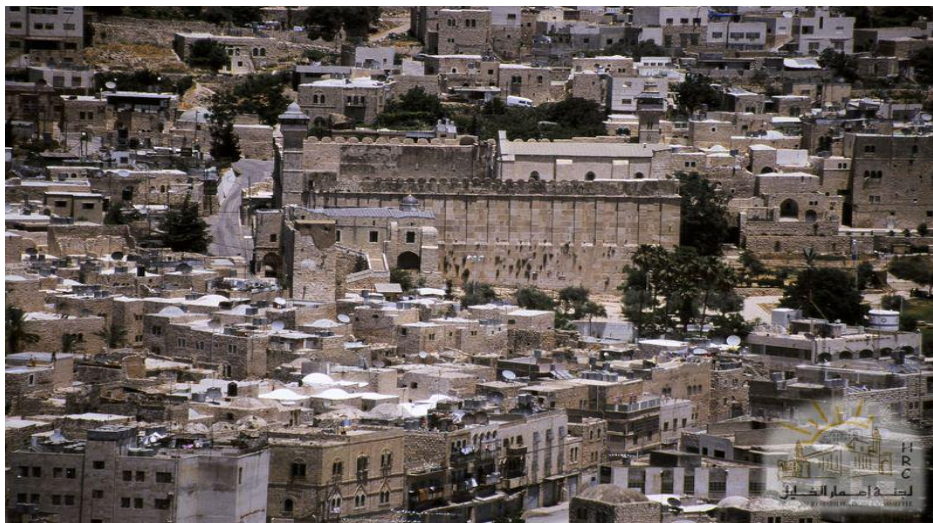


Figure (2.1): The old city of Hebron showing the Ibrahimi Mosque and its surroundings

2.2. Creation of the Hebron Protocol:

^{4 4} https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cave_of_the_Patriarchs_massacre

Shhadeh (2010) stated that the circumstances of the massacre paved the way for a special Protocol for Hebron, and the Israelis took advantage of the event and imposed harsh living conditions for the Palestinians. Afterward, they succeeded to create a fragile agreement, believed to have ignored basic Palestinians' rights. In reality, they sanctioned segregation practices created following the massacre employing the agreement. The direct consequence of Hebron Protocol, entailing full security control of the Israelis, is the division of Hebron into two segregated parts. Based on these facts, Izghayyer (2010) believed that such historical events (HP) as well as other political and security events. In reality, aimed to create a coercive environment for the Palestinians, while expanding Israeli settlers' civic space. Therefore, this agreement is believed to have contributed to the Israelis' systematic policy of forcible transfer. A long term curfew was imposed following the massacre (in 1994) and the second Intifada (in 2000), led to mass closure of the majority of businesses.

2.1. Hebron Protocol: (Full text available in Appendix II)

A senior Staff Member on the U.S, Alan Makovsky commented that the state of Israeli made many significant achievements in the Hebron Protocol, among them is maintaining their sovereignty over the religious sites and the historical parts of Hebron while keeping and protecting the Israeli settlements inside the old city. **The security control over the H-2 area is of particular significance⁵.**



Figure (2.2): Map shows the division of Hebron city into H-1 and H-2 and segregation of H-2.

2.2.2. Circumstances of signing Hebron Protocol:

Due to the specificity of Hebron city, a special agreement was created for Hebron in 1997. Hebron Protocol (HP) is part of Oslo Agreement (Oslo 2 or Taba) signed on 28/9/1995 ⁶after

⁵ closer look:" <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-hebron-agreement-a-closer-look>

⁶ closer look:" <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-hebron-agreement-a-closer-look>

one year of delay of its original date regarding the redeployment of the Israeli forces in six most populated cities in the west bank, with special arrangements for Hebron, given the high Jewish Presence in heart of the city.

The Israeli Parliament ‘‘Knesset’’ voted for the project in majority by 87 votes against 19, which is considered grand compared to the Oslo agreement. The Palestinians made their final endorsement without the approval of the Palestinian Legislative Council. Ultimately, the special agreement was signed between the PLO and the Israeli government after a period of uncertainty and a lot of Palestinian public discussions.

Letters of assurances were written for both the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat about the agreement. (Full script in Appendix I)
To approve the Protocol Concerning Redeployment in Hebron, the Government will act to maintain all conditions and requirements necessary for the existence, security, and consolidation of the Jewish community in Hebron. And details of the redeployment will be determined by the Government of Israel. For this, a special Cabinet meeting was held by Israel as the prime minister made a statement of assurances before the Israeli Parliament (full text in Appendix II).

Agreement on Temporary International Presence:

Signed January 21, 1997

Pursuant to Article VII of Appendix I of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, dated September 28, 1995 ("the Interim Agreement"), which deals with the redeployment of Israeli military forces in the City of Hebron and provides that there will be a Temporary International Presence in Hebron, Israel and the PLO agree as follows: (Refer to Appendix V for full text).

2.2.3. Comments on the terms of Hebron Protocol (related to the economic environment):

The agreement is believed to have reinforced Israelis’ presence in the historical parts of Hebron city. Unlike the context of the Dayton Agreement staged in former Yugoslavia, the case of **Hebron Protocol demonstrated a lack of legal safeguards and arbitration tribunal to file complaints in case of disagreement**. (UN General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia, 1995). Likewise, the absence of international mediation led to a range of violations to the terms of the Protocol as well as to the International Human Rights Law and IHL and created a complicated and volatile environment that triggered the forcible transfer of Palestinian residents and abandonment of businesses (B’Tselem, 2019). Qawasmeh (interview 9, Appendix I) disclosed that the Hebron Protocol lacks exit strategy and safeguards necessary for the protection and sustainability of any international agreement.

Redeployment in Hebron is the term used which means that **the Israelis would not withdraw from the city** similar to what had been agreed upon in other west bank cities. This entailed that the Israeli security forces would not leave the city but rather change locations.

The change of **security responsibilities** entails that Israel would retain their general security power over the city of Hebron in addition to the full security control on the H-2 area. Practices on the ground indicated that the Israelis have enjoyed a high level of flexibility corresponding

to their security pretexts. Therefore, the Israelis arrested, demolished, and pursued wanted people in H-1, with a quick notification given to the Palestinian officials before the operation.

Makovsky and Satloff (1997) stated “Israel alone will determine which pieces of West Bank rural territory will be ceded to Palestinian administration over the next eighteen months and which will be kept under Israeli control, as "specified military locations" - an Oslo II phrase with echoes from Camp David that Netanyahu interprets to mean any area of importance to Israeli security.” (Alan Makovsky, MA, Senior Staff Member on the U.S. House Committee on International Relations).

The article related to both sides’ commitment **to the unity of the City** of Hebron, and their understanding that the division of security responsibility will not divide the city. Practices on the ground divided the city of Hebron into two parts, barriers installed and caused severe segregations in the H-2 area and isolated several Neighbourhoods living in the old city, especially in proximity to the Israeli settlements. Besides, the Israelis through this part of the agreement succeeded to limit Palestinians’ natural demographic growth in the old city and promoted settlements’ expansions and increased settlers’ civic space. AbuSneineh (interview 1, Appendix I) indicated that the Israelis managed to divide the city of Hebron and isolate the main commercial, religious parts of the old city. NRC, 2019, and AlQeisi, interview 6, Appendix I) concluded that the division of Hebron and restrictions on movement have increased transaction costs; moreover, the absence of security created a challenging environment for investment and therefore led to a mass abandonment of businesses.

The item related to planning, Zoning, and Building stated that the two parties are equally committed to preserve and protect the historic character of the city in a way, which does not harm or change that character in any part of the city, is violated at multilayers. AbuSneineh and Dana (interviews 1 and 10, Appendix I) stated that the division of Hebron, sanctioned by the protocol, impeded natural growth, and sustainable development.

The city of Hebron is unique in that it contains a few hundred Israeli settlers live amidst several thousands of Palestinian residents, constraining not only the Palestinian municipality’s ability to maintain basic infrastructure and rehabilitation works but also basic commercial activity. As sanctioned by the Protocol, civil services remain the responsibility of the Palestinian municipality. Yet, Since Oslo accord came into existence, Israeli authorities have not accepted any request from any Municipality to expand its master plan in the Israeli-controlled area while rehabilitation works and infrastructure projects necessary to maintain businesses and residences have been obstructed. In reality, zoning and planning necessary for sustainable development have been hindered through the terms of the agreement (HRC, 2011, World Bank, 2008).

Since the creation of the agreement, the Israeli-control area experienced a loss of resources. Restrictions on movement and transport of goods have had a detrimental impact on economic growth and investment, while the absence of security has thwarted many businesses. These harsh measures have been further reinforced by terms of the agreement, which disadvantaged the Palestinians’ potentials for sustainable development (World Bank 2007, 2008).

The mayor of Hebron indicated that zoning and planning are significantly restricted by the terms of the agreement. Construction and expansion have been minimized. The municipality is usually obstructed works necessary for implementing required infrastructure projects and rehabilitation works necessary for sustainable development (Interview I, Appendix I).

The **reopening of the Wholesale market** - Hasbahe, as a retail market has a connotation that is, **plans to expand the nearby settlement** Abraham Avinu would not be possible in case the wholesale market remained selling wholesale goods, with a lot of movement of vehicles and traders around. Instead, the retail market would minimize the movement of people around so that Israelis' expansion plans would be made possible. These plans illustrated in practices on the ground with new projections in the location aimed to demolish the wholesale market and expand the existing settlement.

The agreement indicated that the Palestinian police could request support from their Israeli counterparts to launch patrols aimed to maintain law and order. The literal meaning of these terms indicated that the Israelis would have the option to refuse coordination since there is no actual obligation. The presence of municipal inspectors has not been a genuine alternative to the presence of the police. Facts on the ground indicated that the Palestinian police are denied access to H-2 to reinforce law and order, with very limited exceptions. The consequences are:

- Widespread crime in the old city of Hebron due to the big security vacuum.
- Encouragement of the criminals to carry on their crimes since a safe resort for them is available in the old city.
- Abandonment of residents and businesses due to the spread of crime.
- Increase of Israeli seizure and control of Palestinian property.

This term of the agreement had thwarted any sovereignty of the Palestinian police in the area of H-2, and in reality reinforced crime since (unarmed) municipality inspectors are lacking powers necessary to reinforce law and order in the area.

During their 22-year mission, the TIPH had never published any reports on the Israeli violations in their areas of responsibility. They maintained security meetings with the Israeli civil administration in which they reportedly raised concerns on human rights violations. Towards the end of 2018, a report ⁷issued by the TIPH was leaked to the public showing several Israeli violations in Hebron city, mainly in their area of responsibility.

On 28 January 2019, the Israeli prime minister terminated the TIPH mission. The direct consequence of the absence of the only international monitor in H-2 was a noted escalation in the area of H-2, particularly in the friction areas of the old city of Hebron. This escalation is demonstrated in the increase of settlers' violence, tightening restrictions and closures. The absence of international monitors led to a new era of human rights violations.

In terms of the applicability of Hebron Protocol, as part of the Oslo Accord, Palestinian leaders of the agreement and politicians disclosed that, after 25 years of the agreement, it is no longer valid since the Israelis are violating all the terms and conditions of the agreement⁸.

2.3. Literature review

2.3.1. Economic Aspect:

⁷ <https://imemc.org/article/tiph-report-reveals-20-year-crisis-in-hebron/>

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=508365786375500>

Many studies considered Hebron as the center of the Palestinian economy and is regarded by many as the industrial and commercial engine of Palestine. Annual exports to Israel from Hebron City amounted to over USD 240 million on average despite numerous restrictions in place. The main economic sectors in Hebron are stones and marble industry, footwear and leather industries, handicrafts (mainly ceramics), food processing, and agriculture (Izghayyer, 2010; B'Tselem, 2007). However, the Hebron economy currently operates below its potential, due to restrictions in access and complications on the transport of goods. The divisions of Hebron city into two parts (H-1 and H-2) created dire facts compromised by the terms of Hebron Protocol that granted the Israelis full control over the H-2 part of the city (Joint UN Strategy, 2016). In the aftermath of the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian economy was expected to enter a period of sustained and rapid growth. Instead, economic activities in the old city have been in steady decline as a result of harsh living conditions, exacerbated by the Israelis' harsh practices in their area of control, with more emphasis on the old city of Hebron. The value of average income losses divided on all businesses during long years of closures and segregations, whether closed or economically active, is about \$ 1,000 per month per each business, added to the loss of capital value (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019).

In the year 1997, Hebron Protocol came into existence and the Israeli security implemented the redeployment operation in H-2, reinforcing security in the settlements' zones where a few hundred Israeli extremist settlers live, guarded, and secured by some 1500-2000 Israeli security forces (ISF). Such segregation has a detrimental impact on the economic disengagement between H-1 and H-2 as well as social connections in Hebron city (Dandis, 2017). In 2001 and 2002, several businesses closed on Ash Shuhada Street, over which parts of the Beit Hadassah settlement is located. Some of these businesses closed under army command and others because of the prolonged curfew, physical barriers, and security restrictions. At the peak of the intifada, in April 2002, the Israeli army took control of the Bab az-Zawiya Neighbourhood, in H-1. Many merchants had transferred their businesses to that location escaping the curfew and Israeli restrictions. Therefore, the Israeli military control emptied the area from most of its businesses after it had been the heart of commerce in Hebron city. Such business abandonment came during long years of a systematic policy of imposition of coercive environment, which resulted in voluntary eviction due to a lack of potentials for the sustainability of the investment. Several attempts were made by business owners (also indicated in the interviews, Appendix I) to retain their businesses but hindered by the Israeli military (Badil, 2016; B'tselem, 2007).

The economic damage shows that of the original population who still live in the old city, eight out of ten adults are unemployed and an estimated 75% of the families live below the poverty line. A survey conducted by the Ministry of National Economy concluded that the average income per household in the area is about \$160 per month while the average for the West Bank is \$405 (Land Research Centre, 2006; B'Tselem, 2007).

In reality, the Hebron Protocol (interim agreement) has segregated the Israeli-controlled area by creating multiple physical barriers and closures, fragmented and disconnected the old city from its surroundings. Besides, the absence of Palestinian police, as well as lack of law enforcement by Israeli officials, have created unsafe work environment and challenging atmosphere for existing businesses, declined the tourism sector necessitating security and facilities, and eventually lead to cease of most of the businesses (Shhadeh, 2010; Ma'an development Centre, 2008). Such a challenging environment forced the vast majority of businesses and many residents to abandon the restricted areas of H-2. According to a 2007 study, 77% of Palestinian businesses (1,619) had closed, either under Israeli military orders or due to restricted access for customers and suppliers, exacerbated by the Seizure of property for

military purposes and expropriation orders (Protection Cluster, 2014). Huge amounts of debts for the municipality remain unpaid due to the lack of law and order. During several years before Hebron Protocol, the Israeli occupation has seized the main bus station and evacuated the area from a big number of transportation stations that were based in the heart of the Hebron city (H-2 now) and used as main business centers in the old city (refer to interview with Hebron Mayor, Appendix I).

Israeli harsh military control, settlers' violence, and lack of law enforcement created a coercive environment and made it impossible for the businesses to maintain their potentials. Consequently, the local economy of the Old City has suffered continued deterioration (Land Research Centre, 2009). Many businesses have withdrawn their investments into safer locations while many families have deserted their houses in the Old City seeking harmless residences. Residents of H-1 owning businesses in H2 relocated to H1 (Badil, 2016). Consequently, Israeli practices have caused significant damage to the economy of the city as a whole. These measures are believed to have been exacerbated by terms and conditions of Hebron Protocol, which granted the Israelis exclusive security control over the area in H-2, through which they segregated and fragmented the old city through their harsh security measures (NRC, 2013), and therefore creating additional layers of restrictions and turning the old city of Hebron a virtually deserted place (B'Tselem, 2007, 2019).

The (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019) estimated that the economic impact of the Israeli harsh security measures is devastating. An economic study indicated that the total direct and indirect losses due to the closure of shops by military orders are estimated to a total of \$ 485 million over the last 25 years of closure, equivalent to \$ 1.6 million a month incurred by the Old City. A second category estimated that of the economic loss for each of the active shops to at least \$ 700 per month, while a third category related to the confiscation of the wholesale vegetable market is estimated to \$ 2.5 million out of the loss of capital. According to Badil (2016), Palestinian businesses that had been closed in the most affected areas represented 76.6 percent of the businesses in the area. Of those shops, 62.4 percent were shut down during the Second Intifada, and the rest had been closed because of Israeli military orders. In Ash-Shuhada Street, for example, there were 304 closed businesses, 218 of them by military orders. Moreover, the Israeli authorities issued 21 military orders that resulted in the forcible transfer of dozens of families from the Old City, around 6,000 individuals in total.

The consequences of the prolonged curfews during 2000-2004 were primarily economic devastation and loss of livelihood. Tension characterized in families restrained at home for a long period caused severe harm to families' wellbeing; access to facilities. Education and health have been compromised by arbitrary military restrictions. The direct consequence of these closures was a mass movement of Palestinian residents and businesses from entire Neighbourhoods located at flashpoints in the first years of the second intifada.

These harsh measures have been reinforced by the terms of Hebron Protocol, with particular emphasis on Israelis' full security control over the H-2 area (Badil, 2016; B'Tselem, 2007, 2019). The segregation regime led to the economic collapse of commercial venues of the old city. The findings of a survey conducted in 2007 show that at least 1,014 Palestinian housing units in the center of Hebron were vacated by their occupants. This number represents 41.9 percent of the housing units in the relevant area. Sixty-five percent (659 units) of the empty apartments became vacant during the second intifada. Regarding Palestinian commercial establishments, 76.6 percent of all the commercial establishments in the surveyed area is no longer operating. Of the closed businesses, 62.4 percent (1,141) were closed during the second

intifada (B'Tselem, 2007). Data on economic losses indicate that the general trade sector was the most damaging in terms of percentage and number of closed businesses. The economic losses in this sector amounted to about \$ 422 million, about 68% of the total losses in 25 years. The vast majority of these shops have closed after Hebron Protocol; 512 out of 1829 businesses closed by Israeli military orders. The Economic Cost of These Military Orders in total is estimated to 485 Million USD, considering the value of the capital and the loss of income during the period of closures (NRC, 2019).

In the aftermath of the Oslo Accord, the Palestinian economy was expected to enter a period of sustained and rapid growth. Instead, after a few years of relative growth, starting in 2000, the economy has been in steady decline and with poverty on a steady increase. The inability to move freely and make a living raised the level of unemployment among Palestinians in restricted areas of H-2 and increased the number of families living under the poverty line. In 2002, the harsh economic situation led the International Committee of the Red Cross to launch a long-term food-distribution program, in which it provided food to some two thousand households, and due to continued poverty, the program was extended to cover 2,500 families, to include all households in the old city. According to a study conducted by the ICRC in 2005, average monthly income for Palestinian households in H-2 stood at only 700 shekels/month[equivalent to \$150] (Badil, 2016, B'Tselem, 2007). The Hebron Chamber of Commerce estimates that the value of a 36m² shop in the center of the old city of Hebron has declined from 125,000JD in 1982 to **less than 5,000JD by 2005**, (Figures available in the municipality archive).

In 2004, the Government of Israel (GOI) and the Palestinian Authority (PA) agreed that the revival of the Palestinian economy was essential to maintain the so-called peace process, which required a major dismantling of closure regime. Nonetheless, the situation in the entire west bank remained to experience severe and expanding restrictions on movement and access, high levels of unpredictability, and therefore struggling economy. Restrictions on movement encountered in the west bank is the larger context of H-2 (World Bank, 2007, 2008).

As a result of the dramatic decline in economic investment and lack of law enforcement in the old city of Hebron, the Municipality of Hebron estimated that the total accumulated economic loss out of lack of revenues, fees, and taxes generated from the services provided in H-2 area is **200 Million ILS** between 1997 and end of 2014, while a yearly gap created as a result of lack of payments and continued provision of services is **1.7 million ILS** every year. Lack of access and lack of law enforcement exacerbated by the division and fragmentation of the H-2 area and lack of law and order is the main cause of this dilemma. The main cause of the decline in the tourism sector is the lack of security necessary to protect tourists and tourist facilities. The absence of police who should provide basic security in the old city of Hebron remains a major challenge for the tourism sector (Interview with the director of the tourism sector on Heron Governorate, Appendix I).

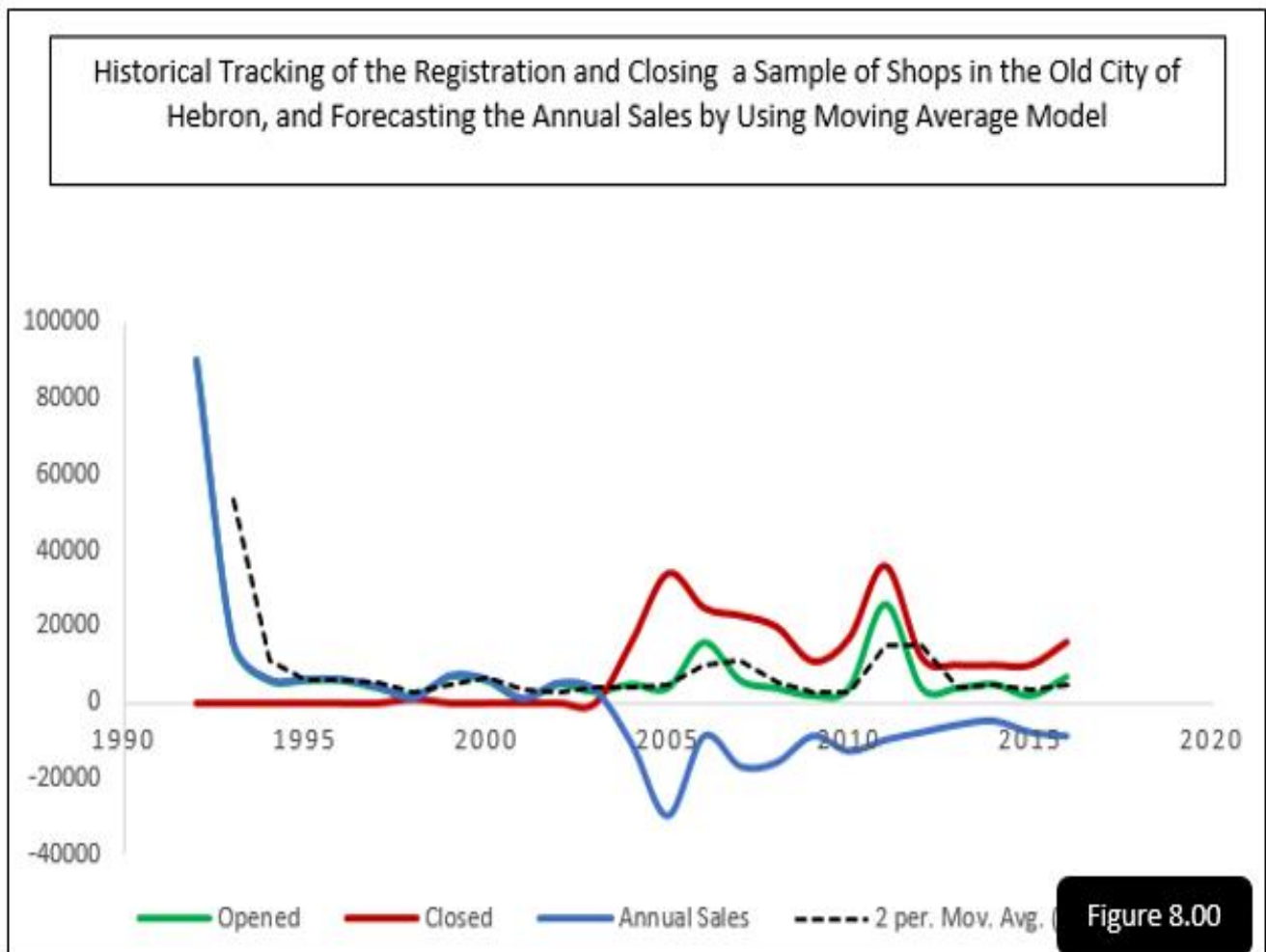
As a result of physical barriers and restrictions on movement, remaining businesses (mainly shopkeepers) resorted to the back- to- back system of transportation at the gates to bring in goods. The wholesale and vegetable markets were relocated to H-1. According to the Palestinian Ministry of National Economy, the shops which were licensed in H-2 before September 2000 were estimated to 1610. By 2006, less than one-third of these shops maintained their licenses. According to the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, of the 650 shops and storage places located in the Old Suq (Alqusaba), just 10% were functioning by much less capacity (land Research Center, 2009). Related to this, Israeli military officials disclosed that

restrictions and the long curfew were predetermined policies. In 2003, the Hebron Brigade deputy commander admitted that such coercive measures led to economic decline was not incidental but rather meant to pressure the residents of Hebron to force them to get rid of *terrorism (from the Israeli perspective)*. Such a declaration was considered as an admission of a policy of collective punishment against the entire community of H-2 (B'Tselem, 2007).

