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**Developing a Policy for Dealing with Hunger Strike
among Security Prisoners:
the Israeli-Palestinian Case**

Long Abstract

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Abstract

Security prisoners' hunger strikes and how to circumvent and deal with them is the legacy of many countries. The recurring nature of hunger strikes, their effect on the basic rights of hunger striking prisoners and the linkage to international law make decision making about and dealing with strikes a significant challenge for government policy makers, prison authorities and prisoner unions. The aim of this research was to explore the policy that manages decision making during security prisoners' hunger strikes, to shed light on the principal players involved in the process and the factors that influence decision both at an internal state level and externally as a basis for constructing an empirical model that would promote understanding of the social phenomenon of hunger strikes among groups of security prisoners. The study aimed to reveal declared and hidden motivations behind such strikes and the background processes for decision making, with an emphasis on negotiation stages, which exist traditionally and almost permanently between the sides.

This research employed a mixed methods methodology combining the use of qualitative and quantitative tools. Data was collected by examining official documents referring to policies dealing with security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel, South Africa and Ireland; semi-structured interviews with five population groups identified as involved in hunger strike decision-making - political echelons, operational echelons at the Prison Service, security prisoners, media personnel and human rights organizations. Findings revealed in the qualitative section were confronted in the quantitative part, using a closed-ended questionnaire, regarding the views of the Prison Service's operational ranks who were, in fact, involved in managing hunger strikes.

The findings revealed that the reflection of the conflict sometimes appears as miscommunication between the two sides that could easily be resolved by negotiation. A deeper look showed that the problems are only the tip of the iceberg appearing above the 'sea of conflict'. Its stated expressions accumulate generally into demands relating to living conditions, whereas the genuine and principal part of the problems is foggy and blurred. We found that official decision making includes referring components and factors influenced by the patterns of thought and nature of those conducting negotiations, stigma and emotions based on the narrative on which the essence of national struggle is based. We identified a level of obstacles showing that some are a result of cultures of origin. It can also be seen in the findings that there are many factors involved in and affecting decisions made, some of which contrast the sides' interests including ruling and institutional factors, the media directing public opinion and human rights organizations.

The model developed on the basis of those findings proposed reexamining the policy of risk management on the subject of security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel that can help cope with hunger strikes among security prisoners in Israel and throughout the world. The model is a contribution to existing knowledge in the field of risk management policy and negotiation processes regarding hunger strikes among security prisoners in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Key words: *hunger strike, security prisoners, risk management, decision making, conducting cultural negotiations, international law, ethics and human rights, media and public opinion*

INTRODUCTION

Israel Prison service (www.ips.gov.il/8.11.2015) as the national incarceration service is entrusted with the incarceration services in Israel. Under this responsibility there are 32 incarceration facilities spread nationwide, holding 20,246 prisoners, out of which 6181 are defined as security prisoners (Merkel, 2017). It has to deal with the security prisoners' hunger strikes, which are used as a tactical tool to change the authorities' policy and/or achieve political goals and impact among the general public. Roni Shaked in his article in "Seeing IPS" newspaper (May, 2008) states that hunger strikes were deemed along the entire history and since the 1960's as the most efficient weapon for Palestinian prisoners in their struggle to improve the conditions of their imprisonment. By using this weapon, they had achieved in the past considerable achievements and some define the changes made by hunger strikes as revolutionary.

Studies dealing with in-depth examination of the factors involved in hunger strike can shed light on points that may potentially influence the choosing of way of dealing and response by incarceration organizations during hunger strikes, as well as the achievements the prisoners hope to achieve through hunger strikes. Prisoners' hunger strike has been a challenge for the Israeli Prison Service for many years, like in other countries. Review of the situation in several countries in the world as to prisoners' hunger strikes and the form of response taken reveals diversity in the action chosen. The diversity is in several parameters, including the legal status, authorities' regard and public opinion.

Professional & Academic Background

I hold Bachelor and Master's degrees in Business Management from University of Derby in the United Kingdom and a Bachelor's degree from the Ono Academic College Faculty of Law. I'm a lawyer. I serve as the chief warden in a detention center where the leaders of security prisoners are imprisoned. During the hunger strike period in the years 2012 - 2014, I served as an assistant to two IPS commissioners, and thus witnessed the chain of

decision-making and the factors that influence policy making for thwarting the hunger strikes.

In 2000 – 2001 I served at a commanding post with the Israel Police in the Sharon area and in this capacity, worked the cases of dozens of terror-acts some of which were executed by those who in time became the prisoners under my responsibility as chief warden.

Gap in Knowledge

The professional literature presents knowledge in the field of treatment of special populations such as sex offenders and the elderly, rehabilitation programs and recidivism of prisoners, violence within prisons and prisoners' drug and alcohol abuse. Nevertheless, no research was found about the policy pertaining to hunger strikes among security prisoners from the Palestinian Authority.

