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University of Tehran
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**Present Economic Status of Native Americans in the United States and
Palestinians in Israel: A Comparative Study**

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Dedicated to:

*My sweet and loving parents
whose affection, love, encouragement and prayers for day and night
made me able to get success and honor;*

*My adorable brothers Ali and Mehdi
who have been more than siblings;*

*And Professor William Abruzzi without
whose early inspiration, coaching and enthusiasm
none of this would have happened.*

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Abstract

Internal colonialism is the concept of structural, political and economic disparities among regions within the same territory. The term refers to effects of uneven economic development on the lives of indigenous people who are dominated by a more powerful group of colonizers. Native Americans of the United States and Palestinians of Israel are two populations who have experienced internal colonialism throughout their history. The purpose of this thesis is to gain an in depth understanding of the recent economic status of these two populations and the role that internal colonialism has played in their lives.

Despite the fact that colonization of these peoples has occurred in different time frames, Native Americans of the United States and Palestinians of Israel have parallel historical experiences of dispossession and deprivation. The similar outcomes of marginalization of both Native Americans and Palestinians provide the researchers with the possibility of making comparisons between the two people. This thesis will endeavor to cover a relevant study of their economic issues.

In order to achieve a more comprehensive analysis of economic situations of both peoples in the present era and their similarities a comparative analysis method along with interviews with scholars of both fields will be utilized in this study. It is crucial to examine the contemporary economic issues that each is encountering to gain an understanding of the effects of economic disconnection on different aspects of their lives.

Applying the theory of internal colonialism to both cases, the study will try to draw analogies between the two groups of Native Americans of the United States and Palestinians of Israel as two prominent examples of the recent time who have gone through equivalent policies of colonization.

Key terms: Native Americans, Palestinians, the United States, Israel, internal colonialism, economic discrimination, indigenous, colonization, poverty, land

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Introduction

*“There’s nothing left of me but you,
and nothing left of you but me...”*

Mahmoud Darwish, *Who Am I, Without Exile?*

Settler colonialism is defined as particular colonial formation through which foreigners move into new lands to stay and reproduce. This new colonial formation is usually ruled over by a temporary imperial power whose governance leads to depopulation of the previous inhabitants and distribution of the vacant land among the new residents. The process is most often completed through foreign disease, i.e., biological warfare (BW) and military domination to the point that if the indigenous population survived at all, it becomes the minority while the settler population becomes the majority. Therefore, settler colonialism can be defined as more of an imposed process than a historical phenomenon.

History of settler colonialism reveals the fact that colonizers tended to abuse and demonize their victims in order to establish an oppressive regime in place. Studies show that the theft of a people’s land results in the fracturing of the community and families, directly interfering with social relationships, economies, and languages.

Many of theories of settler colonialism were concerned with land (other than natural and human resources) as the key source. As Patrick Wolfe (2006, p. 387) argued, to indigenous people “Land is life—or, at least, land is necessary for life”, therefore, contests for land can be thought of contests for life. Similarly, Ben White (2005) claimed that in their literature, dispossessed natives “express both a relationship to the land and the experience of dispossession.” (p. 1) White believed that “self-

conceptualization and the relationship between self and the community affects the way land and exile are represented in literature” of the colonized nations. (ibid.)

The settler colonial perspective offers the possibility of making comparisons of the situations of all indigenous populations around the world among whom the cases of Native Americans and Palestinians attract a great deal of attention. Studies show that not only Native Americans, but also Palestinians have a historical experience of dispossession and colonization by foreign states. According to Salaita (2003):

“As the incidental Others who had the misfortune of living in lands promised at their expense to superior beings by a God to whom neither subscribed, a connection among these groups, even at the shallowest level, is obvious.” (p. 5)

In some parts of his book—Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy—Ben White (2012) focused on some discourse by both American and Israeli politicians regarding the indigenous people of both countries. As White established, “Israel’s first president Chaim Weizmann told Jewish Agency official Arthur Ruppin in 1936 that ‘the British told us that there are some hundred thousand Negroes [in Palestine] and for those there is no value’.” (p. 26) Likewise, Winston Churchill in speaking at the Peel Commission stated that:

“I do not admit that the dog in the manger has the final right to the manger, even though he may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America, or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to those people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher grade race, or, at any rate, a more worldly-wise race, to put it that way, has come in and taken their place.” (Whit, 2012, p. 25)

However recent studies outlined by Khoury et al. (2013) suggested that “as a genre of settler colonialism, ‘pure settlement colonies’ involve the conquering not only of land, but of labor as well, excluding the natives from the economy.” (p. 32) In their argument, L. Khoury et al. (2013) stated that despite the plantation colony “the ‘mixed settlement’ employs native labor and ... the pure settlement colony conquers both land and labor” to reach its main goal which is to “exclude the natives from the economy.” (p. 35) Native removal from their lands and excluding them from economy, therefore, can be claimed to be the first and the most significant element of settler colonialism. Based on a claim by White (2005) and Blakemore (1998) the economy of both Native Americans and Palestinians was to a great extent depended on husbandry of land. Therefore, “the smokescreen created by the American and Israeli governments,” in the words of Baker and O’ Hern “is no different.” (p. 2) In both territories—the United States and Israel—Native American and Palestinian populations have come to be represented as isolated, segregated and to a large extent separated pieces of an unsolvable puzzle.

The similarities between Native Americans and Palestinians have their roots in the history of the two peoples. According to Abruzzi (2003), “the specific events that make up history do not repeat themselves. However, the processes which underlie historical developments certainly do.” In the case of Native Americans and Palestinians and throughout the history of both peoples, whenever they had their lands taken away from them, it was not a political entity that suffered. It was individuals—families and their children—who suffered helplessly. Most of them never took part in the talks, treaties, historical decisions, mandates, wars, negotiations... they were—and still are—just struggling to survive; the struggle of all indigenous peoples around the world which is connected.

The core issue for both Native Americans and Palestinians is definitely land because of the resources, but it's also the culture, the history, the ownership and the economy which is a major determining factor in the conflicts. Both people recognize the deep connections and similarities between their experiences of settler colonialism, destruction and exploitation of their lands and resources and denial of their identity and rights among which economic rights play a significant role. According to Russell Means (as cited in Toensing, 2012), "What the American Indian Movement says is that the American Indians are the Palestinians of the United States, and the Palestinians are the American Indians of the Middle East."

Having a deep insight into the methods employed by the Zionist colonizers against Palestinians, one immediately sees parallels to those used by the U.S. government to exterminate Native American people. The same methods of massacres, forced eviction, relocation and starvation which were used to colonize native lands in the U.S. have been employed in Palestine. Therefore, it can be concluded that the economic discrimination in both lands may have roots in a similar logic that makes it possible to make comparisons between the two people.

Despite the parallels between the historical experiences of dispossession and colonization of the Palestinian and Native American peoples and their similar economic issues possible to compare, no study to date has focused on the subject. As a first step to fill this gap, this thesis attempts to provide an in-depth comparative study of contemporary economic status of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel¹. To achieve a more comprehensive analysis of economic situation of both peoples in the present era and their similarities, it's necessary to go beyond a mere

¹ By "Palestinians in Israel" the author refers to the "Palestinians in Occupied Palestine territory" not the residents of Gaza, West Bank or other parts of the world.

narration of history of the two people and to include an examination of the contemporary economic issues that each is encountering. Using a comparative analysis of the economic situation of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel, the present study provides a unique understanding of their economic crises and the impacts of economic disconnection on different aspects of their lives.

One common issue that both Palestinians and Native Americans are experiencing in present time—and which is not a new concept in their lives—is “economic marginalization” or more generally “social exclusion.” Social exclusion is the process of blocking individuals or a whole community of people from their social rights among which economic rights can be mentioned. Being deprived of these rights that are normally available to members of the society, will result in detachment of the special groups of minorities from society in many ways.

On the same note, Sathiyar and Ilango (2010, p. 140) asserted that, “marginalization is the social process of becoming or being made marginal (to relegate or confine to a lower social standing or outer limit or edge, as of social standing.)” According to Mullaly (as cited in Sathiyar and Ilango, 2010), marginalization as a process involves depriving people of degrees of power and material which “in its most extreme form can exterminate groups.” (p. 141) In a similar fashion, Young (as cited in Sathiyar and Ilango, 2010), upheld that in company with “material deprivation, marginalized individuals are also excluded from services, programs, and policies.” (ibid.)

Experiencing high levels of poverty, less access to education, health care and basic services, and having fewer employment opportunities than the general population are few examples of the problems that Palestinians and Native Americans face with as a result of being excluded from the society they live in. Based on a 2013 US Census Bureau report, in 2011 about one in four (27.0%) Native American population in the

United States lived below the poverty line. (Macartney, et al., 2013) Generally speaking many Native American societies are suffering high rates of poverty and low employment rates.

An exact same plot describes the situation of Palestinian citizens of Israel. A 2013 Sharek Youth Forum, the largest Palestinian civil youth institution report revealed that 40% of Palestinians live in poverty due to high rates of joblessness. This translates to 44% unemployment among young Palestinians. (Balousha, 2013)

Based on a claim by Marriott (2007), in the 21st century Israel's conscious strategy has been to "limit its 'dependence' on Palestinian workers" which has resulted in 130,000 Palestinian workers losing their jobs in Israel in 1993. The case of Native Americans, according to Marriott is not any different from that of the Palestinians.

A low level of employment among both populations can be the result of differences in educational achievements as well as a host of other factors between these two minority groups and the country's majority population. The general idea has always been that the better educated a population, the higher its employment rate. Therefore, the lower educational attainment of both Native Americans and Palestinians may explain their lower employment rates. But, existing evidence reveals that in many situations even when the minority groups have the same education level as the majority population, they still have lower odds of being employed than the ruling class. The analysis, therefore, leads to the possibility that racial discrimination against these two groups may be playing a crucial role. (Austin, 2013 & Kershner, 2007)

Evidence proves that discrimination against minorities as a result of settler colonialism might be practiced in both countries. According to Austin (2013) "in a labor market free of racial discrimination," it is expected to see whites and Native Americans

in a similar economic situation, while the statistics deeply show the reverse. Austin, therefore, concluded that “these divergent outcomes are the first suggestion that racial discrimination might be at play.”

In case of Palestinians also reports provided by Kav LaOved (an Israeli non-profit association) (2012) revealed that Palestinians in Israel face with restrictions in the field of their occupations. These people are only allowed to get involved in “construction, agriculture, industry and services.” The statistics by Kav LaOved showed that “some 58% of the permits are designated for construction work, some 35% for agriculture and some 7% for industry and services.” (p. 8)

Consequently, in case of the United States and Israel’s colonization acts, although the two processes have occurred in different time frames, places and cultures, striking similarities can be found. Due to the fact that both cases offer a number of stimulating comparative possibilities, this thesis will endeavor to cover a relevant study of their economic issues. In particular, the present study emphasizes on the fact that Native Americans and Palestinians as victims of internal colonialism are not entirely similar to one another based on their presence in their post-colonial societies, but share more deeply-rooted parallelism worth exploring.

In the following chapters, an analysis of the economic conditions in which Native Americans and Palestinians can be compared will be conducted and a study of their current issues such as housing, public services, health care, education, employment, etc. will be included in order to examine the negative impacts of economic marginalization on the lives of both people. All the above mentioned discussions will be supported by interviews with activists and scholars of both groups to get an insight into the circumstances of both people and to put the claims of the thesis into perspective. It must be

admitted that in making such a comparison the study has undergone a number of limitations which are not assumed obligatory to be listed here.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review, Methodology & Theoretical Framework

This chapter aims to focus on the study's review of literature. After addressing a review of previous researches and studies on the topic, the study's research questions and hypothesis will be presented. The chapter will then look into the methodology and theoretical foundation of the study. However, it is first essential to define the terms minority and discrimination from different perspectives.

1.1 Definitions of “Minority” & “Discrimination”

A minority group is defined by the social majority—the group that holds the social and political power—as a different sociological category within a demography. The minority group might be different from the majority group in characteristics such as ethnicity, race, gender, wealth, health or sexual orientation. The term ‘minority’ which has its roots in history, is usually utilized to mention a differentiated group of people in the society that is deprived of holding some positions of social and political power. Based on its academic definition, “minority” is defined according to the amount of access to power among groups of people without considering differences in their sizes.

Feagin's study (as cited in Schaake, 2008) found that a minority group has five characteristics:

“(a) suffering discrimination and subordination, (b) physical and/or cultural traits that set them apart and which are disapproved by the dominant group, (c) share a sense of collective identity and common burdens, (d) socially shared rules about who belongs and who does not determine minority status, and (e) members tend to marry within the group.” (p. 46)

(HEGs) or “Historically Excluded Groups” is a term that is utilized to reveal the distinctions among different groups of minorities based on the degree of oppression and domination that these groups are experiencing.

Based on Louis Wirth's study (as cited in Joppke, 2010), a minority group is defined as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination." (p. 49)

In every society which includes minority groups, the style of life, language, culture and origin of the minority groups differ totally from that of the majority group. In spite of this, there exists no legal definition for the term minority in international law. Daniel Šmihula's study (as cited in Herman, 2010) found that a minority group can theoretically be defined as:

"a group of people within a given national state: which is numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the state or a part of the state; which is not in a dominant position; which has culture, language, religion, race, etc. distinct from that of the rest of the population; whose members have a will to preserve their specificity; whose members are citizens of the state where they have the status of a minority and finally which have a long-term presence on the territory where it has lived." (p. 13)

Due to the fact that many governments nowadays prefer ruling over people of the same nationality rather than different ethnicities, the rights of minority groups in many countries worldwide are ignored by the majority members and these people are prone to discrimination in the societies where they live. The discrimination may occur directly because of the government policies and majority's perception of the minorities or indirectly due to unequal social structure that is available to everyone.

The turn of the 20th century linked the term 'minority group' with concepts such as civil rights and collective rights. This, in a big part was the result of the prejudicial

treatment of minorities, or better said ‘minority discrimination’, based on the majority groups’ perception of minorities.

Merriam Webster Dictionary (2014) defines “Discrimination” as “the practice of unfairly treating a person or group of people differently from other people or groups of people” based on the perception that exists in the society about their membership in a special group category. Discriminatory practices against the minority groups deprive the members of these groups from opportunities or privileges that are available to other group members resulting in the exclusion of these individuals from their social and political rights.

The term ‘discrimination’ was born along with ‘minority’ and is almost as old as it is. One belief is that the term ‘discriminate’ came into existence in the early 17th century in the English language. It was basically derived from the Latin *discriminare* ‘distinguished between’, from the verb *discriminare*, from *discrimen* ‘distinction’, from the verb *discernere*. The concept advanced in American English on the rise of the American Civil War and was utilized while treating an individual prejudicially based on their race and racial category.

Discrimination in moral philosophers’ viewpoint is defined as unfavorable treatment for some arbitrary reason and not specifically harming an individual physically. Today a vast majority of governments approve of the principle of racial equality and abandon acts of racial discrimination. However, a large range of social science evidence reveal that significant discrimination still persists in contemporary modern societies.

Studies by Crosby, and Taylor et al., (as cited in Pager, 2006), indicated that “Due to social norms and legal sanctions, contemporary forms of discrimination are rarely overt, leaving countless instances of discriminatory action entirely invisible to the very

individuals who have been targeted.” (p. 4) However, the phenomenon is sometimes plainly apparent in some modern societies such as the United States of America and Israel; the two governments who claim that formal equality has legally been granted to every citizen.

1.2 Review of the Literature

In modern day America, a country which was founded on equality with the theory of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for everyone, Native Americans are racially discriminated against on a daily basis. Bamforth, and Garrett and Pitchette, (as cited in Nelson, 2011), believed that

“As we unfold the long history of the United States, we unearth violent invasion, destruction, and mass devastation; but we also reveal countless historical discriminatory factors and unjust treatment that affect the social, economic, psychological and emotional wellbeing of many American Indians.” (p. 4)

Nelson (2011, p. 4) furthermore contended that “Although not as seemingly obvious as occurrences have been in the past, discrimination, racism, forced assimilation, violence, and oppression of American Indians and culture still largely exists to this day” which in effect has resulted in Native Americans suffering from great historical, cultural, economic, etc. trauma.

In a country that they once used to call their own, these people according to the United States Department of Justice (n.d.), “experience per capita more than twice the rates of violence as the average American citizen.” Even worse, based on the US Department of Justice remarks, crimes against Native Americans simply go unpunished.

After being forced out of their lands, Native Americans were bound to reservations which consisted only 4% of the whole US territory and all the treaties signed with

them were violated by the federal government. Shortly after, their children were forcefully taken to boarding schools which sought to reeducate them in white settler American values, culture and economy with the aim of “killing the Indian to save the man.”

Whereas the US government has always adopted the catchy slogan of equality for every single citizen, Native Americans remain among the most economically disadvantaged groups in the country, and suffer from high levels of alcoholism and suicide. As Pager (2006) stated, “whether conscious or unconscious, exposed or covert, among individuals or institutions, systematic differences in the treatment of whites and minorities contribute to the economic marginalization of minority groups.” (p. 1) Likewise, a 2013 study of economic situation of Native Americans by Austin unearthed the fact that large numbers of Native Americans suffer poverty as a result of economic discrimination. Austin maintained that “in a labor market free of racial discrimination, one would expect whites and Native Americans to have somewhat similar outcomes, not starkly divergent outcomes like we see in Alaska, the Northern Plains, and the Southwest.” Austin (2013) believed that the divergent outcomes, therefore, reinforce the possibility that “discrimination might be at play,” since Native Americans are even “doing worse in the labor markets where they make up a larger share of the population.”

Although many Americans claim that the United States is experiencing its post-racial era, the social scientific data continues to suggest that many Native Americans are still suffering joblessness as a result of discrimination and marginalization.

In case of Israel and Zionism the story is almost identical to the American version of internal colonialism. Racism has been a fundamental feature of Zionism and the backbone of the state of Israel “from its declaration of independence up to this day;” and accordingly “the 20% of Israel's citizens who are Arabs have suffered from the state's

racist policies and have been subjected to a fierce campaign of repression,” according to a study by Ramahi (2010, p. 1). Despite making up more than 20% of the population of the state, Palestinians of Israel own only 2.5% of the entire territory—a faith which is the fruit of racist laws, confiscation and looting as a result of which the overwhelming majority landowners of pre-1948 turned into minorities of the present time Israel under a planned program by the Israeli government. Ramahi’s study suggested that, “the shift to the extreme right in Israeli politics calls for the expulsion of Arab citizens of Israel and the prohibition of having Arab MPs able to defend their rights.” (p. 3)

Palestinian lands are being purchased through pre-planned programs while these people are deprived of services available to every Jewish citizen of Israel. This is an effort that was made to marginalize this group of people and to force them to leave the old areas voluntarily. Those Palestinians who are residents of Tel Aviv are obliged to either build their homes in areas with a limited choice or leave the city. The ones who live near the coast have most often been enticed to sell up at a higher price and move.

Vawda’s analysis of the history of occupation in Palestine revealed the fact that the occupants utilize ‘security’ as a rationale to discriminate against the Palestinian minority who, as a matter of fact, has never posed a threat to security and safety of the state. (2014) According to Vawda “the approach of the authorities is never to be guided by the subversion which the Arab minority has not engaged in but by what they might have done had they been given the chance.” Consequently, military is the main decision maker regarding the movement of Palestinian citizens in, out or within the security zones and even the legal Arab residents could face with expulsion or property confiscation without having any resource to a Civil Court of Appeal. All these planned activities by the Israeli government have excluded, ignored and discriminated the Palestinians of

Israel since the foundation of the state that the government has relied upon Zionist rules and regulations to practice discriminatory treatment of Palestinian citizens.

In order to discriminate the Palestinian citizens of Israel, the Zionist regime has established 700 new communities including cities for Jews whereas Palestinians share of communities hasn't witnessed any changes and all this has happened ignoring the fact that both populations of Jews and Palestinians have grown at the rates of eight to tenfold. Based on Rabbi Rosove's (2014) claim, "Israel essentially has within it two separate states, one Arab and one Jewish," who are very much different in "their standard of living, income, quality of education, and employment rate." Whereas "the Jewish state of Israel is a developed Western nation ... the Arab state of Israel is a Third World Country," Rosove maintained.

Palestinians of Israel generally experience the most dreadful version of racism, oppression and modern colonialism. This exploitation and imperialist domination which is backed by the United States of America and a handful of its allies is in many respects identical to the narrative of Native Americans of the United States.

In his PhD dissertation, *The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan*, Steven Salaita (2003) has made a comparative analysis of colonialism in the United States and Israel with attention to how politics influence literary production. In Salaita's point of view in order to develop a comparison between Native Americans and Palestinians, one does not need to focus merely on Native and Palestinian scholarship because "it is quite possible to do so by letting the United States and Israel speak for themselves." (p. 74)

Salaita theorized a variety of connections between the two people arguing that "the biblical underpinnings of settler narratives; the classification of people based on

ethnicity; the taxonomy of race and gender; the shared horror of ethnic cleansing; the appalling results of dispossession; the struggle for acknowledgment and repatriation” are a few aspects of these detected and discussed connections between the two whereas “the existence of native collaborators on both continents; the mutual aesthetic patterns in literature; the marginalization of historical figures; the shared origin of Israel and America’s unique relationship; the complicity of scholarship in denial of ethnic cleansing” could be listed as others. (2003, p. 246)

The Native dehumanization policy is however a widespread phenomenon in colonized countries even reaching the regulations of governments and the literature of politicians. According to Salaita “Native Americans and Palestinians are probably the most versatile of earth’s species [whose] images have traversed much of the animal kingdom.” (p. 73) Salaita argued that besides being considered savages and terrorists during the history of the US and Israel, these people have experienced too much direct insult being called many names such as “cockroaches, lice, moles, snakes, swine, grasshoppers, beasts, ticks, leeches” as well as “fecal matter or dead skin.” (2003, p. 73) Claiming that this kind of literature has always been used by both American and Israeli high ranking government officials while making their domestic policy, Salaita added the Reverend Michael Prior’s illustration of how this attitude has fulfilled the task of colonialism:

“Many Puritan preachers referred to the Native Americans as Amalekites and Canaanites, who, if they refused to be converted, were worthy of annihilation. Thus Cotton Mather, author of Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), delivered a sermon in Boston in September 1689, charging the members of the armed forces in New England to consider themselves to be Israel in the wilderness, confronted by Amalek: pure Israel

was obliged to 'cast out [the Indians] as dirt in the streets' and eliminate and exterminate them." (2003, p. 76)

Salaita went on to give more examples of shared discourse among the political leaders of both side mentioning the nineteenth century ethnic cleansing of the Natives by American military officials as a policy because "nits make lice" in case they are not killed and its homologous theory of "1940 Lehi (Stern Gang) leader Avraham Stern" who was deeply involved in the idea that Palestinians were "beasts of the desert, not a legitimate people;" or President John Adams's statement: "the Indians are as bigoted to their religion as the Mohametans [sic] are to their Koran." Similarly, as Salaita articulated, Vladimir Jabotinsky, the Revisionist Zionist leader, author, poet, orator, soldier, and founder of the Jewish Self-Defense Organization in Odessa, brazenly called Palestinians a "yelling rabble dressed up in gaudy, savage rags" and believed that "Zionist colonization, even the most restricted, must either be terminated or carried out in defiance of the will of the native population." (2003, p. 77)

Clearly, secularism has forbidden neither of the states' leaders from turning to God while trying to justify their brutality. Salaita believed that "even while Americanism and Zionism ascribe themselves with modern ideals of democratic enlightenment, they draw tacitly from and encourage the articulation of biblical ideals." (2003, p. 76) In fact the biblical aspect of colonialism and the divine promise of land are linked with each other to create narratives in various colonizing projects of extermination of indigenous people. These narratives which have their roots in the socio-political and racial ideologies lying behind this biblical material, visualize civilizing the inferior savages. Accordingly, the biblical narratives of conquest and settlement in the Old Testament are used as a tool of justifying war-crimes and crimes against humanity in the colonized lands of America and Israel. Fabricating colonial myths and using bible to rationalize

violent, colonial imperialism has practically resulted in “the loss of respect for the Bible as having something significant to contribute to humanity” based on Michael Prior’s argument in his 1997 book *The Bible and Colonialism*. (1997, p. 292)

Therefore, it can be hypothesized that having historical and philosophical bounds is a more significant aspect of Americanism and Zionism although, political ties between the two regimes is undeniable. Salaita held that in the time of colonizing the lands, each group, “arrived bearing stories alien to the native populations; these stories, sharing the same taproot, became the dominant narratives of the state.” (2003, p. 7) The imperialistic stories, most of which sourced from the Bible, have been utilized during the history of colonization and in the occupied lands by the colonialists to legitimize the relationship between conquest and divinity of conquistadors and to specify the United States and Israel as being more than mere political or strategic allies.

