

# The Jerusalem Wall

A Survey on the Impact of the Separation Wall on Jerusalem



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## 1. Introduction

The construction of the Wall around and through East Jerusalem, which separate it from its peripheral neighborhoods, its hinterland and from the rest of occupied West Bank, has deeply changed the Palestinian society. The spatial behavior of Palestinians, resulting from a lack of mobility rights within Jerusalem's urban space and from their attitudes towards the Wall, coupled with its impact on their lives, has altered the physical and psychological make-up of the city and its inhabitants.

The Wall itself, whose construction in the Jerusalem area began in 2002 and now runs in excess of 100 kilometers, is but a fraction of a larger rout that extend 770 km, engulfing almost all of the West Bank.

In order to understand the perception, experience, and impact of the Wall amongst Jerusalemites, the International Peace and Cooperation Center (IPCC) has conducted several polls over the years. This latest report is based on survey data gathered during December 2009 through March 2010.

The report summarizes the primary psychological, social, economic and political findings of the survey concerning the spatial separation created by the Wall and examines how the Wall is internalized in the memories, perceptions and behavior of the affected Palestinians. Our findings allow for a current assessment of the impact of the Wall, and they also allow the development of policies that will improve the living conditions of the Palestinians most affected by the Separation Wall.

## 2. Methodology

The survey team interviewed 758 Palestinians in the Jerusalem areas. With varying frequency, over 90% of those interviewed lead lives that requires them to cross the wall. The survey employed a questionnaire used previously to collect information for the 2007-2008 IPCC report, *"Jerusalem Wall: A Decade of Division and Urban Incarceration"*. It is available on line at [www.ipcc-jerusalem.org](http://www.ipcc-jerusalem.org).

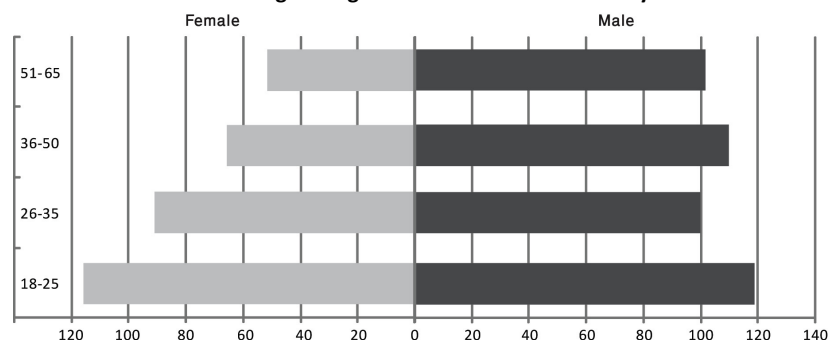
### *The Target Group*

Age, gender and education level were structured organismic factors in the design of the survey (see *Chart 1* and *Table 1*)

**Age.** The target group of the survey were adults between ages 18 and 65: 31% of questioned people are between ages 18 and 25; 25.3% are between 26 and 35; 23.4% between 36 and 50; 20.3% between 50 and 65. The subjects were randomly chosen "on the street" at important Jerusalem Wall crossing points (the check points at Qalandia, Azaytoneh, and Bethlehem) and in the commercial districts (Salah Eddin/Suleiman Streets, the Old City, Wadi Joz, Beit Hanina, and Shufat). Geostatistical analysis of the questionnaires employed several software packages: SPSS© and Microsoft Excel©, GIS programs and ESRI Arc Map© and Arc Catalog©.

**Gender.** Slightly more men were included (431 or 57% male; 325 or 43% female), which we believe is reflective of the general population of wall crossers.

**Chart 1. Age and gender structure of the survey.**



**Education level.** The education level of the subjects: 51.7% of the respondents have a university Degree, 35.3% a high school diploma, and 12.9% an elementary school diploma. Subjects under age 35 tend to be better educated than those 36 and older. The exceptions are those holding an advanced degree, all of whom were 36 or older. Paradoxically, the older groups also had the largest percentage of those with only an elementary school diploma.

**Table 1. Education level and age group.**

		Age Group				Total
		18-25	26-35	36-50	51-65	
Education Level	Elementary	16 (7%)	17 (9%)	26 (15%)	38 (25%)	97 (13%)
	High School	54 (24%)	70 (37%)	81 (46%)	60 (39%)	265 (35%)
	University B.A	156 (68%)	100 (52%)	56 (32%)	49 (32%)	361 (48%)
	Higher Education	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	13 (8%)	7 (5%)	25 (3%)
	Total	229 (31%)	191 (25%)	176 (23%)	154 (21%)	750 (100%)

### 3. Main Findings

#### 3.1. Residential Impact

##### *Change in place of residence due to the Wall*

Nearly one fifth (18%) of the respondents have changed their place of residence because of the Wall (132 out of 747). There appears to be only a slight relationship between that finding and the level of education: among the re-locators, 53% had less than a college degree and 47% had a college or an advanced degree (see *Table 2*).

**Table 2. Change of residence and academic degree.**

		Education Level				Total
		Elementary	High School	University B.A	Higher Education	
Change of residence	No	85 (14%)	205 (33%)	301 (49%)	24 (4%)	615 (82%)
	Yes	12 (9%)	58 (44%)	59 (45%)	3 (2%)	132 (18%)
	Total	97 (13%)	263 (35%)	360 (48%)	27 (4%)	747 (100%)

