

"دائماً بييجوا في نص الليل"

تقرير عن تأثير الأسر على أطفال الأسرى السياسيين الفلسطينيين
في السجون الإسرائيلية

"They came at midnight..."

A report on the impact of detention on the children of Palestinian
political detainees in Israeli prisons



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A report on the impact of detention on the children of Palestinian political detainees in Israeli prisons

Institute of Community and Public Health, Birzeit University

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When he was here I was strong. But when he went to prison, I got thin and I got weak at school. I kept thinking about him.

Adam, 14, city

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION 1: BACKGROUND	4
SECTION 2: METHODOLOGY	18
SECTION 3: LITERATURE REVIEW	21
SECTION 4: FINDINGS – CHILDREN OF PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES	27
SECTION 5: FINDINGS - INSTITUTES SERVING DETAINEES AND THEIR FAMILIES	38
SECTION 6: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	46
APPENDIX 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES	54
APPENDIX 2: INSTITUTIONS PROVIDING SERVICES FOR DETAINEES AND THEIR FAMILIES	56
REFERENCES	64

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that there have been over 800,000 cases of Palestinian arrest and detention on political grounds since the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip were occupied by Israel in 1967 (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics and PA Ministry of Detainee and Ex-detainee Affairs, 2012), with over 4000 in Israeli jails currently (B'tselem, 2012a). The impact of political detention on the families of Palestinians political detainees, mostly men, has been a largely neglected area of inquiry. The little that has been written has mostly focused on exposure to violence and its traumatic and biomedical/psychological aspects without sufficient regard to the consequences of the absence of men on the daily lives and social worlds of women and caregivers, family dynamics and relations, parenting, or the cognitive and behavioral consequences of detention on family members, especially wives and children.

The aims of the study were:

- To assess psychological well-being and coping mechanisms of families (children and wives¹) of Palestinian political detainees held in Israeli detention facilities.
- To determine key elements of service provision needed to improve the support system for families of Palestinian political detainees held in Israeli detention facilities.

This report presents the findings of:

- a qualitative study into the impact of detention on families and social structures in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt), with a particular focus on children of Palestinian political detainees
- a quantitative survey of Palestinian and international institutions providing services to Palestinian political detainees and their families

The Institute of Community and Public Health (ICPH), Birzeit University, hopes that this study will contribute to an increased understanding of what political detention of the father and husband means for the children of Palestinian political detainees, what these families' needs are, and of what services are available to these families. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to the matching of services desired by the families and those provided by the institutions.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology included both qualitative (in-depth interviews and group interview) and quantitative (survey) instruments:

a. Literature review on the families of political prisoners/detainees:

- Review and analysis of journal articles and reports covering the impact of political detainment on families

b. Interviews with children of Palestinian political detainees:

- Fifteen in-depth interviews in the spring and summer of 2012 with a total of 27 children of detainees and their siblings (aged 11-21), conducted mainly in the central and northern regions of the West Bank, including: Ramallah, East Jerusalem and Nablus
- Group interview validating the findings of the interviews, conducted in Qalqilya in the north of the West Bank (in the fall of 2012)

c. Mapping of services available to families of Palestinian political detainees:

- Survey of services provided to Palestinian political detainees and their families using a structured questionnaire with closed and open questions (conducted in the summer and fall of 2012)

Sampling:

- For the interviews with adolescents, we started with interviews in the Ramallah area and proceeded using both locality of residence and theory development (through continuous comparison of content and knowledge gained), as criteria for the sampling, and gradually moved into the Nablus and Jerusalem districts. A final group interview was conducted in Qalqilya.
- For the mapping of services available to families of Palestinian political detainees we started with the Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affairs (MDEA) and a selection of organizations listed in the Human Rights & Law section of the 2012 Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) Diary. We contacted 16 organizations, 14 of which were included in the survey. Through the interviews with these organizations and snowball sampling (asking who knows of other organizations working with detainees) we found an additional 12 institutions, some of which do not work exclusively with families of detainees, but do have programs or projects providing services to these families. Our final sample consisted of 26 institutions.

Limitations:

The study focused on families of Palestinian political prisoners and detainees held in Israeli detention facilities. The great majority of these detainees are adult males. There has been some research focus on female detainees (Abdo, 2011; Addameer, 2008a) and child detainees (Defence for Children International - Palestine Section, 2012; Save the Children Sweden and East Jerusalem YMCA Rehabilitation Program, 2012). In order not to duplicate, we have in this study largely limited our focus to the families of married male detainees.

This study is further restricted to the families of political detainees from the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. In order to gain access to the Gaza Strip, Palestinians of the West Bank need to submit a request to the Israeli authorities, which can be very difficult to obtain. The number of political detainees from the Gaza Strip is also currently very low in comparison with those from the West Bank.

Political detention by the Palestinian Authority (PA), established with the Oslo Accords in 1993, is a relatively new phenomenon. Although not originally part of the study, our interviews yielded some insights in relation to the impact of political detention by the PA on the families of the detainees. This type of political detention is very different in its meaning for and impact on the family and would require a separate study. We have nevertheless included a brief explanation of some of the main violations involved in political detention by the PA in the West Bank and Hamas in the Gaza Strip (see end of Section 1).

IMPACT OF POLITICAL DETENTION ON CHILDREN OF PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES

Based on statistics dated November 30, 2012, about one quarter of the 4365 Palestinian detainees in Israeli detention were married with children. This means that among 1035 families, a total of 2954 children were growing up (or have grown up) in the absence of their fathers for a period of time and sometimes their entire childhood. About half of the married political detainees were serving a sentence of less than 10 years, a little more than a quarter between 10 and 20 years and a little less than a quarter for periods from 20 years to multiple life sentences (PA Ministry of Detainee and

Ex-Detainee Affairs, 2012). Since compensation for detainees and their families depends largely on the length of time spent in detention, we found that families with a loved one in detention for less than 10 years struggle more financially.

On the level of individual children, we found that there can be great variation in the way different children, even within the same family, experience the absence of the father. Some of our interviewees had never experienced their father as a member of the household and said that therefore they did not know what they missed. Others indicated that the detention and sudden absence of the father for children who had just begun to develop a conscious bond with their fathers (3-7) had made it particularly hard to come to terms with.

Children feel the absence of their father especially on feast days when Palestinian families traditionally spend quality time together. Although they cherish the opportunity to see their fathers on visitation days, these visits are also very tiring and humiliating, and the small portion of the three-quarters of an hour these children have to talk with their fathers (shared with other family members) is often too short to really connect.

Some children mentioned missing the sense of security that the presence of their father used to provide. And in many cases we heard that the older children take on responsibilities not usually assigned to children of their age. Such responsibilities may range from working to help the family cope financially, to serving as a substitute father figure for younger siblings. Substituting for the father, however, may also lead to oppressive behavior from brothers or paternal uncles towards girls.

While some adolescents said that their pride in their father's contribution to the national struggle helps them to bear his absence, others said that they can feel that pride only with people close to them, but not with people in general.

Coping and enduring:

Children whose father is in political detention find various ways to cope. They concentrate on doing well in school, helping and being close to their mothers, and find relief in creativity, cultural activities and sports. Inevitably they also experience difficult moments, when they really miss their fathers. The children spoke of how they deal with these moments. Some imagine their father to be with them and have imaginary conversations with him. Many mentioned that they cry and withdraw to their room. Some use the decorated copybooks that political detainees make for their children to write down their feelings in. Others attempt to escape such emotions when they feel them coming, and retreat to play with friends. Younger children talk to their mothers, but some of the older children mentioned that they do not mention their sadness because they know this will make their mother upset. Some children also mentioned that it helps to talk to someone else who also misses his or her father.

The community around them:

The adolescents are aware of the good intentions of the people around them; yet, some pointed out that they find it hard when people claim to understand what they are going through. To them it is a situation that only those who have experienced or are experiencing it themselves can fully understand. Unfortunately, not all children find easy access to other children who go through the same experience.

Support from institutions:

At the beginning of our series of qualitative interviews, a 15-year old boy mentioned that he had once been to a summer camp that had been especially organized for political detainees' and martyrs' children. He spoke of it with very fond memories, because the children there were all going through an experience similar to his own. While in most of the following interviews, the children had heard

neither of such summer camps, nor of any other activities or support organized by institutions, several showed great enthusiasm for the idea. Even interviewees who deemed themselves too old to attend a summer camp, said that they might be willing to volunteer as leaders in such an activity for detainees' children.

INSTITUTIONS PROVIDING SERVICES TO PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES AND THEIR FAMILIES

A total of 26 institutions participated in the mapping of services survey, including the Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affairs (MDEA). Twelve of these institutions have branches, with the MDEA and the Prisoners' Club each having 11 branches in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Of the institutions which have representation in more than one location, 11 are based in Ramallah. Branches of the larger institutions are situated in Nablus, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Qalqilya, Hebron, Salfit, Jenin, Tulkarem, Tubas, Jericho, and Gaza. Four of the institutions included in the survey are located inside Israel (see Appendix 2 for the list of institutions surveyed).

Types of services:

The services provided by the organizations can be divided into:

- *Specific services to the detainee:* mainly legal support following the arrest and rehabilitation upon release (re-integration in society through educational, vocational, labor facilitation).
- *Services to the detainee and his family:* including identifying the location where the detainee is held, as well as financial support, health insurance, social work, psychological counseling and support, and sometimes food aid to the family.
- *General services related to political detention:* for example advocacy and human rights promotion, research and documentation.

A major finding of the survey was that most of the smaller organizations were not able to provide clear data on the type, number and locations of the people benefiting from their services.

Employees:

The large majority of services, however, consists of legal services, which is reflected in the high proportion of employees, approximately two thirds (214/323), being lawyers or legal assistants, and the remainder ranging from advocacy and field workers (40) to social workers (27), psychological professionals (20), journalists (10), teachers (7) and counselors (5).

Twenty-four of the institutions reported that they have institutional referral systems in place, both in relation to services provided by other surveyed institutions and additional organizations providing services to the general public.

Half of the institutions provide specific training in dealing with detainees and their families, and just over half reported that they also provide other types of continuous education. All institutional representatives reported that an employee supervision system is in place, with most (19) engaging in both professional and administrative supervision.

Challenges and priorities:

The main challenge faced by the institutions remains related to the legal representation of the detainees, including issues of lack of access to the detainee, and the so-called 'secret files' on which the prosecutor's cases are often based. Other challenges include the inability to adequately support families during the detention, as well as the reintegration of the detainee upon release. Over half of the institutions' respondents in the survey mentioned that they consider provision of

personal support to the detainees and their families to be a main priority, as well as income, and job provision upon release of the detainee. Other priorities included (international) advocacy (10), education of detainees and their children, facilitation of visits, rehabilitation and reintegration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Institutions can play a greater role in relief-provision and needs-monitoring.
- Data regarding detainee families must be collected, made available and confidentially shared between institutions.
- Psychosocial support services, such as summer camps for children of detainees, can be scaled up.
- Initial home visits following the arrest and monitoring throughout the detention period can help to alleviate some of the challenges faced by families of political detainees, especially children and wives.
- Sustainable and ongoing training of the employees in institutions which serve Palestinian political detainees and their families is needed.
- Information regarding services must be available and accessible to families of detainees.
- The development of community-based support groups among wives, mothers and children of detainees, may help alleviate some of the impacts of political detention on families.
- Special attention must be given to older children assuming a more responsible role following the detention of their father.
- More research is required on the needs and challenges of families following the release of detainees.
- There is a real need to address Israel's violation of the legal rights of children of Palestinian political detainees.
- Advocacy efforts must get at the root causes of the challenges facing families of detainees.

INTRODUCTION

It is virtually impossible to find a single Palestinian in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) who has been spared either direct or indirect experience with Israeli detention. With a population of just over four million and the number of cases of political detention by Israel at present more than three-quarters of a million, nearly everyone has had a brother, father, son, uncle, mother, sister, daughter, aunt, or at least a neighbor or friend who has spent time as a political detainee.² The impacts of this detention can be particularly dire on the household. We often forget that it is not just the detainee who suffers as a result of detention, but his or her loved ones as well. This aspect of political detention is often overlooked in the scholarship and public discourse surrounding Palestinian detainees and the broader Palestinian struggle, rendering the quiet suffering of political detainee families unseen and virtually unacknowledged.

In their writings on social suffering and the 'ordinary,' Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das and Margaret Lock postulate that "much of routinized misery is invisible," while "much that is made visible is not ordinary or routine" (Kleinman, Daas, & Lock, 1997, p. xiii). This is, of course, not to say that what is necessarily needed is something of a reversal: turning the visible invisible and vice versa. It can be read rather as a call to help bring that which has been rendered invisible into the limelight and make the voices of the otherwise voiceless heard and understood. As Michel Foucault has famously written, it is through the bringing to light of these experiences, "these low-ranking [...] unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges [...] that criticism performs its work" (1980, p. 82).

This study highlights the accounts of children of Palestinian political detainees, and how, in the words of Veena Das, their "pain is written into everyday life" (as cited in DiFruscia, 2010). We listen to, and write about, the children of detainees using the lens of the social and political (the justice and human rights perspective), as opposed to only the biomedical, which can transform normal feelings of loss and sadness into a pathological experience (Horwitz & Wakefield, 2007). Indeed, the medicalization of the distress experienced by Palestinians under Israeli military occupation in general does little to alleviate the underlying causes of the ongoing collective trauma (Giacaman, Rabaia, Nguyen-Gillham, Batniji, Punamaki, & Summerfield, 2010; Giacaman, Hussein, & Awartani, 2004). In the case of the families of Palestinian political prisoners, the biomedical approach can also conceal the ultimate need for justice, and the realization of fundamental human rights.

For Palestinians, the recognition of their psychological trauma by international and local groups in the late 1980's (during the First Intifada) carried with it a benefit and a burden. On one hand, there was recognition, finally, that Palestinians had a psychology and were traumatized by exposure to political oppression which was previously invisible. On the other hand, the advent of the 'trauma industry' to the area imposed a western-led discourse of mental health, which was primarily medical (Bracken, 2002), and failed to address the main causes of Palestinian trauma: political oppression and injustice. The adoption of the trauma discourse eventually reduced Palestinians in many mental health circles to the status of victims. That is, Palestinians had to adopt the label of victim in order to receive medical treatment or psychological therapies, thus obscuring the social and political meaning of the Palestinian collective experience. Indeed, a political cause of trauma and suffering requires a social resolution, instead of a treatment with medications and narrow one-to-one psychological therapies.

What follows is part of a multi-faceted research project on families of political detainees by Birzeit University's Institute of Community and Public Health (ICPH). Through understanding the daily life experiences of the families of Palestinian political detainees in Israeli prisons (especially women and children), working to highlight their most pressing needs, and by comparing these findings with the type of support that is currently being offered to them by various institutional bodies, we hope to be able to generate, and sustain, important discussions on improving the daily living conditions of affected families and communities.

PREVIOUS STUDY ON THE WIVES AND MOTHERS OF PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES

This study of children of Palestinian political detainees was preceded by a study focusing on the impact of detention on the wives, and to a lesser extent, the mothers of detainees, completed by ICPH in cooperation with the Women's Studies Institute at Birzeit University in 2011. It was based on women's narratives obtained from 10 focus group discussions and 30 semi-structured interviews, in addition to interviews with individuals with knowledge and/experience in relation to political incarceration. The study highlights the consequences of the incarceration of men on women's lives, identified as 'triple captivity,' where women are subjected to multiple forms of policing: the Israeli colonial system, the Israeli prison, and the post-Oslo Palestinian policy with isolating effects in their own communities.

Five main themes were identified. On top of the list of negative consequences of men's imprisonment for families was financial crisis, especially if the detainee was a main breadwinner. While the Palestinian Ministry of Detainee and Ex-detainee Affairs provides a 'salary' and lawyers to political detainees, this assistance was often described as "nothing" by some of the women.³ A good proportion of this salary is spent on over-priced items for detainees in the Israeli prison canteen, including clothes, food and cigarettes. The sense of the Ministry's assistance as 'nothing' also revealed a strong sense of isolation that is not alleviated by governmental financial support. This sense of isolation demonstrated that the social value of political incarceration in communities and society has diminished after the Oslo Accords of 1993 compared to the First *Intifada*.

The results from the previous research also shed light on the suffering and humiliation endured when visiting husbands in Israeli prisons, which involve: the often arduous process of seeking permits to reach the prison, which are not always granted; facing long waits at checkpoints and sometimes being refused entry and returned home without visiting loved ones; enduring humiliating searches at prison, including strip searches reported by most of our informants; and feeling frustrated by the inadequacy of the visit with too little time, over-crowded spaces, noise, and the separation of detainees and visitors by a glass panel through which they must communicate via an often semi-functional telephone receiver.

Women moreover reported that the absence of the husband can further curtail women's autonomy, with wives usually placed under the authority of her in-laws, with increasing restrictions on their movement, dress, and freedoms by family and community. Psycho-somatic problems were also evident, with reports of feeling chronically tired, which in Arabic could mean aches, pains and the distress of daily life. Women reported on the psychological problems of their children such as increased distress, behavioral problems, and missing their father, especially during holidays and feasts. Finally, elements of apprehension regarding the future were clearly evident. Some wives were worried about changed family dynamics once the husband released from prison. On one hand, they were always waiting and praying for his release; on the other hand, some were worried about how he would treat the children, who have grown since he entered prison, and themselves, as wives who have likewise aged, perhaps inducing the husbands to re-marry. The full results of this study will be published in 2013 by the *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*.

REPORT OUTLINE

This report consists of several sections, bringing together the findings from our interviews with children and institutions along with a background section, a methodology section, a literature review section and a conclusions/recommendations section. Since several authors participated in the writing, writing styles will differ from section to section. We have, however, made every possible effort to ensure consistency of terms and concepts throughout.

Section 1 provides a general background and introduction to the historical-political context of the occupied Palestinian territory in 2012-13, with a particular emphasis on Palestinian political

detainees held by Israel. It also provides a detailed analysis of Israeli political detention practices under Israeli and international law.

Section 2 details the respective approaches taken to the various research phases: (1) the literature review, (2) the interviews with the wives, (3) the interviews with the children, and (4) the institutional survey.

Section 3 is a literature review of scholarship related specifically to the impact of political detention/imprisonment on the families of detainees/prisoners.

Section 4 discusses the findings from our 2012 qualitative study on the impact of Israeli detention on the children of Palestinian political detainees.

Section 5 examines results of a mixed quantitative/qualitative study of 26 institutions involved with issues concerning Palestinian detainees and their families.

Section 6, finally, summarizes conclusions and provides recommendations for service-delivery and future research.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL-POLITICAL CONTEXT

A map of the occupied West Bank published June 2012 depicts a territory divided, cantonized and encapsulated by Israeli control.⁴ Illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem⁵—now home to over half a million Israeli settlers—occupy large swathes of Palestinian territory. An intricate web of roads, highways and light rail (in occupied East Jerusalem) connect these settlements, while the illegal West Bank separation wall—a 700km+ long structure consisting of up to eight meter high concrete slabs in densely populated urban areas, and electrically fortified fences in less populated areas—snakes deeply into occupied territory, cutting farmers off from their land, dividing communities, neighborhoods and families and de facto annexing hundreds of dunums of territory across the Green Line.⁶ A closer look exhibits a multitude of checkpoints meant to restrict the movement of Palestinians while facilitating the uninhibited travel of Israeli citizens to and from the settlements via roads which are in many cases prohibited to Palestinian use.

The Israeli occupation is more entrenched than ever. The Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 provided a glimmer of hope that Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip would come to an end, but initial optimism soon led way to widespread frustrations at the lack of positive change on the ground. The establishment of a Palestinian governance system complete with a president, prime minister, and various ministries has given the impression of independence, when such autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination remain far from reality. The general powerlessness of the Oslo-created body, the Palestinian Authority (PA), vis-à-vis the Israeli government has meant that Israel has been able to maintain the hegemonic system it put in place during its 26 years of direct rule and to expand its presence in, and control over, the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) under the guise of a peace process (Roy, 2001). Nearly twenty years later, the PA finds itself with varying degrees of administrative and security control over only a small proportion of the oPt,⁷ and little room to challenge the Israeli government, particularly when it comes to permanent status issues such as borders, refugees, settlements and the status of occupied East Jerusalem. Any attempt at challenging Israeli authority is usually met with punitive measures such as withholding tax money owed to the PA or further impinging on Palestinian freedom of movement.⁸

The creation of the PA has also had a dampening effect on the strength and momentum of the nationalist movement. The marginal privileges and power provided to PA officials translated into a Palestinian leadership often more concerned with securing internal political power than with national liberation. The impact of this change has been accompanied by the steady absorption of nationalist activists,⁹ including many ex-detainees, into the PA's bureaucratic and security structure, resulting in what Sara Roy (2001) has described as a “striking and unprecedented diminution of nationalist ideology during the Oslo period,” and beyond (7). One implication of this transformation in political culture has been a broadly altered view of political detainees. During the first Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*, Palestinian detainees were widely perceived as the vanguard of the struggle. Following the PA's arrival in 1994, however, they were recast, to a large extent, as victims in need of rehabilitation (Bornstein, 2001).¹⁰

Throughout the 1990s, the establishment of the PA combined with the financial support of donor countries and international organizations helped many Palestinians cope with what remained a life under Israeli military occupation. Relative material comfort among certain segments of the Palestinian population did not, however, succeed in mitigating the anger felt by Palestinians at the lack of improvement on the political level. The daily assault by Israeli authorities on their lives and livelihoods, the lack of progress on permanent status issues and the massive increase in settlement activity—not to mention frustration with corruption in the PA—led to widespread discontent and anger. This anger erupted with the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000. Unlike the First Intifada, in which Palestinian resistance was almost exclusively non-violent, the Second Intifada was an armed uprising. Israel's heavy-handed response reached a climax with the large-scale invasion and subsequent short-term direct reoccupation of West Bank cities in 2002.

Israel began construction of its West Bank separation wall while it held former Palestinian President Yasser Arafat captive in his Ramallah compound. Rather than building the barrier along the Green Line, the barrier cut deeply into occupied territory, severing many Palestinians from their land and further confining West Bank Palestinians into highly-surveilled and closed-in encampments. The near completion of the barrier has meant that both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – closed off in a similar fashion by a separation barrier since 1994 – have been transformed into virtual open air prisons for a captive Palestinian population.¹¹

In 2005, the Israeli government decided to unilaterally remove its military forces and bases in addition to over 8,000 Jewish settlers from the Gaza Strip (B'tselem, 2012c). The Israeli 'disengagement' from the Gaza Strip took place in the context of, and in apparent response to, the 'road map for peace' presented by the Quartet (the United Nations, the European Union, the United States, and Russia) in April of 2003. The withdrawal has nevertheless been widely viewed as an attempt to consolidate Israeli control over territory that Israel most desired to hold in the long term. Indeed, at the same time as Israel was withdrawing its infrastructure from inside the Gaza Strip, it was in the process of de facto annexing land from the occupied West Bank via the separation wall and intensified settlement construction. At the end of 2010, there were more than 500,000 Jewish settlers living in approximately 236 settlements and "outposts" in the occupied West Bank, including nearly 200,000 in occupied East Jerusalem (B'tselem, 2012c).

The victory of the Islamist party Hamas in the PA's first democratic parliamentary elections of January 2006 complicated the situation even further. Hamas' classification as a terrorist organization and "enemy entity" by Israel and many Western states resulted in an Israeli and international boycott of the new PA administration, including the withholding of aid and tax money and an increase in closures to the movement of goods and people. The measures translated quickly into a state of havoc on the streets of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the PA, led by Hamas, was not able to pay its civil servants, including police officers, as a result of the boycott. Increased tensions between Hamas and Fateh ensued and frustrations with the Israeli and international reaction to the election reached a tipping point in the summer of 2007 when Hamas eventually took control of the Gaza Strip, relinquishing governance of the PA and the West Bank to Fateh leader President Mahmoud Abbas. A year later, with the Gaza Strip under an Israeli air, land and sea blockade, Israel launched a full-scale attack that left over 1,400 Palestinians dead, over 5,000 injured, and countless in a collective state of trauma (Al-Haq, 2009). 10 Israeli soldiers and 3 civilians were also killed over the course of the attacks.