Salaita declared that for the colonizer a colonial policy works best when it is hidden and devoid of his brutal motivations. Stealing, destroying, torturing and massacring are all done under sugar coated promises of Civilization and biblical salvation. Whereas no regime admits to being a colonizer, the world is filled with colonized peoples whose voices are the only means of leading the scholars to a rational colonial discourse. Stating that Natives still keep hope alive despite losing their lands, Salaita pointed out that in every part of the world “where colonialism occurred, the notion that Indigenes have lost hope was/is used to justify dispossession.” (2003, p. 96)

Having their own narratives of dispossession and displacement, according to Salaita, each people has produced significant literary works that specifically focus on the concept of “land occupation” as the ominous outcome of imperial policies. Therefore, it is not surprising to see American and Israeli supporters of colonization policies reach their boiling point “when anything outside their ideology is inserted into their

field of vision.” (2003, p. 85) Salaita’s studies found it compelling to “draw instances of Indigenous resistance together where possible,” because in both “New World and Holy Land... the discourse framing denial and ethnic cleansing on both continents can be reduced to a singular origin.” (2003, p. 85) To provide the reader with some examples, Salaita compared poets Lee Maracle (Metis) and Mahmoud Darwish who have offered some instances of colonialism in the New World and Holy Land within their poems. Quoting Maracle’s “Poem to a Palestinian Child” in full and some stanzas of Darwish’s “Speech of the Red Indian,” Salaita praised both poems in that both are perfectly “in conjunction with” each other and trace “the narratives of Canaan and America (Amalek) through a speech delivered by a Native to his conquerors.” (2003, p. 88) Darwish, (as cited in Salaita, 2003) believed in the dispossession in Palestine as the fruit of Columbus’s mission 400 years ago while the idea of occupying America has its roots in Canaan. Salaita then equated Carlos Latuff’s cartoons to works of Darwish and Maracle which visualize oppressing minorities worldwide in a comparative fashion. In Salaita’s words, Latuff’s work of art as well as the literary works of the other two “enhances our ability to perform comparative studies.” (2003, p. 90) Later, he mentioned Mohamed Heikal and Edward Said’s arguments who insisted on parallels between colonialism projects in America and Palestine.

In his remarks Salaita emphasized on the similarities between the colonial practices in both lands, “not only because the demands of international law are applicable in both cases, but also because discursive features in American politics now underwrite a new era of settlement and dispossession.” (2003, p. 84) Therefore, the American version of conquest appears to take place once more in the Near East this time “with a new set of Arab Indians in the way.” (ibid.) This leads Salaita to the fact that the United States’ support for Israel goes far beyond the creation date of the Holy Land and is not solely limited to economic aid, but inspiration as well. Consequently, the creation of the State

of Israel was a continuation to the colonial policy of 1492, “the moment of European contact on American shores.” (2003, p. 104)

Examining the contemporary situation of the Native Americans and Palestinians leads Salaita to the fact that both people are clinging to survival, some living tough lives economically. According to his studies, whereas “Native America only occupies approximately 4% of the United States ... [it] receives most of its nuclear waste.” (2003, p. 22) Furthermore, these people suffer from an ongoing economic crisis in addition to a handful of other issues such as “care coverage, per capita income, and household utilities.” (ibid.) He found the case of Palestinians essentially identical to that of the Native Americans in that they have both provided the colonizers with cheap labor necessary to keep their economies alive. Hence, Salaita concluded that Native Americans and Palestinians of the contemporary era “can be brought together despite obvious differences because of the specific narratives so deeply marking their lives, narratives that have spent much time traversing the space between New World and Holy Land.” (2003, p. 35)

Stereotyping Native Americans and Palestinians has always moved around in both continents portraying both people as bloodthirsty savages particularly in movies which are the main source of popular images world-wide. In an article, Jonathan Fryer, the British writer, broadcaster, lecturer and Liberal Democrat politician, recalled the environment in which he grew up as a child maintaining that TV series and Western movies were aimed at introducing “noble white cowboys and sheriffs” as heroes fighting “against the dastardly redskins, as the wagon trains carried settlers across the Mid-West, in the name of civilization and Christianity.” (2013) As a child, Fryer had as well witnessed “the creation of the new state of Israel” which was considered “as a heroic endeavor, in which the young laborers on the kibbutzim were involved in a noble purpose, the Jewish people risen like a phoenix from the ashes of the Holocaust.” (ibid.)

In his idea what happened to the Native Americans in the US history reminds every person of “what is happening in Occupied Palestine today.” (ibid.)

Comparing the goals of Americanism and Zionism, Uri Avnery believed one can find out that both Native Americans and Palestinians follow the same logic and exist parallel to each other with so much congruence that makes comparison uncomplicated. Americanism inspires Zionists in their task of colonizing the Holy Land and Zionism attracts the Americans’ attention towards the land of prophets. In his article, *America! America! or: The Height of Chutzpah*, Avnery mentioned “an American best-seller called *The Coming of Jesus* [which] proclaimed that the birth of a Jewish state in Palestine was a pre-condition for the second coming of Christ.” (2001) Therefore, the United States supports Israel strongly for many reasons the most important of which is “the identification of the Zionist enterprise with the foundations of America,” as Avnery, the Israeli writer and founder of the Gush Shalom peace movement, argued. In Avnery’s viewpoint:

“The Puritans who founded American society believed in the Bible, knew Hebrew, bore Biblical names, saw themselves as the “New Israel”, called their country the “New Canaan”, justified the annihilation of the Natives with the Biblical injunction against Amalek. The Zionist “pioneers” resemble the white settlers in America, the bad Palestinians are a new version of the “Bad Injuns.” (2001)

Patrick Wolfe suggested access to territory is the most exclusive component of colonialism and “the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory.” (2006, p. 388) Contrastingly, in his dissertation Salaita took a different approach declaring that in the case of the United States and Israel as political cultures which are bound to colonialism or imperialism, “the assumptions regarding disenfranchised groups connote racism when evoked and

examined.” (2003, p. 71) Therefore, Zionism brazenly “contest—perhaps foolishly—Palestinian land claims by arguing against Indian repatriation.” (2003, p. 72)

In his article—“We are all Israelis”: The Politics of Colonial Comparisons—Alex Lubin, the associate professor of American Studies, mentioned American landscape painters of the mid-nineteenth century who were mainly trained by “European Orientalists” and thought of the American West as Oriental space. In their paintings which were painted in the aftermath of the Mexican-American War, these painters “dressed Mexicans and Indians in clothing and scenery that turned them into Bedouins.” (2008, p. 677) In Lubin’s point of view “staking a claim for similarity— not exactness—allows us to see particular sites of state and imperial rule not in isolation but as constitutive of larger global systems and circuits of power.” (p. 684) He argued that a comparison of the US Southwest with the occupied Palestine will shed light on the reality that both follow the same goal. US and Israeli political leaders, according to Lubin “have rationalized particular forms of rule by drawing on—indeed, comparing—each other’s administration of colonialism.” (p. 684) Lubin cited Mark Twain’s 1869 satire of Holy Land pilgrimages, *The Innocents Abroad* in which he compared the construction of the Holy Land as a continuation to the US Southwest colonial policy. To Twain Arabs were “as swarthy as an Indian” and “Palestine’s Arab villages could be compared to —the ancient mining camps of California” since both Holy Land and the US West were constructions “improved through colonialism.” (2008, p. 678)

Lubin examined the nature of the policing the occupied West Bank and the U.S.-Mexico border project and concluded that both feature the same policy by a multinational corporation. In Lubin’s words “in each territory, the same corporation provides the labor involved in policing the border” as well as constructing the border walls which seem a preplanned project as the legacy of internal colonialism. (p. 685) Lubin went on

to articulate that despite the differences between the walls in both territories, “they enter a comparative frame by virtue of the shared technologies used in their production, as well as the similarity of their conditions of existence.” (p. 687)

Lubin is in agreement with Salaita that comparing Arabs to Indians “in American Orientalist cultural production” was aimed at creating “an American Orient out of North America so that biblical narratives of providential destiny can be recreated.” (p. 688) By making comparisons, Lubin concluded that one will be able to witness the noticeable products of colonialism and the logics of occupation in both territories.

In his article, *Colonization and Resistance in North America and Palestine: Similar Historical Processes*, Dr. William Abruzzi claimed that “the specific events that make up history do not repeat themselves,” but, “the processes which underlie historical developments certainly do.” (2003) Abruzzi mentioned ecological and social processes underlying human behavior as the main reasons for historical developments that occur permanently “be in the behavior of Dobe Ju/'hoansi, Inuit, Dine', Americans, Israelis or Palestinians.” He accounted massive immigrations of one people into a new land owned by another people, as the main reason of “disenfranchisement of the indigenous peoples of that region,” a phenomenon that applies to both cases of the United States and Israel.

Taking a similar approach as Lubin’s idea of policing strategy in both the US and Israel, Abruzzi accused both regimes of relocating the indigenes to isolated areas—reservations in the US and the West Bank and Gaza in Palestine—and controlling their movements. Both relocations are justified in the name of ‘Security’ to offer more room for mass immigration and construction of new settlements which in effect result in land shortage for the indigenes in both territories. Therefore, “Palestinians perceive the loss of their land and their sovereignty in the same way that the American Indians perceive what happened to them” and “just as the Indians resisted American colonization, so

have the Palestinians fought Israeli occupation,” Abruzzi claimed. (2003) He went on to argue that the discriminatory behavior in both territories has caused both peoples to face “the overwhelming economic, political and military forces lined up against them.” These issues, according to Abruzzi, forced Palestinians to turn to “militant fundamentalist Islam” as a religious ideology which “unites them as a people in their opposition to Israel” as well as the United States who, in Palestinians’ viewpoint, is the main supporter of the Zionist regime. In a part of his article, Abruzzi compared some Native American leaders such as “Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull Tecumseh, Tentswakawa and Neolin” to “ Hamas and Hezbollah” chiefs as the spiritual and political leaders of the American Indian and Palestinian opposition and resistance to American and Israeli colonization.

In a similar fashion to Salaita, in his article *Dispossession, Soil, and Identity in Palestinian and Native American Literature*, Ben White (2005, p. 1) pointed out “the parallels between the historical experiences of dispossession and colonization of the Palestinian and Native American peoples, and the similarities in the discourses of land and belonging of the two peoples,” as a strong proof to stimulate the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish to compose “Speech of the Red Indian.” According to White (2005), in Darwish’s poem, a “Columbus-type figure” yokes the oppressed “Native Americans and Palestinians together.” (p. 1) White believed that the postcolonial literature of both Palestinians and Native Americans contains a “plaintive and hopeless desire for the return of an irrecoverable past” and mentioned Darwish’s poem as just one contemporary example of literary works of both people who are trying to form relationships between the exile and the land. (p. 1)

In White’s point of view, making comparisons between Native American and Palestinians’ shared “passion for land” and “experiences of dispossession” helps scholars

to find out how each people's experience "affects the way land and exile are represented in literature." (p. 1)

White (2005, p. 2) examined Ghassan Kanafani's short story, *Men in the Sun*, as another example of literary work in which the "Native American idea of the land-human relationship" is being depicted in a Palestinian mode. The difference between the two people, according to White, is that Palestinians view of soil "is not primarily spiritual but sensual and material." (p. 2) White found Palestinian and Native American literature far different from other postcolonial literary works in that "neither group has enjoyed a decolonization process in their homeland, and therefore exists in a unique space in which to examine the dynamic between literature and collective tragedy." (p. 4)

In their study of minority groups and indigenous populations' economic exclusion and discrimination, Justino and Litchfield (2003, p. 12), pointed to "the marginalization of minority groups and indigenous peoples from the process and benefits of social, economic and political development" to illustrate the main reasons of poverty. In their idea "much of social, economic and political exclusion, and deprivation, may be rooted in past or present discrimination."

1.3 Major Questions and Hypothesis

In line with the study's outlook, the following three research questions have been advanced to examine the economic status of both Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel.

RQ1: Is the persistent minority economic status among the Native Americans in the United States similar to that of the Palestinians in Israel?

RQ2: What are the causes of persistent minority economic differences among the Native Americans in the United States and the majority of American citizens? And among the Palestinians and the majority of Israeli citizens?

RQ3: What economic and social differences exist between minority Native Americans in the United States and the majority white American citizens? And between minority Palestinians in Israel and the majority Jewish citizens of Israeli?

The questions will be addressed through an examination of current economic situation of both Native Americans and Palestinians and a study of the negative impacts of economic marginalization on each group. Based on the body of scholarship on the subject, the following hypothesis will also be advanced:

Hypothesis: The persistent minority economic status among the Native Americans in the United States is similar to that of the Palestinians in Israel. It is also hypothesized that compared to white American and Jewish citizens, these two groups of minorities are economically marginalized.

The goal of this thesis is to prove this hypothesis through the literature of internal colonialism and the idea of land dispossession and depopulation of both native land owners. In this study the focus will mainly be on the economic aspect of internal colonialism in the United States and Israel and its negative impacts on the contemporary situation of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel.

1.4 Methodology

This study utilizes comparative analysis method in addressing the three research questions. Comparative analysis (CA) is a methodology that is frequently employed to examine the nature of cross-national or international systems, institutions and procedures. The method is fundamentally based on empirical evidence collected via recording

and categorization of real-life political, cultural, economic, etc. phenomena. In the present study a comparative analyses will be made between present economic status of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel.

Stafford (2013) distinguished between comparative analysis and other political studies in that comparative research is an empirical method which “aims to develop greater political understanding through a scientifically constrained methodology” whereas other studies utilize “ideological and/or theoretical discourse” to develop an approach. Comparative research, therefore, is referred to as one of the most fundamental research methods which results in great academic achievements.

Mills (2006) found it important to mention comparative research as an extensive term that contains quantitative as well as qualitative comparison of social entities. Thus, according to Mills (p. 621), the researcher has to make comparisons “based on many lines, such as geographical or political ones in the form of cross-national or regional comparisons,” or as she cited Erikson and Goldthorpe, “across categories or social groups, such as in the study of stratification by social class” as well as “core emic categories in ethnographic studies in the study of ethnic classification,” based on Gravlee’ studies (as cited in Mills, 2006, p. 621) The goals underlying comparative analysis are to find out similarities or differences between/ among cases to be studied. Therefore, as Mills noted, researchers seeking for similarities frequently employ “a more general theory and search for universals or underlying general processes across different contexts.” (ibid.)

CA, as a method of analysis which recurrently puts multiple disciplines in one study to use, emerged in the 1880s and caught on after World War II. As being authenticated, quantitative analysis is much more frequently pursued than qualitative, and this is seen in the majority of comparative studies which use quantitative data. Likewise,

secondary analysis of quantitative data (especially government sourced) could be applied by the researcher in some measure due to the fact that primary data collection would be costly while comparing large quantities.

By comparing, the researcher is trying to determine the necessary and satisfactory conditions in a real life under which the relationship occurs. However, according to Pennings et al. (2006, P. 15), one must never forget that “the units of observation... that are employed are not identical, but are considered to be similar.”

An important strength of comparative analysis lies in the possibility of understanding the development of modern day political, economic, cultural, etc. relations. According to Lim (as cited in Stafford, 2013), “It is through CA that correlating, dependent and independent relationships can be identified.” Hence, including multiple countries in a comparative study will result in wider validity of findings.

For this reason, the popularity of comparative method of analyzing two or more countries has steadily increased. In fact including more than one country in a research prepares the study with a greater field of which to analyze.

Increased global validity and transferability is another strong point of comparative analysis. As Stafford (2013) maintained, involving quantitative techniques in comparative analysis of multiple countries “can offer valuable empirically-based geopolitical and domestic generalizations.” It is by comparative quantitative research that one can focus on “objective measurements and numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires or surveys.” (Labaree, 2013) Nevertheless, questionnaires or interviews as some of the basic tools for quantitative research can’t be considered flawless in that abuse or misuse of the mentioned techniques, inadequacy of data

collection methods and reliability of data could often but not always interfere with the results of the research.

1.4.1 Sources of Information

The operational definition of minority economic status in this dissertation is as follows: the economic situation of all Native Americans in the United States and all Palestinians in Israel who are employed, underemployed or unemployed. These minority groups are roughly divided into two broad groups of those who carry a college degree and those who lack one.

Although diverse in many respects such as time and space, these two groups of minorities share certain psychodynamics of internal colonialism. Therefore, they are being included in this analytical comparison because such a project is plausible, however highly complicated.

This study holds no misconception that comparative models of any type are without complication. However, moving forward prudently and utilizing explicit theoretical underpinnings based on the information currently available is the goal of this research.

In comparing the economic status of both peoples, the study employs an internal colonialism theme and its effects on the economic lives of both minority groups, due to the fact that they have no other historical ties to mention. As Salaita (2003) maintained, “the transfer of Holy Land themes to the Americas and, later, back to Palestine ... is a fascinating phenomenon that merits investigation...” (2003, p.20)

An important factor that ostensibly binds both minorities and makes such a comparison feasible in the present study is the presence of the colonialists, i.e. the Western powers and their regular application of precise patterns and strategies in both territories. Similarly, a prominent characteristic that ties Palestinians to the Native Americans is the

emergence of Zionism in the Promised Land which led into comparable struggles between the colonized and the colonizer in both continents. The present study counts internal colonialism and exploitation of natives as being a main reason of disastrous economic situation and poverty since the rights of colonizer always take precedence over those of the colonized.

This study has utilized scientific data, statistics, records of organizations and government agencies and deep interviews with scholars of both groups to collect the required primary data. The purpose of the in-depth interview was to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and motivations of the scholars on the subject of the study. Furthermore, since an interpretative approach (qualitative in nature) was adopted for the investigation, an in-depth interview method was decided on to be used. E-mails were sent to 35 scholars and university professors among who 13 accepted to be interviewed. All the participants in this investigation were engaged in research on Native Americans and Palestinians' issues.

1. Professor Sammy Smooha: Professor of Sociology at the University of Haifa and recipient of the Israel Prize who specializes in comparative ethnic relations, and has researched the internal divisions in Israeli society, and the society of Israel in comparative perspective. He is the author of "Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2004", "Autonomy for Arabs in Israel", "Arabs and Jews in Israel, Vol. 1 & 2", "The Orientation and Politicization of the Arab Minority in Israel" and "Israel: Pluralism and Conflict".

2. Professor Norman Gary Finkelstein: An American political scientist, activist, professor, and author whose primary fields of research are the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the politics of the Holocaust. Finkelstein is the author of "Method and Madness: The Hidden Story of Israel's Assaults on Gaza", "Old Wine,

Broken Bottle: Ari Shavit's Promised Land”, “Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel is Coming to an End”, “What Gandhi Says About Nonviolence, Resistance and Courage”, “Goldstone Recants. Richard Goldstone renews Israel’s license to kill”, “This Time We Went Too Far: Truth and Consequences of the Gaza Invasion”, “Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History”, “The Holocaust Industry”, “A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth”, “The Rise and Fall of Palestine: A Personal Account of the Intifada Years”, “Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict” and “From the Jewish Question to the Jewish State: An Essay on the Theory of Zionism”.

3. Professor Oren Yiftachel: An Israeli professor who teaches political geography, urban planning and public policy at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba. His publications include “Planning a Mixed Region: Political Geography in Galilee”, “Urban and Regional Planning in Western Australia”, “Planning and Social Control: Policy and Resistance in a Divided Society”, “Ethnic Frontiers and Boundaries”, “The Power of Planning”, “Israelis in Conflict” and “Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine”.

4. Professor Ilan Pappé: An Israeli historian and socialist activist and a professor with the College of Social Sciences and International Studies at the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom, director of the university's European Centre for Palestine Studies and co-director of the Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies. Pappé is the author of “The Idea of Israel: A History of Power and Knowledge”, “The Bureaucracy of Evil: The History of the Israeli Occupation”, “The Boycott Will Work: An Israeli Perspective in Audrea Lim (ed.) The Case for Sanctions Against Israel”, “The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel”, “Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians”, “Out of the Frame:

The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Israel”, “The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis”, “The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine”, “The Modern Middle East”, “A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples”, “Parlare Con il Nemico, Narrazioni palestinesi e israeliane a confronto”, “The Aristocracy: The Husaynis; A Political Biography”, “The Israel-Palestine Question”, “History From Within: Politics and Ideas in Middle East”, “Jordan in the Middle East: The Making of a Pivotal State”, “The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947–1951” and “Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948–1951”.

5. Professor Ian Steven Lustick: An American political scientist and specialist on the modern history and politics of the Middle East and the founder and past president of the Association for Israel Studies and past president of the American Political Science Association Politics and History Section. His current research involves applications of evolutionary and complexity theory to the development of computer simulations using agent-based models for research and policy analysis. His publications include “Arabs in the Jewish State : Israel's control of a national minority”, “State-building failure in British Ireland & French Algeria”, “Israel's Dangerous Fundamentalists”, “For the land and the Lord : Jewish fundamentalism in Israel”, “Critical essays on Israeli society, politics, and culture”, “Unsettled states, disputed lands : Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza”, “Arab-Israeli relations : historical background and origins of the conflict”, “Palestinians under Israeli rule”, “Economic, legal, and demographic dimensions of Arab-Israeli relations”, “Arab-Israeli relations in world politics”, “The Conflict with the Arabs in Israeli politics and society”, “The conflict with Israel in Arab politics and society”, “From war to war : Israel vs. the Arabs”, “From wars toward peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1969-1993”, “The absence of Middle Eastern great powers : political "backwardness" in historical perspective”, “Lijphart, Lakatos, and consoci-

ationalism", World Politics", "Right-sizing the state : the politics of moving borders", "Exile and return : predicaments of Palestinians and Jews", "Trapped in the War on Terror" and "What Counts is the Counting: Statistical Manipulation as a Solution to Israel's "Demographic Problem"".

6. Ofer Neiman: One of the leaders of Boycott from Within and professor at Ben-Gurion University, Beer Sheva.

7. Shir Hever: An economic researcher of the economic aspects of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Hever is the author of "Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression Beyond Exploitation", "Israel and the Palestinian Government Agree to Return to Negotiations", "Israel has More Poverty than Any Developed Country", "Why Is the German Left Unconditionally Supporting Israel?", "European Governments Take Steps to Label Products of Israeli Colonies" and "Thatcher Forged an Alliance Between Neoliberalism and Ne conservatism".

8. Professor Ward Churchill: an American author and political activist. He was professor of ethnic studies at the University of Colorado Boulder from 1990 to 2007. The primary focus of his work is on the historical treatment of political dissenters and Native Americans by the United States government. Churchill has published "Culture versus Economism: Essays on Marxism in the Multicultural Arena", "Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement", "The Cointelpro Papers: Documents from the FBI's War Against Domestic Dissent", "Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema, and the Colonization of American Indians.", "Cages of Steel: The Politics of Imprisonment in America", "Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide and Expropriation in Contemporary North America", "Indians Are Us?: Culture and Genocide in Native North America", "Since Predator Came: Notes

from the Struggle for American Indian Liberation”, “From a Native Son: Selected Essays on Indigenism 1985–1995”, “Pacifism as Pathology: Reflections on the Role of Armed Struggle in North America”, “A Little Matter of Genocide”, “Draconian Measures: The History of FBI Political Repression”, “Acts Of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader”, “Perversions of Justice: Indigenous Peoples and Angloamerican Law”, “On the Justice of Roosting Chickens: Reflections on the Consequences of U.S. Imperial Arrogance and Criminality”, “Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools”, “Speaking Truth in the Teeth of Power: Lectures on Globalization, Colonialism, and Native North America” and “To Disrupt, Discredit And Destroy: The FBI's Secret War Against The Black Panther Party”

9. Professor Dennis Norman: Faculty Chair of the Harvard University Native American Program since 2005 and the chair for the Harvard University Native American Program and Health Initiative and teaches field research for Native communities at the Harvard Kennedy School and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. His publications include “An analysis of certain personality characteristics related to the acquisition of affective sensitivity”, “ACTH and alpha-MSH inhibit leptin expression and secretion in 3T3-L1 adipocytes: model for a central-peripheral melanocortin-leptin pathway” and “Intelligence (IQ) testing”

10. Professor Raymond Austin: The Distinguished Jurist in Residence for the Indigenous Peoples Law and Policy Program, James E. Rogers College of Law and a member of the Navajo Nation Bar Association and the state bars of Arizona and Utah. He has taught courses as visiting professor at the Harvard Law School, Arizona State University College of Law, and University of Utah College of Law. He has also taught seminars on Indian law and tribal law and judicial systems to members of the state bars of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico and to other legal associations. He

is a past member of the board of directors for the National Indian Justice Center, National American Indian Court Judges Association, and the Advisory Council on Indian Legal Programs at the Arizona State University College of Law. Austin is the author of “Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law: A Tradition of Tribal Self-Governance”.