In a study conducted in 2008 on H-2, Maa'n Development Center (2008) concluded that 80 percent of those of working age are unemployed. The study estimated that the value of owned real estate declined dramatically as many businesses lost considerable down payments they had to make to lease their shops. In May 2006, food insecurity rapidly spread in Hebron Governorate. The intensive presence of Israeli security forces and the strict security measures, hindrance of movement of commodities, and therefore changed the entire economic equation between H-1/H-2, added to the uncertainty of openings of businesses in the H-2 area. These conditions have emptied the old city from customers and suppliers and turned it into a ghost town, with the continued closures of Ash Shuhada and Al Sahleh Streets connecting the H-2 area and with H-1. The reopening of the two said locations was among the main terms and conditions of the protocol. Linked to this, the social split with H-1 resulting from the segregation regime encountered a permanent challenge for both residents and traders.

The Hebron municipality reported that due to the lack of access for Palestinian security to the H-2 area, approximately 25% of electricity and water is lost through illegal utility. Besides, payments of fees by active businesses decreased by 90% in the old city, compared to the period before 1997.

Figure 2.3. Historical tracking and registration of shops for the chamber of commerce in the old city of Hebron (NRC, 2019)



Data collected and analyzed by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), demonstrates the historical chronology data that indicates the total monthly or annual sales per shop in the Old City. The figures show that the sales were relatively high from 1992 to 1995. During this period, all businesses in the old city were operating. In 1992, 90 shops were registered in the Chamber of Commerce while at the end of 2001 only one was registered.

H-2 environment turned the area into a resort for criminals and prevailed in the old city of Hebron with a big security vacuum. Personal investments have been entirely directed to H-1 seeking a safe environment of investment. The old city reached a high degree of marginalization and negligence and has become a ghost-like deserted city after it was the commercial heart of the city of Hebron. Scholars suggested that Hebron Protocol provided the Israelis (officials and settlers) with additional instruments that enabled them to execute forced eviction and therefore ‘‘Judaism,’’ schemes. Social split and geographical segregation resulted from full Israeli security control and the full absence of Palestinian security in the area, (Hebron rehabilitation committee; 2011; Dandis, 2016).



Figure (2.4) Ash Suhada Street, the main strategic connection between H-1- and H-2.

A study conducted from 1997 to 31/12/2014, the municipality of Hebron presented some facts, figures, and outcomes of the Israeli measures since the existence of the Hebron Protocol, as reflected on the economic loss of the municipality as a result of the segregation and lack of security control over the H-2 area.

Lack of access to the restricted area and lack of law and order encouraged many of the residents of H-2 to evade payments of the bills of services (mainly electricity and water.) The figures show an astonishing economic decline. The H-2 status hindered the municipality's provision of services to the rest of Hebron city. This created a big economic gap that continued worsening. However, the municipality continued providing services but revenues have ceased since the segregation regime marked since the existence of the Protocol. In the H-2 area, the municipality provides **33% of the total services** in the city of Hebron. Yet, the total amounts of the unpaid water bills as well as illegal usage (theft) of water were estimated to **38 million ILS**. Losses of solid waste services accumulated to **five million ILS**, and lost fees out of yearly permits of the industry and professions amounted to almost **21 million ILS**. It is also estimated that **70%** of real estate owned by the municipality is located in the H-2 area. Among them is mainly the revenue generated from the 40 shops of the wholesale market. An alternative wholesale market was established for **43 Million ILS**. Approximate loss out of the tax revenue for the real estate property existing in H-2 is estimated to **600,000 ILS**. As a result of lack of law and order, the total space of unlicensed buildings is 582,000 m², at a lost revenue of total almost **6,500,000 ILS**, and the loss of revenue out of the wastewater earnings is **7 million ILS**. The loss of taxes resulting from the decline in investment in H-2 is estimated at **20 million ILS**. Fees lost out of yearly payments for business licenses are estimated to **10 million ILS**. The estimated loss from the animals' trade market and slaughterhouse are **6.5 million ILS**. Besides, the municipality remained committed to paying for guarding of the said markets monthly salaries for guards by **10,000 ILS** since 1997. Unlicensed vehicles have become a phenomenon in H2, and the loss of the share of the municipality is estimated at **five million ILS**. The main central bus stop (seized by the Israelis in 1983) used to generate outstanding income for the municipality. The total accrued loss is estimated at **43.5 million ILS**. Even though there have not been revenues generated from the services provided in H2, the municipality remained to provide these services such as maintenance, sewage, solid waste,

water supply, electricity, the pavement of roads, schools, etc. The yearly cost of the said services is estimated at **20 million ILS**, and the accumulated total amount of money is estimated at **360 million ILS**. The closure of the main strategic connection street, Ash Shuhada Street, obliged the municipality to open alternative roads, which overburdened the municipality with extra costs, and increased the costs of services and time required to provide services to H-2 area, by three times. Overall, a lot of debt has been accumulating since 1997 that the municipality has to pay the government of Palestine. As a sample of the (unpaid) bills, the amount of water bill in H-2 is estimated to **1,800,000 ILS/ month** since 1997. The amount of electricity is much more than this.

A prominent economist, arbitrator, and a politician in Hebron, Raja'i Al-Qeisi indicated that the economic consequences of the long-term closures have been devastating. In figures, in the first layer of closure, **700** shops closed either by military orders or because of restrictions and lack of access. The estimated value (according to business's reputation) of each shop is **\$100,000**, and similar cost of appliances and goods, making **\$200,000** loss for each of the shops and accumulating a total loss of **\$140 million**. Other 700 shops located at the second layer of closure in the old city are operating partially due to the said restrictions and lack of geographical connection between the two parts of the city. Currently, the income generated from these shops is not even worth the time operating them. Besides, tripling the distance, cost, and time needed to reach these shops as a result of the closure of main connections (Mainly Ash Shuhada and Ashallaleh Streets), made it impossible for customers and suppliers to maintain connections with these shops. The average value of the remaining shops (1000 shops) is \$70,000 and a similar value of goods and appliances, making an estimated loss of **\$70 million**.

The old city of Hebron had been a center of trade where some **5000 workers**, used to operate in various works. They have become unemployed and a burden on society. The closure of businesses deprived these workers of their sole job opportunities. Hundreds of families living in frictions areas, most of them very poor, were forced to leave their houses and apartments and sought alternatives, which overburdened these families with costs of rents and constructions they couldn't afford. A more general overview of the economic decline stated that during the years 1990-1995, it was estimated that **40%** of investment was concentrated in the old city of Hebron since the main trade centers and distributions of goods are focused in that area. This was estimated to at least **\$ 4 million/ month**, according to the taxes paid from main businesses and enterprises.

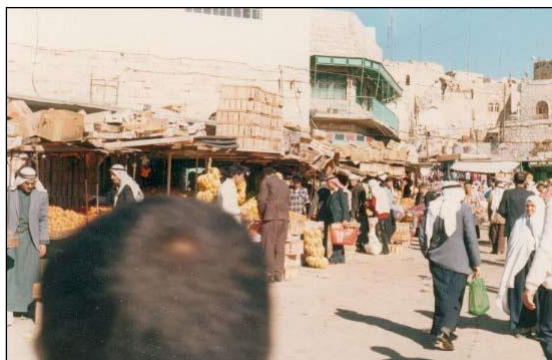


Figure 2.5. The Fruit Mark, 1990s



The Fruit Market, 2007 (figure by B'TSelem)

Closures and restrictions have become a norm in the Israeli-controlled area. Therefore, it eradicated major economic venues in Hebron, mainly located in the old city. A cluster of factories and industries have closed and relocated elsewhere in H-1, in addition to a number of services like medical units, four schools, and many other services and small businesses. Three main banks have closed as a result of a lack of security. The vacation of these services had declined the movement in these locations which undermined the economic values of these businesses. The big security gap has created an unsafe work environment. Lack of law and order encouraged thefts and robbery and therefore forced businesses to abandon the area and relocate to safe locations. The Economist concluded that the new environment (coercive environment) that forced the cease of businesses is sanctioned by the terms of the Protocol divided and segregated the city of Hebron and provided the Israelis with extra instruments that enabled them evacuated the old city.

In response to the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the restricted areas, OCHA (2019) conducted an assessment in the old city and concluded that there has been a constant increase on restrictions, settlers' violence, the decline of access to services (schooling, healthcare, etc.), and food security, turning the Palestinian Neighbourhoods into highly vulnerable families living under severe poverty and high-security threat, originated from harsh security measures and settlers' violence. The (World Bank, 2007, 2008) indicated that the peace agreements resulted in a detrimental impact on Palestinians' economy. Israelis' restrictions undertaken following the agreements on the movement of goods as a result of checkpoints, closures, and strict and arbitrary checking measures undermined normal connections.

2.3.2. Security dominance:

As sanctioned by the terms of Hebron Protocol, the Israelis would retain full security control over H-2. This entails that Palestinian security will not have control over the entire H-2 area, while they should preserve security for the rest of the H-1 area and secure the H-2 boundaries with primary focus the borders with the Jewish community. In reality, the Israelis have not taken account of their security responsibilities towards Palestinian residents of H-2. Besides, the sole focus of the Israelis is to ensure the security of the Israeli settlements and the Israeli Security Forces, by imposing strict security measures on the Palestinians living and operating in the H-2 area. At the same time, the Israelis did not meet their responsibility in providing required security and law enforcement for the Palestinian community necessary to maintain a normal livelihood in their area of control. The resultant is creating a big security vacuum that mainly prevailed in the entire area under Israeli security control, which encountered a major challenging factor for businesses and therefore forced the majority of them to abandon the area (Badil, 2016; Shhadeh, 2010; B'Tselem, 2007). Restrictions on movement imposed on H-2 during 20 years of the agreement had progressively reinforced with increased and more fortified checkpoints and the imposition of more strict security measures via these checkpoints, added to the uncertainty of applied security measures, altogether imposed with pretexts of securing the settlements and deterring alleged Palestinian attackers (OCHA, 2017).

2.3.3. Segregation regime and related terms:

The division of Hebron city into two parts, as sanctioned by Hebron Protocol (H-2) is currently surrounded by checkpoints, roadblocks, and military barriers that cut off and severely restricted Palestinians' use of roads leading to other parts of the city in H-1 and even to other parts of H-

2. These restrictions are also negatively affecting tourism sector development by deterring and limiting tourists' visits to as the old historic and religious venues and in particular the Ibrahimi Mosque (Joint UN Strategy for Hebron, 2016). The segregation regime vacated the old city from security and law enforcement. The long term curfew imposed during years of the second Intifada (2000-2004) imposed on H-2 significantly contributed to the segregation of the Israeli-controlled area and placed it under constant coercion. This resulted in the mass abandonment of businesses and houses (Ma'an Development Center, 2008; OCHA, 2017; B'Tselem, 2007). Contravening the terms of Hebron Protocol, the main strategic connection between H-1 and H-2, Ash Shuhada Street, and the wholesale market remained closed. Furthermore, additional layers of restrictions are imposed surrounding the old city of Hebron, which made it impossible for residents and businesses to remain, (B'Tselem, 2007).

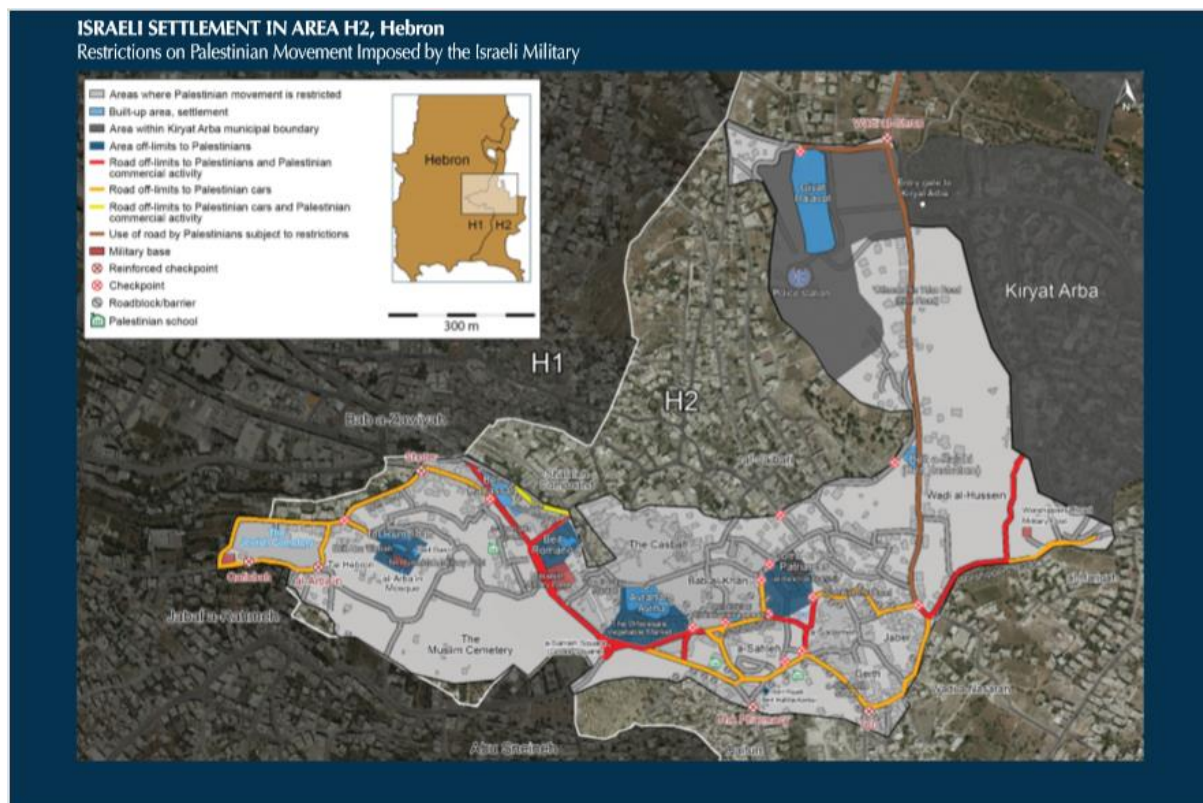


Figure (2.6) Restrictions on Palestinians' and Segregations Imposed by the Israeli Military in H-2

2.3.4. Forced eviction:

The permit regime related to conditions concerning the redeployment in Hebron. Discriminatory zoning and planning are utilized to expand settlements and bring new settlers to the old city. Segregation has been reinforced and escalated since the certain of the segregation regime, sanctioned by the Protocol. (World Bank, 2008; B'Tselem, 2007; Badil, 2016). Khamaisi (2007) presented the Israeli policy applied in east Jerusalem and demonstrates an act of forced eviction and therefore forced eviction applied through demographic dominance and expanding Israeli sovereignty over the holy city through possession of land and segregation

between Palestinian suburbs. The context of H-2 presents similar policies, resulting in abandonment of residences and businesses.

In a survey conducted by B'Tselem and ACRI (2006) reveals that 1,829 Palestinian businesses operating in the old city had been either shut down or economically devastated, 62.4% of businesses were abandoned during the second intifada. In April 2019, a report by OCHA revealed that according to Hebron Municipality figures, 512 Palestinian businesses in H-2 had been closed by military order, and about 1,000 others vacated due to severe movement restrictions that make access difficult for customers and supplies.

The former UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in the Palestinian territories had raised the issue of whether Israel's practices might fit the legal definition of apartheid. Even though peaceful settlements had been staged in the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT) the elements of the occupation remained. "What are the legal consequences of a regime of prolonged occupation with features of colonialism and apartheid for the occupied people?" (Dugard, 2013).

The segregation status of Hebron's H-2 is similar to the spatial divisions applied in the case of South Africa in which geographical disparities are applied; with black South Africans denied their rights to property utilizing acquisition of land, natural resources exploited for the interests of colonial expansions and developments, within a systematic policy of evacuation, demonstrating an actual act of apartheid. Land and space were utilized as an instrument for social and geographical segregations (special inequalities and policies in South Africa, 2016). Similarly, the case of H-2 represents a situation of forced eviction from Hebron's strategic historical sites, while expanding colonial civic space, settler's violence, and impunity. In reality, such context represents an act of forced eviction for Palestinian residents and businesses that were forced to leave either by military orders or voluntarily abandoned due to the severity of restrictions and discriminatory policies. (NRC, 2013; Ma'an Development Centre, 2008; B'Tselem, 2009). Such policies are made possible by the terms and conditions of Hebron Protocol which enabled the Israelis to enforce their domination over the H-2 area, and therefore segregate it from H-1 (B'Tselem, 2007, 2019).

Subsequently, the Ibrahimi Mosque massacre in 1994 (the Tomb of the Patriarchs) not only resulted split of the mosque into two parts but also segregation of the old city of Hebron. All of the markets near the Avraham Avinu settlement, including the main commercial center, wholesale market (al-Hesbeh) have been closed (Ma'an Development Centre, 2008). The break out of the second Intifada in the year 2000 marked a long-lasting curfew imposed by the Israelis. The roads leading to settlement points are gradually closed to Palestinian vehicles (the process continued up to 2001). In 2001, the other segments of the street have been closed before Palestinians. (Badil, 2016; B'Tselem, 2007; Ma'an Development Centre, 2008).

2.3.5. Break out of the Intifada in 2000:

Closures of businesses by military orders had continued during this year when the Israeli army closed main commercial venues. During the same year, and within a process lasting until 2002, more than 100 shops on Old Shalala Street had been gradually closed, some because of the prolonged curfew and some under military commands. In 2002, Palestinian traffic was banned from movement in the southern parts of Old Shalala Street, which marked a significant hindrance to the commercial activities in the location. In the aftermath of intensive military operations, the Israeli army imposed an almost continuous curfew on Palestinians in the city for about 240 days, extending into 2003-2004 (Badil, 2016, Norwegian Refugee Council,

2013). The vast majority of military commands were delivered during the first few years of the second intifada, which contributed significantly to the cease of other businesses.

During the segregation regime (creation of the Protocol), the Israeli settlers' violence against Palestinians and their property have accelerated during these years. The road in Tel Rumeida had been closed gradually to Palestinian pedestrians, a process that continued until 2003 (Ma'an Development Center, 2008). Dozens of staffed checkpoints and physical barriers installed around the old city, which added an extra layer of complications on Palestinians' daily activities. Movement for shopping, access to services or maintain social connections involve the harassment of arbitrary delays at checkpoints, overruled by the threat of constant intimidations by the Israeli security and the settlers alike. The consequences have been severe on residents and businesses. The coercive work and living environment led to the mass relocation of businesses and abandonment of residences (B'Tselem, 2019).

TIPH report:

In December 2018, a report compiled by the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)⁹, leaked to the Israeli media and indicated the situation of Hebron city over the previous 20 years into a single report. The report revealed Israelis' breach of Hebron Protocol as well as international human rights law and IHL. Explicit counts of favoritism to Israeli settlers and the oppression of Palestinians observed by TIPH mission members. Discrimination in access to religious sites showed a stark difference between the settlers and the Palestinians who were hindered access to their religious sites and the suppression of Palestinians in H-2 is also evident in locals' restrictions on movement. The report concluded that it was a reflection on the dire situation in the divided city of Hebron over the last two decades, and indicated that the situation in Hebron is going in the opposite direction to what Hebron Protocol was aiming to achieve.

2.3.6. Impact of Settlements:

Historical preview:

Since the occupation in 1967, the Israelis have always sought to dominate Palestinian ownership in the old city of Hebron and have intensified their presence into the historical sites. In 1979 the Israelis occupied Ad Dabboya (Beit Hadassah outpost) in Ash Shohada Street and established a settlement, and in 1980 they seized the main vegetable market, which was considered the main economic vein for Hebron, and established another settlement (Avraham Avino) in the location. In 1983 the Israelis seized Osama ben Monqeth School and established a synagogue, and during the same year, they established Ramat Yishai settlement in Tell Rumeida and seized several Palestinian houses. The Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre in 1994 resulted in seizing 54% of the mosque, allocated for the settlers' rituals. The presence of the Israeli settlements inside the city and the segregation of roads, created to ensure a safe passage of the settlers, have enforced more restrictions on Palestinian movement and restricted access to services (Hebron Rehabilitation committee, 2011).

⁹ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-confidential-report-claims-israel-regularly-breaks-international-law-in-hebron-1.6747523>

The presence of the Israeli settlements in the heart of the city of Hebron, the old city in proximity to the main religious, historical sites, and the commercial venues has a detrimental impact on the old city residents. Settler violence, alongside harsh security measures, created a coercive environment for the residents and businesses and triggered forcible transfer (Izghayyer, 2013; Shhadeh, 2010). Settlement expansion and settler violence minimized the civic space and forced business owners to relocate their businesses (Ma'an Development Center, 2008). Lack of accountability of the Israeli officials neglected countless acts of settlers' violence aggravated by lack of law and order and settlers' impunity over the Palestinian victims (interview Abdelhadi Hantash, (Appendix II). Discriminatory zoning and planning are utilized to expand Israeli settlements and bring settlers to the Old City (Badil, 2016). In economic terms, the cost of settler's attacks on people and their property is estimated to 132 million USD over 25 years of closures (NRC, 2019). The establishment and maintenance of Israeli settlements in Hebron city resulting in the imposition of restrictions on Palestinian access and movement. These access restrictions directly affect an estimated 6,000 Palestinians living in the vicinity of settlements in H-2 (Protection Cluster, 2014).