Efforts by the newly inaugurated administration of US President Barack Obama to resume negotiations between Israel and the PA resumed in late 2009, but they were to no avail. Despite agreeing to a 10-month settlement freeze in November 2009, under the leadership of right-wing Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli government continued to authorize the construction of Israeli settlement housing, all the while demanding that the PA make the unprecedented step of recognizing Israel as a Jewish state. Ten months later, the settlement freeze came to an official end, and along with it, the US-brokered negotiations.

By the time of writing, Israel had attacked the Gaza Strip once again. The week-long naval and aerial attack, from November 14-21, 2012, came only a few days after an informal truce between Israel and Hamas was being discussed via Egypt, which came to a swift end when Israel broke the truce assassinating Ahmed Jabari, the leader of the military wing of Hamas (Falk, 2012). By the end of the attack, 175 Palestinians had been killed, of whom 25% were children, and about 1400 injured (World Health Organization, 2012, November 27). Four Israeli civilians and two soldiers were also killed (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012).

Fed up with Israeli intransigence on settlement construction, the PA meanwhile decided to focus efforts on obtaining international support for the recognition of Palestine as a member of the United Nations (UN). Although its initial bid for recognition was blocked in the fall of 2011 by a US veto in

the UN Security Council, Palestine was symbolically recognized as a “nonmember observer state” by the UN General Assembly on 29 November, 2012.

PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES IN ISRAELI PRISONS

The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) and the Ministry of Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs (MDEA) (2012) estimate that there have been over 800,000 cases of Palestinian arrest and detention by Israeli forces since the occupation began in 1967.¹² Slightly over half, approximately 420,000, are estimated to have been captured during the first 20 years of the occupation and an estimated 200,000 during the First Intifada period (1987-1993) (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2011).

Esmail Nashif (2008) divides pre-Oslo detainees into four sociologically and historically distinct groups. The first group included highly-educated political activists – mainly affiliated with organized political parties – who were incarcerated during or shortly following the 1967 war. Members of the second group were younger and less-educated when detained in the early 1970s and mainly active at the local level in their places of residence. The third group began to emerge in the early 1970s and extended until 1987. It included students, union activists, professionals, political leaders, and workers of various ages, who together created the institutional base for the prisoner’s movement and for the mass mobilization of Palestinian society as a whole. The fourth group resulted from the mass arrests during the First Intifada and included political activists in addition to tens of thousands of ordinary Palestinians who were relatively unengaged in political activism.

The extent of political imprisonment during the First Intifada reached such high proportions that in many communities, having a family member in prison became the norm. A survey conducted in Deheisheh Refugee Camp during the final year of the first intifada in 1993, for instance, found that close to half of men aged 25-40 had experienced imprisonment (Rosenfeld, 2004). The study also found that 85% of families had experienced the imprisonment of at least one son, while 58% the imprisonment of two or more sons. Across the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, it has been estimated that about 100,000 families were affected by Israeli detention in the First Intifada period (Bornstein, 2010).

Israeli arrests dropped sharply following the Oslo Accords, totaling 10,000 over the remainder of the 1990s (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2011). This relatively low arrest rate would, however, not last long. With the launch of the Second Intifada in 2000, the number of arrests increased dramatically. From October 2000 to November 2009, estimates suggest that Israel detained some 69,000 Palestinians (Rosenfeld, 2011), a combination primarily of fighters and political activists associated with the various Palestinian political factions. Of these, 7,800 were children under the age of 18 and 850 were women. According to statistics compiled by Israeli human rights organization B’tselem, the number of Palestinian ‘security’ detainees from the oPt in Israeli detention centers at any one time during this period reached a peak of nearly 9,600 in October 2006 (B’tselem, 2012a).

On November 30, 2012, MDEA records show 4,365 Palestinian ‘security’ prisoners in Israeli custody, including 4,356 men and 9 women (PA Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affairs, 2012).¹³ The vast majority, about 82% (3592), of these detainees were from the West Bank. Approximately 9% (393) were from the Gaza Strip and 7% (303) from East Jerusalem. The remaining 2% (77) were Palestinian citizens of Israel.

MDEA figures also indicate that over one-third of all detainees from the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem were married (1270 out of 4365), a majority of whom with children (1035) (PA Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affairs, 2012). Nearly three-quarters of married detainees had between 1 and 4 children (874) and about a quarter had between 5 and 10 (161). Almost 20% did not have any children (235). The total number of children with a parent in political detention was

2951. Almost half of married detainees had served 0-5 (576) and 6-10 (579) years respectively. Approximately 10% of married detainees had served more than 11 years.

Figure 1: Marital status

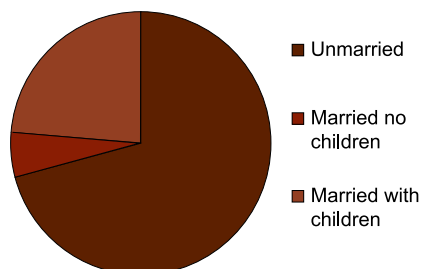


Figure 2: Number of children among married detainees

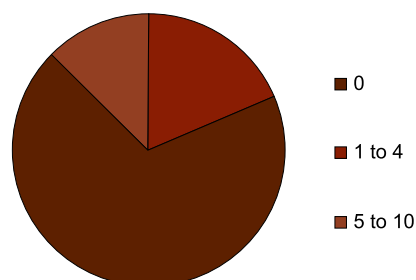
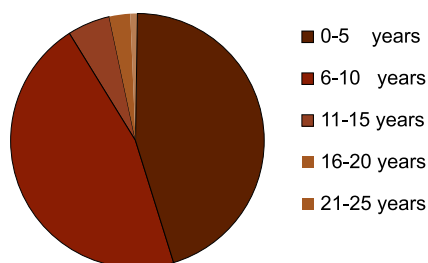


Figure 3: Years in prison



Such sentences have been an “inevitable consequence of political activism” for Palestinians involved in virtually any form of resistance against Israel (Rosenfeld, 2004, p. 234). Everything from participating in non-violent demonstrations, to putting up a political poster, and being active in illegal political movements – even socializing with political activists or being a family member of one – can be enough to land Palestinians in Israeli prison. Under the military legal system that governs the oPt, any crime committed by a Palestinian in which the perceived victims of the crime are Israeli comes under Israeli military jurisdiction. This is in addition to traffic violations on Israeli-controlled West Bank roads. By contrast, offenses committed by Jewish-Israeli West Bank settlers fall under Israeli civilian law.

Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails are classified by Israel as either ‘security’ (widely considered to be political¹⁴) prisoners or criminal prisoners. The Israeli system defines a ‘security’ prisoner as an individual “who was convicted and sentenced for committing a crime, or who is imprisoned on suspicion of committing a crime, which due to its nature or circumstance was defined as a security offense or whose motive was nationalistic” (Baker & Matar, 2011, p. vii). They are almost exclusively Palestinian, including some who hold Israeli citizenship. A small number of Jewish-Israelis have been classified as ‘security’ prisoners as well, though they are often treated with the same privileges as criminal prisoners (Weill, 2011).

The discursive branding of all Palestinian detainees as security threats and terrorists has helped Israel legitimize its discriminatory treatment of Palestinian detainees. Although there is no Israeli law that distinguishes between ‘security’ and criminal prisoners, the Israeli High Court has given sanction to the distinction and the differential treatment associated with it (Baker & Matar, 2011).

The 'privileges' to which Palestinian 'security' prisoners are generally denied includes permission to: receive family visits from non-immediate family members; maintain telephone contact with anyone, including family; and leave prison for any reason, including for occasions such as the death of an immediate family member (Adalah, 2012). Palestinian 'security' prisoners are also denied rehabilitation services, certain educational opportunities, and the possibility of obtaining amnesty from the president of the State of Israel.

Members of Palestinian resistance groups captured by the Israeli forces could technically be considered prisoners of war (POWs) under International Humanitarian Law (IHL), but Israel has thus far refused to grant this status to any Palestinian detainee (Ben-Natan, 2011).¹⁵ The main differences between POW status and the status currently attributed to Palestinian political detainees are that POWs do not stand trial for acts of fighting and must be released and repatriated following the close of hostilities. For Palestinian political detainees, POW status would therefore only be partially favorable, since while they would not be tried for acts of fighting, the provision requiring release following the close of hostilities may in fact be unfavorable considering the apparent intractability of the occupation.

Beyond these legal provisions, POWs often benefit from governmental support for their families over the duration of their sentences and upon repatriation (McCubin & Dahl, 1974; Dekel & Soloman, 2006). Palestinians can, in this manner, be distinguished from most political detainees around the world due to the particular institutional context they find themselves in: Palestinian political detainees and their families receive support from a governmental body, the PA MDEA, as though they were POWs elsewhere. Monthly stipends, or 'salaries', from the PA go toward helping the family cope financially, paying for fines and supplying the detainees with money for consumer products at the prison canteen.¹⁶

Base salaries in New Israeli Shekels (NIS) for the families of Palestinian detainees — including those with Israeli citizenship and Jerusalem ID — range from a meager 1400NIS (about \$365) for detainees with a sentence of between 0-3 years to a hefty 12,000NIS (approx. \$3135) per month for those having served 30 years and up in prison.¹⁷ Detainees are also provided with 300NIS (approx. \$80) extra if they are married and 50NIS (approx. \$14) per child under 18. Differences in cost of living are accounted for by providing an extra 300NIS (approx. \$80) per month for East Jerusalem Palestinians and 500NIS (approx. \$131) per month for Palestinian citizens of Israel. These figures apply to all male detainees who do not receive a regular salary from a PA ministry.¹⁸ Female detainees only receive salaries if their husbands are unemployed.

In the words of Palestinian political prisoner Walid Daka (2011), the funds allotted to Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails by the PA amount to nothing short of "financing our own detention" (247). "Palestinian prisoners are probably the only prisoners in the history of the liberation movements, receiving monthly pensions to cover their expenses in prison, as if they were employees of the Palestinian Authority," writes Daka (246-7). The attention of the prisoner thus becomes focused on material needs and receiving benefits from the PA "employer," rather than the persistent abuses and violations of international law being committed by the Israeli government.

Daka's frustration regarding the lack of resistance by detainees in Israeli prisons reflects a relatively recent trend, which has albeit already shown signs of changing.¹⁹ The launch of a mass hunger strike of about 500 detainees in September-October 2011 and another of nearly 2000 in April-May 2012, coupled with individual high-profile hunger strikes²⁰ have reignited the struggle of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons and fomented calls by Palestinian and international civil society for their ultimate release. Although Israel has thus far neglected to follow through on agreements made with the detainees to end many of the hunger strikes,²¹ the momentum they have built and the releases they have secured offer newfound strength to Palestinian detainees and their supporters.

PALESTINIAN POLITICAL DETAINEES UNDER ISRAELI AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Israeli rule in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip — including the detention and incarceration of Palestinians by the Israeli military — is bound by two main bodies of international law: International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL). The core of IHL can be found in the Hague Conventions (1907), the four Geneva Conventions (1949) and the 1977 Additional Protocols of the Geneva Conventions relating to the protection of victims of armed conflict²² (“Additional Protocols”). IHL takes no position on the occupation’s (il)legality in and of itself, nor does it call for it to end. The role of IHL merely is to provide a legal framework so as to help regulate and administer occupied territory in a manner that observes basic humanitarian standards.²³

With the exception of mainly the right to self-determination, IHRL functions in an analogous manner with respect to the oPt, mandating Israel to recognize and fulfill basic standards of treatment for all those under its control. Relevant human rights instruments adjunctive to IHRL include: the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 1966 the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (CAT), and the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).²⁴

Israel is moreover expected to abide by several non-binding rules and standards pertaining specifically to prisoners and detainees: the 1955 UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, the 1990 UN Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, 1990 UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty and the 1998 UN Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment. Israel is also bound by the 1960 UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education.²⁵

Arrest and Detention

The process of Palestinian political imprisonment begins with the arrest of the individual in question by the Israeli military or police. Arrests often take place during brutal home invasions or else at common points of contact between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers, such as at checkpoints or demonstrations. Subsequent to arrest, detainees from the West Bank are taken to one of five formal detention centers located in the West Bank where they have long been detained without judicial order for up to eight days before being informed of the reason for their detention, being brought before a judge, or being given access to a lawyer. A new military order²⁶ has since been passed, reducing this length of time from eight to four days, the same amount permitted under Israeli civilian law for ‘security’ detainees, including those from the Gaza Strip arrested since the withdrawal in 2005 (Defence for Children International - Palestine Section, 2012). This period can nevertheless be extended for up to a maximum of 60 days without access to a lawyer or 90 days without charge.²⁷ Under Israeli civilian law, by contrast, the maximum ‘security’ detainees can be held without a lawyer is 21 days and 64 days without charge.

If the detainees are not released, they are usually taken to one of four official interrogation centers within Israel’s 1967 borders. ‘Security’ prisoners are also detained and interrogated at the once secret Facility 1391 in the Negev desert, known infamously as “the Israeli Guantanamo” (Lavie, 2003). Transfers outside of the oPt are in explicit violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (GCIV), which states that “protected persons²⁸ accused of offenses shall be detained in the occupied country and if convicted, they shall serve their sentences therein” (Article 76). Forcible transfer out of the occupied territory is also explicitly prohibited (Article 49).

Torture and the Interrogation Process

Additional violations of international law occur during the interrogation process. Israel’s past and present use of torture, both during and after interrogation, is in contravention of the GCIV [Articles

3.1(a), 31, 32, 33], the ICCPR²⁹ (Article 7), and the CAT,³⁰ all of which explicitly prohibit the use of torture under any circumstance. Israel's treatment of Palestinian political detainees and detainees likewise fails to conform to the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, the UN Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, and the UN Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment.

The torture of Palestinians in Israeli custody has long been acknowledged, and even sanctioned, by Israeli authorities. The issue was brought to the fore in a 1987 report by the Landau Commission, set up by the Israeli government to investigate the treatment of Palestinian detainees in its custody. While the report set out restrictions on the use of "excessive" physical force, it permitted the use of a "moderate degree of physical pressure" and "non-violent psychological pressure" for detainees suspected of "hostile terrorist activity" (B'tselem, 2011). This allowance opened the door for the Israeli Security Agency (ISA) to torture Palestinians on a routine and systematic basis with the official approval of the courts. Some of the torture methods used by the ISA included binding the detainee or prisoner in painful positions while covering his or her head with a foul-smelling sack, beating, sleep deprivation, and withholding food. According to B'tselem, the ISA used such methods on at least 850 Palestinians per year in the decade subsequent to the Landau report (B'tselem, 2011).

The extensive use of torture by Israeli authorities has since been restricted following a landmark Israeli High Court ruling in 1999. The ruling placed greater limitations on torture, but it did not ban it outright, leaving the option of "moderate physical pressure" open to interrogators in extreme cases in which the "necessity" defense could be used. According to the Public Committee against Torture in Israel (PCATI), between 2001 and 2010, more than 700 Palestinians complaints of torture were received and processed by the Israeli Inspector of Interrogee Complaints, none of which have warranted a criminal investigation (Pedersen & Ballas, 2012, January). Since 1967, PCBS and the MDEA report that 201 Palestinians have died in Israeli prisons as a result of torture, deprivation of health treatment, and/or deliberate killing (2012).

Regrettably, prison doctors are reportedly often involved or complicit in the torture and ill-treatment of Palestinian detainees. A joint report by PCATI and Physicians for Human Rights–Israel suggests that violations of the Hippocratic Oath³¹ among Israeli medical professionals dealing with Palestinian detainees are widespread and systemic (2011). Evidence-backed suspicions indicate that medical complaints by detainees are commonly ignored, that forbidden interrogation methods are often approved and that evidence of torture is frequently concealed by prison medical staff.

Military Courts and Access to a Lawyer

Following interrogation, detainees are charged with an offense, released or placed under administrative detention. If the detainee is charged, they are moved to one of approximately 20 Israeli detention centers³² designated for Palestinian 'security' prisoners to await trial. The particular type of trial that detainees face then depends largely on citizenship status and place of residency. Until 2005, all Palestinians from the oPt charged with 'security' offenses were tried in military courts. Since the Israeli army's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, however, only Palestinians from the West Bank and to a lesser extent, East Jerusalem, face a military court system. Detainees captured from the Gaza Strip (for example, during Israel's ground invasion in 2008-9) are now put before Israeli civilian courts, usually located in the southern Israeli city of Beersheba. Jerusalemites are the only category for which the nature of their alleged 'security' offense determines the type of trial to which they are subjected. If the offense was allegedly committed inside the Green Line, Palestinians with East Jerusalem residency are judged in Israeli civilian courts. If, however, the alleged offense was committed in, or has ties to, the West Bank, military court jurisdiction may be applied.

Under IHL, the Occupying Power is permitted, under certain circumstances, to try protected persons in "properly constituted, non-political military courts," located within the occupied country" (Article 66, GCIV). This stipulation, designed primarily for reasons of security, is actually an exception to the ICCPR, which generally discourages the trial of civilians in military courts due to their lack of

impartiality and independence, and tendency to favor the prosecution (Weill, 2011). The fact that nearly all Palestinians tried in military courts are convicted is a case in point. In 2010, for example, 99.74% of the 9,542 military court trials ended in conviction (Addameer, 2011). Of these cases 2,016 were on grounds of "hostile terror activity," 763 "disruption of public order," 664 criminal activity, 1,973 illegal entry into Israel, and a grand total of 4,126 traffic violations on Israeli-controlled roads in the West Bank.

Designation by Israel as a 'security' prisoner also involves derogating the prisoner's right to the uninhibited assistance of a "qualified advocate or counsel of their own choice" (Article 72, GCIV). Detainees held under military law can be barred access to lawyers for up to 15 days initially and up to 90 days with extensions. This is opposed to a maximum of 21 days permitted under Israeli civilian law. Once they are given access to legal counsel, lawyers face significant obstacles to the full and proper defense of their clients. Lawyers first have to find where the detainee is being held, usually with the assistance of Israeli human rights organization HaMoked. Visiting the detainee is the next obstacle. Since visitation to prisons is generally restricted to lawyers that can enter Israel, lawyers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip are most often disallowed from meeting their clients for any significant period of time in advance of the trial. As a result, Palestinian political detainees are frequently restricted to lawyers with Israeli citizenship. Even then, lawyers are only allowed to visit during narrowly specified times and, in most cases, must communicate with their clients in the accompaniment of a prison guard (Addameer, 2008b).

When it comes time for the military trial, lawyers face several logistical hurdles. Lawyers with Gaza Strip residency have since 2005 been completely denied access to the courts within the Green Line where trials for detainees from the Gaza Strip take place. There is no set time for each trial, so lawyers are often left waiting for extended periods of time for their case proceedings to commence. All of the proceedings are conducted in Hebrew, a language that many detainees do not understand, with translation to Arabic provided in a low voice by an Israeli soldier at the front of the courtroom (Addameer, 2008b). Unsurprisingly, lawyers often do not trust this translation and choose instead to communicate in Hebrew, making it difficult for both the detainees and their families, seated at the back of the courtroom, to comprehend the court proceedings.

Administrative Detention

Administrative detention – the arrest and detainment of individuals by a state without charge or trial – has long been practiced by Israel. The legal basis for the Israeli practice originates from the British Mandate's Defense (Emergency) Regulations, adopted by Israel following the state's establishment in 1948 and later applied to the oPt in April 1970. In 1979, the Israeli government enacted the Emergency Powers (Detention) Law to replace the British Mandate law. It has since used this legislation primarily vis-à-vis Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, although it has also been used on occasion to detain residents of the oPt in addition to some foreign nationals. Palestinians in the oPt have mostly been issued administrative detentions pursuant to Military Order 378 of January 1980, which was replaced by Military Order 1651 in May 2010. Since 2005, however, Gazans have been subject to a separate piece of legislation known as the Internment of Unlawful Combatants Law. This law was originally enacted in 2002 to further enable the holding of Lebanese citizens not entitled to prisoner of war status according to Israel. At least 39 Gazans have been held under this law since 2005, including Mahmoud Sarsak, a young member of the Palestinian national football team who waged a hunger strike for nearly three months in protest of his detention before being released in July 2012 (Amnesty International, 2012).

Under Military Order 1651, a detainee given an administrative detention order must be brought before a judge for a judicial review within a period of eight days. Under the Emergency Powers (Detention) Law and the Internment of Unlawful Combatants Law the review must take place within 48 hours and 14 days respectively by a district court judge. At the review, secret evidence is submitted by the ISA, which neither the detainee nor his or her lawyer is permitted to review. The judge is then given the discretion to approve, shorten, or nullify the order, all in the absence of

formal charges or a fair trial. If confirmed, the detainee is sent to an Israeli prison for the period of his or her administrative detention order. Under military law and the Emergency Powers (Detention) Law, this period can last up to six months and three months respectively. Following this period the detainee is again taken before a judge who reviews the case and decides whether or not to renew the order. This process can be repeated indefinitely.³³ Under the Unlawful Combatants Act, the order does not have a time limit. As of September 30, 2012, there were at least 184 Palestinians from the West Bank and East Jerusalem held under administrative detention (B'tselem, 2012d). B'tselem statistics show that this is the lowest number of administrative detainees held by Israeli in over a decade. High points have included 1,794 in November 1989, 1,140 in April 2003, and 867 in November 2007.

The Israeli practice of administrative detention is in contravention of a long list of procedural rights laid out in the GCIV and the Additional Protocols including: the right to be informed of the reasons for detention [Article 75(3), Additional Protocols]; the right to a fair and normal trial (Article 71, GCIV); and the right to present evidence and call witnesses (Article 72, GCIV). IHL lacks strength when it comes to defending Palestinians from administrative detention, however, by creating grounds for the derogation of these provisions. Article 42 of the GCIV, for instance, permits the imprisonment of protected persons insofar as "the security of the Detaining Power makes it absolutely necessary." The ICCPR also permits administrative detention, which it albeit restricts to times of public emergency, provided that it is consistent with other obligations under international law and does not involve discrimination (Article 4). Israel has been able to get around these limitations on administrative detention by claiming it has been under a continuous state of emergency since its establishment in 1948.

Solitary Confinement and Isolation

Prison authorities frequently utilize solitary confinement and isolation against Palestinian political detainees. Solitary confinement is considered a punitive measure, often used during interrogation. Detainees subject to solitary confinement are placed in small cells with nothing other than their clothes, a mattress and a blanket. There is no toilet in the cell, which means that the detainee must appeal to a prison guard every time he or she needs to use a toilet. The prison director is permitted to order solitary confinement for a maximum of 14 days, according to Article 56 of the 1971 Israeli Prisons Ordinance (New Version). Each successive confinement period cannot exceed seven days.

Isolation is distinguished from solitary confinement in that, according to the IPS, it is intended to be more preventative than punitive. The Israeli Prisons Ordinance provides five general reasons for the use of isolation: state security, prison security, the protection of the health and well-being of the prisoner and other prisoners, the prevention of significant harm to discipline and the prison routine, and the prevention of violent offenses. Palestinian detainees that frequently face isolation include those with mental illness, and prominent Palestinian political detainees, such as Ahmad Sa'adat and Marwan Barghouti. Placing prominent political figures in isolation is a tactic used to "keep them from contributing to internal facility and external community political discourse" (Addameer, 2012a). The IPS also apparently uses isolation as a method to push detainees to collaborate according to Addameer (2012a).

Prisoners held in isolation are placed in a cell with a small window, a toilet and a shower for 23 hours per day, with the remaining hour reserved for a solitary walk. Detainees in isolation are not permitted to have visitors. Prison officials can subscribe isolation for periods extending from 12 hours to 12 months renewable, if given approval by the courts. Both the courts and the ISA may also order that a detainee be sent to isolation, though this is less common according to Addameer (Isolation, 2012a).