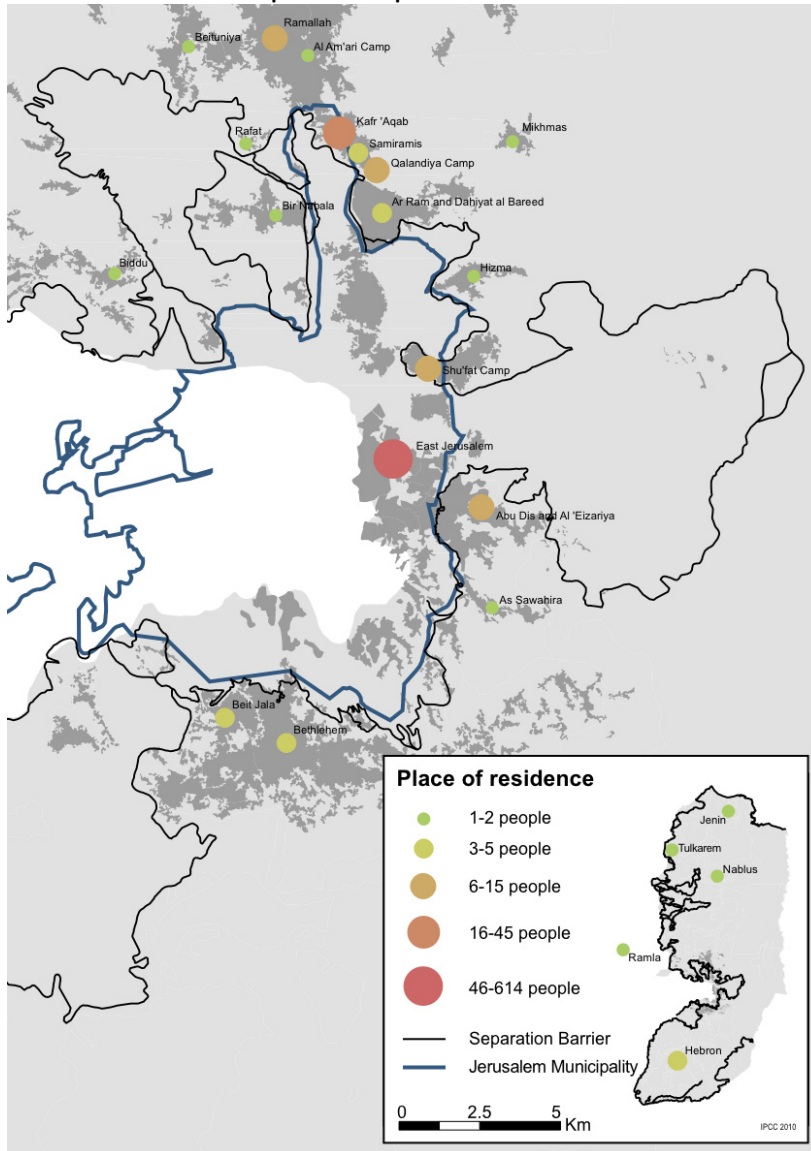
##### *Place of residence*

Most of the respondents live in various neighborhood of East Jerusalem (82%); 18% live in the West Bank in proximity of Jerusalem. The majority of the respondents live in neighborhoods that are located inside the Separation Wall.

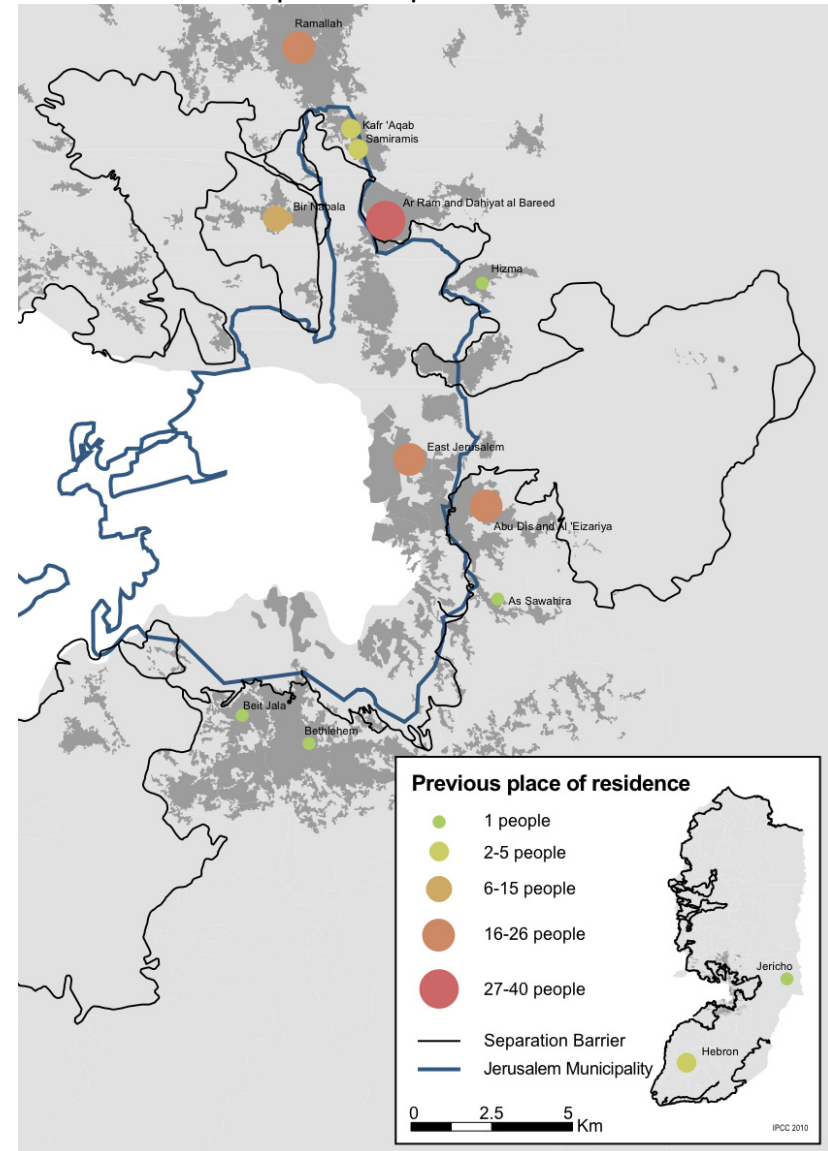
##### *Previous place of residence*

84% of the re-locators formerly lived in the West Bank, mainly in the Jerusalem suburban surroundings. Most of them (presumably the holders of Jerusalem ID cards) moved from the nearby West Bank (Abu Dis and Eizariyeh, Ar Ram, and Ramallah) to Jerusalem neighborhoods located inside the Wall. 15% formerly lived in neighborhoods of East Jerusalem:

**Map 1. Current place of residence.**



**Map 2. Previous place of residence.**



### 3.2. The Perception of the Wall

#### Terms of description

The previous observations can be confirmed by the analysis of the name that people use for the Wall. In fact, if most of the people perceive the Wall as apartheid Wall, this proportion is higher for people with a low education degree (68%). Nonetheless, people with a high educational level perceive the Wall as a Wall of annexation and expansion (16%). Also in this case people with a low educational level seems to perceive more the concrete consequences in term of access limitations than the political and implications of the Wall.