11. Professor Manley Begay: Director of the Native Nations Institute for Leadership, Management, and Policy (NNI) in the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy and senior lecturer/associate social scientist in the American Indian Studies Program at The University of Arizona (UofA). He is also co-director of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED), John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He recently was also selected as faculty member of the Institute for Planet Earth, at The University of Arizona.

12. Professor Brian Hosmer: Holds the H.G. Barnard Chair in Western American History at the University of Tulsa. Prior to moving to Tulsa in 2009, he was Director of the Newberry Library's D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian History, founding Director of the CIC American Indian Studies Consortium, and Associate Professor of History and Native American Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His research focuses on intersections between economic change, nation building and tribal self-determination in twentieth century American Indian communities. His publications include “American Indians in the Marketplace”, “Native Pathways”, “Native Americans and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman” and several articles, essays and book chapters. He is currently busy with “Working and Belonging, on Wind River and Indians of Illinois: A Concise History.”

13. Professor Paul C. Rosier: Currently serves as associate professor of history at Villanova University, where he teaches Native American history, American environmental history, global environmental justice movements, history of American

capitalism, world history, global environmental history, and sustainability studies. He is the author of “Serving Their Country”, “Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912-1954”, “Echoes from the Poisoned Well” and “Native American Issues”.

The designed questionnaires will appear in the appendix. As the secondary sources of data collection, the study applies books, articles, encyclopedia or dictionaries. The mentioned databases plus World Wide Web will constitute the main sources of data collection for the present study. The following keywords will be used with the two terms Native Americans and Palestinians in conducting the database searches: the United States, Israel, economic, discrimination, marginalization, exclusion, poverty, unemployment, and internal colonialism.

1.4.2 Research Problems

As extensive as this study is, it also bears in it limitations that should be addressed in further studies. The main issue in any comparative research study is, how differently multiple countries treat setting the data or defining categories. In some cases national records may not be available or may not go back very far. In some other areas lack of interest among policy makers in certain topics may lead into data limitations. Governmental statistics may be published in a highly aggregated form and in an unsystematic fashion.

Similarly, in such a study presence of many variables and availability of small number of cases might make handling so many variables strenuous. The purpose of this study would be to use a precise statistical or experimental analysis of the economic status of both peoples if possible, but a major shortcoming is the inevitable scarcity of time, energy, and financial resources in addition to the fact that Iran has no formalized

diplomatic relations with any of the two governments of the United States or Israel which makes it almost impossible to change this study into a field study—though it would be much more preferable. Therefore, all that is tied with the primary data collection must be done through internet which cannot be flawless.

Also as stated earlier no comprehensive study has focused on making a comparison between the economies of the two peoples and this is the first time a comparative analysis of economic status of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel is being presented. This thesis could, therefore, serve as the basis for a comparative analysis of both populations economically.

Another limitation that the study encountered was retrieving data that is actionable, accurate and accessible since the official websites of both countries ignore these two populations in many respects. Over and above that, the 2014 Gaza conflict affected data collection in the case of Palestinians due to the fact that some official websites were down temporarily over the war time.

Finally, the study was aimed to interview intellectuals of both groups of Native Americans and non-Native Americans as well as Palestinians and non-Palestinians. The purpose of the study, however, could not be fully achieved since Palestinian scholars were reluctant to interview and no Palestinian scholar accepted to be interviewed. This could be considered a disadvantage of the present thesis.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

1.5.1 Review

Theory of internal colonialism was proposed by Leo Marquard for the first time in 1957 on the subject of South Africa and expanded by Pablo González Casanova in 1965 after the publication of an article on Mexico.

To Marquard, the concept of internal colonialism was entirely a racial and political as well as an ideological incident which bore no relation to economy of South Africa. Equally, other notable people such as Frantz Fanon (1963), Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1965), Robert Blauner (1969), Andre Gunder Frank (1970), Sergio Salvi (1973), Pierre L. Van den Berghe (1974), Harold Wolpe (1975), Michael Hechter (1975), Edward Said (1978) and Albert Memmi (1991) among countless others notified and expanded on the theory to apply it to their cases of study.

In this thesis, internal colonialism is a notion of structural, political and economic inequalities between regions within a nation state. The term, also known as uneven development, explains the uneven effects of economic development on a regional basis within a society where indigenous people are exploited and excluded. Internal colonialism according to Anders (1980) is “a theoretical model which stresses the domination of a people by a culturally different and more powerful group over which they have little influence.” (p. 690)

“Colonization complex”—the term that that was first applied by Blauner (1972, P. 84)—involves an external colony in contrast to an internal colony. Blauner’s definition of colonialism comprises racism, ethnicity, culture, and economic exploitation. To Blauner an external colony is a political entity which is geographically outside the boundaries of the exploiting power contrary to an internal colony which defines oppressed populations within the same boundaries as the colonizing power.

Therefore, whereas neo-colonialism or as Blauner states—“external colonialism”—is the case of controlling a colony from outside, internal colonialism stands for exploiting a colonial territory from within which according to Michael Hechter is much the way the European colonial powers used to exploit and oppress foreign colonies.

As stated by Abercrombie et al. (2000, p. 183):

“An internal colony supposedly produces wealth for the benefit of those areas most closely associated with the state, usually the capital area. The members of “internal colonies” are distinguished as different by a cultural variable such as ethnicity, language, or religion. They are then excluded from prestigious social and political positions, which are dominated by members of the metropolis.”

González (2005) defines internal colonialism as “a condition of oppression or subordination, often of one ethnic group over another.” The oppressed, therefore, are living within boundaries under the rule of another government and its structures “being locked into certain jobs” with no rights of holding public office, travelling freely, owning businesses or living lives “independent of wages earned working for others.” González insists on the concept of “manifest destiny” as the backbone of the colonizers efforts to colonize land inhabited by indigenous people. In González’s point of view, manifest destiny “introduces the idea that politics and economics worked together to displace and replace residents of a territory.”

Bohmer’s definition of internal colonialism goes along with the history of racism. According to Bohmer (1998) the theory explains the oppression of minority groups in the United States and “includes a strategy for the elimination of racism.”

As Bohmer puts it, the inhabitants of colonized territories:

“must sell their labor power and buy necessary commodities at inflated prices from these enterprises. Loans or other credit to finance economic development are either not available or available only at interest rates well above the market rate. The police, schools, social service agencies and all levels of government exercise political control over the ghetto residents. The government distributes public services in a

racially discriminatory manner. Local politicians may be residents of the community but they have little power and they serve the needs of outside forces.”

Gouldner (1978) interprets internal colonialism as exercising political and social authority by the “the Control Center” to direct and influence the other part of the same society which is “ecologically differentiated.” (p. 13) The use of force and violence is an essential aspect of this system in order to prevent failure of state’s routine mechanisms. This control results in making unequal decisions regarding:

“capital allocations, investments, prices and price controls, access by visitors, taxes, tax exemptions and deductions, credit, loans, labor drafts, military conscription, rates of interest, wages, tariffs, customs duties, access to education, passports and visas, and electoral representation.” (p. 13)

According to Gouldner although they share the same culture and language, both the colonizer and the colonized “have different versions of it” among which the “Center’s culture and dialect” play the main role in the society compared to that of the marginal group. (ibid.)

Hind’s definition of internal colonialism mainly focuses on hegemonic exercise of power by the core section of society over the colonized who are not necessarily the minority population. According to Hind (1984, p. 552), the colonizers and colonized both live in the same society which includes “characteristics of conventional colonialism as political subjection, economic exploitation, cultural domination, and racial conflict... [and] desire to civilize and Christianize.” As Hind states, exploitation in these societies is considered development from the colonizers’ perspective.

Based on Hechter’s claim (as cited in Hind, 1984, p. 550), internal colonialism is a phenomenon of industrial societies which involves “uneven pattern of development”

ending in “rise and fall of the most extensive overseas colonial empire.” (ibid.) Hechter believes that in every colonized society characters of the “core culture” are supposed to hold “high prestige roles in the social structure of the peripheral regions.” (p. 551)

Chávez (2011, p. 786) offers an expansive history of the theory of internal colonialism. In his words, “the historical development of ethnic and racial inequality in the modern world” gave rise to the theory in the 1960s. However, the 1980s opponents of the theory criticized it for lacking adequate understanding of “class and gender among other matters.” (ibid.) The theory, though, didn’t lose its validity due to the fact that its proponents revised and elaborated it to continue to explain “the subordination of indigenous peoples within larger states dominated by other groups.” (p. 786) Therefore, according to Chávez, “internal colonialism seeks to explain the subordinate status of a racial or ethnic group in its own homeland within the boundaries of a larger state dominated by a different people.” (ibid.)

Chávez (p. 786) also, directs the readers’ attention to the history of military conquest around the world which is consistently followed by “political, economic, cultural, and complete social and even psychological subordination” of the colonized by the colonizer. In his point of view the theory’s importance has origins in its global applicability to “dynastic and national states, as well as contiguous empires, from antiquity to the present.” (ibid.)

Internal colonialism, therefore, can be referred to as the fruit of territorial expansion and ethnic conflict in many parts of the world through which individuals confront each other and consequently the dominant group dominates the subaltern group for its own benefit.

To Hicks (2004, p. 1), an internal colony is “a colony that exists inside the boundaries of the state which colonized it.” Hicks basically lists the key concepts of internal colonialism as:

“1. ...a domestic analogy to forms of economic and social domination in classical colonialism; and,

2. ... [an] intra-national exploitation of distinct cultural groups.” (p. 4)

Pinderhughes (2011) defines internal colonialism as “a geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population, located within the dominant power or country.” (p. 236) According to Pinderhughes the outcome of such subordination by the authoritative group results in challenging inequalities in social and public policy making. Pinderhughes criticizes unequal “practices of a variety of societal institutions, including systems of education, public safety (police, courts and prisons), health, employment, cultural production, and finance” as the outcome of such domination. (ibid.) To Pinderhughes, internal colonialism is a portrayal of systematic inequality which is not only exercised in the United States but also in many other countries in the real world.

Walls (1978, p. 4), characterizes internal colonialism as a process of an ethnic groups’ exercise of authority over another group “living within the continuous boundaries of a single state.” According to Walls, the subordinate group which is bound to separate geography such as “homelands” or “native reserves” has no “land tenure rights” similar to “those applicable to members of the dominant group.” (ibid.) To rule the subaltern group, as Walls states, the state installs an internal government “with a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate groups.” (p. 5) The subject people under such a government, as one would expect, experience economic inequality in which they

are “relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labor and the relations of production.” (ibid.)

Barrera (as cited in Nbeta, 2012, p. 55) holds that internal colonialism is “a structured relationship of domination and subordination” based on ethnic and racial divisions within the same boundary which is established “to serve the interests of all or part of the dominant group.”

Personally, Nbeta (2012) believes whereas theory of internal colonialism does not apply to the case of “Appalachian whites ... and of women, old people [and] homosexuals,” it “describes the position of Amerindians quite well.” (p. 54)

Hind (1984, p. 543), notes that theories and presuppositions that emerge from the concept of internal colonialism show a great deal of variety and scholars have used them regarding development within “Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, Sudan, and Thailand, and within American and European states too.” According to Hind investigating and analyzing different circumstances within such contrasting societies by specialists and intellectuals “trained in distinctive ways, and whose respective disciplines embrace contending schools of analysis,” has resulted in “the formulation of diverse internal colonial theses for the examination of these societies.” (p. 543)

Hind mentions a study of internal colonialism by Zureik, which suggests that the social status of Palestinians in Israel is parallel and comparable to that of American Indians. According to this study, the Israeli government exercises systematic political domination over Palestinian citizens, subjecting them to different types of political control and treating them unequally in every respect. As the study shows “Israeli Arabs are excluded from certain sociopolitical positions and activities, they experience other discriminatory policies, their land is exposed to appropriation, and they form the largest

component of the lowest socioeconomic sections of Israeli society.” (p. 550) Hind finds relations between the theory of internal colonialism and the experience of certain racial or ethnic minorities. He lists a corpus of writing by Anders who believes “federal government's policies towards Native Americans conform to a clearly colonial pattern, and that these policies are strongly related to Indian underdevelopment today.” (p. 546)

In a similar fashion Chávez (2011) compares the case of Palestinians as a Middle Eastern version of internal colonialism to the one examined by González Casanova in the case of Mexico in the early 1960s. According to Chávez internal colonialism in the Middle East resulted in Palestinians’ “expulsion from their homeland, or incorporation as an internal colony of the state of Israel.” (p. 798)

In Hicks’s words, theories of internal colonialism have been extensively employed to throw light on situations and movements in:

“Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Britain’s ‘Celtic fringe’, Acadia and Québec in Canada, the Guizhou and Xinjiang regions of China, Colombia, Croatia, Estonia, Finland, Brittany in France, the Jharkhand region of India, Northern Ireland, Italy, the Sanya region of Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, The Philippines, South Africa, the Basque and Catalan regions of Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, the Swiss canton of St. Gallen, Thailand, the former USSR, Vietnam and Wales as well as Appalachia, Blacks and Chicanos in the USA... [and] the situations and movements of indigenous peoples in Africa, Australia, South and Central America and First Nations in Canada and the USA.” (2004, p. 4)

Similarly, Pinderhughes (2001) informs that the theory has been widely used in studying “the Inuit (Canada), the Miskitu (Nicaragua), and the Palestinians (Israel), and

other neo-colonial settings, including Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Estonia, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.” (p. 248)

1.5.2 Framework

This thesis examines internal colonialism theory proposed by Gary C. Anders in 1980. According to Anders colonialism is far more than the process of ruling of one dominant group over another, but of inducing “a fundamental transformation of the colonized society, its basic social and economic institutions, and its entire social fabric.” (1980, p. 682) In Anders’s words colonialism is the outcome of disparity of power between the dominant and the dominated within the same boundaries which is facilitated politically to influence the economy of the colonized. (1980)

The colonizers utilize oppressive force or technological superiority to restyle the subaltern’s institutions in order to meet their own needs. The policy of conquering and subjugating a people brings about a major social upheaval through reorganizing the colonized society and changing the old ways. In such a society “power and prestige are no longer based upon traditional conceptions, and old values begin to give way to new ones.” (Anders, 1980, p. 682) Old traditions and institutions lose their effectiveness and disappear to be replaced by new ones and long-established forms of economic activity surrender to newly arrived patterns to be in charge of producing an economic surplus for the benefit of the colonizer. Similarly, the natural resources of the colonized will be exploited and monopolized to serve the needs of the colonizer. (1980)

This system involves political repression of the subaltern population through establishing special administrative agencies that are responsible for administering the colonized population and at the same time keeping them subjugated and economically dependent. (1980) The structure usually filters the communication between the dominated and the dominant groups and exercises racism as “an important factor in

rationalizing the maltreatment of the ‘inferior’ group.” (Anders, 1980, p. 682) Such a policy results in “a breakdown of traditional self-sufficient economic practices.” (Anders, 1980, p. 683)

After the indigenous population is defeated politically as well as economically, dramatic alterations bring about the annihilation of this population. (1980) Therefore, two key components of internal colonialism according to Tabb (as cited in Anders, 1980, p. 686) are: “economic exploitation and political subjugation.” Internal colonies are fully dependent upon the colonizer’s markets and are a source of unskilled labor for the dominant economy. These work forces who earn very low wages will on the other hand be charged with very high price items that are produced by colonizers. (1980)

According to Blauner (as cited in Anders, 1980, p. 687) four principal elements of colonialism are:

“(1) forced entry-the colonizers enter the colony uninvited and take over the domestic economic and political institutions; (2) cultural impact-the colonizers' policies undermine traditional structures, values, and culture; (3) external administration-the colonizers transfer political power to their own institutions, enabling them to orient the colonized society in new directions; and (4) racism-the colonizers use racism as the ideological rationalization for their domination of the subordinate group.”

Under institutionalized systems of oppression and alien control, resistance is futile and social, cultural, political and economic structures of the dominated population will be totally disrupted. (1980) Over time this massive control over the colonized leads to the uprooting of the entire religious traditions and practices. In Hagen’s words (as cited in Anders, 1980, p. 688) the subalterns suffer “a severe psychological reaction, referred

to as 'hostile dependence'... which is a direct result of colonialism [and] a cause of underdevelopment insofar as it promotes economic failure.”

Certain parallels can be found among colonized indigenous populations around the world in that they have all undergone similar processes of “relocation,... the use of the military, the introduction of contagious diseases, genocidal warfare, and the rise of messianism in reaction to alien oppression,” regarding Palmer Patterson (as cited in Anders, 1980, p. 690.)

The analysis of such different societies has led to formulation of theory of internal colonialism as an amenable theory with an abundance of evidence for the examination of diverse cases worldwide. What makes theory of internal colonialism an applicable theory, is its quality of explaining the unequal conditions of indigenous peoples between and within the national borders and bringing a variety of colonized populations into its orbit.

The theory of internal colonialism has been frequently employed by postcolonial scholars and researchers as a theoretical element of dissertations and theses since the 1970s and 1980s, mainly due to its application to indigenous peoples because it explains the unequal position of indigenous people in a more explicit way.

In the general run of things, the theory of internal colonialism has seminal value for the researchers who are attracted to the comparative study of colonized societies that are even regarded as sovereign states. The treatment of specific experiences of the subaltern residents of these societies in a comparative way and within an internal colonial framework might lead the scholars to identify significant features that could be misinterpreted if they were studied separately by other means. In other words, the

theory's broad applicability might help to bring aspects of colonized societies around the world, which are studied separately, into a closer relationship.

CHAPTER 2

Native Americans

2.1 Introduction

Native Americans of the United States overall constitute 5.2 million people, which is 1.7 percent of the United States' population. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010:1) This includes 2.9 million Native Americans in addition to 2.3 million people who claim to be American Indian or Alaska Native in combination with one or more other races. (ibid.) These people, who are still far from the white civilization in some respects, live in different stages of development ranging from the most primitive to the most sophisticated, and range from pauperism (for the main part) to affluence (for a small minority) economically. Whereas they live on lands with oil and other natural sources such as fish and game, livestock, coal, timber, and natural gas, thousands of Native Americans remain isolated in remote areas without sufficient natural resources and infrastructure to build a strong economy and consequently live at near-starvation levels.

American Indians live on about 300 federal reservations in the United States, with a total of 52,017,551 acres held in trust by the federal government, the large majority west of the Mississippi. In some cases the reservations are privately owned and in others they are property of non-Indians. Sometimes reservations are possessed by one tribe and some other times they are jointly held. Overall, each tribe lives within its unique cultural, lingual, historical, and traditional belief system. Generally, the reservations are sovereign nations, but Native Americans are also considered U.S. citizens. Before 1924 that President Calvin Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act and made all Native Americans born in the United States and its territories American citizens, almost two-thirds of American Indians were already citizens of the United States. In W. Churchill's words, "citizenship is something that was imposed upon Indians by and large. Indians

are not recognized as being citizens first of all in the constitution of the United States. They're thought of as separate nations.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Native Americans most preferably adopt the term “American Indian” or simply “Indian” based on a 1995 U.S. Census Bureau. The term has been adopted by major newspapers and some academic groups, but does not traditionally include Native Hawaiians or certain Alaskan Natives. Some of Native Americans are educated and assimilated into the American melting pot whereas a large group live in nearly complete isolation from non-Indian Americans in poverty and encounter racism, unemployment, disease, drugs and a handful of other problems as the results of internal colonialism. But according to B. Hosmer, even the urban educated ones “struggle with separation. In many cases, urban Indians have developed communities in cities. Often, urban Indians travel home to maintain connections.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014) Likewise, W. Churchill stated that, “Among the youth, people come from the reservations into the cities often retain their ideas and they attempt to engage in ceremonies and travel back to the reservations to make connections.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Statistics show that full-blood individuals are more likely to live on a reservation than mixed-blood individuals. Based on a 2010 U.S. Census “22% of 5.2 million Native Americans live on tribal lands.” (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2013:2) Figures also reveal that approximately one-third to one-half of the Native American population, i.e., 78%, live in urban areas such as Los Angeles - Long Beach area of California, ... San Francisco - Oakland in California, Tulsa and Oklahoma city in Oklahoma, New York City and Buffalo in New York, Phoenix and Tucson in Arizona, Minneapolis - St. Paul and Duluth in Minnesota, Seattle - Everett in Washington, Rapid City in South Dakota,

Denver in Colorado, Milwaukee in Wisconsin, Portland in Oregon, Albuquerque in New Mexico, and Nome, Bethel and Barrow in Alaska.

Native Americans have always been considered as a compact group of tribes over the US history, but in reality they have never united altogether. Even today they are not free from discord between the tribes; the role of the US policy in encouraging this conflict should not be ignored, though. Throughout many decades the federal government often placed the borders of a reservation in such a way that it surrounded another tribe's area as a quite effective policy.

American Indians were not introduced to the concept of private property until the federal government took the control of their lands and began to remove them from their ancestral territories to reservations. Taken from the land that once met all of their needs, Native Americans nowadays are banned to reservations some miles away from basic necessities such as stores and medical facilities. As was mentioned before, some lands are privately owned while others, i.e., tribal trust land, are allotted to individuals by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The significant point regarding the privately owned lands is that they are far more productive—approximately 30 to 40 percent more productive than individual trust lands.

As stated by M. Begay, “historically Native Americans were put on some of the worst pieces of land that the federal government of the US could find for us... in some places it is very bad in terms of the lack of natural resources, the lack of good earth lands to farm, the lack of places where you can actually raise livestock and make a living.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

R. Austin also blamed the federal government for still controlling the Indian reservation land called trust lands holding that:

“because of federal control, Indian peoples cannot lease their lands for business purposes and mineral extraction without approval of the federal government. The need for federal approval has caused Indian peoples to be cheated out of money by major corporations, especially mining companies. The federal government also collects the money paid by corporations for mineral extraction and has done a bad job of accounting for the money. Indian tribes have filed law suits against the federal government for lost moneys and they have won some cases and some are still in litigation.” (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

The importance of land to American Indians is that not only this territory is homeland, but it is also the place that “ensures continuity” and “it is not only where ancestors once lived, but also where future generations will be born.” (Alvarez, 2011) Therefore, land is the only remaining means of preserving their cultural identity from the mainstream white American culture. Moreover, land plays a critical role in the livelihood of Native Americans as well as helping them exercise tribal self-governance and self-determination.

According to Anders (1980, p. 682), “colonialism is far more than a mere governmental arrangement in which one group assumes the right and exercises the power to govern another.” Universally, this process affects the colonized society leading to a shift in its basic social and economic institutions and its entire social fabric. The change is “economically motivated” and “facilitated politically by the disparity of power between the colonizers and the colonized.” (ibid.) Therefore, the colonizer, i.e. the federal government imposes itself technologically to the Native Americans by the use of force to adapt the existing native institutions to their own needs. (ibid.)

Meanwhile removed from their ancestral lands, Native Americans were forced to go through a dramatic shift from a traditional lifestyle toward a Western way of life.

This pressure seriously affected the health and well-being of the Native people resulting in chronic diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, tuberculosis, and cancer. Alarming statistics by A Program of National Relief Charities (N.R.C) revealed that there is a “link between heart disease, diabetes, poverty, and quality of nutrition and health care,” due to which “36% of Natives with heart disease will die before age 65 compared to 15% of Caucasians.” According to a report by US Department of Health and Human Services, “age-adjusted heart disease death rates per 100,000 [Native Americans in 2010]” was totally 128.6%. (2013)

Indian reservations today are on a different level of development; therefore, the issues they encounter can be classified into different types. In many cases one problem results in a series of other problems. While sympathetic toward Native Americans, non-natives have vague information of their issues. Native Americans for their part claim that they go on to face discrimination, mistreatment, and inequality in the white American society.