There are a few international legal documents which address solitary confinement and isolation. The UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, for example, suggests that punishment by placing prisoners in a dark cell is prohibited (Rule 31). The Basic Principles for the

Treatment of Prisoners encourages the restriction or abolition of solitary confinement as a form of punishment (Principal 7). The UN Human Rights Committee, the monitoring body for the ICCPR, has suggested that, in some instances, solitary confinement can amount to torture or ill-treatment, in violation of Article 7 of the ICCPR (UN Human Rights Committee, 1992).³⁴

Visits

Political detainees and their families must face the additional challenge of dealing with strict Israeli impediments to maintaining contact. Telephone contact is generally prohibited and communication via letters is subject to censorship and huge delays. These barriers to contact increase the value of visits for detainees and their families, and make prolonged separation an extremely arduous and painful aspect of political detention, especially for those that are denied visits altogether. Since the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) treats visitation as a privilege, it can be withdrawn at any time without warning (Ben-Ari & Barsella, 2011).

Provided that visitation is permitted, the first major obstacle to visitation relates to the geographic location of the detainees outside the occupied territory. Prior to the Second Intifada, family visits occurred regularly and with little interruption (Addameer, 2012b). Since 2003, however, family members who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip must apply for a special permit to reach their incarcerated loved ones. The permit system was halted for Gazans when Hamas took control in June 2007, leaving them effectively without visitors for at least five years.³⁵ Family visits for Gazans were resumed for a three month 'trial period' in July 2012 following a negotiated end to a historic mass hunger strike that saw the participation of up to 2000 Palestinian political detainees. Israel then discontinued the visits for Gaza Strip detainees in October 2012 once the trial period had expired. Permits for families from the West Bank usually take between one to three months to obtain and are often valid for a one year period, although three and six-month permits are also issued.

Israel places strict limitations on when, how frequently, and for whom permits are granted. Since June 1996, visitation permits have been restricted to immediate family members only, when issued at all.³⁶ Parents and spouses are therefore entitled to apply, as are siblings and children, but even then there remain considerable restrictions. Between June 1996 and July 2005, permits to siblings and children were restricted to those under the age of 16 and over 46. New regulations in 2005 removed the age restriction on daughters and sisters and later stipulated that males between 16 and 35 could visit their parent twice per year and their brother or sister once per year. Permits for family members, including wives and parents, are nevertheless frequently restricted on 'security grounds,' or because the detainee has had his or her visitation 'privileges' rescinded or reduced (i.e. due to isolation). This may imply anything from a limit on the number of visits they are entitled to per year to an outright visitation ban. Indeed, in many cases, only children under 16 and elderly family members are able to visit relatives in Israeli prisons, leaving wives, mothers and fathers behind. No explanation is provided to family members whose permits are restricted except for the form response: "forbidden entry into Israel for security reasons" (Addameer, 2012b). Applicants who routinely fall under this category are Palestinians with a history of incarceration and detainees who have been tried and acquitted or released without charge. It is possible to have this preclusion lifted, when issued by the IPS, but many are unaware of the appeal process (Ben-Ari & Barsella, 2011). Bans issued by the Israeli military, which prohibit a Palestinian from crossing the Wall for any reason, can also be overturned through a court case, but the process is less procedural and apparently much less likely to succeed.³⁷

Once a permit is obtained, the next challenge becomes reaching the prison. A maximum of five permit holders from the same family (depending on the capacity of the detention facility) can arrange for transportation within the period of validity at once via special buses organized and facilitated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). These buses leave early and return late, and generally involve long delays and humiliating searches. It is also common for family members to be shouted at and insulted by Israeli authorities during the trip. Upon arrival at the prison, families

spend the rest of the day waiting to be called for their turn to visit or waiting for others to visit their family members before returning home.

Conditions under which visitors are forced to wait vary considerably from prison to prison. Many do not have sufficient toilets and seating for the large number of visitors. In some facilities visitors are forced to wait outside regardless of the season. When their turn is up, family members, including children, are subject to intrusive searches (including strip searches) and are only permitted to visit for 30 to 45 minutes. The long hours and hardships family members must go through for such short visits means that male breadwinners and elderly parents must often forfeit visitation (Ben-Ari & Barsella, 2011). In many cases, this means that children must make the harrowing journey alone or with an unknown guardian appointed by the ICRC.

When the families' turn finally comes, they remain separated by a glass wall and must speak through a phone. Up until August 2010, only children aged six and under were permitted physical contact with their incarcerated parent. That age has since been changed to eight after a hard-won case in the Israeli High Court.³⁸ Children that qualify are allotted 10 minutes at the end of the visit, no more than once every two months, which may constitute a violation of their rights, in particular the CRC, which states that "State Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests" [Article 9(3)].

Israeli restrictions on prison visits are furthermore out of step with the GCIV, which states that "every internee shall be allowed to receive visitors, especially near relatives, at regular intervals and as frequently as possible" (Article 116, GCIV). The UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Article 37) affirms this, as does the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (Principle 19).

Child Detainees

The adverse relationship between children and the Israeli prison system does not end with restrictions on visitation rights. Since 2000, some 8000 Palestinian children have themselves been arrested, detained, and prosecuted by the Israeli military (Save the Children Sweden and East Jerusalem YMCA Rehabilitation Program, 2012). These children are frequently taken from their homes during night raids or abducted on their way to and from school. They are most commonly accused of throwing stones.³⁹

Palestinian child detainees in Israeli custody generally range from age 12, considered by Israel to be the age of criminal responsibility, to age 17, the last year of childhood according to the CRC. Israeli authorities are nevertheless known to arrest and detain children under age 12, and even as young as six.⁴⁰ The Israeli military authority in the West Bank has now begun designating Palestinians aged 16-18 as children since September 2011. Up until the establishment of a military juvenile court in September 2009, Palestinians aged 12-18 from the West Bank (and Gaza Strip until 2005) were furthermore prosecuted in the same courts as adults.⁴¹ By contrast, Israeli civilian law has long detained and prosecuted children 18 and under as juveniles.

Ratified by Israel in 1991, the CRC does not go as far as banning child detention, but it does suggest that it should "be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time" [Article 37(b)]. Where it is absolutely clear is that, like all detainees, they must not be subject to any inhumane or degrading treatment (Article 37(a)). According to a recent submission by Defense for Children International – Palestine Section (DCI-P) to the UN Committee against Torture (2012), Palestinian children in the West Bank are routinely subject to ill-treatment and even torture. Testimonies from over 300 children reveal that the vast majority were arrested in the middle of the night in what they call "terrifying raids" by the Israeli army (p. 9). They are blindfolded, with their hands tied painfully behind their backs, and taken to an unknown location for interrogation where

they are often verbally and physically abused. A similar report by DCI-P suggests that Palestinian children in East Jerusalem are likewise subject to abuses at the hands of Israeli authorities (2011). The report focuses on children arrested in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan, a site of accelerated tensions linked to Israeli land confiscations and settlement construction. Despite being subject to special protections concurrent with Israeli civilian law – such as being entitled to consult with a parent or another relative prior to interrogation or to have a parent present during interrogation – treatment of Palestinian child detainees in East Jerusalem is in many respects indistinguishable from Israeli practices in the West Bank. Among the 16 children who gave sworn testimonies, DCI-P found that 16 were not informed of their right to silence, 11 were interrogated in the absence of a parent, 8 were subject to physical violence, 7 were threatened, and 5 were arrested between midnight and 5:00a.m. As of October 31 2012, 164 Palestinians 18 and under were being detained by Israeli authorities, including 21 under the age of 16 (B'tselem, 2012e).

Access to Education

Israeli barriers to education for Palestinian detainees — children and adults alike — constitute a further category of injustice under international law. Similar to visitations, education for Palestinian detainees is treated as a privilege rather than a right and can thus be offered, limited or taken away at any time.

The denial of education in prison is perhaps most damaging to Palestinian child detainees, considering the potential long term impacts on the child's psychosocial development. Although a 1997 Tel Aviv Central Court decision recognized that Palestinian child detainees should have the same rights to education as Israeli child detainees, the decision did not go far enough in providing legal guarantees for this right to be exercised. Moreover, their right to education was made "subject to the security situation,"⁴² thereby allowing the IPS to institute educational services on a very limited scale, and in some facilities, to wholly deny them.⁴³ Where educational services are offered, they are subject to stringent controls and limitations, out of line with the PA curriculum, and for the most part non-compulsory. Palestinian child detainees are banned from studying religion, geography, history and civics, leaving them with only mathematics and humanities as options. Even then, these services are only provided to male detainees under age 16. No educational services are provided to male Palestinian children aged 16-18, nor to female child detainees of any age. According to Addameer, in November 2010, 217 children aged 16-18 were excluded from IPS educational programs (2012d).

Palestinian adult detainees face their own set of problems with respect to accessing education. To begin with, many Palestinian university students end up in Israeli detention on account of being active in a student group affiliated with a political party, a military law infringement that can lead to between one and two years in prison (Addameer, 2012d). According to Birzeit University's Right2Edu campaign, over 480 Birzeit students have been arrested since 2003 alone, many of whom due to their involvement in student politics (Education under Occupation, n.d.). Most of the students are required to suspend their education while in prison as studying at Palestinian institutions by correspondence is prohibited.

Palestinian political detainees have only been permitted to study in Hebrew by correspondence at the Open University of Israel. Permission to pursue post-secondary education has been conditional on three factors: (1) authorization from Israeli prison authorities based on good behavior; (2) the choice of an approved field of study⁴⁴; and (3) proof of sufficient funds.⁴⁵ Since June 2011, however, no new enrollments have been allowed by Israel as a form of collective punishment tied with securing the release of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit.⁴⁶

Restrictions on the ability of Palestinian political detainees (of all ages) to receive basic education and pursue degrees contravenes several international laws and agreements. First and foremost is the right to education inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26) and

the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article 13). The right to education for prisoners in particular is inscribed in the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners [Articles 77(1), 77(2) and 78], to education without discrimination in the 1960 UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education [Articles 1, 3(a) and 5], to education for children in the CRC (Articles 28 and 29), and to education for child prisoners in the 1990 UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (Article 38). Specifically with respect to the imprisonment of protected persons (those under occupation), Article 94 of the GCIV stipulates that the Detaining Power “take all practical measures to ensure the exercise of “intellectual, educational and recreational pursuits” among internees, and provide facilities for them to “continue their studies or to take up new subjects.” The article states clearly that the education of child detainees shall be ensured and that they be permitted to attend schools either on prison grounds or elsewhere.

POLITICAL DETENTION BY PALESTINIAN AUTHORITIES

Although the focus of this report is on Palestinian political detainees held by Israel, it is important to acknowledge that both the PA in the West Bank and the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip also have records of taking political detainees. These arrests are often related to the inter-Palestinian conflict between Hamas and Fateh. According to the 2011 annual report of the Palestinian Independent Commission on Human Rights (ICHR), complaints related to violations of fair legal procedures, in particular politically-motivated arrest and detention, reached 1,559 in the West Bank and 321 in the Gaza Strip in 2010 (Independent Commission for Human Rights, 2012). These numbers dropped the following year to 755 and 271 respectively in what ICHR reports as perhaps the “most positive development” between 2010 and 2011 (Independent Commission for Human Rights, 2012, p. 14). ICHR also received 214 complaints of torture and ill-treatment in 2011 (112 in the West Bank and 102 in the Gaza Strip), which included beatings, sleep deprivation, punching and psychological pressure.

SECTION 2: METHODOLOGY

This study received ethical approval from the ICPH Research Ethics Committee which included: a] ensuring confidentiality; b] providing thorough explanation of the research and its importance to participants; c] ensuring oral consent to participate in the study; d] informing participants that they can withdraw from the study at any time they wish, or refuse to answer any question should they chose to do so; e] maintaining the dignity of participants; and f] a pledge to do no harm.

This study contains four components:

1. Literature review focusing chiefly on the families of political prisoners and detainees

A preliminary literature search and review was conducted in the fall of 2010, involving a presentation to the research team involved in analyzing the interviews with the wives of Palestinian detainees. This review focused mainly on the impacts of imprisonment on the families of criminal prisoners, a subject that we quickly realized differed significantly from impacts as they relate to the families of political detainees.

A subsequent literature search was therefore conducted beginning in the fall of 2011 and continuing throughout the remainder of the project. The aim of this subsequent review, which is included in this report, was to focus in on the limited scholarship involving the families of Palestinian political detainees, in addition to the families of political prisoners — and, to a much lesser extent, prisoners of war — elsewhere. The intention, as in any literature review, was furthermore to find and draw insights from the most relevant literature within relatively specific parameters. As such, we decided to exclude from this literature review the expansive body of scholarship on the impact of political violence in general on families, unless that literature dealt explicitly with the subject of detainment and/or political imprisonment. The limited scholarship on the experiences of families following the return home of an imprisoned or missing family member was not included in this review, as it will be examined in detail for an upcoming research project on the reintegration of ex-political detainees.

The final review consists mainly of English sources, in addition to a few Palestinian sources in Arabic. A cursory search of French literature was also conducted, but did not yield pertinent results. All reviewed literature was retrieved either via online academic search engines (PubMed, Science Direct, JSTOR and Google Scholar) or by contacting organizations that are involved with research on political detainees. The following keywords were used to find book and articles:

- “(Palestinian) political [prisoner(s)] [detainee(s)] families”
- “wives/children/mothers of (political) prisoners/detainees”
- “families of prisoners of war/POWs” and
- “familles des détenus/prisonnier/prisonnier de guerre”

2. Interviews with adolescent children of Palestinian political detainees

Our contact people at the Ministry of Detainee and Ex-detainee Affairs (MDEA), the Prisoner's Club and Addameer, who were able to identify families with children between the age of 14 and 20, supported us in the arrangement of 15 interviews (with 27 interviewees in all). In order to save on travel time and expenses we started with interviews in the Ramallah district, working towards a more or less equal representation of boys and girls; rural, refugee camp and urban families and gradually moving into the Jerusalem and Nablus districts. Interviews were conducted in the spring and summer of 2012. The interviews in the Jerusalem district were time restricted as only one of the three researchers was able to move freely in and out of Jerusalem; one was denied a permit to enter Jerusalem and one received a permit for only 2 weeks (see Appendix 1).

The interviews always started with explaining to the interviewee what the objectives of the study were and we then asked whether they minded that we audio-record in order to help us with the recollection of what was said. In all but one of the interviews the interviewee gave their consent. We then proceeded very informally, putting the child at ease with simple questions about school or family, gradually reaching the subject of the arrest of the father and any changes or differences experienced before or after the father's arrest or by way of comparison with other children. We also asked them about the visitations to their father in the detention facility. We ended the interview with questions about coping and support, whether they knew of any institutions that support families of detainees, and finally how they thought such institutions could help children of Palestinian political detainees.

After each interview, all team members recorded their initial impressions. One team member transcribed and coded the interview using the ATLAS-ti qualitative data and analysis research software, which greatly facilitated the finding of the quotes supporting the analysis, and another member of the research team wrote up the field notes, including an initial analysis of the interview and a comparative assessment in relation to previous interviews. Another team member, who did not attend the interviews, then read over the transcript of the interviews to make connections with the literature and make other comments important for the analysis. Each time a new theme emerged, it was included in the question guidelines for the following interviews.

The in-depth interviews in the Ramallah, Jerusalem and Nablus district were analyzed and the results of the analysis were shared for validation in a group interview with children of Palestinian political prisoners, in Qalqilya in December 2012.

3. Survey of the institutional services available to families of political detainees

A survey of the various institutions who work with Palestinian political detainees and their families was prepared and carried out to assess the extent of services provided and to reveal any gaps in services required in relation to the findings from the interviews with adolescents (and earlier, with wives and mothers).

The first step was to develop a list of the main institutions in order to set up interviews. To begin this process, we arranged introductory visits with several of the main service providers to explain the project and ask which other institutions would be worth a visit. Introductory visits were made to: the Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affairs (MDEA), Addameer: Prison Support and Human Rights Association, the Prisoner's Club, the Mandela Institute, Al-Haq, the Red Crescent Society, the Independent Commission for Human Rights, and the Treatment and Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims. We also used the directory included in the Palestinian Academic Society for Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) 2012 Diary, an internet search, and the snowball method whereby the members of the focus groups, the interviewees and the organizations visited were asked if they knew of other service providers for political detainees and their families.

A structured questionnaire was then developed with the following guidelines:

- Introductions + explanation of the research project
- Their reaction to the research project
- What services the organization provides and to whom

-
- What other organizations provide services to detainees and their families
 - The existence of networks with other organizations

Visits were eventually made to 26 governmental and non-governmental (Palestinian, Israeli and international) institutions to conduct the questionnaires, the results of which were then imputed into SPSS and analyzed.

SECTION 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The impact of political imprisonment on the families of Palestinian detainees is a subject that has received scant attention in the literature. The vast majority of related scholarship either focuses chiefly on Palestinian political detainees themselves (Baker & Matar, 2011; Nashif, 2008; Bornstein, 2001; Aruri, 1978) or on the effects of political violence in general on Palestinian families (Veronese, Castiglioni, Barola, & Said, 2011; Baker & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999; Giacaman, Abu-Rmeileh, Saab, & Boyce, 2007; Giacaman, Mataria, Nguyen-Gillham, Abu-Safieh, Stefanini, & Chatterji, 2007; Quota, Punamaki, Montgomery, & El-Sarraj, 2007). In general, the brunt of what has been published in the international literature on the effects of imprisonment on families focuses primarily on criminal prisoners in Western countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand (Murray, Farrington, Sekol, & Olsen, 2009; Murray & Farrington, 2008; Robertson, 2007; Light & Campbell, 2006; Dinovitzer & Hagan, 1999).

However, there is a small collection of literature on the families of Palestinian political detainees, including those in the oPt. This collection includes, among others, a book on the impacts of political imprisonment on families in a Palestinian refugee camp (Rosenfeld, 2004), an article on the psychosocial effects of women imprisonment on Palestinian families (Srouf, 2008), an intervention-focused article dealing with Palestinian women with loved ones in prison (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005), a doctoral dissertation on the experiences of the wives of Palestinian detainees (Buch, 2010), and a recent survey-based report by the Palestinian Treatment & Rehabilitation Centre for Victims of Torture (TRC) on the psychological, social, and economic effects of imprisonment on the families of Palestinian political detainees (forthcoming). Important, albeit limited, contributions regarding the impact of political detention on families in Chile and Argentina (Allodi, 1980), Northern Ireland (McEvoy, O'Mahony, Horner, & Lyner, 1999), Jordan (Al Gharaibeh, 2008), and the Philippines (Protacio-Marcelino, 1989), have also been made. One related article on the families of prisoners of war in Kuwait provided some further insight into the topic at hand (Hadi, Llabre, & Spitzer, 2006). These works collectively provide a good starting point for further research on this largely neglected subject.

This literature review was conducted between November 2011 and February 2012. It consists mainly of English sources, in addition to a few Palestinian sources in Arabic. A brief search of French literature was also conducted, but did not yield any results. All reviewed literature was retrieved either via online academic search engines or by contacting organizations that are involved with research on political detainees.

The Arrest

Ethnographic research conducted in Deheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem between 1992 and 1996 suggests that the initial experience of arrest tends to actuate feelings of anxiety, shock, uncertainty, and helplessness among family members (Rosenfeld, 2004). The trauma of the arrest is made worse when the arrest takes place in the family home – as is generally the case in the oPt – when all family members are present. This has likewise been the case in Northern Ireland. Participants in a voice therapy⁴⁷ session of women with loved ones in Israeli prisons reported on the trauma of their arrest experiences (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005). Nearly all of the participants included similar descriptions in their narratives: soldiers storming the home with large dogs, noise blaring over loudspeakers, powerful lights that illuminated the house. The soldiers often hit and cursed at them and other family members, and destroyed family valuables in the process.

Further evidence of damage inflicted on Palestinian families during home arrests has been detailed in a 2012 study by the TRC (forthcoming). The study notes that, amongst 358 interviewees,⁴⁸ 62% reported home arrests, most of which took place after midnight. 58% of these reported severe damages to their homes, 65% said they were forced to stay outside in the cold, 42% noted that their family members were cursed at and abused by Israeli soldiers, and 40% stated that their houses were re-raided following the father's or husband's arrest as a means of intimidating other family members.

Witnessing the arrest of a parent or sibling can be difficult for children to process and deal with. Testimonies detailed in the TRC study reveal that, according to adult interviewees, 59% of their children who witnessed the arrest have exhibited irritable and agitated behavior, 58.4% play games expressing different facets of the arrest, 63.3% suffer from bad dreams, and 80% from fear and anxiety.

A subsequent source of anxiety among the families interviewed by Rosenfeld in Deheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem, was the awareness of what could happen to the arrested family member(s) once in Israeli custody (Rosenfeld, 2004). This anxiety is likely made worse considering what is often a considerable delay in knowing the whereabouts of detainees once arrested⁴⁹ (Treatment and Rehabilitation Center for the Victims of Torture, forthcoming). Combined with the initial shock of the arrest, many of Rosenfeld's older interviewees expressed that, in their opinion, the deterioration of the physical and mental health of detainees' relatives was a normal result. One father noted that his wife, the mother of the detainee, "felt ill because of the trial and never recovered afterward" (Rosenfeld, 2004, p. 270).

Abuse of the Family

Families have also been used as a means of torturing and extracting information from Palestinian political detainees. A 1993 survey of nearly 500 ex-detainees from the Gaza Strip published by the Gaza Community Mental Health Program revealed that abuse or threatened abuse of family members by Israeli authorities had been widespread (El Siraj & Salmi, 1993). Of the ex-detainees surveyed, 44.9% reported that their family members had been beaten, 28.1% reported that family members were tortured in front of them, 27.9% reported that they were threatened with the rape of their wives or mothers, and 31% reported destruction of furniture during the arrest.

Nahla Abdo (2011) explains how the abuse of family members was used to torture female Palestinian political detainees in Israeli jails between the late 1960s and 1980s. Data for her research was drawn from a collection of female detainee's narratives recorded conducted in 2007-08 in the West Bank. Abdo reports that several of the women had their family homes demolished as retribution by the Israelis. Others had their family members dragged into prison to be tortured in front of them. In one highly disturbing case documented in a London *Sunday Times* report in June 1977, an ex-detainee described how her father was brought into the prison by the Israelis and ordered to rape his daughter. When he refused he was beaten until unconscious while she was raped with a stick and left bleeding.

Visiting Day

Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2005) reports that participants in her intervention research shared stories of various forms of humiliation they experienced when visiting family members in prison. Some women were forced to stand naked in front of female soldiers before being permitted entry. Other stories included one woman who had her undergarments forcefully removed and another who was forced to show her menstrual pad to the soldier on duty.

The TRC report (forthcoming) on families of Palestinian political detainees suggests that such maltreatment is widespread. Nearly 90% of those interviewed reported being harassed, with a nearly equivalent number revealing that they were exposed to extreme and humiliating searches. A further 76.6% reported being detained for long periods while visiting the detainee (6 hours on average), 31.5% stated that they were strip searched, and 5.1% said that they were beaten.

The psychosocial effects of visitation on the partners of political prisoners in Northern Ireland are examined in an article by McEvoy et al. (1999). In their analysis of a 1992 survey, the authors of this study reveal that the partners of prisoners often exhibit considerable emotional and physical symptoms both before and after the visit. Before the visit, many interviewees felt sick or tired and suffered from a loss of appetite and nervousness. Intimidation by prison guards just prior to the visit

contributed to the sense of unease. After the visit, many felt depressed, upset and angry. Still others exhibited more positive emotions, including relief and a feeling of reinvigorated strength.

The prohibition on Palestinian children over the age of six (eight since August 2010) from touching the incarcerated parent has been examined in a report published by the Palestinian Counseling Centre on the psychological effects of female imprisonment (Srouf, 2008). The author, Anan Srouf, suggests that the impact of not being permitted to touch the imprisoned mother can be especially impactful on the emotional development of the child. Buch (2010) writes also of the difficulties faced by the wives of male Palestinian detainees in dealing with Israeli securitization procedures associated with visitation.

Extra burden on family members

Families of political detainees also face hardships associated with the potential loss of income and parenting support brought about by Israeli imprisonment. According to the TRC study (forthcoming), approximately two-thirds of the families of married detainees interviewed described their financial situation as bad or very bad. In order to compensate, a re-division of labor is often instituted within the Palestinian family (Rosenfeld, 2004).

