

Introduction

Si les recherches portant sur les dimensions politiques et institutionnelles de la Palestine contemporaine («processus de paix», occupation, partis politiques, élections, société civile, etc.) sont nombreuses, en comparaison, peu de travaux s'intéressent au domaine de l'économie politique au-delà des approches quantitatives et macroéconomiques. Les problèmes liés à la croissance, à la production et au commerce sont de fait fréquemment déconnectés des dynamiques politiques et sociales et malheureusement l'inverse est également vrai. L'économie politique de la Palestine, entendue comme l'interaction entre les groupes sociaux, les élites, le contexte régional, l'histoire, les institutions, les idéologies, les politiques et les pratiques économiques, est un objet sous exploité. Ainsi, au-delà des slogans et des stéréotypes, la recherche interdisciplinaire fondée sur des données économiques et des études de terrain a sans doute encore besoin d'être appuyée.

Cela n'est évidemment pas une spécificité palestinienne. En effet, les chercheurs travaillant sur le Moyen-Orient arabe tendaient à négliger le rôle central des questions d'économie politique, fondant leurs études sur l'hypothèse selon laquelle les systèmes économiques de la région sont fortement dépendants de l'aide étrangère ou structurés autour d'un Etat rentier. Ils ont de ce fait laissé le champ libre à des approches orthodoxes qui ont le plus souvent tendance à déconnecter les chiffres et statistiques des réalités sociales, perceptions et expériences des acteurs. En conséquence, les pratiques quotidiennes économiques demeurent largement inconnues, et le manque d'études de cas au niveau local est manifeste.

En quelques années, les grands projets d'investissement à Ramallah ou ailleurs, sont devenus de nouvelles incarnations de la Palestine, lentement mais sûrement destinées à remplacer le *feddayin* et le *keffieh* dans la perception de bien des observateurs. Au cours de ces dernières années, cette évolution de l'image de la Palestine a été perçue, par de nombreux Palestiniens mais surtout par les institutions internationales et les médias, comme le symbole de l'Etat palestinien en devenir. L'apparent «boom économique» actuel (des croissances du PIB de 8% en Cisjordanie et de 15% à Gaza ont été enregistrées en 2010) est parfois considéré avec circonspection compte tenu des mécanismes artificiels sur lesquels il s'appuie. La prospérité économique est-elle une réalité tangible, fiable et durable? Dans quelle mesure cette croissance est-elle durable? Une classe moyenne, tirée par le secteur privé, est-elle réellement entrain d'émerger? En dépit d'un consensus apparent au sujet de l'efficacité des politiques d'inspiration néo-libérales mises en œuvre par l'Autorité palestinienne et encouragées par la communauté internationale, il semble aujourd'hui nécessaire d'adopter une approche critique et comparative sur l'évolution de la Palestine. La croissance économique et le consumérisme peuvent-ils constituer des palliatifs à la justice politique, à la démocratie et à l'égalité? Est-ce que la «paix économique» est une stratégie réaliste ou les Palestiniens n'assistent-ils qu'au développement d'une «bulle économique»?

Ce colloque scientifique, organisé à Hébron, sans doute la capitale économique de la Palestine, ambitionne d'aller au-delà des approches institutionnelles. Il vise à permettre aux différents participants de présenter leurs travaux de terrain mais également à favoriser l'échange et le débat. Les contributions mettent l'accent sur différentes études de cas à Jérusalem, Gaza et en Cisjordanie, et liant approches micro et macro-sociales. Sans ignorer les problèmes de dépendance, les participants ont été encouragés à étudier les marchés, le secteur privé et les flux transnationaux. Cet événement scientifique, rassemblant une vingtaine de chercheurs palestiniens et internationaux ainsi que des acteurs économiques, entend aborder une large panel de questions en confrontant les points de vue et les expériences. La diversité des analyses permettra sans doute de présenter une analyse nuancée de la complexité de l'économie palestinienne et de ses perspectives.

While a lot of research has focused on the political and institutional dimensions of contemporary Palestine (the 'peace process', the occupation, the political parties, the elections, the civil society, etc.), comparatively little work has been done in the field of political economy beyond quantitative and macro approaches. Issues of growth, production, and trade have too often been disconnected from political and social dynamics and vice-versa. There is a lack of critique concerning the political economy of Palestine in terms of the interconnections between social groups, elites, the regional context, history, institutions, ideologies, policies and economic practices. Interdisciplinary research stemming from data and fieldwork, still needs to be encouraged.