Whereas legally there’s no second-class citizen in the United States and everyone is literally considered equal under the U.S. Constitution, “the majority white population discriminates against a person or people who are not white... This discrimination can come in several forms, such as in employment, housing, income, health care, etc.” (R. Austin, personal interview, December 16, 2014) In W. Churchill’s words, “Indians in a sense are still treated as being other than US citizens but hold the responsibility of US citizenship. I don’t think that’s even second class citizenship, I think that’s something altogether different.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Native Americans in the United States rank at the bottom of every statistics based on a 2007 research by U.S. Small Business Administration which revealed that Native Americans go through highest teen suicide rate of all minorities at 18.5 per 100,000,

highest rate of teen pregnancy, highest high school drop-out rate at 54%, lowest per capita income, and unemployment rates between 50% to 90%. Relocated from their native lands and deprived of the traditional structure of living, these people are basically forced to rely on the federal government for their fundamental needs.

Although proud of their traditions and heritage, large numbers of American Indians have chosen urbanization because jobs are very scarce on reservations. As maintained by R. Austin, reservations generally experience a rate of 40 to 75 percent of unemployment. Therefore, Indians who choose to “live off the reservation are better off economically than those who live on reservations.” (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Whereas thousands of these people cling to survival on the reservations, some have entered academic and political fields in the hope of a brighter future. (R. Austin, personal communication, December 16, 2014) They have established tribal councils to try to help the federal government settle on long-range programs of education, health services, vocational training, resource planning, and financial credit to find solutions to their current status and problems. But in W. Churchill’s perspective one cannot define success in terms of “finding a place among the perpetrators of genocide of your own people.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

In his 2012 remarks at a campaign event, President Barack Obama emphasized that “As long as Native Americans face unemployment rates that are far higher than the national average, we've got more work to do” since the federal government is supposed to “restore America's promise for all our people, including our first Americans.”

The Obama administration has also signed the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recently. As stated by Liberation News: the Newspaper of the Party

for Socialism and Liberation, “this non-binding declaration recognizes the rights of some 360 million Indigenous people around the world.” (2012) After being introduced in 2007, 143 countries approved it, 11 countries abstained and the 4 countries with the largest number of indigenous people—the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand—simply voted against it. After a while 3 of these countries switched their votes and the U.S. remained to be the last to change their idea. Based on UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous peoples,

“in the exercise of their rights, should be free from discrimination of any kind,” and “that indigenous people have suffered from historic injustices as a result of ... their colonisation and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests, ... recognising the urgent need to respect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with states, ... bearing in mind that nothing in this declaration may be used to deny any peoples their right to self-determination exercised in conformity with international law.” (2007)

The position that Obama administration has taken to eliminate joblessness among the colored communities is that an economic recovery will uplift all the jobless and a strong economy for all will result in employment for everyone. Yet, in practice this would not be administered due to the institutional racism endemic in American society where whites always get the lion’s share of the jobs.

2.2 Native Americans’ Economic Status

As a very small amount compared to the rest of the United States population, Native Americans have historically lived in extreme poverty as a result of “Indian and

Euro-American relations in the U.S.” (R. Austin, personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Even the rise of gaming enterprises on some specific reservations, has not put an end to this issue seeing that American Indians have not completely taken the control of their economies into their own hands. According to a 1990 and 2000 US Census, “Native Americans have the highest poverty and unemployment rates in the United States of America.” (2014) Based on a claim by M. Begay, Native Americans “have some of the highest poverty rates, some of the highest suicide rates for young people, unemployment rates are just absolutely rapid, educational attainment rates are not the best and it has a lot to do with the ramification of the colonizers’ policies, rules and regulations.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

The 2012 US Census estimated “the median household income of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native households” to be \$35,310 compared to “\$51,371 for the nation as a whole.” (2013:4) The same source also appraised “the percent of single-race American Indians and Alaska Natives that were in poverty in 2012, the highest rate of any race group,” i.e., 29.1% compared to the whole nation’s poverty rate which was 15.9%. (ibid.)

Based on a 2007–2011 American Community Survey Briefs, the overall percentage of American Indians and Alaska Natives living below the federal poverty line is 27.0 % whereas another report showed 29.1% for 2012. Yet, official poverty measure by White House shows a statistic of 34.2% compared to 15.1% for all people. (2014) The data is 30% in nine states—“Arizona, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah.” (Macartney, et al., 2013, p. 2) The figures are even greater for reservations based on a “2006, National Center for Education Statistics, and other sources” which reported the poverty rate of reservations 38% to

63%. In general this translates to one-in-four poor Native American and Alaska Native in 2012.

Nationally, Native Americans tend to suffer pretty high unemployment rates and low incomes. Compared to the whole population of the United States, this group occupies much fewer management or professional positions. B. Hosmer also, believed that, “few American Indians occupy positions of influence in politics, business, arts, sciences today.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014) According to “The Fact Book,” U.S. Office of Professional Management, 2002, whereas “the average U.S. salary for professional positions is \$69,447... American Indians in these positions earn less than average with \$57,427.” (2004) Similarly, W. Churchill argued that in the work place, “Indians do far worse—as do all people of color—than their white counterparts.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

Considering homeownership a key source of wealth for every American, the 2012 US Census shows that Native Americans have significantly the lowest rate among the whole population, i.e., 54.0% compared to the 63.9 percent of the overall population. (ibid.) More importantly, “the homes they do own tend to be worth much less than those of whites” according to Austin (2013, p. 3) who cited Insight Center for Community Economic Development 2009.

Consistently, the largest employers on reservations include Tribal and Federal governments with very few choices of employment. According to a 2005 BIA report, lack of economic opportunity on many reservations has led into scarcity of jobs for four to eight out of ten individuals and an income, way below the poverty line for those who are employed. (2005) On the other hand the 2013 report by the same source revealed that “approximately 21 percent of AIAN-AOIC workers are employed with a government (Federal, state, local, or tribal).” (2014) This number generally indicates the

“AIAN-AOIC population across all parts in the United States, not just the states that have federally recognized tribes,” which is in essence different for various states. (ibid.)

As B. Hosmer stated, “financial resources are difficult, mostly due to existing poverty [and] Tribal governments have difficulties attracting outside business investors because law makes Native nations difficult to sue because of sovereign immunity.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014) Compared to the white labor market statistics, the American Indian employment rate represents a situation “comparable to a recession with impacts four times as harmful as the Great Recession’s overall effects.” (Austin, 2013, p. 5) As a result, the Indians and specifically those who live on reservations, stop looking for jobs due to the fact that the odds of finding work seem to be very low. Once they give up the job search, they are no longer perceived unemployed, because unemployed means those people who are looking for a job without making a success. This is one reason that exact data is not available regarding the Native American unemployment. Another reason is that statistics given with regard to Native Americans employment are very old—as old as 2005 that American Indians were excluded from government employment data on purpose.

As Bender (2012) suggested, Native American unemployment rate is so high that placing the figures into a chart “would be an additional stunning moral indictment of U.S. government treatment of Native Americans.” In a similar fashion, M. Begay blamed the federal government for not recognizing Native Americans’ legally, politically, educationally, socially and culturally sovereign. In M. Begay’s point of view Indian’s socio-economic circumstances show how they are thought of by the federal government of the United States. (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

Regarding education, it is reported that only 12.0% of Native Americans hold a bachelor’s degree compared to 22.4% of their white peers. Also, whereas only 7.1% of

whites have school dropouts, this rate is 13.5% for Native Americans. (Austin, 2013) Accordingly, high educational attainments by Native Americans has been counted on as a significant factor in finding a job, but the same survey showed that even in very equal conditions between Indians and whites “in terms of factors such as age, sex, education level, marital status, and state of residence, their odds of being employed are 31 percent lower than those of whites.” (p. 3) And among those who are employed, many are earning the lowest average income in the USA.

Austin also counted speaking English as another factor that raises the odds of getting employed; a factor that Native Americans are sometimes deprived of. According to Austin, compared to the mainstream white society, “a smaller share of American Indians speak[s] only English at home.” (2013, p. 11) Moreover, he mentioned membership in a tribe as an important component which plays a significant role in getting a job. As Austin argued, “Older individuals are more likely to be employed, and that fact may lift the tribe’s employment rate.” Lastly, as stated by Austin, taking all the above facts into consideration, the higher educational levels of a tribe will result in better employment conditions. (ibid.)

As a rule, Indian Country makes do without the basic needs of its residents and it lives within permanent depression even when the national economy is on the upswing. considering all these circumstances, it is no surprise that the high rates of Native American poverty even warn President Obama and push him into taking action as he penned in his 2014 Op-Ed in Indian Country Today that,

“Native Americans face poverty rates far higher than the national average – nearly 60 percent in some places. And the dropout rate of Native American students is nearly twice the national rate. These numbers are a moral call to action.” (2014)

Generally, to decline the Native American unemployment rate to the white rate, the federal government is in need of approximately 234,000 jobs based on a claim by Austin (2013). This gap between Native American males and females and their white peers has proven to be smaller among females of each race than their males, i.e., Native American women have an unemployment rate of 11.3% while their males encounter a rate of 15.2% compared to whites. (ibid.) It should also be mentioned that employment rates on and off-reservations do not differ to a great extent—the difference being 2.5 percentage points apart.

2.3 Native American Reservations

The poverty rate of Native Americans is three times the national rate and their unemployment rate on reservations has increased to more than two fold the national rate. A report by Walking Shield, Inc. showed that severe food shortages prevent over 22% of these people from having enough food to meet their basic needs. Whereas white Americans take plumbing facilities for granted, one fifth of homes on reservations “lack complete plumbing facilities and less than 50% are connected to the public sewer system.” Consequently, natives on reservations deal with numerous health and environmental hazards. (n.d.)

B. Hosmer drew distinction between what is allowed and what can happen concerning services that are offered to Native Americans. According to B. Hosmer, an Indian office may be “chronically underfunded and not highly regarded [and] the fact that Indians are not officially denied services doesn’t mean... that Indians seeking services aren’t subjected to harassment, humiliation, and the like.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014)

Homelessness is a prominent issue faced by Indian Country. Regarding Chairman Cheryl A. Causley's Congressional testimony, there are four general reasons why Native Americans suffer from some of the worst housing conditions;

“1. Federal delays in providing necessary approvals and funding;

2. Lack of technical capacity enabling tribes to maximize scarce resources;

3. Lack of physical infrastructure; and

4. Weak tribal economies that fail to provide jobs and income to Native families, resulting in an ongoing inability to finance homes and related capital asset.” (2013, p. 2)

Similarly Koppisch (2011) argued that, while an extensive area of tribal land is held communally, “residents can't get clear title to the land where their home sits.” This, in effect, makes it impossible for the residents “to establish credit and borrow money to improve their homes because they can't use the land as collateral.” (ibid.) This phenomenon which is called “the tragedy of the commons” by economists means “when everyone owns the land,” then in reality “no one does.” (ibid.) Consequently, no investment will find its way through the Indian Country. In order to address the problem of housing it is estimated that 1.1 billion dollars is required in order to settle down 90,000 homeless or under-housed Indian families.

Many reservation families suffer from absence of infrastructure such as telephone service, electricity, internet connectivity, running water and a handful of other utilities. According to tribal chairman Vincent Armenta, “For years, a few tribal members lived on our reservation in substandard housing with no running water and no indoor plumbing.” (2012, p. 4) In a similar fashion, Councilman Dana Buckles (2014) claimed that:

“Congress has long recognized that the foundation for economic development and prosperity in Indian country lay in community stability which begins with infrastructure such as safe drinking water, roads and utilities and also includes essential government services such as public safety, Tribal courts, health care, education and housing.” (2014, p. 2)

Despite all these facts, Buckles accused incidents such as “government shut-downs, delayed payments from BIA and other unforeseen events” of putting their “water treatment plant, pumping stations and intake operations at risk.” He doubted how long more Native Americans have to pay for this fiscal year. (ibid.)

In B. Hosmer’s point of view denial of some services to Native Americans “typically takes place at the state or local level... Even though state governments derive great financial benefit from Indian gaming, they are generally very reluctant to provide services to Indian people.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014)

In a Congress hearing, US Senator Daniel K. Akaka addressed insufficient telecommunication services in the Indian Country as one of the main reasons of Indian adversity. Akaka believed that shortage of these services on Indian reservations, “impacts their health, safety, education and potential for economic development.” (p. 5) In Chairman Akaka’s words, “More than 90 percent of Tribal residents lack access to broadband and one out of three Tribal residents still lack even basic telephone service.” (ibid.) Similarly Senator John Barrasso emphasized on access to internet services as a basic need of any individual in the recent era. Jonathan Adelstein, the administrator of rural utilities service in U.S. Department of Agriculture, as well, asserted that, “only 63 percent of tribal members had basic telephone service and that even fewer had broadband Internet access.” (p. 25) Based on all these claims, access to internet will decline the chronic unemployment that faces the residents. (2012)

American Indians and Alaska Natives live on millions of acres of naturally rich reservations with timber, significant plant and animal life, billions of tons of high-quality coal, natural gas and vast mineral resources with no big rush to develop them. One narrative could be a number of federal policies which have declined tribal funding over decades. Depending on a report by National Congress of American Indians, “tribes continue to be excluded from eligibility for dozens of natural resource programs across the federal agencies that are otherwise available to states, local governments, and other entities.” (2014, p. 97) Regarding the same report whereas federal investments in reservation natural resources can lead tribes towards prosperity and help them address a great number of disadvantages such as unemployment, poor health conditions, lack of housing and other infrastructures among other things, “federal support for tribal natural resource efforts has not matched the tribal efforts, nor captured the value of tribal ecological knowledge and natural resources for tribal peoples and for the nation.” (p. 96)

Despite the notable economic progress that some tribal communities have made in recent years, a wide range of Native Americans still experience persistent disparities. Although these people have met a growth in their income since 1970, the average of poverty for these communities still strikes the top of official poverty line. Today, except the 40% of the 566 federally recognized tribes that are successfully running casinos, those that are located on isolated impoverished reservations, are struggling to see the light instead of the surrounding darkness. As Native American Rights Fund Organization reported, even if the total annual Native American gaming revenue could be contributed among all the reservation by equal shares, elimination of the high poverty rate on Indian reservations seems impractical due to the fact that “the amount distributed per person would still not be enough to raise American Indian per capita income (currently \$11,259) to anywhere near the national average of \$21,587.” (n.d.) One

reason many Indian nations never involve in gaming is their geographic isolation, i.e., being located in rural, unpopulated areas.

According to the U.S. Department of the Treasury 2001 (as cited in Austin, 2013, p. 21), for many reservations, the high unemployment rate originates from lack of access to “capital, credit, and financial services,” which hinders entrepreneurship and those of other economic projects that result in creation of new opportunities. Based on a 2007 report by U.S. Small Business Administration, “only 1% of Native Americans own and operate a business.” (2014)

Similarly, B. Hosmer asserted that “minority owned businesses encounter serious obstacles to conducting businesses” which makes it “very difficult for them to raise capital in order to start businesses or nurture them.” He accused banks of discriminating against these businesses. He also believed that “Indian businesses face very specific barriers having to do with the complexities of land tenure in reservation communities that makes raising capital very complicated.” (personal interview, December 10, 2014)

R. Austin, as well, criticized banks for being “reluctant to loan money to Indians living on reservations for a business to be located on reservation because of the trust status of the land” which prevents the bank from repossessing the business or attaching the land and selling it to some other individual. (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Accordingly in a Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development on reservations, Kalt and Cornell (2003, p. 6) studied the barriers to Native American economic development. The report presented numerous factors that were affecting the economy on reservations among which was shortage of “access to financial capital” as well as “human capital” and “effective planning” on reservations. Kalt and Cornell also

mentioned “too much planning” without “enough action”, “lack of sufficient control over natural resources”, “distance from market and high costs of transportation”, “lack of investment on reservations”, “discriminatory federal and state policies”, “BIA corruption” and “tribal cultures” among a host of other reasons. (ibid.)

More important, Kalt and Cornell came to an agreement that strong leadership—which is scarce in a lot of tribes—is associated with higher employment rates. Certain tribes had functioned successfully under a centralized tribal system “with a single chief executive (the tribal chair or president), a one-house legislature (the tribal council), and a weak or absent judiciary.” (p. 19) It was also discovered that cultural traditions of the tribes are more significant elements in effectiveness of tribal government than the imposed federal practices. Creating a secure and stable environment for both tribal investors and outsiders is another aspect in improving the economy of tribes according to Kalt and Cornell. The two researchers believed that just in a safe economic environment the investors “feel secure, and therefore are willing to put energy, time, and capital into the tribal economy.” (p. 25)

Actually, as sovereign nations, tribes have still been invisible politically and economically and in many cases they have not been afforded equal authority and rights as state, country, or other municipal governments. They have almost never had any participation in major markets such as Wall Street and despite high-tech industries they have had a limited appearance in the national, political and economic areas.

2.4 Native Americans and Federal-Tribal Trust Relationship

Native Americans in the modern US society are the survivors of efforts to wipe out these races by the federal government. Attempts to assimilate Native Americans by the mainstream white society were perceived as a civilizing mission although to a lot of modern scholars this policy looks racist and patronizing. Today these attempts still

continue to rank Native Americans “near the bottom of every economic, social and health indicator,” according to Sally Jewell, Secretary of U.S. Department of the Interior (2013, p. 11). Ironically behind all the frustrating statistics there is very little discussion of what the causes of the poverty in Indian country are or what must be done about this issue. The tragic truth is that very few senators or policy makers prioritize Native Americans on the national agenda and in reality the real owners of America are excluded from the table.

As simultaneously separate nations and also part of the US, contemporary Native Americans experience troublesome relations with the federal government. Historically, federal government’s strategy regarding American Indians “has lurched back and forth, sometimes aiming for assimilation and, at other times, recognising its responsibility for assisting Indian development.” (Boxer, 2009)

Dawes Act of 1887 authorized the federal government to divide the American Indian land into plots and allocate them to native individuals. While it was forbidden to sell these pieces of land for 25 years, the left overs of reservation lands were on sale for outsiders who were land-hungry white Americans. This process, as Boxer (2009) argued, was “accelerated by the 1903 Supreme Court decision in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*” through which “Congress could dispose of Indian land without gaining the consent of the Indians involved.” As a result of the decision the Indian share of land “shrank from 154 million acres in 1887 to a mere 48 million half a century later.” (ibid.) Also, according to the same act, those Indians who accepted to assimilate to the white society and start living on the allotted lands would be endowed US citizenship.

Later, Native Americans went through another process by John Collier—Commissioner for Indian Affairs in 1933—who believed that native communities must preserve their traditional way of life and reservations must be kept as permanent,

sovereign homelands. The result of such a belief came out in the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) which put an end to the federal allotment policy, forbade the sale of Indian lands and returned the remaining amount of land to tribal nations which had been granted a measure of governmental and judicial autonomy by the same act. The act, however, was controversial to a great extent due to the fact that not all Native Americans preferred to live on the federal plots of land. They also resented the role of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) on reservations and thought of the IRA as a “policy that aimed to turn them into living museum exhibits.” (Boxer, 2009) Therefore, IRA was rejected by a large number of tribes despite being accepted by 174. The act left 100,000 Native Americans landless to add to the reservation problems which could not be solved with the small amount of BIA budget.

Today, almost every aspect of economy and development projects must be controlled and authorized by federal agencies such as BIA. Regan (2014) accused the development process as being “notoriously slow and burdensome” because companies on reservations are forced to undergo “at least four federal agencies and 49 steps to acquire a permit for energy development” whereas “Off reservation, it takes only four steps.” Consequently, a lot of investors and owners of big industries avoid the Indian country not being sure what they are getting into. That’s one reason tribes can hardly capitalize on their resources.

As M. Begay stated when a Native American decides to start a private business on reservation, he often has to “go through many hoops and turns to try to get access to land... many of these rules and regulations are actually governed by the federal government of the United States of America.” M. Begay considered lack of Indian political sovereignty as the biggest issue around economic and social development on reservations. (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

In general the involvement of the federal agencies in every development on reservations in detail has turned to a significant issue. Energy development takes only a few months off reservations while the same process lasts several years for Native Americans, thanks to the federal policies. As Regan (2014) explained, “completing a title search” has caused Indians to wait as long as six years; a process that other Americans go through in “just a few weeks.”

Native Americans are being exploited in different fashions. In the 1990s, the US government promised them high financial and economic rewards if they agree to store toxic and radioactive waste on their reservation land for several decades. Poverty persuaded the tribes to accept the proposal and threaten their lives and environment. Today reservations are suffering environmental, potential, health and socioeconomic impacts of this treaty. Air and water pollution, loss of landscape, soil contamination, food insecurity, exposure to unknown disease and increase in corruption of different actors are a few examples of the negative effects of such agreements between the tribes and the federal government. As Jewell, Secretary of US Department of the Interior, stated, “...the Federal Government has not always honored its trust responsibilities or fully recognized the sovereign status of tribes.” (2013, p. 10)

2.5 Native Americans’ Health Status

The American Indians have long suffered lower health status compared to the Americans as a whole. According to P. C. Rosier in many cases poor Native Americans face health challenges for the reason that “Indian Health Service does a poor job meeting the needs of NAs.” (personal interview, December 30, 2014)

The origins of lower life expectancy and higher rates of disease among these people perhaps go back to “inadequate education, disproportionate poverty, discrimination in the delivery of health services, and cultural differences,” according to Indian Health

service fact sheet. (2013, p. 1) The same report also revealed that the leading causes of high mortality rate among Native Americans can be listed as “Diseases of the heart, malignant neoplasm, unintentional injuries, and chronic lower respiratory diseases.” (ibid.)

Despite the improvement in the average life expectancy for Native Americans, there are still continuing disparities in the rate of illness and death experienced by these people. Studying the statistics of disproportionate toll of specific diseases among these populations leads one to the fact that there exists a great need for prevention, treatment and resources toward reducing these ongoing disparities.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services released a report regarding Native Americans’ life expectancy today which is “4.2 years less than the U.S. all races population.” (2013, p. 1) They experience higher rates of illnesses compared to general US population. Native individuals suffer “chronic liver disease and cirrhosis (368% higher), diabetes mellitus (177% higher), unintentional injuries (138% higher), assault/homicide (82% higher), intentional self-harm/suicide (65% higher), and chronic lower respiratory diseases (59% higher).” (ibid.) High amounts of alcohol consumption and smoking are among other reasons for high mortality rate of Native Americans. They also experience loss of life in motor vehicle crashes at a rate of 7%. According to Rex Lee Jim, member of NIHB Board and Executive Committee and vice-president of Navajo Nation, “Death rates from preventable diseases among AI/ANs are significantly greater than among non-Indians.” (2013, p. 2)

D’Shane Barnett Executive Director of National Council of Urban Indian Health blamed poverty as the leading cause of Native Americans health problems. Barnett suggested Native Americans’ “leaving their land, their community, their culture, and their support network” as the main reasons for joining the urban poor as a result of

which they faced with job scarcity. (2013, p. 1) Regarding Barnett's argument, American Indians who still experience health disparities to this day, receive very little or no financial assistance from Bureau of Indian Affairs. He also pointed out the fact that opposite to its "solemn obligation to American Indians in fulfillment of the federal Trust Responsibility," the United States government has left the needs of Native Americans unaddressed in many respects. (ibid.)

D. Norman argued that Indian Health Care is massively underfunded and "less than 1% of the Indian Health Service budget is directed toward urban IHS health facilities. Surprisingly, though, "average health care expenditure per person per year is approximately 1/2 that allotted to federal prisoners." (personal interview, December 16, 2014) In a similar fashion M. Begay objected to federal government's inadequate budget to support Indian health care. According to M. Begay, "the health care system that's offered by the federal government of the United States of America to American Indians is less than what prisoners in prison get." (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

Recently, however, National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) has urged the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies to guarantee the health care and services of all Native American and Alaskan Native citizens. Similarly, they have demanded the federal government to fully support "cost requirements in FY 2014 which was estimated to be \$617 million" to honor its contracts with tribal nations. (2013, p. 2) In an attempt to eliminate tribal health problems, health care experts, policymakers, and tribal leaders are studying the factors that affect the health of native populations including sufficient funding for health care delivery system.

2.5.1 Diseases and Conditions

Modern day American Indians face serious struggles with particular diseases and addictions such as heart disease and stroke, cancer, smoking and alcoholism, diabetes, and HIV/AIDS.