Palestinian women and girls reportedly bear much of the burden of compensating for the permanent or temporary loss of the father under such circumstances (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1996). The wives of Palestinian political detainees can be particularly burdened within the traditional household, according to Bethlehem University professor Vivian Khamis (Khamis, 1998), since they may be forced to assume the dual responsibilities of care-givers and economic providers. In addition, Rosenfeld (2004) notes that the wives and mothers of detainees are usually the ones responsible for supporting both the detainee and the family by maintaining regular contact with a lawyer, the ICRC/Red Crescent, and other families facing similar situations.

The wives/partners of political detainees are forced to endure much of the familial burden of imprisonment in Northern Ireland as well. Gormally (2001) writes that “there is a culture and a real history of unselfish loyalty by politically motivated detainees’ partners,” but is careful to note that “this is not without cost and can be enforced by severe community pressure” (p. 22). Gormally also comments on the stress involved in maintaining a relationship with the imprisoned partner. McEvoy et al. (1999) draws attention to the financial impact of political imprisonment on the partners of political prisoners. When questioned about the issues for which they would need help, for instance, over half of all partners of political prisoners in Northern Ireland surveyed mentioned financial assistance, making it the most frequently mentioned issue.

Psychological impacts on adult family members

There are a few studies that attempt to measure the psychological impact of political detainment on women family members.⁵⁰ Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2005) suggests that the various stresses placed on adult female relatives of Palestinian detainees are usually in addition to the heavy burden of trauma. This trauma is not solely associated with the arrest, but is linked with an “ongoing history of political persecution” that is “part of the fabric of their lives” (p. 330). Past memories of traumatic events continually resurface and are compounded with additional traumata from the arrest of additional family members, night raids, home demolitions, and so on. She details a list of maladies and symptoms common to “post-torture distress syndrome” found in the participants. These include “anxiety, depression, sudden outbursts of weeping, fear, perpetual suspicion, guilt, shame, apathy, irritability, exhaustion, drowsiness, lack of concentration, sleeping difficulties, sexual dysfunctions, and psychosomatic reactions” (p. 331). She notes that for many of the women, discussing the arrest was extremely painful. For some it triggered these symptoms.

Khamis (1998) examines the differences in psychological distress and well-being amongst Palestinian women affected by political violence during the First Intifada. Of the over 300 women⁵¹

interviewed, 40 had their houses demolished, 52 saw a family member imprisoned, 59 a family member killed, 56 a family member deported, and 46 a family member injured. The conclusions of the study suggest that a higher level of political and life stressors amongst the Palestinian women surveyed led to lower overall well-being. It also suggests that older age, less education, and lower income increased the risk for psychological distress and low levels of well-being amongst the women included in the study who were classified as traumatized. According to the TRC study (forthcoming), the most common symptoms associated with the families of Palestinian political detainees include: feelings of sadness or an inability to feel happiness; anxiety and tension; difficulties relaxing; sleep disturbances; exhaustion; desires to cry; an inability to work; lack of appetite; headaches; back pains; shortness of breath; and nausea.

Impacts on children and adolescents

Considerably more research exists on the effects of political imprisonment on children in particular than on adults, but very little in reference to the Palestinian context. Of the literature that does exist, the children of political detainees are not the main foci, but rather a part of wider studies on children under occupation. Garbarino and Kostelny (1996), for instance, provide some insight into the psychosocial effects of parental imprisonment on Palestinian children. Their study found a strong correlation between political violence risk factors including the imprisonment of a parent on children and behavioral problems. This correlation was notably stronger amongst boys and younger children (age 6-9), as well as amongst children who rated highly on a family negativity scale (measuring degrees of family violence, depression, etc). Conversely, another study looking at the impacts of political violence on Palestinian children involving 1,000 Palestinian schoolchildren between 12 and 16 found that boys and older children were at higher risk of post-traumatic stress disorder (2005). Imprisonment of a family member (with beating) was reported in 45 (8.2%) of the 547 children surveyed who experienced some form political violence.

One dated, although still relevant, article by F  d  rico Allodi (1980) on the psychiatric effects of political persecution and torture on children examines the case records of 40 children of Chilean and Argentinean refugees in Canada who arrived between 1974 and 1979. Most of the information for the case reports came from the mother. A number of the examined cases involved the violent arrest of family members in the presence of children and the forced disappearance of parents by the military. Social withdrawal, depression, fear, anxiety, and irritability were found to be the most common symptoms affecting the children, and were attributed to the loss of the parental bond or protective home atmosphere. Allodi supports his results by pointing to the prevalence of these symptoms in several other studies of Chilean and Argentinean children affected by political violence and imprisonment in the late 1970s.⁵² Additional symptoms revealed in these studies included "clinging and overdependent behavior, sleep disorders, somatic problems, and an arrest or regression of social habits and school performance" (p. 9) Irritability and aggressiveness were also found, but only in older children.

Another relatively dated, yet pertinent, article looks at the impact of political imprisonment on children in the Philippines (Protacio-Marcelino, 1989). 30 children of male political prisoners and their parents or guardians were interviewed in addition to some of their prisoner-mates shortly following the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986. Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino classifies the experiences and reactions of children into three generalized stages. The first stage covers the initial period following the arrest and extends until the incarcerated parent is transferred to a regular detention center. The children reportedly faced extreme emotional stress, fear, anxiety, uncertainty, and confusion during this period. In response, they sought the attention of their mothers and explanations about the circumstances and whereabouts of their fathers. The second stage is the adjustment stage. Children during this period faced many stresses related to changes in family responsibilities, economic problems, moving houses and so on. They also experienced "a mixture of joy, sadness, and bewilderment in response to the release of other political prisoners, but not their fathers" (p. 79-80). The third and final stage is characterized by the regularization of imprisonment

and efforts by the detainees and their families to secure the immediate release of their loved one(s) and others. Additional stresses during this stage came from frustrations in this regard.

McEvoy et al. (1999) also provide some insight into the impact of political imprisonment on the children of prisoners. Over 60% of the women interviewed in their study of prisoners' partners in Northern Ireland reported that their children were not coping well, about half said that their children sometimes became angry, and about a third thought that their children had become depressed. These results are despite what the authors suggest might be a cultural tendency amongst the interviewees to downplay such outcomes due to their desire to be viewed as good parents. The methodological limitations associated with obtaining accurate information about the inner lives of the children from the parent are also identified as a potential shortcoming.

Al Ghareibeh (2008) highlights a number of psychosocial effects of paternal imprisonment (criminal and political) on children in Jordan. Commonly cited emotional effects include fearfulness, sleep deprivation, low self-esteem, and loneliness. Behavioral effects such as bed-wetting, crying, anger, and aggression were also common, as were problems related to schooling such as increased disruptiveness, absenteeism, and poor academic performance. Al Gharaibeh also writes that eldest sons, who his interviews with parents suggest carry much of the burden to compensate for the father's loss in the Jordanian context, may be positively affected by the imprisonment due to their increased sense of responsibility.

Support

Families of detainees reportedly find various sources of support to help them cope with the imprisonment of a family member. Two such sources are ideological commitment and religious belief. Researchers note that strong ideological and religious convictions are positively correlated with low levels of psychosocial problems and that they can work as a buffer against the effects of trauma in the Palestinian context (Baker & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999). Indeed, the TRC report notes that in 82% of their cases, family members turn to prayer as a means of dealing with fear and anxiety (2012). Similarly, Protacio-Marcelino (1989) suggests that knowledge about the political beliefs of their parents and participation in political organizing and collective action on behalf of the detainees can likewise help to moderate the effects of parental incarceration on children in the Philippines.

Seeking family and community support can be another significant source of support (Rosenfeld, 2004; McEvoy, O'Mahony, Horner, & Lyner, 1999; Protacio-Marcelino, 1989). For Palestinian families, help is often offered shortly after the arrest from family and others in the community with similar experiences (Rosenfeld, 2004). Social networks of detainees' families later become a sustained support base for many Palestinian families, according to Rosenfeld. In Deheisheh Camp, for instance, Rosenfeld found these networks to be quite close. They would share information, travel to the prisons together, and provide each other with moral and material support. Our interviews with wives and mothers suggest, however, that this support has since diminished.

Families of detainees can also seek support from organizations that provide psychosocial support. The West Bank is home to a few such organizations, which provide anything from group therapy sessions, to psychodrama sessions, counseling services, and psychotherapy (Buch, 2010).

Recreational activities have likewise been seen to offer considerable means of psychosocial support. Protacio-Marcelino (1989), for instance, suggests that play can be an effective buffer for Filipino children. Some of the Palestinian women in Shalhoub-Kevorkian's voice therapy sessions found gardening to be a "therapeutic means of venting anger and reducing stress" (2005, p. 337). On the financial level, the TRC study (forthcoming) shows that most families interviewed depend on allocations provided by the Palestinian Authority MDEA. Fewer than 20 % of the families reportedly depend on other sources of income such as the wife/mother's employment, or help from family members and charity organizations. Nevertheless, nearly 90% of participants suggested that their total income falls short of providing for their basic needs.

Families of prisoners of war

Beyond the literature on the families of political detainees, one particularly relevant article was retrieved with respect to families of prisoners of war. The article looks at the psychological impacts of the 1990-91 Gulf War on Kuwaiti children and their mothers based on the war-related experiences of their fathers-husbands who in 1993 were either killed, missing, arrested or unharmed (Hadi, Llabre, & Spitzer, 2006). A longitudinal study involved 59 mothers and 111 boys and girls who were assessed for symptoms of PTSD, depression and anxiety in 1993, two years after the War.⁵³ The participants were then assessed a decade later in 2003, when the children were young adults. Intriguingly, the children and wives of prisoners of war (11 boys, 11 girls, 7 mothers) arrested group reported the highest levels of PTSD in 1993, and the highest levels of depression and anxiety in 2003. Levels of PTSD also remained high in 2003, ranking first among mothers and second among the then young adult participants. One possible explanation that they offer for this is that the families of those killed and missing had, by contrast, better dealt with their psychological distress due to governmental and societal acknowledgement and support as the families of martyrs (including monthly salaries, scholarships, free travel to Mecca, and meetings with Kuwaiti royalty).

Gaps in the literature

This literature review has revealed several significant gaps in the literature. Possibly the most significant gap is the lack of research on the impact of political detention on the daily lives of the wives and children of detainees. Also largely missing is information about the extent of, use of, and need for various forms of support and services – including at home, at school, and in the community – among families of Palestinian detainees. Very little has been written about the effects of political detainment on the children of political detainees in the Palestinian context; and in the international literature, what has been written has tended to depend on interviews with parents rather than the testimonies of the children themselves.

Section 4: Children of Palestinian political detainees

The children

The interviews with children of Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails bring to light a consequence of Israeli occupation that is rarely acknowledged. From the moment that a family member is detained to the time of his or her release, the children of detainees are forced to endure a series of changes and hardships that have yet to be sufficiently documented and shared.

What follows are the results of 15 in-depth interviews with between one and five children of the same household, in addition to one group interview with children belonging to two different families, conducted throughout 2012. Each of the 31 young people (see Appendix 1) we met has experienced the pain of their fathers' absence for periods ranging from several months to nearly their entire lives, but common among them are the tribulations of being the child of a political detainee in the occupied West Bank and a constant battle to deal with an abnormal situation.

The arrest

The children who were too young to recall their fathers as a presence in the household did not remember the event of the arrest. But those interviewees who did remember usually spoke about soldiers surrounding the house, guns, and household members being gathered in one of the rooms of the house: a frightening and shocking experience, which usually took place at night.⁵⁴

One adolescent girl told us that there had been many soldiers, and the next day the house was full of people who came to show their sympathy. She was dazed by all the commotion while trying to make sense of what had happened. As she was making coffee and tea all day for the guests, she became "dizzy" and fainted. She was taken to hospital and diagnosed with what was described as a "neurological problem." In a follow-up interview with this girl, we found that she was in good health and actually spoke about the episode of her father's two-month detention as something that had made her stronger. There are other examples of the unusual strength displayed by girls, such as, for example, the case of a 10 year old girl from the center of the West Bank who, despite being beaten by the Israeli army for taking photos of her father getting arrested, still refused to let go of the camera. She knew that if she took pictures, she would document a human rights violation. They continued to beat her badly with the gun and eventually took the camera.

Noor, 15, city

I hid in the kitchen cupboards.

Samia, 19, city

I've developed a complex from the sound of the Makhsheer (two way radio used by the Israeli army).

Lama, 16, city

We always have our prayer cloths and shoes ready by our beds.

The emotional and behavioral impact

Understanding the implications and reasons for the father's absence often comes gradually, especially if the child was very young at the time of the arrest. In one of the last interviews, we had the chance to find out more about the experience of a young child following the arrest of his father. Mohammad (14) told us how at the age of 4, he had not understood what had happened to his father, why he did not come home any more, and how, when he went with his mother and

grandmother to see his father in prison, he had first thought that perhaps his father worked there and only later had he realized the truth. He said that process had taken about a year and that once he finally understood, he had become very sad and began to miss his father much more.

Ramah, 15, village

My brother was too young. He doesn't know what it means to have 'baba' in the house.

Adam, 14, city

I did not really understand the prison idea. I thought perhaps he was working there.

One of the common sentiments expressed by our interviewees was the sense of insecurity brought about by their fathers' absence. The first and perhaps clearest example came from Ahmed (16). When we asked what Ahmed missed most (his father was in political detention since he had been 5 or 6), he recalled the memory of a moment when he had been particularly happy. He told us that his father had been a fugitive, and had not spent many nights at home with the family before being captured by the Israelis. But Ahmed remembered one night that he had woken up in the arms of his father and the intense feeling of safety and happiness that had given him. He said that he had never felt that same kind of safety or security again, and that he longs for it.

Ahmed, 16, city

The most difficult thing about having my father detained: security! Only when he's around do I sleep and feel reassured.

Taima', 19, village

[My friends] have more security because they have their fathers with them.

Adam, 14, city

When he was here I was strong. But when he went to prison, I got thin, and I got weak at school. I kept thinking about him.

As our interviewees spoke to us about their feelings in relation to their father's detention, we asked them if they thought that these feelings were shared by their brothers and/or sisters. Many told us that this was not the case. In many cases our interviewees, at times along with their mothers, thought that the younger siblings missed their fathers less because they were very young at the time of the detention. But some thought their younger siblings might miss their fathers more when they had been close with them, even though they were still too young to comprehend what happened.

In one interview our interviewees told us about their little brother (about 6 or 7 at the time) who had become so sad and disturbed following a repeat detention of the father that their mother had eventually taken him to the Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for the Victims of Torture (TRC), where he then received therapy over a period of time.

Mother of Kawthar, 19, refugee camp

Before the *Eid*, Kawthar's brother had a tantrum. He wanted to cut his new clothes with scissors, and cried that everyone has a father, but not him.

Mother of Ramzi, 14, city

The sadness of Ramzi waiting outside the house for his detained father was so heartbreaking that the uncles told their children (who live in the same building) to stop waiting outside for their fathers coming home from work.

Other interviewees told us about their younger brother who, following their father's most recent arrest, had become very difficult to handle and their mother had not known how to control him. In another interview the mother told us that her three year old had become so withdrawn that she had become quite desperate and only after consulting with her general practitioner had she found a way of helping her child to get over the shock. In addition, we heard of some adolescent boys developing behavioral problems. Some of our interviewees mentioned that their younger siblings tend to get spoiled when the father is out of prison and then become difficult to control when the father's detention is repeated.

We also found, unsurprisingly, that children were commonly worried about their father's security while in detention.

Tarek, 15, village

One time the guards went into their cell and they beat them. My father had a head injury. He needed twenty stitches to close the wound! I always worry about him.

The financial situation

As we set out to interview adolescents over the age of 15 (in order to minimize the possibility of inadvertently causing emotional hardship to younger children), we realized that interviewing older adolescents often meant that their fathers were serving a rather long detention sentence.⁵⁵ This in turn meant that the financial compensation awarded by the Palestinian Ministry of Detainee and Ex-detainee Affairs (MDEA) was relatively high, allowing the family to be financially independent. A relatively comfortable financial situation cannot take away the emotional pain of the father's absence, but it may decrease the material hardship.

When we interviewed children whose fathers had been in prison for less than 10 years, which means that the financial compensation from the Ministry is much less generous, we found that these children more often spoke about the financial hardships resulting from the detention. One boy mentioned that if his father would not have been detained, he might now be in a better school and thus have better prospects for his own future.

Ruba, 19, refugee camp

If my mother had not sold her gold, my brother would not have been able to get married.

Omar, 16, refugee camp

If my father were here, we might be in better schools, and imagine a better future. Our whole life would be different, it would be better, we would do what we want, we would be able to go to university and pay the tuition.

The families with detainees serving lower sentences often depended on support from in-laws or the mother's family. In other cases the mother or the children themselves had to work in order to make up for uncovered needs. Reports from mothers indicate that some seek different types of work in order to fulfill family needs, such as, for example, opening day care centers at home, or taking courses and becoming pre-school teachers.

Taima', 19, village

My mother bears all the [financial] responsibility.

Sameh, 19, city

I have combined school and work since I was 10 years old. At first [the hospital] didn't allow me to work there, because I was still too young. But with a special document I got from the Labour office explaining that I need to help my family, they let me work the night shift until I finished my final exams.

Visitations

When no extraordinary circumstances apply (for example the hunger strike or the detainee receiving additional punishment), families who have obtained permits are allowed to visit in general on a bi-weekly or monthly basis. In several of the interviews, however, we heard that the mother of the children was only allowed two visits per year. This means that when the children visit their father, they often do not have the emotional support of the mother or another accompanying adult family member. When the visiting children are under the age of 16, the family needs to coordinate with the International Committee of the Red Cross (which coordinates and provides the transportation for the visits) to find an adult visiting at the same prison on that day to assume responsibility for them. Our interviewees spoke about getting up in the middle of the night in order to catch the bus, the stress of not knowing the people who were supposed to be their guardians, the long waits at the checkpoints, the humiliating searches by Israeli soldiers or security guards, the tiring bus ride (although one girl mentioned enjoying the beautiful environment when driving through Israel, which then starkly contrasted with the ugliness of the prison), and the short time of the actual visit, which is not enough to really connect with their father.

Taima', 19, village

I enjoy the scenery during the bus ride through Israel. We see trees and water, gardens and really nice houses. But then, when we arrive to the prison, all we see is razor wire."

Ruba, 19, refugee camp

A young boy needed to go to the bathroom, so I told the Israeli soldier [in the waiting area] that the boy needed to go. She answered that the captain was not there, so she couldn't allow him. The boy ended up going on the floor. The poor boy.

Halima, 19, refugee camp

After they made us take our clothes off, I stopped wanting to go.

The youngest children are allowed to be held and touched by the father, but children over the age of 8 (formerly 6) are not allowed such physical contact. The children's stories about their and their siblings' feelings regarding this restriction illustrate the cruelty of the measure. Some children spoke about their youngest sibling crying and being afraid when they were separated from the other visitors so that their father, who unfortunately was rather a 'stranger' to them, could hold them. Others mentioned how jealous they felt, when their younger sister or brother was allowed to sit on the lap of the father, while they had to stay behind the glass and talk through the headphones. And when another adult of the family is with them, perhaps an aunt or the grandmother, then also the time for the children to talk to their father is restricted. This often means that children do not have the time to speak with their fathers about issues that are important to them, such as school, extra-curricular activities, and other interests.

Ruba, 19, refugee camp

When we were young, we used to hug him and kiss him and entwine our fingers with his. Now there is glass between us.

Omar, 16, refugee camp

My dad and I both love football. But when I want to talk to my dad about football, my relatives say we don't have time to talk about sports. They take up all the time talking about the news of the camp and our relatives.

As the children grow older, their feelings about the visits may change. One boy, whose father is serving a particularly long sentence, admitted that when he was a little younger he did not like to visit, but now he does, also out of compassion with his father: "It is already bad enough for him that he has to stay in prison."

Coping and enduring

By far the most important factor helping the children to cope with the fact that their father is not with them is the moral and emotional support provided by the parents (including the detained father) and close relatives. The importance of the mother's support to the children may be obvious and it was often mentioned. Visiting the children at home meant in almost all cases that we also met their mothers. It was heart-warming to see how welcoming they were, often allowing us to sit with their child(ren) alone, bringing in refreshments and/or sitting with us when they felt the child was uncomfortable. They were genuinely pleased when they saw that talking about the experience was a way for their child to express feelings that were perhaps too hurtful to talk about amongst each other. Although many of our interviewees mentioned that they confide in their mothers, and talk to her about their sadness, others, especially the older ones, realize that this makes the mother upset and they decide not to talk about it with her.

Ramah, 15, village

I stayed strong, but mama made me stronger.

Ramzi, 14, city

My mother is my friend. I tell her my secrets, and she tells me hers.

Even though the father is in prison, his support is also very important to the children. We found that in some cases, where the father had been detained multiple times, in between detentions he had explained to the children the political meaning of resistance against the occupation and had thereby prepared them for the possible occurring of a new arrest and detention. The father's interest in the children's achievements in school during the visits, on the one hand helps to motivate them to do well in school, while on the other hand it is a way for the father to stay connected with his children and keep the relationship strong.

Lama, 16, city

We like to visit our father after we get our report cards so that we can show them to him.

Samia, 19, city

My father always encouraged me to be patient. Since the detention is a fact in our lives, he taught us to deal with it as best as we can.

One of the activities the detainees in prison engage in is the making of handicrafts. In some cases we would enter the home and immediately see a miniature model of the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem, elaborately and painstakingly put together with tiny beads, or framed Qur'an verses on the wall, also decorated with little beads. The children also proudly showed us copybooks, made especially for them by their fathers, which read for example, "For Zeina, my dearest daughter," or a beautiful pen that he gave as a present. In some cases the mother too showed us her husband's signs of affection, portraying not only the continuation of romance, but also the detainee's empathy with his wife's efforts to raise their children alone, trying to make the best of a difficult situation. Children also receive letters from their fathers, another much treasured sign of love and support. Many children spoke with fondness of their grandparents and aunts and uncles who in varying ways are close and accessible sources of moral support to them. We usually asked this question both in relation to paternal and maternal relatives and found that both sides of the family often act as important sources of support to both the wife and the children of the political detainee.

Ramah, 15, village

My relationship with my maternal aunts is very good; they're very close to my heart.

Good friends, attentive teachers or school counselors are also sources of support to the adolescents we interviewed. Several of the girls had friends that they felt they could really talk to. One spoke about her closeness to a friend whose father was not a political detainee, but lived far away in the US. The boys did not mention in specific words that they talked about missing their father, but they did mention that being with friends helps when they feel sad. Some children spoke with fondness about the teacher or school counselor who would enquire about their fathers, but others mentioned that there was no special interest for them from the side of the teachers. Some of the teachers do not realize that they have a student whose father is in prison in their class, and there are children who prefer it that way. Such children will not come forward with information about their father's detention, if they do not have to.

Lama, 16, city

The teachers also ask about the visit, as if they are family.

Adam, 14, city

This year I found out that my classmate's father is also in prison, so we became friends. He is the only one who understands.

We also found that the children have varying ways of coping on their own. Children spoke of engaging themselves in drawing, drama, dabke (traditional folk dance) or sports. However, in the course of the interviews, we realized that the answers to our coping questions tended to be rather general, except when children recalled specific moments of sadness. We then decided to ask the question in a more specific manner: "What do you do when you really feel sad [*mitdayeq, mish mabsoof*]." This adapted way of asking the question yielded responses that were more specifically related to the moments of sadness. A girl of 15 said she imagines her father to be with her before going to sleep, and then tells him all about her day. Other children said that when they feel sad, they go to their room and cry. One girl (17) mentioned that when she is sad, she writes her thoughts in the copybook made for her by her father. A young boy (14) on the other hand said that he does not want to feel sad and rather than giving into this feeling, he goes out of the house to find children to play with. Children may also resort to comparing their own situations with those who are worse off as a means of making themselves feel better.

Noor, 15, city

[Our experience] is very difficult, but we bear it. We are strong. Since we are the children of a detainee we have to be strong.