Such a fact is clearly not unique to Palestine. Researchers working on topics concerning the Arab Middle East have generally tended to overlook the centrality of political economy issues. The common assumption has been that economic systems of the region are either strongly dependent on foreign aid or structured around a rentier state. The field has been left open for orthodox approaches that tend to disconnect figures and statistics from social realities, perceptions and experiences. As a consequence of quantitative and macro-economic methodologies, the daily economic practices remain largely unknown and there is an imminent lack of research at the grass-roots level.

Investment projects like Rawabi, skyscrapers, gourmet restaurants and luxury hotels, either in Ramallah or elsewhere, have become new symbols of Palestine, slowly but surely intended to replace the *feddayin* and the *keffieh* in the perception of many. Over the last few years, this shift in the image of Palestine has increasingly been endorsed by Palestinians as well as international institutions and media, as the sign of the readiness to declare an independent state. The current so-called "economic boom" in the Palestinian Territories (an 8% growth in the West Bank and 15% in Gaza in the 2010 fiscal year) has puzzled many and is seen as artificial. Is economic prosperity a reality? How fragile and sustainable is it? Is a strong middle-class, driven by the private sector, really emerging? While there allegedly is a consensus regarding the efficiency of the neoliberal policy implemented by the Palestinian Authority and encouraged by the international community, critical approaches and comparisons are much needed. Are economic growth and consumerism efficient palliatives to democracy, equality and political justice? Is "economic peace" a realistic strategy or are Palestinians only witnessing the development of an "economic bubble"?

This conference organized in Hebron, undoubtedly the economic capital of Palestine, will try to go beyond institutional approaches. It aims to bridge interdisciplinary gaps and let the participants present their fieldwork and discuss a wide range of topics. This conference intends to focus on specific case studies, linking micro and macro approaches and taking into account Jerusalem, Gaza and the West Bank in both regional and international contexts. Participants of this conference have been encouraged to look into the evolution of the markets, the role of the private sector and the fluctuation of the transnational flows, while keeping in mind the issues of dependence.

This two-day conference draws together more than twenty Palestinian and international researchers and economic actors, coming from a variety of backgrounds. It will address these numerous questions and other related issues in a set of six panels. Building directly on fieldwork and first hand material, participants will discuss the implementation of a wide range of practices that explore the complexity of the contemporary Palestinian political economy.

Conference program

Wednesday 16 NOVEMBER 2011 - Hebron University

10:00 - 10:45

Opening speeches by Hebron University presidency; Mr. Frédéric Desagneaux, Consul Général of France; Mr. Kamel Hmaid, Governor of Hebron; and Mr. Ghazi Herbawi, President of the Hebron Chamber of Commerce.

Chair: Ola Qawasmeh (Hebron University)

10:45 - 11:00

Coffee break

11:00 - 12:30

Session 1: Economic practices in the Palestinian context: an assessment

Saeb Bamyá (Core associates)

The Paris protocol and Palestinian trade policy

Massimiliano Cali (Overseas Development Institute)

Military occupation, foreign aid and the elusive quest for a viable Palestinian economy

Chair: Basel Natsheh (Hebron University)

12:30 - 13:30

Lunch break

13:30 - 15:00

Session 2: The role of the private sector

Muhammad Al-Hirbawi (HITCO)

The role of the private sector in development

Hisham Awartani (Palestine Governance Institute)

Obstacles to the development of the private sector

Anwar Jayousi (Faten)

Microfinance in Palestine

Chair: Taysir Isayed (Hebron Chamber of Commerce)

15:00 - 15:15

Coffee break

15:15 - 16:45

Session 3: Globalized Palestinian economic practices

Saad Khatib (Paltrade)

The Palestinian trade regime: Between regionalization and globalization

Anwar Abu Eisheh (Al-Quds University)

The consumer, the law and the economy

Nicolas Pelham (The Economist)

The tunnel economy and Gaza's redevelopment under Hamas

Chair: Laurent Bonnefoy (Institut français du Proche-Orient)

Thursday 17 NOVEMBER 2011 - Hebron University

09:15 - 10:45

Session 4: Shifting practices and emerging actors

Julien Salingue (Paris 8 University)

The traditional elites, the PA elites and « aid industry » elites. Cooperation, competition and conflict

Julie Trottier (CNRS, Montpellier 3 University)

Territorialisation and natural resources in a globalized world. The case of water in the Israeli Palestinian conflict

Clio Al-Azza (Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute – MAS)

“Hand Made in Palestine”, emergence of new economical actors in the Palestinian Territory

Chair : Véronique Bontemps (Institut français du Proche-Orient/IRD/URMIS)

