

CRITICAL REVIEW

TRANSFORMATIONAL HOST COMMUNITIES: JUSTICE TOURISM AND THE WATER REGIME IN PALESTINE

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In this article, Isaac argues that since 1948, Israel's control of water resources has been the result of military actions that forced between 700,000 and 800,000 Palestinians into exile and claimed the most fertile part of the disputed territory for the state. It thereby paved the way for subsequent military occupation. Isaac maintains that the Israeli occupation has violated the Palestinian right to the equitable and reasonable utilization of shared water resources. In his view, from the end of the 1967 war, Israel initiated its occupation of the territories of Palestine and quickly imposed military order with a view to achieving full control over land and water resources. To Isaac, these military orders served to dissolve the pre-1967 legal systems and which consisted of Ottoman, British, Jordanian (West Bank) and Egyptian (Gaza Strip) laws. This critical review article concentrates on the concept of *justice tourism* as a response to these assumed Israeli violations of Palestinian rights to equitable and reasonable utilization of shared water resources. The article sheds light on why and how justice tourism conceivably contributes to the Palestine host communities' transformation and hence to the development of higher level self-consciousness about their rights as "a sovereign nation." (Abstract by the Reviews Editor)

Key words: Palestine; Justice tourism; Water; Transformations; The agora; Ambassador tourism

Introduction

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967 (Isaac, 2010a; White, 2010) had significant political, economic, social, and psychic

impacts on the populations; many Palestinians became refugees living in refugee camps (Isaac, 2010a; Salamah, 2006). For the first two and half decades of the Occupation, from 1967 through the first Intifada and until the economic closure following the Gulf War, Israel's economic policy towards the

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Occupied Territories of Palestine was one of controlled development—“asymmetric containment” [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 2006]. Israel wanted to incorporate the territories’ economy into Israel. The Palestinian population thus became one of Israel’s major agricultural export markets. Restrictions on movement, and the Segregation Wall built by Israel on the Palestinian land, means regional tourism can be developed and, in fact, is developing. Justice tourism in this context can provide Palestinians with hope in difficult situations, although the academic community tends to withdraw from such reflections (Isaac, 2013). This critical review article discusses and reflects on the Israeli occupation, checkpoints, movement restrictions, and control over villages, land, and the confiscation and destruction of Palestinian heritage that includes natural and cultural resources (Barnard & Muamer, 2016) and particularly on the water regime, which is the aim of this critical review.

When the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was established in the wake of the peace-making efforts, tourism became an important sector of the economy and a source of income. The establishment of the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA) and private sector investments between 1994 and 2000 led to an economic boom in 2000. After the outbreak of the second Palestinian uprising (*Intifada*) in 2000 that deemed tourism in a new way (Isaac, 2010c) the tourism industry recovered in 2004.

This article focuses on justice tourism and sheds light on why and how it contributes to Palestinian host transformation. It is argued that justice tourism and hope are needed in the region where violence, moral decay, and social destruction are the rule of day. An example of this destruction is the water regime in Palestine. Justice tourism is introduced as a moral response to the Israeli violations of Palestinian right to equitable and reasonable utilization of shared water resources. This critical review article introduces the “agora” of Arendt (1963) as a symbolic space, on which a counterdiscourse emerges. Through justice tourism, the Palestinian host communities can experience transformations towards a higher level of personal development and growth, changing life perspective, and higher levels of self-consciousness of their rights as a sovereign

nation. A critical review article like this will help raise awareness in the international community.

Justice Tourism and Individual Transformations

The forces of globalizations with an orientation towards the capitalist form of development have led to serious ecological and social consequences (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008a). The corporatized form of tourism is one of those faces of capitalist globalization that have rendered structural violence leading to dehumanization and exploitation of indigenous communities and environmental damage (Sklair, 2002). The rise of “anti-globalization” movements has stemmed from the search for an alternative form of globalization than the current model of capitalist globalization (Held, 1991; Klein, 2002; Sklair, 2002).

Criticism of capitalist globalization emphasizes the antihumanistic and environmentally damaging effects that the system imposes on peoples and societies around the world as marketizations takes hold (Gill, 1995; Sklair, 2002). The process of capitalist globalization of tourism can be arrested by alternative forms of tourism that bring justice through social equity and ecological sustainability (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008a; Rogers, 2008). Justice tourism, a relatively new and underresearched form of tourism, as part of alternative tourism could (or should) provide a singular model of difference, in which it seeks not only to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism but also to chart a footpath to a more just global order. In this context, justice tourism could (or should) contribute to fundamental transformations of the contemporary global order, and particularly in the case of this critical review article on Palestine.

Various labels have been attached to new forms of tourism (alternative tourism) that seek to differentiate themselves from mass tourism: sustainable (Wheeller, 1993), alternative (Eadington & Smith, 1992), low-impact (Wearing & Neil, 1999), soft (Sharpley, 2000), pro-poor (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008a), and justice tourism (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992). As Higgins-Desbiolles stated (2008a), “The definition of and correct terminology for the tourism alternative are contentious” (p. 346). Alternative tourism is still a vague term that lacks concrete definition (Butler, 1992; Pearce, 1992). Labels for

the alternative to mass tourism include: alternative tourism (Eadington & Smith, 1992), responsible tourism (Wheeller, 1993), new tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Poon, 1993), soft tourism (Sharpley, 2000), low-impact tourism (Wearing & Neil, 1999), special interest tourism (Douglas, Douglas, & Derret, 2001), and sustainable tourism (Wheeller, 1993). Alternative tourism has been receiving ever-growing academic attention. Alternative tourism has been understood in various ways, including: as polarized opposite and substitute for mass tourism (Weaver & Lawton, 2002); as the new niche markets arising due to demands of “new” consumers (Douglas et al., 2001); and what others speak of a transformation in all tourism towards more benign forms (Butler, 1992). Evidence that alternative tourism developed from a reaction to the negative impacts of mass tourism comes from Lanfant and Graburn’s (1992) characterization of alternative tourism as an ideological project of opting for the “Aristotlean mean” in avoiding “the dilemma of having to decide whether to reject tourism completely or accept it unconditionally” (pp. 88–89).

According to Butcher (2003), these forms of tourism seem to be united only by their opposition towards package or mass tourism. For example, Eadington and Smith (1992) referred to it as “forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social and community values, which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interactions and shared experiences” (p. 3). Lanfant and Graburn (1992) suggested that alternative tourism is “the tourism in the promotion of new order” (p. 92), and justice tourism best exemplifies this.

Nevertheless, alternative tourism originated in the 1960s’ counterculture movement has largely been forgotten. Lanfant and Graburn (1992) stated that alternative tourism originated in the visions and critique of tourism nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT, now called the Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism) and the Tourism European Network, who wanted to promote a counterculture by rejecting consumer society. “Alternative tourism, in rejecting mass tourism, is a similar radical attempt to transform social relations and is thus part of the larger movement. Is tourism a new kind of development strategy, or more powerfully, a prime force within a new range of international relations? (p. 90).”