Particular occasions

One of the pervasive sentiments that our young interviewees shared with us was their common desire to be just like other children. *A'di*, "normal," was a response that we often heard: "We are used to it ..." Yet although the children spoke about their father being in prison as something they were used to, and saw his absence from their lives as *a'di*, there were always the occasions when not having their father with them was especially painful. This was the case even for children whose fathers had been in prison since they had been babies or toddlers, despite not being able to remember him as a presence in the household.

The *Eid al Adha* (Feast of the Sacrifice) and the *Eid al Fitr* (end of the holy month of Ramadan) for Moslems, and Christmas and Easter for Christians, are public holidays. In ordinary families, this means that the father is at home for a stretch of three or four days and sometimes more if the weekend can be added to the holiday. For the Moslem feasts, children receive new outfits and (small) gifts or money, and on the first day of the feast it is customary for men, often accompanied by their children, to visit their sisters and present her and/or her children with a gift. The second or third day of the feast is often used for family outings. In a society where vacationing, as it is known in the Western world, is rather an unknown phenomenon, it is these feasts that are the high points of the year for adults and children alike, both Moslem and Christian. It is on such days that children of Palestinian political detainees feel the absence of their father most, when all the children around them are walking proudly with their new clothes, accompanying their fathers on the visits to the aunts, or on the nice family outing, while they stay at home with their mother. Friends of the fathers sometimes visit the family on these days, but it is also possible that the friends refrain from visiting the family on these days in order not to attract attention from those who might inform on them to the Israeli authorities.⁵⁶

Samia, 19, city

I don't remember having my father with us during Ramadan; we'll see about next Ramadan!

When we asked about how their fathers' detention influenced their future, one girl said that if her father had not been detained she might now be looking forward to getting married. But as her father still has more than 10 years in detention, she does not want to think about marriage now. Another girl related to us how difficult it had been for her to go through the process of getting married with her father not beside her. But as he has a life sentence, she could not postpone.

Taima', 19, village

I don't feel like getting married and leaving my siblings. The idea is not in my head.

Ruba, 19, refugee camp

His own son and he didn't see his wedding!

Other instances when children are reminded of their fathers' absence include when friends boast about their fathers and school occasions which normally involve the father's presence.

Sibling relations

Siblings in detainee families are not different from siblings in other families: they love each other, and they quarrel and fight, especially those close together in age. But the fight takes on an extra dimension when the brother feels that, in the absence of the father, he is now responsible for the moral conduct of his sisters. In Palestinian families the conduct of females is closely related to the reputation of the family as a whole. The confusion of male children about how to safeguard the honor of the family in the absence of their fathers could sometimes lead to oppressive situations for the girls, where for example they are not allowed to go out with girlfriends, or they are pushed to dress more modestly than they want. Such attempts to take over the presumed role of the father by male siblings or sometimes paternal uncles, even if unintended to be oppressive and with the best of intentions, can lead to additional suffering for the girls.

Not only did they feel oppressed by their brothers or paternal uncles, but some explained that because of this they missed their fathers even more, as they felt that their father's presence could have protected them from such oppression. Even if they knew that their father was strict as well, they felt that they would have tolerated restrictions imposed by their father, while they were more than annoyed having to succumb to their brother or paternal uncle.

Taima', 19, village

My uncle says "once your father is out he can deal with you however he wants, but right now you are my responsibility!"

When, however, the age gap between the siblings was relatively big, we found that the older children were a real support to the mother in the care of the younger children and the housework, especially in cases where the mother worked outside of the house. This could involve: babysitting their younger siblings when the mother was working or had to leave the house; being responsible for younger siblings on the visits to their fathers; working after school or during the school vacation to supplement the family's income; helping to discipline the younger children, a role which some resented; and taking on a father-like authority. In some cases, where an older child was male and the father was detained when the young children were still very young, the younger siblings would openly admit that they saw their eldest brother as their father figure.

Sameh, 19, and Reem, 11, city

Interviewer: Did you take the role of the father?

Reem: (before Sameh has a chance to respond) Yes, I see him as my father!

Sameh: I am like the older brother and father. I am happy with this role.

Reem: He took me home from the school when I was ill.

Sameh: The neighbor came and said, "Your daughter beat me!" Many think that I am her father, and that my mother is my wife!

We soon realized that the children often find comfort in helping and being very close to their mother. But sometimes they resent it:

Ahmed, 16, city

"When my siblings do something wrong, my mother wants me to discipline them. But I do not like it. I feel it is not my responsibility to do this."

Rama, 15, village

In certain situations I want the responsibility and in other situations I don't want it at all.

Pride and identification

Some children are proud of the fact that their fathers have participated in the resistance against the Israeli occupation and this somewhat helps them to come to terms with the fact that he has not been around, though this did not mean that they miss him any less. Feelings of pride, however, take on more significance in the company of people close to the family, or on specific days, as for example Prisoners' Day.

Ahmed, 16, city

Yes, you feel pride, but only with certain people who can understand.

Mira, 16, village

He did it for all Palestine, for our future.

Some children of political detainees, especially boys, take part in political demonstrations and protests against the occupation, which often include confrontations with the Israeli military. One of our interviewees, who is 21 years old and had actually been detained himself, said that for some time he had been with his dad in the same prison cell. Although he was quite evasive throughout much of the interview, he spoke in great detail and with a sense of pride about his time in prison

Salim, 21, refugee camp

We lived together [in the same cell] for 58 days.

Sameh, 19, city

While I was in detention, it turned out that some of the detainees knew my father. Because of that, they took good care of me.

On the other hand, there were girls, who mentioned being worried about their brothers' political involvement and the danger that they too would be detained. Even though most children mentioned their pride, some also indicated that the price paid by the family may be too high.

The choices made by the fathers are furthermore contrasted by the sacrifices that the children are forced to bear. In one family, where the father had been in and out of detention several times, our 19 year old interviewee told us that she had told her father that they could not tolerate his absence anymore.

Omar, 16, refugee camp

I accept that my father is in the resistance, but I don't accept not having him with us as a family.

Kawthar, 19, refugee camp

We told him that we need him at home. We need to feel secure as a family.

Ramzi, 14, city

The prisoner knows he is in prison. But the mother, the wife and the children are more affected. We have to bear the responsibility.

Community empathy

When we asked our interviewees about reactions or support from their communities, we received rather varying responses. Some mentioned that immediately after the arrest there was a lot of attention and many people came to visit, but as time passed, such demonstrations of compassion decreased.

Community empathy resurfaces periodically on occasions such as Palestinian Prisoners' Day (April 17th), when special attention is given to the children because their fathers are detainees. Among our interviewees there were differing perspectives about being put in the spotlight. Whether or not children would talk to teachers or children at school about prison did not necessarily relate to anything specific to the father or the family. In an interview with two sisters we found that one sister liked to be singled out on Prisoners' Day, whereas the other sister said she did not like that and prefers that the issue not be given public attention. Children seemed to be happy with extra personal attention when they felt that the person, for example a specific teacher, was genuinely interested and caring towards them. But some children, on the other hand, became very emotional when they mentioned how people sometimes tell them that they feel for them and claim to understand their feelings.

Ramah, 15, village

Ramah: Those who haven't lived it shouldn't say they know how we feel!

Interviewer: But don't you think they say this because they mean well?

Ramah: Yes, but they could just say that they hope that he gets out safe and sound.

Omar, 16, refugee camp

People used to come visit us. Now nobody comes.

Institutional support

Previous to the interviews with the adolescent children of Palestinian political detainees, we had identified (but not yet interviewed) 26 local and international organizations which aim to provide support to detainees and their families (see Section 5). We asked our interviewees if they were aware of the existence of such organizations and whether they had had any experiences with them. The first part of that question often drew a blank. At most they would be aware of the Prisoner's club, which, through its affiliation with the MDEA, facilitates the monthly financial stipend to the families.

When we probed more and asked if they had ever been to a summer camp or other activity organized by these organizations, less than half of the children mentioned that they had heard of such summer camps and only a few had actually attended. In the Nablus area one of the mothers explained that there had been more of this kind of activity before the 2007 political clampdown on the Hamas movement and very little since then.⁵⁷

A 16 year old boy spoke with great emotion about the summer camp he had been to in Ramallah some years ago. He said it had been organized for children of Palestinian detainees and martyrs and he had enjoyed it very much. This was not only because he had greatly enjoyed the drama lessons and plays they had performed, but also because all the children were like him. When we asked if there had been more of these summer camps in the following years, he regretted that this had not been the case, and when we asked if he had stayed in touch with the children he had met there, this too drew a negative answer. The extent to which children's perceptions of the same event can differ was illustrated when at a subsequent interview we learned from an older girl who had apparently been to the same camp with her little brother. They had only attended a few days,

because they had not liked it. They had arrived a few days after the camp had started and had been left much to their own devices, feeling excluded, rather than included.

When we asked children who were not aware of summer camps or other activities for detainees' children whether they thought such activities specifically organized for them were a good idea, most reactions were positive and older children said they would even consider being involved as 'leaders.' One child became very enthusiastic with the idea and said that, besides the summer camps, the organizations should ask the children what they like to do, or what talents they have, and then support them to pursue these interests or talents on a regular basis, for example in the weekends, just as their fathers would do if they had not been in prison. When in one of our last interviews we talked about the idea of summer camps and we asked the children whether it would not be just as nice for them to go to one of the many regular summer camps open to all children, the 14-year old boy said, "No, specifically for children of prisoners is better."

Jihan, 18, city

Young children appreciate being with others who are like them, and who share similar feelings and experiences.

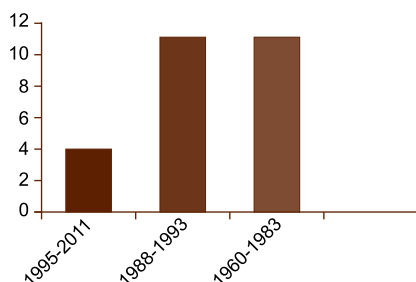
Section 5: institutions serving Detainees and their families

The institutions

In the summer of 2012, we met with 26 institutions in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as well as in Israel, which provide support to Palestinian political detainees in Israeli prisons and their families. One of these institutions is a governmental institution, the Palestinian Ministry of Detainee and Ex-detainee Affairs (MDEA). Of the rest, 17 were Palestinian non-governmental organizations, 2 were international non-governmental organizations, and 5 were Israeli non-governmental organizations (see Table 1).

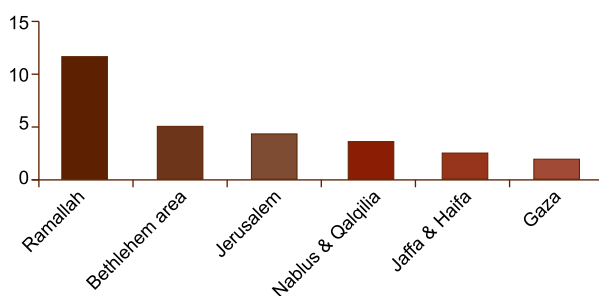
Some of these institutions had been established as far back as 1960, while 1 was established as recently as 2011. The majority, however, were established during the years of the First Intifada (1987-1993) and in the period immediately following the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (1994) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Year of Establishment



As expected, the highest proportion of these institutions' main offices are located in the city of Ramallah, followed by Jerusalem, the north and south of the West Bank, Israel, and the Gaza Strip (Figure 2). All are located in cities, except one which is located in Deheisheh refugee camp.

Figure 2: Location of Institution's Main office



Two of the organizations, the MDEA and the Prisoners' Club, had branches in 11 locations. Nine other organizations are based in Ramallah, but have branches in other locations, ranging from 1 to up to 11 branches. The rest of the institutions are small organizations, based and operating in various parts of the West Bank (see Table 1).

The workers

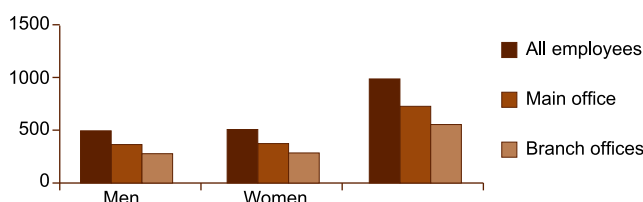
There were 14 men and 12 women who responded to our questionnaire. Their roles ranged from director of the institution, director of legal and administrative affairs, administrative coordinator,

head of monitoring and documentation unit, social worker, head of research and documentation unit, lawyer, administrative assistant, etc. All were directly responsible for detainee and/or detainee family affairs and had the requisite knowledge about the institutional workings to respond to our questionnaire.

The institutions range from very small to very large, in terms of the number of people they employ. There were about 1100 persons reported to be employed with them, with 70% working in the main offices, and 30% in branch offices. Just over half (55%) of all employees were reported to be male.

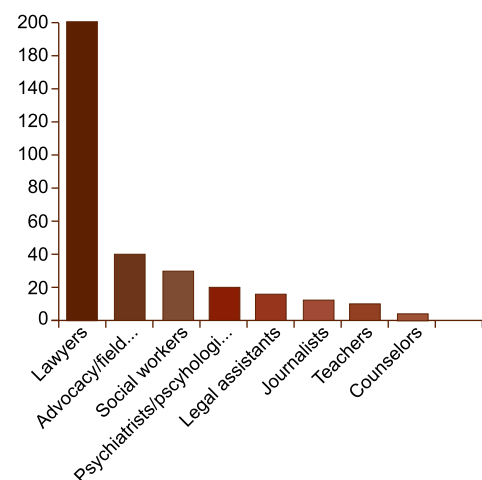
By far the largest employer is the MDEA, with a total of 316 employees or 29% of the total. The mean number of employees overall per institution was 42. Of the total, 43% of employees deal directly with detainees and their families (20% operating from main offices and 23% from branch offices).

Figure 3: Employees by Sex and Office Location



Of the 26 institutions, 16, or almost two thirds, reported that they employ lawyers to work with detainees and their families. The mean number of lawyers in these institutions was 10.3. Three quarters of the lawyers are men. About 70% of the 198 lawyers and 16 legal assistants (Figure 4) work in the field. Only five institutions reported employing social workers. Almost all of the 27 social workers working in these institutions are field workers. Two institutions reported employing 7 teachers, 5 of whom are women. In addition: 2 institutions reported employing counselors (5 in total); 3 employing 32 field workers, who seem to do a variety of work; 3 employing 16 legal assistants; 5 employing 10 journalists; and 2 employing 20 psychiatrists and psychologists, although some psychiatrists work in more than 1 institution and could have been counted more than once as a result. As expected, the MDEA was the largest employer of lawyers at 61, but did not employ any social workers nor any other types of staff to assist detainees and their families with psychosocial problems.

Figure 4: Employees by Type of Profession



All institutional representatives reported that an employee supervision system is in place. Of the total, over two thirds of respondents reported that the supervision system is professional/technical and administrative, 2 reported administrative supervision and 3 professional/technical supervision only. These general findings are impressive if compared to our previous knowledge that many institutions had solely administrative supervisory systems just a decade ago (Giacaman R. , 2004). However, it is not possible to elaborate on the quality of supervision in such a small and initial quantitative study. This would require observation in the field.

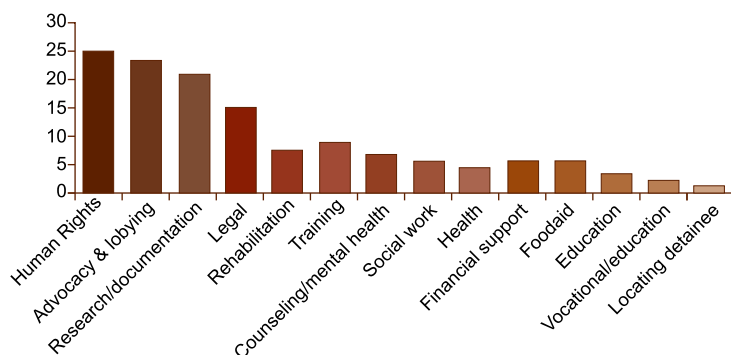
About half of respondents reported that all of their employees receive training in dealing with detainees and their families, 2 reported that only some of their employees have been trained, and the rest reported no training at all. Inspecting the data further we find that the institutions not offering training in dealing with detainees and their families are those who already have professionals specialized in dealing with detainee affairs, such as lawyers and psychiatrists, or solidarity groups with detainees and their families. Training schemes employees have received include topics such as: how to deal with detainees and their families' psychological health and mental disorders, legal skills and analysis (international law and Israeli military law), the sensitivity of detainee related issues, what to pay attention to when speaking with families in times of crisis, human rights, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing, butterfly hug skill, counseling skills, narrative treatment, relaxation exercises, how to form groups and build trust, collective intervention, and psychodrama. The range is wide, and appears to be related to specific employee needs. These initial results seem to contrast with our previously generated evidence of training schemes often not corresponding to the needs on the job (Giacaman R. , 2004).

Fifteen of 26 organizational representative reported that employees receive continuing professional education. It is important to raise the question of why some of these organizations do not offer continuing professional education to their employees. The type of continuing education received varied, with some institutions reporting a focus on psychosocial health and counseling skills, others on legal aspects and documentation, and others on human rights, English language and administrative skills.

The services

The range of services provided by these institutions is wide. There were 14 broad types of services provided by these institutions to prisoners and their families (Figure 5). The majority of respondents reported that they work in the area of human rights (24), 23 in advocacy and lobbying, 19 in documentation, 17 providing legal services to prisoners and their families, 8 rehabilitation services, 8 counseling services, 7 training of different sorts, 6 social work services, 5 health services, 5 financial support, 5 food aid, 3 educational services, 3 vocational educational services, and 1 engaged heavily in working to locate the detainee in the initial period of arrest, although other institutions assist in this area as well. The largest provider of services to Palestinian detainees, ex-detainees and their families is the MDEA, which reportedly provides 10 of the 14 types of services.

Figure 5: Number of Institutions Providing Services by Type



The number of cases

Most respondents could not report accurately on the number of cases/people they served during 2011, with several maintaining that such data is unavailable to them, raising several questions including: whether basic data on who, where, and how many people they service (such as adults, children, male, female, urban, rural or camp dwellers) is collected; whether data is collected but is not readily available at the time of interview to the respondent, even though the respondent was aware that we were conducting a survey and could have been prepared with data at hand; whether data has been collected but not analyzed; and finally whether data is collected but left with the top administrators of the institution, inaccessible for those responsible for detainees and their families. This issue should be raised with the heads of institutions because of the importance of a proper and readily available information system for monitoring, evaluation, learning and planning.

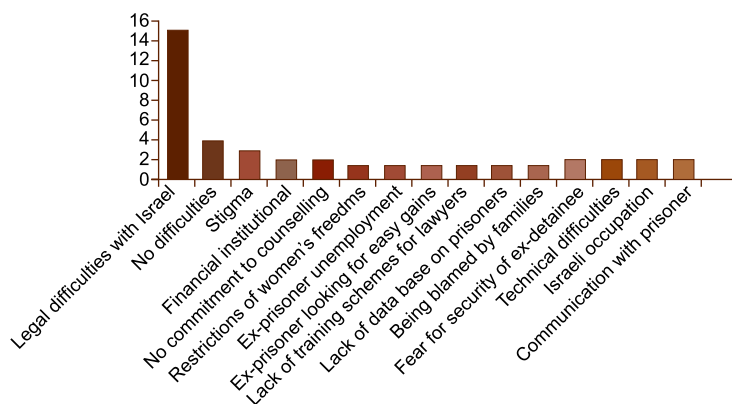
Referral systems

The vast majority (24) of the institutions reported that they have a referral system in place. Of the types of referrals, one third pertained to psychosocial assistance, another third to medical or psychiatric treatment, about a quarter to legal assistance, and the rest to financial assistance, education or vocational training, help in acquiring loans, and to obtain health insurance. These institutions seem to refer cases to each other as well as other relevant organizations. This indicates reasonably good cooperation among the institutions caring for detainees and their families.

Difficulties faced at work

Respondents were asked to report on the most important difficulties they face in addressing the needs of detainees, ex-detainees and their families (Figure 6). Respondents reported the following: 15 focused on issues related to defending detainees in Israeli jails such as the lack of clarity and unfairness of the laws, difficulties accessing lawyers, difficulties obtaining permission to visit detainees, difficulties passing information to and from the prisoner, the problem of secret files which make it difficult to defend the prisoner, unfair rejections of court petitions, and a general lack of confidence in the legal procedure; 3 reported that stigma in society related to political incarceration is a problem, including families blaming the detainee for his actions (and probably the consequences of this problem on the family); 2 reported on the difficulties they face in counseling released prisoners, because they do not attend regularly and because the process is frequently interrupted (which raises questions as to the utility of this counseling from the point of view of the detainees and the need for further investigation of this issue); 2 reported institutional financial difficulties; and the remainder reported a mix of problems ranging from ex-detainee unemployment, the lack of training schemes for lawyers, the lack of a broad database on prisoners, the problem of prisoners looking for easy gains and material gains once they are out of prison, problems dealing with the fear families and ex-detainees continue to face related to their security including denial of travel permits, the pressure women face in communities when their husbands are in prison, and problems in communication with prisoners as main impediments they face at work. Based on these results, it seems that there may be insufficient attention to the specific problems of women and children which we now have insights about based on our focus groups and interviews with the wives, mothers and children of Palestinian political detainees in Israeli jails.

Figure 6: Difficulties Employees Face at Work



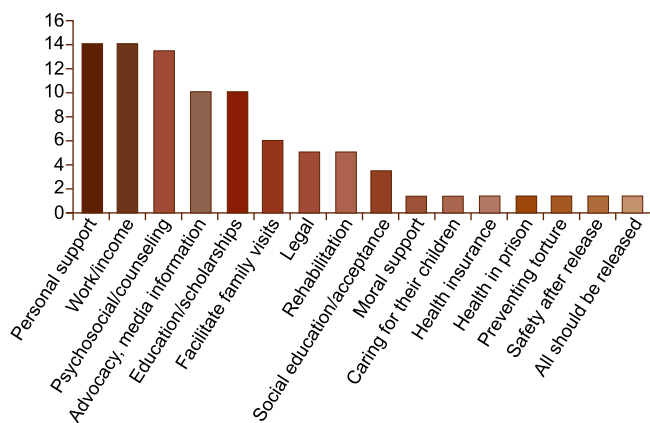
Need for training staff

When asked if the organizations needed assistance in training their staff in dealing with detainees and their families, about half reported a need for further training. It is interesting to note that some of those reporting not having trained their employees in dealing with prisoners and their families also reported a need for this training, which is a good indication that institutions are aware that this particular kind of work requires special skills and approaches. Requests for training included the following subjects: how to deal in general with prisoners and their families; psychosocial mental health; documentation and gender sensitivity; cultural sensitivity; English language; administration and supervision; and how to deal with the public. While these are very tentative results, it does appear that organizations are aware of the need for training and continuing education, which we need to consider in the future.

Priorities for supporting detainees, ex-detainees and their families

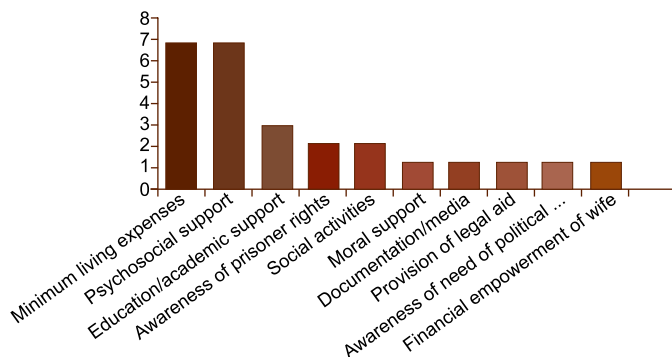
When asked about what they thought are the priorities for supporting detainees (Figure 7), about half of the respondents reported that personal support was a priority. For example: communicating and staying in touch with detainees; giving more attention to families of detainees; taking care of detainees' children; working to understand the needs of detainees; conducting activities with their children; etc. Another half reported that income and work are a priority for prisoners with one mentioning the need to find jobs for the wives of prisoners; about half also reported psychosocial counseling and mental health services, such as the provision of counseling and guidance, and various other forms of psychosocial support, which include operating group counseling sessions and forming social support groups of various sorts including community visits; a third prioritized advocacy, media work, spreading information and internationalization of information, i.e. making cases known at the international level; another third focused on the education of detainees, including making them aware of their rights, the education of their children and scholarships for released detainees. Others reported priorities such as: the facilitation of family visits, legal assistance and rehabilitation (with varying definitions of what rehabilitation is among these organizations); the need for social education and helping communities to accept detainees; the need for the moral support of detainees and their families; caring for detainees' children; providing health insurance; paying attention to health issues inside prisons; preventing torture; ensuring safety after release; and finally, stressing the need that all political detainees should be released.