10:45 - 11:00

Coffee break

11:00 - 12:30

Session 5: Shortcomings of economic policies

Jennifer Olmsted (Drew University)

Contorted globalization –The economics of gender and class in occupied Palestine

Taher Al-Labadi (Paris-Dauphine University)

Toward a better distribution of the peace dividends. Thoughts on the peace process political economy

Basel Natsheh (Hebron University)

Regional inequalities in Palestine

Chair: Khader al-Qawasmeh (Palestinian Business Forum)

12:30 - 13:30

Lunch break

13:30 - 15:00

Session 6: Discussing prospects

Muhammad Akram Hassuneh (Pacpa)

Daily practices, radiance, prospects and our aspirations

Touffiq Haddad (Birzeit University/SOAS)

Political economy of Palestinian real estate development

Shawqi Makhtoob (independent researcher/Aix Group)

Economic development of the Jordan Valley

Chair: Samir Abuznaid (Hebron University)

15:00 - 15:15

Coffee break

15:15 - 16:30

Conclusion

Robert McNulty (Bentley University)

Raja Khalidi (UNCTAD)

Chair : Basel Natsheh (Hebron University)

Biographies & abstracts

Saeb Bamya

Saeb Bamya is the Managing Partner of Core Associates, a private policy, planning and private sector development consulting firm in Palestine, he took positions in the Public and Private sectors and is learned in private sector development. Prior to establishing Core Associates, Mr. Bamya was Team Leader of the Private Sector Technical Unit, responsible for the dialogue between the Public and Private Sectors. Mr. Bamya was Advisor to the Prime Minister on European Affairs. Prior to that he was the Deputy Minister of National Economy. He is now the Palestinian Coordinator for the Aix Group, an economic think tank that includes Palestinians, Israelis and Internationals such as the EC, World Bank, IMF... Among other things, Mr. Bamya was the lead negotiator from the Palestinian side for the negotiations towards free trade agreements with the EU, EFTA in 1997, Canada in 1998 and Turkey in 2004. He was also one of the leading members of the Joint Economic Committee between Palestine and Israel, and also led the Palestinian Economic Team during the disengagement negotiations with Israel. Mr. Bamya is an expert in Palestinian – Israeli Economic Relations, he graduated in Economics in 1972.

The Paris Protocol and Palestinian Trade Policy

The legal framework that rules the Palestinian – Israeli economic relations, and the Palestinian foreign trade is the Paris Protocol, which is part of the Oslo Agreement. The Protocol emphasizes Palestinian trade diversification, and the establishment of strategic economic and trade relations between the West Bank and Gaza and a multitude of partners.

Over the years, the Palestinian National Authority has attempted to work within the confines of the Paris Protocol in order to reduce Palestinian economic dependence on the Israeli market. Also, it tried to diversify its markets and sources of production, as well as to reduce the cost of living for the Palestinian population. These attempts were not always successful due to the lack of a clear policy in terms of encouraging this type of diversification. Also, the important number of Israeli impediments to the Palestinian trade system, and the incessant path of non-implementation of the agreement by the Israeli side are reasons for those failing trials.

The Paris Protocol, designed to be used for the interim period which was expected to last no longer than 5 years, has now outlived its utility. It has become a dampening factor in economic growth, and must be changed in order to meet the needs and requirements of the private sector.

Massimiliano Calì

Massimiliano Calì is a research associate with the Overseas Development Institute, a London based think-tank. He has recently worked as a senior economic adviser for the Palestinian Ministry of National Economy and is currently collaborating with the UNDP office in Jerusalem. He is also a part-time assistant professor at the University of Bethlehem. A development economist by training, he has been working on the Palestinian economy for the past two years. Before coming to Palestine, he provided economic policy advice to Ministries in developing countries and international organizations. His research has been published in academic journals, books and official reports. He holds a PhD in Economic Geography from the London School of Economics and a MA in Development Economics from the University of East Anglia.

Military occupation, foreign aid and the elusive quest for a viable Palestinian economy

The proposal raises the idea that purporting the current Palestinian growth is simply an illusion as a promising step towards economic sustainability. It is actually not. Regarding the data, the Palestinian economy is evolving in a more dependent way, less industrialized and less able to export. That is hardly surprising given the external constraints that the economy is facing. A recent report estimates that without the constraints imposed by the Israeli occupation the Palestinian economy would be almost double in size today. The utter failure of the donor community to deal with any of these inherently political constraints explains how the external assistance which has become massive in the last few years has failed to deliver any sustainable improvements in the Palestinian economy. On the contrary it has probably helped to harm the viability of the Palestinian economy, by hurting its tradable sector. The piece concludes with some suggestions on how to bring politics back into the donors' picture.

