

## Voices of the Marginalized: Examining Palestine's Quest for Justice through the Lenses of Sen, Rawls, and Said

Nelufer Nazrul 

University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway

ARTICLE INFORMATION	ABSTRACT
<p>Article History: Received: June 13, 2024 Revised: June 28, 2024 Accepted: July 07, 2024 Published: August 01, 2024</p> <p>Keywords: Palestinian, Self-determination, Justice, Capacity Approach (Amartya Sen), Theory of Justice (John Rawls), Orientalism (Edward Said)</p> <p>*Corresponding Author: <a href="mailto:nelufer.nazrul@gmail.com">nelufer.nazrul@gmail.com</a></p> <p>DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13147612">10.5281/zenodo.13147612</a></p>	<p>This article explores Amartya Sen's 'capacity approach', John Rawls' theory of justice' and Edward Said's critique of 'Orientalism' to analyse the quest for justice in Palestine. This article provides an extensive analysis of the challenges faced by Palestinians and proposes potential solutions to address these issues. Sen's capability approach centers on the various forms of deprivation experienced by Palestinians living under occupation, such as restricted mobility, limited access to resources, and constrained economic opportunities. Following Rawls' theory of justice, this paper examines violations of human rights, the principles of self-government, and distribution of resources. While stressing the analysis of the Palestinian case we will pay most attention to the continuous violation of freedom and fairness. Said has critiqued Orientalism making people aware of ignoring the hegemonic discourses that erased the Palestinians, stressing the importance of speaking for oneself. The focus of the essay is the Palestinian resistance as a complex process, which is described by the human development, justice, rights, and representation. These are tangible policies that aim at the complete banning of movement restrictions, ending systemic discrimination in resource allocation, protection of Palestinians' rights, encouragement of free speech, and accord more power to Palestinian stakeholders in the decision making organs. In order for Palestinians to achieve justice and self-determination, the article argues that a comprehensive strategy is required that addresses injustice, upholds fundamental human rights and dignity, and amplifies the voices of marginalized individuals.</p>

### INTRODUCTION

The Palestinian struggle for justice, independence, and statehood may be one of the most protracted and arduous political events in contemporary history. Palestinians have been denied basic political, civil, and human rights since 1948. They are also subjected to occupation and compelled to shift each year. This topic has been in the spotlight for a long time, and it has received attention from global society, academia, governmental authorities, and human rights campaigners.

The Palestinian resistance has primarily sought to realize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, as well as the construction of an independent state in the lands occupied by Israel since the 1967 conflict (Khalidi 2020). However, this ambition has been hampered by a variety of factors, including Israel's continuous occupation of Palestinian territory, the expansion of settler occupancy in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and the dispersion of Palestinian communities itself (Falk 2017).

The goal of this book is to bring together Palestinian narratives and personal experiences to demonstrate how the Israeli occupation has affected the day-to-day lives of Palestinian communities. The Palestinian people's freedom of movement, accessibility, and economic opportunities have all been severely constrained, resulting in drastically reduced capability and

choice. Sen argues that "Development necessitates the elimination of major sources of unfreedom." Narayan and Petesch (2002) argue that "unfreedom includes confinement as well as squalor, bleak possibilities for economic betterment as well as systematic privation of social amenities, abandonment of public services as well as oppressiveness or grind of repressive state" (p. #3). Sen contends that eliminating these primary sources of unfreedom is critical for growth. Occupation is the most major contributor to the Palestinian people's lack of freedom since it prevents Palestinian population growth.

Furthermore, Rawls (1971) believes that the continued nonrecognition of Palestinian rights, as well as the Palestinian people's inability to choose their own future while under occupation, constitutes a flagrant violation of justice and entitlement. As a result, Rawls' ideas of justice, which argue for the protection of individual rights and equality in resource allocation, are not dissimilar to the challenge that the Palestinians face. In every way imaginable, occupied Palestinians are barred from exercising their rights and liberties and having access to resources without fear of retaliation from the Israeli authority.