2.5.1.1 Heart disease and stroke

American Indians, on average, are more likely to die from heart disease than their white peers. This in part goes back to the high obesity rate among these people which in effect causes high blood pressure. According to a 2011 survey by the US Department of Health and Services, age-adjusted heart disease death rate per 100,000 Native Americans for men in 2010 has been 158.7%, for women 103.5% and totally 128.6%. (2013) Heart disease occurs at a rate of 20% greater than other American races among Native Americans. The statistics get even more tragic for native youth under the age of 19, 36% of whom die of heart disease.

Heart disease among Native American populations has different origins such as diabetic complications, hypertension, obesity, exposure to stress and trauma.

Stroke as another leading cause of death in the American Indian population takes the lives of these people 60% more than their white counterparts. Native American women suffer this disease twice as their men. Based on a record of US Department of Health and Services, age-adjusted Stroke Death Rates per 100,000 in 2010 was 29.8% for men, 26.5 for women and 28.1 in total. Generally, the rate of stroke among tribal populations is 14% higher than the entire US population.

2.5.1.2 Cancer

Cancer has affected American Indians at a lower rate compared to other races, but disparities still exist in certain types of this illness. Native Americans significantly suffer from high rates of stomach cancer. A report by the US Department of Health and Services shows that between 2006 to 2010 “American Indian/Alaska Native men were twice as likely to have liver & IBD cancer as non-Hispanic White men.” (2013) The same report suggested that Native American men 1.6 times and their women 2.6 times are being exposed to life loss due to stomach cancer. It also showed that tribal populations in the US are 2.6 times more likely to die from liver and IBD cancer than the rest of the population. Finally, native women are in likelihood of having kidney/renal pelvis cancer 40% more than their white peers. (ibid.)

2.5.1.3 Smoking and Alcoholism

More than half of the alcohol is consumed by adults in the US is in the form of binge drinking where Native Americans occupy top of the chart of alcohol consumption in the form of binge drinking per month. A report by Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) revealed that American Indian binge drinking has had a rate of 30.6%; the highest rate in the US in 2008. (2010) Consequently, the percentage of the American Indian adults who need treatment for substance abuse is higher than any other race in the United States; 18.0% compared to 9.6 % for other races in 2008. (ibid.) Another account by National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) revealed that in 2012 “the percentage of adults aged 18 or older with past year mental illness and

substance use disorder was ...14.0 percent among American Indians or Alaska Natives.” (2013)

Similarly, Native Americans are among the greatest tobacco users in the United States despite their low rate of cigarette smoking. Using traditional tobacco among these populations is a sign of religious, ceremonial or medicinal purpose and smoking commercial tobacco as a recreational or habitual purpose has led to preventable illnesses and deaths.

The prevalence of smoking among Native Americans is “32.0% ... compared to an overall estimate of 20.9% for all adults in the United States,” according to a report by BACCHUS. (n.d.) Likewise, a record by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) unveiled that 21.8% of American Indians have been among the current cigarette smokers in 2012. (2014)

To mention the health effects of smoking among tribal communities one can point out lung cancer as the leading cause in addition to cardiovascular disease which results in a high death rate.

2.5.1.4 Diabetes

Approximately 40% of US adult population suffers from diabetes. The prevalence of this disease among Native Americans is more than twice their white counterparts. The likelihood of having this illness is generally higher in older age groups. Regarding an account by Department of Health and Human Services, diabetes in American Indians is 2.3 times higher than the rest of the US population, i.e., 16.1% compared to 7.1% in 2009. (2012) Based on the same report death rate caused by diabetes among the tribal nations is 1.6 times higher; i.e., 34.5% per 100,000 compared to 21.8% in 2008. (ibid.)

It is also estimated that incidence of kidney failure is 1.9 times higher among Native Americans due to diabetes which counts for 333.1 compared to 152.9 per million in 2008. (ibid.) Also the risk of heart disease and death as well as stroke among the adults with diabetes is 2-4 times higher, the danger of CVD is 3-8 times higher and the cost of diabetes is 2.3 times higher. (ibid.)

2.5.1.5 HIV/AIDS

HIV can be introduced as a life threatening issue among Native Americans who represent more than 1% of the US population. The United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention revealed that compared to other races, Indians who were affected by AIDS ranked fifth in 2011. (2014)

According to the data by US Department of Human Health and Services, Native Americans “have a 30% higher rate of HIV infection as compared to the white population.” (2013) The same report also showed that American Indians have developed AIDS at a rate of 50% higher compared to the white population. (ibid.)

Main reasons of getting infected among Native Americans are listed as “lack of awareness of HIV status, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), socio-economic issues, mistrust of government and its health care facilities, alcohol and illicit drug use, data limitations” and a host of other issues. (ibid.)

2.5.1.6 Infant Mortality

Despite improvements in the rate of infant mortality in the recent decades, disparities among races still exist at high levels. 2009 is the latest year of available data for infant mortality rate among US ethnic populations. According to the

data related to U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Health Resources and Services Administration, Maternal and Child Health Bureau, infant mortality level is higher among Native Americans at a rate of 8.47 per 1,000 infants compared to 6.4 for all races. (2013) This disparity is mostly explained to be the result of malformations, prematurity, and injury. (ibid.)

2.5.1.7 Vehicle Crash

One of the highest rates of mortality among American Indians is the outcome of motor-vehicle crash. Published information explaining the risk of motor-vehicle injury and mortality rates among tribal populations is very scarce. Grossman, et al. (1997, p. 313) hypothesized that the relationship between being a rural American Indian and high rates of vehicle crash, injury and mortality are being considered to be “partly related to greater vehicle crash forces associated with higher vehicle speed on rural, compared to urban, roads.”

Also Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) released a report in 2010 which counts motor-vehicle crash as the third leading cause of death among tribal nations. The same report also revealed that among the American Indians 19 years of age and younger “motor vehicle crashes are the leading cause of injury-related death, followed by suicide, homicide, drowning, and fires.” (2010)

2.5.1.8 Suicide

Youth suicide has turned into an epidemic among tribal populations at a rate of three times the national rates. Woodard (2012) argued that statistics show that suicide among young populations of Native Americans was 9 to 19 times

more than the other races. In addition the percentage of the Indian youths 18 and more who were having serious thoughts of suicide was 5.9. (ibid.) Woodard also counted “extreme poverty, hunger, alcoholism, substance abuse and family violence” as well as high rates of “diabetes, untreated mental illnesses such as depression ... [and] unemployment,” among the key factors of suicidal thoughts. (ibid.)

Suicide among the Native Americans aged 15 to 34 is the second leading cause of life loss. Data show that out of every 100,000 Indians 31 commits suicide which is 2.5 times higher than the national average; i.e., 12.2 per 100,000.

2.5.2 Insurance and Medical Care

American Indians suffer from persistent disparities in health and health care such as “high uninsured rates, significant barriers to obtaining care, and poor health status,” according Artiga, et al. (2013, p. 1) In spite of the Indian Health Service (IHS) responsibility for providing Native Americans with health services, still underfunding and a host of other barriers by the federal government result in tribal populations’ limited access to this service.

Almost one third of Native Americans go without an insurance service due to the fact that they have low employment rates and as a result limited access to employer-sponsored coverage. Artiga, et al. also proposed that “Less than four in ten (36%) American Indians... have private coverage, compared to 62% of the overall nonelderly population.” (2013. P. 2)

D. Norman as well criticized restricted federal budgets as the main cause of Indian health care being rationed. (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

2.6 Native Americans' Education and Employment

Living on remote reservations is the leading cause many American Indian children and youth have limited access to higher educations. Statistics by American Indian College Fund Organization showed that over the past 30 years the number of Native Americans who have attended universities and colleges has more than doubled; yet this is simply less than one percent the national rate compared to 71.8% of whites. (2011) Austin (2013), generally, accused racial discrimination as the main reason of low education levels. What's more, P. C. Rosier upheld that "there are fewer NA PhDs and MA students, I imagine, than other ethnic groups." (personal interview, December 30, 2014)

In B. Hosmer's words Indian reservations suffer from inadequate number of schools which is the leading cause of students' struggles to catch up. He also objected to most states for allocating very little to Indian schooling since they consider it the responsibility of the Federal government. (personal interview, December 10, 2014)

R. Austin suggested three reasons why Native Americans do not do very well at colleges and universities. In R. Austin's words:

"1) Indian students coming from reservations have poor educational backgrounds. The schools on Indian reservations are not very good compared to schools off reservations; 2) Indian students coming from reservations usually experience culture shock. They are not used to living in a majority white culture; 3) Indian students find themselves a small minority in college. They may come from reservations that are majority Indian and in college, they make-up a tiny minority." (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

In the 2010-11 school year, Native American students totaled only 0.7% of the entire public school population in the United States according to Aud, et al., (2012) Also Broughman & Swaim (2013) informed that during the 2011-12 school year the percentage of Native American children who signed up for private schools was 0.5% compared to 71.2% of their white peers.

Aud, et al., (2012) estimated that 33% of American Indian students have had lives under the poverty line compared to only 12% of white students. Similarly Ross, et al., (2012) reported that over the 2010-11 school year, high-poverty public schools accepted 31% of native students while only 6% of whites attended these schools. Moreover, Knapp, et al., (2012) stated that of all the Native American students who started 4-year school program in 2005 only 39% completed their studies whereas the records were 60% for white students. In a similar fashion, M. Begay estimated the high school dropout rate to be 50 to 60%. (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

In addition to poverty, alcohol consumption is another leading cause of student failure among American Indians. 2011 records revealed that 21% of Native American students had alcohol abuse compared to only 4% of their white counterparts.

American Indian College Fund Organization (2011) announced that pursuing higher education for Native American youth is an exceedingly burdensome task since 90% of these “college Fund scholarship recipients have dependents” and 73% “work while attending college yet 43% earn less than \$10,000.”

Regarding M. Begay a very small percentage of Native Americans hold a masters or bachelor’s degree and when it comes to “the doctoral level those numbers go below single digit, so we’re talking about 0.6 or 0.8.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014) Still, college graduates with a bachelor’s degree are among more prosperous Indians

who earn over 60% more than those with a high school diploma, i.e., more than \$800,000. Also, those of Native Americans who speak English both at home and in the society are 15% more likely to be employed.

Despite all the above mentioned, however, while entering the labor market, Native Americans regularly face with difficulties which are not due to “differences in educational attainment, English ability, basic demographic factors, personal characteristics, urbanicity, and reservation status.” (Austin, 2013, p. 23) These disparities in employment among Indians and whites are persistent even when they both have exact similarities such as equal “age and sex... education level and marital status.” (p. 13) Even in the case of residing in the same city and state, “Native Americans still have 31 percent lower odds of being employed than whites.” (ibid.) This phenomenon leads on to the reality that racial discrimination at labor market might be at play. Even in his remarks on economic mobility, President Obama pointed out that:

“the painful legacy of discrimination means that African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans are far more likely to suffer from a lack of opportunity -- higher unemployment, higher poverty rates... So we’re going to need strong application of antidiscrimination laws.” (2013)

Also in his remarks at a campaign event, the President stated that:

“We want new businesses and new opportunities to take root on the reservation. We want to stop repeating the mistakes of the past and begin building a better future -- one that honors old traditions and also welcomes every single Native American into the American Dream.” (2012)

Similarly, Senator Byron L. Dorgan from North Dakota showed his concern about Indian economic status in a hearing by stating that unemployment on Indian reservation

is not limited to a specific time of the year and that there is “[an] urgent need for job creation on Indian reservations.” (p. 1) According to Senator Dorgan, “Unemployment means poverty, in most cases, despair, high suicide rates, dropout rates, poor health, poor housing conditions.” (2010, p. 2)

Likewise, Donald “Del” Laverdure, the Acting Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, revealed the fact that according to the 2000 census, “real per capita income of Indians is about half of the U.S. level.” (p. 2) He also reported that “Indian reservations often lack the legal and physical infrastructure that are common in non-Indian communities.” (2010, p. 3)

Other factors which can explain Native Americans’ higher unemployment rates may be greater amounts of disabilities among these populations as well as “lower employment in higher status jobs that are especially scarce” on reservations due to the fact that “employers may not have developed well defined attitudes towards hiring Native Americans.” (Huyser, et al., 2009, p. 544 & 564)

One can also count natives’ geography factor; i.e., living on reservations or areas around reservations and experiencing poor economies compared to off-reservation societies. In D. Norman’s words while “at home there are often no job opportunities for highly educated Natives” a brain drain of the most gifted and talented will occur as a result. (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Among these reservations one can find the ones which are pockets of extreme poverty very similar to poor African countries. The residents of these reservations have come to the belief that geography is too often destiny; a geography that has been chosen for Natives as a “gift” of the federal government. The situation is no better for those groups of Natives who have voted with their feet to live in metropolitan areas. In

general Native Americans have experienced a long history of poverty and joblessness due to racial discrimination in the United States. There is no need for anyone to travel to a developing nation to find extreme poverty since it can be found in the backyard of white Americans right in the United States.

Consequently to get Native Americans back to the table, the invisibility, silence, and neglect must end. To put an end to this injustice, the United States government must schedule massive employment programs for communities of color. These communities need affirmative action job programs to recover their economy and do remedy to their unwanted blight of joblessness. But, as Alvin Windy Boy, Sr., Chairman of Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy's Reservation argued, every tribal nation needs the right to freely determine its affairs without external interference. Therefore, the

“entities of the U.S. government, who want to change conditions for the better for individuals on Indian reservations must address themselves to this problem before progress can be made in the areas of poverty, unemployment, economic development, education, self-sufficiency, or in any other critical area.” (2007, p. 43)

In summary, tribes will be locked in poverty as long as they have no control over their resources and meanwhile they are denied the dignity they deserve by the federal government.

2.7 Conclusion

Any discussion about poverty in the United States brings the Natives of this rich land to the mind. Even the modern history of Native American communities is mixed with tragic and shocking injustice and discrimination against this minority group of color in the United States.

Residential segregation has seriously affected Native Americans' lives in many respects such as social and economic situations as well as housing, health, education and employment. Exposure to crime and the quality of public services are also among the factors that would be influenced by this phenomenon.

The most important misfortune that the residents of tribal nations have faced with in the post- colonial era has been economic isolation which has pushed them towards being dependent upon fewer economic sectors and rural reservation businesses and as a result going through the disadvantage of smaller consumer markets. Therefore, access to the urban labor market becomes critical on reservations and plays a significant role in the lives of those who are unemployed.

Through the US history, Native American reservations and their residents have always been among the most impoverished with elevated rates of unemployment and poverty. The impact of this economic marginalization is obvious in high rates of alcoholism, infant mortality, suicide, accidental deaths and a host of other adversities that Indian reservations meet daily.

The picture is not much different for the Indians off-reservations who have moved to urban areas in search of employment. All in all, American Indians today are still engaged in their struggle to put an end to the long story of coercion and threat by the white colonizers.

CHAPTER 3

Palestinians

3.1 Introduction

Data by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics in 2013 show that Palestinians include 1,683,200 individuals which counts for 20.7% of the total 8,134,100 population of the country. (2014) This constitutes 82.6% Sunni Muslims, with a very small Shia minority, 9% Druze and 9% Christian population. (ibid.) Bedouins are considered to include almost 3% of the population. (Balint, n.d.) The Palestinians in Israel face different kinds of conflict. They struggle “to attain a higher degree of participation in national life, greater integration into the economy and more benefits for their own towns and villages” based on a project on the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise. (2014)

In Sh. Hever’s words:

“Documented Palestinians are themselves divided into many different subcategories. Some are citizens, some merely residents and the rest are neither and have only a restricted permit for staying and/or working in Israel. All three kinds suffer from discrimination by the Israeli authorities. They must show their papers frequently in order prove that they are indeed documented.” (personal interview, December 26, 2014)

Whereas they live on lands with crude oil, natural gas and other natural resources such as “minerals that are useful for agriculture,...soils, wood and metal,” Palestinians still remain in need of sufficient natural resources and infrastructure to build a strong economy. (Bronson, n.d.) According to Karsh (2013), Palestinians have for centuries owned citrus plantations and olive groves; nevertheless, “the ‘Arab sector’ [in Israel] had been a victim of official discrimination and had yet to receive ‘its equal share of state resources’.”

The project on the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (2014) uncovered that generally, 71% of Palestinians live “in 116 different localities throughout Israel” where they make the majority population. 24% of Palestinians, on the other hand, live in cities with “Jewish majority.” The remaining 5% include 4% of Bedouin who “live in Bedouin communities in the Negev, and 1% [who] live in areas that are almost completely Jewish.” (ibid.) 13% of the land is under the control of the Jewish National Fund (JNF), 79.5% is owned by the Israeli government and around 6.5% is evenly divided between private Arab and Jewish owners. (ibid.) Basically, Hebrew and the Palestinian dialect of Arabic as the official languages are followed by English and Russian as two most widely spoken in the country. However, non-Jewish Arab population holds a Palestinian cultural and linguistic heritage or ethnic identity and shares “the culture of the Palestinian people and wider Arab region of which many of them form a part.” (ibid.) They “identify themselves as Arab or Palestinian by nationality and Israeli by citizenship,” although those who live in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights have mainly refused the Israeli citizenship. (ibid.) This group is known as permanent residents or as Sh. Hever stated “illegal stayants.” (personal interview, December 26, 2014)

Palestinians basically use a number of self-identification labels to refer to themselves. They most preferably use the terms Palestinian or Palestinian Arab without referencing Israel. Other terms that advocates of Palestine as well as Arab citizens of Israel use to identify this population are Palestinians, Palestinians in Israel, Israeli Palestinians, the Palestinians of 1948, Palestinian Arabs, Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel or Palestinian citizens of Israel. Rudoren (2012) stated that long after being recognized as Israeli Arabs, “most now prefer Palestinian citizens of Israel,” as their self-identification. Based on another claim, a majority of Palestinians identify themselves as Palestinian by nationality and Israeli by citizenship. While education has affected traditional outlooks and lifestyle of Palestinians of Israel, they favor maintain-

ing their strong cultural, religious, ideological, and ethnic identity due to the fact that Israel is not a melting pot society to them.

Figures show that Palestinians form the majority population in the northern district of Israeli state, i.e., 52%. The Bedouin population of Negev mainly lives in seven townships as well as Abu Basma Regional Council. Among the large cities with the largest Palestinian populations are Nazareth and Shefa-'Amr. Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa District, Umm al-Fahm, Baqa-Jatt, Carmel City, Wadi Nisnas, Tayibe, Tira, Qalansawe, Lod, Ramla and Rahat are among other districts where Palestinians live as a majority or as a minority mixed with Jewish population. As stated by S. Smooha, "In Haifa and Upper Nazareth their conditions are much better than in Lod or Ramle and in most Arab villages and towns [but] Christian Arabs are disproportionately more represented in mixed towns than Muslims and Druze." (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

Despite all being Palestinians, today there is a break in relations between Arabs and Druze and these two populations are not free from discord as the result of Israeli government's policy. The issue which started in 1942 over a holy site of Druze, was enforced by adopting the "designation of 'Druze' on Israeli identity cards not only under the 'Religion' heading but also under the 'Nationality' heading, instead of 'Arab,' in an attempt to recognize the Druze as a nation separate from the Arabs." (Atashi, 2001) Israeli officials even went further by attending the Druze receptions and special events. The final move that the Israeli government made to deepen the break between the two groups of Palestinians is bestowing military service to Druze as a result of which lots of opportunities opened up to this population. Although serving in the IDF provided the Druze with more employment opportunities, it resulted in very low academic levels of the discharged young Druze soldiers who were not motivated to pursue

their higher education. Therefore, the Druze youth constitute a large number of blue collar workers, in tasks connected to the army and the other security services.

Despite all the claims of equality, access to public services for minorities of Israel depends on their ethnic or religious affiliation as well as their geography. As reported by I. Pappé, “in terms of budgets for development and infrastructure, health, welfare and education the national cake is divided in a way that discriminates significantly against the Palestinian citizens.” (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

A record by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) uncovered that Palestinians live in rural, urban or unrecognized areas where they face “a geographical barrier to health care as health services are less accessible in remote areas, especially in the south of the country.” (2011) They are excluded from fertile lands according to the Guardian (2006) and lands that are allotted to Palestinians are mainly among the hilly, arid parts in Israel and therefore less productive than those of Jewish citizens. Furthermore, Israeli settlers chop down Palestinian olive trees to make room for construction of new homes. Cole (2013) accentuated that, “Israelis are estimated to have destroyed some 800,000 olive trees since Israel militarily occupied the Palestinian West Bank in 1967.” Cole also identified olive trees as a sign of Palestinians attachment to their lands which causes a “strong psychological impact to the vandalism against” them.

In fact Palestinians’ history for many centuries has been tied to the concept of land. To Palestinians, land supposes a collective identity and according to Shomali (2002), “the importance of folklore and heritage is connected in fundamental ways to the land and to the loss of that land.” Unearthing the Palestinian cultural backgrounds, one finds out that land has always been a means of livelihood and production to these

people. White (2005) insisted that, “for the Palestinian, the relationship with the soil, while special, is not primarily spiritual but sensual and material.”

Land occupation has effectively influenced the health of Palestinians even at very young ages. The highest mortality rates among these people are the result of cancer and heart disease which is considered to be a matter of high smoking rate among Palestinian men. Statistics show that around half of Palestinian men smoke. (“Israeli Arabs: Statistics,” 2002) Based on a study by Kalter-Leibovici, et al. (2012, p. 1) the prevalence of diabetes among Palestinians is approximately twice as the Jews and this is while the Palestinians “were younger than Jews at diabetes presentation.” The same study also revealed that, “The greater risk for diabetes among Arabs was independent of lifestyle factors, family history of diabetes and, among women, history of gestational diabetes.” (ibid.)

Palestinians live in residencies with different levels of growth where they face a host of different problems. Over the decades they have lived in a territory where they have first experienced military rule and afterwards Jewish suspicion and resentment. Kershner (2007) cited a 2003 report by the government which “acknowledged discrimination by state institutions” as well as a 2006 report by “Israel’s National Insurance Institute [which] indicated that 53 percent of the impoverished families in Israel are Arabs.” Palestinians are also mistreated by the Jewish citizens. Different reports published by civil rights centers show that whereas Jewish teens believe in Palestinians as being “less intelligent, uncultured and violent,” their parents also prefer not to “live in the same building as Arabs [or] befriend, or let their children befriend Arabs and would not let Arabs into their homes.” (Aviram, 2007) Similar reports revealed that Israeli Jews are against Palestinians existence in Israel, their right to vote and their election to the Israeli Knesset.

As the result of discrimination, Palestinians go through high school dropout rates. Based on a record by the Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute, in 2011-12 school year, “14% of Arab-Israeli students had dropped out of school by age 17, compared with 10% of Jewish students.” (2013) Similarly, a study Eran Yashiv, chairman of the Economic Policy Program at Tel Aviv University’s Taub Center found that the share of Palestinian “among all unemployed Israelis is around 30 percent, twice that of earlier estimates.” (Prusher, 2012) Another report by the National Insurance Institute and the Central Bureau of Statistics unveiled that “58 percent of Arab Israelis are poor.” (Rosner, 2013)

Palestinians have experienced an increase in their educational attainment over the past two decades, yet the gaps between this population and Jews are still large. S. Smootha reported that “in state investment in education an average Arab receives half or less the average Jew.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

A report by Central Bureau of Statistics showed that in 2002 the 26% Palestinian “students who went on to receive some kind of secondary education... comprised approximately 7% of all students at Israeli universities.” (2002) Those of Palestinians with high educational attainments, however, are ordinarily unable to find corresponding jobs. A 2004 report by Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor on the occupied territories mentioned Sikkuy’s statistics on Palestinian academic positions according to which “Arab citizens held approximately 60 to 70 of the country’s 5,000 university faculty positions.” In a similar fashion, I. Pappé claimed that while “universities are open in principle... the faculty is less the one percent.” (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Palestinians avoid going into national service in large numbers. The bill provides the Palestinian volunteers with “hiring, salary, allocation of state land for housing, acceptance to college, and student housing.” (Derfner, 2013) However, the main argu-

ment against such a service is that Palestinian youth will not serve “a state that denies them their right to equality.” (ibid.) Furthermore, Palestinians “political leaders and opinion-makers have, for the last decade, been waging a campaign that brands Arabs who do national civilian service as the local version of Uncle Toms.” (ibid.)