**Table 3. Common Names for the Wall and education level.**

		Level of Education				Total
		Elementary	High School	University B.A	Higher Education	
Name for the Wall	Jerusalem Envelop	9 (24%)	14 (38%)	13 (35%)	1 (3%)	37 (5%)
	Wall of annexation and expansion	3 (3%)	20 (23%)	58 (67%)	6 (7%)	87 (12%)
	Apartheid Wall	65 (13%)	182 (38%)	222 (46%)	16 (3%)	485 (65%)
	Wall	6 (8%)	29 (40%)	35 (49%)	2 (3%)	72 (10%)
	Security Fence	9 (17%)	15 (28%)	28 (52%)	2 (4%)	54 (7%)
	Other	4 (31%)	5 (38%)	4 (31%)	- (0%)	13 (2%)
	Total	96 (13%)	265 (35%)	360 (48%)	27 (4%)	748 (100%)

#### Feelings elicited when viewing the Wall

The main sentiment subjects feel in the presence of the Wall is of “humiliation” (27%); 20.8% of participants feel “isolation from the world”, 19.1% “anger”, 14.5% “suppression”, 12.1% depression; 5.2%

“fear”, 0.4% “safety and satisfaction.” Other responses included, “something else”, “indifference”, “I don’t know” or “nothing”. When examined for the standpoint of education level, respondents with a higher academic degree usually feel humiliated while seeing the Wall. Those with a high school diploma feel isolated from the world and those with an elementary degree feel anger.

**Table 4. Feelings elicited in the presence of the Wall and education level.**

		Education Level				Total
		Elementary	High School	University B.A	Higher Education	
Feelings when viewing the Wall	Fear	6 (16%)	15 (39%)	17 (45%)	- (0%)	38 (5%)
	Safety and Satisfaction	1 (25%)	- (0%)	3 (75%)	- (0%)	4 (1%)
	Isolation from the world	6 (4%)	68 (44%)	75 (48%)	6 (4%)	155 (21%)
	Suppression	13 (12%)	33 (31%)	59 (55%)	3 (3%)	108 (14%)
	Anger	31 (22%)	50 (35%)	57 (40%)	5 (3%)	143 (19%)
	Humiliation	24 (12%)	59 (29%)	108 (54%)	10 (5%)	201 (27%)
	Depression	14 (15%)	39 (43%)	35 (38%)	3 (3%)	91 (12%)
	Other	2 (33%)	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	- (0%)	6 (1%)
	Total	97 (13%)	265 (36%)	357 (48%)	27 (4%)	746 (100%)

Feelings elicited in the presence of the Wall are not related to gender: the feeling of “humiliation” is the most common expression for both sexes.

### Effects on daily life

Most of the respondents reported that the Wall has psychological or mental effects on their lives (45.2%); 29.4% think that the Wall has social effects; 20.5% cited economic effects and 1.6% demographic effects. Others (3%) believe that the Wall has effects such as: restriction of movement or uncertainty or indifference. Those with a university diploma more frequently feel that the Wall affects their life, whereas those with an elementary or a high school diploma are more likely to report that the Wall affects their economic life. Social consequences are nearly equally reported at all education levels.

Table 5. Effects of Wall on people's life and academic degree.

		Education Level				Total
		Elementary	High School	University BA	Higher Education	
Effects of Wall on people's life	Psychological	36 (11%)	100 (30%)	186 (55%)	16 (5%)	338 (45%)
	Social	24 (11%)	88 (40%)	102 (47%)	5 (2%)	219 (29%)
	Economic	25 (16%)	66 (43%)	59 (38%)	5 (3%)	155 (21%)
	Demographic	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	7 (58%)	1 (8%)	12 (2%)
	Other	9 (39%)	8 (35%)	6 (26%)	- (0%)	23 (3%)
	Total	96 (13%)	264 (35%)	360 (48%)	27 (4%)	747 (100%)

### Weakened social bonds and relations

Most of the respondents (71.9%) report that the Wall *very much* weakens social bonds and relations; 21.5% *significantly*, 5.1% *moderately*, 0.5% *minimally*; 0.9% *not at all*.

Table 6. Current place of residence and weakened social bonds and relations.

		Weakened social bonds and relations					Total
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Current place of residence	Jerusalem	440 (82%)	135 (84%)	29 (76%)	2 (67%)	3 (43%)	609 (82%)
	West Bank	98 (18%)	26 (16%)	9 (24%)	1 (33%)	4 (57%)	138 (18%)
	Total	538 (72%)	161 (22%)	38 (5%)	3 (0%)	7 (1%)	747 (100%)

### Cost of living increase

Ninety-eight percent of the respondents report that the Wall increases their cost of living: 57% very much; 33% significantly; 8% moderately; 0.8% minimally; and 1.2 % not at all (see Table 7). (We learned in previous polls that the wall impacts daily transportation costs and the cost of consumables.)

Table 7. Place of residence and cost of living increased

		Cost of living increased					Total
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Current place of residence	Jerusalem	346 (81%)	207 (84%)	44 (75%)	4 (67%)	8 (89%)	609 (82%)
	West Bank	80 (19%)	39 (16%)	15 (25%)	2 (33%)	1 (11%)	137 (18%)
	Total	426 (57%)	246 (33%)	59 (8%)	6 (1%)	9 (1%)	746 (100%)



### ***Isolating Jerusalem from the West Bank***

Most (74.4%) of the respondents report that the Wall *very much* isolates Jerusalem from the West Bank; 23.1% report “significantly”; 2.3% moderately, 0.5% minimally. and 0.9% not at all.

**Table 8. Place of residence and isolation of Jerusalem from the West Bank.**

		<b>Isolating Jerusalem from the West Bank</b>				<b>Total</b>
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Not at all	
<b>Current place of residence</b>	Jerusalem	451 (81%)	147 (84%)	12 (71%)	1 (50%)	<b>611 (82%)</b>
	West Bank	103 (19%)	27 (16%)	5 (29%)	1 (50%)	<b>136 (18%)</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>554 (74%)</b>	<b>174 (23%)</b>	<b>17 (2%)</b>	<b>2 (0%)</b>	<b>747 (100%)</b>

Isolation of Jerusalem from the West Bank seems to be less perceived by respondents with lower education levels. Especially respondents with elementary and high school diplomas perceive that the Wall only moderately (or not at all) isolates Jerusalem from the West Bank. Those with a higher academic degree seem to perceive more acutely their isolation from the West Bank.