Figure 7: Priorities for Assisting Political Detainees as Identified by Respondents



When asked about what they believe are the priorities for assisting the families of political detainees, minimum provisions for living was reported as a top priority by about a third of respondents (Figure 8), along with psychosocial support for families with a special focus on children, not wives. Varied priorities included: educational and academic support of children; raising the awareness of families about the detainee rights; a need for social activities; a need for moral support; documentation and media work for advocacy purposes; provision of legal aid; and raising the awareness among the family of the detainees' needs. Only one respondent focused on the financial empowerment of wives.

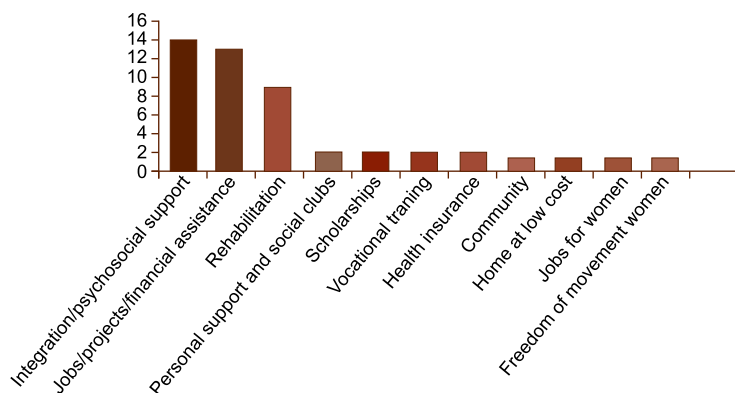
Figure 8: Priorities for Assisting Families of Political Detainees as Identified by Respondents



When asked about what they identify as priorities for assisting ex-detainees (Figure 9), more than half of respondents reported helping to integrate ex-detainees into society (largely through psychosocial and counseling work). Half reported that the priority is to find them work, start income-generating and employment creation projects and provide them with financial assistance. A third reported rehabilitation as a priority. Other priorities included: the need to provide personal support, such as communications and personal assistance in dealing with children and other problems, as opposed to only institutional support, such as obtaining legal assistance and paying salaries, including support for social clubs, scholarships, vocational training, health insurance, community acceptance, the provision of homes at low costs, and the creation of jobs for female ex-detainees. None thought that a priority should be addressing relationship problems between the ex-detainee and his or her spouse and children, despite fears and anxieties which came up during our interviews with wives regarding the future of relationships post-detention and the consequences of fathers

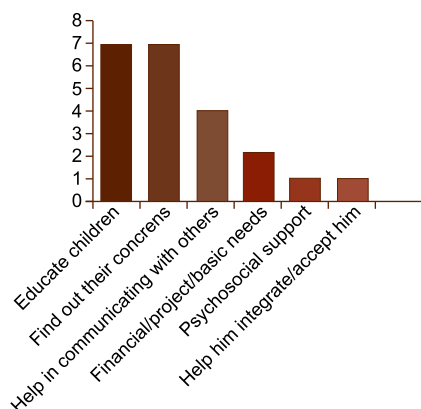
being away for so long in terms of his relation to the family. This point too needs to be addressed in future communications with service providers.

Figure 9: Priorities for Ex-detainee Assistance as Identified by Respondents



Turning to views regarding priorities for supporting the families of ex-detainees (Figure 10), we found that a quarter of respondents reported a focus on getting families to help the ex-detainee to re-integrate into the family and community, and a quarter focused on psychosocial support for families. Others included financial support, the provision of basic needs, help in setting up projects for the financial self-sustainability of families, help in communicating with others, help in determining the needs of families as they prioritize them (instead of institutions alone prioritizing the needs of ex-detainees and their families), and educating the children. Few seemed to point to women's and children's needs, besides having them help the detainee integrate and adjust to family life.

Figure 10: Priorities for Assisting Ex-detainee families as identified by respondents



Cooperation with other organizations

Respondents were asked if they cooperate with other organizations supporting detainees, ex-detainees and their families. Twenty-five of twenty-six respondents reported that they cooperate with several other institutions working with detainees and ex-detainees, including ministries, human rights organizations, psychosocial mental health groups, and health and legal aid groups. When asked about what type of cooperation they engage in, about half of the respondents reported that they refer cases to each other, a third reported cooperation on advocacy, lobbying and awareness-

raising, and another third reported that they cooperate on legal issues, including joint litigations. Others reported cooperation to secure loans and financial assistance to detainees and ex-detainees, share information and network, and cooperate over visitation in prison.

Respondents were then asked about what they think are the main deficiencies in the provision of assistance to detainees and their families. Of the total: 4 reported that their institution does not have deficiencies; 3 reported that capacity building of staff is needed, including in public relations and how to deal with detainee issues; and 1 each reported a deficiency in psychosocial support, visiting prisons, information dissemination, marketing the organization, funds for lawyer visits to prisons, legal follow-ups after the release of detainees, insufficient staff size compared to the job at hand, knowing who to refer to for mental health care, lack of systematic data on detainees, fear of societal backlash due to dealing with detainees issues (among some Israeli organizations), awareness of services provided to detainees, experience dealing with foreign organizations, and finally, deficiencies caused by the unwillingness of some Palestinian organizations to work with Israeli organizations.

Section 6: Discussion and Recommendations

Discussion

Perhaps the one thing that the children of Palestinians have in common is that they are Palestinian children and that their fathers are political detainees. Otherwise there are boys and girls, of different ages, from different socio-economic backgrounds, of different ages at the time(s) of detention, with experiences of varying lengths of paternal detention, who grew up within different types of household compositions and family relations, in different social surroundings, and in different locales and types of localities. All these contextual circumstances, in addition to the child's personal temperament, may influence the way a child experiences and copes with the fact that his or her father is a political detainee.

How people adapt to difficult situations is to a large extent a function of the needs and resources individuals have available to them (Antonovsky, 1979; Hobfoll, 1989; De Jong, 2002). Resilience is nevertheless not a one-way effort with an individual searching for and benefitting from resources, but should be seen as an interaction between the individual and those around him or her. Contextual resources and support influence how children negotiate coping options. This is an important re-conceptualization, which implies that interventions intending to strengthen children's resilience should not exclusively aim at the child, but also at the resources around him or her and the child's access to these resources.

Another implication of this re-conceptualization is that the children themselves can be contextual resources for others. While they may be in need of support, it must be recognized that children can also provide support, as we found to be the case in our interviews. While the children mentioned that their parents, relatives, friends and sometimes teachers or other adults supported them, many of the children also served as a support to their mothers and (younger) siblings. In several of the interviews where the mother was not allowed to visit her husband, it was these children who singlehandedly tried to maintain and nurture the relations between the detained father and the family at home. The way our interviewees spoke about how they try to help their mother in sharing the responsibilities in relation to home, siblings and sometimes the financial burden, in most cases reflected pride rather than resentment. We agree with Skovdal and his team (Skovdal, Oguto, Aoro, & Campbell, 2009) working with adolescents (11-17) taking care of ailing or ageing guardians in HIV/AIDS affected households in Western Kenya, that adolescents engaged by the circumstances in the care of the family generally are able to construct a positive social identity around their caring roles. The positive role children can play when they need to take on an additional responsibility in light of the compromised parenting capability of their parents and the consequences of this for both the children, their siblings and their parents, has also been recognized in the literature regarding families in which one of the parents suffers a mental disease (Aldridge, 2006; LeFrancois, 2012), and indeed in the literature on the families of prisoners in Jordan (Al Gharaibeh, 2008).

From what our interviewees told us about some of the younger siblings and their problems in coping with the father's absence, as well as the explanation provided by one of our interviewees recalling the way he experienced his father's detention when he was just four years old, it seems that children around this age are particularly vulnerable to the sudden absence of their fathers. This is perhaps since it is at this age that they have just established a personal relationship with him, while at the same time they are still too young to understand what detention entails. Unfortunately, the literature on children's experiences with sudden long-term paternal absence from the home does not provide much help in explaining this finding.

Already in the 1980s, Bronfenbrenner (1986), noted that there is a lack of research on the impact of paternal employment, requiring frequent and extended absence from the home (paternal absence other than imprisonment), with the exception of Tiller (1958) who, in his investigation of Norwegian sailor and whaler families, suggests that the outcomes may be rather different from those observed for children of divorced, separated or widowed parents. Even in 2002, a critical review

on father absence and child well-being speaks about single-mother families without mentioning paternal absence caused by employment, criminal imprisonment, political imprisonment or other circumstances (Sigle-Ruston & McLanahan, 2002). The review argues that a lack of paternal presence in the household affects the socialization of the child and that this affect may be mediated by 'parental-like' input from other adults.

Interestingly, it was the limited literature on the effects of deployment on children of military personnel (Flake, Davis, Johnson, & Middleton, 2009) that drew parallels with what children of political detainees experience. Following the initial sadness related to the separation, children often successfully adapt by developing new routines and using new supports. This resonates with our finding that children of Palestinian political detainees try to normalize their abnormal circumstances as a means of coping. Jensen (P.S, Martin, & Watanabe, 1996) is quoted as having found that boys and early school-aged children were particularly susceptible to deployment stress. Although in our interviews we had not perceived any major difference between girls' and boys' reactions to the father's detention, it is striking that in the five instances where our interviewees mentioned that their younger siblings had been particularly affected, these children all happened to be boys.

The larger community, specifically the organizations supporting political detainees and their families, support the children of political detainees in several ways. One type of support that has been institutionalized in the Palestinian community is the monthly financial stipend for the families of political detainees. Although we did not ask the children direct questions about the family's financial situation, we could easily observe that families with detainees who had served more than 10 years in detention were in a better material situation than the families where the father was serving a short sentence, or who had been in detention less than 10 years. It was in those families that children would spontaneously refer to financial hardship and tell us how they try to help their mother by taking on paid jobs after school or during vacations.

Institutional psychosocial services seem to be rather underdeveloped, as most of our interviewees were not aware of the existence of such services and had no idea what they might entail. This was also identified as a gap in services provided by the institutions we surveyed. The paucity of social workers working with detainees and their families, and the absence of a functional psychosocial services department in the MDEA are cases in point.

Even though it was clear that in general the children of Palestinian detainees like to be 'just like other children,' having opportunities to spend time and get to know those children who are 'just like them' seems to be something that many of them imagine they would like. We know from the success of so-called 'support groups,' which have become practical and low-cost sources of comfort and compassion for people who are trying to cope with a disturbing event or condition that has affected their life, that being with others who are going through a similar situation can provide significant comfort. Formal support groups have become very popular in western society, but the concept is still relatively unknown in Palestinian society. Informally, however, it is practiced. For example, in some areas prisoners' wives do meet regularly and find support in that (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005; Rosenfeld, 2004). We heard of a number of these groups while surveying the institutions.

Above and beyond experiences of injustice, support mechanisms and methods of coping, our findings raise questions about the status and treatment of Palestinian political detainee families in the post-Oslo era. Feelings of isolation and lack of community acknowledgment expressed in our interviews with both children and wives reflect broader dynamics in Palestinian society which have rendered detainees and their families to a position of lesser importance. Although during the period of our interviews and the writing of this report, hunger strikes by Palestinian detainees have helped draw increased societal attention to the political detainees themselves, the quiet suffering of the thousands of detainee families throughout the oPt and Israel remains largely unaddressed.

Recommendations

Institutions can play a greater role in relief-provision and needs-monitoring.

The financial support provided by the MDEA is important and may help to relieve part of the family's worries. For the large majority of the families, however — particularly when the father has been in detention for less than 10 years — the relief may not cover the loss of income resulting from the detention. Institutions may therefore consider developing additional needs-monitoring and relief-providing mechanisms.

Data regarding detainee families must be collected and made available to institutions working to support them.

Importantly, any institutional service provision must involve the collection and rendering available of data regarding who is being served and where (insofar as private information is not shared). This will help eliminate duplication of work and identify regions and locales with varying concentrations of service provision.

Psychosocial support services, such as summer camps for children of detainees, can be scaled up.

Institutional psychosocial support for families of detainees is clearly underdeveloped in the West Bank, and the children interviewed provided several suggestions for ways institutions could help. Summer camps, for example, or other regularly organized events specifically for the children of detainees would provide an opportunity to meet other children who can really understand them. Children of the older age group may take a role in the design and implementation of such activities, allowing this group thereby to benefit from peer support and the opportunity to make a contribution. If such events were organized on a regular basis, the children might be able to build relationships with other such children and stay in touch, providing understanding and support to each other when necessary. Camps and other recreational activities, whether with other children of detainees or not, can furthermore act as an important buffer from the stresses of everyday life for children of political detainees.

Initial home visits following the arrest and monitoring throughout the detention period can help to alleviate some of the challenges faced by families of political detainees, especially wives and children.

Home visits to the families shortly after the arrest can offer the mother the opportunity to receive some support (for example through counseling) in helping herself and her children to deal with the shock of the detention and the paternal absence in the home. Monitoring the conditions of the family throughout the period of detention can furthermore help to address issues that come up during the detention period. Field workers engaged with families should be trained in assessing needs for psychosocial support.

Sustainable and ongoing training of the employees in institutions which serve Palestinian political prisoners and their families is needed.

About half of the employees expressed the need for training. Some specific training areas included psychosocial mental health, dealing with prisoners and their families, documentation, and gender and cultural sensitivity. In addition, not all organizations offered continuing education for employees. Therefore, both additional training and continuing education are recommended.

In order to build systematic and sustainable training schemes it is recommended that local universities and expertise be drawn upon and that community/university partnerships continue to

be fostered. Utilizing local training resources as opposed to outside expertise may more fully contribute to implementation of contextually appropriate interventions in the long term. Specific training for supervisors to support practice is also essential, since they provide support and direction to employees as they work directly with the families. Special attention also needs to be paid to training grassroots helpers in continued development of proper attitudes, skills, and knowledge.

Information regarding services must be available and accessible to families of detainees

Making families aware of institutions serving detainee families will help them access the types of services they need. As a first step, a table of institutions providing services to political detainees and ex-detainees as well as their families, including their contact information and focus areas, has been prepared by ICPH (available on the ICPH website and as an appendix to this report). The list must be regularly updated and amended. Funding is needed to maintain, update, and expand the information and referral database.

The development of community-based support groups among wives, mothers and children of detainees, may help alleviate some of the impacts of political detention on families.

Although such support groups have sometimes developed informally in the absence of institutional support in the past, there may be a role for institutions to take leadership in this area by facilitating the process and if necessary providing or referring to professional counselors.

Special attention must be given to older children assuming a more responsible role following the detention of their father.

Counselors and social workers working with the families must pay attention to the older children who may willingly or out of necessity take on a 'parenting' role in the absence of their father. Mothers groups may provide an opportunity to reflect together on role changes their children experience and the potential effects of this both on the child taking on the more responsible role, as on the other children.

More information and research are required about the needs and challenges of families following the detainee's release.

Home visits, community support groups and in some cases home counseling, may be important following the release of the detainee, although understanding the specific problems and needs of Palestinian ex-detainees and their families still requires further research.

There is a real need to address the violation of the rights of children of Palestinian political detainees.

Children need to visit and communicate with their fathers. Being in touch both physically and emotionally with their fathers provides them with the moral and emotional support that helps children cope with father absence at home. But ultimately, the stories of the children, attesting to the deprivation they so courageously endure, draw attention to the need to call for the cessation of this form of collective punishment, in which not only detainees, but entire families are affected. Abusive and inadequate prison visiting conditions for families and detainees must be made humane.

Advocacy efforts must get at the root causes of the challenges facing families of detainees.

Support by international and local institutions must then, besides any work on the ground, include advocacy at the national and the international level aimed at removing the root causes of the hardship being endured by the families of Palestinian political detainees, i.e. the Israeli occupation.

Endnotes

1. The results of the portion of the study focusing on wives of political detainees will be published in 2013 by the *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*.
2. Throughout this report we refer to Palestinians held captive in Israeli detention facilities mainly as "political detainees" or simply "detainees," as opposed to "political prisoners," which can imply the imprisonment by a state specifically of its own citizens. Both '*asra*', "detainees", and '*soujana*', "prisoners" are used in popular and legal discourses regarding Palestinian captives. The legal discourse often distinguishes between prisoners, as those who are officially charged and sentenced, and detainees, as those who are held without charge.
3. For details on compensation to detainees and their families see Section 1 of this report under "Palestinian Political Detainees in Israeli Prisons."
4. See Israeli human rights organization B'tselem's map, "The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier (2012b).
5. The illegality of the Israeli settlements and Wall in the oPt has been confirmed by the International Court of Justice (2004).
6. The Green Line, known formally as the 1949 Armistice Line, is the border that separates Israel's internationally recognized borders with territory occupied in 1967.
7. The Oslo Accords divided the West Bank and Gaza Strip into a patchwork of enclaves. Territories designated Area A (3%) would come under Palestinian administrative and security control; those designated Area B (25%) under Palestinian administrative and Israeli military control; and those designated Area C (72%) under full Israeli control. Area A has since become about 18%, Area B 21% and Area C 61%. Note that under the agreement, Israel retained overriding powers, and therefore ultimate control, in all matters of public security.
8. A recent example of this is Israel's withholding of tax funds from the PA following its successful membership bid to join the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The Israeli government also threatened to augment settlement expansion and deny VIP status to PA officials as a form of retribution.
9. Positions with the PA were initially reserved mostly for activists and ex-prisoners associated with the political group Fateh, although there were a number of notable exceptions. Signs that this tendency was changing became somewhat evident in the late 1990s (Rosenfeld, 2004, p. 321).
10. Services for former prisoners were initially offered by the Ex-Prisoner Rehabilitation Program, established in 1994. The PA Ministry of Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs was later set up to care for the welfare needs of detainees' families and the socioeconomic rehabilitation of ex-prisoners.
11. Despite Israel's removal of settlers, military forces and installments from within the Gaza Strip in 2005, there is a consensus among international organization that the Gaza Strip remains technically occupied, due to the maintenance of effective Israeli control over all land, sea and air. See Diakonia (2011) for an explanation of the Gaza Strip's current status under international law.
12. The total Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza has ranged from close to one million in 1967 (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005) to more than four million in 2012 (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2012).
13. These figures follow the October 2011 release of 1,027 Palestinian detainees in exchange for Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit.

14. See Daka (2006) regarding the use of the term 'political' rather than 'security' prisoners to describe Palestinian detainees in Israel.
15. According to Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention (GCIII, 1949), a combatant captured by an enemy authority can be considered a POW if he or she belongs to one of the following categories: (1) "Members of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict, as well as members of militias or volunteer corps forming part of such armed forces"; (2) "Members of other militias and members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized resistance movements, belonging to a Party to the conflict and operating in or outside their own territory, even if this territory is occupied," in so long as "such militias or volunteer corps, including such organized resistance movements," have (a) a command structure, (b) a "fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance," (c) carry arms openly, (d) and abide by the laws and customs of war. Although this definition was originally limited to state actors, non-state combatants belonging to national liberation movements are now widely considered to apply, so long as they conform to the guidelines laid out in both categories of qualification under Article 4 of the GCIII. Article 1.4 of the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions makes explicit reference to this broadened application by acknowledging parties to armed conflicts "in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination." Israel's refusal to sign the API has nevertheless meant that this additional provision is not considered binding with respect to Palestinian combatants.
16. The canteen was made available beginning in the 1970s as a result of Israeli prohibitions on families bringing soap and cigarettes for prisoners (Nashif, 2008) and to compensate for the low quality and quantity of food provided by the Israeli Prison Service (IPS). The costs associated with canteens were initially covered completely by families on an individual basis, but since many could not afford it, political factions began managing and distributing funds collectively. The PA later took on the responsibility with funds from the Palestinian public purse.
17. Personal communication, MDEA, December 4, 2012.
18. If the salary for a detainee who is an employee of a PA ministry is less than the standard salary in his or her sentence bracket, the MDEA will compensate for any discrepancy.
19. See Nashif (2008) for a detailed history of Palestinian resistance from within Israeli prisons.
20. Khader Adnan (66 days), Hana' Shalabi (43 days), Thaer Halahleh (77 days), Bilal Thiab (77 days), Mahmoud Sarsak (92 days), Akram Rikhawi (102 days), Samer al-Barq (23 and 123 days) and Hasan Safadi (71 and 93 days), Ayman Sharawna (180 days), and Samer Issawi (250+ days partial hunger strike).
21. In an Egyptian-brokered agreement on May 14, 2012, Israel reportedly agreed to end solitary confinement for 19 prisoners, allow prisoners from Gaza to have family visits, and discuss demands regarding the improvement of prison conditions. There were also conflicting reports which suggested that Israel would not renew existing administrative detention orders. As of the end of May, 2012, at least 30 administrative detention orders had been renewed (Amnesty International, 2012).
22. Israel, along with the United States and a handful of other UN member states, have refused to ratify the 1977 Additional Protocols. They are nevertheless broadly concerned as customary international law, and therefore valid to all member states.
23. There is a consensus among international legal bodies, including the UN Security Council, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the International Court of Justice that the regulations set out in these conventions apply to all territories occupied by Israel following the 1967 war. Israel rejects this position with respect to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, arguing that, since Jordan and Egypt never had legal sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, they should not be considered occupied under IHL.
24. Besides the UDHR, all of these conventions and treaties were ratified by Israel in 1991. Recognition of the UDHR is conditional upon admittance to the United Nations.

25. Ratified by Israel in 1961.
26. Military Order 1685 was passed in March 2012 and came into effect on August 1, 2012.
27. Personal communication with Addameer, March 5, 2013.
28. Palestinians living in the oPt are considered “protected persons” under Article 4 of the GCIV: “Persons protected by the Convention are those who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of a conflict or occupation, in the hands of a Party to the conflict or Occupying Power of which they are not nationals.”
29. The ICCPR was ratified by Israel in 1991.
30. Although Israel ratified the CAT in 1991, it rejected the authority of the CAT body charged with monitoring its implementation, the Committee against Torture, in 1995.
31. The Hippocratic Oath is a pledge taken by physicians and other healthcare professionals to maintain medical ethics and honesty in their practice.
32. All but one of these detention centers are situated outside the oPt. In July, 2012, they include Shikma, Eshel, Nafha, and Ketziot in the south; Nitzan, Ma’asiyahu, Ayalon, Neve Tirza in the center; Ashmoret, HaSharon, Hadarim, Rimonim, Ofek in the Sharon Plains area; and Damun, Kishon, Megiddo, Shata, and Gilboa in the north. Ofer Detention Center near Ramallah is the only long-term Israeli detention facility in the oPt.
33. Many detainees have been held for several years without charge or trial. Ali ‘Awad al-Jamal, for example, spent over six consecutive years in administrative detention. Saleh Mohammed Suleiman al-‘Arouri spent more than nine years over the course of two decades (Amnesty International, 2012).
34. For details on the mental health impacts of isolation on detainees see Ruchama Marton (2012).
35. The Israeli High Court upheld this prohibition in its December 2009 response to an October 2008 petition. The Court argued that family visits are not a basic humanitarian necessity which the state must allow.
36. Between October 2000 and March 2003, all family visits were prohibited by Israeli authorities. Once resumed, visits were only allowed from three of the 16 districts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip). By 2005, visits from other districts were permitted, but even then, only a quarter of eligible immediate relatives applying for permits were granted them in 2005 (B’tselem, 2006).
37. Personal communication with Hamoked, October 16, 2012.
38. Hakim Cana’ana et al v. the Israel Prison Service (decision delivered 28 March 2010).
39. According to Addameer, the average sentence for children charged with throwing stones is between two and six months and at least 12 months for throwing Molotov cocktails (Addameer, 2012c).
40. See Al Haq (2012) for a news story about a six year old child being detained. Children under the age of 12 are generally released within a few hours or days and are not brought to trial.
41. The new provisions suggest that children be held and tried separately from adults by specially trained military judges. Following conviction, the court has the option of calling for the preparation of a social welfare report regarding the child’s particular circumstances so as to help inform the sentence. In practice, however, the provision relating to the preparation of a social welfare report is almost never invoked (Defence for Children International - Palestine Section, 2012).

