Semi-Structured Interview Questions (IRB Status: Exempt)

State Legitimacy and Sector-Level Claim-Making: Evidence from East Jerusalem

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Informed Consent Process

Before we start the interview, we need to go over informed consent information. We have a sheet here that you may keep that describes the study and your rights as a participant.

First, the aim of this study is to identify problems and concerns of East Jerusalemites related to living conditions and service delivery and to understand the attitudes of community members towards the provision of goods by the municipality.

Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. You may stop the interview at any time. You can also refuse to answer any of the questions, or ask that an answer not be included after you have already said it.

We try our very hardest to keep all of your personal information confidential. For example, we keep your name separate from your answers in a password protected file that lists out contact information so that your name is never written down or connected to your answers. Further, no information that could identify you will be included in any written publications that come from this study.

If you want to participate, please say "yes, I am willing to participate"

If you have any questions or concerns you are free to contact me on WhatsApp or by email. My contact information is on the sheet.

General questions for Elites/Organizations

1. I am trying to understand problems and concerns of East Jerusalem Palestinians related to living conditions and service delivery by the municipality. In your mind, what are the biggest problems that East Jerusalem Palestinians face regarding living conditions and service delivery by the municipality?
2. When problems occur or when people need social assistance, there are multiple places that individuals could turn to to seek relief. I'm going to go through a list of possible places. For each one, could you describe which issues might bring an individual to seek help from that provider? Put differently, what type of problems can each of these actors help to solve?
    - When do individuals go to the [Religious Endowment (Wafq)] to seek help or relief?
    - When might individuals go to family or friends to seek help or relief?
    - Palestinian NGOs

    - International organizations
    - Offices of the Israeli government
    - Hamulas
    - Palestinian Political Parties
    - Other (specify)
3. The Jerusalem Municipality has set up neighborhood committees and community centers in some neighborhoods but not in others. To my knowledge, these committees exist in Beit Hanina, Isawiya, at-Tur, Wadi Joz, Sur Baher, Bet Safafa [Group A]. How do you think these committees are viewed by residents?
4. Why have these committees been established in some neighborhoods but not in others?
5. Why do you think that residents of Kufr Aqab, Shu'fat, Sheikh Jarrah, ras al-Amud, Silwan, Wadi Kadum, Abu Tor, As-sawakha, and Um Tuba [Group B] have resisted the establishment of the municipality's neighborhood committees? What makes these neighborhoods different? Why did they refused to allow the municipal neighborhood committees?
6. As a resident of [Group A/Group B], how do you think individuals view the neighborhood committees/centers?
7. Relatedly, are there certain neighborhoods that are more active in boycotting the Jerusalem municipality? If so, why do you think that is?
8. Historically, there has been a very low rate of turnout amongst Palestinians for municipal elections. Are elections unique? Are there other goods, services, or institutions that are very likely to be boycotted? And are there other goods, services, or institutions that people take less of issue with accessing from the municipality?
9. How do the various factions feel about interactions with the municipality? Are some more invested in boycotting than others?
10. In 2018, the Jerusalem Municipality proposed the Plan 3790 "Leading Change Initiative" to increase its budget in East Jerusalem. I have read in newspaper articles that there was resistance to this project amongst some Palestinians in East Jerusalem. From your perspective, what are some reasons that people were opposed to this project?
11. To your knowledge, are there other instances in which East Jerusalem Palestinians have opposed the municipalities projects related to the provision of goods and services?
12. Some types of services may be perceived differently than others. In your opinion, are there certain government services or state institutions that people you know are okay engaging with? Are there other services or institutions that people you know think should be boycotted? Here is a list of services and institutions, for reference;
    - Water
    - Electricity
    - Primary and Secondary Education
    - Higher Education
    - Transportation
    - Community public goods—parks, community centers, libraries, gardens
    - Elections
    - Security
    - Judicial affairs
    - Land development, residential construction, and spatial planning
    - Sewage and waste collection

- Sports clubs and facilities
- Housing
- Health services
- Youth clubs
- Social benefits and services (social security, insurance, social assistance)

13. What is the role of the hama'il (clans) in this neighborhood? Are they active? Do people go to them to solve problems?
14. What is the role of the notable families in this neighborhood? Are they active? Do people go to them to solve problems?
15. What is the role of civil society organizations in this neighborhood—both local and international. Are they active? Do people go to them to solve problems?
16. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
17. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