**Table 9. Education level and isolation of Jerusalem from the West Bank.**

		<b>Isolating Jerusalem from the West Bank</b>				<b>Total</b>
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Not at all	
<b>Current place of residence</b>	Elementary	73 (13%)	21 (12%)	2 (12%)	1 (50%)	<b>97 (13%)</b>
	High School	195 (35%)	59 (35%)	8 (47%)	1 (50%)	<b>263 (35%)</b>
	University	265 (48%)	88 (51%)	7 (41%)	- (0%)	<b>360 (48%)</b>

	Higher Education	24 (4%)	3 (2%)	- (0%)	- (0%)	<b>27 (3%)</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>557 (75%)</b>	<b>171 (23%)</b>	<b>17 (2%)</b>	<b>2 (0%)</b>	<b>747 (100%)</b>

### ***Increasing dependence on the Israeli system***

Almost all (99.7%) of the respondents report that the Wall increases their dependence on the Israeli system: 78.6% very much, 17% significantly, 2.9% moderately, 0.3%; not at all.

**Table 10. Education level and increasing dependency on the Israeli system.**

		<b>Increasing dependency on the Israeli system</b>					<b>Total</b>
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
<b>Education Level</b>	Elementary	83 (14%)	11 (9%)	1 (5%)	- (0%)	1 (14%)	<b>96 (13%)</b>
	High School	197 (34%)	50 (40%)	12 (55%)	1 (25%)	2 (29%)	<b>262 (35%)</b>
	University	286 (49%)	60 (48%)	8 (36%)	3 (75%)	2 (29%)	<b>359 (48%)</b>
	Higher Education	17 (3%)	5 (4%)	1 (5%)	- (0%)	2 (29%)	<b>25 (0%)</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>585 (79%)</b>	<b>126 (17%)</b>	<b>22 (3%)</b>	<b>4 (1%)</b>	<b>7 (1%)</b>	<b>744 (100%)</b>

### ***Weakened relations with Jerusalem and its suburbs***

Almost all (99%) of the respondents report that the Wall weakened relations with Jerusalem and its suburbs: *very much* 60.4%; 28.5% significantly; 8.5% moderately; 1.7% minimally and 1% not at all. Respondents with a higher academic degree were more likely to report that relations with Jerusalem’s suburbs are significantly weakened by the Wall. Those with less education tended to perceive the problem as less serious.

**Table 11. Academic degree and weakened relations with Jerusalem's suburbs.**

		Weakened relations with Jerusalem's surrounding					Total
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Education Level	Elementary	69 (15%)	20 (9%)	2 (3%)	4 (31%)	2 (29%)	97 (13%)
	High School	157 (35%)	77 (34%)	22 (34%)	6 (46%)	2 (29%)	264 (35%)
	University	216 (48%)	103 (56%)	36 (56%)	3 (23%)	2 (29%)	360 (48%)
	Higher Education	11 (2%)	11 (7%)	4 (6%)	- (0%)	1 (14%)	27 (3%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>453 (61%)</b>	<b>211 (28%)</b>	<b>61 (9%)</b>	<b>13 (2%)</b>	<b>7 (1%)</b>	<b>748 (100%)</b>

#### ***Increases in social disputes and domestic violence***

Most (96%) of the respondents believe that the Wall increases social disputes and domestic violence: 46% very much; 22.9% significantly; 19.1% moderately; 8% minimally; and 4% not at all.

**Table 12. Academic degree and increase of social disputes and domestic violence.**

		Increase social disputes and domestic violence					Total
		Very much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Education Level	Elementary	67 (20%)	14 (8%)	9 (6%)	4 (7%)	3 (10%)	97 (13%)
	High School	116 (34%)	65 (38%)	48 (34%)	15 (25%)	18 (60%)	262 (35%)
	University	149 (43%)	85 (50%)	80 (57%)	39 (65%)	6 (20%)	359 (48%)
	Higher Education	11 (3%)	7 (4%)	4 (3%)	2 (3%)	1 (10%)	27 (4%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>343 (46%)</b>	<b>171 (23%)</b>	<b>141 (19%)</b>	<b>60 (8%)</b>	<b>30 (4%)</b>	<b>745 (100%)</b>

Gender is unrelated to the perception that the Wall increases social disputes and domestic violence (see *Table 11*). However,

the relationship with education level is more complex: participants with high school diplomas or university BA degrees were more likely to report these increases than were the less educated (elementary diplomas) or the most educated (MA and Ph. D.) (see *Table 12*).

**Table 13. Gender and increase of social disputes and domestic violence.**

		Increased social disputes and domestic violence					Total
		Significantly	Very much	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Gender	Male	191 (45%)	99 (23%)	82 (19%)	35 (8%)	22 (5%)	429 (57%)
	Female	153 (48%)	73 (23%)	62 (19%)	25 (8%)	8 (2%)	321 (43%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>344 (46%)</b>	<b>172 (23%)</b>	<b>144 (19%)</b>	<b>60 (8%)</b>	<b>30 (4%)</b>	<b>750 (100%)</b>



### 3.3. Impact of the Wall on Mobility

#### *Reasons to cross the Wall*

Many of the respondents cross the Wall because they work in the West Bank (21%); 20% because of social relations (relatives, friends); 17% for education; 12% for shopping; 10% for banking matters; 9% for entertainment, 9% in order to visit property they have behind the Wall.

Most of the people cross the Wall from time to time (44%), 37.3% daily, 13.1% once a week and 9.4% never.

Cross-tabulations show that most people crossing the Wall daily are workers or students. People who cross the Wall once a week do it because of social relations, shopping and entertainment. People that cross merely from time to time do it for a variety of reasons such as social relations, shopping, and banking matters.

#### *Point of origin for crossings the Wall*

Most (85.5%) of the respondents cross the Wall from Jerusalem to reach some part of the West Bank; 14.5% cross the Wall from the West Bank to Jerusalem, mainly from Jerusalem's suburbs (Kufr Aqab, Abu Dis and Eizariyeh and Qalandyia Camp).