General Research Goal

To develop a model of a policy of management for dealing with hunger strikes among security prisoners in Israel and worldwide

Research Aims

- To examine existing models underpinning the policy of management of security prisoners' hunger strikes
- To develop an empiric model which can describe and explain the optimal management policy with regard to security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israeli prisons and around the world.

Research Questions

1. What issues comprise existing models that underpin the policy of management of security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel and worldwide?

2. What components might describe and explain the optimal management policy with regard to security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israeli prisons and around the world?

The importance of the study is in its ability to contribute to the knowledge regarding incarceration policy and dealing with hunger strikes in Israel and the world as part of domestic and foreign policy. On the practical level, the study can guide incarceration organizations in Israel and the world in cases of hunger strikes among security prisoners. There is no agreement regarding the question if there is an ideal study method. Instead, it is clear that some methods suit better certain circumstances and enable us to give more accurate explanations and theories. As Lisa Harrison (2005) said – the scientific approach to study politics is aimed to create knowledge, logically coherent and empirically based. Yet, when trying to develop explanations and theories, we must acknowledge that at the end of the day the main study is about positions, beliefs and interpretations.

I. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

This research focuses on risk management policy and decision-making processes during hunger strikes by incarcerated security prisoners. Having completed the data collection and literary review, we will turn now to revise the conceptual framework that underpins the research. The conceptual framework, in fact, constitutes a methodical mechanism that arranges the theoretical foundation - an expression of the collected meanings of key factors and central thoughts that make up the research and the theoretical space in which it exists.

The research aim is to develop a model of management policy to deal with hunger strikes among security prisoners in Israel and around the world, by examining the existing dynamic in the context of decision making with regard to security prisoners' hunger strikes, to map out the principal players involved in the process and factors influencing decisions both on an internal, political plain and an external plain so as to enable constructing an empirical model that will help on two plains: closing the gap in knowledge in the field of promoting understanding of the social phenomenon of hunger strikes among security prisoners, understanding motives and processes behind decision

making, with an emphasis on negotiation stages that exists permanently and traditionally between the parties.

Figure 7.I presents the components of the conceptual framework of this research



Figure 1: The conceptual framework

▪ **Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

The roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict focus on their intertwined components: values-cultural, religious and Islamic (Susser, 2002), the principal stubborn conflict revolves around control over the region of Israel and right to settle there. The Jews argue for ownership of the land stating as support the right of the forefathers as described in the Torah. Others believe that the source of the conflict is in the period in which the Land of Israel was under British Mandate rule, which started after World War I and even before the establishment of the State of Israel. During this period, two opposing national movements were created: the Zionist movement and the Palestinian-Arab movement.

▪ **Hunger Strikes**

Cullen (1984) and Holton (1996) determined that hunger strikes are characterized by the abstention of food and/or drink as part of a strategic perception expressing defiance or protest against political, ethnic and social conflicts.

From a distillation of different definition, one can point to guaranteed components so as to consider abstaining from food as a declaration of a hunger strike, which is: abstaining from food or drink for a significant period of time, complete or partial fasting, whose purpose is to protest and those who do so have chosen to do so independently and freely.

▪ **Political and Security Prisoners**

Attempts to identify an agreed definition of the concept 'prisoner' in the context of terrorist acts encounter great difficulty in light of the fact that the definition depends to large extent on the definer's point of view (Jewkes & Bennett, 2008). Sometimes prisoners are referred to as security prisoners, as in the state of Israel, and often they are referred to as political prisoners, as by human rights organizations (<http://www.amnesty-volunteer.org>) or sometimes as criminals as defined by the British government in the 1980s. This because violent deeds that are considered in a certain place as acts of terror, are likely to be considered in another place as a legitimate struggle. One way or the other, parallel lines and a uniform basis can be seen in all versions required during definition: motive for the crime, the context in which the crime is committed, the object of the crime: was the crime committed against private property or a political/state personality as well as the affinity between a specific crime and a broad political goal.

▪ **Risk Management Policy During Hunger Strikes**

Risk management is a process of identifying threats to an organization, analyzing and managing them as an impetus to improve. One can identify a long list of risks in an organization: financial, operational, technological, governmental and damage to an organization's image (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983). Risk management in the context of hunger strikes derives mainly from the essence of the hunger strike event itself and its meaning in terms of prisoners refusing food and/or drink when legal and moral responsibilities for them are in the hands of the state. Risk management actually raises

the question of how to end a hunger strike without giving in to prisoners' demands or causing a deterioration in their medical state, which could result in their death? And in contrast: how to act in the shortest possible time to frustrate or cancel the event whilst refraining from appearing to be a weak or overreacting regime.