General Questions for Randomly Selected Individuals

1. Are you employed? If so, what sector do you work in?
2. I am trying to understand problems and concerns of East Jerusalem Palestinians related to living conditions and service delivery. In your mind, what are the biggest problems that East Jerusalem Palestinians face regarding living conditions and service delivery?
3. When problems occur or when people need social assistance, there are multiple places that people could turn to to seek relief. I'm going to go through a list of possible places. For each one, could you describe which issues might bring you to seek help from that provider? Put differently, what type of problems can each of these actors help you to solve?
    a. When would you go to the [Religious Endowment (Wafq)] to seek help or relief?
    b. When might individuals go to family or friends to seek help or relief?
    c. Palestinian NGOs
    d. International organizations
    e. Offices of the Israeli government
    f. Hamulas
    g. Palestinian Political Parties
    h. Other (specify)
4. The Jerusalem Municipality has set up neighborhood committees and community centers in some neighborhoods but not in others. To my knowledge, these committees exist in Beit Hanina, Isawiya, at-Tur, Wadi Joz, Sur Baher, Bet Safafa [Group A]. How do you think these committees are viewed by residents?
5. Why do you think these committees been established in some neighborhoods but not in others?
6. Why do you think that residents of Kufr Aqab, Shu'fat, Sheikh Jarrah, ras al-Amud, Silwan, Wadi Kadum, Abu Tor, As-sawakha, and Um Tuba [Group B] have resisted the establishment of the municipality's neighborhood committees? What makes these neighborhoods different? Why did they refused to allow the municipal neighborhood committees?
7. As a resident of [Group A/Group B], how do you think individuals view the neighborhood committees/centers?

8. In 2018, the Jerusalem Municipality proposed the Plan 3790 "Leading Change Initiative" to increase its budget in East Jerusalem. I have read in newspaper articles that there was resistance to this project amongst some Palestinians in East Jerusalem. From your perspective, what are some reasons that people were opposed to this project?
9. To your knowledge, are there other instances in which East Jerusalem Palestinians have opposed the municipalities projects related to the provision of goods and services?
10. Some types of services may be perceived differently than others. Are there certain government services or state institutions that people you know are okay engaging with? Are there other services or institutions that people you know think should be boycotted? Here is a list of services and institutions, for reference;
    a. Water
    b. Electricity
    c. Primary and Secondary Education
    d. Higher Education
    e. Transportation
    f. Community public goods—parks, community centers, libraries, gardens
    g. Elections
    h. Security
    i. Judicial affairs
    j. Land development, residential construction, and spatial planning
    k. Sewage and waste collection
    l. Sports clubs and facilities
    m. Housing
    n. Health services
    o. Youth clubs
    p. Social benefits and services (social security, insurance, social assistance)

Now I am going to ask a series of questions about different relevant authorities in your neighborhood.

11. Is your family part of a hamula (clan)?
12. Is there one hamula in your neighborhood, or are there multiple?
13. How important are the hama'il (clans) in settling disputes in your neighborhood?
14. How active are the hama'il (clans) in the village councils in your neighborhood?
15. Do people in your neighborhood go to the hamula (clan) if they have a problem or need social relief or assistance?
16. Do people in your neighborhood go to the hama'il (clans) for issues related to land, spatial planning, housing, and home demolitions?
17. Is your family connected to or part of a notable family?
18. Is there one notable family in your neighborhood, or are there multiple?
19. How important are the notable families in settling disputes in your neighborhood?
20. How active are the notable families in the village councils in your neighborhood?
21. Do people in your neighborhood go to the notable families if they have a problem or need social relief or assistance?
22. Do people in your neighborhood go to the notable families for issues related to land, spatial planning, housing, and home demolitions?

23. Are there any civil society organizations (international or local) active in your neighborhood?
24. Is there one civil society organization, or are there multiple?
25. How important are the civil society organizations in settling disputes in your neighborhood?
26. Do people in your neighborhood go to the civil society organization if they have a problem or need social relief or assistance?
27. Do people in your neighborhood go to the civil society organizations for issues related to land, spatial planning, housing, and home demolitions?
28. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
29. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

Questions for MiniActive Participants

1. What made you want to be involved with MiniActive? What experiences influenced your involvement?
2. Tell me a bit about how you became involved in [Mini Active/Parents Union]?
3. What is the goal of [Mini Active/Parents Union]?
4. What strategies do you use to achieve that goal?
5. Do you think your efforts have been successful? What challenges do you continue to face?
6. What has your involvement looked like so far? What activities have you participated in?
7. I know that many people boycott the Israeli municipal elections and sometimes other parts of the Israeli government. MiniActive seems to take a different approach and instead of boycotting the municipality, demanding better treatment. What are your thoughts on these different strategies?
8. It is my understanding that some people in East Jerusalem avoid contact with the Israeli authorities at all costs, for example, by boycotting elections. You seem to be taking a different approach. Can you tell me about your decision to lobby the municipality for better services?
9. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
10. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

Questions for Community Center Employees

1. When was the community center built?
2. What kinds of programs and services does the center provide to the community?
3. What kinds of people visit the community center for help? Women, families? Men? Wealthy people?
4. Are there any other community centers or youth clubs in [neighborhood] that provide similar services?
5. I've seen that these community centers are jointly run with the municipality. What does the municipality's involvement look like?
6. Does the involvement of the municipality hinder any neighborhood residents from coming to the center for help?
7. What members of the community are opposed to the community center?
8. How do the various factions feel about the community centers?