The ultimate concept discussed here is justice tourism. This type of tourism has only recently been recognized as an emerging type of tourism. A conceptualization of justice tourism stems from theorization of the ethics of tourism that has appeared in more recent times (Fennell, 2006; Hultsman, 1995; Smith & Duffy, 2003). Hultsman (1995) revealed what “just tourism” means. He promoted the development of “principled” practice and “ethicality” in tourism, and making sure that this imbues tourism curricula (Hultsman, 1995, pp. 559–562). In their brief examination of Rawls’ (1971) “theory of justice,” using social contract theory, they suggested, “Justice, then, seems to be about the fair distribution of power, goods and so on within and between societies” (Smith & Duffy, 2003, p. 92). Because tourism is inherently a justice issue (Fennell, 2006) with its differential impacts on developing and developed communities, justice tourism has recently emerged as phenomenon worthy of advance analysis and academic discourse. Fennell (2006) and Smith and Duffy (2003) provided a useful and helpful insight into the complexities of adopting an ethics of justice to tourism. According to Fennell (2006), tourism is inherently a justice issue with its different impacts on developing and developed communities. Justice tourism is described as directly aiming at meeting criteria of social and environmental sustainability (Scheyvens, 2002). Justice tourism seeks not only to reform the disparities and damages of contemporary tourism, but also to chart a pathway to more global order.

Alternative forms of tourism and, in particular, justice tourism (JT) are very relevant forms of tourism in the Palestinian context, in a land occupied by an external power (Isaac, 2013). Justice tourism can transform communities who live under Israeli occupation and the injustices perpetrated by the state of Israel.

Scheyvens (2002) described justice tourism as “both ethical and equitable” (p. 104) and said it has the following attributes: (a) builds solidarity between visitors and those visited, (b) promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equity, sharing, and respect, (c) supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities, and (d) maximizes local economic, cultural, and social benefits.

Scheyvens (2002) charted five forms of justice tourism, which include the hosts telling their stories

of the past (e.g., of current repression and control of water in Palestine), tourists learning about poverty issues, those undertaking voluntary conservation work, voluntary development work, and revolutionary tourism. The first form of justice tourism is vital in the context of Palestine. Through the stories of the past and present, hosts start to understand and interpret their life experiences, and critically examine and revise their assumptions and beliefs until they are transformed. Through discussions with justice tourists, individuals “reinterpret an old experience, or new one, or a story from a new set of expectations, thus giving a new meaning and perspective to an old experience” (Mezirow, 1991, p. 11).

Despite a tendency to control the tourism industry by national government organizations and world leaders, justice tourism humanizes the industry and destination communities. The main focus of justice tourism is on self-sufficiency and self-determination. Justice tourism is not sold to communities as the only viable development option, forcing upon communities the capitalistic “marketization culture” (Gill, 1995; Sklair, 2002). Justice tourism exposes to the causes of injustice in the visited destination: a situation of a colonized and colonizer, an occupier and occupied, or, for example, how Israeli occupation causes chronic water shortage in Palestine. Tourists and visitors may become advocates of a “just cause.”

Because the best way to mend the rifts and nurture understanding between different peoples is through personal meetings and encounters on the grassroots level, at the bottom up approach (Isaac & Hodge, 2011) visitors to Palestine can participate in tours called “see it for yourself experience” (Isaac & Ashworth, 2012). After seeing the reality and gaining the new-found knowledge of life in a country facing oppression and control over land and water resources, justice tourists return home and can become advocates of justice causes. In addition, through communication with justice tourists and critical reflection, host communities of Palestine transform their beliefs, attitudes, and opinions and develop new meanings. Host communities can become more conscious, think globally and critically about their present conditions. They change their perspectives and take actions for change. Thus, through justice tourism, the host communities

of Palestine experience transformation towards a higher level of development and self-consciousness of their rights as a sovereign nation.

According to Higgins-Desbiolles (2008b), justice tourism provides “a singular model of difference” to other types of tourism. Justice tourism promotes a more humanistic form of globalization than the divisive capitalist system that now prevails. Justice tourism is set apart by its potential transformative influence. This is indeed relevant to transformation of hosts through tourism. Through communications (transformational learning theory is rooted in the way human beings communicate) and discussions with justice tourists who often create hope in desperate situations, host communities acquire new experiences, develop new opinions, and transform themselves as individuals. While corporate interest in tourism lies on the other end of the spectrum, under “status quo,” and endorses capitalist globalization, justice tourism represents a transformative concept of “radical transformation, revolution” and promotes more humanistic globalization.

Holden’s description of justice tourism is “a process which promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants” (cited in Pearce, 1992, p. 18). The reality tours of the American NGO Global Exchange serve as illustrations of justice tourism, which was founded in 1988. GX is an international human rights NGO dedicated to “promoting social, economic and environmental justice around the world” (cited in Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008b). Its involvement is geared towards justice education and activism.

Scheyvens (2002) continued by outlining five forms of justice tourism, which include the “hosts” telling their stories of past or current oppression, tourists and visitors learning about poverty issues, (shortage of water/water theft), those undertaking in voluntary conservation work and voluntary development. One of the forms of justice tourism that differ from other forms of alternative tourism is the “hosts” telling their stories of oppression. In many destinations, indigenous people have been oppressed on the basis of their ethnicity, religion, or beliefs. There are various examples of this type of justice tourism, such as the case of apartheid South

Africa that denies the oppressed community the same rights as other citizens, similar to the Palestinian Arabs living inside of Israel. Israel still portrays itself as a Jewish and democratic state. Yet, in practice, as its Palestinian citizens can attest, it functions as a Jewish ethocracy, leaving small margins of freedom for its Palestinian citizens that have been steadily shrinking in the past few years (Kuttab, 2016). Now the Israeli state has come under the complete control of the far right wing, which sees no need even for such limited margins of freedom. This is evident in the wave of discriminatory legislation and the use of the emergency regulations against established NGOs and movements such as the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel (Nashif & Naamneh, 2016). In addition, see for example “Black heritage tourism” in Bartis (1998), Boyd (1999), and Goudie, Khan, and Kilian (1999) in which oppressed people are engaging with the tourism sector that could transform host communities.

Kassis (2006, cited in Isaac & Hodge, 2011), the director of the so-called Alternative Tourism Group in Palestine, stated that tourism and tourists who come to Palestine are facilitators of cross-cultural understanding and dialogue (or polyphonic dialogue, Isaac & Platenkamp, 2012) in a world troubled by economic disparity, racism, and violence. Clifford and Marcus (1986) stated that a dialogue where truth claims of isolated parties is replaced by a careful process of persuasion in which no voices are excluded (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2005). Visitors with a commitment to social justice have the opportunity to make positive contributions to transforming the visited communities and can become holders of the knowledge that eventually can lead to equality, democracy, and human rights for all. The attempts of Bishop Tutu to create a multiracial and multicultural forums (agora) in order to deepen the democracy and transformation in postapartheid South Africa, are an example of the benefits such as polyphonic dialogue (Green, 1999). Tourism can generate a sense of “agora” (Arendt, 1963) or a culture of hope for the Palestinian people.