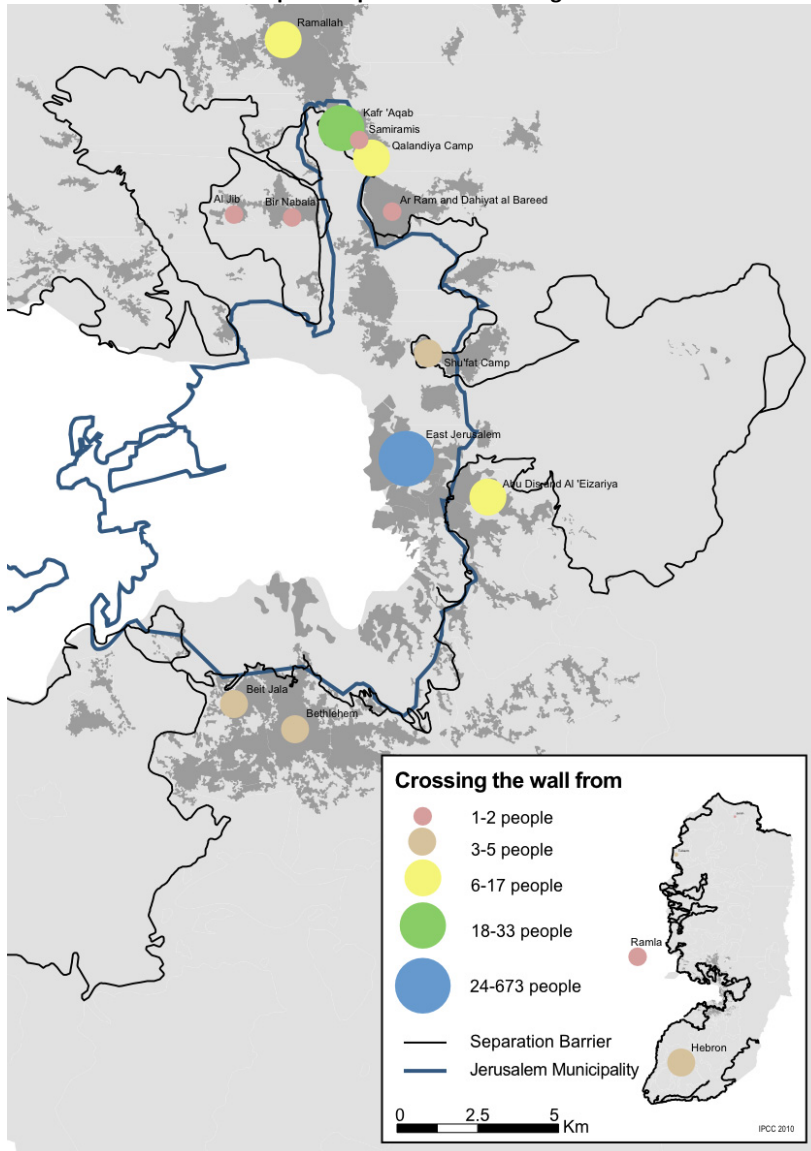
#### *Destinations of the crossers*

The majority of the respondents cross the Wall in the direction of the West Bank (81%), mainly to Ramallah (36.1%), the administrative capital of the Palestinian National Authority. Only 19% cross the Wall to reach Jerusalem. Twice that many cross to reach Ramallah, a sign that the center of life is shifting from Jerusalem to Ramallah.

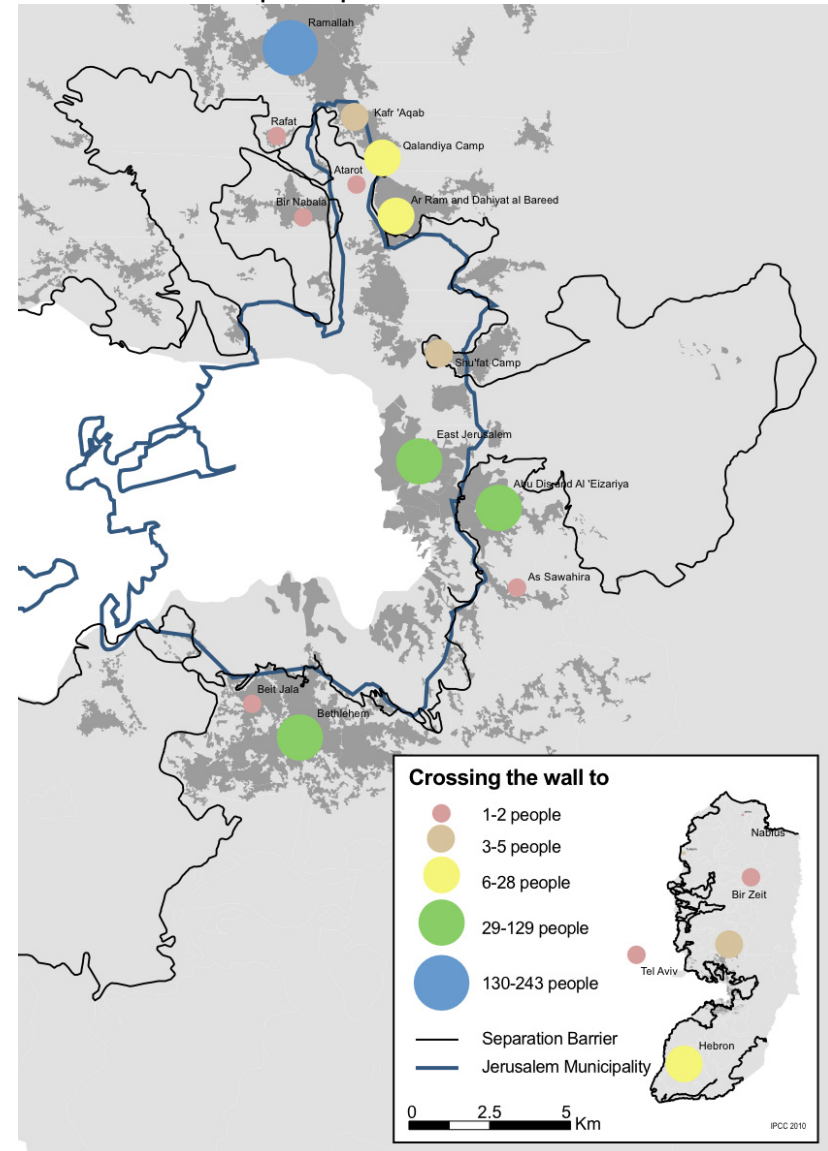
Table 14. Reasons and frequencies of crossing the Wall.