3.2 Palestinians’ Economic Status

Palestinians experienced a significant shift from a predominantly peasant farming population to a proletarian industrial workforce after 1949. Even so, based on a report by Israel’s National Insurance Institute, 53 percent of these families are among the impoverished ones in the country. (Kershner, 2007) The impoverished life of Palestinians—except Druze—in the main part, goes back to the fact that they don’t serve in the army which in effect leads to ineligibility for many financial benefits such as scholarships and housing loans. (Sh. Hever, personal interview, December 26, 2014) “There are laws that define rights to welfare, full citizenship and other benefits as granted only to those serving in the Army, while it is well known both the state and the Palestinian citizens have a mutual agreement of absolving that population from military service.” (I. Pappé, personal interview, December 16, 2014)

However, there are a host of other explanations for the disastrous living conditions of these people such as insufficient investment in the Palestinian sectors as well as availability of employment choices in part-time or low paid jobs. S. Smooha believed that Palestinians in Israel face with high rates of poverty “because there are not enough good jobs in the Arab sector and they are discriminated in entering the Jewish market.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014) Similarly, according to Swirski, et al. “an increasing number of service jobs that have been outsourced to employment contractors” prevent the poverty-stricken lives of Palestinians from recovering. (2014, p. 18)

Likewise, Yashiv and Kasir (2014, p. 3) blamed two points as the main reasons why Palestinians “rank among the country’s poorest population sectors and seem to be ‘stuck’ in a ‘poverty trap’”:

“a. Employment discrimination and wage discrimination, with many Arabs facing barriers to suitable employment.

b. A high cost of getting to work, due to a lack of transportation or the absence of support services (e.g., child care facilities).”

According to a 2002 report by the project on the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (2014), Palestinians in Israel yearly earn almost 60% of the wage of Jews. Correspondingly, other studies by the same group showed that in 2008 “the average family income for Israel’s Jewish majority was NIS 14,157 (USD \$3,795) per month” compared to “NIS 8,151 (USD \$2,185)” for Palestinian workers. (ibid.) Also, an Adva Center study by Swirski, et al. (2014) revealed that in 2012, the average salary of Palestinian urban employees per month has been reported to be 34% below the average.

In a report by Adalah—(the legal center for Arab minority rights in Israel)—Hesketh, et al. (2011, p. 3) grouped Arab families among the poorest populations in Israel claiming that “over half of Arab families in Israel are classified as poor, compared to an average poverty rate of one-fifth among all families in Israel.” They also noted that Palestinian towns and villages suffer from the lowest socio-economic rankings in the country. According to Hesketh, et al., “gaps in income and poverty rates are directly related to institutional discrimination against Arab citizens in Israel.” (p. 4) Unearthing the causes of poor economic conditions of Palestinians, one finds out that inequality in the allocation of public funding for Jewish and Arab needs, and widespread employment discrimination are the main areas of concern. Another significant factor is the

geographic distribution of investment in the country. While among Israel's six district only Tel Aviv and Central Districts enjoy the most modern industries, Palestinians are settled in towns and localities with no role in the industrial economy of Israel. As maintained by O. Neiman "most factories, and these yield plenty of municipal tax, are located in industrial zones within Jewish municipalities." (personal interview, December 12, 2014)

Sh. Hever also believed that:

"One key cause for inequality is, however, the drawing of municipal borders in such a way that industrial and commercial zones are included in Jewish municipalities or regional councils, but not in Palestinian municipalities. The taxation from these zones allows the Jewish municipalities to fund public services which are not available in Palestinian ones." (personal interview, December 26, 2014)

The large increase in the poverty of Palestinians took place in 2001 with the rate of 41.2% and then went through a big shift to 54.0% in 2006. This high rate has swelled slightly to 54.3% in 2012. Based on Swirski, et al. (2014, p. 18), the poverty rate among Palestinians in Israel is "2.9 times that of Jews." Whereas Israeli economic officials take pride in low level of unemployment in the country, high rates of unemployment among Palestinians are simply concealed through the national figures. (ibid.) The largest amount of unemployment nationally found among Palestinians, refer to Arab towns and the Bedouin localities in the south of Israel. According to the (2013) study by Adva Center, in Rahat that is the largest Bedouin town experienced "the unemployment rate was 32.5% in October 2013." (p. 19) Similarly, Umm al-Fahm with unemployment rate of (30.7%), Arrabe with (26.1%), Tamra with (24.0%), Sakhnin with (23.2%) and Mghar with (21.7%) are among the other localities with a large number of unemployed

Palestinian populations. The rates can be even larger, taking the unregistered job seekers into account.

The schooling system in Israel plays a major role in the economic life of Palestinians. Unemployment seriously affects the lives of those “for whom the school system failed to provide a decent education,” according to Swirski, et al. (2011, p. 19) As stated by Sh. Hever, although his school “didn’t have an official policy against allowing Palestinian pupils, there were no Palestinians in my school because of the segregation in neighborhoods around the school.” (personal interview, December 26, 2014)

Joblessness, predominantly hits specific Arab localities with a rate of four to five times the national average. The issue is, in a large part, the fruit of Israeli government’s barriers that have traditionally restrained Palestinian economic development. Among male Palestinians in labor market, concentration is far more in the blue collar occupations and much less in professional employment and it is very rare for Palestinian candidates to get a job as a white collar worker. Based on a claim by O. Neiman, “there is a great deal of separation between Jews and Arabs in the first place, when it comes to workplaces that are based on academic education.” (personal interview, December 12, 2014) Furthermore, “unlike the Jewish students [Palestinians] are not likely to benefit from these degrees and will be pushed to the non-skilled market despite their university education.” (I. Pappé, personal interview, December 16, 2014)

The less educated group of Palestinians is heavily involved in physically demanding occupations which consequently will lead to dramatic employment rate declines. (Yashiv and Kasir 2014) Those who are employed mainly work with “low-skilled industries, where wages are relatively low.” (Yashiv and Kasir 2014, p. 3) But, high-educated workers are not more prosperous, either. According to Yashiv and Kasir (2014) some of these people work in positions that are not relevant to the subjects of

their studies whereas a large group is employed in the public sector and only a small minority is employed in advanced industries, such as in high-tech firms.

S. Smootha blamed discrimination at the work place as the main reason of Palestinians not holding high-ranking positions. According to S. Smootha:

“There is probably some informal discrimination because Arabs are not trusted because of being part of the Palestinian people. Yet the problem is not in the workplace but rather in getting a job in the Jewish workplace. About two fifths of Jews in my public opinion surveys express unwillingness to work under Arab superior. This is deplorable. Since the number of Jews under Arab superior is too low, it is hard to estimate the damage of this attitude.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

In a similar fashion, O. Yiftachel claimed that, “unofficially Arabs encounter greater difficulties in all aspects of the workplace – from salaries to promotions etc.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

Palestinians of Israel enjoy no job security. In late July 2014, during the war in Gaza, Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman recommended Jewish citizens to boycott businesses by those Palestinian citizens of Israel who take part in protests against the war to clearly get them exiled from society. (Morello & Halpern, 2014) Likewise, those Palestinians who criticized Israel’s operations in Gaza on their Facebook were sacked from their jobs in large numbers. Whereas Israeli employment law forbids terminating employees for expressing their political viewpoints, Palestinians of Israel who make up 1 in 5 of this country’s 8 million citizens turned to be the target for Jewish anger and suspicions. (ibid.) According to Morello and Halpern (2014) Palestinian citizens believe that “relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority have never been worse, not even during two intifadas and two previous military opera-

tions in Gaza.” Maltz (2014) also pointed out the strained relationship between Palestinian and Jewish citizens of Israel during the Gaza war which led into “a brutal beating” of Palestinian businesses.

Generally speaking, claims of economic equality between Palestinians and the Jewish population in Israel by Israeli economic leaders will not bring about full democracy as long as government policies go on to restrict Arab access to land, privilege Jewish immigrants, maintain exclusively Jewish national symbols, and exclude Arab parties from governing coalitions.

3.3 Palestinians’ Urban & Rural Areas

Among 116 Palestinian localities only 9 are cities and the rest are areas which are ruled by a Palestinian local authority or have just remained underdeveloped rural areas. Nazareth—known as the Arab capital of Israel—is home to the largest Palestinian population, but Jerusalem—as a mixed city— also houses over 300,000 Palestinians, i.e., 36% of the whole population. (Benari, 2012)

Before and during the 1948 armed conflict many Palestinians fled or were expelled by Jewish forces from their homes in Palestine. These people, however, remained within the country although they were not allowed to live in their homes even if they could prove that they owned the property. Internally displaced Palestinians (IDPs) or present absentees, as they are referred to by the Israeli government, were the real owners of the territory over the 1948 conflict recognized as Nakba. The descendants of IDPs are also recognized by the same title among the Israeli government.

Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury (2011) highlighted that an exact statistic about the number and demographic characteristics of the IDPs does not exist in the annual Statis-

tical Abstract of Israel. According to Kamen's study (as cited in Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2011) ignoring the statistics of IDPs can have two possible reasons:

“first, that the neglect of the issue of the IDPs was related to the general neglect of the Palestinians in Israel following the establishment of the State of Israel; and second, the fact that the authorities did not wish to draw attention to an issue of this kind by providing the means and mechanisms of categorizing them, since providing such information, according to Kamen, could act as a reminder that the problem of the refugees created by the Nakba was also present within Israel, albeit on a smaller scale and of a different nature.” (p. 30)

Surveys by the Palestinian organizations such as “The Galilee Society: The Arab National Society for Health Research and Services, Mada al-Carmel: Arab Center for Applied Social Research and Rikaz: The Databank for the Palestinian Minority in Israel” revealed that southern area with 22.7% is home to the largest number of the IDP population. (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2012, p. 31) The central area with 20.5% and northern part with 12.8% of the IDPs are the next densely populated areas. (ibid.) Nazareth is the largest city with Palestinian population of 65,000 and it is being followed by Umm al-Fahm, Shefa-'Amr, Baqa-Jatt, Carmel City and Haifa.

Palestinian citizens of Israel believe that both the state and the society deny their social, political, and economic rights and limit them to second-class citizenship impacting their perception of the de jure versus de facto quality of their citizenship. Based on a claim by S. Smooha, “this is true that Arabs are second class citizens. It is reflected in state policies, in some laws, in discrimination, in exclusion from state power positions, in state goals, etc.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014) Also, I. Lustick referred to Palestinians in Israel as second class citizens since they don't enjoy “all the access to

state resources or to political or civil rights as do other citizens, by virtue of their citizenship.” (personal interview, December 8, 2014)

Similarly, N. Finkelstein thought that, “Palestinians suffer from a wide range of explicit and implicit, legal and practical discriminations in Israel... they are discriminated against because they don't enjoy the many benefits an Israeli derives from having done army service.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014) Furthermore, as maintained by I. Pappé, “recently some of the laws referred even more directly to the non-Jewish citizens, namely the Palestinians, as second rate citizens as the state was defined exclusively as a Jewish State.” (personal interview, December 16, 2014)

Yousef Munayyer (2012) in a New York Times article argued that any Jew from any part of the world has the right to move to Israel whereas Palestinians as real owners of the land don't even have the right or opportunity to choose where to live. According to Munayyer taking a look at Mossawa Center 2012 budget report, one finds out that discrimination is being widely practiced against the Palestinian citizens. As S. Smooha explained, “State investment in Arab services is lower than in Jewish services. Arabs receive sub-standard services also because they pay less municipal taxes and there [are] fewer big Arab businesses paying taxes in the Arab sector.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

The report by Mossawa Center also showed that despite the fact that Palestinians comprise 20% of the population, less than 6.25% of the State Budget was allocated to them in 2012 without any official records of the breakdown existing. However, reviewing the budgets of most ministries reveals a major breakdown in the percentage of funds assigned to Palestinians compared to the amount that is dedicated to other populations. (2012) A study by Mossawa revealed that “more than 7 billion NIS of the State Budget are allocated for budget lines that deal exclusively with Jewish citizens of Israel.”

(2012, p. 1) This budget breakdown has in effect seriously influenced the quality of Palestinians' schools, infrastructure and social services and has led into their underrepresentation in higher education and most industries. The budget breakdown can be observed in the Ministry of Housing which in 2012 allocated 2,029,034,000 NIS, in addition to housing loans specifically for new Jewish immigrants whereas the housing crisis in the Arab community continues; Israeli Land Administration (ILA) including Jewish National Fund (JNF) which buys land and distributes it solely to the Jewish citizens in discriminatory actions against Palestinians; Ministry of National Infrastructure which has privatized water and sewage system causing a significant increase in price about more than four times the original price; Ministry of Interior which has not fulfilled its promise of planning and approving city plans in most Arab local councils and has created a crisis in housing and construction; Ministry of Transportation which has not considered the needs of Palestinian community resulting in disconnection of over 40 Arab cities from public transportation; Ministry of Tourism which has devoted the greatest share of its budget to constructing hotels instead of tourism development plans in Palestinian sectors; Ministry of Industry and Trade which has only allocated 8% of the entire budget to industrial development of Palestinian locales; Ministry of Social Affairs with a discriminatory system which prevents needy Palestinian families in poor local councils from obtaining the ministry's services; Ministry of Science, Culture, and Sports with allocating only 2.3% of the budget to Arabic Language Academy and not more than 5% to sports or science institutions in the Palestinian community; Ministry of Health with no successful plan to reduce the health gaps between Jewish and Palestinian society especially in areas such as infant mortality, emergency services and numbers of hospital beds; Ministry of Negev and Galilee Development which allocated less than 5% of the Ministry's budget to 70% of Palestinian population living in these areas; Regular State Budget which is responsible for

financing civil service employees, but has come up with only 6.2% Palestinian civil service employees and no Palestinian serving in senior governmental position and finally Prime Minister's Office,. (ibid.)

Many Palestinians believe that they are second-class citizens who never have rights equal to Jewish citizens in getting "... services and considerations... and face discrimination in employment, education and state institutions." (Kershner, 2007) Statistics showed that between 40%–50% of Bedouin citizens of Israel who live in 39–45 unrecognized villages, lack connection to electricity grid and water mains. Also, many streets in Palestinian villages—which mainly have Hebrew names instead of Arabic—lack any kind of signs. Due to the fact that 13% of the land is owned by JNF (the Jewish National Fund) discrimination is at play regarding ownership and leasing of land in Israel and Palestinians have no right of buying or leasing the land. I. Lustick, as well, held that Palestinians "live in a country whose ethos and national symbols are alien to them and symbolize, in many ways, oppressive aspects of their lives." (personal interview, December 8, 2014)

A 2007 report by US Department of State (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) blamed the Israeli government for "Institutional, legal, and societal discrimination against Israeli Arabs... [and] unequal educational systems for Arab students," compared to Jewish ones. (2007)

Generally, whereas since 1948 over 900 Jewish villages and cities have been established in Israel, the Palestinian sector has witnessed no change in its towns and villages and only seven towns have been planned and constructed for Bedouin residents of the Negev. Palestinians of Israel are bounded to living in places where their culture, architecture and history has been taken from them and they have always been denied the equal rights as Jews.

3.4 Palestinian- Israeli Relationship

The relationship between Palestinians as indigenous people of the territory with the State of Israel has always been filled with tension. Skaaraas (2009, p. 18) noted that an Arab public figure explained this strained political and social situation as “My state is at war with my nation.” This tension got worse in October 2000 when IDF soldiers killed 12 Palestinian citizens of Israel and one from Gaza in a protest against the government's response to the Second Intifada. The outcome was the establishment of the Or Commission. (“Commission of Inquiry into the Clashes between the Trenches' security and Israeli Citizens in October 2000”)

According to Khatib, et al. (2006), Israeli legal system practices discrimination against Palestinians through a number of core laws. The official bias which is nationally visible is not only limited to Israeli flag as a symbol, “but also to deeper legal issues concerning all Palestinian Arabs living fields specially citizenship, immigration, sharing of political decision making, land ownership, language, religious places and other.” (2006, p. 12) Khatib, et al. believed that labeling Israel a Jewish State by Israeli public officials is the main barrier to obtaining equality and justice on the way of Palestinian citizens.

In a similar fashion, the 2004 U.S. State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for Israel and the Occupied Territories argued that the Israeli Government “did little to reduce institutional, legal, and societal discrimination against the country's Arab citizens.” (2005) A report about racism against Palestinians on the part of the Israeli government and some Jewish citizens revealed that Palestinians experience discrimination on multiple grounds such as “personal attitudes, the media, education,

immigration rights, housing segregation, and social life.” (2014) Or Commission, also reported that:

“Government handling of the Arab sector has been primarily neglectful and discriminatory. The establishment did not show sufficient sensitivity to the needs of the Arab population, and did not take enough action in order to allocate state resources in an equal manner. The state did not do enough or try hard enough to create equality for its Arab citizens or to uproot discriminatory or unjust phenomenon. Meanwhile, not enough was done to enforce the law in the Arab sector, and the illegal and undesirable phenomena that took root there.” (2000)

Likewise, Khoury and Yoaz (2007) announced that in the recent years racism against Palestinians has been on the rise reaching new heights, that is, “26 percent... according to the Association for Civil Rights in Israel's annual report.” They also added that Palestinian citizens of Israel are being classified as a security threat by the Israeli politicians and Jewish citizens.

There are no geographical boundaries to discrimination against Palestinians in Israel and they experience “harsh policy of de-Arabization in mixed towns and hostility, fomented by the government that makes life very difficult.” (I. Pappé, personal interview, December 16, 2014) Accordingly, “their representatives do not share in the exercise of power in the society to anything like a proportionate degree and state resources, including public lands and housing, are not made available to them on a basis equal to the criteria used with non-Arab citizens.” (I. Lustick, personal interview, December 8, 2014)

Viewing Palestinians as security and demographic threat by the State of Israel has led into amending the Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law in order to restrict citizen-

ship and residence in Israel only to “Palestinian men over the age of 35, and Palestinian women over the age of 25” according to a report by Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. (2011, p. 10) Strickland (2013) insisted that those in favor of the law claim that this is a way to prevent terrorists from entering the territory. In reality, thought, this has been a means of maintaining the state’s Jewish nature according to Ze’ev Boim (2006) as cited in Strickland.

In an interview with Israeli historian Benny Morris by Ari Shavit (2004), Morris related to Palestinian citizens of Israel as “a time bomb” blaming them for being “an emissary of the enemy that is among us.” Morris who called this phenomena “Palestini- zation,” believed that Palestinians “are a potential fifth column” who “are liable to undermine the state” in time of war in “both demographic and security terms.” But, this was not the first time an Israeli character mentioned Palestinians as a threat to the State of Israel. Previously in 2003 at the Herzliya Conference on security, calling Palestinians of Israel “the real demographic threat,” Netanyahu suggested that “Israel’s growing demographic problem” is “not because of Palestinians, but of Israeli Arabs.” (Alon and Benn, 2003) These statements by Israeli leaders in the main part show their attempt to maintain a Jewish demographic majority.

Right after the Six-Day War of 1967 East Jerusalem fell into the hands of Israel and Palestinian citizens of this area rejected Israel’s offer of citizenship despite the fact that they held Israeli ID cards. These people as permanent residents of Israel refused to recognize it as a sovereign state and maintained close ties with the West Bank. Though eligible to vote in Jerusalem municipal elections, permanent Palestinian citizens of Israel take very little or sometimes no advantage of this right because they are nationally excluded from power. According to S. Smooha, “All Israeli governments are coalition governments from which Arab national parties are excluded but they also do not want to

be part for ideologically reasons.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014) I. Lustick also believed that “while there have been a few deputy ministers who have been Arabs, and (briefly one minister), no Palestinian has ever exercised significant political power on the national scene.” (personal interview, December 8, 2014) In a similar fashion, O. Yiftachel claimed that despite trying to achieve equality and voice, it’s difficult for Palestinian representatives to make a success “since this is a Jewish state, and Jews control politics and economy.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014) Likewise, based on a claim by N. Finkelstein, “Most of the time Israeli governments (1) do not accept Palestinians as members of the Cabinet, and (2) demand that any important legislation get a "Jewish majority," which means that the Arab citizens are less important.” (personal interview, December 29, 2014)

In the general run of things, since the first Knesset in 1949, Amin-Salim Jarjora and Seif el-Din el-Zoubi who were members of the Democratic List of Nazareth party and Tawfik Toubi member of the Maki party represented Palestinian interests in Knesset. Today 12 of the 120 members of the Israeli Parliament are Palestinians from different parties such as Hadash, Yisrael Beiteinu, United Arab List, Balad, Meretz and Ta'al. Some of present and past members of the Knesset are under police investigation for their visits to countries designated as enemy countries by Israeli law. Israel’s enemy countries are listed as Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen as well as the Gaza Strip and no Israeli citizen is allowed to visit these countries without a special permit issued by the Israeli Interior Ministry or they will face with problems returning to the country.

It is also repeatedly stated that the current Knesset is the most racist in the history of Israel due to the fact that it has proposed 21 discriminatory bills against its Palestinian citizens. A report released on 2013 by WikiLeaks argues that “according to the

Mossawa Center's annual report on racism,” statistics show that “75% increase in discriminatory and racist bills submitted to the Knesset in the past year.” (Oates, 2013) To sum it up, the efforts made by Knesset and the Israeli government as well as its Jewish citizens to decrease Palestinians’ civil rights are made to delegitimize them as citizens of the State of Israel.

3.5 Palestinians’ Health Status

The Palestinian population of Israel as the minority group in the Jewish society experiences different types of discrimination in areas such as language, culture, religion, history and origin. The most distinguishing area, however, is their weak social and political position within the society which according to Saabneh (2012) to a large extent affects their health status. Based on Okun and Friedlander’s study (as cited in Saabneh, 2012, p. 5) a major factor which influences the Palestinians’ health conditions is their minority status that respectively results from their being “disadvantaged in almost every socioeconomic (SES) indicator” and characterizes them “with lower income, higher level of unemployment, and lower educational attainment” compared to the Jewish population. Accordingly, Saabneh (2012, p. 5) argued that the minority status of the Palestinian citizens has paved the way for the Israeli government to practice various mechanisms such as “residential segregations, discrimination in the labor market and discrimination in the allocation of resources to Arab localities or communities” which as a result has affected their health negatively.

Similarly, in their book, “PALESTINIAN SOCIETY in Gaza, West Bank and Arab Jerusalem A Survey of Living Conditions” Heiberg, et al., (1993) suggested a broad range of social and economic factors as the major cornerstone of health problems of Palestinians arguing that “illnesses and problems caused by illness are more prevalent

among the poor than among the rich.” (p. 127) They insisted that in addition to “general living conditions,... social uprising and occupation,” one can blame poverty as the most significant cause of “acute and prolonged illness” among the Palestinian citizens of Israel. (p. 128)

The Palestinian population of Israel mainly comes down with heart disease and cancer. Researchers mention high rate of smoking, obesity, glucose intolerance, and diabetes as other health issues among both urban and rural Palestinians of Israel. These people also experience an almost high rate of pre-hospital mortality which is believed to be the result of “later or less call for help and inequalities in emergency ambulance care,” as well as “an increased vulnerability to lethal arrhythmias compared with Jews” and nutritional deficiencies. (Kark, et al., 2006, p. 455)

Data released by Israel’s Central Bureau of Statistics in 2012 showed gaps between Palestinians and Jewish population in areas such as life expectancy and infant mortality rates. According to Aderet (2013) life expectancy has increased more than two years in the past decade; however, a wide gap is so obvious between Jews and Palestinians. Aderet argued that the Jewish population is more likely to have life expectancies longer than Palestinians, i.e., “3.7 years for men and 3.3 years for women in 2012.” Baron-Epel and Kaplan’s study (as cited in Saabneh, 2012) showed that lower education and unemployment can be referred to as the major causes of health-related disparities between the two peoples. Similarly, Chernichovsky and Anson (as cited in Saabneh, 2012) believed that shorter life expectancies among Palestinians result from lower economic conditions of this group of people compared to their Jewish peers. Whereas, Health care is a social right in Israel, “there is real difference between Arabs and Jews.” (S. Smooha, personal interview, December 6, 2014)

Considering all the above mentioned disparities, the constant lower health status among Palestinians has received very little attention by the Israeli government. Based on a 2012 report by Mossawa Center, of the 20,627,752,000 NIS budget of Ministry of Health for 2012, the lion's share of the budget went on Jewish citizens' healthcare and Palestinians received far less than 10% whereas they make up 20% of the population. The same report also revealed that the budget disregarded most of the government's 2011 promises of reducing the gaps between Jewish and Palestinian society in the areas of "infant mortality, emergency services and numbers of hospital beds." (p. 2)

3.5.1 Diseases and Conditions

Palestinian citizens of present day Israel experience different health issues such as heart disease and stroke, cancer, smoking and diabetes.