According to Kassis (2012), Kairos Palestine, a Palestinian Christian community established to uphold Palestinian rights and to advocate an end to

Israel’s occupation and apartheid, is of the fundamental importance for its call to “Come and See.” Many tourists and visitors come to Palestine and Israel as visitors, and although they look they do not see. Kairos Palestine emphasizes the power of “seeing.” The community believes that for many people of goodwill it is enough to see the reality to become transformed. This is also true of the many tourists who come to visit Israel and Palestine; tourists need to see and critically reflect on what they see in order to understand.

Israel’s military control of the territories of Palestine led it to control water as if it were an Israeli public good (Brooks & Trottier, 2010). As Franco and Kay (2012) stated “water grabbing refers to situations where powerful actors are able to take control of, or divert, valuable water resources and watersheds for their own benefit, depriving local communities whose livelihood often depend on these resources and ecosystems” (cited in Gasteyer, Isaac, Hillal, & Walsh, 2012). The water regime influences many areas of life of Palestinian society. The shortage of water is the consequence of the Israeli water regime, and is seen as a personal crisis, which is in fact an internal crisis. The water shortage is a fact of everyday life that became accepted by Palestinians as a fact of nature. This process of acceptance can be well understood by Foucault’s concept of normalization, but without his anonymous frame that suffocates agency as an important source of transformation. The process of acceptance is a result of suppression and as such it is important to understand how justice tourism can contribute to the transformation of this normalization into a growing consciousness of resistance against this inhuman and atypical situation.

Tourism and Water

According to Carbon Disclosure Project (2010) in the last 50 years global water use has tripled. Water stress affects a large and growing share of humanity, with an estimated 450 million people living under severe water stress in 1995 (Vrsmarty, Green, Salisbury, & Lammers, 2000). Another 1.4–2.1 billion people live in a water-stressed basins in northern Africa, the Mediterranean region, the Middle East, the Near East, southern Asia, northern

China, Australia, the US, Mexico, north eastern Brazil, and the west coast of South America (Arnell, 2004; V r smarty et al., 2000). Global water use is increasing because of population and economic growth, changes in lifestyle, technologies and international trade, and the expansion of water supply systems (G ssling et al., 2012). Tourism is both dependent on fresh water resources and an important factor in fresh water use. Tourists at destinations need and consume water when washing, using toilets, when partaking in activities such as ski or golf tourism, after using swimming pools, spas, and wellness (G ssling et al., 2012). By 2020, tourism's contribution to water use is likely to increase with: first, increased tourist numbers; second, higher hotel standards; and third, the increased water intensity of tourism activities (cf. United Nations World Tourism Organization, United Nations Environmental Programme, and World Meteorological Organization, 2008). For example, M. Black and King (2009) recognized a range of important tourism destinations that will be chronically short of water in 2050. These are Tunesia, Malta, Morocco, South Africa, Cyprus, Maldives, Singapore, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis, Dominica, and Barbados.

G ssling et al. (2012) stated that competition for water use occurs between economic sectors (e.g., such as agriculture and tourism). For instance, in Spain the added value of water by tourism can be 60 times higher than in the agricultural segment (Auernheimer & Gonzales, 2002, cited in Downward & Taylor, 2007), putting tourism in a situation to outcompete agriculture for water. In the Mediterranean summer high season, use conflicts happen between agriculture, hydroelectricity production, and household consumption, with tourist facilities occasionally being given more priority in the supply of water (Eurosat, 2009, cited in G ssling et al., 2012). Even more serious matter can be water use conflicts between countries. According to G ssling et al. (2012), "the combination of growing populations, demands of water for industry and tourism, and increasingly unpredictable water supply combined with pre-existing political and religious tensions makes the Middle East—Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt and parts of Lebanon and Syria especially vulnerable to water security issues" (p. 10) (see also Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2004).

The State of Palestine: Colonization of the Lifeworlds

Palestine is known to be the Holy Land and is the reason why thousands of pilgrims and tourists visit the destination every year (Isaac, 2010a). The roots of Palestine's tourism particularly rest in religious pilgrimages undertaken by the three monotheistic religions that were born in the area. A good example of how the West came to know Palestine as a pilgrimage site is the travel book *Cooks Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (1876), which indicates how mass tourism was developed around the pilgrimage sector in that era (Isaac, Hall, & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2016). Other factors that attract visitors to Palestine are rich history, local culture and religion, breathtaking scenery (White, 2010), and diverse tourism products and its types.

Since the beginning of the 20th century Palestine has seen complicated changes in its political situations, most notably the creation of Israel in 1948 and the 1967 war, when Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These actions have created significant political, psychological, economic, and social impacts that deeply affected the Palestinian people, most of whom became refugees living in camps in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria (Isaac, 2010c; Morris, 2004). As Isaac et al. (2016), stated "in many ways Palestine itself was wiped off the map historic Palestine coming to be known as Israel" (p. 4).

After the 1967 war, Israel began to strip Palestinian land from its Palestinian owners. From 1967, land confiscation took place beyond the 1948 armistice line into the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Elon, 2008). Later on, settlements penetrated deeply inside the occupied land like spears, with the purpose of dividing the Palestinian land in the West Bank into three main Bantustans: north, central, and south.

The Apartheid Wall

Presently, Israel continues to construct its Apartheid Wall (Halper, 2008; Isaac, 2009), which would guarantee that the confiscated land be on the Israeli side of the border despite the fact that Israel justifies the construction of the Wall for security reasons (Al-Rimmawi, 2009). The Israeli actions in the West Bank have forced Palestinians who live

in close proximity to the Wall to leave their homes or to live in prisons surrounded by Israeli military. The Wall is planned and implemented in a way that results in residential and territorial discrimination.

Palestinian workers may be allowed to work in Israel but will not be allowed to reside in the same place (Veracini, 2006). The Palestinian cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is being destroyed by Israeli bulldozers. The Apartheid Wall is destroying shrines, archeological sites, monuments, and historical buildings. The establishment of this Wall is represented by “spatial and socio-side” (Elon, 2008). The Wall also has a significant impact on Palestinian wild life and biodiversity.

Palestine: Areas A, B, and C

As a result of the Oslo Peace Accords with Israel, Palestine was divided into three areas (Tawil-Souri, 2011): A, B and C (see Fig. 1). While the Palestinian Authority has full civil and military control over fragmented urban centers (around 3% of the West Bank, called Area A), the rural areas still fall under Israeli control (around 27% is assigned to Area B with Palestinian civil administration, but full Israeli military control).

Around 70% of the West Bank is assigned to Area C (covers the Jordan Valley region and the settlements), which remains under full Israeli military control, particularly with regard to issues of security, planning, and zoning (Hanafi, 2009, 2013). The partition was intended to last until a final status settlement was reached. Currently, Palestine is under Israeli occupation and the life of Palestinians is highly affected by Israeli troops. Israeli military checkpoints hinder free movements of tourists and local people. The Palestinian Authority (PA) has limited power to issue visas or control borders. Palestinians and Palestinian agencies do not have a well-thought outside communication with the world (Isaac, 2010b).