		Frequency of crossing the Wall				Total
		Daily	Once a week	From time to time	Never	
Reasons to cross the Wall	Work in the West Bank	120 (47%)	5 (6%)	8 (3%)	- (0%)	133 (21%)
	Banking matters	7 (3%)	10 (11%)	43 (15%)	1 (50%)	61 (10%)
	Education	102 (40%)	4 (4%)	3 (1%)	- (0%)	109 (17%)
	Shopping	2 (1%)	6 (7%)	68 (24%)	- (0%)	76 (12%)
	P.A. Institutions	- (0%)	1 (1%)	3 (1%)	- (0%)	4 (1%)
	Entertainment	4 (2%)	13 (14%)	41 (15%)	- (0%)	58 (9%)
	International institutions	2 (1%)	- (0%)	1 (0%)	- (0%)	3 (0%)
	Social relations (relatives, friends)	7 (3%)	30 (33%)	89 (32%)	1 (50%)	128 (20%)
	Property behind the Wall	13 (5%)	18 (20%)	22 (8%)	- (0%)	53 (9%)
	Treatment	- (0%)	3 (3%)	1 (0%)	- (0%)	4 (1%)
Total		257 (41%)	90 (14%)	279 (44%)	2 (1%)	629 (100%)

**Map 3. People's movement origin.**



**Map 4. People's movement destination.**



### 3.4. Economic Impact of the Wall

#### *Occupation changes due to the Wall*

While 94.3% of the respondents did not change their occupation because of the Wall, 5.7% were forced to change. Those who changed their occupation were mostly less educated, notably Palestinians with an elementary or a high school education.

#### *Current occupation*

18% of the respondents are temporary or part-time workers; 17.4% students; 15.9% full-time employees; 11.6% housekeepers; 10.8% teachers; 8.6% salespersons; 4.3% are unemployed; 4.1% are employed in the socio-sanitary sector; 3.7% technical specialists; 2.3% taxi drivers, 1.5% business proprietors; 1.1% engineers and 0.7% employed in catering.

**Table 15. Education level and occupation change because of the Wall.**

		Occupation changed because of the Wall		
		No	Yes	Total
Education Level	Elementary	70 (88%)	10 (13%)	80 (12%)
	High School	227 (95%)	11 (5%)	238 (35%)
	University B.A	318 (95%)	16 (5%)	334 (49%)
	Higher Education	23 (92%)	2 (8%)	25 (3%)
	Total	638 (94%)	39 (6%)	677 (100%)

#### *Place of occupation*

Most (50.3%) of the respondents work in Jerusalem; 48.2 work in various places in the West Bank; 1.3% are employed in Israel and 0.2% abroad (Saudi Arabia). Those who work in the West Bank

are usually employed in urban centers located in the Jerusalem close suburbs, for example in Abu Dis and Eizariyeh, in Ramallah or Bethlehem.

#### *Previous occupation*

Among the minority of the 39 who changed their work because of the Wall, 18.2% were formerly salespersons, 15.9% employees, 13.6% teachers, 13.6% temporary or part-time workers, 9.1% employed in catering, 6.8% unemployed, 6.8% employed in the socio-sanitary sector, 6.8% technical specialists, 4.5% taxi drivers, 2.3% students and 2.3% business proprietors.

#### *Previous place of occupation*

Most of the people who changed their place of occupation because of the Wall moved from the West Bank to Jerusalem. In all likelihood, they had Jerusalem residency permits (the Blue Card) and had been working and living in the city's suburbs, in neighborhoods such as Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed or Abu Dis and Al'Eizariya which are at present cut off from Jerusalem by the Wall. On the other hand, some Palestinians moved from Jerusalem to the West Bank because of the lack of work in the city.

#### *Income*

Reductions in income: 38% report earning a lower salary as a consequence of problems associated with the Wall. Those with a lower education attainment were most frequently the ones who faced a income reduction. Importantly, all of the participants who reported changes in income experienced a reduction; no positive changes were found.

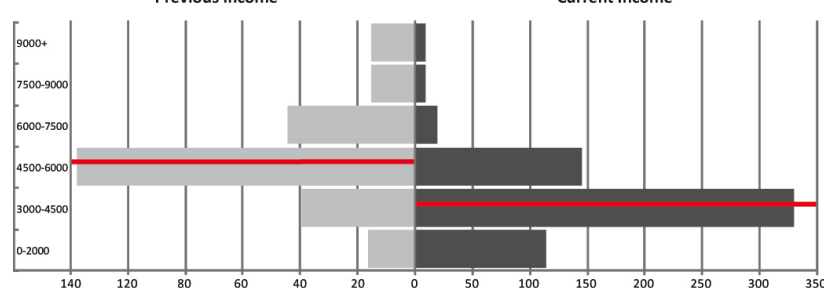
**Table 16. Education level and income evolution.**

		Education Level					Total
		Elementary	High School	University B.A	Masters	PH.D	
The Wall affect the level of income	No	52 (61%)	123 (53%)	199 (68%)	18 (75%)	2 (100%)	394 (62%)
	Yes	33 (39%)	110 (47%)	92 (32%)	6 (25%)	- (0%)	241 (38%)
	Total	85 (13%)	233 (37%)	291 (46%)	24 (4%)	2 (0%)	635 (100%)

### ***Income before and after the Wall***

Table 17 reveals the decline in average monthly incomes as a result of the Wall from 5461 NIS to 3846 NIS, a decrease of nearly 30%.