Basel Natsheh

Basel Natsheh, is an economist and a teacher assistant at Hebron University. He received his PhD from Université Paul Cézanne, Aix-Marseille III in 2006. He has worked as a macroeconomic policy advisor to the Minister of National Economy in Palestine in 2010. He was also the representative of the French Ministry of Finances (ADETEF) in the Palestinian Territories on the project of establishing the Palestinian Public Finance Institute. His field of study is the Palestinian economy.

Muhammad Al-Hirbawi

Muhammad Nafiz Al-Hirbawi is a Palestinian Businessman born in 1954. He is the chairman of a range of companies, including Paper Industries Ltd and Hirbawi Investment & International Trade Company (Hitco). A founder and former chairman of the board of Paltrade, he now heads the board of the International Chamber of Commerce/ICC Palestine.

The role of private sector in development

1. Introduction to private sector in Palestine.
2. Overview on private sector institutions and their roles.
3. The role of Palestinian private sector in employment and its importance in supporting our people's steadfastness at home.
4. The role of Palestinian private sector in developing laws and regulations on the economy.
5. The role of the private sector in social responsibility: current and expected roles.
6. The role of the private sector in the tripartite partnership (government, private sector and academic institutions).
7. Development in general from the viewpoint of the private sector.
8. Recommendations for the conference.

Hisham Awartani

Dr. Awartani is the Director of the Palestine Governance Institute, and (former) Professor of Economics at An-Najah University in Nablus. During the Oslo process, he was a member of the Palestinian economic team.

Hisham Awartani is a graduate of the American University of Beirut where he earned his B.Sc. and M.Sc. in Agricultural Economics, and in 1981 he has a Ph.D. in Economic Development at Bradford University (England).

Obstacles to the development of the private sector

The private sector in Palestine is widely viewed as the engine of growth and the major employer. This is especially important in a country which is poorly endowed with national resources. Yet it has to cope with one of the highest population growth rates in the world. But while the exceptionally high educational aptitude of the Palestinians and their strong entrepreneurial culture could help create a vibrant business community, yet the private sector is confronted with significant obstacles which impede its growth and reduces its competitiveness.

In addition to Israeli restrictions on mobility of persons and goods, and the severely restricted access to natural resources, the Palestinian private sector suffers of serious deficiencies in the legal and regulatory frameworks, and of mediocre performance of related public sector institutions. These weaknesses have been further aggravated in view of the prolonged paralysis of the Legislative Council and the weak performance of other oversight bodies.

The role of the Palestinian private sector is also heavily constrained by deep rooted deformations in the corporate governance structure of most firms and private sector institutions. Governance problems are particularly severe in family owned and managed firms, which constitute the vast majority of Palestinian businesses. It's therefore clear that any serious effort aimed at reviving the Palestinian private sector has to display excessive sensitivity to all of these weaknesses, and thereof come up with appropriate reform measures.

Anwar Jayousi

Anwar Jayousi is the Managing Director of Palestine for Credit and Development- FATEN in Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Graduated in Science of International Community Economic Development with a specialization in Non-profit Management \ Southern New Hampshire University, Anwar has a wide experience in various financial and economy fields. He has worked within Mortgage, banks, banks' assessment, risk management, financial analysis and strategic planning.

Microfinance in Palestine

Microfinance is an industry which has been created to solve poverty problems in developing countries. It responds to the need for ventures and small businesses that build the economical system that countries like Palestine depends on.

Women took the biggest part in building this economy therefore microfinance has focused on developing opportunities that fulfill this need and support the ability to overcome their difficult environment.

Microfinance appears to be successful in poor and the marginalized areas.

In Palestine, 40% of the citizens have seen their problems solved. The opportunity had been given to low-income citizens to overcome conventional loan restraints and conditions in addition to financial development. Last but not least, social development has finally been taken into consideration.

For example poverty rate reached 16.2% in West Bank and 33.7% in Gaza Strip in 2009 due to different factors like political instability, which drove the microfinance system into wrong directions and led people to look for opportunities which would overcome this obstacle.

Taysir Isayed

Taysir Isayed is an expert and consultant on education issues and the director of the vocational training department in the Hebron Chamber of Commerce and Industry since 1999. He was trained in Jordan, Washington and Palestine in psychology, sociology and management.