Israel has also a monopoly over the tourism industry (Isaac, 2013). Israeli private sector uses the Israeli government to make it difficult for the Palestinian tourism industry to develop. Official travel brochures that include maps of Israel do not acknowledge the existence of Palestine and Palestinian land (Hoyle, 2016), and particularly

Area C (Cook, 2012). Pilgrims see the Holy Land only “through the window of a tour bus” (White, 2010, p. 13). Although pilgrimage (see Isaac, 2016) remains the core backbone of the Palestinian tourism offer, religious tourism in Palestine is influenced by political changes. Thus, alternative forms of tourism develop that tell stories and speak out the truth. Examples of these alternative forms of tourism are dark tourism (Isaac, 2014; Isaac & Ashworth, 2012), justice tourism (Isaac & Hodge, 2011), volunteer tourism (Isaac & Platenkamp, 2010), and politically oriented and solidarity tourism (Isaac, 2010a).

As it can be seen from Figure 1, the Palestinian Authority has a full control of major urban centers (light gray areas) of town and cities such as Jenin, Bethlehem, Nablus, Salfiet, etc. The rural surrounding of these major urban centers (light gray areas) are areas B, and the dark gray spaces are areas C; both areas are still under Israeli military control. Settlements, as can be seen from the figure, are strategically built colonies of Israel that are connected by a network of roads that separate each Palestinian community/town from the next, and confine their ability to expand. These are all armed settlements (190 of them) and the main purpose of these settlements today is continuous control and domination of the Occupied Territories, and the bottom line in all of this is to make Palestinian leave the country.

The Hegemonic Israeli Discourse

The natural water resources in the Jordan basin are considered too scarce to keep the current standard of living of the region’s population. Natural water scarcity is perceived to be absolute. Together with the historical relation between land, water, and the creation of Jewish state (deeply rooted in Zionist ideology), this outlook results in a perception of natural water scarcity as an existential threat, manifested in countless securitizing steps, actions, and moves.

1948 to 1967: Israel’s Ideological Era

Since 1948, Israel’s control of water resources has been the result of military actions that forced between 700,000 and 800,000 Palestinians into exile and claimed the most fertile part of the

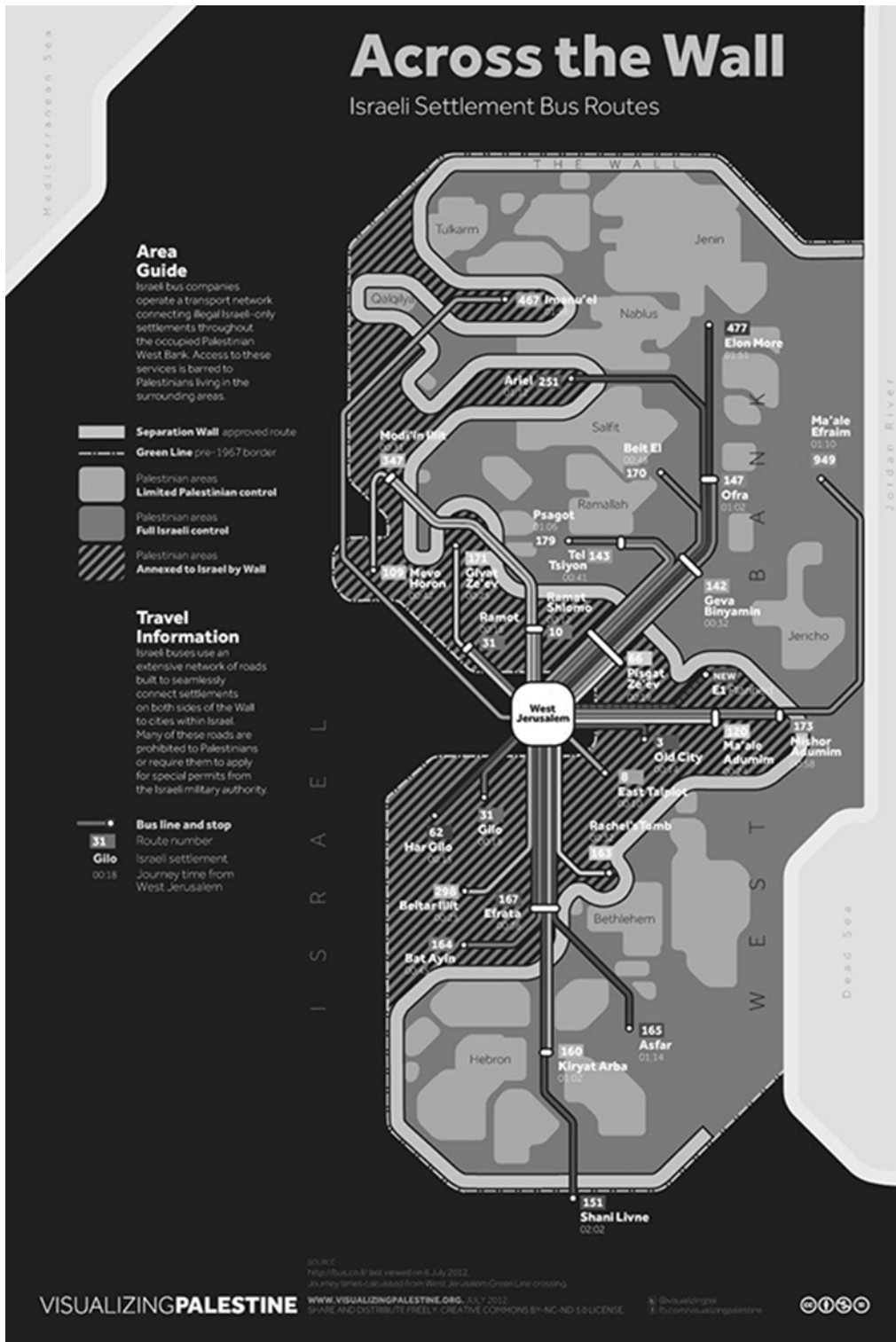


Figure 1. Areas of Palestine. Source: Copyright © Visualising Palestine.

territory for the new Israeli state, and subsequent military occupation (Gasteyer et al., 2012). This era spanning from 1948 until Israeli's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967, is called the "ideological era" for the Israeli state's ambitious and successfully completed "hydraulic mission"—the state's drive to provide water for all its sectors (Zeitoun, Messerschmid, & Attili, 2008). Feitelson and Haddad (2000, p. 345) named this period as the Israeli "resource expropriation era" (p. 345), which others also described as Zionist ideology-dictated water development.

1967 to 1995: The Era of Israeli Domination

The Israeli occupation of Arab states in June 1967 resulted in a far-reaching altering of the Jordan River Basin's hydro-political map. Feitelson and Haddad (2000) emphasized the importance of power relations between the two entities:

The outcome of the six-day war changed both the hydro-strategic relationship of Israel and her neighbours, and the power balance between them. This change in Israeli hydro-strategic situation and its evident military superiority effectively prevented the Arab side from challenging Israeli's water plans or use. (p. 350)

Indeed, military orders prevented the development of water resources by Palestinians (El Musa, 1997).