Settle harassment and Lack of law enforcement: Intensive presence of the Israeli security to guarantee the protection of the settlements and individual settlers and failure of the Israeli officials to intervene when settler attacks against Palestinians occurred infringed on Palestinian human rights in the Old City of Hebron and introduced severe havocs to their daily lives. Such an environment is coupled with Israeli military control. Complaints filed by Palestinians against settlers are closed without proper investigation (Protection cluster, 2014; Badil, 2016; Mohtseb, 2019 (see interviews, Appendix II)).

The city of Hebron is the second city after Jerusalem with Israeli settlements inside its urban area where there are 500- 600 settlers who live in the four main settlements installed inside the old city of Hebron and surrounded by Palestinian Neighbourhoods, The Israeli settlers in the old city of Hebron are protected by more than 1500 Israeli soldiers and security personnel (Land research Centre, 2009). Since the establishment of Israeli colonies (settlements), the settlements' expansion and settler violence resulted in a decrease in Palestinian civic space and created a challenging environment for Palestinian families living in the settlements' Neighbouring areas and forced businesses to relocate their investment (Ma'an Development Center, 2008).

Badil (2016) indicated that in their area of control, the Israeli authorities, in conjunction with the settlers, facilitated the establishment and expansion of settlements and outposts, mainly by using land that was originally seized for alleged military purposes, appropriating properties owned or rented by Jews before 1948, and purchasing properties through doubtful transactions. Besides, the settlement expansion process works together with Israeli restrictions on Palestinians' movement, property confiscation, and continued settlers' harassment triggers the forcible transfer for residents and led to the cease of investment. Khamaisi (2007) indicated that the Israelis have been applying measures aimed to ultimately take over the land (space) in their area of control by the means of physical presence, and possession of the property through various means. Those three integrated elements would insure control of land inspired by the Israelis' ideological belief, that is, control of land is the basis of sovereignty.

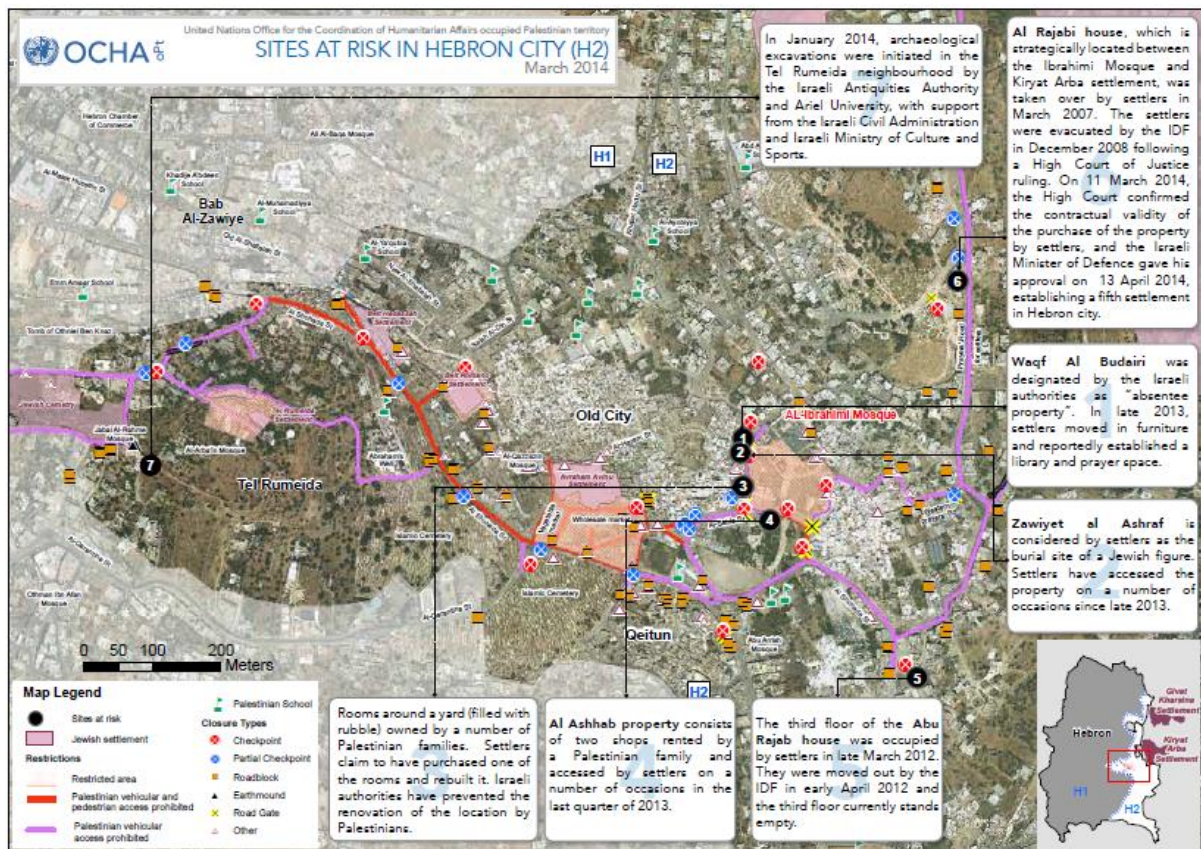


Figure (2.7): Map displays the locations of the Israeli settlements inside the old city of Hebron and locations seized by Israeli settlers.

2.3.7. Demographic dominance:

Since the outbreak of the Second Intifada, Hebron's Old City lost a further 40 percent of its Palestinian population. Israeli policies of forcible transfer aim at changing demographics in favor of the colonizers, as is clear by the overall increase of the Israeli-Jewish population in Mandate Palestine from 11 percent during the British Mandate to 45 percent by 2014. Denial of residency in Hebron takes the form of denying Palestinians the right to choose and maintain their residency in certain Neighbourhoods, (Badil, 2016). To achieve this, efforts by the Israeli forces to limit Palestinian presence in the Old City are based on different practices and means, such as confiscation of property and eviction of the Palestinian residents, denial of residency in friction areas, restriction of access to certain areas of the Old City. Additionally, the establishment of Israeli settlements in the old city contributed to the denial of the residency of Palestinians (World Bank, 2007, 2008). These settlers with an extreme ideology of religious belief suggesting that the West Bank is part of the "*Land of Israel*" and that it is their ethical duty to live in the West Bank (OCHA, 2007). In 1997, Palestinian population in H-1 counted 115, 000, and is 35,000 in H-2 area. At that time, some 500 settlers were living in the old city.

After 22 years of signing the interim Agreement, about 166,000 people live in H-1, an approximate increase of 45%, while in H-2, the number of Palestinians dropped into 34,000 people, contravening the natural population growth. These figures illustrate how thousands of Palestinians were forcibly driven out of the H-2 area. On the other hand, the number of settlers has increased to reach 700 settlers, most of them live permanently in the settlements of the old

city of Hebron where some 7,000 Palestinians are living in highly restricted areas (B'Tselem, 2019).

During the segregation regime (a division of the city into two parts), Israel implementing two different laws (Civil law applied to the Israeli citizens while military law applied to the Palestinians) on civilians with two different ethnic groups in the H-2 area reveals Israeli officials' discriminatory application of the law. Segregations and political and economic discriminations are applied as well. Similarly, the policy applied in South Africa reveals a strategy that directed the relations between South Africa's white minority and nonwhite majority and sanctioned racial segregation and economic discrimination against the colored majority (Larson, 2019).

Comments of observers of Hebron Protocol indicated that the main goal of the agreement from the Israeli perspective is to preserve the settlers' presence in the historical part of Hebron.

“ Netanyahu emphasizes that his goal is to "preserve and consolidate" the Hebron Jewish community. It is a near-certainty that Netanyahu, in final status talks, will insist on a continued Jewish presence in Hebron -- "a place of supreme importance to the Jewish people for over 4,000 years - under Israeli control"¹⁰.

2.4. Literature Review

2.4.1 Previous studies / Comments on the previous related studies. How this study is different from other studies.

B'Tselem (2007) presented elements of the coercive environment in the old city of Hebron. To achieve this, the study conducted interviews with victims and provided an analysis of the main factors affecting the livelihood of the old city residents. The imposition of harsh security measures, aimed at securing Israeli settlements in the old city of Hebron, continued settler violence and lack of law enforcement, discriminatory law, and lack of security, have been major challenges for Palestinian residents and businesses and triggered forced eviction. Such dire conditions have been exacerbated by conditions outlined in the 1997 Protocol resulting in the division of the city into two parts. Furthermore, harsh and degrading security measures have been imposed, amounting to collective punishment against several thousands of Palestinian residents living in restricted areas. The presence and expansions of Israeli settlements undermined multiple aspects of Palestinian life. Significant restrictions, 'seizure of property, in addition to discriminatory zoning and planning is utilized to expand Israeli settlements. Segregations that occur on both spatial and legal levels, separating Palestinians from the settlements' zones and each other.

Studies presented by the **World Bank (2007, 2008)** demonstrated the impact of the Agreements with the Israelis on a larger scale, regarding the Oslo accord and its detrimental impact on the Palestinians, with particular emphasis on Palestinians' economy and social life. The two studies demonstrated the impact of the Israelis' harsh security measures following the agreements that led to segregations and fragmentations of the west bank cities is a larger-scale context to the one in H-2. Yet, the study remains relevant to this study and of particular

¹⁰ <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-hebron-agreement-a-closer-look>

significance. Similar measures have been applied in the old city of Hebron (H-2 area) in terms of closures and restrictions on movement that segregated the west bank cities, and H-2 in particular. The two studies applied analysis of studies conducted by international organizations. They suggested that the Oslo agreement granted the Israelis supremacy over the C area, impeded Palestinians' zoning and planning, resulted in substantial loss of resources and hindered Palestinians' expansion and natural growth necessary for sustainable development.

In economic terms, these measures have constantly obstructed business investment by increasing transaction costs and led to a high level of uncertainty. These studies recommended the reassessment of existing agreements and review Israelis' control of the population and the land. The outcomes suggested that business owners relocated their businesses while investment ceased in the Israeli-controlled areas as a result of Israeli practices, exacerbated by the terms of the agreements.

Khamaisi (2007) demonstrated Israelis' policies in Jerusalem aimed to impose new facts based on Jewish demographic dominance by increasing physical presence, possession of the property through all available means, including of seizure by military commands; expanding sovereignty through military presence, and infringing within Palestinian suburbs and hence fragmenting them by expanding their settlements on the expense of Palestinians' lands. Buffer zones are established to secure the settlements and the settlers' movements. Altogether aimed to expand civic space for Israelis while limiting Palestinians' space. Besides, connections between these settlements would confiscate more Palestinians' lands and restrict their movement and access to the property and natural resources. Such facts would collectively reinforce Jewish demographic presence and disconnect Palestinian suburbs and Neighbourhoods in the holy city of Jerusalem. The Israeli policy in East Jerusalem is a representative context to the Israeli-controlled part of Hebron (H-2 area), in which Israelis applied similar policy aimed to expand sovereignty by the dominance of property, segregation, and creating challenging living conditions, ultimately forcing Palestinian residents to abandon their property and leave the area, aiming to relocate Israelis citizens instead.

Ma'an Development Center (2008) presented a study on the segregation regime that led to forced displacement in the Israeli-controlled area. The research provided an analysis of the factors that led to the deterioration of the living conditions in the old city of Hebron. To achieve this, the researchers presented statistics and conducted interviews with business owners, family representatives, and Palestinian officials. The study demonstrated the basis of the Hebron Protocol (HP) and exposed the deterioration of the economic, security, and social situation of the Palestinians living in the old city of Hebron. Results indicated that exclusive security domination by the Israelis and their abuse of the terms of the agreement turned the old city of Hebron into deserted ghost-like fragmented suburbs. The establishment of Israeli settlements in the heart of the city of Hebron since 1979 resulted in insecurity and severe restrictions and segregation. The extra control of the Israelis over main historical and religious sites, as sanctioned by the Protocol led to a rapid deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the old city and. Economic activities and social connections have been hindered, and therefore Businesses and residents have sought a more secure environment to live and invest. In economic terms, 75% of the remaining residents are below the poverty line, and 80% are unemployed.

Shhadeh (2010) presented a comprehensive study on Hebron Protocol and its impact on the residents of the old city of Hebron and was stimulated by the continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the old city of Hebron since the creation of the said agreement. The

study aimed to emphasize the negative impact of the agreement from the social, economic, and demographic dimensions. To achieve this, the study exposed the shortcomings of the agreement's main terms, with particular focus on the lack of law enforcement and big security vacuum prevailed the old city of Hebron as a result of Israelis' full security control over H-2 area. He conducted interviews and presented the era overlapping the Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre. Restrictions on the movement of residents and businesses have been sanctioned by the division and segregation of the city. The Israelis managed to impose a new setting on the Palestinian residents and business owners that have been significantly affected by such volatile work conditions, and therefore relocated their businesses mainly affected the spread of crime, lack of security, and severe restrictions imposed on movement.

The Land Research Centre (2009) presented the consequences of the agreement on the Palestinian community, and the Israeli harsh measures applied to the Palestinian communality living in the old city. To achieve this, the study conducted onsite observation and collected data from local institutions and international organizations. The study demonstrated the security situation in the Hebron H-2 area and came across the landmarks of Hebron Protocol; with a special focus on the segregations resulted from the division of the city. In light of the Israelis' imposition of restrictions and closures, the study highlights specifically the economic consequences of these measures, represented by military orders, prolonged curfews, as well as settlers' violence, altogether resulted in emptying of the old market of Hebron city (old Suq) of trade and commercial activities. According to the Palestinian Ministry of National Economy, there were 1610 shops licensed in H-2 before September 2000. By 2006, more than 1000 shops were closed, one third by military orders. Main connections with H-2 have been closed such as Ash Shuhada Street. According to the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, of the 650 shops and storage places located in the old market (Suq), just 10% are functioning. The terms of the agreement have changed the status of the city of Hebron and enabled the Israelis to isolate the historical parts of the Hebron city, and therefore turned the old city into a virtually deserted area.

Izghayyer (2013) demonstrated the impact of the Hebron Protocol on the residents of Hebron from the economic, social, political, and security perspectives. The study applied the descriptive-analytical method. To achieve this, she conducted a number of interviews and developed a questionnaire to obtain desired results.

According to the study, the Protocol isolated the old city of Hebron from the rest of the city, sanctioned closures, and the arbitrary restrictions and contributed to the forced evictions of the Palestinian community. It also paved the way for the rapid expansion of these settlements and facilitated settlers' plans to expand their civic space in the historic parts of Hebron. The main terms of the protocol were presented with critical analysis of these terms, believed to have contributed to the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the old city. The direct consequence of the Protocol is the isolation of the historic part of the city from the rest of Hebron, and further empowered the Israelis' presence in the area. Therefore, the agreement contributed to the Israelis' policies of forced eviction and replacement of Palestinian residents with Israeli citizens. The Palestinian officials involved in the Protocol were unqualified negotiators. The result was granting the Israelis extra power religious and economic venues. Arbitrary security measures such as long-terms curfews, restrictions of movement, and closure of main strategic connections in the old city have resulted in a dramatic decline in trade and the tourism sectors.

BADIL (2016) provided key elements of the volatile conditions of Palestinians who remained in the old city of Hebron, through which the impact of Israelis' breaches of terms of Hebron

Protocol was made distinctive, and suggested that Israel created a coercive environment and implemented forced population transfer. The study aimed to explore elements of the coercive environment imposed by Israelis on the residents of the old city of Hebron, lack of security, and law enforcement, aggravated by settlers' violence since 1997. To achieve this, the study conducted individual and group interviews with other researchers and Palestinians living in the old city. The direct consequence is the dramatic economic decline and social dilemma created from the segregating policy as per of division of Hebron into (H-1/H-2), while the presence of settlements breaches numerous aspects of Palestinians' life. Discriminatory zoning and planning, property confiscation seizure of Palestinian property is an extra space utilized for settlement expansion and settlers' safe movement and security. Lack of legal safeguards is an alarming element. Complaints filed by Palestinians against Israelis are discharged without indictments.

OCHA (2017) provided a comprehensive analysis of the isolation of Palestinians in the Israeli-controlled area of Hebron 20 years since the division of Hebron.

The study aimed to demonstrate the consequences of the change in the status of Hebron's H-2 part of the city. Dividing the city into two parts and the segregations within the H-2 section is a result of the long-term impact of the Hebron Protocol on Palestinian livelihood after 20 years of creating of the Protocol. To achieve this, the study provided figures and statistics and interviews with affected residents. It highlighted the continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation of residents of the H-2 area, with particular emphasis on the Palestinian Neighbourhoods directly affected by the settlements, estimated to 30% of the Palestinian community in H-2, counting 12,000 People. The continued restrictions heightened by more fortified checkpoints that increased and fortified with security pretexts, installed at all entrances of the old city. Such measures developed a permanent environment of duress, led to the closure of businesses and abandonment of houses. Access restrictions to services have a detrimental impact on the entire livelihood of the residents and the business environment. As highlighted in many previous studies, the results showed that the majority of businesses have ceased as a result of physical barriers. Around 1105 housing units have been abandoned. These harsh security measures came in line with a systematic policy of forcible transfer, and therefore it highlighted the social dilemma created by the segregation regime, aggravated by the lack of security. Such measures have significantly undermined living or investment atmospheres, while access to services continued to decline.

Dandis (2017) presented the shortcomings of the Protocol lead to segregation of the city and undermined civil services. To achieve this, the study conducted interviews with decision-makers and victims and provided an analysis of the long-term closures. Consequences of the Israeli security control were widely demonstrated, among them are: lack of access to Palestinian security, which turned the area into a resort for criminals and created a big security vacuum and encountered a major challenging factor for investment. The Protocol provided the Israelis with additional instruments and enabled them. The study concludes that Hebron Protocol has empowered the Israelis over the historical part of the city of Hebron segregate H-2 part of Hebron, through which they segregated the city of Hebron and fragmented Palestinian suburbs with various security pretexts. Israelis' predetermined and systematic policies of the evacuation of the old city are implied utilizing the protocol terms and conditions.

A recent study conducted by the Norwegian Refugee Council in 2019, about the consequences of closures and segregation regime on the economy of the Old City of Hebron.

The study aimed to demonstrate the outstanding economic losses resulted from long term closures that led to an uncertain investment atmosphere. The study made particular reference to the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on the economic aspect in the old city of Hebron. Specifically, segregation and fragmentation of the old city are the direct consequences of the agreement, aggravated by Israelis' abuse of its terms. The significance of the study stems from its being the first study to present in figures the economic losses in the old city of Hebron during the segregation regime. To achieve this, figures and analyses were collected from local institutions. Interviews were conducted with businesses, either closed or economically active. Focus group sessions were also conducted with the affected economic sectors. Questionnaires were distributed to the target groups as well. The study adopted "What If Analysis Technique," with a specific reference to the restrictions imposed in the Israeli-controlled area, and the segregation resulting from the Israeli practices in their area of control (H-2). A special reference was made the second Intifada in 2000, marking the peak of economic decline in the old city of Hebron.

Analysis of the **economic losses** incurred as a result of closures amounted to **620 million USD**, with a daily loss of **70,000 USD** over 25 years of closure. The direct and indirect cost of the closures of businesses showed a loss of **485 million USD** the economically active businesses. The estimated loss of active businesses is a monthly average of **700 million USD** per active business. The cost of confiscating the wholesale vegetable market is estimated at 2.5 million USD. The most affected sector is the trade sector with an estimated economic loss of **422 million USD**, counting 68% of total economic losses. An estimated decline of about 80% of the monthly income of economically active shops, added to the extra transaction costs. The study estimated that at least 3000 families lost their income and became unemployed.

John Dugard (2013) and Larson (2019) introduced the act of apartheid laws applied in South Africa Starting in the 1960s, in the aftermath of the English- Dutch conflict over natural resources. Such an act was manipulated as a means to reinforce control over the economic and social system, aimed to maintain the denomination of the white minority while extending racial separation. Discriminatory zoning emphasized territorial separation and police repression. Racial discrimination involved every aspect of the Africans' life, including jobs and social connections. **(Dugard, 2013)** introduced a comprehensive description of the discriminatory regime in South Africa, and provided an analysis of this regime in which the minority white invaded the country, overruled the majority and deprived the original citizens of their basic human rights and dominated the country's resources. The study established a comparison with the context in the occupied Palestinian Territories, of Israeli law and practice; a potentially appropriate situation to view the situation of the Palestinians. The main elements of the white minorities' apartheid act: discrimination, territorial fragmentation, and political oppression. The third layer of discrimination is territorial fragmentation, and racial domination over available land entailed that the white minority dominate 87% of space while the remaining 13% was allocated for the black majority that amounted to 80% of the population. This study introduces a similar context to H-2 in which colonizers imposed segregations, denial of rights, and discriminating between original residents and the migrants who overruled the natural resources and disadvantaged the owners. Altogether, these practices aimed to ruminate property, relocate original residents, and bring about their citizens, contravening the Fourth Geneva Convention.

2.4.2. Comments on the previous related studies:

The study conducted by the **Norwegian Refugee Council (2019)** on the impact of the Hebron Protocol on Business in the old city of Hebron. It presented the long-term economic impact of

the protocol and demonstrated the economic loss in figures. The study's main theme presented the significance of the economic decline during the segregation regime, resulted from closures and restrictions on movement. **BADIL (2016)** confirmed the negative impact of the division of Hebron and the breach of the Protocol led to the fragmentation of the old city of Hebron that led to the abandonment of residences and businesses. **(B'Tselem (2007, 2019))** presented two relevant studies on the consequences of the division of Hebron and the long-term segregation regime on businesses, in line with all the study hypotheses, with emphasis on the security eminence of the Israelis' and lack of law enforcement in H-2, resulting in mass abandonment of businesses. Like most of the previous studies, the study made a Particular focus on Israelis' abuse of the Agreement terms and its consequences on the entire livelihood, including of business environment. **The World Bank (2007, 2008)** provided analysis on the consequences of the Oslo agreement that involved the areas under Israeli control, restrictions on the transport of goods that had a detrimental impact on economic growth and investment. In their study, **Ma'an Development Centre (2008)** introduced elements that contributed to all the study hypotheses. It referred to Hebron protocol as an instrument divide the city of Hebron and segregates H-2 from the rest of the city. A particular reference was made on the security dominance and its detrimental impact on Palestinian livelihood, which illustrates the relevance of the second hypothesis regarding the decline insecurity as a result of the security dominance and hence decline in investment. The study **Shhadeh (2016)** contributed significantly to the study findings since it presented an analysis of the negative impact of the Hebron Protocol from the economic, social, and demographic dimensions and therefore rejected all the hypotheses of the study. **Dandis (2017)** focused on the impact of Hebron Protocol from the perspective of the security control of the Israelis over the old city of Hebron and lack of law enforcement in the H-2 area, resulting cease of businesses and abandonment of residences. Similarly, **Izghayyer (2013)** has its importance since it handled the main terms of Hebron Protocol and demonstrated its negative impact on the residents of Hebron from the economic, social, political, and security perspectives. The study contributes significantly to the core issue of the study on the negative impact of the Hebron Protocol. **Land Research Centre (2006)** provided analysis on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the geopolitical situation of Hebron, with particular focus on the factors leading to the evacuation of the old city of Hebron concerning the agreement, with particular emphasis on the division of Hebron city and the segregation regime, resulting in significant economic decline in the Israeli-controlled area. **Likewise, OCHA (2017)** contributed to the study findings and rejected all hypotheses by providing full analysis to the continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation on the residents of the old city of Hebron during 20 years of signing the Hebron Protocol. It demonstrated severe measures applied to the residents in the Israeli-controlled area resulting in abandonment of houses and businesses. Facts on the negative impact of the protocol have been authenticated with figures and analysis.