3.5.1.1 Heart disease and stroke

Heart disease is the leading cause of adult mortality among Palestinian males and females. According to Kark, et al. (2006, p. 454), statistics reveal that "the coronary event rate in Palestinians [has] surpassed that of Jewish" population of Israel and they have "a higher proportion of out-of-hospital deaths than Jews." Similarly, the 2010 report on causes of death in Israel by Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) announced that "the age-standardized mortality rate is 1.4 times higher for Arabs than Jews." (p. 3) Based on the same report, Palestinians have 1.7 times higher rates of heart disease, cerebrovascular diseases and respiratory diseases. The report also uncovered that since 1990 the age-adjusted ischemic heart disease mortality rates in the Palestinian population have grown higher than that of the Jewish population. (2010)

Accordingly, in their book, "Health Inequalities and Risk Factors Among Migrants and Ethnic Minorities" Ingleby, et al., (2012) referred to the Israel na-

tional health survey of the years 2007 and 2008 which showed that the prevalence of heart disease increased with age, i.e., between 45 and 54 years of age, Palestinian men experienced heart disease at a rate of 12.2% compared to 9.2% for their women. (p.225)

3.5.1.2 Cancer

A comparison of cancer mortality rate between Palestinian and Jewish population of Israel by Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) showed that the rate is 1.1 times higher among Palestinians than Jews. (2010)

In the recent years a very rapid increase has been observed in the incidence of lung cancer among Palestinian men and breast cancer among their women. The incidence mainly occurs in the early ages and at an advanced stage which as a result reduces the survival rate among these people. Observations showed that cancers as the second most frequent cause of death among Palestinians tend to increase over time whereas the rates for Jews show a decline. (Badarneh, 2009)

Palestinian women are more likely to end up with breast cancer at younger ages compared to their Jewish peers. According to Badarneh (2009) data from the years 2000-2002 reveal that 45.7% of Palestinian women diagnosed with breast cancer were aged fifty or under whereas only 23.3% of Jewish women of the same age had the same problem. Badarneh, also argued that the incidence of breast cancer among Palestinian women “rose by 204 percent, from 14.1 cases per 100,000 women in 1979-1981 to 43 cases per 100,000 women in 2000-2004.” For Jewish women the rise was 43% over the same period. (p. 16)

Similarly, Tarabeia, et al. (2007) held that the life expectancy of Palestinian women is 4 years lower than that of their Jewish counterparts due to the fact that the young Palestinian women diagnosed with cancer include a larger proportion of the cases compared to young Jewish women. Tarabeia, et al. also expressed that the phenomenon might in part “be due to changes in risk factors owing to a more western lifestyle.” (p. 37)

Lung cancer as the most prevalent disease among Palestinian men has influenced more Palestinian than Jewish men since 1990. According to Badarneh (2009), whereas the years 1980 to 2004 witnessed a rise in the incidence rate of lung cancer among Palestinian men, the rate “fell by seven percent among their Jewish peers.” (p. 17) The rate is continuing to be on the rise for Palestinians, “reaching 41 cases per 100,000 by 2006, compared to 27 cases among Jewish men.” (ibid.) Palestinian women are not an exception to the rule, either with the rise of 66.6% in 2000—2004 compared to their Jewish peers with the rate of 33.3%. The increase in the rate of lung cancer in the recent years has led into high mortality rates among Palestinian population of Israel.

3.5.1.3 Smoking

Despite the fact that smoking is far more prevalent among Palestinian men compared to Jewish male population, it does not mainly serve as the explanation for the high rate of heart disease. However, it must be considered as a significant risk factor in the prevalence of different illnesses.

Heiberg, et al. (1993), found smoking habits to “reflect values and moral standards rather than economic circumstances” among the Palestinian society. (p. 109) They discovered that out of every 2 Palestinian men 1 tended to smoke

irrespective of social background. Their studies also showed that the only variable that affected the degree of smoking among these people was religiosity, i.e., “60% of men with secular attitudes and behavior smoke, while only 40% of those who are religiously active and express religious attitudes do.” (p. 110)

The smoking habits of Palestinian men according to the 2007—2008 report on smoking in Israel by Minister of Health (as cited in Badarneh, 2009) is an avoidable risk factor behind morbidity and mortality. The report revealed that in 2006, 39.8% of Palestinian men above the age of 20 smoked compared to 26.7% for Jewish men. In contrast, the rate for Palestinian women ages 20 and more was 6.8 compared to 19.7% for Jewish women. The same report also announced that among Palestinian men “smoking levels are high until the age of sixty-four and then fall; among Jewish men, smoking levels begin to fall from the age of forty-four.” (p. 22) Contrastingly, the rates rise among Palestinian women with age reaching 16.7% whereas among Jewish women a fall in the rate of smoking is obvious in older ages.

3.5.1.4 Diabetes

The next cause of death among Palestinians is diabetes which is again more prevalent among these people than Jewish population of Israel. Badarneh (2009, p. 18) estimated the “age-adjusted prevalence of diabetes in the Arab population in the age range 25-64” in 2004—2005 to be 8.3%, i.e., 1.5 times higher than the prevalence among Jews with the rate of 5.7%. The rate among Palestinian men in the same year was 1.6 times higher than Jewish men while the prevalence among Palestinian women was 2.8 times higher than their Jewish counterparts.

In a similar study Kalter-Leibovici, et al. (2012, p. 1) outlined that “the prevalence of adult-onset diabetes was 21% among Arabs and 12% among Jews.” More importantly, Palestinians patients were 11 years younger than Jews, i.e., “by the age of 57 years, 25% of Arabs had diagnosed diabetes; the corresponding age among Jews was 68 years.”

3.5.1.5 Infant Mortality

Over the past decade the population growth among Palestinians of Israel has witnessed a major decline from around 3% to less than 2.2% by 2013 whereas the Jewish birthrate rose from around 1.4% to 1.7%.

In the area of infant mortality, as Aderet (2013) stated, Israel is among the countries with the lowest infant mortality rates in the world. Nevertheless, there is a significant gap between the Palestinian and Jew infant mortality at a rate of “6.5 per 1000 live births [for Palestinians], compared to 2.7 for Jews.” This gap between the two groups has decreased over the past decade due to the fact that overall infant mortality rate has dropped in Israel. However, out of 170,940 children that were born in 2012, 73% were to Jewish mothers while the share of Palestinian mothers was only 24% according to Aderet.

Choshen and Korach (2011, p. 14) also pointed out the gap between the Palestinians and the Jewish infant mortality rate blaming “birth defects that occur relatively frequently within the Muslim population because of intermarriage,” as a result of high IMR among other things.

3.5.1.6 Vehicle Crash

Among young population of Israel one of the main causes of death are injuries and accidents. The rates are proven to be higher among Palestinian youth than their Jewish counterparts. In addition, the injuries among Palestinians are more severe than Jews. (Badarneh, 2009) In 2006, for example, Palestinians made up 20% of the population of the country while they accounted for 25% of injuries caused by traffic accidents and 28% of deaths and fatalities. (ibid.)

Shaalán (2013) reported that 45% of the people killed in accidents since the beginning of 2013 were Palestinian citizens of Israel. The share of young Palestinians had been 50% according to Shaalan. According to Baka Mayor Morsi Abu-Moch (as cited in Shaalan, 2013), in the Palestinian sectors “the economic situation is extremely tough, there is poor infrastructure, abandoned roads, lack of road signs” which result in high mortality rates from car accidents. Abu-Moch blamed the state of Israel holding that, “We, as community leaders, do no[t] want to end our time in office, and tell the citizens that we were unable to make things better because the State is racist.”

3.5.2 Insurance and Medical Care

In 1995 the National Insurance Law came into effect in Israel and Palestinian citizens were granted healthcare services, but still the incidence of diseases such as diabetes, heart disease and cancer is greater among Palestinians than Jews. Based on a report by the Citizens’ Accord Forum between Jews and Arabs in Israel (CAF), this in part is due to Palestinians’ refusal to use the service for two reasons: content and promotion. The records showed that,

“the content of the services and information are simply translated from Hebrew into Arabic; this process fails to take the Arab population and its specif-

ic needs into account. There is also no differentiation between the promotion of health services to Jews or Arabs. Rather, they are marketed to Arabs in ways that are generally accepted by Jewish society, ignoring the vast social and cultural differences between the two populations.” (n.d.)

In general, health indicators in Israel present an image of a lower health status joined with lower socioeconomic levels for Palestinians compared to the Jewish citizens of Israel.

3.6 Palestinians’ Education and Employment

Palestinian students in Israel make up about one fourth of the state’s students, but they are a disadvantaged group that experiences unequal conditions compared to Jewish students. While Israeli law does not forbid them to enter Jewish schools, the students and their parents show very little interest in doing so.

The schools in Palestinian communities teach in Arabic, however, their curriculum includes mandatory lessons of Hebrew as foreign language from the 3rd grade onwards. Jewish students, as well, are supposed to study Arabic, but only the basic level is mandatory. The universities offer courses in Hebrew and English.

The Israeli education system does not provide the Palestinian schools with many resources, compared to those that are allocated to its Jewish students. Within the education system, according to Jerby, Levi and Yaish (as cited in Sharabi, 2011, p. 225), “there is a separation between Jews and Arabs.” The 2007 U.S. State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices also noted that,

“Israeli-Arab advocacy groups charged that the education of Arab children was inferior to that of Jewish children in the secular system. According to a 2005 study at

Hebrew University, three times more money was invested in education of Jewish children as in Arab children.” (2007)

Zama Coursen-Neff —counsel to the Children's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch— found noticeable differences in every educational aspect of Palestinians compared to that of the Jews. According to her, every government-run Arab school is “a world apart from government-run Jewish schools.” (2001)

A 2012 report by the Mossawa Center showed that out of The Pedagogical Administration's 1,189,318,000 NIS budget, only 1.5%, i.e., 17,688,000 NIS was allocated to educational programs for minorities. Furthermore, 3.5 billion NIS was allotted to “various fields of study, such as Jewish religious and culture studies, but [did] not include plans for the Arab religious counterparts.” (2012, p. 1) Similarly, a 2009 study by the Hebrew University's School of Education revealed that the Israeli law of allocating budgets to students from low socioeconomic backgrounds extremely discriminated against Palestinian students. Kashti (2009) reported that, “the average per-student allocation in Arab junior high schools amounts to only 20 percent of the average in Jewish junior highs.” Kashti also mentioned the same study's findings that the share of the needy Jewish students was “3.8 to 6.9 times as much funding as equally needy Arab students.”

In a briefing paper, Arshad (2011) noted that, “the Israeli government spends \$1,100 per year on each Jewish Israeli student and \$192 per year on each Palestinian Israeli student.” (p. 2) Arshad also argued that poor Palestinian students receive “20 percent of the allocation for Jewish students.” (p. 6) She concluded that high poverty leads to high dropout rates among Palestinian students—12% compared to only 6% among Jewish students.

Lidman (2012) cited Jerusalem Mayor, Nir Barkat, announcing that the dropout rate among Palestinian students was 40% compared to only 3% among Jewish and haredi students. He blamed marriage at the age of 17 among Palestinian girls and job seeking at the age of 18 for Palestinian boys as the main reasons of dropout. Barkat also pointed to matriculation exams as another leading cause of failure among Palestinian students. These exams which are designed by the Palestinian Authority for the students who are pursuing higher education “are not honored by Israeli universities” according to Barkat.

Similarly, a 2014 report by Swirski, et al. of the Adva Center revealed that Jewish students enter college twice as many as Palestinians. The same report, however, maintained that many Palestinian students pursue their higher education in countries such as Jordan. In 2011-12 school year, according to Swirski, et al.,

“21.8% of the 20-29 year-olds from affluent towns were enrolled as undergraduates in Israeli universities and academic colleges, about 3 times the proportion from Arab localities – 7.5%. The proportion in Jewish development towns was 13.4% – higher than undergraduates from Arab localities, but still well under the proportion of those from affluent Jewish cities and towns.” (p. 31)

Accordingly, S. Smooha pointed out several reasons for Palestinians’ failure in pursuing higher education. As stated by S. Smooha:

“Around a fifth of the Arabs compared to a third of Jews have a college degree. Arab scholastic achievements in all schooling levels (from preschools to universities) are lower than Jewish achievements for many reasons, including the lower socio-economic level of their families, smaller investment in Arab schools and the quality of teaching. There are no Arab universities in Israel which makes more difficult for an

Arab to study in a Hebrew speaking university.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

But even holding a university degree has not paved the way for Palestinians in the Israeli labor market and in managerial fields. Palestinian citizens of Israel are mainly centered in blue-collar occupations and unskilled labor. One reason, according to Sharabi (2010) is the dependence of the Palestinian economic market on the Jewish market and the opportunities that it provides. Kraus & Yonay, Khattab and Sa'di Sharabi (as cited in Sharabi, 2010, p. 224) all agreed on “lack of government investment and private funding” as the main obstacles in the process of internal economic modernization in the Palestinian society.

Sh. Hever, emphasized on discriminatory policies which are at play against Palestinians at labor market. He believed that:

“Employers tend to employ and promote workers who resemble them. However, there are also openly racist strategies such as the ‘Conquest of Labor’ or ‘Hebrew Labor,’ in which consumers’ pressure places of business do not hire Palestinians, and business people claim openly that they use ‘Hebrew Labor’ – hence that they only employ Jews.” (personal interview, December 26, 2014)

Based on a 2012 report by the Mossawa Center, the budget of the Ministry of Industry and Trade for 2012 amounted to “2,419,722 NIS, in addition to 1,913,686,000 NIS for non-residential subsidies (Article 38) and 50,980,000 NIS for industrial development (Article 76).” But only 8% of the budget was allocated to development of new industrial zones in Palestinian sectors. (2012, p. 2)

Jerby & Levi (as cited in Sharabi, 2010) stated that only 1.5% of Palestinians hold management positions compared to 5.8% of Jewish population. In fact well-educated

Palestinians can hardly find jobs that suit their academic qualifications. Besides, it's not easy for them to find jobs outside the Palestinian sector.

O. Neiman claimed that Palestinian “engineers will find it very difficult to get a job. Many of them study law and medicine, because they can work as independent lawyers or at hospitals.” (personal interview, December 12, 2014) In S. Smooha’s point of view finding a job for a professional Palestinian is difficult because they “have to look for jobs in the Jewish sector where they are discriminated against.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014) Equally, O. Yiftachel claimed that, “there are still greater difficulties for Arabs to get employment even with a degree, as compared to Jews.” (personal interview, December 25, 2014)

Some economic gaps between Palestinians and Jews have roots in serving in the military. While Jewish veterans qualify for many opportunities in the labor market and other services such as housing and new-household subsidies, Palestinians are deprived of such rights due to the fact that they refuse to serve in the IDF.

McGreal (2006) noted that although Palestinians make 20% of the population of the state of Israel, only “five per cent of civil servants are Arabs, and a high proportion of those are hired to deal with other Arabs.” Others mainly work in construction and agriculture. In an article in the Economist, N.P. (2014) reported that according to a study by the Bank of Israel the unemployment rate of Palestinians appears to be “twice that of Jewish men, and rising.” For Palestinian women the unemployment rate is three times that of the Jewish women. Furthermore, based on N.P.’s argument, “Jewish men in Israel earn roughly twice as much as their Arab counterparts.”

Over and above that, S. Smooha reminded that Palestinians’ payments are not similar to that of the Jewish population at work place since Palestinians “cannot be

choosers and their options are so limited. There are quotas, there are areas... that are closed to them and there is an informal discrimination in pay.” (personal interview, December 6, 2014)

In summary, the Israeli labor market seems to go hand in hand with discrimination against its Palestinian population as Sami Michael, the President of The Association for Civil Rights in Israel, explained: “The marketplace and the state now work hand-in-hand to create a society of Israelis among which some are more equal than others.” (Swirski, et al. 2014, p. 5)

3.7 Conclusion

Palestinians of Israel live within a society where pre-planned policies of surveillance, marginalization, and Jewish supremacy are conducted by the state with the aim of establishing the Israeli State as a Jewish State and enslaving democracy in favor of its Jewishness. Any attempt to fulfill the Zionist dream has tragically affected the lives of Palestinians as second-class citizens.

Although they make up about 20% of the state’s population, Palestinians have seriously suffered the racist policies since Israel's declaration of independence. Being subjects to martial law from the early years of the state influenced significant aspects of their lives such as social and economic situations as well as housing, health, the quality of public services, education and employment.

The centrality of different Israeli policy components in various chapters of Palestinian lives have always played an influential role on their economic field turning them totally dependent upon the Israeli government fundamentally due to lack of development and investment in Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel. Therefore, the

traditionally Palestinian agricultural society was forced to seek jobs as wage-laborers and consequently rely on the Israeli economy.

The Palestinian communities are abandoned to municipal ghettos suffering from widespread rates of poverty as a result of economic marginalization. The widespread gap between this group of people and the Jewish population has significantly affected Palestinians' health and well-being negatively.

In general it can be stated that racism and discrimination have been the two significant features of Zionism and they went hand in hand since the establishment of the state of Israel up to this day. Whilst the Israeli government believes in itself as a democracy, its Palestinian citizens are experiencing a terrifying era of apartheid.

CHAPTER 4

Palestinian in Israel & Native Americans in the United States: Comparison

The focus of this chapter is on similarities between Native Americans and Palestinians. As discussed in the theoretical framework, internal colonialism as the notion of structural, political and economic inequalities between regions within a nation state explains the uneven effects of economic development on a regional basis within a society where indigenous people are exploited and excluded. Through this process the colonizers—the United States of America and Israel—utilized oppressive force or technological superiority to restyle the subaltern's—Native Americans and Palestinians—institutions in order to meet their own needs.

Both Native Americans of the United States and Palestinians of recent Israel constitute a minority population with overall number of 5.2 million people, or 1.7 percent of all people for Native Americans in the United States, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010:1) and 1,683,200 or 20.7% of the total 8,134,100 population of Israel for Palestinians. (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2013)

Despite living on rich lands both populations are economically disadvantaged. Native Americans live on lands with oil and other natural sources such as fish and game, livestock, coal, timber, and natural gas. Similarly, Palestinians were born on lands with citrus plantations and olive groves, crude oil, natural gas and other natural resources such as minerals that are useful for agriculture, soils, wood and metal.

Historically tensions existed between both peoples and the majority population and they both have struggled to attain a higher degree of participation in national life, greater integration into the economy and more benefits for their own well-being.

The United States federal government has assigned 300 federal reservations with a total of 52,017,551 acres to Native Americans. These reservations are mainly held in trust by the federal government, but in some cases they are privately owned and in

others they are property of non-Indians. Likewise, 71% of Palestinians live in 116 different localities throughout Israel where they make the majority population and the other 29% live in other parts of the country. (American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2014) 13% of the land in Israel is under the control of the Jewish National Fund (JNF), 79.5% is owned by the Israeli government and around 6.5% is evenly divided between private Arab and Jewish owners. (ibid.)

Whereas each Native American tribe lives within its unique cultural, lingual, historical, and traditional belief system, Palestinians are exposed to Hebrew and the Palestinian dialect of Arabic as the official languages which are being followed by English and Russian as two most widely spoken in the country. However, just similar to American Indians, non-Jewish Arab population holds a Palestinian cultural and linguistic heritage or ethnic identity and shares the culture of the Palestinian people and wider Arab region of which many of them form a part. (ibid.)

The term “American Indian” or simply “Indian” is most preferably adopted by Native Americans to address the indigenous population of the United States with the exception of Native Hawaiians or certain Alaskan Natives. (U.S. Census Bureau, 1995) In a similar fashion, Palestinians identify themselves as Arab or Palestinian by nationality and Israeli by citizenship, although those who live in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights have mainly refused the Israeli citizenship. (American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2014)

Native Americans constitute a small group of individuals who are educated and assimilated into the American melting pot whereas a vast majority still live in nearly complete isolation from non-Indian Americans in poverty and encounter racism, unemployment, disease, drugs and a handful of other problems as the results of internal colonialism. Equally, whereas education has affected traditional outlooks and lifestyle

of Palestinians of Israel, they favor maintaining their strong cultural, religious, ideological, and ethnic identity due to the fact that Israel is not a melting pot society to them.

Although over the history of the United States Native Americans have been considered as a compact group of tribes, in reality they have never united altogether. Even today they are not free from discord between the tribes; the role of the US policy in encouraging this conflict should not be ignored, though. Throughout many decades the federal government often placed the borders of a reservation in such a way that it surrounded another tribe's area as a quite effective policy. The same story applies to the case of Palestinians. In spite of being the same people with the same background, today there is a break in relations between Arabs and Druze and these two populations are not free from discord as the result of Israeli government's policy. The Druze community is recognized as a nation separate from the Arabs because of adopting the designation of Druze on Israeli identity cards and entering military service. (Atashi, 2001)

After the arrival of both colonizers on the indigenous lands, the colonized were removed from their ancestral territories to isolated parts of the territories of the United States and Israel. Taken from the land that once met all of their needs, Native Americans nowadays are banned to reservations some miles away from basic necessities such as stores and medical facilities. Similarly, Palestinians live in rural, urban or unrecognized areas where they geographically experience less access to health care and services.

Land owners in the Indian country are divided into private land owners and tribal trust land owners. The significant difference between the two types of land is that private pieces are approximately 30 to 40 percent more productive than individual trust lands. Just the same is the case of Palestinians. They are excluded from fertile lands and

the pieces that are allotted to them are mainly among the hilly, arid parts in Israel and therefore less productive than those of Jewish citizens. (Guardian, 2006)

Not only for Native Americans but also for Palestinians land plays a critical role in their livelihood. To both peoples land is the only remaining means of preserving their cultural identity, maintenance and production. Therefore, in both cases removal from ancestral land has led to many disastrous impacts on their lives. For Native Americans being forcefully removed from their ancestral lands has resulted in a dramatic shift in their traditional lifestyle and consequently coming down with lots of life threatening illnesses such as diabetes, heart disease, tuberculosis, and cancer. Equal is the situation of Palestinians who experience high mortality rates as a result of cancer, heart disease and diabetes.

Both Native American reservations and Palestinian residencies witness different levels of growth where the residents face with different types of problems. The two populations experience discriminatory practices in employment, housing, income, health care, etc. Their students also rank at the top of every statistics regarding school dropout with the highest rates in the state. However, part of both peoples has entered academic fields “in the hope of a brighter future,” although the gaps between the majority population and the indigenous residents of the United States and Palestine are still large. (R. Austin, personal communication, December 16, 2014)

4.1 Native American and Palestinian Economic Status

Native Americans as well as Palestinians have historically lived in extreme poverty. Statistics reveal some of the highest poverty and unemployment rates for both populations. The percentage of single-race American Indians that live in poverty shows the highest rate of any race group compared to the whole nation’s poverty rate. (US Census, 2013:4) Palestinians rank among the country’s poorest population sector, too

compared to Jewish citizens. According to Macartney, et al. (2013) official poverty measures show a poverty rate of 38% to 63% for Native American reservations compared to 53% for Palestinian families. (Kershner, 2007) Both populations are among the impoverished ones in their countries and seem to be stuck in a poverty trap.

Nationally, both Native Americans and Palestinians tend to suffer pretty high unemployment rates and low incomes. Moreover, both groups occupy much fewer management or professional positions. Unearthing the causes of poor economic conditions of both groups, one finds out that inequality in the allocation of public funding to their residencies as well as widespread employment discrimination are the main areas of concern. High educational attainments by both Native Americans and Palestinians is considered a significant factor in finding a job, but even in very equal conditions the odds of being employed for the members of both groups are lower than those of the majority population. In addition, neither the United States federal government, nor the Israeli government place the real figures of Native American and Palestinian unemployment into a chart because that would be “an additional stunning moral indictment” of both governments’ treatment of their indigenous populations. (Bender, 2012)

4.2 Native American and Palestinian Welfare Benefits

Many Native American reservations suffer from absence of common infrastructure such as telephone service, electricity, internet connectivity, running water and a handful of other services. A lot of Native Americans live on reservation in “substandard housing with no running water and no indoor plumbing” whereas white Americans take plumbing facilities for granted. (Vincent Armenta, 2012, p. 4) In a similar fashion almost half of Palestinian citizens of Israel who live in unrecognized villages lack connection to electricity grid and water mains. They identify themselves as second-class

citizens who face discrimination and have never had rights equal to majority citizens in receiving services and considerations.