1995 Onwards: The Era of Israeli Hegemony

This period is defined as one of the Israeli hegemony for its formal and sharp break with one of the occupation period by way of the 1995 Oslo II Interim Agreement signed between the state of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). This agreement was short term and did not result in the establishment of Palestinian sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza (Zeitoun et al., 2008). Today Israel still occupies around 70% of the West Bank, the so-called Area C. In the immediate wake of Oslo II, the international community considered Palestine and Israel as formal equals. The dominative means of Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza during the occupation were replaced with the softer hegemonic means of control, which are dependent on Palestinian approval (Zeitoun, 2008).

In addition, Gordon (2008) reported that the Israeli unilateral efforts are "reorganization of power in the territories in order to continue controlling the resources" (p. 25), what Falah (2005) termed the "enclavization" of the territory.

The Water Crisis in Palestine

Over more than 44 years, the Israeli occupation has violated the Palestinian right to the equitable and reasonable utilization of shared water resources (Richard & Issac, 2012). From the end of the 1967 war, Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Israel initiated its occupation of the Palestinian territories and quickly imposed military orders to achieve full control over land and water resources. These military orders dissolved the legal systems that existed before 1967, which consisted of the Ottoman, British, Jordanian (West Bank), and Egyptian (Gaza Strip) laws.

Nowadays, the administration of water resources in Palestine is under Israeli control, with almost 2,000 military orders and proclamations forming the foundations of the occupation (Richard & Issac, 2012). These orders are further reinforced by the demolition of Palestinian infrastructure and the expansion and the construction of the illegal Segregation Wall (according to the International Court of Justice in the Hague; see Isaac, 2009). The construction of the Wall inside Palestinian territory has been seen by many as an attempt to expropriate water resources and assert Israeli control over hydrologically sensitive areas (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008).

Water resources in Palestine are comprised of groundwater resources, the West Bank's aquifer System, and the coastal aquifer, in addition to the Jordan River system. The state of Israel has full control of almost all the Palestinian water resources and is exploiting around 90% of these resources for exclusive Israeli use, including for use of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, leaving 10% to the Palestinians [Palestinian National Authority (PNA), 2012].

Al-Rimmawi, (2009) stated, "the water discharge in the West Bank is approximately 600 to 660 million cubic meters annually. Palestinians exploit about 123 million cubic meters and the rest is consumed by Israel" (p. 404).

The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends 100 liters of water per capita per day. Average Palestinian consumption of water is of 50 liters per capita per day (lpcpd). In contrast, the average Israeli daily per capita consumption in the illegal settlements is at least four times the Palestinian average from available fresh water [United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), 2012]. Since the Palestinian Authority is only able to use 20% of all underground and surface water resources in the West Bank (under Peace Agreements in 1995 with Israel) it is forced to purchase extra supplies from the Israeli National Water Company “Mekorot” [Emergency, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Group (EWASH), 2012]. Approximately 200,000 Palestinians residing in the West Bank have no access to water network connections. They travel long distances to the closest water sources and pay high amounts for tank water of doubtful quality. Moreover, the ability of Palestinians to reach sources of water is blocked due to the movement and access restrictions, such as checkpoints, earth mounds, and the Segregation Wall imposed by the Israeli military.

There are approximately 150,000 people living in Area A, with around 18,500 living in small and inactive villages, and 27,500 residing in Bedouin and other herding communities (PNA, 2012). Water projects and infrastructure within this zone require an official permit from the Joint Water Committee (JWC). In 1995 the JWC established an Interim Agreement to oversee all water and wastewater related projects in the West Bank. All projects submitted to JWC approval require joint Palestinian–Israeli agreement. However, Israel has always used the JWC to veto Palestinian proposed water projects, including the construction of new wells as well as the development of much needed wastewater treatment and sewage networks across the occupied Palestinian territories (PNA, 2012). The process of obtaining an official water permit is long and bureaucratic, and often results in permission being denied. Projects executed in Area C without prior approval are demolished by the Israeli military. Between 2009 and 2011, Israel demolished 173 water, sanitation, and hygiene structures, as well as 57 rainwater collection cisterns, 40 community wells, irrigation equipment vital for food production, and at least 20 toilets and sinks (Richard & Issac, 2012).

I. Black (2013) stated, “a new academic study shows that what has been billed as bilateral ‘cooperation’ over water resources is much more like domination, in which the Palestinians not only acquiesce in Israeli demands but effectively ‘consent to their own colonization’” (p. 2).

In the same vein, Selby’s (2013) study demonstrated that Israel agreed to improve the Palestinian water supplies, conditional upon the Palestinian Authority approval of new water facilities for illegal settlements. Palestinians face serious water shortages and an underdeveloped supply system but have given their approval in almost every case.

The overall in-balance of power was reflected in hard “facts on the ground.” As Amnesty International has said (cited in Black, 2013):

Swimming pools, well-watered lawns and large irrigated farms in Israeli settlements stand in stark contrast to Palestinian villages whose inhabitants struggle even to meet their essential domestic water needs. In parts of the West Bank, Israeli settlers use up to 20 times more water than neighbouring Palestinians who survive on barely 20 liter of water per capita a day, the minimum amount recommended by the World Health organization (WHO) for emergency situations response. (p. 3)

Figure 2 was produced by Visual Palestine to show how the Israeli government appropriates the Palestinian water supply in the West Bank before it reaches Palestinian homes. Ramallah is a Palestinian city in the central of West Bank, located 10 km north of Jerusalem. Despite the fact that the city of Ramallah receives more rainfall than London (one of the world’s most renowned rainy cities), the average West Bank Palestinian can access only one quarter of the water available to the average Israeli each day, and 30 liters less than the World Health Organization’s minimum recommendation (UNOCHA, 2012).

In recent years, a growing number of water springs, in the vicinity of illegal Israeli settlements throughout the West Bank, have become the target of settler activities that eliminated, or put at risk, the access to these springs and their use by Palestinians (UNOCHA, 2012). A recent survey carried out UNOCHA (2012) in the course of 2011 identified a total of 56 such springs, the large majority of which are located in Area C, on land parcels

