

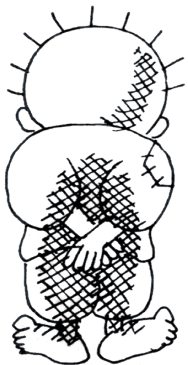


The Youth's Social and Economic Condition and the Revolutions: Examples from the North and South

Economic Perspective with Political Flavour

Alaa Tartir

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...And you know the story!

PALESTINIAN LOSS OF LAND 1946 TO 2010



Road Gates

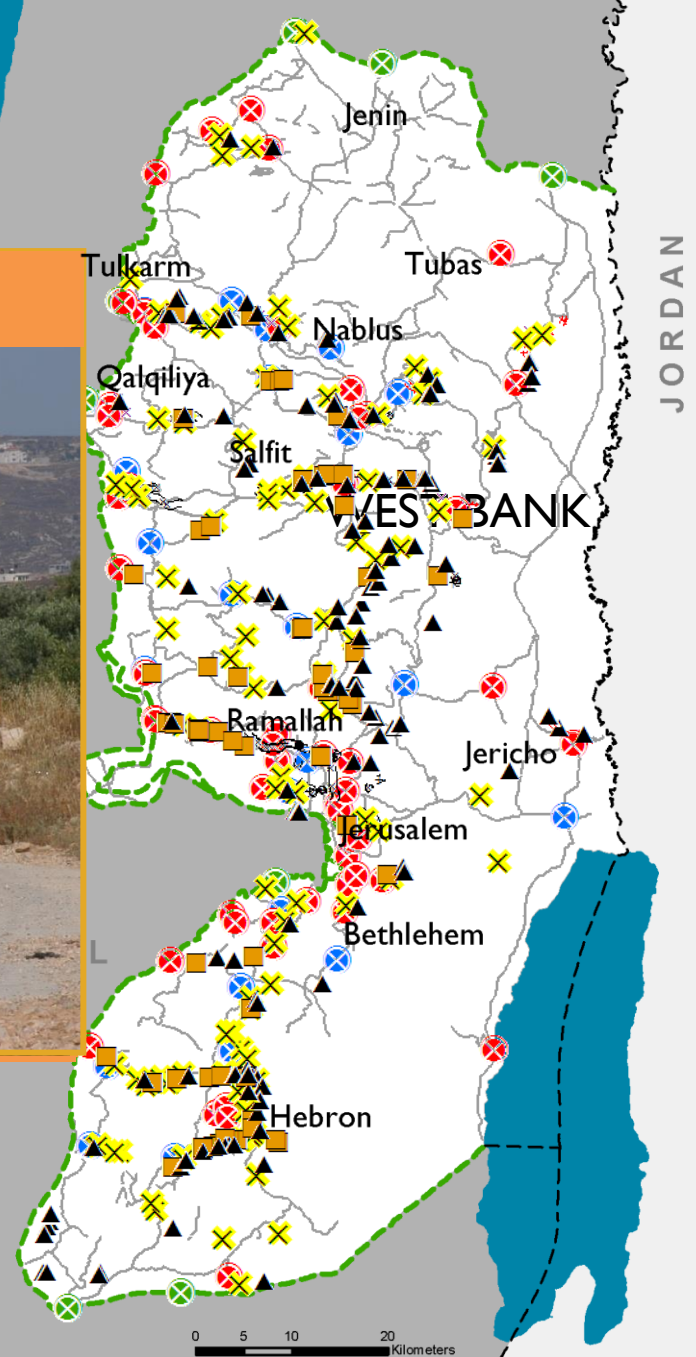


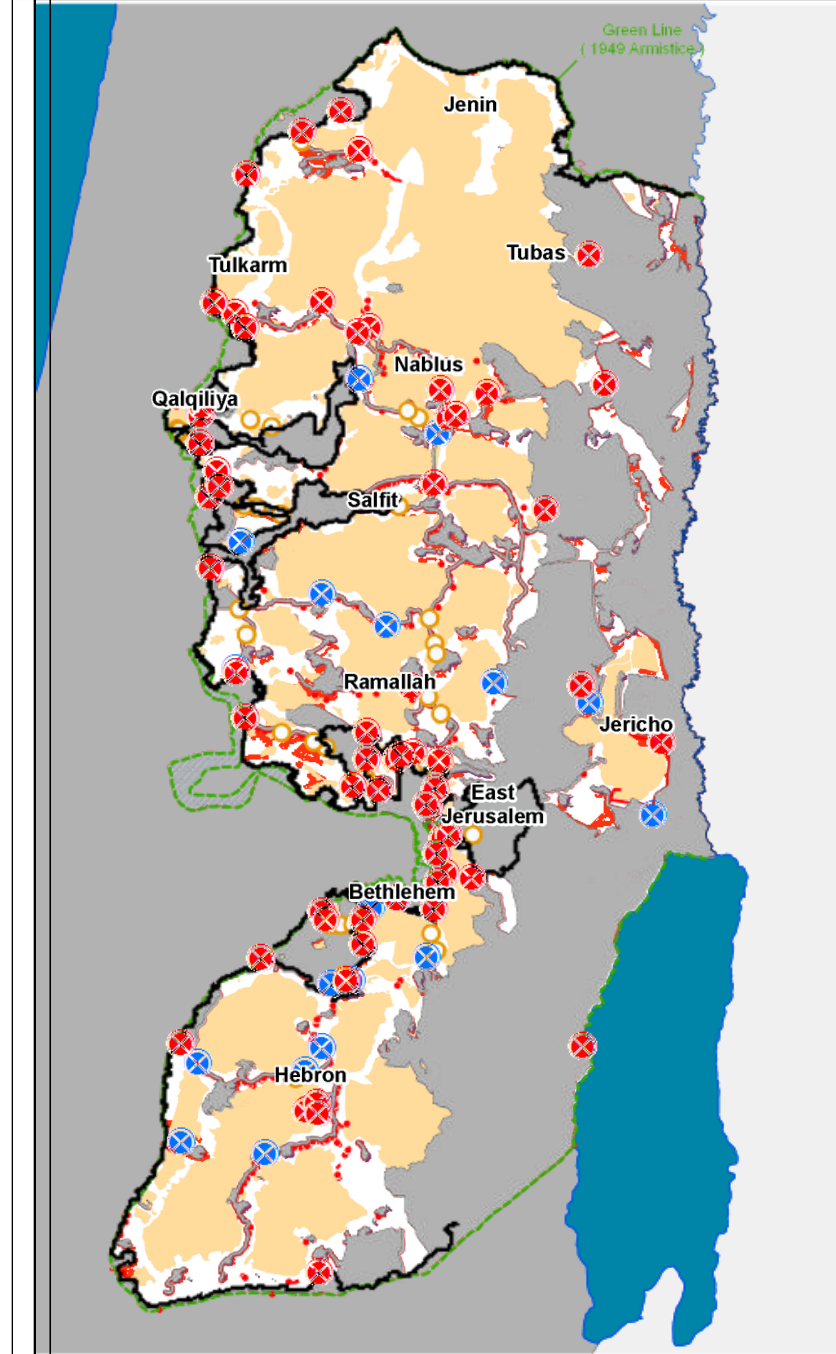
DDDD are used to construct movement across the roads.

DDDD

EARTH WALLS

A continuous wall or series of earth mounds.





The socio-economic indicators reveal a gloomy picture

- Using the consumption-based definition, 26% of the Palestinians lived in poverty in 2009 and 2010 (19% WB, 38% GS). Using the income-based definition, 50% of the Palestinians lived in poverty (38% WB, 70% GS).
- 50% of Palestinian households were impacted by food insecurity.
- Unemployment has remained at around 30% since 2009 (47% in Gaza, 20% in WB). Unemployment rate for Palestinian youth under 30 is 43%.
- The income and opportunities inequality gap continues to widen not only between the West Bank and Gaza, but also within the West Bank.
- The manufacturing and production capacities continue to erode, while the agriculture sector remains neglected.
- Public debt doubled, while the private debts, thanks to the easier credit facilities, expanded to extraordinary rates.
- Real income per capita needs a proper deconstruction noticing the unbearable increase in the cost of living.
- The celebrated economic growth is a jobless, aid driven, with an eroded productive base (de-industrialization), non-Jerusalemite, anti-poor, and reflects an economy recovering from a low base.

The Palestinian youth in numbers: Economic focus

- Youth comprises one third of Palestinian society.
- Unemployment rate for Palestinian youth under 30 is 43%.
- 36.6% of youth aged 15-29 years are economically active (employed and unemployed).
- The services sector observed 30.4% of youth (15-29 years), while the commerce sector, restaurants, and hotels worked at 24.4% of that age group.
- More than a quarter of youth in the Palestinian Territory suffered from poverty.
- 72.2% of the martyrs are youth.
- The vast majority of the 5000 political prisoners are youth.
- 44.8% of youth (15-29 years) were enrolled in education in 2011.
- One fifth of graduates studied Business and Administration.

Why this is happening? It is the Occupation!