As Said (1978) points out, images of the Palestinian struggle in Western media and discourse have also been influenced by Orientalist frames of other power relationships. This is something worth considering. Said's analysis reveals prejudiced models and undiluted stereotypes that have led in erroneous and, in many cases, false portrayals of Palestinians. These images have contributed to Palestinians' social marginalization, as well as the maintenance of oppression and injustice. According to S said, "the Orient was almost a European invention and had been for antiquity a place of romance, exotics, haunting memories and landscapes, early amazing experiences" (p. one). This Orientalist approach influenced European conceptions of the Arab and Islamic worlds, and it played an important role in the formulation of the major strategy for dealing with the Palestinian question.

The goal of this article is to present the readers with a practical study of the injustices that have occurred in Palestine by identifying the various facets of the situation and offering lessons and solutions for policy-making, lobbying, and social transformation. This article presents views from well-known thinkers such as Amartya Sen, John Rawls, and Edward Said. When endeavoring to engage with the complex nature of the Palestinian dilemma and the fight for future justice for the entire Palestinian population, it is critical to argue for justice from the perspective of those who suffer the most on a daily basis.

The Palestinian struggle for justice, self-determination, and statehood has been one of the most protracted and intricate conflicts in contemporary history. This essay examines Palestine's quest for justice from the perspectives of three major thinkers: Amartya Sen's capacity approach, John Rawls' theory of justice, and Edward Said's critique of Orientalism. The essay examines the difficulties confronting the Palestinian people in a thorough and holistic manner, exploring several paths to a more just and equitable conclusion. This is achieved by integrating these perspectives.

The article employs Sen's capacity concept to demonstrate the various deprivations that Palestinians under occupation face. These deprivations include restrictions on travel, access to resources, and economic opportunities, all of which have severely constrained their liberties and talents. Rawls' theory of justice provides a framework for assessing denial of rights, self-determination, and equitable resource allocation. This paradigm emphasizes the systemic violations of the ideals of liberty and equality in the context of the Palestinian dilemma. Furthermore, Said's critique of Orientalism deconstructs the dominant narratives and power structures that have marginalized and distorted Palestinian voices. This enables Said to underline the importance of self-representation and the recovery of narratives by oppressed communities.

The article provides a comprehensive and complex perspective of the Palestinian struggle by incorporating several points of view. This examination addresses issues related to human

growth, justice, rights, and representation. It makes policy proposals, such as easing movement restrictions, addressing systematic imbalances in resource allocation, ensuring Palestinian rights, encouraging inclusive discussion, and amplifying Palestinian perspectives in decision-making processes. It seeks, among other things, the removal of travel restrictions.

Finally, the paper argues that in order for the Palestinian people to achieve justice and self-determination, a comprehensive and multifaceted approach is required that combats injustice, amplifies the voices of the marginalized, and defends the fundamental principles of human rights and dignity. The article contributes to a better understanding of the Palestinian people's pursuit of justice by drawing on Sen, Rawls, and Said's concepts. Furthermore, it provides a framework for achieving a more fair and just future for the Palestinian people.

### **AMARTYA SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH: EMPOWERING PALESTINIAN FREEDOMS**

Sen's capabilities approach offers a useful framework for comprehending the complexities of the Palestinian political experience as well as the negative consequences of the occupation. Sen's key 1999 publication "Development as Freedom" gives a fresh perspective that emphasizes the gap between the usual notion of progress as a mere increase in Gross Domestic Product. Instead, he suggests that ongoing development can be made by increasing people's rights and reducing the restraints that prohibit them from pursuing and living meaningful lives.

Nonetheless, the capabilities approach is consistent with the Palestinian people's reality, as the occupation directly limits their freedom and opportunity in the area, leading to disability. Roy (2007) effectively articulates the idea by stating that the occupation has deprived Palestinians of basic human survival necessities such as the ability to move freely, access education and healthcare, find work, and have control over their lives and territorial resources (p. 1). The absence of fundamental civil liberties has had a number of negative implications for Palestinian progress and well-being in both individual and community dimensions.

#### **Mobility Limitations and Restricted Access**

The restriction on freedom of movement was one of the most visible and distinct forms of lack of freedom encountered during the occupation. The presence of security barriers, checkpoints, roadblocks, and separation walls has caused physical divisions inside the Palestinian territory. This has posed considerable obstacles to essential components of life such as healthcare, education, and work (Dolphin 2006). According to Sen (1999), the capacity to travel is a fundamental freedom that can help people earn money while also providing them with access to healthcare, education, and a variety of other services (p. 36). The aforementioned denial has had a profound influence on Palestinians' daily lives and economic potential.