**Chart 2. Previous, current and average income (red line).**

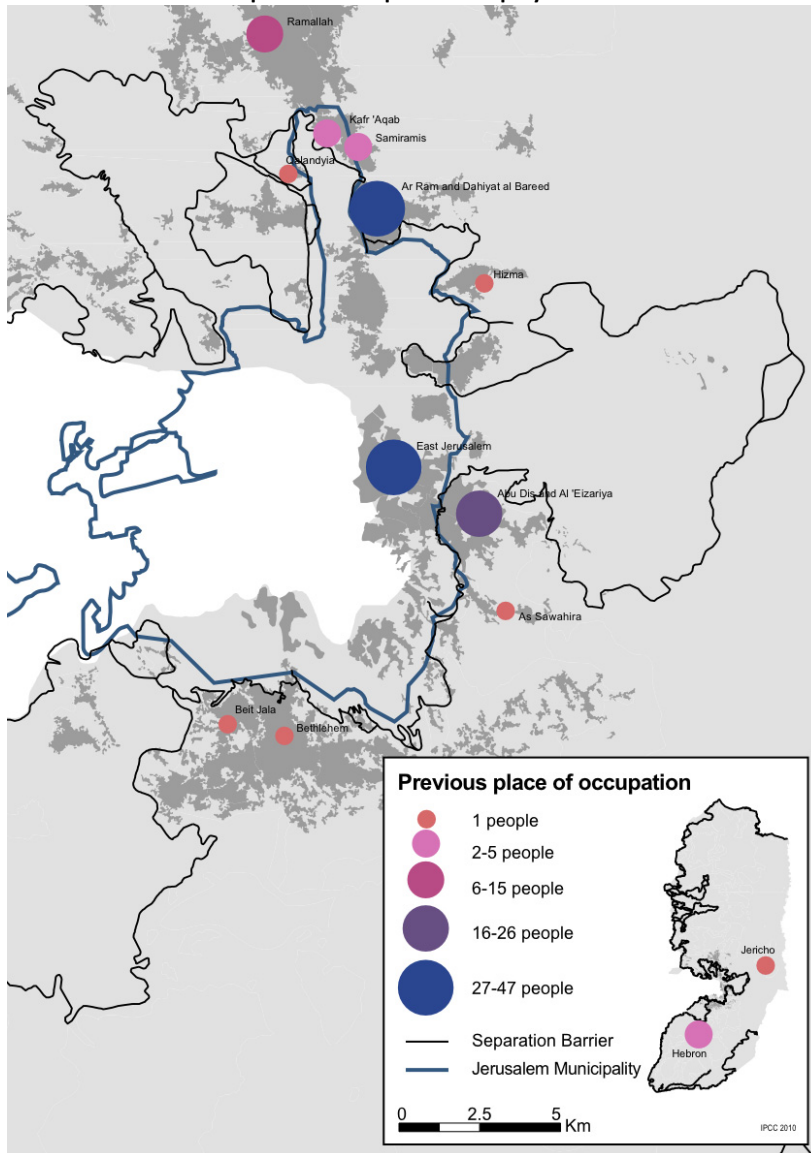


### ***Summary of economic effects***

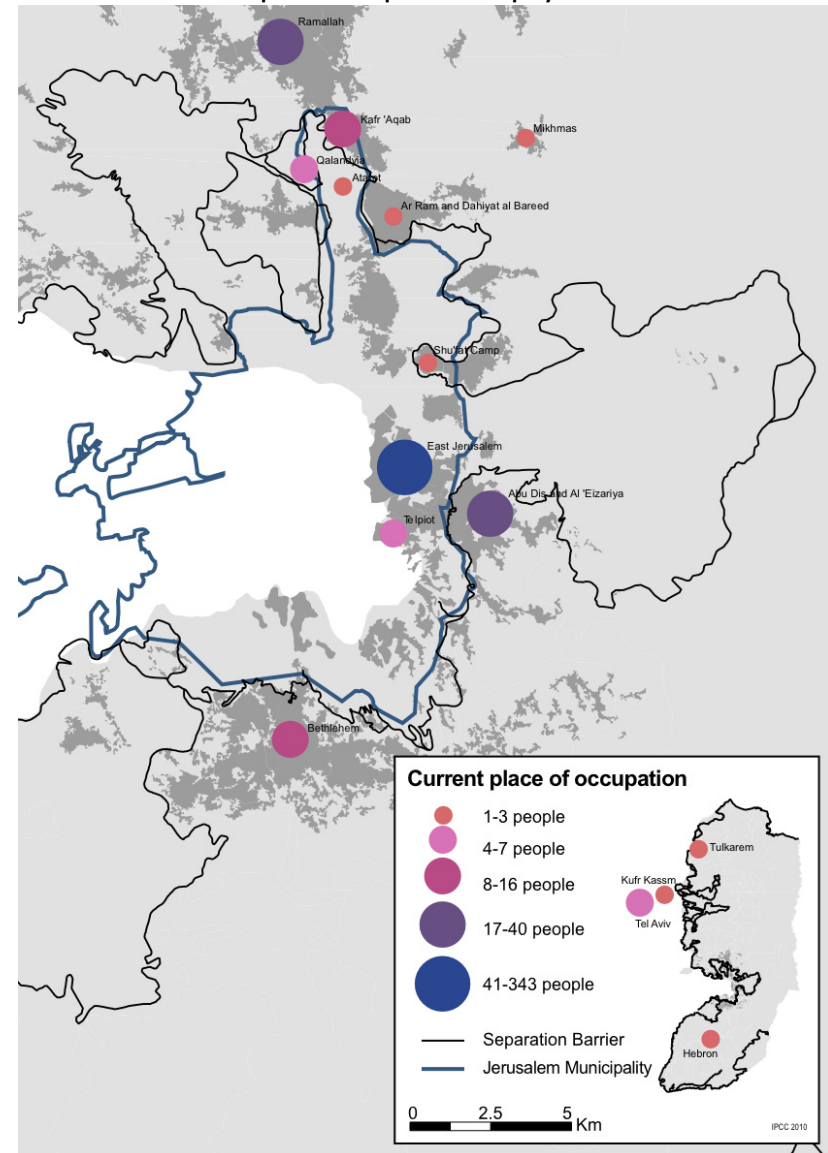
The Wall impacts changes in occupation and changes in the workplace it has precipitated a sharp drop in income and, at the same time, an increase in living expenses; it has caused changes in residency. The most frequent reason given for crossing the Wall is essentially economic: to reach work, shopping, banking, and over-seeing property behind the Wall. Over one-fifth of the

respondents cited economic changes in their lives as a consequence of the Wall.

Map 5. Previous place of employment.



Map 6. Current place of employment.



### 3.5. Education status and attitudes towards the Wall

#### *Impact of the Wall and Political Attitudes*

Almost three-fourths of the respondents report a significant concern with the isolation of Jerusalem from the West Bank and the increasing dependency on the Israeli system because of the Wall. Sensitivity to political topics seems to be unrelated to education level.