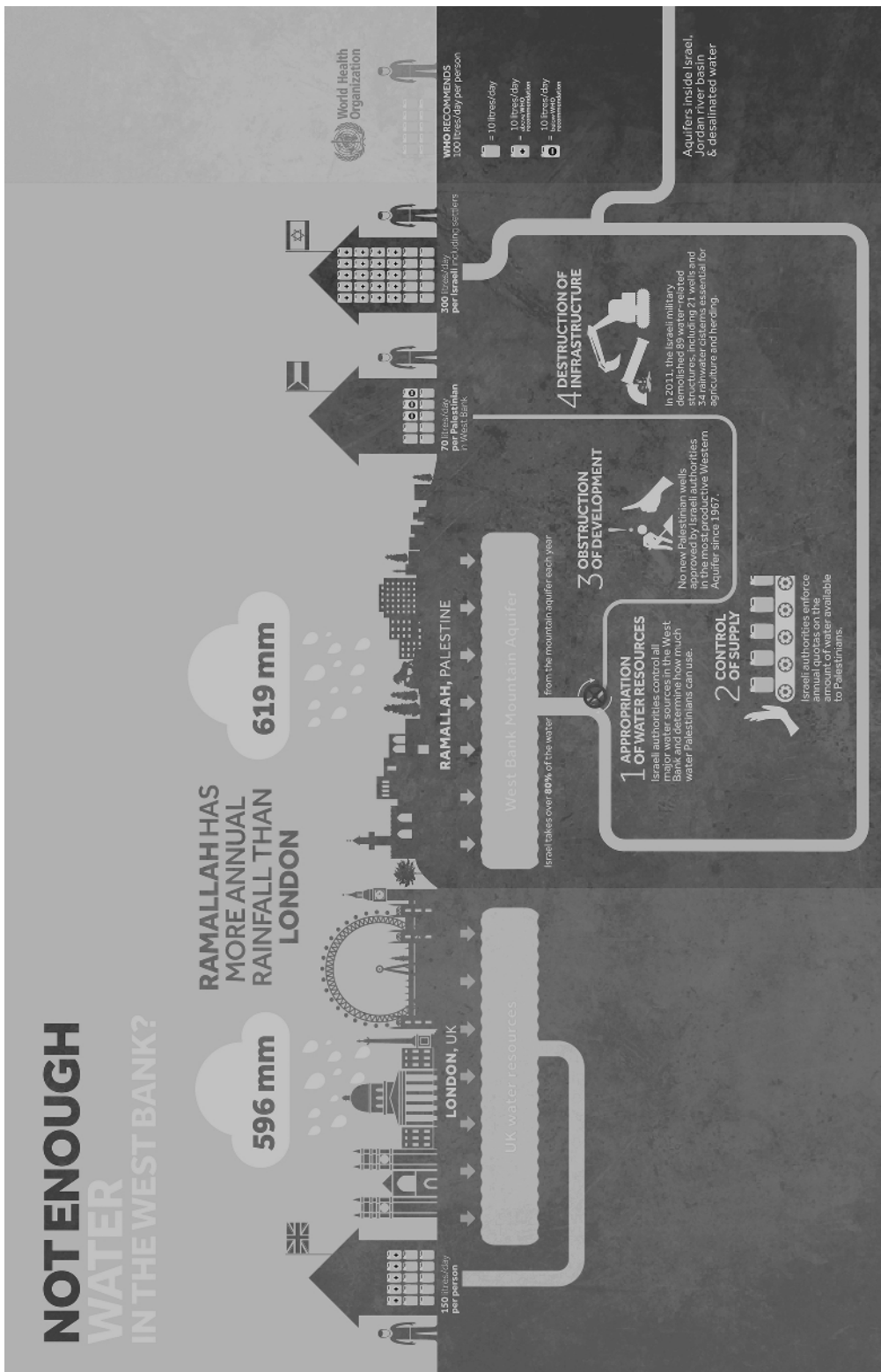


Figure 2. Palestinian water supply in the West Bank. Source: Copyright © Visualising Palestine.

recorded by the Israeli Administration as privately owned by Palestinians. Thirty of these springs were found to be under full settler control, with no Palestinian access to the area. In almost three quarters, Palestinians have been deterred from access to these springs by acts of intimidation, threats by weapons, and violence perpetrated by Israeli settlers. In 40 out of 56 springs Israeli settlers had begun to develop the surrounding area into a “tourist attraction.” Works performed for this purpose include the construction or renovations of water pools, the deployment of picnic tables and shading structures, the paving of leading roads, and the installations of signs announcing a Hebrew name of the spring. On the other side of the Segregation Wall, Palestinians only hear the water (UNOCHA, 2012).

Settler touristic sites and business are regularly promoted and advocated among the Israeli Jewish public. As one of the websites for example dedicated a separate page advertising 17 water springs “renovated” by settlers in the Ramallah area, in land belongs to the Palestinians (UNOCHA, 2012). In response to a media article on this subject, the spokesman of the Israeli Regional Council (Rinat, 2012) stated:

during the past two years there has been tremendous development in tourism. As part of the development plans of the Tourism Ministry and the regional council, we are also repairing murky springs and turning them into enjoyable tourist sites. The springs are not the council’s private property and they are open to the general public. For clear security reasons, and in the wake of past terror attacks, the Israel Defense Forces does not allow Arabs’ access to the springs near the settlements. (p. 2)

The above practice is part of a larger trend involving the development of the tourism infrastructure of Israeli illegal settlements. This infrastructure contributes to the entrenchment of the settlements enterprise in at least three distinct ways: it expands the scope of territorial control of settlements; the continuous control, colonization of Palestinian lifeworlds, and domination of occupied Palestinian territories; it adds a source of employment and revenue for the settler population; and it contributes to the “normalization” of settlements in the eyes of larger segments of Israeli society (UNOCHA, 2012).

Normally speaking, actions of people in their lifeworlds are coordinated by mutual communication. When this coordination mechanism is being replaced by the efficiency and affectivity of political or economic systems, this is called colonization of lifeworlds (Habermas, 1984; Isaac & Platenkamp, 2012, 2016).

The Role of the Agora in Justice Tourism

Hannah Arendt was a German-American political theorist whose work focused on the fact that “men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world” (Arendt, 1996, p. 9). Her works dealt with the nature of power, and the subjects of politics, democracy, authority, and totalitarianism. There were two “events” that characterized the life of Arendt for her political position in Palestine. First, in the 1930s Arendt escaped from Nazi-Germany to Paris. From 1935 she worked for the “*Aliyah des jeunes*,” a society that helped the children from Jewish refugees to escape to Palestine. Second, she helped in building the institutions for the creation of the state of Israel before and during the proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948. Arendt turned away from Zionism; she considered this newly created state as a missed opportunity and entreated for a multinational state in which Palestinians, Jews, and Arabs would be treated as equal citizens.

During these events Arendt developed her thoughts about political action in a convincing and truthful manner. As in the Greek “*agora*” free citizens, not bothered by daily necessities that are dealt with by their slaves, break out of their isolated positions by taking the initiative to participate through dialogue and action to the public discourse of the ancient city-state, where human *plurality* dictates the rules (Arendt, 1958, 1996) of their communicative actions. In taking actions and appearance in the public, Arendt presented herself as a distinct person. She entered a web of human interrelationships, like in the Greek *agora* or in the Roman *res publica*, which supports the idea that people make their appearance in the *human world* by the disclosure of themselves as active agents in the reality in-between people of this web. This world becomes human because through speech and acts the human animal succeeds in creating a world that exceeds the daily demands of biological survival and the

fabricated world of the *homo faber*. This particular human world has, in fact, no beginning nor ending. Because of its human plurality and the distinctive and equivalent positions people have in this world, it becomes a world that is humanitarian in a necessary manner for men as a species. Lacking this world, human life is threatened by “thoughtlessness,” conformism, and the reduction of *man as a whole* to the level of a conditioned and behaving animal, by totalitarianism (Arendt, 1958).