#### **Economic Opportunities Are Limited**

The occupation has drastically hampered Palestinians' economic liberty and prospects. The imposition of restrictions on travel, resource availability, and economic transactions has significantly hampered the Palestinian economy, resulting in increased unemployment, destitution, and reliance on external assistance (Khalidi and Samour, 2011). Sen (1999) claims that economic and social unfreedom have a reciprocal relationship, which means that one can lead to the other. Similarly, social or political unfreedom can exacerbate economic unfreedom (Sen, 1999, p. 8). The continued recurrence of this detrimental cycle has resulted in Palestinians' chronic exclusion and disempowerment, hindering their ability to achieve self-reliance and self-government.

### **Inadequate Access to Basic Services**

Furthermore, it has severely limited Palestinians' economic freedoms and prospects for employment and income. Mobility restrictions, limited access to resources and markets, and trade obstacles have all had a substantial impact on the Palestinian economy. As a result, unemployment, poverty, and reliance on external help are common (Khalidi and Samour 2011). According to Sen (1999), economic restraints can lead to social freedoms, while social or political freedoms can support economic freedom (p. 8). This has resulted in the continuance of a negative cycle that stifles Palestinian empowerment, exerts control over their resources, and fails to improve the Palestinian population's living standards.

Furthermore, the vocation has neutralized critical services and amenities required for individual improvement. Access to education, health, and infrastructure remains dismal, particularly in the Gaza Strip. As reported by the United Nations in 2017, this is primarily due to an ongoing siege that exacerbates the crisis. Sen (1999) stressed the need of addressing public infrastructure and social arrangements that influence human capacities from a capabilities viewpoint. The deprivations that Palestinians face deserve immediate action.

The stated comprehensive lack of freedom emphasizes the importance of Amartya Sen's capacity approach as a fresh paradigm for elucidating and envisioning progress and justice for Palestinians. For us, it is imperative to go beyond a limited focus on economic growth that equates well-being with the ability to spend. Instead, we should promote a philosophy that emphasizes on the actual freedoms that allow folks to live the lives they truly value. Sen (1999) describes development as the process of enhancing individuals' alternatives and possibilities, establishing new freedoms, and reducing restraints that prevent them from making choices and decisions about their life (p. xii). Examining this perspective allows one to obtain a better understanding of how the occupation affects Palestinian capacities and work toward a just resolution to the conflict, which includes critical components such as human liberties and dignified living conditions.

### **JOHN RAWLS' THEORY OF JUSTICE: UPHOLDING PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND EQUALITY**

When exploring the issue of the Palestinian struggle further, the concept of justice introduced by John Rawls proves to be perfectly suitable to compare the non-recognition of rights, absence of self-determination and unequal distribution of resources in the Palestinian territories. John Rawls and his work entitled "A Theory of Justice" set the course of this modern paradigm about justice and equality in the world.

#### **The Principles of Justice**

At the core of Rawls' theory lie two fundamental principles: basic principle, specifically, the principle of liberty and the principle of equality. The concept of liberty entitles individuals to primary goods or rights that allow every individual to design her personal understanding of the good life (Rawls 1971). The former is based on a meritocratic assumption, whereby differences are acceptable only if they produce greater benefits for those at the bottom of the social totem pole utilitarianism, (Rawls 1971).

In the context of the Palestinian struggle for independence, these principles feel particularly personal because the occupation went through great lengths to undermine liberty and equality. This means that liberty has been tested by denying people on the basic human rights of self-determination, freedom of movement, and accessibility to fundamental needs such as food (Falk 2017). However, the lack of balance as well as the arbitrary division of resources, land and economic opportunities to Israeli and Palestinians, exemplifies the violation of the equality principle (Khalidi 2020).

### **The Veil of Ignorance**

Another pivotal concept that Rawls puts forward is that of the “Original Position,” or the “veil of ignorance.” This idea involves creating structures of justice with the intention of responding to questions regarding construction of justice without the benefit of knowing where one will stand in society; this test thus prevents bias in selection of justice ideals (Rawls 1971). If the same principle be applied in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one would understand that the current state of affairs of Palestinians suffer from occupation, displacement of their homes, and denial of basic rights would not be regarded as right and fair.

As Rawls (1971) states, "Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override" (p. 3). The systematic violation of Palestinian rights and the denial of self-determination under occupation directly contradict this principle of inviolability, highlighting the profound injustice of the current situation.