Saad Khatib

Saad Khatib is a trade policy specialist who holds a Juris Doctorate in trade law. He has occupied several positions both in the private sector and the government. He is currently a partner at Core Associates, dealing with private sector development and trade and economic policy. Prior to that, Mr. Khatib occupied the position of the Director of the Trade Policy Department at the Palestine Trade Center - Paltrade - responsible for advocating the private sector position on creating an enabling trading environment. Mr. Khatib's publications on trade policy and reform issues include: The Effect of Terrorism on U.S. Trade Policy, and Palestine Under WTO Law. He is also an active member of the Aix Group of Palestinian-Israeli and International Experts working for Peaceful Co-Existence with a multitude of publications, such as the Economic Roadmap, Analysis of the Disengagement, and is now working on the Arab Peace Initiative and the potential impact if it is implemented.

The Palestinian Trade Regime: Between Regionalization and Globalization

In our highly globalized world, trade has become the key building block to economic growth and development. Owing to the fact that the Palestinian economy is very small, and the local market is insufficient to catalyze development, export potential becomes a pivotal point in growth and national income. The Palestinian National Authority realized this from the onset and went on a quest to reach agreements with trade partners, and aimed to be a part of the multilateral trading system.

Through the Paris Protocol, Palestine has opted to utilize the Israeli trade regime and trade regulations. On the other hand, due to the fact that Israel is a founding member of WTO, the Israeli trade regime is WTO compatible. As a consequence, the Palestinian trade regime is compatible with the multilateral trading system (WTO) by virtue of the Paris Protocol and the other trade agreements.

By considering the future outlook for the Palestinian economy, it is important to carefully study the commitments that Palestine has made in terms of its economic and trade agreements. We must see how they reflect in the current and future foreign trade regime, as well as how it intersects with WTO membership in the future.

Anwar Abu Eishah

Anwar Abu Eishah, born in Hebron in 1951, is a professor of Civil Law at Al-Quds University. He received his Ph-D in Law from Paris X – Nanterre University (France). He has worked as an expert with the European Union, the Unesco and ISPROM. Active in civil society organizations, he is the President of the Association d'Echanges Culturels Hébron-France and other cultural and sports associations.

The consumer, the law and the economy

After studying the specificities of the consumer in Palestine and comparing these with similar issues in developed countries, this presentation will look into the consumer protection law in Palestine. How efficient is it? How does the lack of judicial facilities affect consumer protection? What is the role of associations? Developed countries have strong associations that can overcome judicial obstacles, resort to expertise, lawyers. In the end, these mechanisms have the capacity to influence legislation and enhance consumer protection.

The Palestinian economy is characterized by the centrality of occupation, beyond that issue different issues emerge:

1 – Palestinian capitalism is a reality and it has considerable influence both politically and on the livelihoods of citizens

2 – The system fosters inequalities

3 – Poor purchasing power favours the "invasion" of imported consumer goods of poor quality

4 – There is a lack of awareness among the public regarding the dangers of these imported products, who although competitive are also bad for the health.

Globalization has opened the Palestinian market to new products and, due to the condition of the Palestinian Authority as a «pre-state», there are no sufficient mechanisms to protect the Palestinian consumer, whether against the seller, the producer, be it local, Israeli or foreign.

Nicolas Pelham

Nicolas Pelham is *The Economist's* correspondent in Jerusalem, and a writer on Arab affairs for the *New York Review of Books*. From 2005 - 2010 he was the Israel/ Palestine senior analyst for International Crisis Group, and covered extensively Gaza's evolution under Hamas rule. Prior to 2003, he worked as *The Economist's* correspondent in Iraq and the Maghreb. He is the author of *A New Muslim Order* (2008), which maps Shia resurgence in the Arab world, and co-author of *A History of the Middle East* (2004). He also serves on the advisory board of Tida - a Gaza-based think-tank, and the Oxford Research Group.

The tunnel economy and Gaza's redevelopment under Hamas

This paper examines the changes the siege Israel, regional powers and the international community imposed on Gaza has made to the enclave's trade and commerce. It traces how the variety of responses to the blockade, most notably the rapid expansion of underground supply lines, which collectively have reconfigured Gaza's economy, facilitated a degree of home-grown post-war reconstruction and spurred significant growth. Drawing on the unpublished findings of probably the most comprehensive survey to date of Gaza's tunnel economy – a sample of over 500 Gazans involved in tunnel-related activity including officials from Gaza's regulatory authorities and local and national government departments, it illustrates how the tunnels became the conduits for over two-thirds of Gaza's imports, including 90 percent of the enclave's construction materials and such basics as fuel. It analyses how tunnels have not only kept Gaza's economy afloat, but enabled internal regeneration beyond the reach of the international community. Accordingly, it suggests that the blanket application of the term "development" to Gaza is not only an over-simplification, but a distortion, obscuring current dynamics.