In his study, **Khamaisi (2007)** demonstrated a context of forced eviction by the Israelis applied in their areas of control, that could amount to an act of apartheid, by expanding their sovereignty and segregate between Palestinian Neighbourhoods, which highlights the study findings in the context of H-2, which resulted in the abandonment of most of the businesses and many residences. **Dugard (2013) and Larson, (2019)** supported this fact and presented a narrative on the context of South Africa and the apartheid applied by the white minority. Elements of the apartheid were demonstrated and a comparison with the context of the Israeli-controlled area. In reality, similar policies are applied in H-2; means of evictions have been present since the segregation regime, sanctioned by the Protocol. The results of this policy were made distinctive on the residents and businesses. Their studies remain relevant to this study results and reject its hypotheses in terms of Israelis' applicability of the same policies in H-2 since the creation of the segregation regime,

The agreement presented by the **General Assembly Security Council on the Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the Dayton agreement. What distinguishes this study, which is in reality a report by the UN, is that it demonstrated an interactional agreement between two conflicting authorities. The aim of presenting the study is to demonstrate the landmarks of the Dayton agreements as a comprehensive agreement believed to have protected main rights for the two parties, and aimed to demonstrate the basis of the agreement that should have been applied by the Palestinians upon the creation of the Protocol. In principle, the Dayton agreement recognized the need for a comprehensive settlement to bring an end to the tragic conflict in the region, contributed to that objective, and promoted an enduring peace and stability. Affirming their commitment to the Agreed Basic Principles that were mediated and supervised by the United Nations. Since the creation of the Hebron Protocol, Palestinians' rights have been violated alongside the breach of the terms of the agreement. Unlike the Dayton agreement, lack of safeguards; mediation, and arbitrations involved in the Hebron Protocol are principal factors of its failure.

2.4.3. How this study is different from other studies:

From the reviewed literature of empirical studies, many studies commented on the division of Hebron city as a direct consequence of the Hebron Protocol that led to the segregation of the city. The sequential analysis of these studies stated that Israelis imposition of closures and restrictions on movement were execrated by the terms of Hebron Protocol which granted the Israelis full security power over the entire H-2 area, as sanctioned by the agreement. The absence of security and the lack of law and enforcement created an unsafe environment for investment while forced the majority of businesses to abandon their economic activities and relocate to H-1 as a safer area for investment. Settler violence and Israelis' severe security measures, lack of access to customers and suppliers, and the increase of the transaction costs resulted from closures, collectively developed coercive environment lead to the abandonment of businesses and residences. Among the recommendations given by these studies is to reconsider the terms of the agreement with the Israelis at political levels. The primary hallmark of this study is that it is one of the few studies that analyzed the terms of Hebron Protocol and pinpointed main aspects that negatively impacted businesses and residents of the old city, and it is the only study that demonstrated the consequences of Hebron Protocol on businesses, following an in-depth analysis of the terms of the agreement and its contribution to the economic decline in the old city of Hebron.

Chapter Three

Research Design And Methodology

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter presents the methodology adopted in the study. It illustrates the tools and techniques applied to collect relevant information. The chapter discusses the study population, selected sample, and the tools utilized to collect data. To highlight the actual consequences of the Hebron Protocol on businesses, the study demonstrated some historical events that contributed to the decline of businesses and the significant contribution of the agreement to an abandonment of businesses in strategic economic venues in the old city of Hebron. Based on the literature review, this research incorporates two sessions of focus groups, one of them is staged for active businesses in the old city, and the other targeted closed businesses that relocated to H-1. The focus groups aimed to: first; ensure the relevance of the questionnaire to the study objectives and hypothesis before the distribution phase, and second, to obtain facts from practical experiences on consequences of the Protocol on the businesses. After that, a questionnaire was developed and distributed to the study sample using stratified sampling, after making required modifications on the questionnaire, following detailed consultations with three arbitrators.

This research aims at investigating the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron. To achieve this, different methods and approaches are used to answer the research questions through the use of a questionnaire, interviews, and secondary data. The research is divided into three stages: (a) it starts with the available literature on consequences of the Israeli practices that are exacerbated by Hebron Protocol, and the main factors resulting cease of businesses concerning the agreement. The literature review includes studies conducted by international organizations on the humanitarian situation on the old city of Hebron, the impact of closures, and settlement expansions, in which the study highlighted factors related to the terms of the agreement. Besides, figures and surveys made by local institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce, the municipality, and others, in addition to tertiary literature, internet websites, to highlight previous literature that will benefit the study to identify the variables and formulate the hypothesis and the questions of the study as well as the research tools. It also describes the research findings and compares theories with empirical results to draw conclusions. SPSS Program is used to analyze the data collected from the questionnaires. It also describes the research findings and compares hypotheses with empirical results to draw conclusions.

This research aims at investigating the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron's H-2 area. Different methods and approaches are used to answer the research questions through the use of a questionnaire and secondary data. This chapter presents an overview of the research methodology used. A presentation of the study population is discussed in section 3.2. Sample distribution is discussed in section 3.3, section 3.4 illustrates research tools, and section 3.5 discusses reliability and validity. Finally, section 3.6 presents statistical treatments.

3.2. Study Population:

The targeted population includes two categories of businesses affected by Hebron Protocol, comprising businesses actively operating and businesses closed due to physical barriers. Besides, interviews were conducted with political figures, encompassing both categories; those who participated in signing Hebron Protocol, and the other represents the sector who either refused to participate in signing the Protocol or opposed to staging the Protocol. Approximately 1829 shops have been affected; 512 of them have been closed by military orders, 1107 have relocated to H-1 as a result of long-term restrictions, and the remaining 210 businesses are considered economically active but operating below their potentials. Besides, interviews were conducted with economists, researchers, and academics that reflect particular interests in their previous studies.

3.3. Study Sample:

Total businesses in the surveyed areas are 1829, out of which there are 512 businesses closed by Israeli military commands. Therefore, this sector of closed businesses has been excluded from the study sample. The remaining 1317 combine businesses are still operating, and businesses ceased due to the decline in the security and restrictions on movement. After consultation with the supervisor, and due to the specificity of the study, a sample of 5% of the closed businesses was considered while a sample of 20% was considered from the economically active ones. The logic behind the selection of these percentages is that: Closed businesses count the biggest number (1107) and therefore a percentage of 5% would be a representative one for this section of businesses, whereas the remaining operating businesses count in a relatively small number (210) and distributed in three different locations in term of the level of closures; therefore a percentage of 20% would be reasonably representative to this business sector.

The study sample was based on disproportionate unsystematic *stratified quality random sampling*, divided into two strata based on the status of businesses in the old city. This division of the study population into a relevant series indicates representativeness of the study population; each stratum is represented proportionally within the sample. The selection of the sample was made by dividing the affected area into three status areas, based on the level of closure; closed areas which are banned for Palestinian movement; such as Al-Sahleh street; highly restricted areas that are only accessible with special permits; such as Ash Shuhada Street, and the area indirectly affected by the restrictions imposed on the other two areas; such as Al-Qasabeh (the old market) area.

A stratified simple random sample was taken from businesses that closed due to coercive environment and a satisfactory portion of businesses that remained actively operating.

The study sample consisted of (103) businesses distributed randomly on various economic sectors available in the old city, by applying the stratified sampling, 96 questionnaires were received, and were filled by the sample community. All returned questionnaires were analyzed, with a percentage of 100% out of the received questionnaires.

3.3.1. Sample distribution:

The relevance of the study sample was concluded in consultation with the thesis supervisor. The study combines two sectors of business in the old city of Hebron: The sector of businesses that closed due to physical barriers since 1997, counting 1107 businesses. Therefore, a satisfactory percentage of 5% of this sector of the study population was decided accordingly. The other sector of the study population is the portion of businesses that remained economically active, which count 210 businesses. Likewise, a satisfactory percentage of 20% of this study population was decided as well.

Table 3.1: Sample Distribution

NO.	Category	Sample size	Study Population	Percentage	Source
1	Closed businesses	61	1107	5%	Hebron Rehabilitation Committee
2	Economically active businesses	42	210	20%	
Total			103		

The above table shows the selection of the sample size and section. Both closed and economically active businesses. The proportion of the sample was based on Quota taken for both sectors, depending on the size of the study population. As indicated in the table above.

3.4. Research Tools

3.4.1. Focus groups:

In the early stages of the study, two focus group sessions were staged for two different sections of businesses and were held separately for both economically active businesses and closed ones. These focus groups are aimed to engage in discussions to gain an in-depth understanding of main factors related to the decline in the investment and cease of businesses in the old city of Hebron concerning the Hebron Protocol. The same technique was applied for both sessions by using open questions aimed to open discussions on various dimensions of the Protocol, collectively affecting the sustainability of businesses. Besides, the relevance of the questionnaire dimensions and questions were widely discussed and tested (as recommended by the study supervisor). Each focus group involved five prominent business owners. Some modifications were made on the questionnaire accordingly. The results of the focus groups were handled descriptively, incorporating the outcomes of the discussions on the negative impact of the Protocol on businesses of the old city from all of its dimensions. Conclusions of the two focus groups indicated that the major factor of the decline of businesses in the old city is the segregating regime sanctioned by the protocol, which separated the old city and isolated it from the security and services required to maintain a normal livelihood. This created a

coercive environment for both vendors and residents, forcing the majority of businesses to cease and many families to abandon their residences.

Outcomes of the focus groups: The core of discussion per each focus group was the relevance of the questionnaire to the objectives and the hypotheses of the study in all of its dimensions. The outcomes of the two focus groups explicitly stated that the consequences of Hebron Protocol has been a principal trigger for the majority of business to relocate to H-1 part of the city. The major factors, as was agreed by 100% of the participants, are the uncertainty of the profitability of investment in the old city due to the absence of security necessary to protect goods from theft, and the strict security measures imposed by the Israelis following the segregation regime, as sanctioned by the protocol. Those factors created a challenging atmosphere for both customers and vendors.

Participants indicated that the traders have suffered the consequences of the Israeli occupation since 1967. The occupation has always imposed measures that reveal its systematic policy, aimed to evacuate of the old city of Hebron, by applying various measures such as confiscation of Palestinian property, and the imposition of harsh security measures. However, the occupation has never achieved this goal, and business owners managed to maintain their businesses in all conditions since the entire city of Hebron had been united and affected equally. Yet, after the segregation of the old city and evacuation of the area from its security means, businesses have been subjected to repeated robbery, in addition to the imposition of more restrictions on movement for both people and commodities.

Questionnaire:

A questionnaire was developed and addressed the five dimensions indicated in the five hypotheses, and in line with the study hypothesis. Subsequently, the questionnaire was examined by three arbitrators that gave their observations and recommendations. It was amended accordingly.

Questionnaire scaling:

Likert scaling is applied in the questionnaire to measure the variations of the five dimensions of the study. For statistical purposes, vocal answers are transformed into numbering. The scaling sorted the answers; ‘‘Very high degree,’’ was given scale 5, ‘‘High degree,’’ was given scale 4, ‘‘Medium degree’’ was given scale 3, ‘‘Low degree’’ was given scale 2, and ‘‘very low degree’’ was given scale 1.

The bellow table (3.2) clarifies the classification and scaling of the answers:

Classification	Very high degree	High degree	Medium degree	Low degree	Very low degree
Degree	5	4	3	2	1

Questionnaire dimensions:

The questionnaire took five dimensions to measure the consequences of the protocol on all aspects of livelihood in the old city. The questionnaire measured the consequences of the protocol on the economic, security, social, demographic, and the services provided in the old city of Hebron. The five dimensions are treated separately but in a correlated manner, with a special focus on the strongest dimension and its significant impact on other dimensions, that is, the absence of law and order and the harsh security measures.

3.4.2. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted objectively with relevant people from various backgrounds, among them are political figures, researchers, academics, and business owners that either relocated from H-2 to H-1 area or remained economically active ones. Interviewees were selected with different cultural backgrounds and political opinions to obtain a more holistic view of the study dimensions.

The outcomes of the interviews included all aspects of the negative consequences of the Protocol, among which the division and the segregation of the city, deterioration of the economic, security, social, and demographic, and level of services provided, altogether exacerbated by the terms of the protocol. Interviewees made a special reference to the division of Hebron and the creation of the segregation regime, as sanctioned by the Protocol. Restrictions on movement, settlers' violence were also referred by the interviewees as well as restrictions on zoning and planning, with a primary focus on the decline of the security and lack of law and enforcement. The outcomes of the interviews are in line with the literature review and the results of data analysis.

3.5. Reliability and Validity

3.5.1. Reliability:

To ensure the relevance of the questionnaire items to each other, the study applied Cronbach Alpha Formula to measure internal consistency in the study sample from all of its dimensions. Accordingly, the reliability coefficient for the questionnaire as a whole is (0.80); its value for the economic dimension is (62%) (<https://www.slideshare.net/aidenyeh/why-we-run-cronbachs-alpha>), its value for the security dimension is (%89), its value for the social dimension is (%87), its value for the demographic dimension is (%80), and finally the coefficient value for the services' provision dimension is (82%). The results are reliable and coefficients indicate acceptable reliability level of the questionnaire (varied between (62% - 90%). In general, all results are above (0.60%), and therefore corresponds to the purpose of the study. The results showed an average of 80%.

The table (3.3) demonstrates the values (results) of Cronbach Alpha for the study dimensions.

Dimensions	Number of items	Cronbach Alpha Value
Economic	12	.62
Security	14	.89
Social	4	.87
Demographic	4	.80
Services' provision	8	.82
Total degree	42	0.80

The table (3.3) shows that the Reliability Coefficient is high.

3.5.2. Validity

To ensure the validity of the questionnaire, the study discussed the relevance of the questionnaire's five dimensions with two focus groups, selected from representative samples from the study community. The questionnaire was then distributed to three arbitrators on various fields of relevant social sciences; among them are professors in economics and methods of research. In this process, they checked the relevance of each item of the questionnaire and its various dimensions to the study objectives. Some modifications were made accordingly.

3.6. Statistical treatments

The study received 96 the questionnaires out of 103 distributed randomly on the study sample. They were revised and then processed statistically by the computer, using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS). As indicated above, five scales were included in the data processing. To test the research hypothesis, mean, standard deviation, relative weight, and analysis were statistically processed. One Way Anova was used to test the average differences among responses of the Population study, to examine the validity of the hypothesis.

3.6.1. The scale of the study:

To indicate the scale and significance of the study in all of its dimensions, results are indicated by means, under the Likert Scale (five scales). The range indicated (5-1 =4) and the length is (4/5= .8).

The table (3.4) clarifies the scale of the study.

Number	Mean	Scale
1	Less than 2.60	Low degree
2	3.40 - 2.61	Medium degree
3	More than 3.41	High degree

3.6.2. Statistical methods used in the analysis of the research:

- **Means, Standard Deviations, and Coefficients of Variation** to measure respondents' perceptions toward the Questionnaires' Items. Results are confirmed with the outcomes of focus groups staged to ensure the relevance of the questionnaire to the study.
- **Alpha (Cronbach) scales for Reliability:** Formula was used to determine the reliability coefficient degree of the questionnaire.
- **Pearson Correlation coefficients** were applied to determine the Validity of the questionnaire.

Chapter Four

Research Results

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the methodological approach adopted in this study. This chapter demonstrates a statistical analysis of the collected data and discusses the research findings.

4.2. Descriptive Analysis of Research Sample:

This section discusses the results of the questionnaire analysis on the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron, considering the five dimensions of the study. The results showed significant relevance to the previous studies and confirm the proposed hypothesis. The segregation regime, resulting in restrictions on movement, lack of security, and settlers' violence have had their detrimental impact on the sustainability of businesses from the security, social, demographic, and services' provision dimensions.

4.3. The results of the study hypotheses and Questions:

4.3.1. Results of the first hypothesis and question:

Hypothesis one: There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on economic, security, social, demographic, and services provision aspects in the old city of Hebron?

Question one: Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on economic, security, social, demographic, and services provision aspects in the old city of Hebron?

Interviews conducted with the business owners, politicians, and economists, added to the literature review, concluded that the consequences of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in H-2 encountered a negative impact on all aspects of Palestinians' livelihoods (Shhadeh, 2010). The division of the city into two parts granted the Israelis extra instruments to segregate Hebron into fragmented parts. Besides, the two focus groups staged with the study population suggested that the main trigger to the cease of businesses in the old city of Hebron was the security gap and the segregation of the old city.

The literature review indicated that Israeli military has progressively installed and reinforced checkpoints and imposed harsh security measures in the Israeli-controlled area, with various pretexts, including securing the Israeli settlements (B'Tselem, 2007; 2019). Full-security control in the hands of the Israelis, as sanctioned by the terms of the agreement, and absence of law enforcement have substantially declined the security in H-2, and forced the majority of businesses to relocate their investment into H-1, and led to severe social segregation (Badil,

2016; Land Research Center, 2019). Besides, these dire conditions have created a coercive environment in the H-2 area, which undermined social relations between H-1 and H-2 residents as well as within H-2 residents (OCHA, 2017; Shhadeh, 2010).

Services provided by the Palestinian authorities (education, healthcare, transportation, etc.) have declined either by restrictions on movement that hinder residents' access to these services, or the restrictions imposed on the Palestinian Authority to meet residents' needs of these services in H-2 area (Badil, 2016, B'Tselem 2019). Lack of zoning and planning, territorial fragmentation, and interruption of rehabilitation works have undermined natural growth, expansion, and limited sustainable development (Dugard, 2013; Badil, 2016). In reality, the terms of the agreement have negatively impacted all aspects of livelihoods of Palestinians' living in the Israeli-controlled area, while Israelis' abuse of these terms has aggravated the situation in H-2, with particular emphasis on the restricted areas. Many studies referred to the Israeli policy in the old city, in reality, an act of forced eviction by creating a challenging environment that forced Palestinians to leave, alongside policies of demographic dominance of Israeli settlers by facilitating the civic expansion of the Israeli settlements in H-2 area, and seizure of Palestinian property and annexations in all means (Dugard, 2013; Larson, 2019; Badil, 2016, B'Tselem, 2019). Complaints filed against Israelis are closed without investigation, leaving the Palestinian victims without any legal recourse (OHCHR, 2016). Based on these findings, the first null hypothesis is rejected; which means that there is an impact of the Hebron Protocol on the economic, security, social, demographic, and services in the old city of Hebron. These facts have been affirmed by the interviews and the focus groups (indicated below).

Table (4.1) Regression factor; the impact of Hebron Protocol on the business environment from the security, social, demographic and services perspective in the old city of Hebron.

(Sig) value	Value of (t)	Standard error	R ²	Value of (R)	Value of (B)	Independent Variables	Dependent Variable
.008	2.720	.103	.422	.650	.281	Security Dimension	Economic Dimension
.000	3.968	.079			.313	Social Dimension	
.705	-.380	.113			-.043	Demographic Dimension	
.143	1.479	.114			.169	Services Dimension	

Figures in table (4.1) show that the value of Correlation (R) is (0.650) which indicates that there is a medium relationship between the independent variables and the dependant one. The most impactful variables is the social dimension with (Sig= .000).

Based on these facts, the Regression equation is:

Multiple Regression Equation:

***Economic Dimension = 1.043 + .281(Security) +.313(Social) + -.043(Demographic) +.169(Services)**

Second hypothesis:

There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on the businesses from the security perspective.

Second question:

Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on businesses in the old city of Hebron?

To test the second hypothesis, (Analysis) factor was applied to examine the impact of the security aspect on businesses in the old city of Hebron, as shown in the table (4.1) below:

Table (4.2) Regression factor; the impact of Hebron Protocol on the business environment from the security perspective in the old city of Hebron.

Variable	Value of (B)	Value of Regression (R)	R ²	Standard error	Value of (t)	(Sig) value
Security dimension/ Economic dimension	.617	.504	.254	.109	5.651	.000

Figures shown in table (4.2) indicate that there is a medium positive relationship between the security and the economic environment, since the total value of regression marked (0.504), with a (Sig) value of (0.00), and since it is less than ($.05 \geq \alpha$) the second null hypothesis, which says “there is no impact of Hebron Protocol on the businesses in the old city of Hebron from the security perspective” was rejected. Therefore, these results indicate that “there is an impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the security perspective.

Accordingly, the equation of the regression will be:

Businesses = 1.408 + 0.617 (Security aspect).

Results of the second question: To answer the second question of the study, the mean, the standard deviation, and relative weight have been calculated for the economic dimension in the old city of Hebron, as indicated in the table (4.2)

Table (4.3) shows the mean, the standard deviation, the relative weight, and the degree of impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron.

NO	Economic dimension	Mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight	Scale
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1	Relocation of businesses due to the lack of security.	4.39	0.66	0.90	High
2	Decline in investment due to the dire security situation.	4.38	0.73	0.85	High
3	Shortage in availability of goods.	3.58	0.79	0.83	High
4	Occupation's hindrance to rehabilitation works and expansion of economic space.	3.55	0.89	0.83	High
5	Inability of all time shopping.	3.98	0.89	0.83	High
6	Inability to transport commodities into the stores.	3.20	0.86	0.82	Medium
7	Absence of security necessary to protect the goods from robberies.	4.89	0.99	0.78	High
8	Difficulty in customers' reaching the shopping locations.	3.72	0.89	0.82	High
9	Job opportunities in the old city have become quite limited.	4.19	0.73	0.90	High
10	Shopping is limited to local residents.	3.88	0.98	0.90	High
11	The relocation of main businesses encouraged other businesses to abandon the area.	4.11	0.79	0.90	High
12	The absence of security undermined the tourism sector.	4.21	1.08	0.83	High
Total degree		4.01	0.68	0.80	High

The results of the table (4.3) indicate that the degree of the economic dimension is high, with a mean value of (4.01), and a standard deviation of (0.68). The most important item was "lack of the security necessary to protect the goods from theft," with a mean value of (4.89). The least important was the "inability to enter commodities into the stores," with a mean value of (3.20). Therefore the results show that there is an outstanding impact of the Hebron Protocol on the businesses in the old city of Hebron.