These two “events” are noteworthy in a different sense. In the context of the web of interrelated relationships through the 1930s in Paris, fairness and justice had a different meaning than in the context of 1948. Justice has and should have a universal meaning, even though it has to be transformed into different webs of relationships. The positions of Arendt in both contexts were related to justice as a universal concept. However, in the first context she chose and welcomed Zionism, whereas in the second context she did the contrary. The reasons do not need much explanation; they become obvious within the later contexts where justice remains a constant element of judgement.

In the first context, justice is related to the horrifying situation of the Jews during the 1930s in a hostile Europe, while in the second context it shifts, for Arendt, to the injustice and the expulsion of Palestinians from their own home land, perpetrated by the newly state of Israel. As a result, about three quarters of a million Palestinians were forced to leave their homes and some 500 localities were destroyed by the Israeli military (Isaac & Hodge, 2011).

The case of Arendt introduces the idea of the “agora” that there always is a tension between the universal width of a concept like justice and the different, also culturally defined, contexts in which justice delivers a worthwhile contribution to the battle against injustice. The “right solution” is always open to a (universal) plural discourse in which many sides are disclosed from their isolated position and participate in a public discourse. People should be heard in this discourse from various, distinctive positions. Therefore, a precondition for this type of discourse must be human plurality. All relevant positions should be listened to and no one should be excluded in advance. It remains an open question as to whether this situation can be realized in extreme places, where power instead of argumentations rules the waves.

This discourse needs a point of anchorage in the contested space of water in Palestine. The concept of an “agora” suits this need well. On the agora plural voices present themselves in serious discussions in regard to the water regime in Palestine, which could contribute to the transformations of the host population.

Transformation of Palestinian Hosts Through Justice Tourism

Foucault’s concept of a discourse has been mainly introduced into the tourism discussions by Urry (1990). According to Foucault (1988), a discourse is a way of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations that inhere in such knowledge and relations between them, such as the discourse about tourism and the Israeli water regime. The dominant discourse in this case clearly is the Israeli discourse. Through this discourse, water and water allocation have been organized. The process of disciplining (Foucault, 1975) and the exclusion of Palestinian people are part of the mechanism that Foucault refers to in his concept of a discourse. An example of disciplining is the way the Palestinian Authority has been brainwashed and disciplined to follow and consent with the Israeli discourse. An example of such exclusion is the fact the Palestinian people are excluded from their own water resources. According to Foucault, counterdiscourses emerge at the same time in spite of the dominant discourse. In relation to the water regime in Palestine, there are dispersed elements of such a counterdiscourse that are in need of a strong organization. This also refers to the necessity of human agency; here human agency becomes an element underestimated by the Foucauldian power–knowledge–constellation (Smart, 1982) related to the concept of (counter) discourse. As Arendt (1958) stated: “The miracle that saves the world, the realism of human affairs, from its normal, ‘natural’ ruin is ultimately the fact of natality, in which the faculty of action is ontologically rooted” (p. 247).

Through Habermas’ (1984) communicative action it becomes conceivable to support this necessary role of the “human agency.” Communicative action certainly not stops from within lifeworlds, and human agency is embedded in it. Whereas the

Israeli discourse colonizes the Palestinian life-world and excludes different views because of it, communicative action within this same lifeworld can organize the dispersed elements of a counter-discourse to be revitalized.

There are a few scholars, organizations, and international NGOs who are tackling the water issue in Palestine. However, these are unorganized entities. Therefore, these dispersed elements could be articulated in a coherent counterdiscourse on the agora. These elements are indicative for the transformations that underlie them and that are based on the type of resistance that has been excluded in the dominant discourse. That is why it becomes crucial to understand these transformations in the Palestinian host communities, as they constitute the basis for emerging counterdiscourse.

When we look more precisely to these transformations we can observe how they develop in time. Transformation starts with a disorienting dilemma (see Mezirow, 1991) for the Palestinian host populations. In the everyday life of the Palestinian people, the influence of the water regime can be observed through the daily routines that have come into existence because of it. In these daily routines, it is self-evident that Palestinians had to adapt to the these influences, such as water shortage, especially in the summer seasons, where people sometimes have no drinking water, particularly in the rural areas of Palestine. This is seen as a personal crisis, which is in fact an internal crisis. This fact, of everyday life, becomes accepted as a fact of nature, because of a lack of awareness of the power relations that are underneath it. The Israeli repression, as explained above, disappears from the awareness of the Palestinian people, where it should not. This disorienting dilemma should be counteracted through self-examination about the feeling(s) of shame that go with it, but are repressed. How do you realize such as a process of self-examination? This process starts with the realization that the Israeli control of water should not be considered as a fact of life; the Palestinians recognize that fellow citizens have similar experiences and have undergone a similar problem.

Therefore, the self-evident background assumption in the daily routines of the Palestinian's lives about the acceptance of the suppression through

water regimes is going to be critically assessed. Justice tourism is a platform on which this critical assessment can be stimulated.

Through justice tourism, visitors become aware of the Palestinian everyday life. When the Palestinians behave as self-conscious citizens, who are aware of their repression and are trying to create hope for a better future, these visitors become participants to this process. Through these reactions of the visitors, who share the feelings of discontent of the Palestinians, the process of creating hope and meaning becomes a crucial topic in the justice tourism of this situation. The host populations play a different role in order to meet these expectations of the visitors. Their old role, which was still a consequence of the acceptance of the dominant power relations, is not adequate in this new situation of hope. For example, tours are being organized for justice tourists in and around Bethlehem, where tourists are introduced to the "facts on the ground" or "see it for yourself experience," like Israeli "security" measures inside the West Bank such as roadblocks, checkpoints, the construction of the Wall, and the construction of bypass roads have also obstructed Palestinian access to water resources, services, and facilities. Such measures isolate Palestinian communities from their springs, wells, and water points, force Palestinians to travel long distances to access water, and obstacles to movement have hindered water tanks and sewage disposal trucks from accessing certain areas, causing them to make long detours, which due to increased time and fuel costs have rendered such services unaffordable in many cases.

In these tours Palestinian guides put emphasis on these issues from human rights perspectives. The Israeli authorities have violated the Palestinian right to the equitable and reasonable utilization of shared water resources. These violations also include reducing the quantity of water for personal and domestic needs, including personal sanitation: the washing of clothes, food preparation, and personal domestic hygiene (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008). Subsequently, justice tourism can function as a catalyst to the enhancement of a growing awareness of human agency.

The creation of hope and meaning that is involved in this process and that needs a place for

development in this overwhelming cynical situation finds a niche in justice tourism. In this niche, there is room for trying out and developing these new roles, within the context of the Palestinian host circumstances. For example, the so-called Alternative Tourism Group (ATG, 2008) invites prominent Palestinians academics as well as institutions that deal with the water regime in Palestine, to present the tangible as well as the intangible characteristics of the oppression, and control of the Israeli water regime. The purpose of these meetings is to create awareness among visitors. But at the same time, Palestinian guides working in this field also become aware of the situation and are more inclined to train the new roles that go with it. For example, Palestinians guides can also touch upon these issues of the Israeli water regime during their tours in a more self-conscious manner that becomes a self-evident part of their new role. Apart from this, these tours are very popular among Palestinian populations and this self-conscious awareness gradually enters the minds of the Palestinian themselves.