▪ **Decision Making Models**

Decision making in fact, is a choice of a particular action from a variety of possibilities. The process starts with identifying the problem and dealing with it whilst considering opinions, events and considerations. Every decision must be directed at achieving a specific goal that will lead to the performance of a defined action (Aldag & Stearns, 1991). Bar-Haim (2007) identified two components in the decision-making process: the factual - which is generally the rational component based on givens and the value component - which is generally irrational and rooted in the personal values of those who are required to make decisions. One can divide the many models in the field of decision-making into two main categories: the first - the rational paradigm that includes the classic model of decision making, based on sequential stages of action, during which decision makers define for themselves their values, goals and targets whilst arranging them according to a clear order of preference. Afterwards, he examines the alternatives formulated to suit these so as to achieve the most beneficial result (Dye, 2004). On the other hand, there is the bureaucratic paradigm that includes models such as the bureaucratic-organizational model used by Max Weber, rooted in decision making on the basis of hierarchical organizational structure enabling organization and order, hierarchy, obeying rules and procedures and progressing a task (Efron & Yehezkeli, 2006).

▪ **Media**

The media is a center of power involved in political processes and formulation of attitudes through its influence on public opinion (Handler, 2007). Caspi (2007) believed that the media was able to influence political echelons to such a degree that it is able to dictate the agenda and formulate its decision. From an analysis of the components of the media's influence on decision making with regard to hunger strikes, one can point to four dimension linked to influencing public opinion: in the psychological field of war - as a tool directed at influencing the value system of the enemy and sowing fear in its heart and

damaging morale (Chekinov & Bogdanov, 2013); publicity and image (Nye, 2004) - holding a position of publicity is one of the soft power tools countries employ to influence one another. According to this view, politicians, states and international organizations use the media to influence foreign relations. Ekzin (1984) added that a high-quality publicity policy can help improve image. Propaganda (Kupperman &

Trent, 1982) - in an approach where terror acts are a tool serving propaganda, that is to say, the use terrorist organization make of propaganda in the media was meant to expand the borders of terror acts and sow fear and anxiety among the public and as such hope to bring about a change in decision-makers views, and in the context of hunger strikes will lead to prisoners reaching the goals they defined at the start of a hunger strike.

▪ **Intercultural Negotiation**

In general negotiation strategy can be divided into two main groups: the competitive school of thought and the cooperative school of thought. These two tradition schools of thought deal, in fact, with the benefit negotiators will have as a result of conducting a particular negotiating strategy. The main difference between them is not in the result, that is the benefit negotiations will have themselves from the negotiations, but how this benefit will be produced. One category sees it as a struggle (Lax & Sebenius, 1993), whilst the other recommends cooperation (Glynn, 1996). In this context it is important to note the critical influence of the cultural component during negotiation conduct. The cultural component is based on beliefs and worldviews consolidated on the basis of memories and narratives in the Israel-Palestinian conflict. This component is likely to be a barrier that makes willingness to give in, compromise or take chances difficult for both parties. The cultural component affects how things are translated and how information received is interpreted in a way that creates distrust between the parties (Mnookin & Ross, 1995).

▪ **Human Rights and International Law**

The cornerstone of dealing with prisoners and maintaining their rights rely on international law and human rights principles as worded by key charters who deal with the protection of prisoners whose freedom is revoked by the authorities. The state of

Israel, like other countries is obligated to protect human rights, in accordance with accepted norms and rules outlines in these charters. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)¹ states in Paragraph 10(1) that one must relate to anyone whose freedom is revoked in a humane manner whilst preserving their human dignity. Paragraph 7 states that no one suffer torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Paragraph 16(1) of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)² states that every country that is a party to the Charter is obliged to prevent cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment executed with the encouragement, agreement or tacit agreement of a public official or any other person fulfilling an official role. Amongst these rights is included the right of any prisoner to receive proper medical treatment (Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, 1990)³.

A prisoners' hunger strike is in its nature an incident laden with different types of risks, risks deriving from the deteriorating medical state of hunger strikers, through risks to the welfare of prison guards who are in direct contact with prisoners who may be harmed physically as a means of escalation, risks of widening the circle of disturbances in Palestinian streets and risks unrelated to lives, but referring to the image of the state of Israel around the world. This demands clever conduct based on theories from the field of risk management, (Douglas & Wildavsky 1983; Goldberg, 2015).