42. Mohammad Frehat and others vs Israeli Prison Service (1997) 400/97.
43. For a detailed description of the educational services provided at different institutions see Addameer report, "The Right of Child Prisoners to Education" (2010).
44. Fields of study that are approved for study include: humanities, sociology, business and management, psychology and political science.
45. According to Addameer, the cost of tuition at the Open University of Israel is approximately five times that of the Palestinian Al-Quds Open University (2012d), making it financially inaccessible to many Palestinian detainees.
46. Shalit was released in October 2011, but many of the Israeli government's punitive measures remain in place at the time of writing.
47. Voice therapy aims to open up a safe space for participants to speak self-reflexively about their pain and coping strategies.
48. Interviewees were chosen from different districts across the West Bank and occupied East Jerusalem according to the relative number of married detainees in each respective district. A maximum of 4 individuals were interviewed in each family. The mean age of the participants was 35 years, the youngest being 15. 35% were male and 65% were female.
49. TRC reports that more than 40% of those interviewed were made to wait 18 days before being informed of the whereabouts of their detained family member.
50. No studies regarding the effect of political detainment on adult male family (fathers, husbands) members were found.
51. Two groups of participants were selected for this study: "traumatized women" and "non-traumatized women." The traumatized women were recruited from records provided by the Palestinian Human Rights Information Centre. The non-traumatized women were randomly sampled both from women nominated by the traumatized women, and from those with similar demographic factors.
52. The author examined three studies: "The Children of Detained and Disappeared People: A Diagnostic Study", Mimeo, Santiago, Chile, 1979; "Sequelae of Political Repression: The Psychological Harm to Children", Mimeo, Santiago, Chile, 1978; Marie E. Marzolla et al., "The Child and Political Repression. Preliminary Report", Mimeo, Mexico City, 1979.
53. In the initial 1993 study, the median age of the mothers was 36.5. The children ranged between 9 and 12.
54. Although most of our interviewees told us of arrests occurring at the home, some said that their fathers had been arrested at a checkpoint or elsewhere outside of the home.
55. Most detainees are detained at a relatively young age, when their children are young, so that if their sentence is not extraordinarily long, they should generally be out of detention by the time the children reach late adolescence.
56. Visiting families of Palestinian political detainees is often viewed as a sign of affiliation with the political faction of the detainee. Membership in most Palestinian political factions is illegal under Israeli military law and is often used as a pretense for political detention.
57. The clampdown on Hamas by Israel and the Palestinian Authority meant that many Hamas-run institutions were forced to suspend operations.

Appendix 1: Characteristics of interviewees

#	Date d/m	Name*	Sex	Age	Rank	Interviewees and siblings**	Locale type***	Detention****	Income
1a	21/1	Samia	f	19	1 of 5	FFf14m11m7	U	sy2000; mult; adm; yrs<10;	MoD + mother's work
1b		Lama	f	16	2 of 5				
2a	24/1	Ruba	f	19	4 of 6	m25f24fFf16	C	sy1992;s-life	MoD
2b		Salma	f	18	5 of 6				
3	24/1	Ahmad	m	16	1 of 4	Mm14m10f7	U	mult; s-2x life; yrs25	MoD
4a	30/1	Saleem	m	21	2 of 5	m22.5Mf19f16m13	C	sy1987; mult; adm; yrs15+	MoD + family shop
5	2/2	Taima'	f	19	1 of 4	Fm16m13f11		sy2002; s-25	MoD
6	11/2	Ramah	f	15	1 of 2	Fm12		sy2005; s-life + 80	MoD + mother's work
7a	18/2	Halimeh	f	19	3 of 5	m22m21FfFm13	C	sy1987; mult; adm; yrs15+	MoD + family shop
7b		Duja	f	16	4 of 5				
8	10/3	Tarek	m	15	3 of 5	f20f18Mm3m1		sy1990; mult; adm; yrs10+	MoD
9	10/3	Omar	m	15	2 of 3	f18m16Mm14	C	sy2003;yrs5.5	MoD
10a	5/4	Basel	m	20	1 of 5	MFm17f12m11		sy2011; adm; REL2012	MoD
10b		Souzan	f	18	2 of 5				
11a	7/4	Manal	f	17	1 of 5	FMf12m7m6		sy2000; mult; adm; yrs<10; 2011,	MoD + mother's occasional work + child summer work
11b		Abed	m	14	2 of 5				
12a	7/4	Kawther	f	19	1 of 5	Fm17Fm11f7	C	sy1990; mult; adm; yrs15+; rel2009	MofAgriculture + mother's seasonal and artisanal work
12b		Nayrouz	f	17	3 of 5				
13	22/5	Ramzi	m	14	1 of 4	Mm12m11m0	U	sy2002;yrs10, rel2012	MoD through brother in law
14a	22/5	Sameh	m	19		all siblings took part in the interview	U	sy2002;yrs15	PA security forces + mother's salary + son's salary
14b		Khaled	m	16					
14c		Noor	f	15					
14d		Reem	f	11					

15a	Jihan	f	18	all siblings took part in the interview	U	sy2002; yrs10; rel2012	MoD
15b	Adam	m	14				
15c	Hilmi	m	13				
15d	Hala	f	11				
16a°	Lo'ai	m	16	1 of 6	U	sy2003; s-life+20	MoD + child summer work
16b°	Kamal	m	15	2 of 6			
17a°	Jamileh	f	15	2 of 4	U	sy2001; s-22	MoD + child summer work
17b°	Khadjeh	F	13	3 of 4			

* All names have been changed to protect the identity of the participants.

** Structure of the family is presented with interviewee(s) indicated as M or F in capitals, within the sequence of their siblings (m or f + age).

*** Type of locale: U = urban; V = village; C = refugee camp.

**** Sentence: sy = sentencing year; s = sentence; multi = multiple sentences; yrs = number of years spent in prison; adm = including administrative detention for all or portion of sentence; rel = release year. Data related to sentences in based on information as provided by the interviewees.

° Participants in group interview.

Appendix 2: Institutions providing services for detainees and their families

Name of organization	Main office	Contact information	Services provided and areas of work (Note: services most relevant to detainees and their families are in Bold)
Addameer: Prisoners' Support and Human Rights Association	Ramallah	02-296 0446 info@addameer.ps www.addameer.org	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Training
Al-Haq	Ramallah	02-295 4646 www.alhaq.org	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Training
Ministry of Detainees and Ex-Detainees	Ramallah	02-242 8589 minister@freedom.ps www.freedom.ps	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Financial aid Food aid Health services Human rights Industrial and vocational training Legal services Rehabilitation Research and documentation
Branches	Nablus	09-237 4125	
	Salfit	09-251 5544	
	Tubas	09-257 3208	
	Qalqilya	09-294 2587	
	Tulkarem	09-268 1111	
	Jenin	04-250 5477	
	Jerusalem	02-279 4636	
	Jericho	02-232 5286	
	Bethlehem	02-232 5286	
	Hebron	02-222 6423	

Hurriyyat: Centre for Defense of Liberties and Human Rights	Ramallah	02-296 3665 http://www.hurriyyat.net	Advocacy and lobbying Financial aid Food aid Health services Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Social services Training
Branches	Salfit	059-789 5989	
Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for Victims of Torture	Ramallah	02-296 1710 info@trc-pal.org www.trc-pal.org/en/	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Health services Human rights Mental health services Rehabilitation Research and documentation Social services Training
Branches	Hebron	02-229 8020	
	Jenin	04-243 0363	
	Nablus	09-239 8143	

Palestinian Prisoners club	Ramallah	02-295 6063 info@ppsmo.ps www.ppsmo.ps	Advocacy and lobbying Health services Human rights Legal services Research and documentation
Branches	Nablus	09-238 4438 0598 917 008	
	Salfit	09-251 5145 0598 917 006	
	Tubas	09-257 4429 0598 917 007	
	Qalqilya	09-294 2874 0598 917 011	
	Tulkarem	09-267 1703	
	Jenin	04-243 6271	
	Jerusalem	0545 427 857	
	Jericho	02-232 5268 0598 917 010	
	Bethlehem	02- 274 7555 0598 917 014	
	Hebron	0598 917 009	
Defense for Children International - Palestinian Section	Ramallah	02-242 7530/6-7 www.dci-pal.org	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation
Branches	Nablus	09-237 1011	
	Hebron	02-222 0106	
	Jerusalem	0598 903 500	
	Gaza	0599 458 373	

Society of Inash Al-Usra	Ramallah	02-240 1123 alusra@Live.com www.inash.org	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Financial aid Food aid Human rights Rehabilitation Research and documentation Social services Training
Mandela Prisoners' Foundation	Ramallah	02-295 5756 www.mandela-palestine.org/	Advocacy and lobbying Health services Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Training
Association of Women Who were Detained for Freedom	Ramallah	0599 675 901 https://www.facebook.com/maseerh Nadiakh58@gmail.com	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Human rights Mental health services Research and documentation Social services
Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center	Ramallah	02-298 7981 info@jlac.ps jlac.ps/	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Social services Training
	Nablus	09-238 6550	
	Salfit	09-251 7101	
	Jerusalem	02-627 2982	
Palestinian Counseling Centre	Ramallah	02-298 9788 ppc@palnet.com www.pcc-jer.org	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Human rights Mental health services Rehabilitation Research and documentation Social services Training

	Beit Hanina	02-656 2272	
	Jerusalem	02-627 7360	
	Nablus	09-233 5946	
	Azoun	09-290 2462	
	Qalqilya	09-233 5946	
Committee of Jerusalem Prisoners' Families	Jerusalem	0547 770 354 www.asraalquds.ps/	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Social services
Public Committee Against Torture in Israel	Jerusalem	02-264 29825 pcati@stoptorture.org.il http://www.stoptorture.org.il/en	Advocacy and lobbying Educational services Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Training
Hamoked: Center for the Defense of the Individual	Jerusalem	02-626 4438 mail@hamoked.org.il http://www.hamoked.org/home.aspx	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation
B'tselem: The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories	Jerusalem	02-673 5599 mail@btselem.org http://www.btselem.org/	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation
Branches	Washington-USA	+1- 202 783 0629	
AITadamoun: Solidarity for Human Rights	Nablus	0599 255 155	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation

Ahrrar for Human Rights	Nablus	0599 255 529 info@ahrrar.ps http://ahrrar.ps	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation
Women's Corner Qalqilya	Qalqilya	02-294 4484 qmuni@hotmail.com	Advocacy and lobbying Mental health services Social services Training
Bethlehem Arab Society for Rehabilitation (BASR)	Beit Jala	02-274 4050 basr@basr.org http://www.basr.org	Advocacy and lobbying Health services Human rights Mental health services Rehabilitation Training
Phoenix Association for Palestinian Refugees	Al-Deheishe camp	02-275 1006 pr@al-phoenix.ps http://phoenixbethlehem.org/deheisheh.php	Advocacy and lobbying Financial aid Food aid Human rights Mental health services Social services Training
Branches	A'roub camp	02-252 2325	
Psycho-Social Counseling Centre for Women	Bethlehem	02-274 5578 info@psccw.org http://www.psccw.org	Advocacy and lobbying Financial aid Food aid Legal services Mental health services Research and documentation Social services Training

YMCA (Young Men Christian Association)	Beit Sahour	02-277 2713 http://www.ej-ymca.org abatarseh@ej-ymca.org	Advocacy and lobbying Industrial and vocational training Mental health services Rehabilitation Research and documentation Training
Branches	Hebron	02-225 3773	
	Ramallah	02-295 9990	
	Jerusalem	02-628-6888	
	Nablus	09-237 1598	
	Salfit	09-237 1598	
	Tulkarem	09-267 6512	
	Jericho	02-232 2649	
	Qalqilya	09-267 6512	
	Jenin	04-2437766	
	Tubas	04-243 7766	
Palestinian Centre For Human Rights	Gaza	08-2824776 08-2825-893 pchr@pchrgaza.org http://www.pchrgaza.org	Advocacy and lobbying Financial aid Food aid Legal services Mental health services Research and documentation Social services Training
Branches	Jabalia	08-245 4150 08-245 4160	
	Khan Younes	08-206 1025	
	Ramallah	02-240 6697 02-240 6698	

Physicians for Human Rights – Israel	Jaffa	03-687 3718 mail@phr.org.il http://www.phr.org.il/default.asp?PageID=4	Advocacy and lobbying Health services Human rights Legal services Mental health services Research and documentation Training
Adalah	Haifa	04-950 1610 adalah@adalah.org http://www.adalah.org/eng/index.php	Advocacy and lobbying Human rights Legal services Research and documentation Training
Branches	Beersheba	08-665 0740	

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INTERNATIONAL LEGAL AGREEMENTS

Additional Protocols of the Geneva Conventions relating to the protection of victims of armed conflict (1977)

Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (1998)

Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (1984)

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990)

Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (Fourth Geneva Convention) (1949)

International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (1990)

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955)

UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

شكر وتقدير

نود أن نتقدم بخالص الشكر والتقدير لعائلات الأسرى السياسيين ونخص بالشكر الزوجات والأطفال. إن هذا البحث لم يكن ليتم دون تعاونهم. وإعطائهم لوقتهم وجلسهم مع فريق البحث. ومشاركاتهم الغنية عن تجربتهم كعائلة وأبناء وبنات الأسرى.

نشكر أيضاً وزارة الأسرى والمحربين لمساعدتنا في هذا البحث ومشاركتهم لنا بتوفير الإحصائيات ذات العلاقة. ولا بد أيضاً من شكر جميع المؤسسات التي شاركت في تعبئة استبيان حول الخدمات المقدمة للأسرى والمحربين وعائلاتهم. وانضمام هذه المؤسسات عام ٢٠١٢ الى ورشة العمل الإستشارية حول نتائج الأولية للبحث.

وبالطبع نشكر زميلاتنا في معهد الصحة العامة والمجتمعية. جامعة بيرزيت لدعمهم الدائم.

مقدمة

تشير التقديرات إلى أنه كان هناك أكثر من ٨٠٠,٠٠٠ حالة اعتقال واحتجاز لفلسطينيين على خلفية سياسية منذ احتلال إسرائيل للضفة الغربية. بما فيها القدس الشرقية، وقطاع غزة في عام ١٩٦٧ (الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء ووزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين الفلسطينية، ٢٠١٢) وبما في ذلك أكثر من ٤,٠٠٠ أسير في السجون الإسرائيلية في سنة ٢٠١٢ (بتسيلم، ٢٠١٢). ولقد كان تأثير الاعتقال السياسي على أسر المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين بجوانبه المختلفة قد أهمل من قبل الباحثين. رغم ضئالة ما تم نشره، فقد تم التركيز على التعرض للعنف والجوانب المتعلقة به كالصدمة والجوانب الطبية/ النفسية دون اعتبار كافٍ للنتائج التي يتركها غياب الزوج على الحياة اليومية، والحياة الاجتماعية لكل من الزوجة والأطفال وكذلك التأثير على ديناميكية الأسرة والعلاقات وتربية الأطفال. أو العواقب المعرفية والسلوكية للاعتقال على أفراد الأسرة وخاصة الزوجات والأطفال.

وبعرض هذا التقرير النتائج التي توصلت إليها:

- دراسة نوعية عن تأثير الاعتقال على الأسر والهياكل الاجتماعية في الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة مع التركيز بشكل خاص على أطفال المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين.
- مسح كمي للمؤسسات الفلسطينية والدولية التي تقدم الخدمات للمعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين وأسراهم.

هدفت الدراسة إلى ما يلي:

- تقييم الرفاهية النفسية وآليات تأقلم أسر (الأطفال والزوجات) المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين في السجون الإسرائيلية.
- تحديد العناصر الرئيسية لتقديم الخدمات اللازمة بهدف تحسين نظام دعم أسر المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين في السجون الإسرائيلية.

وبأمل معهد الصحة العامة والمجتمعية في جامعة بيرزيت بأن تساهم هذه الدراسة في زيادة فهم ما يعنيه الاعتقال السياسي للأب والزوج بالنسبة لأطفال المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين. وما هي احتياجات هذه الأسر. وما هي الخدمات المتاحة لهذه الأسر. أملين بأن تساهم النتائج التي توصلت إليها هذه الدراسة إلى توافق الخدمات المطلوبة من قبل الأسر مع تلك التي تقدمها المؤسسات.

المنهجية

تضمنت المنهجية كلاً من الأدوات النوعية (مقابلات معمقة ومقابلة جماعية) والكمية (مسح) التالية:

- أ. مراجعة الأدبيات التي كتبت عن أسر السجناء/المعتقلين السياسيين:
- مراجعة وتحليل المقالات الصحفية والتقارير التي تغطي تأثير الاعتقال السياسي على الأسر.
- ب. مقابلات مع أطفال المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين
- أجريت خمسة عشر مقابلة معمقة في ربيع وصيف عام ٢٠١٢ مع ٢٧ من أطفال الأسرى وأخوتهم وأخواتهم وكانت أعمارهم تتراوح بين ١١ و ٢١ عام. وأجريت هذه المقابلات في الأساس في المناطق الوسطى والشمالية من الضفة الغربية بما في ذلك: رام الله والقدس الشرقية ونابلس
- مقابلة جماعية للتحقق من صحة نتائج المقابلات في قلقيلية في شمال الضفة الغربية (أجريت في خريف عام ٢٠١٢)

١. وقد تم نشر نتائج ذلك الجزء من الدراسة الذي يركز على زوجات المعتقلين السياسيين في عام ٢٠١٣ من قبل مجلة دراسات المرأة في الشرق الأوسط.
Journal of Middle East Women's Studies

ت. مسح الخدمات المتاحة لأسر المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين:

- مسح الخدمات المقدمة للمعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين وأسرههم باستخدام استبيان يتضمن أسئلة مغلقة ومفتوحة النهاية (أجريت في صيف وخريف عام ٢٠١٢)

عينة البحث:

- بالنسبة لمجموعات التركيز والمقابلات مع زوجات السجناء السياسيين الفلسطينيين. فلقد كانت العينة مبنية على الموقع الجغرافي (شمال، وسط، وجنوب الضفة الغربية). ومكان السكن (مخيم اللاجئين، المدينة، الريف).
- بالنسبة للمقابلات مع الشباب، فلقد بدأنا بالمقابلات في منطقة رام الله وأكملنا باستخدام كلا من مكان السكن وتطوير النظرية من خلال المقارنة المستمرة للمحتوى والمعرفة المكتسبة ك معايير لأخذ العينات. وانتقلنا تدريجياً إلى مناطق نابلس والقدس. وقد تم إجراء مقابلة جماعية نهائية في قلقيلية.
- بالنسبة لمسح الخدمات المتاحة لأسر المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين. فلقد بدأنا مع وزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين (MDEA) والمنظمات المدرجة في قسم حقوق الإنسان والقانون بمفكرة الجمعية الفلسطينية الأكاديمية للشؤون الدولية (PASSIA) ٢٠١٢. وقمنا بالاتصال بستة عشر مؤسسة. وتم إدراج ١٤ منها في المسح. ومن خلال المقابلات التي تمت مع هذه المؤسسات و منهجية التعاضل (السؤال عن معرفة أية مؤسسات أخرى تعمل مع المعتقلين). وجدنا ١٢ مؤسسة إضافية، بعضها لا تعمل بشكل حصري مع أسر المعتقلين ولكن لديها بالفعل برامج أو مشاريع تقدم خدمات لهذه الأسر. وتكونت لدينا بالنهاية عينة من ٢٦ مؤسسة.

محدودية (أو قيود) الدراسة (limitations):

ركزت الدراسة على أسر المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين في المعتقلات الإسرائيلية. كانت الغالبية العظمى من هؤلاء المعتقلين من الذكور البالغين. وكان هناك بعض التركيز على المعتقلات الإناث في بعض الأبحاث المتاحة (عبده، ٢٠١١؛ الضمير، ٢٠٠٨) والأطفال المعتقلين (الحركة العالمية للدفاع عن الأطفال - فرع فلسطين، عام ٢٠١٢؛ مؤسسة إنقاذ الطفل السويد وبرنامج التأهيل التابع لجمعية الشبان المسيحية بالقدس الشرقية، ٢٠١٢). ومن أجل عدم تكرار الجهود، فقد حددنا تركيزنا في هذه الدراسة إلى حد كبير على أسر المعتقلين الذكور المتزوجين.

وتقتصر هذه الدراسة على أسر المعتقلين السياسيين من الضفة الغربية، بما فيها القدس الشرقية وذلك بسبب صعوبة الوصول إلى قطاع غزة. إذ يفرض على فلسطيني الضفة الغربية تقديم طلب إلى السلطات الإسرائيلية للوصول إلى غزة. والذي من المعروف بأن الحصول عليه أمراً صعباً جداً. كما وأن عدد المعتقلين السياسيين من قطاع غزة حالياً منخفض جداً بالمقارنة مع عدد المعتقلين السياسيين من الضفة الغربية.

إن الاعتقال السياسي التي تقوم به السلطة الفلسطينية، التي أنشأت مع اتفاقات أوسلو في عام ١٩٩٣، هو ظاهرة جديدة نسبياً. ومع أنه لم يكن أصلاً جزء من الدراسة، فلقد أثمرت مقابلاتنا عن بعض الأفكار والمعلومات فيما يتعلق بتأثير الاعتقال السياسي التي تقوم به السلطة الفلسطينية على أسر المعتقلين. إلا أن هذا النوع من الاعتقال السياسي مختلف جداً في معناه للأسرة وتأثيره عليها ويتطلب دراسة منفصلة. ومع ذلك، فلقد قمنا في هذا التقرير بإدراج شرح موجز عن بعض الانتهاكات الرئيسية التي ينضوي عليها الاعتقال السياسي التي تقوم به السلطة الفلسطينية في الضفة الغربية وحماس في قطاع غزة (انظر نهاية القسم ١).

تأثير الاعتقال السياسي على أطفال المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين

وفقاً للإحصائيات التي أجريت بتاريخ ٣٠ تشرين ثاني ٢٠١٢، كان حوالي الربع من بين ٤,٣٦٥ معتقل فلسطيني في السجون الإسرائيلية متزوجاً ولديه أطفال. هذا يعني أنه من بين ١,٠٣٥ أسرة، كان ما مجموعه ٢,٩٥٤ طفلاً يكبرون (أو قد كبروا) في غياب والدهم لفترة من الوقت وأحياناً طوال طفولتهم. وكان ما يقارب النصف من المعتقلين السياسيين المتزوجين يقضون

حكما بالسجن لأقل من ١٠ سنوات. وأكثر قليلا من الربع أو ما بين ١٠ و ٢٠ سنة. وأقل قليلا من الربع لفترات من ٢٠ سنة إلى مؤبدات متعددة (وزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين الفلسطينية، ٢٠١٢). وبما أن التعويض المادي للمعتقلين وأسرهم يعتمد إلى حد كبير على طول الفترة الزمنية التي قضوها في الأسر. وجدنا أن العائلات التي لديها أحد أفراد الأسرة رهن الاعتقال لمدة تقل عن ١٠ سنوات قد عانت أكثر من غيرها من الناحية المالية.

أما على المستوى الفردي للطفل ، وجدنا بأنه يمكن أن يكون هناك تباين كبير في الطريقة التي يعاني فيها الأطفال من تجربة غياب الأب. حتى ضمن العائلة الواحدة. فإن بعض الذين قابلناهم لم يمروا أبدا بتجربة وجود والدهم كفرد من أفراد الأسرة وقالوا بأنهم بذلك لا يعرفون ما الذي فقدوه. وأشار آخرون إلى أن الاعتقال والغياب المفاجئ للأب بالنسبة للأطفال الذين كانوا قد باشرُوا في تطوير روابط واعية مع آبائهم (٣-٧ سنوات) جعله من الصعب عليهم بشكل خاص أن يتأقلموا على غياب الأب.