Via this growing awareness among the Palestinians, the hope for a better future could become a reintegrated part of the Palestinian mind-set. It could lead to a new perspective of resistance against the existing power relations. It opens the Palestinian minds and makes them realize that no human being has to accept this humiliating condition in their everyday lives. It opens their minds for a revitalized human agency.

Research studies on the education and conservation benefits of nature and ecotourism, for example, often stress the positive effect that such activities can have on tourists' environmental attitudes, sometimes even leading to an ethical and environmental transformation of the tourist (Weaver, 2005) and resulting in "longer term intentions to engage in conservation actions" (Zeppel & Muloin, 2009, p. 215). Justice tourism studies are no exception. Aspects of justice tourism in this context is related to the concept of ambassadorship tourism. The ambassadorship concept originates from the 1960s, when Lars-Eric Lindblad started ship-borne tourism operations in the Antarctic under a strong environmental ethic that is still applied today (Snyder, 2007; Stonehouse & Crosbie, 1995). It could apply in relation to water ethic that once visitors see this

situation, they go home and tell their friends they've got to do something.

"Ambassadorship" is a term very hard to define. It can quite simply be synonymous with advocacy, and stewardship. In other geographic settings, it is used interchangeably with these terms. The term is underanalyzed on the specific definition and actions associated with "ambassadorship." "Ambassadorship" appears in the literature and studies of many Antarctic writers and tour operators (Heritage Expeditions 1997; Kershaw, 1998; Suter, 1991; Thomas, 1994). Tourist operations draw a connection between visiting the continent and subsequent "ambassadorship." Heritage Expeditions Ltd. (1997) advocated that tourism creates "ambassadors" by raising awareness through sharing with them the unique natural history of Antarctica and the Sub-Antarctic, allowing expedition members to visit historic sites and discussing with them the conservation issues confronting the Antarctic Continent. In the context of justice tourism, it could be a relevant term to introduce in raising awareness and advocates for a just equal utilization of water. "Ambassadorship" tourism aims to contribute to the Palestine host communities' transformation and development of a higher level of self-consciousness of their rights as a sovereign nation.

Conclusion: Transformative Action

Looking back at the main points of transformational learning, one can make the following observations. Making meaning is the first point. The main type of meaning perspective is a "generalized set of habitual expectations" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 42). In this Palestinian case it is a psychological one. It is related to the way people view themselves. In this context of justice tourism, the Palestinian people starts to see themselves as self-conscious hosts who resist the Israeli domination of their everyday lives, instead of accepting it. This indeed creates a perspective of a new meaning. A second point of consideration is the importance of critical reflection. Critical reflection involves critique of assumption to determine whether the old beliefs, attitudes, or opinions are still functional and are central elements of the transformational process. In a situation of despair due to the Israeli

domination nothing seems possible to improve the everyday lives regarding the water shortages and so on. Through this form of justice tourism, some hope could be created by the critical reflection of tourism professionals and the Palestinian hosts themselves. That makes critical reflection such an important topic. It is an important first step to human agency. Related to the next topic of this transformational process, "communication," the theory of Habermas (1984) is a clarifying point of reference. Instead of strategic action that colonizes the lifeworlds of the Palestinians, communicative action creates meaning and common understanding through the new way Palestinians communicate with one another. Communicative action contributes to the process of building self-esteem, self-understanding, and confidence, which are main elements in the creation of the new beliefs and behavior. Because of these changes, new roles are becoming internalized that represent the new perspectives on the actual situation of repression.

It now becomes clear that justice tourism can be of significance for the necessary transformational process in this Palestinian context. Of course, the power relations themselves are not going to change because of this process. But in no situation of human oppression is it acceptable that people have been victimized to such a degree that they have accepted the conditions of their oppression. Within this process of transformation new hope has been created and will be created as a fundamental part of human existence. And because of this, new perspective contributes towards higher levels of personal development and growth, changing life perspective and a higher level of self-consciousness of their rights as a sovereign nation. Justice tourism can be a unique phenomenon that contributes to this host transformation and that will stimulate the necessary human agency.

Discussion could be organized on the "agora" with themes on "water regime" in Palestine. A film can be portrayed and a debate can be organized about the current Israeli control and hegemony over water and the exclusion of Palestinians from water and water resources. A lecture about how Israelis think of water sharing and how they look at the Palestinian situation in regards to water could be also organized by the UNOCHA office in Palestine. Through these debates, lectures, and films, Palestinians will become acquainted with the situation

and the miserable desperate situations in other cities and villages in Palestine. Palestinians will be more aware of the aggressive Israeli measures in water theft. The various institutions and NGOs in Palestine and Israel that are involved in the water regime should organize themselves in a more consistent and coherent manner to create a counterdiscourse. One of these organizations and institutions involved in the issue of water is the Applied Research Institute, Jerusalem (ARIJ); one of their objectives is to effectively disseminate information and knowledge to Palestinian society. This is a very important agency involved in the collecting, analyzing, and actively participate in understanding the community problems and issues, in this case the water regime. Kairos Palestine is a Christian organization that advocates for justice and human rights and are more and more engaging in the tourism and politics. Alternative Tourism Group, Alternative Information Centre, the Jewish Voice for Peace, and Palestine Hydrology group are all important agencies that do research and output regarding the water issue. Once these entities work together, towards a clear vision, their impacts will clearly make some kind of transformation of Palestinian host communities. Thus, through these debates and discussion on the "agora" with Justice tourists and solidarity visitors, Palestinian people will experience the transformations that have been discussed in this critical review article. This transformation can be interpreted in various ways. In principle, it contributes to the discussion that Palestine has the right to exist as a Palestinian state. Palestine as a collective constitutes a country in the sense that its population possesses a right to self-determination. People's right to self-determination involves the right to erect a state of their own.

The Israeli discourse in the Middle East and in the West is dominant but there is a gradual pressure on Israel that comes from outside, in particular from the international community and international NGOs. Consequently, it results in an emergent counterdiscourse that more and more people and countries are becoming aware of. The situation of injustice is indeed intolerable for a country that claims to be a "democratic" state. This counterdiscourse reacts against the ways Israel treats the Palestinians in general and the water theft in particular. This is the time for the international community

and Western countries in particular that need to take actions against the Israeli occupation and the unequal right to water. It is *PalesTime*.

There is a dispersed growing counterdiscourse coming up among Palestinian populations. For future research, it becomes relevant to examine this emergent counterdiscourse in its various aspects. What are the dominant tales? How are they represented in public life? What does it mean for everyday life of the Palestinian themselves? What is the role of the Palestinian civil society in this water issue and how should they be involved? And how does this counterdiscourse relate to the opinions of the outside nations? How can different people act to make use of new opportunities created by this counterdiscourse? This growing counterdiscourse might have too little impact in order to change the situation related to the water regime in Palestine. However, where there is hope there is a start for changing this situation. Justice tourism will contribute to the creation of hope in extreme places such as Palestine.

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