The rational model (Nachmias et al., 2010), Limited rationality model (March, 1994), the Additional change model (Lindblom, 1959).and The Organizational-Bureaucratic Model; (Barda, 2006)

From a mapping of the live stages of decision-making during security prisoners' hunger strikes, it is noticeable that the key phase where decisions need to be made is at the negotiation stage between parties, a necessary stage that occurs in most hunger strikes. It should be noted that even when it is decided not to negotiate, this still refers to a decision

¹ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, G.A. res. 2200A (XXI), U.N. Doc A/6316 (1996), entry into force Mar. 23, 1976

² <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/100296.pdf>

³ Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, G.A. res. 45/111, annex 45 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49A) at 200, U.N. Doc. A/45/49 (1990) from <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instreetree/g2bpt.htm>

covered under this heading. We will make use of the following key models in this research: 'Struggle' Strategy/Competitive Strategy (Lax & Sebenius 1993) and Cooperation Strategy (Glynn, 1996).

The basic assumption of this work is that the model that will be developed will meet required ethical rules and international law in all fields relating to human rights. Right to Medical Treatment (Reyes, 1998), Ethics in Medicine (World Medical Association, 1991), Force Feeding - Medical and Moral Aspects (<https://www.ima.org.il/mainsitenew/viewcategory.aspx?categoryid=992>) as well as reference to the influence of public opinion on a proposed solution, which is referred to through an exploration of media influence: Media in the Field of Public Diplomacy (Sadrinas, 2007); Psychological Warfare (Handler, 2007); Publicity or Public Diplomacy (Nye, 2004); Propaganda (Liebes & Frosh, 2006); Image (Yarhi, 2015).

At the end of the day, the research, as stated, will develop a model of a management policy to deal with hunger strikes among political/security prisoners. The research aims can be achieved by employing mixed research methods, including qualitative and quantitative research methods (Creswell, 2010; Mason, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 1991). The next chapter presents the methodological consideration underlying this research.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is concerned with mapping and clarifying issues connected with hunger strikes among prisoners defined as security prisoners, imprisoned because of their involvement in carrying out crimes on a nationalistic background, in the State of Israel, South Africa and Ireland. The aim of this study was to expose the key players and sides involved in making decisions in these critical events, to refine their interests and how they perceive the matter.

Research Aims

- To examine existing models that guide policy dealing with hunger strikes among security prisoners imprisoned in Israel and around the world, with an emphasis on South Africa and Ireland where wide ranging hunger strikes have taken place.
- To develop an empirical model describing and explaining a policy best managing the phenomenon of hunger strikes among security prisoners in light of international law and universal principles of human rights.

Research Questions

1. What issues comprise existing models that underpin the policy of management of security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel and worldwide?
2. What components might describe and explain the optimal management policy with regard to security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israeli prisons and around the world?

Research Hypothesis

During data analysis, the possibility was raised that participants' practical experience of dealing with hunger strikes could affect factors they identified as influencing decisions. Therefore, the hypothesis is that there would be a difference in the level of identification of each of the factors between participants who participated and those who did not in decision making during hunger strikes.

Research Variables

The research variables are: factors influencing decisions made by the Prison Service during hunger strikes. During data analysis, a hypothesis was examined in which the independent variables were factors influencing decision making, and the dependent variable was whether a participant participated or did not in decision making with regard to prisoners' hunger strikes.

II.1 Research Paradigm: Mixed Methods Research

In order to determine if a mixed methods study was the most suitable approach, I first looked at Morse (2003), who referred to four planning principles of standards to be considered: (1) Acquaintance with the basis or theoretic motive of research subject; (2) Knowing the various aspects of the subject – look at various aspects of research and sort the theoretic direction leading from each. Identifying research components and knowing them will assist in forming the theoretic direction or directions of the research. (3) Adhering to the methodological assumptions of the chosen research method/s. (4) Creating the most appropriate combination (non-integrative pattern, simultaneous mixed planning and interactive continuum). As suggested by Newman et al (2003), after distilling the goal of this study, which is understanding complex problems alongside examination of new ideas as a basis to determining a policy to deal with security prisoners' hunger strikes, the decision was to choose a research strategy based on mixed methods research to be conducted in two stages, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. The first stage (qualitative) findings will form the foundation and basis for the second stage (quantitative) study. The layout will integrate elements of one method, such as using closed ended questionnaires that are a common quantitative research tool in order to validate and explain elements rising from qualitative research methods – semi-structured, in-depth interviews and document analysis - to enable a better understanding of subjects' responses, all in accordance with above mentioned research goals.

The consideration guiding me in choosing a mixed method study was the fact that such an integration might supply a richer picture of the researched phenomenon – security prisoners' hunger strikes, an in-depth and lateral view of the subject. Realizing that each paradigm has limitations and nuances, using more than one method may neutralize the other's inflections and thus contribute to the validation of findings. Qualitative research complements the quantitative approach by trying to understand the behavior of subjects and the way in which they interpret their way of life.

II.2.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research provides a rich and detailed description of the world of participants, their language, values, ideas, thoughts, beliefs, expectations regarding situations, information and various events (Patton, 1990). Qualitative study strives to identify, expose and publicize various interpretations of the same reality by building a clear experiential memory, assisting us to describe and explain this experience with its many faces and complexity. Its goals are to document and attempt to understand participants' unique and subjective worlds (Tzabar Ben Yehoshua, 2001).