يشعر الأطفال بغياب والدهم بالأخص في أيام العيد حينما يقضي أفراد الأسر الفلسطينية في العادة وقت مميز مع بعضهم البعض. وعلى الرغم من أنهم يتعلقون بالفرصة لرؤية والدهم أيام الزيارة. إلا أن هذه الزيارات هي أيضا متعبة ومهينة جدا. إذ يتحدث هؤلاء الأطفال مع والدهم لجزء صغير فقط من ثلاثة أرباع الساعة المحددة لوقت الزيارة (بالتقاسم مع أفراد الأسرة الآخرين) وهي غالبا فترة قصيرة جدا لتواصل حقيقي.

وذكر بعض الأطفال فقدان الشعور بالأمن الذي كان يوفره لهم وجود والدهم. وفي كثير من الحالات سمعنا أن الأطفال الأكبر سنا يتحملون مسؤوليات لا تُعطى عادة للأطفال بنفس عمرهم. وقد تتراوح هذه المسؤوليات من العمل لمساعدة الأسرة بالصمود ماليا إلى الحلول كبدل لشخصية الأب أمام الأشقاء الأصغر سنا. ومع ذلك، فإن الحلول مكان الأب قد يؤدي أيضا إلى السلوك القمعي من الإخوة أو الأعمام تجاه الفتيات.

وفي المقابل قال بعض الأطفال أن فخرهم في مساهمة والدهم بالنضال الوطني يساعدهم على تحمل غيابه. وقال آخرون بأنهم يمكن أن يشعروا بالفخر فقط مع الأشخاص المقربين لهم وليس مع الناس بشكل عام.

التأقلم والتحمل:

يجد أطفال المعتقلين السياسيين سبل متنوعة للتأقلم. فيقوم الأطفال بالتركيز على الأداء المدرسي الجيد ومساعدة أمهاتهم والبقاء قريبا منهن. ويجدون راحتهم في الإبداع والأنشطة الثقافية والرياضة. ولكنهم يواجهون أيضا لحظات صعبة عندما يفقدون والدهم خلال فترات أو أحداث معينة. و تحدث الأطفال عن كيفية التعامل مع هذه اللحظات حيث تخيل البعض وجود والدهم معهم وإجراء محادثات وهمية معه. وقال العديد منهم بأنهم سيكونون وينسحبون إلى غرفهم. في حين يستخدم بعضهم بعض الدفاتر المزينة التي يصنعها المعتقلون السياسيون لأبنائهم ليكتبوا مشاعرهم فيها. وقال آخرون يحاولون التهرب من هذه المشاعر أو ان بأنهم لا يحبون أن يشعروا بالحزن وبأنهم عندما يشعرون بهذه العواطف يخرجون للعب مع الأصدقاء. ويتحدث الأطفال الأصغر سنا إلى أمهاتهم. ولكن قال بعض الأطفال الأكبر سنا بأنهم لا يذكرون حزنهم لأنهم يعرفون أن هذا سيضايق والدتهم. وقال بعض الأطفال أيضا بأن التحدث مع شخص آخر يفقد والده مثلهم يساعدهم أيضا.

الاجتماع من حولهم:

أفاد الاطفال بأنهم يدركون بأن الناس من حولهم حسنوا النوايا ، ومع ذلك، أشار البعض إلى أنهم يجدون صعوبة بسبب عدم فهم الناس بما يمرون به. فبالنسبة لهؤلاء الأطفال، إن تجربة اعتقال الأب تُفهم فقط من أولئك الذين مروا بنفس التجربة وعانوا منها بأنفسهم. ولسوء الحظ، ليس من السهل على الكثير من الأطفال إيجاد الأطفال الآخرين الذين يمرون بنفس التجربة.

دعم المؤسسات:

في بداية سلسلة المقابلات النوعية التي قمنا بإجرائها. ذكر صبي يبلغ من العمر ١٥ سنة بأنه ذهب مرة إلى مخيم صيفي نُظِمَ خصيصا لأطفال لمعتقلين السياسيين والشهداء. وتحدث عن الذكريات الجميلة لتلك التجربة وذلك لأن الأطفال هناك

كانوا يبرون بتجربة مشابهة لتجربته. ومن الجدير بالذكر هنا بأن معظم المقابلات أفادت بأن هؤلاء الأطفال لم يسمعوا أو يعرفوا عن عقد مخيمات صيفية مخصصة لأطفال المعتقلين السياسيين والشهداء أو عن أية أنشطة أو دعم تنظمه المؤسسات لهذه المجموعة المحددة من الأطفال. وأظهر العديد منهم حماسة كبيرة للفكرة حتى أن الذين اعتبروا أنفسهم كبار جدا بالسن لحضور مثل هذه المخيمات الصيفية قالوا بأنهم قد يكونون مستعدون للتطوع كقادة في مثل هذا النشاط لأطفال المعتقلين.

المؤسسات التي توفر الخدمات للمعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين وعائلاتهم

شارك ما مجموعه ٢٦ مؤسسة في مسح الخدمات. بما في ذلك وزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين (MDEA). وأفاد المسح بوجود فروع لدى ١٢ مؤسسة من هذه المؤسسات. و١١ فرعاً في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة لكل من وزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين ونادي الأسير. ومن بين المؤسسات التي لديها تمثيل في أكثر من موقع. تقع مواقع ١١ منها في رام الله كمركز رئيسي. كما تقع فروع المؤسسات الكبرى في نابلس والقدس وبيت لحم وقلقيلية والخليل وسلفيت وجنين وطولكرم وطوباس وأريحا وغزة. وتقع أربع من المؤسسات التي تم إدراجها بالمسح داخل إسرائيل (قائمة المؤسسات التي شملها المسح).

أنواع الخدمات:

يمكن تقسيم الخدمات التي تقدمها المؤسسات إلى:

- خدمات خاصة بالمعتقل: بشكل رئيسي الدعم القانوني بعد الاعتقال وإعادة التأهيل (إعادة الدمج في المجتمع من خلال التعليم والتدريب المهني وتسهيل العمل) بعد الإفراج.
- خدمات للمعتقل وعائلته: بما في ذلك تحديد المكان الذي يحتجز به المعتقل. فضلا عن الدعم المالي والتأمين الصحي والعمل الاجتماعي وتقديم المشورة والدعم النفسي وفي بعض الأحيان المساعدات الغذائية للأسرة.
- خدمات عامة متعلقة بالاعتقال السياسي: على سبيل المثال المناصرة وتعزيز حقوق الإنسان والبحوث والتوثيق.

وكشفت نتائج هذه الدراسة على أن معظم المؤسسات الأصغر حجماً لم تكن قادرة على توفير بيانات واضحة على نوع وعدد ومواقع المستفيدين من خدماتها.

الموظفين:

ومع ذلك. تتألف الغالبية العظمى من الخدمات من الخدمات القانونية والتي تنعكس في النسبة العالية من الموظفين. إذ حوالي الثلثين (٣٢٣/٢١٤) أو معظمهم من المحامين أو المساعدين القانونيين. والباقي يتراوح ما بين المناصرة والعمالين الميدانيين (٤٠) والأخصائيين الاجتماعيين (٢٧) العمالين في مجال الصحة النفسية (٢٠) والصحفيين (١٠) والمعلمين (٧) وأخيراً. المستشارين (٥).

وأفادت ٢٤ مؤسسة بأن لديها نظم لتحويل المراجعين إلى مؤسسات أخرى بحسب الحاجة. سواء في ما يتعلق بالخدمات التي تقدمها المؤسسات الأخرى التي شملها المسح. أو إلى المؤسسات التي تقدم خدماتها للجماهير عامة..

وتوفر نصف المؤسسات تدريباً خاصاً للعمالين في التعامل مع المعتقلين وعائلاتهم. وأفاد المستجيبون بأن أكثر من نصف المؤسسات بقليل توفر أنواع أخرى من التعليم المستمر. وقال جميع مثلي المؤسسات بأنه يوجد لديها نظام للإشراف على الموظفين. ولدى معظمها (١٩) يعملون بلاإشراف من الناحيتين المهنية والإدارية.

التحديات والأولويات:

يبقى التحدي الرئيسي الذي يواجه هذه المؤسسات هو استمرار المشاكل المتعلقة بالتمثيل القانوني للمعتقلين. بما في

ذلك مشاكل تتعلق بعدم القدرة على الوصول إلى ملفات المعتقلين. والتي تسمى «ملفات سرية» من قبل الإحتلال والتي يستند الإدعاء إليها غالبا. وتشمل التحديات الأخرى عدم القدرة على دعم الأسر بما فيه الكفاية أثناء الاحتجاز وكذلك إعادة دمج المعتقل بعد إطلاق سراحه. وأفادت أكثر من نصف المؤسسات التي شملها المسح بأنها تعتبر الأولوية الرئيسية توفير الدعم الشخصي للمعتقلين وأسرتهم وكذلك الدخل وتوفير الوظائف عند الإفراج عن المعتقلين. و من الأولويات الأخرى التي ذكرت، على سبيل المثال، المناصرة (الدولية) (١٠) وتعليم السجناء وأولادهم وتسهيل الزيارات وإعادة التأهيل وإعادة الدمج.

التوصيات

- تستطيع المؤسسات التي تعنى بأسر المعتقلين السياسيين أن تلعب دورا أكبر في توفير الإغاثة والدعم اللازم لهذه العائلات، ومراقبة احتياجاتهم.
- يجب جمع البيانات المتعلقة بأسر المعتقلين ومشاركتها مع جميع المؤسسات التي تعني بأسر المعتقلين السياسيين بطريقة منظمة و تحافظ على خصوصية و سرية المعلومات التي تشارك.
- زيادة خدمات الدعم النفسي والاجتماعي كالتحيمات الصيفية لأطفال المعتقلين من بين خدمات أخرى تحتاجها هذه العائلات .
- ان الزيارة البتية بعد الاعتقال مباشرة والمتابعة طوال فترة الاعتقال قد تساعد على تخفيف من حدة بعض التحديات التي تواجهها أسر المعتقلين السياسيين، وخصوصا الأطفال والزوجات.
- هناك حاجة إلى التدريب المستدام والمستمر للعاملين في المؤسسات التي تخدم المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين وأسرتهم.
- يجب أن تكون المعلومات المتعلقة بتوفر الخدمات المخصصة لأسر المعتقلين متاحة لهذه الأسر وسهلة الوصول إليها من قبلهم.
- وجب تطوير مجموعات الدعم المجتمعية بين زوجات المعتقلين وأطفالهم وأطفالهم إذ قد يساعد هذا في تخفيف بعض آثار الاعتقال السياسي على الأسر.
- يجب إيلاء اهتمام خاص للأطفال الأكبر سنا اللذين يقومون بدور أكثر مسؤولية بعد اعتقال والدهم.
- هناك حاجة لمزيد من البحوث عن احتياجات الأسر والتحديات التي تواجهها بعد الإفراج عن المعتقلين.
- هناك حاجة ماسة لمعالجة انتهاك إسرائيل للحقوق القانونية لأطفال المعتقلين السياسيين الفلسطينيين.
- يجب على جهود التوعية والمناصرة أن تتعامل مع الأسباب الجذرية للتحديات التي تواجهها أسر المعتقلين.

المؤسسات التي تقدم الخدمات للأسرى وعائلاتهم

اسم المؤسسة	المكتب الرئيسي	معلومات الاتصال	الخدمات المقدمة (ملاحظة: الخدمات الأهم للأسرى وعائلاتهم بالأسود العريض)
مؤسسة الضمير لرعاية الأسير وحقوق الإنسان	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٩٦ ٠٤٤٦ info@addameer.ps www.addameer.org	خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة تدريب
مؤسسة الحق	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٩٥ ٤٦٤٦ www.alhaq.org	خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة تدريب
وزارة شؤون الأسرى والمحررين	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٤٢ ٨٥٨٩ minister@freedom.ps www.freedom.ps	خدمات صحية خدمات تعليمية تدريب صناعي ومهني
الفروع	نابلس	٠٩ - ٤١٢٥ ٢٣٧	خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان
	سلفيت	٠٩ - ٢٥١ ٥٥٤٤	أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق إعادة تأهيل
	طوباس	٠٩ - ٢٥٧ ٣٢٠٨	ضغط ومناصرة دعم مادي
	قلقيلية	٠٩ - ٢٩٤ ٢٥٨٧	معونات غذائية
	طولكرم	٠٩ - ٢٦٨ ١١١١	
	جنين	٠٤ - ٢٥٠ ٥٤٧٧	
	القدس	٠٢ - ٢٧٩ ٤٦٣٦	
	أريحا	٠٢ - ٢٣٢ ٥٢٨٦	
	بيت لحم	٠٢ - ٢٣٢ ٥٢٨٦	
	الخليل	٠٢ - ٢٢٢ ٦٤٢٣	

<p>خدمات صحية</p> <p>خدمات مجتمعية</p> <p>خدمات قانونية</p> <p>حقوق إنسان</p> <p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p> <p>تدريب</p> <p>دعم مادي</p> <p>معاونات غذائية</p>	<p>٠٢ - ٢٩٦ ٣٦٦٥</p> <p>http://www.hurryyat.net</p>	<p>رام الله</p>	<p>حريات: مركز الدفاع عن</p> <p>الحريات والحقوق المدنية</p>
	<p>٠٥٩ - ٧٨٩ ٥٩٨٩</p>	<p>سلفيت</p>	<p>الفروع</p>
<p>خدمات صحية</p> <p>خدمات تعليمية</p> <p>خدمات مجتمعية</p> <p>حقوق إنسان</p> <p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>إعادة تأهيل</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p> <p>تدريب</p> <p>خدمات صحة نفسية</p>	<p>٠٢ - ١٧١٠ ٢٩٦</p> <p>info@trc-pal.org</p> <p>http://www.trc-pal.org</p>	<p>رام الله</p>	<p>مركز علاج وتأهيل ضحايا</p> <p>التعذيب</p>
	<p>٠٢ - ٢٢٩ ٨٠٢٠</p>	<p>الخليل</p>	<p>الفروع</p>
	<p>٠٤ - ٢٤٣ ٠٣٦٣</p>	<p>جنين</p>	
	<p>٠٩ - ٢٣٩ ٨١٤٣</p>	<p>نابلس</p>	
<p>خدمات قانونية</p> <p>خدمات صحية</p> <p>حقوق إنسان</p> <p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p>	<p>٠٢ - ٢٩٥ ٦٠٦٣</p> <p>info@ppsmo.ps</p> <p>www.ppsmo.ps</p>	<p>رام الله</p>	<p>جمعية نادي الأسير</p> <p>الفلسطيني</p>
	<p>٠٩ - ٢٣٨ ٤٤٣٨</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠٠٨ ٩١٧</p>	<p>نابلس</p>	<p>الفروع</p>
	<p>٠٩ - ٢٥١ ٥١٤٥</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠٠٦ ٩١٨</p>	<p>سلفيت</p>	
	<p>٠٩ - ٢٥٧٤ ٤٢٩</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠٠٨ ٩١٧</p>	<p>طوباس</p>	
	<p>٠٩ - ٢٩٤٢ ٨٧٤</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠١١ ٩١٧</p>	<p>قلقيلية</p>	
	<p>٠٩ - ١٧٠٣ ٢٦٧</p>	<p>طولكرم</p>	
	<p>٠٤ - ٦٢٧١ ٢٤٣</p>	<p>جنين</p>	
	<p>٠٥٤ - ٥٤٢٧ ٨٥٧</p>	<p>القدس</p>	
	<p>٠٢ - ٢٣٢ ٥٢٦٨</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠١٠ ٩١٧</p>	<p>أريحا</p>	
	<p>٠٢ - ٢٧٤ ٧٥٥٥</p> <p>٠٥٩ - ٨٠١٤ ٩١٧</p>	<p>بيت لحم</p>	
	<p>٠٥٩ ٨٠٠٩ ٩١٧</p>	<p>الخليل</p>	

الحركة العالمية للدفاع عن الأطفال- فرع فلسطين	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٤٢ ٧٥٣٠ /٧-٦ arabic.dci-palestine.org	خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة
الفروع	نابلس	٠٩ - ٢٣٧ ١٠١١	
	الخليل	٠٢ - ٢٢٢ ٠١٠٦	
	القدس	٠٥٩ - ٨٩٠٣ ٥٠٠	
	غزة	٠٥٩ - ٩٤٥٨ ٣٧٣	
جمعية إنعاش الأسرة	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٤٠ ١١٢٣ Alusra@Live.com www.inash.org	خدمات تعليمية خدمات مجتمعية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق إعادة تأهيل ضغط ومناصرة تدريب
مؤسسة مانديلا لرعاية شؤون الأسرى والمعتقلين وحقوق الإنسان	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٩٥ ٥٧٥٦ www.mandela- palestine.org	خدمات صحية خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة تدريب
رابطة نساء أسرن من أجل الحرية	رام الله	٠٥٩ - ٩٩٠١ ١٧٥ www.facebook.com/ maseerh Nadiakh58@gmail.com	خدمات تعليمية خدمات مجتمعية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة خدمات صحة نفسية

مركز القدس للمساعدة القانونية وحقوق الإنسان	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٩٨ ٧٩٨١ info@jilac.ps jilac.ps/?lang=1	خدمات تعليمية خدمات مجتمعية خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة تدريب
الفروع	نابلس	٠٩ - ٢٣٨ ٦٥٥٠	
	سلفيت	٠٩ - ٢٥١ ٧١٠١	
	القدس	٠٢ - ٢٩٨٢ ٦٢٧	
المركز الفلسطيني للإرشاد	رام الله	٠٢ - ٢٩٨ ٩٧٨٨ ppc@palnet.com www.pcc-jer.org	خدمات تعليمية خدمات مجتمعية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق إعادة تأهيل تدريب خدمات صحة نفسية
الفروع	بيت حنينا	٠٢ - ٦٥٦ ٢٢٧٢	
	القدس	٠٢ - ٦٢٧ ٧٣٦٠	
	نابلس	٠٩ - ٢٣٣ ٥٩٤٦	
	عزون	٠٩ - ٢٩٠ ٢٤٦٢	
	قلقيلية	٠٩ - ٢٣٣ ٥٩٤٦	
لجنة أهالي الأسرى والمعتقلين المقدسيين	القدس	٠٥٤ - ٧٧٧٠ ٣٥٤ info@asraalquds.ps www.asraalquds.ps/	خدمات مجتمعية خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة
اللجنة العامة لمناهضة التعذيب في إسرائيل	القدس	٠٢ - ٢٦٤ ٢٩٨٢٥ pcati@stoptorture.org.il www.stoptorture.org.il/en	خدمات قانونية أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة حقوق إنسان خدمات تعليمية تدريب

خدمات قانونية أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق حقوق إنسان ضغط ومناصرة	٠٢ - ٦٦٦ ٤٤٣٨ mail@hamoked.org.il www.hamoked.org	القدس	هموكيد- مركز الدفاع عن الفرد
أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة حقوق إنسان خدمات قانونية	٠٢ - ٦٧٣ ٥٥٩٩ mail@btselem.org www.btselem.org	القدس	بتسيلم - مركز المعلومات الإسرائيلي لحقوق الإنسان في الأراضي المحتلة
	٠١ - ٢٠٢ ٧٨٣ ٠٦٢٩	واشنطن- الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية	الفروع
خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة	٠٥٩ - ٩٢٥ ٥١٥٥	نابلس	مؤسسة التضامن لحقوق الإنسان
خدمات قانونية حقوق إنسان أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق ضغط ومناصرة	٠٥٩ - ٩٢٥٥ ٥٢٩ info@ahrar.ps http://ahrar.ps	نابلس	أحرار لدراسات الأسرى وحقوق الإنسان
خدمات مجتمعية ضغط ومناصرة تدريب خدمات صحة نفسية	٠٩ - ٢٩٤ ٤٤٨٤ qmuni@hotmail.com	قلقيلية	ركن المرأة
خدمات صحية حقوق إنسان إعادة تأهيل ضغط ومناصرة تدريب خدمات صحة نفسية	٠٢ - ٢٧٤ ٤٠٥٠ basr@basr.org www.basr.org	بيت جالا	جمعية بيت لحم العربية للتأهيل

خدمات مجتمعية حقوق إنسان ضغط ومناصرة تدريب خدمات صحة نفسية دعم مادي معونات غذائية	٠٢ - ٢٧٥ ١٠٠٦ pr@al-phoenix.ps phoenixbethlehem.org/ index.php	مخيم الدهيشة	جمعية الفينيق للاجئين الفلسطينيين
	٠٢ - ٢٥٢ ٢٣٢٥	مخيم العروب	الفروع
تدريب ضغط ومناصرة خدمات صحة نفسية دعم مادي معونات غذائية أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق خدمات قانونية خدمات مجتمعية	٠٢ - ٢٧٤ ٥٥٧٨ info@psccw.org www.psccw.org/site/	بيت لحم	مركز الإرشاد النفسي الاجتماعي للمرأة
تدريب صناعي ومهني أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق إعادة تأهيل ضغط ومناصرة تدريب خدمات صحة نفسية	٠٢ - ٢٧٧ ٢٧١٣ abatarseh@ej-ymca.org www.ej-ymca.org	بيت ساحور	جمعية الشبان المسيحية القدس - برنامج التأهيل
	٠٢ - ٢٢٥ ٣٧٧٣	الخليل	الفروع
	٠٢ - ٢٩٥ ٩٩٩٠	رام الله	
	٠٢ - ٦٢٨ ٦٨٨٨	القدس	
	٠٩ - ٢٣٧ ١٥٩٨	نابلس	
	٠٩ - ٢٣٧ ١٥٩٨	سلفيت	
	٠٩ - ٢٦٧ ١٥١٢	طولكرم	
	٠٢ - ٢٣٢ ٢٦٤٩	أريحا	
	٠٩ - ٢٦٧ ١٥١٢	قلقيلية	
	٠٤ - ٢٤٣ ٧٧٦٦	جنين	
	٠٤ - ٢٤٣ ٧٧٦٦	طوباس	

<p>خدمات مجتمعية</p> <p>خدمات قانونية</p> <p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p> <p>تدريب</p> <p>خدمات صحة نفسية</p> <p>دعم مادي</p> <p>معاونات غذائية</p>	<p>٠٨ - ٢٨٢ ٤٧٧٦</p> <p>٠٨ - ٢٨٢ ٥٨٩٣</p> <p>pchr@pchrgaza.org</p> <p>www.pchrgaza.org/portal/ar</p>	غزة	المركز الفلسطيني لحقوق الإنسان
	٠٨ - ٢٤٥ ٤١٥٠	جباليا	الفروع
	٠٨ - ٢٤٥ ٤١٦٠		
	٠٨ - ٢٠٦ ١٠٢٥	خان يونس	
	٠٢ - ٢٤٠ ٦٦٩٧	رام الله	
٠٢ - ٢٤٠ ٦٦٩٨			
<p>خدمات صحية</p> <p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p> <p>خدمات قانونية</p> <p>حقوق إنسان</p> <p>تدريب</p> <p>خدمات صحة نفسية</p>	<p>٠٣ - ٦٨٧ ٣٧١٨</p> <p>mail@phr.org.il</p> <p>www.phr.org.il/default.asp?PageID=4</p>	يافا	أطباء حقوق الإنسان- إسرائيل
<p>أبحاث ودراسات وتوثيق</p> <p>ضغط ومناصرة</p> <p>خدمات قانونية</p> <p>حقوق إنسان</p> <p>تدريب</p>	<p>٠٤ - ٩٥٠ ١٦١٠</p> <p>adalah@adalah.org</p> <p>www.adalah.org</p>	حيفا	عدالة
	٠٨ - ٦٦٥ ٠٧٤٠	بئر السبع	الفروع