### **Fair Distribution of Resources and Opportunities**

Rawls' focus on reasonableness, justice and distribution of resources and opportunities seems more suitable for a Palestinian context where occupation has made resource allocation an essential defining factor due to water, land, and economic access disparities (Selby 2003). The situation is further worsened by the continuous expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and fragmentation of the Palestinian territories as epitomized by the checkpoints and walls, making it staggering for ordinary Palestinian to go through a day without experiencing grave injustice and unfairness (Farsakh 2005).

Rawls' framework of justice requires rearranging the distribution of resources and opportunities so that no one is worse off if the role of the worse off is taken into consideration. With regard to such change for the Palestinian people, this would require tackling the structural injustice performed by occupation as well as making certain that equal opportunities exist in terms of economy and other resources.

Despite the criticism that Rawls has received, especially in terms of the universalism upon which the theory depends and the ways that complex cultural and historical realities in Palestine cannot be neatly contained in these categorical parameters – the theory remains a useful way of approaching the issue within terms of justice, rights, and fairness. Analyzing the situation of the Palestinians on the basis of Rawls' principles, it is possible to anticipate the enhanced final provide for understanding the sufferings of those people and the confirmation of their native rights of independent determination and rights for equal access to the needed resources and opportunities.

### **EDWARD SAID'S CRITIQUE OF ORIENTALISM: DECONSTRUCTING DOMINANT NARRATIVES**

When studying the Palestinians' struggle as a multifaceted phenomenon, the critical analysis of Orientalism developed by Edward Said in his work on the same title published in 1978 contributes much to the understanding of the bias and the mechanisms that define representation of the Palestinian people by the colonial and post-colonial discourses. *See Decentered histories* is still a classic to examine the prejudicial ways marginalized cultures and people have been misrepresented by its opposite, the Orient.

The centerpiece of the critique is the notion of Orientalism, which Said describes as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and ethical discriminations onto which, in the manner of our old oriental carpets, large portions of the non-European world were mapped” (Said 1978, 3). This has opened the Arab world including Palestinians to Orientalism, a prejudicial representation of Arabs as the Other, as people who are subjugated by their inherent barbarity, irrationality and powerlessness (Massad, 2000).

Said's work is an effort that makes the different discrimination and prejudice that have been portrayed and promulgated in the representation of the Palestinian people in the discourse of the West that justifies violations of the rights and continued occupation of the Palestinian territories. In the same vein, Khalidi notes that Orientalism pervades the discursive field and evident in its influence in how the core concerns of the Palestine issue has developed: Orientalism has thus provided critical paradigms used in organizing the power-knowledge matrix of the Palestine issue, a development that continues to marginalize and dehumanize the Palestinian voice and experience in the contemporary world (Khalidi, 2020: 12).

### **Reclaiming Narratives and Self-Representation**

Through the critical analyses of the Orientalist discourses, Said's work gives rightful voices and agency to Palestinians and hails for a more genuine and legitimate ways to view the Palestinian experience, desire, and fight for existence. It critiques the patriarchal discourse that has informed the conflict and continues to oppress the groups of people involved, and urges the reader to reject the old ways of viewing and handling the issue.

Critically, Said provides thus a valuable lesson concerning self-representation and oppositional narratives that counter hegemonic discourse. Thus, Said writes that, "The right to speak and gives account of one's identity and culture is an act of power that vice its opposite contributes to self-creation and contestation of oppression" (Said 1994, 208). Altering power relations and ensuring the Center for Palestine Studies orientations reflect non-dominant and silenced Palestinian voices can facilitate questioning the oppressive discourses that have sustained unfair standings and eventually strive for a just end to the fight in Palestine.

### **Intersections with Postcolonial Theory**

Orientalism is best known by postcolonial theorist Edward Said and his work has helped to advance a theory that looks into the impact of colonialism and dominance in world affairs today (Loomba 2015). Applying the postcolonial theory in the analysis of the Palestinian narrative discusses the ways in which colonial and settler colonies colonial logics remain relevant and influential in the contemporary world.