Being deprived of these services, both populations deal with numerous health and environmental hazards. They both experience obstacles in the way of their education and potential for economic development due to the fact that the ruling governments are generally very reluctant to provide these indigenous groups with their basic needs. Both Native Americans and Palestinians experience insufficient telecommunication services, access to broadband and sometimes even basic telephone service.

Native Americans and Palestinians believe that both the state and the society deny their social, political, and economic rights and limit them to second-class citizenship. (Lale, 2012 & Kershner, 2007) Although investment by governments can lead the two populations towards prosperity and help them address a great number of disadvantages such as unemployment, poor health conditions, lack of housing and other infrastructures among other things, very little share of state budget is allocated to them. Furthermore they are both bounded to living in places where their culture and history has been taken from them. They don't enjoy full access to state resources or to political or civil rights as do the majority citizens by virtue of their citizenship.

One more problem that both peoples experience is inability of both Native Americans and Palestinians to get clear title to their homeland. In case of Native Americans, this makes it impossible for them to establish credit and borrow money from the banks because they can't use the land as collateral. (Koppisch, 2011) Consequently, no investment will find its way through the Indian Country. Palestinians as well have no right in ownership and leasing of land since 13% of the land is owned by JNF (the Jewish National Fund). (American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2014)

4.3 Native American and Palestinian Relationship with Governments

Native Americans and Palestinians of the present era United States and Israel are the survivors of efforts to wipe out these races by the colonizers who first entered their territories. Attempts to assimilate these peoples by the mainstream society were perceived as a civilizing mission. Today these attempts still continue to rank the native settlers of the United States and Israel near the bottom of every economic, social and health indicator.

As simultaneously separate nations and also part of the United States, contemporary Native Americans experience troublesome relations with the federal government. Likewise, the relationship between Palestinians as indigenous people of the territory with the State of Israel has always been filled with tension. Just the same as the United States federal government, the Israeli legal system practices discrimination against Palestinians.

The federal government of the United States has not always “honored its trust responsibilities or fully recognized the sovereign status of tribes.” (Jewell, 2013, p. 10) In a similar fashion, the Israeli Knesset has always proposed discriminatory bills against its Palestinian citizens. In general, the involvement of both governments in everyday lives of Native Americans and Palestinians has turned to a significant issue ignored by the ruling group. (Oates, 2013)

4.4 Native American and Palestinian Health

Native Americans and Palestinians experience lower life expectancies and higher rates of diseases compared to the majority population. The most significant factors which influence health conditions of both are lower educational attainment, disproportionate poverty, discrimination in the delivery of health services, cultural differences and their minority status.

In case of Native Americans, Indian health care is massively underfunded and these people surprisingly receive half of what is allotted to federal prisoners. In fact they receive “less than 1% of the Indian Health Service budget” compared to Palestinians who get far less than 10% whereas they make up 20% of the population. (D. Norman, personal interview, December 16, 2014 & Mossawa Center, 2012) In many cases poor Native Americans face health challenges because Indian Health Service doesn't meet the needs of these people. Similarly, health disparities among Palestinians support the fact that the Israeli government has left the needs of these people unaddressed in many respects. In both cases one can blame poverty as the leading cause of the two peoples' health problems.

Shorter life expectancies among Native Americans and Palestinians result from their lower economic conditions compared to their American and Jewish peers. Native Americans' life expectancy today is “4.2 years less than the U.S. all races population.” (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013, p. 1) Similarly, Palestinians live 3.7 years less than the Jewish population of Israel. (Aderet, 2013)

Native Americans nowadays suffer chronic liver disease and cirrhosis, diabetes mellitus, unintentional injuries, assault/homicide, intentional self-harm/suicide and chronic lower respiratory diseases. High amounts of alcohol consumption and smoking are among other reasons for high mortality rate of Native Americans. They also experi-

ence loss of life in motor vehicle crashes at a rate of 7%. Likewise, the Palestinian population of Israel mainly comes down with heart disease and cancer. High rates of smoking, obesity, glucose intolerance, and diabetes as are among other health issues that both urban and rural Palestinians of Israel experience. These people also suffer from an almost high rate of pre-hospital mortality and lethal arrhythmias. Both populations also encounter high rates of infant mortality.

4.5 Native American and Palestinian Diseases and Conditions

Both Native Americans and Palestinians face serious struggles with particular diseases such as heart disease and stroke, cancer, smoking and diabetes. Additionally, Native Americans experience high rates of alcoholism and HIV/AIDS.

American Indians are more likely to die from heart disease than the majority population of the United States due to some problems such as diabetic complications, exposure to stress, hypertension, trauma and finally high obesity rate which causes high blood pressure. Just the same as Native Americans, heart disease is the leading cause of adult mortality among Palestinians of Israel. The coronary event rate in Palestinians has surpassed that of their Jewish peers.

Among Native Americans Heart disease occurs at a rate of 20% greater than other American races. It gets even more tragic for native youth under the age of 19 with a rate of 36%. (US Department of Health and Services, 2013) Statistics also show that Palestinians have 1.7 times higher rates of heart disease, cerebrovascular diseases and respiratory diseases than Jewish citizens of Israel. (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010) The prevalence of heart disease and stroke increases with age for both groups of people and ends up in higher mortality rates for Native Americans and Palestinians compared to the majority population. Just the same as Native Americans males, Palestinian men have higher rates of mortality than their females, i.e. 29.8% compared to 26.5% for

women. In case of Palestinians the rate is 12.2% for men compared to 9.2% for their women. (ibid.)

The increase in the rate of cancer in the recent years has led into high mortality rates among Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel. Native Americans mainly suffer from stomach cancer twice more than their white American peers. (US Department of Health and Services, 2013) In a similar manner, the rate of lung cancer among Palestinians is 1.1 times higher compared to the Jewish population. Cancer mortality rates reach 1.6 times for Native American men and 2.6 times for their women. (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010) For Palestinians also, the rates of lung cancer among men and breast cancer among women have continued to be on the rise.

Smoking must be considered as a significant risk factor in the prevalence of different illnesses among both Native Americans and Palestinians. The smoking habits of both populations are an avoidable risk factor behind morbidity and mortality.

American Indians are among the greatest tobacco users in the United States. Smoking traditional tobacco among these people is basically a sign of religious, ceremonial or medicinal purpose. Equally, Palestinians' smoking habits reflect values and moral standards among these societies.

Considering the whole population of adult smokers in the United States, Native Americans' share of smoking is 32.0% compared to 20.9% for all the others. (BACCHUS., n.d.) Moreover, 21.8% of American Indians are grouped among the current cigarette smokers. (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014) In the same way, out of every 2 Palestinian men 1 tends to smoke irrespective of social background. The only variable that affects smoking habits among these people has been discovered to be their religiosity. It means that whereas 60% of Palestinians with secular

attitudes tend to smoke cigars, only 40% of religious males do smoke. (Heiberg, et al., 1993) Regarding alcoholism, whereas, Native Americans occupy top of the chart of alcohol consumption in the form of binge drinking in the United States, Palestinians' religiosity forbids them from alcohol consumption.

Diabetes among Native Americans and Palestinians is another important cause of high mortality rates. The prevalence of diabetes among Native Americans in the United States is 2.3 times higher than their white counterparts. (Department of Health and Human Services, 2012) Likewise, the prevalence of diabetes among Palestinians is recorded to be 1.5 times higher than the prevalence among Jews. But, whereas the likelihood of having diabetes among Native Americans is higher in older age groups, Palestinians are diagnosed with the illness at younger ages than Jews. (Badarneh, 2009)

Another cause of high mortality rates among both groups of Native Americans and Palestinians is motor-vehicle crash. It is hypothesized that in the case of Native Americans there is a direct relationship between living in a rural area and experiencing high rates of vehicle crash, injury and mortality due to the fact that vehicles have higher speed in these areas compared to urban roads. Regarding Palestinians also, tough economic situation, poor infrastructure, abandoned roads and lack of road signs are being considered as the main reasons high death rates.

Vehicle crash and road accidents are very prevalent among young Native Americans and Palestinians. The death rates of both groups are proven to be higher than the majority population of each country.

Despite improvements in the rate of infant mortality in the recent decades in both the United States and Palestine, disparities among Native Americans and Palestinians still exist at high levels compared to the majority population. Infant mortality level

among Native Americans is at a rate of 8.47 per 1,000 infants compared to 6.4 for all races as a result of malformations, prematurity, and injury. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013) For Palestinians the rates are 6.5 per 1000 live births compared to 2.7 for Jews as a reason of birth defects that occur relatively frequently within the Muslim population because of intermarriage. (Aderet, 2013)

Health indicators in the United States and Israel present an image of a lower health status joined with lower socioeconomic levels for American Indians and Palestinians compared to the majority citizens of both territories. Not only Native Americans, but also Palestinians suffer from persistent disparities in health and health care such as high uninsured rates, significant barriers to obtaining care, and poor health status.

Whereas HIV and suicide are two other reasons of high mortality rates among Native Americans, they have no place among Palestinians who for the cause of their religiosity avoid these major health issues. American Indians have developed AIDS at a rate of 50% higher compared to the white population. (US Department of Human Health and Services, 2013) Youth suicide also has turned into an epidemic among tribal populations at a rate of three times the national rates. Main causes of suicide among young Native Americans have been listed as extreme poverty, hunger, alcoholism, substance abuse, family, violence high rates of diabetes, untreated mental illnesses such as depression and unemployment.

4.6 Native American and Palestinian Education and Employment

The American and Israeli education systems do not provide the Native Americans and Palestinian schools with many resources, compared to those that are allocated to the white American and Jewish students. Living on remote areas far from mainstream society, many American Indian and Palestinian children and youth have limited access to higher educations. Basically Native American and Palestinian students show very

little interest in entering schools where the majority population makes up the main body of students. For one thing, both groups of minorities—coming from Indian reservations or Palestinian residencies—usually experience culture shock after finding themselves a small minority in schools or colleges.

Although the number of Native American and Palestinian students who have attended colleges and universities has increased in the recent years, compared to the majority population they make up a very small number. Statistics show that Native American university students count for less than 1% the national rate compared to 71.8% of white Americans. (American Indian College Fund Organization, 2011) Similarly, around 7.5% of Palestinian youth are enrolled in universities compared to 21.8% for Jewish Israelis. (Swirski, et al., 2014) In other words only one fifth of Palestinians have a college degree compared to one third of Jews.

Native American and Palestinian scholastic achievements in all schooling levels from preschools to universities are lower than the majority population for many reasons, including the lower socio-economic level of their families, smaller investment in American Indian and Palestinian schools and the quality of teaching. They also suffer from inadequate number of schools which is the leading cause of students' struggles to catch up.

The economic status of Native American and Palestinian students is usually inferior to that of the majority students. In 2012, for example, 33% of American Indian students have had lives under the poverty line compared to only 12% of white students. (Aud, et al., 2012) Therefore, whereas 31% of native students made up high-poverty public schools students, only 6% of white students attended these schools. In Israel also needy Palestinian students outnumber the Jewish students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. However, in both societies the law of allocating budgets to students from

low socioeconomic backgrounds extremely discriminates against these minority students. Government investments in Native American and Palestinian education are also divided in a discriminatory manner.

High poverty leads to high dropout rates among Native American and Palestinian students. Dropout rates for American Indian students are estimated to be 50 to 60% compared to less than 40% for the United States' majority population. (M. Begay, personal interview, December 25, 2014) Palestinian students as well have 40% school dropout rate compared to only 3% among Jewish students. (Lidman, 2012)

Pursuing higher education for both groups of American Indian and Palestinian youth is an exceedingly burdensome task, since a great number of these students come from poor families. Among Native Americans very small hold a masters or bachelor's degree and at "doctoral level the numbers go below single digit, i.e. about 0.6 or 0.8." (M. Begay, personal interview, December 25, 2014) Similarly, the number of Palestinian students who enter universities and colleges in Israel is half their Jewish counterparts.

Although college graduates are among more prosperous minorities in both groups of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel, while entering the labor market they regularly face with difficulties finding jobs that suit their education. These problems according to Austin, (2013, p. 23) don't have anything to do with "differences in educational attainment, basic demographic factors, personal characteristics or having a good command of English" for Native Americans and Hebrew for Palestinians. The disparities among both groups and their majority counterparts are persistent even when they both have exact similarities such as equal "age and sex, education level and marital status." (Austin, 2013, p. 13) Even in case of residing in the same city, Native Americans and Palestinians still have lower odds of being employed

than other members of the mainstream society. This phenomenon leads on to the reality that racial discrimination at labor market might be at play.

Records show that Native Americans have 31 percent lower odds of being employed than white Americans. (ibid.) Palestinians, as well, have unemployment rates twice that of Jewish population. When it comes to educated members of each group, finding a job for a professional Native American or Palestinian is difficult because they have to look for a job in the white American and Jewish sectors where they are discriminated against. (S. Smooha, personal interview, December 6, 2014)

Native American professionals experience lower employment in higher status jobs on reservations because employers may not have developed well defined attitudes towards hiring them. In a similar manner well-educated Palestinians can hardly find jobs that suit their academic qualifications because Jewish “employers tend to employ and promote workers who resemble them.” (Sh. Hever, personal interview, December 26, 2014) Consequently, while there are not adequate job opportunities for highly educated American Indians or Palestinians at home, often brain drain of the most gifted and talented can occur. (D. Norman, personal interview, December 16, 2014) There are also other explanations to the high unemployment rates of American Indians and Palestinians. One factor that can explain Native American unemployment may be greater amounts of disabilities among these populations. In case of Palestinians the gaps in employment have roots in serving in the military.

Those who are employed also face with discrimination at work place. Neither Native Americans, nor Palestinians get paid similar to that of the majority population since they cannot be choosers and their options are so limited. Real per capita income of Native Americans, for example, is about half of the U.S. level. Palestinians as well earn half the payment of their Jewish counterparts.

The painful legacy of discrimination in both countries means that not only Native Americans but also Palestinians have experienced a long history of poverty and joblessness due to racial discrimination in their ancestral land.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Settler colonialism is a term described as particular colonial formation through which foreigners move into new territories to stay and reproduce. The concept is composed of external colonialism which means the case of controlling a colony from outside contrary to internal colonialism that is exploiting a colonial territory from within.

The settler colonial perspective offers the possibility of making comparisons of the situations of all indigenous populations around the world. In this thesis the theory of internal colonialism was employed to explore the cases of Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel as two considerable examples of settler colonialism of the recent era.

Theory of internal colonialism refers to forced entry of the colonizers into the territories of new people who are culturally different and less powerful than the conquistadors. The land confiscation is then followed by taking over the domestic economy and political institutions of the indigenous residents. Through predetermined processes a fundamental change in the traditional structures, values, and culture of the subalterns will be made and the colonized society will experience a shift in political power which enables the colonizers to orient this society in new directions. Finally, the new ruling class adopts racism as the ideological rationalization for their domination of the subordinate group.

In this study the theory of internal colonialism was applied to the situation of both Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel as two parallel examples of the modern period. The theory seemed applicable to both cases since the process of colonizing both has a similar logic to a great extent.

In case of America, the forced entry of white Europeans into Native Americans' ancestral lands and utilizing foreign diseases and military domination resulted in a significant shift in indigenous economic and political institutions as well as traditional structures, values, and culture of the inhabitants. As the outcome of racism, American Indians were deprived of their legal rights and excluded from the table in their own homeland.

The same procedure was followed in treating Palestinians in occupied lands by Israel. The theory, therefore, was also applicable to the situation of Palestinians who lost their lands in the interest of Zionist invaders. Confiscating Palestinians' territories through war and taking the economic and political institutions of the indigenous residents into their own hands, the Israeli government tried to affect Palestinians' culture, values and traditional structures. Conclusively, through exercising racial discrimination, Palestinians were denied their legal rights at home.

Studies of both cases show that not only Native Americans, but also Palestinians have a historical experience of ethnic cleansing, broken treaties and racist policies as a form of systematic oppression by foreign states. Both peoples attract a great deal of attention since colonizing both involved the conquering of their ancestral homelands as well as excluding them from the economy and any attempt to fulfill the colonizers' dreams has tragically affected the lives of Native Americans and Palestinians as second-class citizens. Therefore, both populations provide the researchers with remarkable examples of internal colonialism and confiscation of private property and forced labor.

Just like Native Americans, Palestinians are increasingly relegated to areas similar to Native American reservations. In other words, both are captives in their own lands. Therefore, the old story of land hungry Americans repeats itself in Canaan in another timeframe and this time whenever the land hungry Israeli settlers need more land, the

Palestinian share of land shrinks to open more room for new Jewish settlers just like Native American reservations which shrank to shelter more white immigrants.

The fact that Native Americans and Palestinians as victims of internal colonialism are not entirely similar to one another based on their presence in their post-colonial societies does not prevent scholars from exploring the deeply-rooted parallels between the historical experiences of dispossession and colonization of both populations. They can both be considered as analogous cases with similar issues to compare.

In both exceptional pieces of lands of the United States and Israel, Native Americans and Palestinians were represented as savages and terrorists who were in the way of colonizers' "Manifest Destiny"; the promise of the white American and Jewish gods that intended for them to take the land from the established inhabitants and possess it to form an exceptional territorial settlement. Despite their claims of being seculars, both colonizers clung to a religious element and linked their nation to the Judeo-Christian biblical tradition.

In the conflicts between Native Americans and Palestinians with their colonizers the determining factor is land. But, one must not ignore culture, history, ownership and on top of them all economy as a major component. Observing the problems of both minority groups with a deep understanding uncovers the reality that the methods employed by the Zionist colonizers against Palestinians are to a great extent parallel to those used by the United States government to exterminate Native American people. The same methods of massacres, forced eviction, relocation and starvation which were used to colonize native lands in the U.S. have been employed in Palestine. Therefore, it can be concluded that the economic discrimination in both lands may have roots in a similar logic that makes it possible to make comparisons between the two people.

Economic marginalization or more generally social exclusion is the phenomenon that Native Americans as well as Palestinians have experienced after the colonizers stepped on their lands. Through social exclusion both colonized groups were deprived of their social rights. Consequently, deprivation from their inalienable rights that are normally available to members of the mainstream society resulted in detachment of both groups from society in many ways.

Economic marginalization includes material deprivation as well as services, programs, and policies exclusion. Experiencing high levels of poverty, less access to education, health care, housing and basic services, having fewer employment opportunities than the general population and going through discrimination in every sector of society are among the problems that each colonized population in general and Native Americans and Palestinians in specific have gone through.

The impacts of this phenomenon are obvious in high mortality rates among both populations. Both Native Americans and Palestinians suffer from high rates of cancer, diabetes, heart disease and stroke, infant mortality, accidental deaths and a host of other health problems.

Economic isolation as a very important misfortune that the Native Americans and Palestinians face with in the post-colonial era has pushed them towards being less dependent upon local economic sectors than those of the mainstream society. In other words Native American reservations go through the disadvantage of smaller consumer markets and as a consequence access to the urban labor market becomes critical on reservations and plays a significant role in the lives of those who are unemployed. Similarly, Palestinians are roughly dependent upon the Israeli economy to meet their needs due to lack of development and investment in Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel.

High levels of poverty as well as low levels of employment among both populations can be the result of discriminatory policies against both peoples. Although the general idea is that the better educated a population, the higher its employment rate, cases of Native Americans and Palestinians show the reverse in many respects. Existing evidence reveals that in many situations even when the minority groups have the same education level as the majority population, they still have lower odds of being employed than the ruling class. The analysis, therefore, leads to the possibility that racial discrimination against these two groups may be playing a crucial role as a fruit of internal colonialism.

The colonization acts of Native Americans and Palestinians provide the researchers with striking similarities although the processes have occurred in different time frames, places and cultures. The specific historical events may not reappear in details but the processes which have shaped the history will do. As Russell Means, Lakota, stated, "Every policy now the Palestinians are enduring was practiced on the American Indian." Therefore, what befell the oppressed Native Americans of America a few centuries ago inevitably befell the Palestinians of the occupied Palestinian territories.

To sum it up, both Native Americans and Palestinians are victims of ethnic cleaning, colonization and internal colonialism. The two peoples are far too familiar with war, death, occupation and bogus peace processes and negotiations that have only resulted in the loss of more of their land and both are still engaged in their struggles to put an end to the long story of coercion and threat by the colonizers who believe in themselves as democracies while their minority citizens are experiencing a terrifying era of apartheid. Theory of internal colonialism, therefore, seems the best theory to apply to all cases parallel to Native Americans in the United States and Palestinians in Israel just as it clearly expounded these two cases.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

I want to thank you for taking the time to answer my questions. I am doing this research to capture lessons that can be used in future interventions. All your responses will only be shared in this study.

1. What are the differences between an enrolled Native American in a tribe and one that is not/ a documented Palestinian in Israel and an un-documented one?
2. How do the lives of those living in metropolitan areas differ from those who live on Native American reservations/in a big city, in a mixed city (like Haifa, Lod, Ramle, etc.) or in a Palestinian town or village (like Rahat, Nazereth, Um El Fahem, etc.)? How much does geography affect their economy and well-being?
3. What is your definition of a second-class citizen?
4. What are the disadvantages of living in the United States as a Native American/ in Israel as a Palestinian? Are there any rights they are deprived of compared to the majority population?
5. What does it cost for a Native American/ a Palestinian to get into university/ college? Is the cost the same for them and a member of the majority population? Are there special scholarships available to Native Americans/ Palestinians?
6. Approximately what percentage of Native Americans/ Palestinians holds a university degree? Do Native American/ Palestinians students make a great success at school or university? Why or why not?
7. Does pursuing higher education result in greater flexibility in finding a job for Native Americans/ Palestinians?

8. Are there differences between Native Americans and white Americans/ Palestinians and Jewish Israelis with the same academic and professional background in workplace? What are the differences?
9. Do Native Americans/ Palestinians get paid the same as non-Indians/ Jewish citizens for doing the same job? Are there strategies that you would consider to be at play in the job market against Native Americans/ Palestinians?
10. Approximately what percentage of the state budget is invested in Native Americans'/ Palestinians'

Schooling
 Employment
 Housing
 Health care
 Insurance, etc.?

Which social and public services are being offered to Native Americans/ Palestinians compared to white Americans/ Jewish citizens? Are they charged the same as white Americans/ Jewish citizens for the same services?

11. Are there services being denied to Native Americans/ Palestinians? Are inferior services offered to them? Is segregation at play?
12. Do minority owned businesses encounter obstacles or barriers in conducting their businesses? If so, what barriers do they encounter? How do suppliers, banks or other sources of capital financing discriminate against them?
13. Do Native Americans/ Palestinians have the right to vote? What percentage of the public officials are chosen from among Native Americans/ Palestinians? What influence do their representatives have on their lives? To what extent do Native Americans/ Palestinians get into high social positions and what positions exactly?

Is there anything more you would like to add?

Thank you for your time.

چکیده

این نوشتار به مقایسه شرایط اقتصادی سرخ پوستان آمریکا و فلسطینیان اسراییل در عصر حاضر می پردازد. سوال این است که آیا شرایط اقتصادی سرخ پوستان آمریکا و فلسطینیان اسراییل از لحاظ اقتصادی با یکدیگر قابل مقایسه می باشد؟ در فرضیه نوشتار به وجود تشابهات بین این دو گروه نگریسته شده. هم چنین فرض بر این است که از سوی دولت های حاکم علیه این دو جمعیت تبعیض اقتصادی اعمال می شود. برای تقویت فرضیه از تئوری اینترنال کلونیالیسم با اتکا بر اطلاعات و داده های موجود در مورد موضوع نوشتار استفاده شده است. اینترنال کلونیالیسم به معنای نابرابری های ساختاری، سیاسی و اقتصادی در میان مناطق مختلف یک کشور می باشد. این نوشتار در پی آن است که با مقایسه شرایط اقتصادی دو جمعیت سرخ پوستان آمریکا و فلسطینیان اسراییل به تاثیر اینترنال کلونیالیسم بر ساختارهای گوناگون زندگی این افراد پرداخته و به شباهت های بین دو جمعیت دست یابد.

کلید واژه ها

ایالات متحده آمریکا- اسراییل- سرخ پوستان- فلسطینیان- اقتصادی- تبعیض- اینترنال کلونیالیسم



دانشگاه تهران

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رشته مطالعات آمریکای شمالی

بهمن ماه ۱۳۹۳