- The total measurable cost of the Israeli occupation on the Palestinian economy was \$6.897 billion, a staggering 84.9% of the total Palestinian GDP in 2010?
- Territorial fragmentation and colonies expansion.
- Absence of Palestinian political and economic sovereignty.
- Dependent Palestinian economy- Asymmetric containment.
- Mass destruction and economy deprived from its capacities.
- Occupation will only create de-development.



The Israeli occupation and de-development process

- Politically constructed poverty : poverty of disempowerment, not insufficiency.
- Youth's “stolen” opportunities and empowerment.
- De-developed economy= unemployed youth.
- No production, no innovation and more consumption.
- Investments and entrepreneurship are non-viable.
- Élite formation, status quo and inequality gap.
- Neoliberal economic agenda: another dimension of the occupation



The ‘Untold Revolutions’ and Intra-Palestinian Divide

The ‘Untold Revolutions’:

- The illusion of the UN statehood bid.
- The PA bureaucratic revolution vs. national defeat.
- Authoritarianism with kindness.
- The renewal of the Multilateralism approaches.
- Failed rounds of negotiations against the people’s will.
- Gaza as a third state.

Intra-Palestinian Divide:

- Transforming Fatah-Hamas divide from being short-term in nature, into a lasting and fatal permanence.
- Divide business/industry : Fatah-Hamas mutual enterprise.
- Deployed various measures to sustain and subsidise this divide.

Why There Is No Palestinian ‘Spring’ Yet?

It is really a long list, however this is a ‘sample’:

- More than one actor/body/power to revolt against (multilayers oppression and repression).
- Political vacuum due to the absence of a representative and legitimate leadership.
- The absence of a comprehensive national consensus and strategy.
- The schism in the Palestinian polity, the political and territorial fragmentation and the intra-Palestinian divide.
- The authoritarian transformation and emergence of police state in West Bank and Gaza.
- To ‘allow’ the PA to carry on in its statehood bid at the UN.
- The PA policies under the Fayyadism era, the notion of ‘economic peace’ the ‘normalization’ of the Palestinian life, and the entrenchment of the Israeli occupation.
- The status of aid dependency and the domination of individualism and suppression of collectivism.

The Palestinian Youth Movement(s): A Reflection of the National Crisis



The Palestinian Youth Movement(s): A Reflection of the National Crisis

- Very fragmented and absence of unified leadership.
- As the others, non-Islamic, but also non-factional.
- Similar techniques and tool, but smaller scale (the geographical difficulty of having a Tahrir Square!
- Creative, peaceful and broke a few year of silence.
- Close links with the BDS, international solidarity movements and shadow diplomacy: linking with Global Occupy movement.
- The PA fears them, but not take them serious despite the regular attempts to co-opt, however the movement is growing.
- The emergence of a nascent new youth leaders: Khader Adnan Impact!

Why the Intifada Is Inevitable?

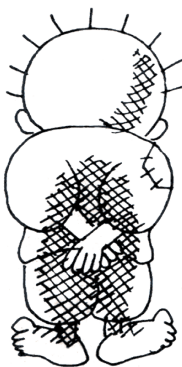


For many reasons; but at the moment for these seven reasons:

- The continuous failures of the leadership of Fatah and Hamas to reach a genuine political rapprochement;
- The acts of ‘corruption’ and lack of legitimacy of the governments and authorities in both West Bank and Gaza;
- The policies, particularly in the economy and security spheres, adopted by the Palestinian Authority since 2007;
- The unjustifiable increase in the cost of living in the West Bank;
- The settlers’ harassment and the new crimes committed by Israeli military forces in killing innocent peaceful protestors;
- The gloomy socio-economic and development indicators;
- Youth activism on the ground is still fragmented, but eventually it will unite.

Towards a resistance and steadfastness economy

- The economics of solidarity.
- Defeat dependency toward creating a resistance economy.
- Youth are the key pillar for the steadfastness economy.
- Understand development as means to realizing rights, freedoms, and self-determination.
- A genuine bottom-up participatory citizen-centric development model should be prioritized.
- Draw a vision for an economy that sits at the heart of the Palestinian struggle.
- Farming Palestine for freedom and reclaiming land.
- Resisting neoliberalism and economic peace.



How we can succeed together?

- First and foremost, carry on in helping Palestinians in ending the occupation and colonization of their land.
- Launch an economic-rights campaign for Palestinian youth.
- Reject the so-called economic peace, better politics will do it!
- Help in the sustainability of the small enterprises and the innovative youth initiatives
- Remember, Palestinians youth are not only in the OPT, by also in the diaspora.
- Push your governments not to do harm with your own taxes through aid to Palestinians.





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