II.2.2 Quantitative Research

Flick (2006) stated that traditionally quantitative research methods were more common in social sciences because natural sciences, and their standard methods, constituted the dominant model in this area. In order to show the scope of use and commonality of quantitative study, one can present results of a study dealing with analyzing articles in US journals between 1935-2005 showing that two-thirds of these articles used quantitative study methods.

Quantitative research is defined as explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data and analyzing it using math-based methods, in particular statistics (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2002). Quantitative research in natural and social sciences is in fact an empirical and methodical investigation of phenomena using statistical, mathematical or calculating techniques. Cohen & Manion, (1980) said that quantitative study is defined as a social study using empirical methods and declarations. They maintained that empirical declaration is defined as describing what a case is in the real world and not what it should be.

II.3 Case Study

Researchers define "case study" in various manners (Tzabar Ben Yehoshua, 2016. Stake (1994) defined case study: "as a form of research, case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used" (p.236). McCartney (1970) defined a case study as "a descriptive report, analyzing a social unit as a whole" (Guba &

Lincoln, (1981, p. 30), whose limits are stretched from a description of one unit to indications of organizations, societies and cultures, where case contents are actually determined by research goal and questions. Adelman, Jenkins, and S. Kemmis (1980) suggested that it is the study of an instance in action. Patton (1990) referred to case study as a learning process of a certain unit – person, event, plan, organization, time, critical event or community. Yossefun (2001) said that researchers will intentionally use case study as an approach in their research and try to examine human behavior that usually has fixed patterns and from it expand to wider generalizations – the ability to conclude and generalize out of a specific case. Researchers like Yin (1994) and Robson (1993) regarded case study as a strategy or approach more than research method, in spite of the fact that the linguistic term points to case study as a method.

Table 1: Research Design

	Research tool	Aims	Data collection sources	Research population	Data analysis method
Stage A: Qualitative study	Documentary Analysis	To compare policy of dealing with hunger strikes in three countries: Ireland, South Africa and Israel – legal aspects, procedures, human rights	Formal documents, legal infrastructure		Content analysis
	Semi-structured interviews	To reveal the parameters relating to human rights, ethics, operational procedures	Security prisoners	10	Content analysis
			Prison service officers	10	
			Political level	4	
			Media /Journalist	3	
Human Rights Organizations	2				
Stage B: Quantitative study	Closed-ended questionnaire	To find a correlation between variables connected with dealing with security prisoners' hunger strikes	Security prisoners 70		Statistics

II.4 Research Population and Sampling Methods

Shkedi (2003) argued that "the main means that qualitative researchers use to examine a phenomenon, institution or process is the experience of individual people that constitute a part of the same organization or participate in the same phenomenon or process" (p. 51, translated from Hebrew). Stake (1995) expanded on this saying that this is correct also when a study deals with many subjects; each of whom is an individual case and researchers, successfully learn about phenomena by reflecting experiences of these subjects through their personal gaze.

In the qualitative research approach, there is a preference for purposeful sample that focuses on identifying and choosing subjects who best represent a research population and have the ability to illustrate an examined phenomenon (Mason, 1996). The quantitative research approach, on the other hand, employs a random sample, which allows researchers to generalize findings that emerge from a limited group of a broader population (Keyman, 1978).

II.4.1 Samples of Research Population Profile

Table 2: Profile of Research Population including Political Level

Code Name	Age	Current Role	Previous Roles	Education	Comments
A01	49	Minister in Prime Minister's Office	Environment Minister Internal Security Minister Knesset ⁴ Chair Deputy Foreign Minister Deputy Defense Minister	B.A. International Relations B.A. Law	Son of parents who were operational commanders of Lehi ⁵
A02	64	Chair of Foreign & Defense Committee	Internal Security Minister Home Front Minister	B.A. Social Sciences M.B.A.	Served as Head of General Security Services. Son of Holocaust survivors
A03	73	Chair of Rafael Advanced Security Systems	Minister of Energy & Water National Security Minister Minister of Tourism Minister in Prime Minister's Office Chair Foreign & Defense Committee Director General, Ministry of Transport	B.Sc. and M.Sc.- Technion Haifa. PhD. - Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	Son of Etzel ⁶ member who became a Members of the Knesset and Minister representing Herut ⁷ party

⁴ Knesset - Israeli parliament

⁵ Lehi - Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, Zionist paramilitary organization in British Mandate era whose aim was to evict British from Land of Israel

⁶ Etzel - National Military Organization in the Land of Israel, Zionist paramilitary organization during the British Mandate period