Two dimensions are to be considered in the security aspect, as indicated in the literature review and the interviews; lack of security and absence of law and order, in addition to the harsh security measures imposed by the Israelis, reinforcement of checkpoints and installation of new ones to secure settlements pathways. The big security vacuum and the strict security measures created a coercive environment and led to the abandonment of businesses and residences. (Shhadeh; 2010; B'Tselem, 2007) stated that Israeli's full-security control of the H-2 area and division of the city into two parts placed the "remaining" Palestinians under permanent security threat, and hence significantly undermined access to visitors, customers, and suppliers.

The outcomes of the focus groups indicated that the decline in the security and law and order, harsh security measures imposed by the Israeli security have forced businesses to relocate their investment seeking safe investment environment and therefore they relocated to H-1. These results are in line with the previous studies and the interviews. As sanctioned by Hebron Protocol, the division of the city and granting the Israeli full security control over commercial venues have created a big security vacuum and fragmented the Israeli-controlled area through closures and imposition of harsh security measures. Previous studies and the interviews indicated a strong (mutual) relationship between the closure of businesses and the security gap created as a result of a lack of law enforcement (B'Tselem, 2019). Lack of access to Palestinian

security significantly undermined the security and law enforcement in the Israeli-controlled area. Interviewed business owners indicated that the main factor forcing businesses to relocate their venues is the security gap, lack of law and order, and lack of protection from settlers' violence (Badil, 2019). The economic consequences of such a coercive environment have compromised businesses and forced them to relocate to H-1 (B'Tselem, 2019; Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019). Therefore, outstanding economic losses incurred in H-2 with a sharp increase in unemployment (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019).

4.4.3. Results of the third hypothesis/ question:

Hypothesis: There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the social perspective.

Question: Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on social relations in the old city of Hebron?

To test the third main hypothesis, the 'Regression Factor' is calculated between the social aspect and businesses, as indicated in the table (4.3) below:

Table (4.4) shows the Regression factor on the impact of the social aspect on the businesses after the Hebron Protocol.

Variable	Value of (B)	Value of (R)	R ²	Standard error	Value of (t)	(Sig) value
Social dimension/ Economic dimension	.453	.575	.330	.067	6.808	.000

The figure is shown in table (4.4) and indicates that there is a medium positive relationship between the social and the economic environment, since the total value of regression (R) marked (0.575), and (Sig) value is (0.00), and since it is less than ($.05 \geq \alpha$) the second null hypothesis, which says "there is no impact of Hebron Protocol on the businesses in the old city of Hebron from the social perspective is rejected". Therefore, these results prove that "there is an impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the social perspective. Accordingly, the equation of the regression will be:

Businesses = **1.408 + 0.617 (Social aspect)**

To answer the Third question, the mean, the standard deviations, and relative weights for the social situation in the old city of Hebron have been calculated, as shown in the table (4.3).

The table (4.5) shows the means, the standard deviations, and relative weights and the degree of impact of the Hebron Protocol on the social situation in the old city of Hebron?

NO.	Social dimension	Mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight	Degree
1	Inability to visit relatives and friends	3.79	1.08	0.76	High
2	Lack of access to the families to visit their relatives in the area.	3.82	0.95	0.76	High
3	Inability to stage parties and occasions.	3.79	0.97	0.76	High
4	The decline in the level of social relations among the residents of the old city.	3.98	1.02	0.80	High
Total degree		3.85	0.86	0.77	High

The table (4.5) shows that the impact of the Protocol on the social situation is high, with a mean of (3.85), and a standard deviation of (0.86). The most important item was ‘decline in the social relations among the residents of the old city,’ with a mean of (3.98). The least important was, ‘inability to visit relatives and Neighbours, and ‘inability to stage celebrations and parties’ with a mean for each of them of (3.79).

The results show that there is an impact of the Hebron Protocol on the social situation in the old city of Hebron. These results show that the decline in social relations has contributed to the decline of the business environment in the old city of Hebron. As indicated by previous studies, the division of Hebron city and full security control over the H-2 area enabled the Israelis to apply a systematic policy of segregation between Palestinian Neighbourhoods, causing fragmentation of Palestinian families, and resulting in a big social split between H-2 and H-1 and segregation within H-2 area. Restrictions on movement and harsh security measures, settlers’ violence, and lack of law and order undermined social connections (OCHA, 2017; Shhadeh, 2010). The impact of social segregation has gradually diminished the Palestinian presence in the old city (B’Tselem, 2007; Badil, 2016). Outcomes of the interviews conform to these results. The difficulties accessing restricted areas in H-2 and lack of security discouraged Palestinians living in H-1 or less restricted areas in H-2 to maintain their social relations with their relatives living in these areas (the case of Tell Rumeida and Ash Shuhada Street). Focus groups concluded that a decline in social relations has led to a reduction in the number of visitors and customers and therefore a dramatic decline in the income generated in a continuously abandoned area.

4.4.4. Results of the fourth hypothesis/ Question:

Hypothesis: There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the demographic perspective.

Question: Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on the demographic aspect of the old city of Hebron?

To test the third main hypothesis, the “Regression Factor” is measured between the businesses and the demographic variables, as indicated in the table (4.5) below:

Table (4.6); Regression factor for the impact of the demographic variable on businesses in the old city of Hebron.

Variable	Value of (B)	Value of (R)	R ²	Standard error	Value of (t)	(Sig) value
demographic/ Economic dimensions	.409	.430	.185	.089	4.622	.000

Figures shown in table (4.6) indicate that there is a medium positive relationship between the demographic and the economic variables, since the total value of regression (R) calculated (0.430), and (Sig) value is (0.00), and since it is less than $(.05 \geq \alpha)$ the second null hypothesis, which says “there is no impact of Hebron Protocol on the businesses in the old city of Hebron from the demographic perspective” is rejected. Therefore, these results prove that “there is an impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the demographic perspective. Accordingly, the equation of the regression will be:

Businesses = **2.367 + 0.4509 (Demographic aspect)**

To answer the third question, the means, standard deviations, and relative weights for the demographic situation in the old city of Hebron have been computed.

See Table (4.6) below:

Table (4.7) shows the means, standard deviations, the relative weights, and the degree that demonstrates the impact of the Hebron Protocol demographic situation:

NO.	Demographic dimension	Mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight	Degree
1	Relocation of residents due to the lack/ absence of police for security.	4.21	0.92	0.84	High
2	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the lack of job opportunities.	4.26	0.70	0.85	High
3	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the social disconnection.	3.79	0.97	0.76	High
4	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the lack of services (health,	3.75	0.97	0.75	High

	education, transportation, and others)				
Total degree		4.00	0.89	0.80	High

The table (4.7) shows that the degree of the demographic dimension is high; the mean measured (4.00), with a standard deviation of (0.71). The most significant item is “the abandonment of businesses and houses due to the lack of job opportunities,” with a mean measure (4.26). The least significant was the abandonment of businesses and residences due to the shortage of health services as well as, transportation, and other services,” with a mean of (3.75). The results of the statistical analysis show that the Hebron Protocol has a big impact on the demographic situation in the old city of Hebron.

Previous studies and the interviews indicated that the challenging living conditions in the old city of Hebron resulted from the segregation regime after 1997 that led to the fragmentation of areas in addition to the aforementioned dire living conditions forced many families to abandon their residences and live elsewhere in H-1 area (B’Tselem, 2007, 2019; Badil, 2016). Besides, the social split created as a result of the decline in social relations between H-1 and H-2 encountered extra challenges for businesses that found themselves dependent on highly vulnerable local families (OCHA, 2017). Besides, the dramatic decrease in the number of visitors to the area that would revive the economy of the old city has contributed to the deterioration of the economic environment. More primarily, the decline in investment and closure of businesses have vacated the old city from its commercial venues as well as many of the residents (Badil, 2016; Ma’an Development Centre, 2008). Forced eviction employing demographic dominance and expanding settlers’ civic space has been an Israeli systematic policy and impacted the demographic sustainability and natural growth of the Palestinian community (Khamiasi, 2007, B’Tselem, 2019).

4.4.5. Results of the fifth hypothesis/ Question:

Hypothesis: There is no impact of the Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the services’ provision perspective.

Question: Does the Hebron Protocol have an impact on the services provided in the old city of Hebron?

To test the fifth main hypothesis, the ‘Regression factor’ is calculated between the economic dimension and the services provided in the old city of Hebron, as indicated in the table (4.9) below:

Table (4.8) shows (’Regression factor) factor for the provision of the service on the businesses in the old city of Hebron as a result of the Hebron Protocol.

Variable	Value of (B)	Value of (R)	R²	Standard mistake	Value of (t)	(Sig) value
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Services/ Economic dimensions	.345	.294	.086	.116	2.981	.004
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Figures shown in table (4.8) indicate that there is a low positive relationship between the services' provision and the economic variables, since the total value of regression (R) marked (0.294), and (Sig) value is (0.004), and since it is less than $(.05 \geq \alpha)$ the null hypothesis, which says "there is no impact of Hebron Protocol on the businesses in the old city of Hebron from the services' provision perspective" is rejected. Therefore, these results prove that "there is an impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron from the services provided aspect. These results are in line with the previous studies and interviews on the decline in the level of services provided by the Palestinian government to the community of H-2 and a result of the segregation regime, sanctioned by Hebron Protocol. Accordingly, the equation of the regression will be:

Businesses = 2.643 + 0.345 (services' provision)

To answer the fifth question, the means, standard deviations, and relative weights for the services provided in the old city of Hebron were computed, as shown in the table below:

See table (4.8) below:

Table (4.9) shows the means, standard deviations, and relative weights, and the degree that the demographic situation is impacted by the Hebron Protocol.

NO.	Service providing dimension.	Mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight	Degree
1	Difficulty accessing available health services due to the Israeli barriers.	3.84	0.90	0.77	High
2	Difficulty accessing available education services due to the Israeli barriers.	3.91	0.85	0.78	High
3	Deficiency in health services; hospitals, emergency clinics.	4.08	0.80	0.82	High
4	Lack of transportation means and lack of access to their destinations in the old city.	4.14	0.75	0.83	High
5	Opening branches of official institutions has not revived the livelihood in the old city.	3.57	0.95	0.71	High
6	Officials' lack of visits to the old city to monitor the situation.	4.02	0.85	0.80	High

7	Shortage in the visits made by international organizations to monitor the situation.	3.83	1.08	0.77	High
8	Officials' lack of proper follow up of the victims of the Israeli army and settlers.	4.16	0.73	0.83	High
Total Degree		3.94	0.58	0.79	High

The table (4.8) shows that the degree of the impact of the Protocol on services provided is high; the mean calculated (3.94), and standard deviation calculated (0.58). The most significant item is 'Officials' lack of proper follow up of the victims of the Israeli army and settlers,' with mean measures (4.16). The least significant was the 'reopening of some official institutions did not positively impact the livelihood in the old city,' with a mean of (3.57).

The results show that there is a big impact of the Hebron Protocol on the services provided in the old city of Hebron.

Interviews staged on this aspect indicated that Israelis' control over the old city and abuse of the terms of the agreement by segregating their area of control, and restrictions on zoning and planning have undermined sustainability and maintenance of services necessary for Palestinians' livelihood, and limited potentials for expanding these services corresponding to the natural growth of the population (World Bank, 2008; Ma'an Development Centre, 2008). In reality, services provision is part of the zoning and planning projects necessary for sustainable development but undermined by the terms of the agreement which contributed to the division of the city and restrictions of Palestinians' services' provision. The presence of the Israeli settlers in the heart of Hebron's old city enabled them expanded their civic space one the expense of the Palestinians (Badil, 2016; World Bank, 2008; interviews one, ten, and twelve, Appendix I). Results of the focus groups indicated that the old city has been constantly neglected by the Palestinian officials and focused on the H-1 area in providing services necessary for the maintenance of businesses and sustainable development, which further disadvantaged the old city and contributed to its isolation and segregation.

Results of the sixth hypothesis:

There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision dimensions related to the demographic variables (age, type of business, and income before and after the closure).

To test the hypothesis number six, One Way Anova was used to for all demographic variables, one by one, as shown in the table (4.10) below:

Table (4.10): results of the One Way ANOVA analysis to test the average answers of the study population on the impact of the Hebron Protocol related to age.

Dimension	Source of variability	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
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Economic dimension	Between Groups	2.036	3	.679	1.499	.220
	Within Groups	41.656	92	.453		
	Total	43.692	95			
Security dimension	Between Groups	.164	3	.055	.174	.914
	Within Groups	28.930	92	.314		
	Total	29.094	95			
Social dimension	Between Groups	1.328	3	.443	.591	.623
	Within Groups	68.968	92	.750		
	Total	70.296	95			
Demographic dimension	Between Groups	1.702	3	.567	1.120	.345
	Within Groups	46.610	92	.507		
	Total	48.312	95			
Services' provision dimension	Between Groups	1.352	3	.451	1.370	.257
	Within Groups	30.269	92	.329		
	Total	31.621	95			

Results shown in table (4.10) indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in the average responses of the study population at ($.05 \geq \alpha$) on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron related to **Age** since all *Sig.* in all dimensions were more than (0.05), which is statistically not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis, which stated “ There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision dimensions related to age, is accepted.

Table (4.11): Results of the One Way ANOVA analysis to test the average answers of the study population on the impact of the Hebron Protocol related to the type of business.

Dimension	Source of variability	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Economic dimension	Between Groups	.575	3	.192	.409	.747
	Within Groups	43.117	92	.469		
	Total	43.692	95			

Security dimension	Between Groups	.007	3	.002	.008	.999
	Within Groups	29.087	92	.316		
	Total	29.094	95			
Social dimension	Between Groups	1.863	3	.621	.835	.478
	Within Groups	68.433	92	.744		
	Total	70.296	95			
Demographic dimension	Between Groups	.046	3	.015	.029	.993
	Within Groups	48.266	92	.525		
	Total	48.312	95			
Services' provision dimension	Between Groups	1.282	3	.427	1.295	.281
	Within Groups	30.339	92	.330		
	Total	31.621	95			

Results shown in table (4.11) indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in the average responses of the study population at ($.05 \geq \alpha$) on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron related to the type of business, since all *Sig.* in all dimensions were more than (0.05), which is statistically not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis, which stated ‘ ‘ There is no statistically not significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and services provision dimensions related to the type of business, **is accepted**.

Table (4.12): results of the One Way ANOVA analysis to test the average answers of the study population on the impact of the Hebron Protocol related to the income before the closure.

Dimension	Source of variability	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Economic dimension	Between Groups	.677	2	.338	.822	.445
	Within Groups	21.410	52	.412		
	Total	22.086	54			
Security dimension	Between Groups	.224	2	.112	.499	.610
	Within Groups	11.689	52	.225		

	Total	11.913	54			
Social dimension	Between Groups	1.277	2	.638	1.137	.329
	Within Groups	29.205	52	.562		
	Total	30.482	54			
Demographic dimension	Between Groups	2.306	2	1.153	3.147	.051
	Within Groups	19.051	52	.366		
	Total	21.357	54			
Services' provision dimension	Between Groups	.270	2	.135	.466	.630
	Within Groups	15.076	52	.290		
	Total	15.347	54			

Results shown in table (4.12) indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in the average responses of the study population at ($.05 \geq \alpha$) on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron related to income before the closure, since all Sig. in all dimensions was more than (0.05), which is statistically not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis, which stated ‘ ‘ There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision dimensions related to income before the closure, **is accepted**.

Table (4.13): results of the One Way ANOVA analysis to test the average answers of the study population on the impact of the Hebron Protocol related to the income after the closure.

Dimension	Source of variability	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Economic dimension	Between Groups	1.123	3	.374	.728	.542
	Within Groups	19.011	37	.514		
	Total	20.133	40			
Security dimension	Between Groups	.349	3	.116	.275	.843
	Within Groups	15.643	37	.423		
	Total	15.992	40			
	Between Groups	2.794	3	.931	.994	.406

Social dimension	Within Groups	34.657	37	.937		
	Total	37.451	40			
Demographic dimension	Between Groups	1.680	3	.560	.821	.491
	Within Groups	25.244	37	.682		
	Total	26.924	40			
Services' provision dimension	Between Groups	.582	3	.194	.491	.691
	Within Groups	14.609	37	.395		
	Total	15.191	40			

Results shown in table (4.13) indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in the average responses of the study population at ($.05 \geq \alpha$) on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron related to income after the closure, since all Sig. in all dimensions was more than (0.05), which is statistically not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis, which stated “ There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision dimensions related to income after the closure, **is accepted**.

Based on the above results, the sixth hypothesis, which says “ *There is no statistically significant relationship between the average answers of the study population on the impact of Hebron Protocol on the situation in the old city of Hebron from the economic, security, social, demographic, and service provision dimensions related to the demographic variables (age, type of business, and income before and after the closure),* ” **is accepted**.

The outcomes of the Interviews contributed to these results and facts, each of which has contributed to a certain aspect of the negative consequences of the Hebron Protocol. **AbuSneineh** and **Mohtaseb** (interview one, and seven, Appendix I) demonstrated the impact of the segregation regime on residents and the businesses. The division of the city into two parts, absence security and law and order, closures, restrictions on movement, and settlers' violence created a challenging situation that forced the majority of businesses and many residences to abandon the area. Discriminatory law and lack of legal recourse deprived Palestinians of necessary protection to their families and property. Restrictions on zoning and planning impeded natural growth necessary for sustainable development. Such dire conditions have been created by the terms of the protocol and worsened by Israelis' violations of these terms.

Al-Qeisi (interview six) provided an estimate of the economic losses of the segregation regime created through the Protocol. These results are in line with economic studies provided by the (NRC, 2019). In his analysis, he demonstrated facts and figures on the actual losses of income and capital as a result of the closures. He related to the economic losses to the closures that have been reinforced by the division of the city.

Maraqa, Abu Eishah and Abdennaser (interviews three, four, and five, Appendix I) indicated that denial of access to the Palestinian security to reinforce law and order have turned the area into a safe shelter for criminals that dismissed the majority of businesses. Restrictions on the movement of goods and lack of access to suppliers and customers, in addition to the closure of businesses by military commands, have aggravated the investment atmosphere. Businessmen have lost their potentials to maintain their businesses. Lack of geographical connection as a result of the division of the city had a detrimental impact on businesses.

According to Dana and Hantash (interviews ten and eleven, Appendix I), the Oslo agreement and Hebron Protocol have reinforced the occupation by granting the Israelis extra power over Palestinian resources and enabled them to execute the policy of forced eviction aimed to replace the Palestinian residents with Israeli settlers. Through the agreements(s) the Israeli occupation dominated natural resources controlled the borders and impeded sustainable development. The Protocol is an extra instrument the Israelis utilized to replace Palestinians with Israeli citizens, fragmented Palestinian Neighbourhoods, expanded their settlements, and developed legislation to sanction these measures.

Qawasmeh (interview nine, Appendix I), who participated in the negotiations of Hebron Protocol, disclosed that the circumstances that developed the protocol led to a weak agreement, lacking safeguards and exit strategy. The Israelis have not fulfilled their commitment to the agreement. They segregated the city and reinforced their occupation on its historical parts. The reason for the creation of a special agreement for Hebron is to reinforce the presence of the settlers. Creating facts on the ground employing the agreement and managed to evacuate many of its residents and businesses.

Eyal Hareuveni (interview twelve, Appendix I) indicated that the agreement has not contributed to the restoration of Palestinians' rights, but rather reinforced the occupation over the area. The presence of the settlements in the heart of the city of Hebron undermined any peaceful initiative. Therefore, any resolution of the conflict without the removal of these settlements would not last, and would much depend on the ideology of the Israeli politicians in charge. Overall, the settlers have always reinforced their dominance over the politicians and decision-makers in Israel. Economically, business ceased investment in H-2 that is prevailed with an uncertain future. Such an environment is created deliberately by the Israeli occupation and is further empowered utilizing the Protocol terms.

Hallmarks of the interviews: The main hallmarks of the interviews that are in line with this study and contribute to the hypothesis of the study indicated that Hebron Protocol segregated the old city and evacuated it from its security, which has become an attraction for criminals and therefore unsuitable area for both residents and businesses. Israelis severe measures aimed to evacuate the old city are exacerbated by the terms of the agreement which granted them extra power and enabled them to fragment the area under their control and justify their harsh security measures. Throughout the years, the Israelis have applied harsh security measures aimed to evacuate the old city. Yet, they only succeeded to do so employing Hebron Protocol which granted them full security control over the area. The terms of the agreement impeded sustainable development and allowed more civic space for the benefit of the settlers extra.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Future Research

5.1. Introduction

This chapter demonstrates a holistic view on the research results, and it demonstrates a broad discussion of the results and their conformity with the research hypothesis and previous studies. At the end of the chapter, the research concludes with future specific recommendations and research significance to pave the way for further studies and decisions, aimed to mitigate the consequences of Hebron Protocol or seek more conclusions at political and security levels and, possibly, present other livelihood-related solutions.

5.2 Discussion of Results and Conformity with Previous Studies

This chapter presents the most significant research results and their conformity with the hypothesis of the study and the previous studies. Based on the results obtained from the research tools and the previous studies, this research results confirm the negative impact of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron, and in line with the research hypothesis.

- Many **studies** referred to the Hebron Protocol as a means of fragmentation, segregation, and forced eviction. While the agreement explicitly called for the contiguity of the city, the terms of the agreement contributed to the isolation and segregation of the city, further degraded by the abuse of these terms, and contributed to the discriminatory and forced eviction regime, applied on the Palestinian community living in the old city (Badil, 2016; B'Tselem, 2019).
- Dugard (2013) and Larson (2019) presented an emblematic context in South Africa of the discriminatory regime, segregation, and disadvantaging original residents; a policy imposed by the white minority and demonstrated an act of Apartheid. In practice, the Israeli policy in the areas under their control aimed to pave the way for ‘‘Apartheid’’ and replacing the Palestinian residents with Israeli citizens, employing intensive physical presence of the Israelis, expanding their civic space, expropriation of property, and segregation of Palestinian Neighbourhoods, with various security pretexts, to force them to leave (Badil, 2016; B'Tselem, 2007, 20019);
- Likewise, Khamaisi (2007) presented a similar context of Israeli policy in east Jerusalem, aimed to replace Palestinian residents with Israeli citizens in the context of a systematic policy of forced eviction. The Protocol, that sanctioned the division of the city of Hebron and granted the Israelis full security power over the main historical and commercial parts of the city, provided the Israelis with extra instruments to carry on their policy of forced eviction and reinforce settlement expansion (World Bank, 2007, 2008).