Following Massad's analysis, "It is here that the largely obscured link between the Palestinian confrontation with Israeli settler colonialism and anti colonialism as a whole can be seen as being thoroughly entwined with confrontation to neo colonial power" (Massad, 2000, 18) Therefore, utilizing both postcolonial theory and the concept of Orientalism developed by Edward Said, it is possible to comprehend the multilayered interactions between power, representation, and the potential for resistance present within the experience of the Palestinian people.

Through countering the Eurocentric discourse emissions that perpetuate oilgreement of Palestinian subjectivity, Said offers more humane and empowering way of apprehending and resolving the conflict. Thus, by disseminating the Palestinian voices and analysing the Orientalist discursive strategies, it is possible to contribute to the establishment of a less prejudiced and more real portrayal of the Palestine liberation struggle and, as a result, move toward a fairer and more efficient resolution of the conflict.

### **Synthesis and Implications: Towards a Just and Equitable Resolution**

When it comes down to the analysis of the Palestinian struggle for justice and self-determination, it is crucial to note that, despite the primary classification as a political conflict, it involves numerous aspects of human experience, and is not limited to the tear between two political entities. There will be efforts to show that, when we look at these perspectives

collectively, there can be an understanding of what this means and the potential steps towards making a more fair decision.

### **Addressing Multidimensional Deprivations**

Capability approach suggested by Sen has provided much needed insights into mechanized neocolonization practiced by Israel in West Bank and Gaza strip and the ways in which occupation has limited Palestinians' freedoms and opportunities. Connal considers the loss of mobility and access to resources and work and limited freedoms as restrictions of capabilities of Palestinians to live the lives they truly value. To realise this goal it is essential to actively address these unfreedoms in order to establish a higher standard of living for the Palestinians in terms of human development.

According to Sen, "Development entails the negation of a range of heterostructured unfreedoms that limit capabilities of individuals and deny them opportunities to use Reasoned agency" (Sen, 1999, p. xii). Thus, we will be better positioned to grasp the devastating effect that the occupation has had on the Palestinians regarding capacities and readiness for change and come up with practical and an enduring solution in a way that restores the rights of the Palestinians and their human dignity.

### **Protecting Human Rights, Equality and Self Determination**

Applying Rawls' framework of justice, the paper examines the lack of rights, autonomy and equality in the distribution of resources of the Palestinian under occupation. Continuation of non-recognition and disrespect for the principles of liberty and equality, and the continued denial of Palestinian rights of inviolability and self-determination underline the great injustice of the current situation (Falk 2017).

Equality in resources and opportunity is another tenet that can be connected to Palestine today; under the occupation, Palestinians face real injustice in terms of availability of resources.

### **CONCLUSION**

Balancing two concepts of justice through the lenses of Amartya Sen, John Rawls, and Edward Said, it is possible to argue that any solutions to the long-standing Palestinian issue must be based on a number of approaches that imply breaking down existing discursive conventions, recognizing people's basic rights, and learning how to give voice to the powerless. Analyzing the supplied concept through the lenses of these key theorists makes it impossible to disregard the need for a fair and rational solution that supports the Palestinian people's welfare, individual choice, and basic human rights.

The latter, based on Sen's capacity approach, focuses on understanding the different deprivations that Palestinians face under occupation, as well as assessing the ways in which their freedoms and choices are restricted. Hamaaiton emphasized the limits imposed on Palestinian mobility, resource acquisition, and economic prospects, which have severely limited their freedom to live according to their choices and preferences, as supported by Roy (2007). Challenging these unfreedoms is vital in planning for the Palestinian people's welfare and human development, and as Sen Down correctly states, "Development is the expansion of the real freedom that people have, to choose and do, beyond the shackles it imposed on them" (Sen 1999, p. xii).

This paper explores the circumstances mentioned - denial of rights, self-determination, and allocation of occupied resources - and shows how Rawls' theory of justice can be used to evaluate the Palestinian problem. The current situation's great injustice is demonstrated by a failure to adhere to basic values of human rights and democracy such as liberty and equality, non-interference in Palestinian matters, and refusal to respect their inviolability and right to self-

determination (Falk, 2017). These are some of the causes of inequality, and addressing them is crucial to finding a long-term, sustainable solution.