⁷ Right wing nationalist political party

Table 3: Profile of Research Population including Executive Level

Code Name	Age	Current Role	Previous Roles	Education	Comments
B01	61	Prison Service Commissioner	Police - Jerusalem District commander; Commander Community and Police Department	B.A. Criminology & Sociology M.A. Business Administration	Born in Morocco and immigrated to Israel
B02	84	Prison Service Commissioner	Police - Northern District commander; Advisor on Prisoner matters to Minister of Police; Chair, Committee examining living conditions of security prisoners		Born in Egypt and immigrated to Israel. Was an administrative prisoner in Egypt
B03	57	Deputy commander, prison service	Chief of Staff, Southern District; Chief Intelligence Officer, Prison Service	B.A. Multi disciplines M.A. Political Science	

Table 4: Profile of the Research Population including Security Prisoners

Code Name	Age	Current Role	Previous Roles	Education	Comments
C01	55	Chaired Palestinian prisoners' club	Member of security network of the Palestinian Authority; Head of Coordination and Liaison Unit, Jericho Sector; Security prisoner 1990-1994	9 years education	Leader of 1992 hunger strike. Headed negotiating team during hunger strike
C02	69	Security prisoner since 1983, sentenced to life imprisonment	Member of Fatah organization		Leader and key spokesman during hunger strikes
C03	36	Security prisoner since 2002, sentenced to indeterminate life imprisonment	Member of Fatah organization	15 years education	Serves as wing spokesman
C04	37	Security prisoner since 2004m sentenced to 27 years imprisonment	Members of Democratic Front	10 years education	

Table 5: Media Personnel

Code Name	Age	Current Role	Previous Roles	Education	Comments
D01	40	Palestinian Authority correspondent, Channel 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • West Bank and Gaza correspondent, Channel 1 • West Bank and Gaza correspondent, Channel 10 	B.A. in Archaeology and Political Science M.A. in Middle Eastern Studies	
D02	63	Police correspondent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police correspondent, Israel radio • Police correspondent, Channel 2 	B.A. in Political Science and International Relations M.A. in Media Studies	
D03	37	Palestinian Authority and Arab affairs correspondent	Israel radio and leading internet site		

Table 6: Human Rights Organizations

Code Name	Age	Current Role	Previous Roles	Education	Comments
E01	37	Member of Red Cross International Committee	Managing prisoner matters in Georgia, Somalia, Yemen and Chad	B.A. in Computers M.A. in Law Studies - Human Rights	
E02	39	Private lawyer specializing in administrative law	Social coordinator - Center for Human Rights University lecturer - prisoner rights clinic Lawyer for Adalah	B.A. and M.A. in Law	Muslim

II.5 Research Tools

II.5.1 Documentary Analysis

As a way of understanding the extent of the hunger strike phenomenon among security prisoners in Israeli, Irish and South African prisons, the researcher used documents worded and produced by prison organizations and other ruling bodies connected to and involved in hunger strikes in these countries. These sources provided factual or detailed descriptive information with regard to participants' activities. The documents were given to the researchers as requested within the Freedom of Information Act and with the permission of the Research Committee of the Israeli Prison Service, that met to discuss this matter.

II.5.2 Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

At the root of in-depth interviews is the desire to understand the experiences of other people and meanings they themselves attribute to these experiences (Seidman in Shkedi, 2003). Gillham (2000) defined interviews as an exchange of ideas between two sides conducted in a controlled manner and environment, the depth of the discussion and its outputs depend on the ability to phrase clear questions and researchers' skills and ability to carry out interviews (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012).

Interviews lasted between 40 and 60 minutes, were tape recorded with the consent of interviewees, and transcribed into written text noting physical gestures and silences that accompanied talking during the interview.

▪ Interview Guide - Political Rank – a sample of questions

Views of model / Decision Making Process

1. Were there any hunger strikes in your term of office?
2. What, in your opinion, led to hunger strikes?
3. What, in your opinion, is the motivation behind hunger strikes?
4. To what extent were you involved in determining how to treat security prisoners' hunger strikes?

5. To what extent is the Prison Service, as the incarcerating body holding hunger strikers involved in choosing how to act regarding hunger strikers?
6. What is the part of the political ranks in determining how to act regarding hunger strikers?
7. At what stage is the political rank involved?

II.6 Ethical Issues and Considerations

According to Landau (2007), every scientific study conducted in a social context requires researchers to behave according to values, which are not exclusive to the scientific world: honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility. From Seidman's (1991) point of view, the only obligation researchers have is to confirm that research participants will agree to participate in interviews and that findings are published, knew what they were being interviewed about and that the interview would not distort either the spirit or content of what interviewees said, that participants' anonymity is preserved, and no identifying details are presented.