The paper examines the tunnel expansion that followed the Hamas's ascension to absolute control in 2007, provides an in-depth account of the management and operation of the commercial conduits, and details the volume of goods passing through the commercial tunnels. It explores the degree to which Gaza's authorities have sought to regulate flows and formalise a hitherto informal economy. It assesses the impact of the new supply lines on the two dominant trading hierarchies prior to 2007 – Gaza's mercantile elites and international organisations, particularly the UN, both of whom have faced restricted access to the new supply lines. A second section reports on the regional and international reaction to the tunnel expansion, particularly by the Israeli and Egyptian governments, and their consequences for Gaza's strategic orientation away from Israel and towards the Arab world.

Laurent Bonnefoy

Laurent Bonnefoy (PhD, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris) is currently a researcher in political science at the Institut Français du Proche-Orient based in the Palestinian Territories. He has published widely in French, English and Arabic on Yemeni politics and on contemporary religious transnational relations in the Arabian Peninsula. His recent book published by Hurst and Columbia University Press is entitled *Salafism in Yemen. Transnationalism and Religious Identity*.

Julien Salingue

Julien Salingue is a teaching assistant and Ph.D. candidate at the University of Paris-VIII, France. His research is on social elite formation in the Palestinian West Bank. He published his first book in 2011 : *A la recherche de la Palestine, au-delà du mirage d'Oslo*. His website : www.juliensalingue.fr

Economy : the traditional elites, the PA elites and « aid industry » elites. Cooperation, competition and conflict

« While the notable class was overthrown generally in the Arab world in the postindependence period, in Palestine it retained its superior position » - Glenn Robinson, *Building a Palestinian State*. With the rise of the nationalist movement inside and outside the occupied territories, the traditional elite lost gradually its political weight in the Palestinian community. But it remained economically dominant until the signing of the Oslo Agreements and the return of a large part of the PLO-in-exile leadership. These leaders became quite rapidly major economic actors through the establishment of the Palestinian Authority and the signature of the Paris Protocol (which sets up the content of economic relations between the Palestinian territories and Israel). The PA tried to avoid the conflict with the traditional elite through mechanisms of cooptation, but many economic actors were marginalized throughout the « Oslo years ». A third group has emerged as a main economic power, namely the beneficiaries of the « aid industry », who are playing nowadays a major role, especially in Ramallah. This communication will focus on the relationship between these 3 groups, a complex set of cooperation, reversible alliances, competition and conflict.

Julie Trottier

Julie Trottier is a researcher with the CNRS, in Montpellier, France, within the unit Acteurs, Ressources et Territoires en Développement. Her focus is the issue of water since the mid 1990s, essentially in Palestinian territories, but also in Africa and France. Trained in chemistry, politics and Islamic studies, she integrates approaches from science and technology studies when studying the construction of water conflicts. She is the author of *Hydropolitics in the West Bank and Gaza Strip* (Jerusalem: PASSIA 1999) and of *Managing Water Resources Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004)

Territorialisation and Natural Resources in a Globalized World. The case of water in the Israeli Palestinian Conflict.

The Palestinian Israeli conflict is fundamentally a territorialisation process. Geographers teach us that a space becomes a territory when a social group appropriates it. Often described only as a struggle to establish a national territory (either Israeli or Palestinian) over a piece of land, the Palestinian Israeli conflict uncovers, upon analysis, many multiscalar territorialisation processes embedded in one another. Natural resources, such as land and water, are important stakes within these processes. This paper focuses on water and the various manners social groups appropriate it over very different scalar levels, for very different uses. It will also consider the territorialisation processes resulting from the generation of wastewater and of its release in the environment. These competing appropriations of space occur in a globalised environment. Israel used the Oslo process successfully to enter (and to be penetrated by) the globalised economy in the 1990s. Palestinians also entered this globalised economy, albeit differently, as many of their social structures adapted readily to this new environment. Exploring the manner water is being appropriated and re-appropriated through new technologies, by a variety of social groups, either Israeli, Palestinian or foreign, allows us to illuminate the manner the globalised environment participates in a new construction of nature and of society's interaction with it.

Clio Al-Azza

Clio Al-Azza is currently working as a researcher assistant at The Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS), based in Ramallah. She holds a bachelor and a master's degree in Social Science from Paris V Descartes – Sorbonne. Her research focuses on expatriates from Northern countries towards Palestine (West Bank) and also on the Palestinian entrepreneurs in the craft industry.