9. I've heard that sometimes Palestinians in East Jerusalem feel pressured to boycott Israeli government institutions because they don't want to be seen as collaborators. Where do you think this pressure comes from?
10. But some people also may not feel pressured, but instead feel very strongly about boycotting the Israeli state. Who do you think feels the strongest about the need to boycott the state?
11. I've read in the newspaper that when some of the community centers were built in East Jerusalem, there were mixed reactions from neighborhood residents. When this community center was first built, how did residents of {neighborhood name} respond?
12. There were no problems
    - Why do you think that residents of [neighborhood name] had no issue with it, but residents of other neighborhoods did? What makes [neighborhood name] different?
13. They boycotted
    - Were all residents uncomfortable with the creation of the center, or just some people?
    - Why do you think those people were opposed to the building of the community center?
    - Do you think that some people still avoid using the community center? Why might that be so?
14. Now that the community center has been established in [neighborhood name] for [x number] of years, how do you think neighborhood residents view the community center?
15. When people come here for help, what kinds of things do they ask for help with?
16. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
17. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

Questions for Municipal community center employees

1. When was the community center built? Can you tell me about the process for starting the center in [X neighborhood] and how the community center was viewed by the community?
2. What kinds of programs and services does the center provide to the community?
3. I've read in the newspaper that when some of the community centers were built in East Jerusalem, there were mixed reactions from neighborhood residents. When this community center was first built, how did residents of {neighborhood name} respond?
4. How do the various "factions" in East Jerusalem feel about the opening of the community centers?
5. Has the municipality had more trouble opening community centers in certain neighborhoods as opposed to others? Why do you think that is the case?
6. From the perspective of the municipality, what are the biggest challenges related to running the community centers?
7. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
8. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

Questions for Community Center Attendees

1. Why do you come to the community center?
2. How often do you come?

3. What kinds of things have the staff at the community center helped you with?
4. How do you think members of the community view the community center? Positively? Somewhat positively? Negatively?
5. I've heard that when some community centers were first built, some people boycotted them. How did you feel about the community center when it was first built? Did people in your neighborhood boycott the community center?
    - No
        - I know people in [neighborhood] boycotted the construction of the community center. Why didn't that happen here?
    - Yes
        - Did everyone boycott the center or just some people?
        - Why do you think they were opposed to it?
        - Are some people still opposed to it?
6. What members of the community are opposed to the community center, if any?
7. How do the various factions feel about the community centers?
8. I've heard that some people feel pressured to boycott the community center. Do people you know feel this way?
9. Are there any other questions that you think I should have asked?
10. Who else might be relevant for me to talk to?

Questions for Palestinian Civil Society Organizations

1. To start, can you tell us about [organization name] and about the work that you do?
2. When was [the organization] started?
3. What kinds of programs and services does the center provide to the community?
4. Are there any other community centers or youth clubs in [neighborhood] that provide similar services?
5. In order to better understand your work, we want to ask some more questions about the neighborhoods that you work in. Can you tell us about the history of [Ras Al Amoud & Al Thouri]? As you describe the history of the neighborhood, it would be helpful if you could describe the society and people who live in the neighborhood (where they came from, when they moved here, the families they are part of, etc).
6. Now, we want to focus on how people in your neighborhood feel about the Israeli state and the baladiye, particularly in terms of the services that the baladiye provides (or does not provide enough of) to Palestinians in [Ras al Amoud and Al Thouri]. In general, how do you think residents of [Ras al Amoud and Al Thouri] feel about the baladiye's provision of services to their neighborhoods?
7. Do you think the residents of [Ras al Amoud and Al Thouri] are reticent to engage directly with the municipality in certain areas or in certain ways? For example, by going to a municipal community center, or filing a complaint regarding trash collection, or calling the police?
8. We know that in Al Thouri there is a municipal community center, and a municipal services center near Yes Planet. From what you know, how do people feel about the presence of these centers in the neighborhood, and about going to them to ask for help with accessing services?

9. Are certain types of services more controversial than others? Which are the most controversial, and why? Which sectors are most likely to be thought of as “tatbiyye” or normalization?
10. Do you think that residents of [Ras al Amoud and Al Thouri] are more or less concerned with issues of normalization as compared to people who live in other neighborhoods in Jerusalem? For example, do you think that people who live in Al Thouri are more concerned about normalization than people who live in one neighborhood, but less concerned than people from another neighborhood?
11. Are there any members of the neighborhood that are particularly opposed residents engaging with the baladiye?
12. How do the various factions feel about residents engaging with the baladiye?
13. How do local hamulas/clans feel about residents engaging with the baladiye?