III. FINDINGS

III.1 Findings Emerging from Research Question 1

Country	Month/ Year	Prison Facility	No. of strikers	Duration Days	Reasons for strike	Human Rights Aspects		Results of strike	Comments
						Medical	Forced feeding		
Israel	11.1968	Nablus Prison		3	Detention conditions and torture claims				
	2.1969	Ramla Prison		11	Living conditions, increase amounts of food, refusal to call guards "sir"			Strike failed	Strikers sent to solitary confinement
		Ashmoret Prison		9	Change mattresses, request for pens and paper			Loose leaf paper provided	
	4.1970	Neve Tirza Prison		9	Placement of women in solitary confinement			Committee established to examine placing women in solitary confinement	
	5.1970	Shikma Prison		7	Admitting equipment from prisoners' families		✓	Prison management retracted agreement after strike ended	
	1972	Shikma Prison		45	Basic living conditions - reinstate rights		✓		Death of Abdul Qader Abu Fahm
	12.1976	General strike		45	Food and sending letters		✓	Prison and food conditions improved	
	2.1977	Shikma Prison		20	Living conditions		✓		

III.2 Findings Emerging from Research Question 2

Themes	Quotes	Categories	Quotes
Ethics & Human Rights	<i>"Must insist on this, as a way of managing that they get their rights"</i>	Forced feeding	<i>"And if a person decides that he wants to die, we cannot stop it, we can try and prevent it from happening, that is to say, to nourish him, to give him an infusion"</i>
		Medical aspects	<i>"Treating a hunger striker is a defined medical problem, a medical issue, you know exactly what you have to do to keep a striking prisoner alive, there is a critical minimum"</i>
Media	<i>"They know how to exploit the media, to work it to their advantage"</i>	Image	<i>"It harms your image as an organization"</i>
		Psychological warfare	<i>"The prison service, the prison service employs a psychological umbrella a lot, also the media... media wise, it is part of the game"</i>
		Propaganda	<i>"Regarding Palestinian newspapers, as said, most serve as a tool in the struggle either out of choice or coercion"</i>
		Publicity	<i>"A public information team's role to recruit support from outside, in Palestinian street, organize protests and rallies and support and publicity throughout a strike and increase the pressure"</i>
		Influence public opinion	<i>"Media event... it is meant to change public opinion"</i>

Quantitative Findings that emerged from research question 2

Agreement Level	Factors	Mean	Standard Deviation
High mean level of agreement	19. Pressure from political echelons to end strike	3.67	.721
	12. Hunger strikers making strike more severe by, for example, refusing to accept fluids	3.36	.852
	13. Need to remove a large group of strikers to public hospitals	3.27	.833
	1. Up to date state of strikers' health	3.26	.928
	22. Pressure from General Security Services to end strike	3.25	.946
	9. How long strike has continued?	3.19	.822
	11. Number of hunger strikers	3.06	.832
	20. Media pressure	3.06	.883
Medium mean level of agreement	15. Existence of a mediator who personally knows the hunger striking prisoner population/ representative leadership in negotiations	2.87	.883
	18. Figure conducting discussions between prison services personnel and hunger strike leaders	2.77	.705
	26. Fear of state's/prison services' deterrent powers eroding in future hunger strikes	2.77	.920
	5. Demands made that in the eyes of state constitute red lines over which there is no negotiation	2.76	1.268
	10. Quality of intelligence at the disposal of the prison service regarding prisoners' future intentions	2.74	.896
	25. Need to allocate great number of human resources during a hunger strike	2.73	1.020
	33. Legal framework and prison service regulations	2.70	.768
	32. Existence of legal option to force feed	2.67	.880
	14. Existence of mediator who understands the Arab mentality and language in general and hunger strikers in particular	2.63	.837
	2. Escalation in Palestinian streets	2.61	.982
	23. Pressure from IDF ⁸ to end strike	2.55	.993
	30. Possibility of damage to government's public image	2.55	.978

⁸ IDF - Israel Defence Forces

Agreement Level	Factors	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low mean level of agreement	6. Estimation of Israeli public's reaction to compromise in negotiations	2.40	.923
	7. Fear of damage to organization's image	2.37	.981
	31. Possibility of international criticism	2.37	.981
	17. Existence of option to bring about internal conflicts between hunger strikers	2.33	.912
	16. Identifying broadest aims of hunger strikers, as direction from the Palestinian political echelons	2.27	.833
	3. Terror organizations' attempts to attack as a reaction to a hunger strike	2.26	1.112
	4. Hunger striking prisoners' list of demands	2.26	.928
	28. Possibility that in future hunger strikers' demands will increase	2.24	1.109
	27. Possibility that terror organizations that did not take part in hunger strike will imitate in future the actions of hunger strikers	2.23	1.038
	21. Pressure from human rights organizations to end the strike	2.20	.894
	8. Ultimatum given by hunger strikers	2.19	.889
	29. Possibility of strengthening the status of terror organizations behind a hunger strike	2.11	1.149
	24. Pressure from international organizations to end a strike	2.01	.893
	34. Placement of a woman on a negotiating team	1.37	1.106