- The (NRC, 2019) presented concrete figures on economic losses of the old city of Hebron as a result of the divisions and the restrictions created since the segregation regime. B'Tselem (2019) confirmed their previous studies conducted in 2007 and concluded that the separation regime in H-2 area, imposition of multilayer restrictions, including of “closed zones” areas, manipulating security pretexts, resulting in the diminishing of Palestinian residents and expanding Israeli settlements, therefore demonstrating a practical act of forced eviction in the Israeli-controlled area.

5.3. Conclusions:

- The area under the Israeli control was subjected to severe movement and access restrictions, countless settlers’ attacks, and various means of property seizures, Imposition of harsh security measures, spatial dominance of the settlers, restrictions on Palestinians’ zoning and planning necessary for sustainable development and natural growth.
- The Israelis managed to isolate the old city (Israeli-controlled area) from the rest of Hebron and undermine the unity of the city and connection between the two divided parts of Hebron (H-1 and H-2).
- The Israelis created a coercive environment in their area of security control (H-2), which substantially undermined social connections (Ma’an Development Centre, 2008; OCHA, 2017).
- The terms of the Protocol also undermined Palestinian Authority control and provision of services in the Israeli-controlled area (OCHA, 2017; Shhadeh, 2010).
- One of the most highlighted impacts of the Hebron Protocol is the dramatic deterioration of the security situation, due to the absence of protection necessary to secure business and supplies.
- The scope of protection of businesses as presented by NRC (2019) and B’Tselem (2007, 2019) took various dimensions; the security of the goods from thefts, and lack of protection of customers and suppliers from settlers’ violence the military measures applied at checkpoints.
- Economic assessment in the old city shows a sharp decline in economic activities and a substantial loss of businesses and capital. The NRC (2019) indicated that the economic losses incurred from the segregation regime and the long-term closures are estimated to 620 million USD, with an indirect cost of the closures on businesses of \$485 million of the remaining minority of economically active businesses.
- The consequences of the segregation regime are made obvious during the second Intifada, during which the Israeli military managed to segregate the entire H-2 area with

long-term curfews and harsh, arbitrary security measures, leading to a high-scale abandonment of businesses, and many residences (Badil,2016; B'Tselem, 2019).

- In reality (Khamaisi, 2007; B'Tselem, 2019) indicated that the long-term Israeli policy in the H-2 area demonstrates measures leading to forced eviction for Palestinian residents and investors.

5.5. Recommendations:

In the general terms, the current political and security environment is a historical opportunity towards revising genuinely the terms of the agreements (including of the Hebron Protocol,) or taking steps towards nullification of the agreements in principle. This is concerning Israelis' recent launching new schemes on annexation policy (there are some practices on the ground already), while the Palestinian government has taken practical steps towards disengagement from their agreements with the Israelis, disclosing that the Israeli government has violated the terms of the peace agreement as a whole for many years now.

Related to the study results, and to provide feasible and realistic action points that address the real problem and mitigate the impact of Hebron Protocol, the problem should be addressed from all dimensions and at all levels concurrently. This means that the problem should be addressed at, economic, security, social, and service levels, since the negative impact of the Protocol has affected all of these aspects concurrently. Besides, these dimensions are related to each other and each of them is affected by others in a pooling manner.

After concluding the consequences of Hebron Protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron, the following recommendations are proposed as a basis to mitigate the negative impact of the agreement:

At the security level:

Since the major problem that emerged after the creation of the Hebron Protocol is ‘‘ the security’’ as a result of the full security control of the Israelis over the H-2 area, and absence of Palestinian security, it is recommended to address this matter with possible available means to mitigate the problem. Following are proposals to address the problem:

- At the political level, renegotiate the security aspect with the Israelis and reinforce the presence of Palestinian security.
- Provide more efficient security bodies other than the municipality inspectors, such as undercover security, and reinforce the role of the Palestinian police in the restricted areas.
- Promote the presence of the tourism police to provide required security and protection, to revive the declining tourism sector.
- Deploy official security personnel in proximity to the commercial and touristic venues along the hour.

At the economic level:

- Outreach and a widespread campaign to raise awareness should be staged to campaign the public opinion aimed to promote the economy of the old city.
- Closed businesses should be given promotions to reopen their economic enterprises, such as tax-exempt goods, free rents (for non-owners), other facilities like free services (water, electricity, etc.);
- Promotions can be given to customers in parallel to encourage them to purchase from shops in the old city; such as cheap prices, availability of goods in one location like wholesale markets, provide facilities to the transportation, etc.
- A tax-free market could be established as well so that customers could find all merchandise items for cheap prices, therefore attract customers' to the area.
- Promote the tourist sector by providing facilities and services for tourists and establish more touristic venues.
- Create income-generating projects for highly vulnerable families living in the old city to enhance their resilience and provide them with a sustainable income.
- Encourage new investments by providing special facilities, financial support, tax-exempt, etc.

At demographic/ social level:

- Palestinian officials should promote residency in the old city by encouraging newcomers to live in the area to stop residents' abandonment of their houses.
- Support Palestinian residents in the restricted areas with more protection, financial support (tax-free commodities, free rent, and services, etc.);
- Encourage social events (marriage, feasts, anniversary celebrations, etc.) in restricted areas by providing facilities and financial promotions. Hence, encourage more attendance to the restricted areas, which would enhance the security and promote the economy.

At service provision level:

- Results of the questionnaire and interviews indicated that establishing branches for government institutions to provide institutional services in the old city has promoted more presence and movement in the area and revived the old city. Therefore, it is recommended that the Palestinian officials expand these institutions and establish branches for other services, and by providing services strictly available in the old city.
- Establish more efficient means of transportation and provide facilities for parking of vehicles.
- Meet the needs of the education, health, and other services and fill the gaps so that level of services provided corresponds to the actual needs, and gives promotions for teachers and physicians who attend schools and clinics in the old city.

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Appendixes:

Appendix 1

Testimonies of owners of closed businesses, economically active ones, Palestinian officials, including politicians, economists, and residents.

Interview One:

Interview with the Mayor of Hebron, Mr. Tayseer Abusneineh:

He believed that Hebron Protocol has segregated that city of Hebron, and the Israelis obtained legitimacy to seize religious sites and economic centers employing the agreement. Moreover, **the Israelis have violated all the terms and conditions of the agreement** and therefore succeeded to isolate H-2 from the rest of the city. The direct consequence is **the fragmentation of the city and closures of main economic and commercial venues**, and restrictions on access to the religious sites. It also undermined the social, economic, and geographical connections between the two divided parts of the city. Such a challenging environment has forced the vast majority of residents and businesses to abandon the area. **Huge amounts of debts for the municipality remain unpaid due to the lack of law and order, while zoning and planning are significantly restricted by the terms of the agreement.** The old city has become an attraction for the criminals due to the absence of law and order as a result of the lack of accountability and lack of access to the Palestinian police.

Interview Two:

Mohammad Amin Al-Jabari (70 YO) refused to participate in signing the agreement along with the other three negotiators since he had reservations on Hebron Protocol in principle. He believed that a researcher shouldn't separate Hebron Protocol from the Massacre of the Ibrahimi Mosque, which paved the way for this agreement.

The direct consequence of the agreement is **granting the Israelis extra means to evacuate the old city from residents and businesses.** Israelis harsh measures caused social segregation and economic devastation. Without the agreement, the Israelis would not be able to impose such restrictions, which were made possible by the terms of the agreement that enabled them fully control the old city and therefore segregate it from the rest of Hebron. **The agreement impeded zoning and planning necessary for sustainable development.** Besides, the old city is **vacated from security and law enforcement**, and the Israelis have applied predetermined policies aimed to prevent visitors from coming to the area while restricting the locals' movement. Hebron Protocol was made to provide the existing settlers with all facilities and expand their civic space at the expense of Palestinians' rights.

Interview Three:

Jamal Maraqa, a prominent shopkeeper in the Qasabeh area.

He indicated that the consequences of the agreement have been devastating to the old city. The division of Hebron into H-1 and H-2 and the absence of the Palestinian police from H-2 have been a primary trigger for businesses to abandon the area. The direct consequence is turning the old city into an undesired place for families and businesses as a result of lack of security and absence of law and order. Therefore, **investment ceased and many families have abandoned the old city due to the spread of criminals; thefts and smugglers.** Most of the prominent shops have been robbed more than once. Besides, there is no legal recourse to claim

compensation or protection. Nowadays, only highly vulnerable families live in the old city, those who sought free rent and services.

The old city was the main economic and commerce center at all times. Nowadays, only a few shops remained operating, mainly those who still make some income. Others remained to preserve the legacy and religious value near the Ibrahimi Mosque. Remaining businesses are run by old generations and therefore would eventually cease operating.

Interview Four:

Abed AbuEisheh (50 YO) was a prominent businessman in the old city of Hebron until 2002. He was operating a family business near Avraham Avinu Settlement. His shops were closed by military orders in 2002. He used to make \$ 3,000 per day. He suddenly lost both the capital and a total income of \$ 15 million during 17 years of closure, in addition to a total of two million USD the estimated loss of capital.

The closures and isolation of the H-2 part of the city impeded the geographical connection and increased the transaction costs. Besides, no means of transportation could reach their destinations in the old city as a result of barriers and the deterioration of the security conditions. The Israelis plotted this situation and aimed to evacuate the old city. Hebron Protocol provided the Israelis with extra control and enabled them to divide the city and isolate it from H-1. Abed is now operating a shop in H-1 located in proximity to the Israeli Checkpoint (56) leading to Ash Shuhada Street. Lack of connection with H-2 has restricted movement to his location at the friction area with the Israelis.

Interview Five:

Abdennaser Maraqa was a prominent trader in the old city of Hebron:

Maraqa used to make an average income of \$ 15,000 per month and owned a business with an estimated value of \$ 300,000 until the end of the year 1999. Since the year 2000, he closed his business and relocated to H-1. He lost the daily income and the value of his capital altogether. In the year 2000, businesses could not return operating normally, due to the lack of security, restrictions on movement, and lack of law enforcement. Several shops had been robbed out, their owners have been blackmailed by thieves. **Before the agreement, the Israelis were concerned about the security of the city, and hence they maintained security and rule of law during their full control of the city. However, after the creation of the Hebron Protocol, which granted them full security control over H-2, they neglected the security in H-2, and the Palestinian police are denied access to the area, leaving the old city in a big security vacuum.** Therefore it has become a resort for criminals. Consequently, the working environment is not safe for investment.

Interview six:

Raja'i Al-Qeisi, a prominent economist, arbitrator, and a politician.

Mr. Raja' used to process accountings for main businesses in the old city of Hebron since the early 1990s. He presented, in figures, the economic ¹¹consequences of the closures as exacerbated by Hebron Protocol, demonstrating devastating economic losses in capitals and income.

Raja'i indicated main events that contributed to the abandonment of businesses, with significant contribution of Hebron Protocol (HP). The Israeli policy of practical evacuation of

¹¹ Flagged in the economic impact and the introduction of this study.

the historic part of Hebron started as of the early 1980s, and the harsh security measures undertaken in the aftermath of the Ibrahimi Mosque massacre in 1994. Yet, until signing the Hebron Protocol, businesses remained operating. **Following the creation of the Hebron Protocol, the Israelis employed the weak aspects of the agreement and breached other terms. In reality, the agreement was made to justify and sanction the Israeli closures, which also encouraged settlers' violence and facilitated settlement expansion.** Hereafter, the area is vacated from basic security needs required to maintain businesses. Active businesses have been subjected to repeated robberies. Additional costs encountered extra challenge forced residents and businesses to abandon the area.

Interview Seven:

Zleikha Mohtaseb (57 YO) is a resident of the old city and a prominent politician. She indicated that **the Hebron Protocol was signed by incompetent Palestinian negotiators but highly qualified Israelis.** The Protocol segregated the old city of Hebron, created a big security gap. It turned the area into an attraction for criminals and therefore, created a big security dilemma. The majority of businesses and man families relocated to H-1 as a safer living and work environment. Since the occupation, several historical and security events occurred; yet, as long as the entire city of Hebron had been united and the security is the sole responsibility of the Israelis, policies of forced eviction had never worked and the old city remained resilient before Israelis' severe measures. **The Israelis had made several attempts to segregate the old city and evacuate the residents and businesses. Until the year 1997, marking the signing Hebron Protocol, things changed dramatically,** the Israelis designed a special agreement for Hebron led to the fragmentation of the city and exempted the Israelis from their security burden in the densely populated areas.

The consequences of the agreement are severe; the Palestinian security is forced to abandon H-2, as sanctioned by the agreement. After the creation of two authorities, things complicated and the Palestinians acted like mediators, which only delayed things. **The major loss is law enforcement, which used to be in the hands of the Israelis entirely. Hereafter, the Israelis denied Palestinians access to their security and legal system** while Palestinian security couldn't claim Palestinians' rights. Before the agreement, claims filed by Palestinians against Israelis used to be recognized; yet, since the agreement, complaints either refused or closed without any investigations, and therefore a full absence of Palestinian's legal rights.

The interviewee was part of a national initiative “ called scream of the homeland,” which demanded that Palestinians cease their commitment to the terms of the Protocol.

Interview Eight (expert of tourism):

Hadeel 'Eweiwi (38 YO) researched the main reasons for the decline of tourism in the old city of Heron as a touristic landmark. Her main **findings indicated that lack of law enforcement necessary to provide security for the tourist groups, and lack of access to the Palestinian police lead to deterioration of security situation** and turned the old city into a safe shelter for criminals after it had been an area of touristic attraction. **Only criminals and highly vulnerable people are still living.** Local children always pressurize tourists to beg from them or even steal, which defamed the old city following many robberies occurred against tourists, and sometimes sexual harassment. The tourist sector has declined dramatically and many people lost their jobs as a result.

Interview Nine (Participated in signing the Protocol):

Ali Ghazal Qawasmeh was part of the negotiation team that participated in the actual negotiations with their Israeli counterparts. He said that in the beginning, the politicians were impressed by the idea of the evacuation of settlers. When the right-wing extremist Netanyahu took over, things changed. The agreement was temporary for five years, during which permanent status agreement should have been completed. Yet, the Israelis have not committed to this understanding and they breached the terms of the agreement. Besides, **there were no safeguards nor exit strategy for the Palestinians in case of breach of the agreement. These circumstances enabled the Israelis to impose facts on the ground since the Palestinians could not negotiate on an equal basis and they were lacking any support or back up.** Through the security control, the Israelis controlled everything and isolated the old city of Hebron. He admitted that it was a big historic mistake to stage such a fragile agreement with the Israelis.

Interview ten:

Abdel 'Alim Dana, the leader in the National front, academic, and a prominent politician. He said that Hebron Protocol cannot be separated from the whole context of the Oslo Agreement. In practical terms, the Israelis only preserved the security coordination because it serves their interests, while they breached all other terms of the agreement. Hebron Protocol is a sample of the context of the bigger Oslo accord. **The agreement granted the Israelis extra power and enabled them to dominate Palestinians' resources, including the control of borders, and it impeded sustainable development.** It only contributed to reinforce the occupation and. The occupation still exists and the agreement only facilitated and sanctioned the occupation practices.

Interview eleven:

Abdelhadi Hantash is an expert is colonization affairs and a prominent political analyst. He indicated that Oslo in general abandoned much of Palestinians' rights, including natural resources. The agreement created new borders, and it enabled the Israelis to segregate the historical parts of Hebron and appending it under their sovereignty. Therefore, isolated the H-2 part of the city and grant the Israelis obsolete power over their area of control. The occupation has imposed new facts through the terms of this agreement. Closure of businesses, restrictions on movement by creating more physical barriers/obstacles, and promote settlements' expansions is in reality Israelis' main objectives for staging this agreement with the Palestinians. They have reinforced intensive military presence amongst Palestinian Neighbourhoods, and hence created coercive living conditions, resulting in mass abandonment of the area. The direct dire fact is turning the area into an area of crime since the Palestinian police have no access to reinforce law and order, as sanctioned by the agreement.

The settlement expansion in Hebron exacerbated by these weak agreements. The settlers have expanded their space and intensified their violence against the Palestinians and their properties, without Israeli security fulfilling their commitments ¹²towards the Palestinian residents. The Jewish community has been plotting to connect all settlements of the old city of Hebron with Kiryat Arba and create one block, which would further segregate Palestinian Neighbourhoods,

¹² occupying power, they are entitled to provide security for the Palestinians:

(<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/01/chapter-3-israeli-settlements-and-international-law/>)

with security pretexts. Likewise, they are applying similar scenario on settlements surrounding the city of Hebron, by creating circles around the city and keep expanding these settlements blocks, aimed to connect them, seize Palestinian communities in small circles, decrease their space with continued restrictions, and so on. The occupation is applying a four-dimensioned plan: First, the land (space) without Palestinian residents. Second, establish new settlements and expand the existing settlements on the expense of Palestinians' land. Third, forced eviction of others (Palestinians), by creating challenging living conditions, leaving them no choice but to leave. Fourth creating legislation, military orders, etc. that serve these plans; seizure of Palestinian property, force them to leave, establish and expand and expand settlements. The Israelis government enabled Jewish terrorist movements to seize Palestinian properties. They targeted 800 targets in the west bank and considered them as part of the Jewish legacy, among them is the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. Lack of legal recourse is another challenge for the Palestinian community since the creation of the agreements(S). All complaints of crimes executed by Israelis (settlers and security) and closed without any investigations, and recorded under "perpetrator unknown." Hebron Protocol has contributed to the occupation's harsh measures and provided the Israelis with extra instruments to evacuate the old city of Hebron from the Palestinian residents.

Interview twelve:

Eyal Hareuveni is a prominent researcher in B'Tselem. He indicated that the agreement has contributed to the alleged restoration of Palestinians' rights, but rather reinforced the occupation over the area. The presence of the settlements in the heart of the city of Hebron undermined any peaceful settlement. Therefore, any resolution of the conflict without the removal of these settlements would not last and would remain pending the ideology of the Israeli politicians in charge. Overall, the settlers have always controlled and dominated the political leadership and decision-makers in Israel. Besides, the political situation at that period was complicated, and the Israeli prime minister at that time (Netanyahu) was against the Protocol. It was eventually designed to support and protect the presence of the settlers. Economically, businesses are no longer interested in investing their money in H-2 because there are safety measures that do not exist anymore, with high uncertainty of sustainability of any investment due to the lack of stability in the area.

Appendix II:

The Hebron Protocol:

"Israel appears to have made important gains as well. First, in terms of Hebron itself, the new protocol does improve upon the original security arrangements -- in potentially important, even if not fundamental, ways. These have to do with restrictions on Palestinian police firearms, wider buffer zones for Palestinian police operations, enhanced joint security efforts, and restrictions on Palestinian construction¹³."

Alan Makovsky published that the Israelis achieved a lot with the leadership of the Likud party, by preserving the presence of the Israeli settlers in the old city of Hebron and maintaining the security dominance overall the city of Hebron as well as controlling the religious sites mainly

¹³ The Hebron Agreement " closer look:" <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-hebron-agreement-a-closer-look>

the tomb of Patriarchs ¹⁴. ‘‘Among the major gains the Israelis have achieved is the imposition of new impediments on Palestinians’ zoning and planning necessary for sustainable development ¹⁵.

4. The Government will soon begin to discuss the principles of the permanent status arrangements, to conclude its deliberations before the implementation of the second stage of the further redeployment, at the very latest.

5. The Government reiterates that a fundamental condition for the continuation of the [peace] process with the Palestinians is the mutual fulfillment of the obligations of both sides, as itemized in the Note for the Record of January 14, 1997. The Cabinet decision was adopted by a vote of 11 to 7. Upon the adoption of the decision, Minister Benjamin Begin announced his resignation from the Government.

The timing of the further redeployment remained uncertain and controversial.

Redeployments as an Israeli responsibility which includes its designating specified military locations.

Israeli Prime Minister’s Speech:

Statement by the Israeli Prime Minister: Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made a statement to the Knesset on the protocol concerning Redeployment in Hebron and Jerusalem on 16 January 1997, in which he assured his commitment with protection of the Israeli settlements, full security control and reinforcing Israelis’ sovereignty over the area. He promised with a better future for the Israelis and stressed on the security control over the entire area of Hebron to ensure security and protection of the Israeli

Through his speech, the PM appealed to both the members of the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) and the Israeli public alike to obtain legitimacy and public support. To achieve this, he gave assurances on Israelis’ security control and assured protection of the Israeli settlements in H-2. This suggests that strict security measures would be undertaken at the expense of Palestinians’ freedom of movement. He also disclosed the possibility of maneuvering and showed high flexibility in this regard. Therefore, the Palestinian Authority (PA) would never enjoy sovereign powers that might encounter a threat to the state of Israel. Accordingly, superiority would remain in the hands of the Israeli security institution. In practice, this had been proven over several years by continued and increased restrictions on movement on Palestinian residents and goods.

The (United Nations Peacemaker, 1997) presented Hebron Protocol **Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron** In accordance with the provisions of the Interim Agreement and in particular of Article VII of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement, both Parties agreed on this Protocol for the implementation of the redeployment in Hebron. Security Arrangements Regarding Redeployment in Hebron.

Redeployment in Hebron:

The redeployment of Israeli Military Forces in Hebron will be carried out in accordance with the Interim Agreement and this Protocol. This redeployment will be completed not later than ten days from the signing of this Protocol. During these ten days, both sides will exert every

¹⁴ The Hebron Agreement " closer look:" <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-hebron-agreement-a-closer-look>

¹⁵ Refer to the terms of the Hebron Protocol.

possible effort to prevent friction and any action that would prevent the redeployment. This redeployment shall constitute full implementation of the provisions of the Interim Agreement concerning the City of Hebron unless otherwise provided for in Article VII of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement.

2- Security Powers and Responsibilities:

1. The Palestinian Police will assume responsibilities in Area H-1 similar to those in other cities in the West Bank; and 2. Israel will retain all powers and responsibilities for internal security and public order in Area H-2. Besides, Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for the overall security of Israelis. b. In this context - both sides reaffirm their commitment to honor the relevant security provisions of the Interim Agreement, including the provisions regarding - Arrangements for Security and Public Order (Article XII of the Interim Agreement); Prevention of Hostile Acts (Article XV of the Interim Agreement); Security Policy for the Prevention of Terrorism and Violence (Article II of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement); Guidelines for Hebron (Article VII of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement); and Rules of Conduct in Mutual Security Matters (Article XI of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement).

Agreed Security Arrangements a. To ensure mutual security and stability in the City of Hebron, special security arrangements will apply adjacent to the areas under the security responsibility of Israel, in Area H-1, in the area between the Palestinian Police checkpoints delineated on the map attached to this Protocol as Appendix 1 (hereinafter referred to as "the attached map") and the areas under the security responsibility of Israel. b. The purpose of the abovementioned checkpoints will be to enable the Palestinian Police, exercising their responsibilities under the Interim Agreement, to prevent the entry of armed persons and demonstrators or other people threatening security and public order, into the abovementioned area.