**Table 17. Perception of political issues related to the creation of the Wall and educational level.**

	Educational level	Perception of Political Realities				
		Significantly	Very Much	Moderately	Minimally	Not at All
Isolating Jerusalem from the West Bank	Low	74%	22%	3%	0%	0%
	High	75%	24%	2%	0%	1%
Increasing dependency on the Israeli system	Low	78%	17%	4%	0%	1%
	High	79%	17%	2%	1%	1%

Additional insight into political perceptions can be gained by examining the respondent's view of Jerusalem's future: 76% of the respondents with a university degree think that the chances of East Jerusalem becoming a capital of the Palestinian State are effectively terminated by the Wall. This pessimistic reaction is supported by the question "Will more neighborhoods in Jerusalem will be split by the Wall such as Kufr Aqab and Shu'fat Camp?". Almost 90% of higher educated respondents gave a positive answer. Also the perception that emigration can be attributed to the effect of the Wall construction was more likely to be held among Palestinians with a higher educational level (23% gave a positive answer) (see Table 19).

**Table 18. Perception of political issues related to the creation of the Wall and educational level.**

	Educational level	Perception of the political future of the city		
		Yes	No	I don't know
The chances of East Jerusalem becoming the capital of the Palestinian State are effectively terminated	Low	69%	17%	14%
	High	76%	15%	9%
More neighborhoods in East Jerusalem will be split like Kufr Aqab and Shu'fat Camp	Low	82%	8%	10%
	High	89%	4%	9%
Emigration is a result of Wall construction	Low	19%	73%	8%
	High	23%	72%	5%

#### *Educational level and attitudes toward the Wall*

The Wall seems to have had its greatest impact on Palestinians with less education. That segment of the population is generally more fragile and exposed to residential and occupational fluctuations. In fact, when the question "What are the effects of Wall on your life?" is posed participants answered very in accord with their social status.

**Table 19. Educational level and general consequences of the Wall.**

	Educational level	
	Low (below university level)	High (university level or higher)
Change his residence because of the Wall	19%	16%
Change his occupation because of the Wall	7%	5%
The level of income is affected by the Wall	45%	31%



In fact, 38% of the respondents with a low educational level feel that the impact on the Wall on their life is psychological; social for 31% and economic for 25%. The majority of the respondents – 52% of the total number – with a university degree feel that the Wall has psychological effects on their lives; 28% feels social effects and only 17% economic effects.

**Table 20. Educational level and effects of the Wall.**

Educational level		Effects of the Wall				
		Psych.	Social	Economic	Demographic	Something Else
Educational level	Low	38%	31%	25%	1%	5%
	High	52%	28%	17%	2%	2%

### **Physical interaction**

Physical interactions (i.e. crossings) with the Wall are strongly related to the educational level of the subjects. In fact, most of the respondents with a lower educational degree – 49% of the total number – cross sporadically and most of the people with a university degree – 52% of the total number – cross the Wall on a daily basis.

**Table 21. Educational level and frequency of crossing the Wall.**

Educational level		Frequency crossing the Wall			
		Daily	Once a week	From time to time	Never
Educational level	Low	19%	17%	49%	15%
	High	52%	10%	34%	4%

Reasons to cross are fundamental to determinate the frequency that Palestinians cross the Wall and they are also strongly dependent from the educational level. In fact, people with a high educational level cross the Wall because of educational (30%) and working (24%) purposes. People with lower educational degree cross the Wall in relation to social relationships with relatives and friends (32%) and for working (20%) purposes.

### **Psychological feelings**

Psychological feelings in the presence of the Wall are strongly dependent on the respondent's physical and psychological interactions with the Wall. Educational level is related to these feelings: respondents in the high education group with usually feel humiliated in the presence of the Wall (31%). They also usually feel the political importance of the Wall, and they feel humiliated because of the disrespect of their rights. People with low schooling degree are usually aware of the physical characteristic of the Wall and they mainly feel anger because they are prevented from having a normal life.

**Table 22. Feelings in front of the Wall and educational level.**

Feelings when seeing the Wall		Educational level	
		Low	High
Feelings when seeing the Wall	Fear	6%	45%
	Safety and Satisfaction	0%	15%
	Isolation from the world	20%	21%
	Subjection	13%	16%
	Anger	22%	16%
	Humiliation	23%	31%
	Depression	15%	10%
	Something else	1%	1%

### Direct consequences

The most concrete consequences of the wall seem to be on the economic and social life. Most of the interviewees feel that the cost of living is impacted *very much* and they had a similar level of response regarding the weakening of social bonds and relations, the increase of social disputes and domestic violence and the weaken of the relations with Jerusalem's suburbs.

**Table 23. Perception of consequences of the Wall and educational level.**

	Educational level	Perception of consequences				
		Very Much	Significantly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at All
Cost of living increased	Low	63%	30%	6%	0%	1%
	High	52%	36%	9%	1%	1%
Weakened social bonds and relations	Low	72%	21%	4%	1%	2%
	High	72%	22%	6%	0%	0%
Increased social disputes and domestic violence	Low	51%	22%	16%	5%	6%
	High	41%	24%	22%	11%	2%
Weakened Relations with Jerusalem's suburbs	Low	63%	27%	7%	3%	1%
	High	59%	29%	10%	1%	1%

The economic and social consequences of the Wall are more perceived by people with a low educational level, where household are more exposed to the increase of cost of living, social disputes and domestic violence. In fact every indicator shows that people with low schooling are significantly more concerned by the increase of the cost of living (+11%) and the increase of social disputes and domestic violence (+10%). People with low educational level also think that the construction of the Wall is significantly weakened relations with the Jerusalem's suburbs (+4%).

The weakening of social bonds and relations is equally and significantly perceived (72%) by people independently of their educational status.

People with a low educational level tend to be directly affected by the construction of the Wall. In fact, because of their socio-economical status they tend to be more exposed to economic fluctuations and social disputes. People with a university degree seem to be less directly affected by the creation of the Wall, even if they are exposed to it with more frequency. The weakened of social bonds and relations is one of the most perceived problem even if only one third of people with a university degree cross the Wall for this reason. People with a low educational level seem to be more afraid of physical consequences of the construction of the Wall than the political one. In fact people with a lower educational degree seem to be less aware of the complexity of the Wall issue and in general of their rights. Well-educated people are rather more aware of the political consequences of the Wall and more concerned by the consequences for East Jerusalem.