“Hand Made in Palestine”, the emergence of new economical actors in the Palestinian Territory

This proposal will focus on the new offer and demand emerging in Palestine for handicraft products. New consumers (Palestinian middle-class, tourists and 'International people') have increasingly entered the Palestinian market and appear to be asking for 'Palestinity', quality and originality. On the international scale, new opportunities have also emerged for the Palestinian craftsmen and craftswomen through the pro-Palestinian groups, fair-trade/solidarity networks and also the Palestinian diaspora and the Muslim community. In parallel, a new generation of craftspeople is slowly appearing, enterprising in and out of the traditional structure of the Palestinian craft business. Based on a work field of four months in the West Bank, with a set of craft entrepreneurs (2011), this

communication will focus on presenting these new economic actors (producers and consumers) in order to launch a reflection on the opportunities emerging for the craft industry, that was once part of the informal sector.

Véronique Bontemps

Véronique Bontemps is an anthropologist and post-doc fellow at the IRD. She defended her PhD in 2009 on urban practices and memory in Nablus, based on her study of the local soap industry. She has also worked on the trajectories of Palestinian workers working in Israel. Currently based in Amman and Nablus, she is working on a project on exchange and circulation between the West bank and Jordan.

Jennifer Olmsted

Jennifer Olmsted was raised in Lebanon and lived in Palestine during the first Intifada and the 1991 Gulf war, she has long been interested in globalization, Middle East economies, and the ways conflict shapes economic outcomes. A graduate of Georgetown University and the University of California, Davis, her PhD focused on Palestinian employment and migration. Her current work examines the way conflict and economic isolation affect economic conditions and gender norms, often in contradictory ways, using Iran, Iraq and Palestine as case studies. She is also writing a book on the Palestinian globalization experience. Dr. Olmsted is currently Associate Professor and Chair in the Department of Economics at Drew University in the United States.

Contorted Globalization –The Economics of Gender and Class in Occupied Palestine

The Palestinian experience of globalization has been as typical and as unique. Through an exploration of theories of globalization, combined with both quantitative and qualitative data analysis, I explore the contorted globalization path experienced by the Palestinians, with a particular focus on how employment outcomes have been (re)shaped by decisions of various global actors. In particular, my analysis focuses the importance of taking into account gender and class when examining how globalization has shaped economic outcomes in Palestine. Palestinians, I argue, have been very resilient in terms of responding to reduced economic opportunities. Despite their resilience, I go on to argue, that future policies need to rectify previous decisions, which had unforeseen class and gender implications and have contributed to an increasing disparity between the haves and have-nots in Palestine.

Taher Al-Labadi

Taher Al-Labadi, born in 1985, is a Phd candidate in economics. His dissertation focuses on the Economic foundations of the Palestinian state and he works under the supervision of Bruno Théret at the Paris-Dauphine University.

Toward a better distribution of the peace dividends. Thoughts on the peace process political economy.

Upon the signing of the Oslo Accords, the international community was committed to significantly boosting financial aid to the Palestinians, with an explicit desire to support the peace process. The creation of favorable conditions were then desired to enhance (economic) interests, respective and mutual, of the two belligerents (and more generally of other actors in the region), which serve as foundations for peace. The outbreak of the 2nd Intifada caused disillusionment among the architects of this process, especially in regards to the scope of the benefits of driven economic dynamics on peace efforts. The range of economic policies will be refined to better identify their needs and better meet them. In order to keep the hope of saving the peace, it will be better to distribute its dividends. We will report in our communication on the evolution of the economic policies in the occupied Palestinian territories, discourses and practices, as in part the result of their necessary adaptation to keep the hope of saving the peace process. This will allow us to start thinking about the relationship between political and economic fields in what we call the political economy of peace process.

Khader al-Qawasmeh

Khader al-Qawasmeh, born in 1946, is a trained engineer (Al-Azhar University in Cairo) and consultant. He is general manager and owner of Opinion Engineering Bureau, the president of the Palestinian Business Forum and secretary of the Palestinian Businessmen Association. He has chaired al-Mezan Investment and Development and worked as chief engineer for the municipality of Hebron.

Muhammad Hassouneh

Muhammad Hassouneh is born in 1951. He holds a BA degree in Accounting from Beirut Arab University, 1976. He also holds a certificate of auditor, 1984. Highly experienced in accounting, auditing and consulting. He is a member of the Arab Federation for Accountants and Auditors (AFAA), the National Corporate Governance Committee (NCGC), and the Arab Society Certified Accountants (ASCA). He is the Chairman of the Palestinian Association of Certified Public Accountants (PACPA), and a financial arbitrator. He attended many courses and participated in several conferences on accounting and auditing at both international and local levels.