Joint Security Measures a. The DCO will establish a sub-office in the City of Hebron as indicated on the attached map. b. JMU will operate in Area H-2 to handle incidents that involve Palestinians only. The JMU movement will be detailed on the attached map. The DCO will coordinate the JMU movement and activity. c. As part of the security arrangements in the area adjacent to the areas under the security responsibility of Israel, as defined above, Joint Mobile Units will be operating in this area, with a special focus on the following places: 1. Abu Sneinah 2. Haret Al-Sheikh 3. Sha'aba 4. The high ground overlooking new Route No. 35. d. Two Joint Patrols will function in Area H-1: 1. a Joint Patrol which will operate on the road from Ras el-Jura to the north of the Dura junction via ESalaam Road, as indicated on the attached map; and 2. a Joint Patrol which will operate on existing Route No. 35, including the eastern part of existing Route No. 35, as indicated on the attached map. e. The Palestinian and Israeli side of the Joint Mobile Units in the City of Hebron will be armed with equivalent types of weapons (Mini-Ingraham submachine guns for the Palestinian side and short M16s for the Israeli side). f. To deal with the special security situation in the City of Hebron, a Joint Coordination Center (hereinafter the "JCC") headed by senior officers of both sides, will be established in the DCO at Har Manoah/Jabel Manoah. The purpose of the JCC will be to coordinate the joint security measures in the City of Hebron. The JCC will be guided by all the relevant provisions of the Interim Agreement, including Appendix I and this Protocol. In this context, each side will notify the JCC of demonstrations and actions taken in respect of such demonstrations, and of any security activity, close to the areas under the responsibility of the other side, including in the area defined in Article 3(a) above. The JCC shall be informed of activities under Article 5(d)(3) of this Protocol.

5. The Palestinian Police a. Palestinian police stations or posts will be established in Area H-1, manned by a total of up to 400 policemen, equipped with 20 vehicles and armed with 200 pistols, and 100 rifles for the protection of the police stations. b. Four designated Rapid Response Teams (RRTs) will be established and stationed in Area H-1, one in each of the police stations, as delineated on the attached map. The main task of the RRTs will be to handle special security cases. Each RRT shall be comprised of up to 16 members. c. The above-mentioned rifles will be designated for the exclusive use of the RRTs, to handle special cases. d. 1. The Palestinian Police shall operate freely in Area H1. 2. Activities of the RRTs armed with rifles in the Agreed Adjacent Area, as defined in Appendix 2, shall require the agreement of the JCC. 3. The RRTs will use the rifles in the rest of Area H-1 to fulfill their above-mentioned tasks. e. The Palestinian Police will ensure that all Palestinian policemen, before their deployment in the City of Hebron, will pass a security check to verify their suitability for service, taking into account the sensitivity of the area.

6. Holy Sites: a. Paragraphs 2 and 3(a) of Article 32 of Appendix 1 to Appendix III of the Interim Agreement will apply to the following Holy Sites in Area H-1: 1. The Cave of Othniel Ben Knaz/El-Khalil; 2. Elonei Mamre/Haram Er-Rameh; 3. Eshel Avraham/Balotat Ibrahim; and 4. Maayan Sarah/Ein Sarah. b. The Palestinian Police will be responsible for the protection of the above Jewish Holy Sites. Without derogating from the above responsibility of the Palestinian Police, visits to the above Holy Sites by worshippers or other visitors shall be accompanied by a Joint Mobile Unit, which will ensure free, unimpeded and secure access to the Holy Sites, as well as their peaceful use.

7. Normalization of Life in the Old City: a. both sides reiterate their commitment to maintain normal life throughout the City of Hebron and to prevent any provocation or friction that may affect the normal life in the city. b. In this context, both sides are committed to taking all steps and measures necessary for the normalization of life in Hebron, including 1. The wholesale market - Hasbahe - will be opened as a retail market in which goods will be sold directly to consumers from within the existing shops. 2. The movement of vehicles on the Shuhada Road will be gradually returned, within 4 months, to the same situation which existed before February 1994.

8. The Imara: The Imara will be turned over to the Palestinian side upon the completion of the redeployment and will become the headquarters of the Palestinian Police in the City of Hebron.

9. City of Hebron: Both sides reiterate their commitment to the unity of the City of Hebron and their understanding that the division of security responsibility will not divide the city. In this context, and without derogating from the security powers and responsibilities of either side, both sides share the mutual goal that the movement of people, goods, and vehicles within and in and out of the city will be smooth and normal, without obstacles or barriers. Civil Arrangements Regarding the Redeployment in Hebron.

10. Transfer of Civil Powers and Responsibilities: a. The transfer of civil powers and responsibilities that have yet to be transferred to the Palestinian side in the city of Hebron (12 spheres) under Article VII of Appendix I to the Interim Agreement shall be conducted concurrently with the beginning of the redeployment of Israeli military forces in Hebron. b. In Area H-2, the civil powers and responsibilities will be transferred to the Palestinian side, except for those relating to Israelis and their property, which shall continue to be exercised by the Israeli Military Government.

11. Planning, Zoning, and Building: a. The two parties are equally committed to preserve and protect the historic character of the city in a way that does not harm or change that character in any part of the city. b. The Palestinian side informed the Israeli side that in exercising its powers and responsibilities, taking into account the existing municipal regulations, it suggested the following provisions:

1. Proposed construction of buildings above two floors (6 meters) within 50 meters of the external boundaries of the locations specified in the list attached to this Protocol as Appendix 3 (hereinafter referred to as "the attached list") will be coordinated through the DCL.
2. The proposed construction of buildings above three floors (9 meters) between 50 and 100 meters of the external boundaries of the locations specified in the attached list will be coordinated through the DCL.
3. Proposed construction of non-residential, non-commercial buildings within 100 meters of the external boundaries of the locations specified in the attached list that are designed for uses that may adversely affect the environment (such as industrial factories) or buildings and institutions in which more than 50 persons are expected to gather together will be coordinated through the DCL.
4. The proposed construction of buildings above two floors (6 meters) within 50 meters from each side of the road specified in the attached list will be coordinated through the DCL.
5. The necessary enforcement measures will be taken to ensure compliance on the ground with the preceding provisions.
6. This Article does not apply to existing buildings or to new construction or renovation for which fully approved permits were issued by the Municipality before January 15th, 1997.

12. Infrastructure: a. The Palestinian side shall inform the Israeli side, through the DCL, 48 hours in advance of any anticipated activity regarding infrastructure which may disturb the regular flow of traffic on roads in Area H-2 or which may affect infrastructure (such as water, sewage, electricity, and communications) serving Area H-2. b. The Israeli side may request, through the DCL, that the Municipality carry out works regarding the roads or other infrastructure required for the well being of the Israelis in Area H-2. If the Israeli side offers to cover the costs of these works, the Palestinian side will ensure that these works are carried out as a top priority. c. The above does not prejudice the provisions of the Interim Agreement regarding access to infrastructure, facilities, and installations located in the city of Hebron, such as the electricity grid.

13. Transportation: The Palestinian side shall have the power to determine bus stops, traffic arrangements, and traffic signalization in the city of Hebron. Traffic signalization, traffic arrangements, and the location of bus stops in Area H-2 will remain as they are on the date of the redeployment in Hebron. Any subsequent change in these arrangements in Area H-2 will be done in cooperation between the two sides in the transportation sub-committee.

14. Municipal Inspectors: a. Under paragraph 4.c of Article VII of Appendix I of the Interim Agreement, plainclothes unarmed municipal inspectors will operate in Area H-2. The number of these inspectors shall not exceed 50. b. The inspectors shall carry official identification cards with a photograph issued by the Municipality. c. The Palestinian side may request the assistance of the Israel Police, through the DCL of Hebron, to carry out its enforcement activities in Area H-2.

15. Location of Offices of the Palestinian Council: The Palestinian side, when operating new offices in Area H-2, will take into consideration the need to avoid provocation and friction.

Where establishing such offices might affect public order or security the two sides will cooperate to find a suitable solution.

16. Municipal Services: Under paragraph 5 of Article VII of Appendix I of the Interim Agreement, municipal services shall be provided regularly and continuously to all parts of the city of Hebron, at the same quality and cost. The cost shall be determined by the Palestinian side concerning work is done and materials consumed, without discrimination.

17. Temporary International Presence (TIPH): There will be a Temporary International Presence in Hebron. Both sides will agree on the modalities of the TIPH, including the number of its members and its area of operation.

18. Appendix I Nothing in this Protocol will derogate from the security powers and responsibilities of either side under Appendix I to the Interim Agreement.

19. Attached Appendices: The appendices attached to this Protocol shall constitute an integral part hereof.

Appendix 2 (Article 5) Agreed Adjacent Area The Agreed Adjacent Area ("AAA") shall include the following: 1. An area defined by a line commencing from AAA Reference Point (RP) 100, proceeding along old Route No. 35 until RP 101, continuing by a straight line to RP 102, and from there connected by a straight line to RP 103. 2. An area defined by a line commencing at RP 104, following a straight line to RP 105, from there following a line immediately westward of checkpoints 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, and from there connected by a straight line to RP 106. 3. An area defined by a line connecting RPs 107 and 108, passing immediately northward of checkpoint 15.

Appendix 3 (Article 12) List of Locations · The area of Al Haram Al Ibrahimy/the Tomb of the Patriarchs (including the military and police installations in its vicinity) · Al Hisba/Abraham Avinu · Osama School/Beit Romano (including the military location in its vicinity) · Al Daboya/Beit Hadassah · Jabla Al Rahama/Tel Rumeida · The Jewish Cemeteries · Dir Al Arbein/the Tomb of Ruth and Yishai · Tel Al Jaabra/Givaat Avot Neighbourhood (including the police station in its vicinity) · The Road connecting Al Haram Al Ibrahimy/the Tomb of the Patriarchs and Qiryat Arba.

The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum

On September 4, 1999, after four and a half years of staging Oslo agreement and about two and a half years of signing Hebron Protocol, Palestinian and Israeli negotiators met in Sharm el-Sheikh of Egypt and produced a memorandum of understanding on permanent status negotiations to reach permanent status agreement on pending issues, namely; further Redeployments, Safe Passage, the release of prisoners, committee¹⁶.

The Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)

In all its activities, the TIPH will relate to Hebron as one city. As detailed in paragraph 5 below, the TIPH will assist in monitoring and reporting the efforts to maintain normal life in the City of Hebron, thus creating a feeling of security among Palestinians in the City of Hebron. The organizational structure, operational guidelines, logistics, support, and privileges and

¹⁶ <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20sharm%20el-sheikh%20memorandum-%20main%20points.aspx>

immunities of the TIPH shall be under the modalities on the establishment of the TIPH concluded by the participating countries with the agreement of the two sides.

2. The two sides shall request Norway, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey to provide 180 persons as TIPH personnel. Norway shall be requested to coordinate the establishment and activity of the TIPH. The number of on-duty observers at any given time and changes in the composition of the TIPH shall be with the consent of both sides.

3. TIPH personnel shall have no military or police functions, nor will they interfere in disputes, incidents, or the activities of Israeli security forces or the Palestinian Police.

4. To facilitate the carrying out of TIPH tasks, a building will be chosen in Hebron as a seat for the TIPH.

5. The tasks of the TIPH personnel will be:

A. to promote by their presence a feeling of security to the Palestinians of Hebron;

B. to help promote stability and an appropriate environment conducive to the enhancement of the well-being of the Palestinians of Hebron and their economic development;

C. to observe the enhancement of peace and prosperity among Palestinians;

D. to assist in the promotion and execution of projects initiated by the donor countries;

E. to encourage economic development and growth in Hebron;

F. to provide reports as set out in paragraph 7 below; and

G. to coordinate its activities with the Israeli and Palestinian authorities under paragraph 7 below.

6. The development projects referred to in paragraph 5.d above will be identified by the Hebron municipality and the relevant Palestinian ministries in cooperation with the member countries of the TIPH. nbsp;

7. A. Representatives of the TIPH shall be situated at the District Coordination Office ("DCO") in Har Manoah/Jabel Manoah and may also be present at the DCO sub-office in the City of Hebron, to coordinate TIPH activity with both sides. The TIPH representatives shall be equipped with the necessary means of communication to enable direct and immediate contact with the TIPH Headquarters and field observers.

B. A Joint Hebron Committee shall be established comprising the Israeli Military Commander and the Palestinian Police Commander of the Hebron District, the Israel and Palestinian heads of the Hebron District Civil Liaison Office, and a representative of the TIPH. This committee shall receive reports from the TIPH on specific events and shall deal with any issues arising from the presence and activity of the TIPH which cannot be dealt with by the DCO. The committee shall meet on a weekly basis, or at the request of any of its members.

C. The Monitoring and Steering Committee established pursuant to the Interim Agreement will receive periodic reports from the TIPH. Each side of this committee will designate one of its members to form a group together with representatives of the TIPH to discuss matters of policy on a bi-weekly basis or the request of the TIPH.

8. While on duty the members of the TIPH shall wear distinctive uniforms with a special emblem, as agreed by the two sides. Their vehicles shall be marked with the same emblem. TIPH members may carry pistols for self-defence purposes.

9. TIPH personnel shall enjoy the freedom of movement for the performance of their tasks within the City of Hebron, as set out in the modalities referred to in paragraph 1.

10. The TIPH and its members shall, in conformity with the modalities referred to in paragraph 1, be accorded such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of their tasks, and for the independent exercise of their functions, including immunity of the TIPH premises and the right to import operational supplies and equipment exempt from import taxes and duties. All imported equipment, materials, and goods exempted from import taxes and duties will be re-exported or donated, after the mission of the TIPH, according to applicable customs procedures agreed upon between the two sides.

11. The presence and activities of the TIPH personnel will be under Appendix I, Article VII, and other relevant provisions of the Interim Agreement and the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron.

12. The expenses of the TIPH will be borne by the participating countries.

13. This Agreement shall enter into force on February 1, 1997, and shall supersede the Agreement on the Temporary International Presence in the City of Hebron, dated May 9, 1996.

14. The TIPH may commence its operation immediately upon the approval of its modalities of operation by the two sides and shall continue to function for three months renewable for an additional period of three months unless otherwise agreed between the two sides. With the consent of the two sides, the TIPH may extend the period or change the scope of its operation, as agreed.

1- Letter of Assurance to the Israeli Prime minister, Washington, 15 January 1997:

(United States Institute for Peace, 1997) stated, ‘‘Dear Mr. Prime Minister, I wanted personally to congratulate you on the successful conclusion of the "Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron." It represents an important step forward in the Oslo peace process and reaffirms my conviction that a just and lasting peace will be established between Israelis and Palestinians in the very near future. In this connection, I can assure you that it remains the policy of the United States to support and promote the full implementation of the Interim Agreement in all of its parts. We intend to continue our efforts to help ensure that all outstanding commitments are carried out by both parties in a cooperative spirit and based on reciprocity. As part of this process, I have impressed upon Chairman Arafat the imperative need for the Palestinian Authority to make every effort to ensure public order and internal security within the West Bank and Gaza Strip. I have stressed to him that effectively carrying out this major responsibility will be a critical foundation for completing the implementation of the Interim Agreement, as well as the peace process as a whole. I wanted you to know that, in this context, I have advised Chairman Arafat of U.S. views on Israel's process of redeploying its forces, designating specified military locations, and transferring additional powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority. In this regard, I have conveyed our belief that the first phase of further redeployments should take place as soon as possible, and that all three phases of further redeployments should be completed within 12 months from the implementation of the first phase of the further redeployments but no later than mid-1998. Mr. Prime Minister, you can be assured that the United States' commitment to Israel's security is ironclad and constitutes the fundamental cornerstone of our special relationship. The key element in our approach to peace, including the negotiations and implementation of agreements between Israel and its Arab partners, has always been a recognition of Israel's security requirements. Moreover, a hallmark of U.S. policy remains our commitment to work cooperatively to seek to meet the security needs that Israel identifies. Finally, I would like to reiterate our position that Israel is entitled to secure and defensible borders, which should be directly negotiated and agreed with its Neighbours.’’

2- Special assurance letter to Chairman Arafat:

The EU Middle East peace coordinator Miguel Moratinos, from his side, made as follows, ‘‘Be assured, Mr. President, that the European Union remains committed to the completion of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. It will, therefore, use all its political and moral weight to ensure that all the provisions in the agreements already reached will be fully implemented based on reciprocity by both Israeli and Palestinian sides in a timely fashion.’’

During that period, Israel Television reported that the US. State Department had declared that the extent of additional redeployments would be negotiated, prompting PM Netanyahu to seek clarifications from the US. The US. Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk also stated that **"it's**

clear in the agreement that Israel specifies the military locations, so the amount Israel hands over is Israel's decision" (Christian Science Monitor, 1/16).

3- Speech delivered by the Israeli President "Benjamin Netanyahu" before the Israelis Parliament "Knesset," in his speech about Hebron Protocol.

"Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of Knesset, These are difficult days. Every step that we take in the city of the patriarchs and the matriarchs is difficult, even when we redeploy in Hebron. We are not leaving Hebron, we are not redeploying from Hebron. In Hebron, we touch on the very basis of our national consciousness, the bedrock of our existence. I must say to the Members of the Knesset and the citizens of Israel, that we inherited a difficult reality. The agreements signed by the previous governments are binding upon the Government of Israel. These agreements which we inherited were framework agreements, full of breaches, and we criticized them-and rightly so-because they did not take into proper account the problem of security; they did not demonstrate sufficient concern for the fate of the settlers in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, including the fate of the Jewish community in Hebron. We inherited difficult agreements. This is the reality.

I want to make this clear, not to indulge in polemics but to clarify a fundamental point: We are committed to the written agreements. We are not committed to the "oral law." Our viewpoint and our objectives are completely different. We do not want to remove the Jewish community from Hebron. We want to preserve and consolidate it. We do not want to remove ourselves from Hebron; we want to remain in Hebron. From this different objective, we saw to it that there would be areas of separation, we removed the rifles, we saw to it that there would be an IDF presence in the territories overlooking the Jewish community and the major routes, through joint patrols. We saw to it that the Jewish community would be protected from high Palestinian buildings that could threaten or encroach on Jewish homes. We saw to improved and more numerous security mechanisms between us and the Palestinian security forces to make the possible reality of security, a reality of living, a reality of development and consolidation for the Jewish community. I can, therefore, say with confidence that this is an agreement that is better, more secure, and more responsible than that which we inherited. But above all, I would like to appeal to the residents of Hebron. I know that you are fearful today, and I would like to say to you, brothers and sisters, that we are concerned for you, that we do not see you as an insignificant appendage. We see you are dear brothers. We are concerned about every one of you. We do not see you as 400 insignificant Jews but as our representatives.

Until now, Hebron is a symbol of division and conflict because of the hostility between Palestinians and Israelis. Now we have an opportunity to prove that Hebron can also serve an opposite example one of cooperation, of co-existence, a paradigm of peace.

We are using the time interval in the agreement to propose to the Palestinians a suitable arrangement for self-rule but without the sovereign powers which pose a threat to the State of Israel. This is the mandate which the government which I head received from the voters. With this, we will go forward.

The second important issue that was clarified in the agreements and documents achieved in the course of these negotiations is that the implementation of the redeployments will be an Israeli decision that will not be a matter for negotiation with the Palestinians. This decision must comply-with Israel's security considerations, as Israel sees fit. It is Israel that will define the security zones. But before this, it is Israel that will determine the nature and scope of the three redeployments-not only the first and second, but also the third.

For us, for the entire Knesset, there must be absolute consensus on the supreme importance that Israel will be able to define, accord to its understanding, the security needs of the State of Israel and to carry out the further redeployments according to this understanding.

The third achievement, beyond the reciprocity and to Israeli definition of the redeployments, is the time frame. I believe that this is not something that stands alone. Rather, it allows us room for maneuver, room to test reality, room to test reciprocity in the fulfilment of the agreement. These three elements are a significant change, and a change for the better, compared to our situation not long ago, only a few months ago. This situation-I say to both the opposition and the coalition-we have changed completely. We will conduct negotiations with the time, the ability, and the freedom for political maneuver that we did not enjoy before. We will conduct the negotiations carefully, responsibly, with discretion. I am convinced that our goals of preserving Jerusalem, preserving the security depth, preserving Israel's ability to defend itself, and a suitable arrangement with the Palestinians-I am convinced that these are goals which the large majority of the Israeli people support and that the large majority of the people support the course which we have set, insisting on reciprocity and security. What we have today in the international community, signed with an official seal. These agreements contain important improvements as well as the time in which we will be able to bring to completion the goal which we seek to attain, which I believe is shared by all Members of Knesset.'

Appendix III: Maps

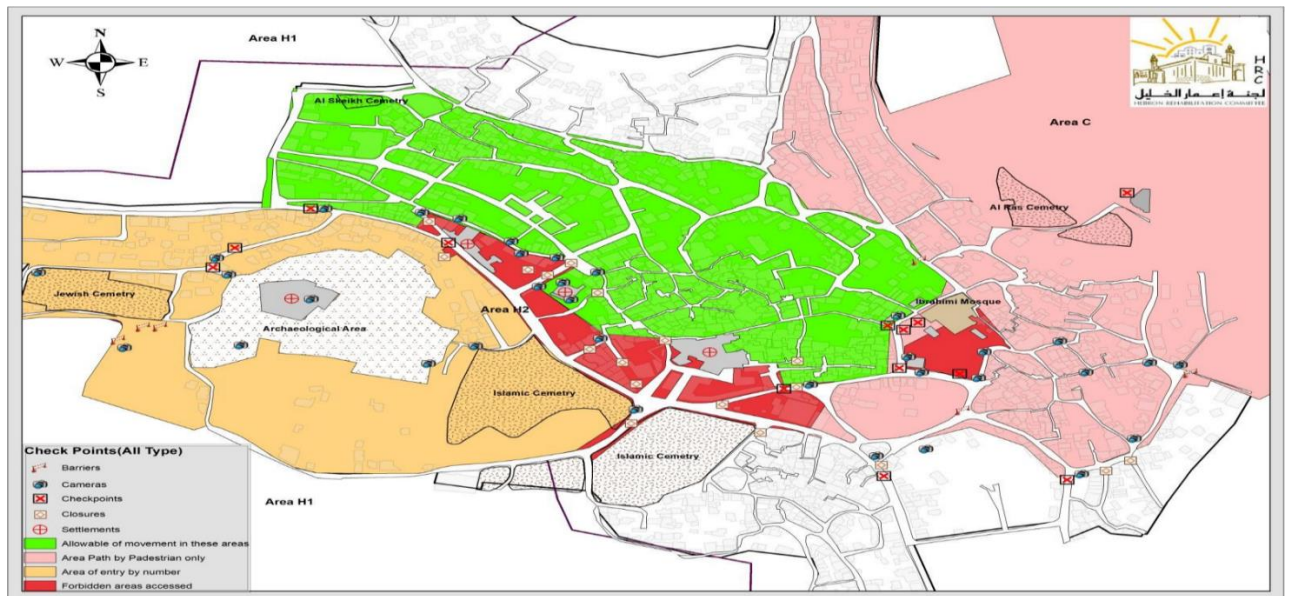


Figure (Map, 1): Map shows closed areas in the old city of Hebron (in the red colour).