Furthermore, much of what has been said about Orientalism can be used to understand the historical roots of the biases and prejudices that continue in mainstream Western discourses concerning Palestinians. In some ways, it is critical to pay attention to Orientalist narratives of dissent, which reinforced stereotypes of the other and problematic relationships within the conflict, thereby subverting Orientalist authorities and reconstructing discourse on a more progressive level (Massad, 2000; Khalidi, 2020). Said's work also addresses problems about the subject and subjectivity that can be reduced to discursive processes of positioning, with a focus on revoice-ment as a technique for opposing Palestinian sufferings and histories, as well as their claim to narrative autonomy.

Looking ahead, it is important to recognize and execute much wider and more comprehensive approaches to addressing the Palestinian predicament. This path must prioritize the restoration of essential freedoms and capacities, as well as justice, rights, and self-government, in order to confront current practices and ideas that have perpetuated marginalization and injustice.

To achieve this purpose, consider removing mobility and access restrictions, allowing individuals, products, and services to freely circulate among Palestinian regions.

1. Persistent historical injustices have resulted in people of color obtaining the lowest available resources in terms of water, land, and economic opportunities.
2. Explaining the protection of Palestinian civil liberties, such as the right to choose their own fate, freedom of expression, and access to basic necessities.
3. Seeking to foster true discussion, represent Palestinian civil society, and restore power balance in decision-making.
4. To address the deficits, the EU, its Member States, and civil society organizations should invest in and support capacity building, as well as empower entities and Palestinian civil society participants to advocate for and represent their own rights.

Finally, the struggle for justice and a state for the Palestinian people belongs to all of us; it will only be realized by an ongoing effort to oppose tyranny, resist injustice, and speak the truth of the oppressed, as well as a dedication to human rights and dignity. Thus, by implementing the ideas of cultural intellectuals such as Sen, Rawls, and Said, it is possible to build a more equitable and just future for Palestinians while simultaneously protecting representatives of this nation's rights, freedoms, and opportunity to choose their own future.

Said (1994) defines cultural politics as the politics of being, existence, and the ability to define oneself. It is your right to represent yourself. Being present at one's own representation (p. 209). In this regard, we must examine the Palestinian situation, acknowledging that they must be strengthened, their stories heard, and their fight for justice vindicated.rotection of the civil liberties of the Palestinians for the rights to determine their future, freedom of speech, and freedom to claim basic amenities.

5. Seeking to foster meaningful conversation and represent Palestinian civil voice and bring power balance in decision-making.
6. To address the deficits, the EU, its Member States, and civil society organizations should better invest in and promote capacity-building and empower entities and Palestinian civil society actors to be able to independently advocate for their own rights and represent themselves.

In the end, the struggle for justice and the state for the Palestinian people is one that belongs to all of us; it will only be accomplished through the constant endeavor to combat oppression, resist injustice and speak the truth of the oppressed, along with the commitment



to uphold the principles of human rights and human dignity. Thus, following the suggestions of such scholars of culture as Sen, Rawls, and Said is possible to build a fairer and more just future for Palestinians and to protect representatives of this nation's rights, freedoms and ability to determine their own future.

According to Said (1994), the politics of culture is the politics of being, of existence, and of the possibility of self-definition. It is the right to represent oneself, to be present at one's own representation (p. 209). In this regard, we need to analyze the Palestinian problem, understanding that they should be empowered, their stories listened to, and their fight for justice vindicated.

## REFERENCES

- Dolphin, R. (2006). *The West Bank wall: Unmaking Palestinian statehood*. Duke University Press.
- Farsakh, L. (2005). *Palestinian labour migration to Israel: A multi-sided profile*. Routledge.
- Falk, R. (2017). *Palestine's horizon: Toward a just peace*. Pluto Press.
- Khalidi, R. (2020). *The hundred years' war on Palestine: A history of settler-colonial conquest and resistance, 1917-2017*. Metropolitan Books.
- Khalidi, R., & Samour, S. (2011). Neoliberalism as liberation: The statehood program and the remaking of the Palestinian national movement. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 40(2), 6-25.
- Loomba, A. (2015). *Colonialism/postcolonialism*. Routledge.
- Massad, J. A. (2000). *Colonial effects: The making of national identity in Jordan*. Columbia University Press.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Harvard University Press.
- Roy, S. (2007). *Failing peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict*. Pluto Press.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and imperialism*. Vintage Books.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Selby, J. (2003). *Water, power and politics in the Middle East: The other Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. I.B. Tauris.
- United Nations. (2017). *Gaza ten years later*. United Nations Country Team in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.