Daily practices, radiance, prospects and our aspirations

- Reality of Palestinian legislation and its impact on the economic development and on the future policy-making.
- Impact of signed agreements between the PA and Israel (Paris Protocol signed in 1995) and their relation to the political reality of the situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.
- Absence of legal and political entity and its impact on the reality.
- Absence of a Palestinian currency and a central bank and its impact on the Palestinian reality.
- Economic policy-making and its future impacts, and sustainability in the reality of complex political circumstances under occupation.

Touffiq Haddad

Touffiq Haddad is the co-author and editor of *Between the Lines: Readings in Israel, the Palestinians and the U.S 'War on Terror'* (Haymarket Books, 2007) and *Towards a New Internationalism: Readings in Globalization, the Global Justice Movement and Palestinian Liberation* (Muwatin: Ramallah 2006.) He is currently a researcher at Birzeit Development Studies Center, while conducting his Phd field research in Development Studies at the School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London.

Political Economy of Palestinian Real Estate Development

Contemporary developmental praxis of Western donor governments and international financial institutions is premised upon the assumption that economic and political liberalization are the winning formula for achieving sustained economic and social development. This conception has found willing adherents in the economic practices of the PA, intent upon creating a suitable environment for unleashing private sector forces as the engine of development and statebuilding. Real estate development in the form of housing and commercial projects has been identified as by the Fayyad government, and its Palestinian Reform and Development Plan, as a key sector that can contribute towards this end.

The real estate sector already comprises 50 – 60% of total investment in the OPT, employs 11% of the workforce, and the sector's GDP contribution reaches 14%. (PIF website) This talk, based upon the early stages of a Birzeit Development Center research project, will attempt to shed light on development in this sector, attempting to assess its scope, impact and political economy.

Shawqi Makhtooob

Shawqi Makhtooob is an independent Palestinian researcher specializing in trade and industrial policies. He has extensive knowledge of public and private sector institutions both as individual companies and NGOs, with practical experience of their needs and aspirations. He is also a member in Aix Group and a co-author of many publications including, *The Economic Development of the Jordan Valley*, *The Union for the Mediterranean: The Barcelona Process and the Two State Solution*.

Economic Development of the Jordan Valley

This presentation summarizes a follow-up work on the Jordan Valley Section of the Aix Group book *Economic Dimensions of A Two-State Agreement Between Israel and Palestine*. It aims at analyzing the development potential of the Palestinian Jordan Valley region, portraying strategic long-term options, and pointing out to certain immediate short-term possibilities.

Samir Abuznaid

Dr. Samir Abuznaid, former Deputy Governor in the Hebron Governorate is an Associate Professor of Management and Marketing at Hebron University where, since he established the School of Finance and Management in 1994, he has served as Dean and Vice President for Academic Affairs. Prior to this, Samir taught business and marketing at An-Najah National University. He has given lectures in the USA, UK, France, Spain, Italy, Jordan and Germany. He is the recipient of several awards and honors. More recently, he was selected as a Fulbright Scholar and was asked to teach cross-cultural management courses at Portland Community College, Oregon, USA . Dr. Abuznaid is a senior trainer of management and marketing courses. He has developed training material and conducted almost one thousand workshops in Arabic and English. He is a key founder of several institutions in the West Bank, such as Palestine for Credit and Development, Palestine Development Fund and the Technical Development Corporation. His current research interests include cross-cultural management, intercultural management and global marketing.

Robert McNulty

Robert McNulty is the director of programs at the Center for Business Ethics (CBE), Bentley University. For more than a decade and a half, the focus of his work has been ethics, both in its theoretical and applied forms. At CBE, McNulty's special interest is in the place of business in advancing peace, and to this end has arranged to bring Bentley scholars to Palestine, Israel, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Dr. McNulty is also the founder and executive director of Applied Ethics, Inc. (AE), a nonprofit organization the main work of which is Pax Populi (i.e., "Peace of the People"), a peacemaking program that seeks to advance peace through helpful people-to-people partnerships especially in the area of education and economic development within a framework of human rights.

Raja Khalidi

Born in 1956 and brought up outside Palestine, Raja Khalidi was trained as a development economist, with a B.A. from Oxford University and a M.Sc. from University of London (SOAS). Raja Khalidi conducted research on Palestinian economic conditions in Lebanon prior to 1982, published a book on the economy of the Arab region in Israel (1988) and is the author of numerous articles on the Palestinian economy. He has been working with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) since 1985 and became Coordinator of its Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian people (2002 - 2006). He is currently Senior Economist at the Globalization and Development Strategies Division.



Photography Sandra Mehl, Work permit, 2011