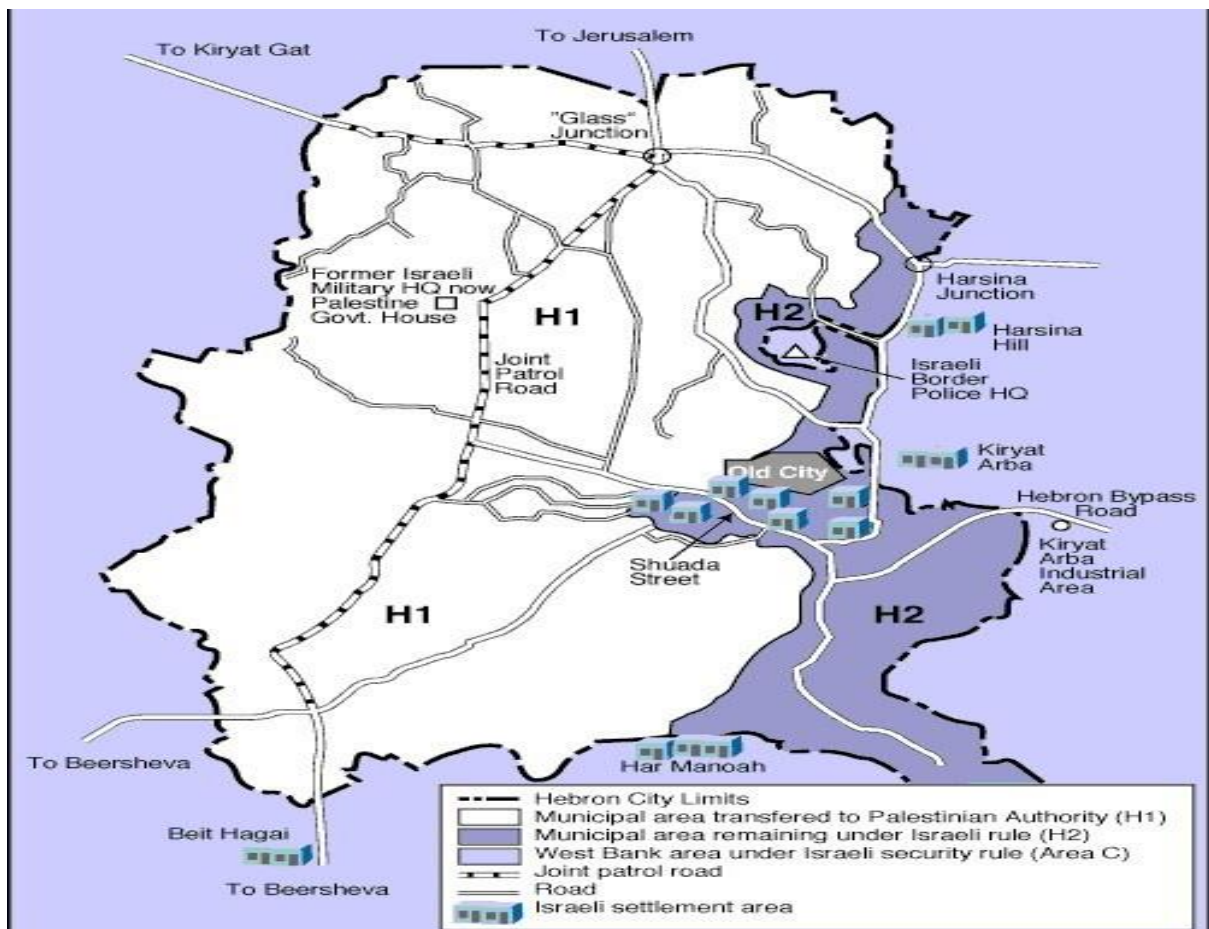


Figure (Map 2) showing the division of Hebron into H-2/H-1 area following Hebron Protocol:

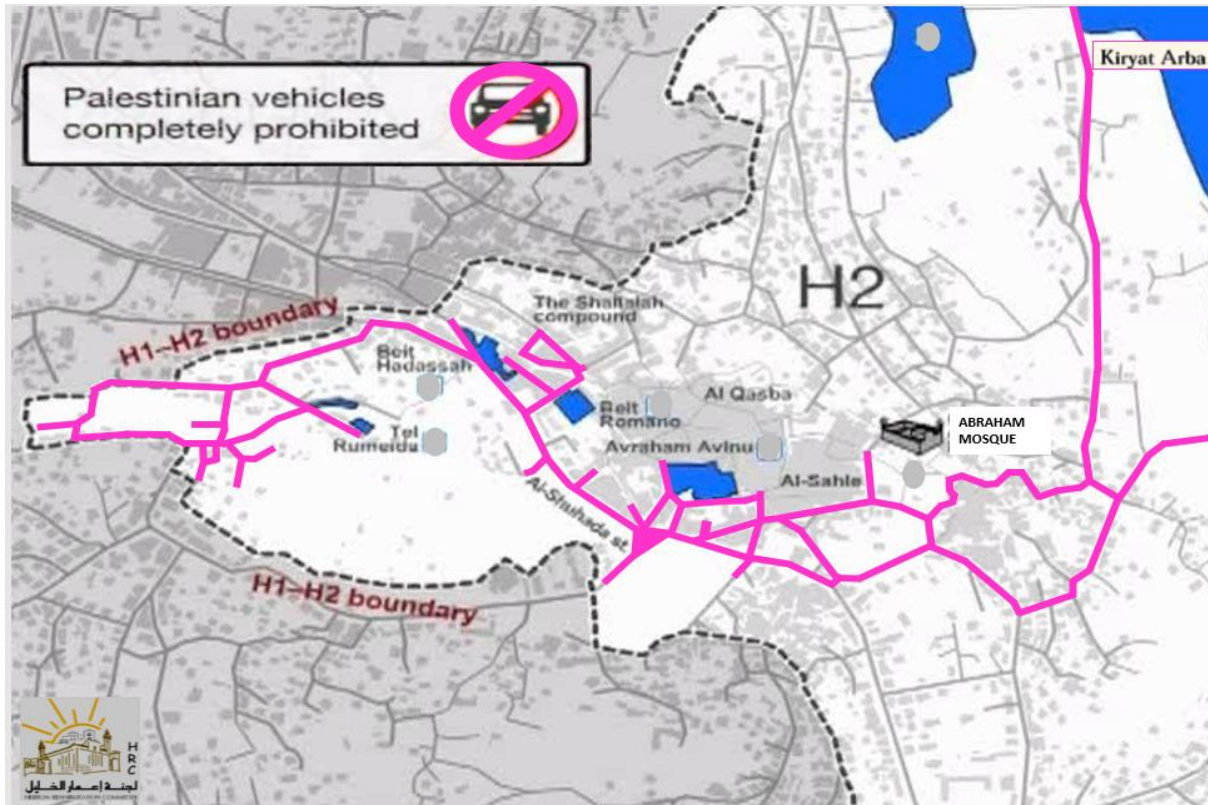


Figure (Map 3) showing H-2 boundaries and the off-limit areas for Palestinian vehicles.

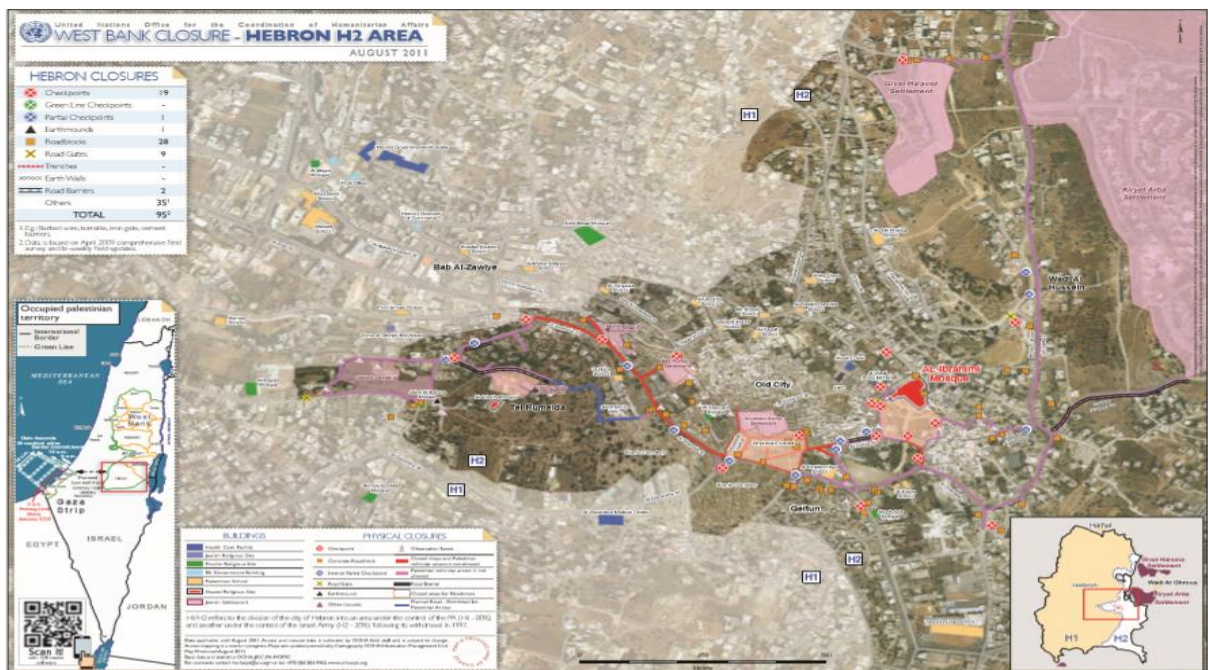


Figure (MAP 4) showing physical barriers sand restrictions created following Hebron Protocol

Appendix V

The questionnaire (Arabic Version)

القسم الاول: المعلومات العامة

يرجى الاجابه عن الاسئله التاليه بوضع دائره حول الخيار المناسب:

رقم الاستماره: () . المنطقة – امتداد الشارع : ()

رقم الهاتف:.....

1. العمر: (1) 25 فأقل (2) 26-40 (3) 41-55 (4) 56 فأكثر
2. نوع المنشأة . (1) صناعي (2) تجاري (3) خدماتي (4) حرف (5) أخرى، الرجاء ذكرها.....
3. هل انت منتسب لعضوية الغرفة التجارية (1) نعم (2) لا
4. مجال العمل في المنشأة
5. هل لديكم فروع أخرى؟ (1) نعم (2) لا
6. عنوان وموقع الفروع الاخرى؟.....
7. الوضع الحالي للمحل من حيث العمل فيه ؟
1. (مغلق بأمر عسكري (2) مغلق بسبب الحواجز (3) يعمل به المالك حاليا (4) يعمل به مستأجر
8. اذا كان المحل مغلق ، ماهي سنه الاغلاق/.....
- كم كان دخله قبل الاغلاق؟

(1) 1500 فأقل 2 (2) 1501-2500 (3) 2501-3500 (4) 3500 فأكثر

9. اذا كان المحل يعمل حاليا ما هو الفرق في الدخل قبل وبعد الاغلاقات (تحديدا بعد 1997):

(1) 1500 فأقل (2) 1501-2500 (3) 2501-3500 (4) 3500 فأكثر

شاكرين لكم حسن تعاونكم

فقرات الاستبانه

يرجى الاجابه عن الفقرات التاليه بوضع اشاره (X) في الخانه المناسبه:

ان بوتوكول الخليل ادى الى:

المجال الاول " اثر ابعاد بروتوكول الخليل " :تم توقيعه في 1997 ونتج عنه سيطره امنيه مطلقه بيد الطرف الاسرائيلي بعد توقيع الاتفاق سنة 1997 وحتى يومنا هذا اغلقت العديد من المحلات التجاريه وتحديدا بعد انتفاضه سنة 2000. يريد الباحث ان يقيس مدى تأثير هذا الاتفاق على هجره اصحاب المحلات من البلده القديمه بسبب السيطره الاسرائيليه على منطقه H-2.

الرقم	الفقرات	درجة كبيرة جدا	درجة كبيرة	درجة متوسطه	درجة قليله	درجة قليله جدا
البعد الاقتصادي						
1	هجرة اصحاب المحال التجارية والاعمال الاخرى بسبب غياب الامن					
2	تراجع الاستثمارات الجديده بسبب الازعاج الامنية المتردية					
3	عدم توفر السلع والمواد الضرورية داخل المحلات التجارية في البلده القديمه					
4	اعاقه قوات الاحتلال لترميم المحلات والتوسع التجاري					
5	عدم التمكن من التسوق في جميع الاوقات					
6	عدم امكانية ادخال المواد اللازمة للمحلات التجارية					
7	عدم توفر الحماية الامنية اللازمة للحفاظ على البضائع من السرقة					
8	عدم تمكّن الزبائن من الوصول الى المحلات التجارية بسهولة					
9	فرص العمل داخل البلده القديمه اصبحت محدودة					
10	اقتصار التسوق على اهل المنطقة بسبب صعوبة الوصول					
11	هجرة التجار الكبار أدى الى تشجيع باقي التجار على الهجره					
13	غياب الامن حول البلده القديمه الى منطقه طارده للسياحه					
البعد الامني						
1	اغلاق الشوارع وانتشار الحواجز ونقاط التفتيش					
2	ازدياد القيود على الحركة من خلال نقاط التفتيش والدوريات الراجله					
3	زياده وتيره اعتداءات جيش الاحتلال (استفزاز, ضرب, اقتحامات, الخ)					
4	التأخير على الحواجز بشكل تعسفي بحجج التفتيش					
5	تقييد حرية الحركة من منطقة الى اخرى					
6	انتشار العمليات العسكريه (تفتيش بيوت ومحلات, اعتقالات, تدريب عسكري					
7	التعرض للايذاء بسبب العمليات العسكريه (اطلاق نار, مطاردة, الخ)					
8	ازدياد وتيره اعتداءات الجيش و المستوطنين على الاشخاص والممتلكات					
9	غياب الامن وانتشار الجريمة					
10	تحول البلده القديمه الى مقر للخارجين عن القانون					
11	تعريض الممتلكات للسرقة بسبب غياب الامن					

12	الخارجين عن القانون يستغلون اصحاب المحلات التجارية بسبب غياب الامن				
13	وجود مفتشي البلدية لم يوفر البديل عن الشرطة الفلسطينية				
14	عدم امكانيه الوصول للاماكن الدينيه والتاريخيه بسهولة				
المجال الثالث : اثر البروتوكول على النشاطات الاجتماعيه في البلده القديمه البعد الاجتماعي					
1	عدم التمكن من زيارة الاهل والاقارب والجيران				
2	عدم تمكن وصول الزائرين والاقارب من خارج البلده القديمه				
3	عدم التمكن من اقامة الحفلات والمناسبات				
4	تراجع مستوى العلاقات الاجتماعيه بين سكان البلده القديمه				
المجال الثاني : اثر البروتوكول على السكان في البلده القديمه البعد الديموغرافي					
1	هجره السكان واصحاب المحلات بسبب عدم وجود الشرطه لتوفير الامن.				
2	هجره السكان واصحاب المحلات بسبب عدم توفر فرص عمل				
3	هجره السكان واصحاب المحلات بسبب عدم امكانيه التواصل الاجتماعي				
4	هجره السكان واصحاب المحلات بسبب عدم كفايه الخدمات الصحيه, التعليميه, المواصلات, والخدمات الاخرى				
اثر البروتوكول على الخدمات في البلده القديمه في الخليل البعد الخدماتي					
1	صعوبه الوصول الوصول للخدمات الصحيه المتوفره بسبب الحواجز الاسرائيليه				
2	صعوبه الوصول الوصول للمدارس بسبب الحواجز الاسرائيليه				
3	عدم كفايه العيادات الصحيه والطوارئ والمستشفيات				
4	عدم توفر خدمات المواصلات وامكانيه وصولها للاماكن المخصصه لها في البلده القديمه				
5	اعاده فتح بعض مقرات لمؤسسات السلطه الفلسطينيه داخل البلده القديمه لم يؤثر ايجابيا على سير الحياه فيها				
6	قله زيارات مسؤولين حكوميين للبلده القديمه بشكل دوري للاطلاع على اوضاع البلده القديمه				

					قله زيارات بعثات دولية للاطلاع على اوضاع البلدة القديمة	7
					عدم متابعة المسؤولين للضحايا في حال اعتداءات الجيش والمستوطنين	8

Questionnaire (the English version):

A. First Dimension: “ Impact of Hebron Protocol dimensions:” signed in 1997 and entailed Israelis’ full security control.

After signing the Protocol until to date, many businesses have ceased, particularly in the aftermath of the Intifada (the year 2000). The researcher would like to measure the degree of the protocol’s impact on closure of businesses in the old city of Hebron concerning the Israeli control over the H-2 area.

NO	Economic dimension	Very High	High	Medium	Very Low	Low
1	Relocation of businesses due to the lack of security.					
2	Decline in investment due to the dire security situation.					
3	Shortage in the availability of goods.					
4	Occupation’s hindrance to rehabilitation works and expansion of economic space.					
5	The inability of all-time marketing.					
6	Inability to transport commodities into the stores.					
7	Absence of security necessary to protect the goods from robberies.					
8	Difficulty in customers’ reaching the stores easily.					
9	Job opportunities in the old city have become quite limited.					
10	Shopping is restricted to the residents.					
11	The relocation of main businesses encouraged other businesses to abandon the area.					
12	The absence of security undermined the tourism sector.					
The security dimension:						
1	Blocking streets, the spread of barriers, and checkpoints.					

2	Increase of movement restrictions by flying and fixed checkpoints.					
3	Increase of frequency of military assaults (Provocations, physical assault, raids, etc.)					
4	Arbitrary delays on the checkpoints over security pretexts.					
5	Restrictions on movement from area to area within H-2.					
6	the spread of military operations (house and shop search, arrests, and military training).					
7	Subjected to harmful practices as a result of military operations (shooting, pursue, etc.).					
8	Increase in frequency of soldiers' and settlers' assaults on citizens and their properties.					
9	Absence of security and spread of crime.					
10	The old city has become a safe shelter for criminals, smugglers, etc.					
11	Properties are permanently subjected to robbery due to the absence of security.					
12	Outlawed blackmail business owners due to the lack of law enforcement.					
The social dimension:						
1	Inability to visit relatives and friends.					
2	Lack of access for families to visit their relatives in the area.					
3	Inability to stage parties and occasions.					
4	A decline in the level of social relations among the residents of the old city.					
Demographic Dimension						

1	Relocation of residents due to the absence of law enforcement.					
2	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the lack of job opportunities.					
3	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the social disconnection.					
4	Relocation of residents and businesses due to the lack of services (health, education, transportation, and others).					
Services dimension						
1	Difficulty accessing available health services due to the Israeli barriers.					
2	Difficulty accessing available education services due to the Israeli barriers.					
3	Deficiency in health services; hospitals, emergency clinics.					
4	Lack of transportation and inability to reach their destination.					
5	Opening branches of some governmental institutions.					
6	Lack of regular visits by officials to check on the situation in the old city.					
7	Lack of visits by international missions to the old city.					
8	Lack of follow up by officials on settlers' and soldiers' violence.					

Appendix V:

Questions of the interview:

1- The Arabic Version:

اسئلة المقابلة

1. ما هي الظروف السياسية والامنية والاقتصادية التي افرزت اتفاق الخليل (بروتوكول الخليل)

2. ما هي العناصر الاساسيه للاتفاق من النواحي الامنيه الاقتصاديه الاداريه والسياسيه؟
3. هل اضطلعت على النسخه الاصليه لاتفاق الخليل؟ رأيك في الاتفاق
4. ما هو الخلل الاساسي في هذا الاتفاق
5. هل اعطى الاتفاق للطرف الاسرائيلي مزيدا من السيطرة على مدينه الخليل التاريخيه, وما هو ابعاد ذلك على سكان البلده القديمه؟
6. هل فصل الاتفاق بين H1/H2 اقتصاديا وكيف ذلك؟
7. وما هي الآثار الاقتصادية تحديدا على مدينه الخليل لهذا الاتفاق؟
8. لمصلحه من كان هذا الاتفاق وكيف؟
9. هل بالامكان اجراء تحليل شامل ومقتضب للوضع الامني الاقتصادي الاجتماعي لسكان البلده القديمه في الخليل في الوضع الحالي؟ ومقارنه ذلك مع مرحله ما قبل الاتفاق
10. ما هي اهم الثغرات (نقاط الضعف) التي برأيك تضمنها اتفاق الخليل ادت الى تدهور الوضع الامني الاقتصادي الاجتماعي لسكان البلده القديمه في الخليل؟ كيف يتم اصلاحه
11. وتحديدًا كيف اثر الاتفاق على النشاطات الاقتصادية في البلده القديمه في الخليل؟
12. كيف استغل الطرف الاسرائيلي الاتفاقية في الماضي قدما في تطبيق سياسته تهجير سكان البلده القديمه وتهويد المنطقه؟
13. ما هي مقترحاتكم للخروج من مأزق بروتوكول او التقليل من الآثار الناجمه عنه؟
14. هل هناك اتفاقات مشابهه لهذا الاتفاق في بلاد اخرى في العالم ام انه فريد في نوعه؟
15. بناء على ما ذكر: كيف ترى مستقبل البلده القديمه في ظل الظروف الحاليه؟

2- The English version:

Questions of the Interview

- 1- What are the political, security, economic conditions that produced Hebron Protocol?
- 2- Have you read the original version of the agreement?
- 3- What, in your opinion, are the main gaps in the agreement?
- 4- Did the Protocol grant the Israelis more sovereignty and power over the city of Hebron?
- 5- What are the implications of the old city of Hebron?
- 6- Did the agreement segregate between H- and H-2 economically, socially, etc?

- 7- Specifically, what are the economic consequences of the agreement on Hebron?
- 8- - For whose benefit was the agreement in reality
- 9- Can you provide a brief analysis of the current security, economic, and social situation for the residents of the old city? Can you compare that with the period before the agreement?
- 10- What are the terms that led to the deterioration of the security, economic, and social situation for the old city residents? What possible mitigating measures?
- 11- Can you specify more on the direct impact of the protocol on businesses in the old city of Hebron?
- 12- How have the Israelis abused the terms of the agreement and carried on their eviction policy (Judaism)?
- 13- What proposals do you suggest to address the dilemma of Hebron Protocol?
- 14- Are there any similar agreements in the world?
- 15- Based on the above mentioned, how do you foresee the future of the old city of Hebron?

Main themes of discussions in the Focus groups:

An open discussion was made on the economic history of the old city of Hebron, and the main causes of the deterioration of the economic environment in the old city of Hebron. Once the Hebron Protocol was involved in the discussion;

A discussion was made on the relevance of the Hebron Protocol to decline of investment in the area, regarding the five dimensions of the study (economic, security, social, demographic, and services) and the impact of the protocol on each dimension;

The relevance of the questionnaire items was discussed with their five dimensions, as impacted by the Hebron Protocol.