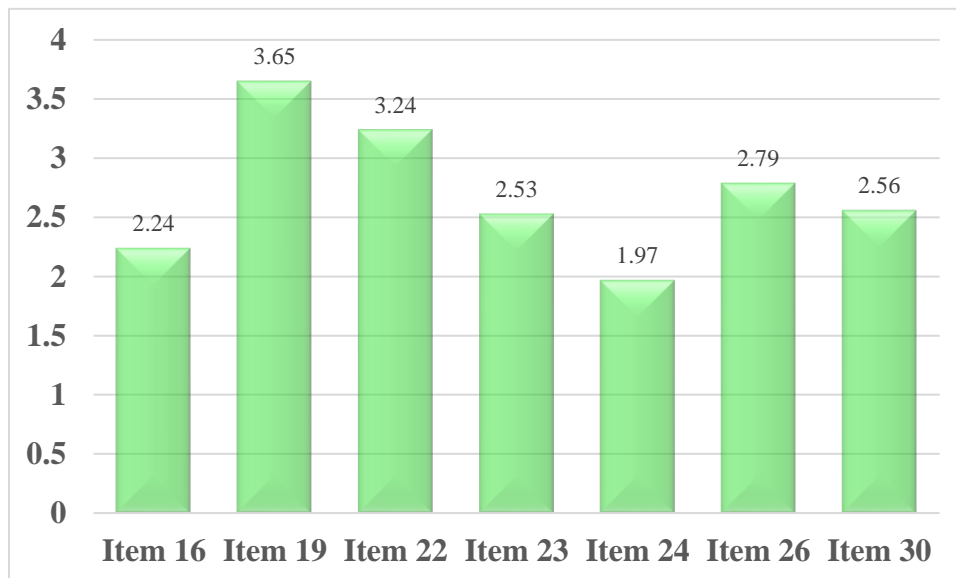


Figure 2: Mean agreement with items dealing with political echelon's policy

Integrative Findings Emerging from Research Question 2

1. Human Rights

- There is agreement regarding the need to provide life-saving treatment to hunger strikers.
- It is the basic right of any person to receive appropriate medical treatment as determined in international law, including those who are incarcerated. Accordingly, the prison service is responsible for providing this treatment.
- Opinions are divided regarding the right of hunger strikers to object to receiving medical treatment. There are those who believe that this refers to a legitimate right derived from prisoners' autonomy over their bodies and their health, whilst in contrast, others believe that medical treatment is an action required to preserve hunger strikers' lives.

2. Media

a. Image

- Image portrayed in the media is a significant parameter that is considered, when decisions are made by all sides involved in hunger strikes.
- The political level, prior to making decisions, examines how it will be seen or perceived in the media and how this is likely to affect its public image.
- The operational level – the prison personnel as an organization - that is in the front line opposite security prisoners appears to make its decisions with its public image in mind, and acts out of fear that their organization might be portrayed as weak, and their actions might be perceived as surrender.
- Security prisoners perceive that their image is taken from the Palestinian narrative and their status as 'freedom fighters' or as their public's emissaries.

b. Public opinion

The sides involved believe that the media sets the political agenda in the country by highlighting one issue over another. Therefore, they act tirelessly to influence public opinion with the insight that sympathetic and supportive public opinion allows room to maneuver and operational flexibility.

c. Publicity

- Publicity has to accompany and support the struggle: inside prison walls - strengthen front line staff opposing hunger strikers. Outside prison - attracting hearts among source populations - the Palestinians streets on the one hand, and the Israeli arena on the other.
- d. Psychological warfare
 - Both sides employ psychological warfare, it is an integral part of negotiations that take place during hunger strikes.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: RETHINKING RISK MANAGEMENT POLICIES IN EVENTS OF SECURITY PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKES IN ISRAELI PRISONS

The conclusions emerging from the research show that risk management policy during security prisoners' hunger strikes is viewed as a chaotic process, strewn with uncertainty and opposing interests, creates emotional dissonance in Prison Service personnel, and produces power struggles between the parties involved in conducting negotiations. Findings revealed in this research enable the advancement an evidence based model that describes the process of creating optimal policy for risk management and decision making in negotiating processes with security prisoners. Risk management and decision-making policy are an integral part of routine activities in every organization, whether it is the Prison Service or the organization to which hunger strikers belong. The component of decision-making has a direct effect on organizations' activities and achieving aims they defined. In order for organizations' commanding and management echelons to make decisions that benefit them and help achieve their goals, it is extremely important to maintain knowledge, to recognize their strengths and weaknesses and the environment in which they operate including existing risks and exposure.

Figure 3 shows the model's components.

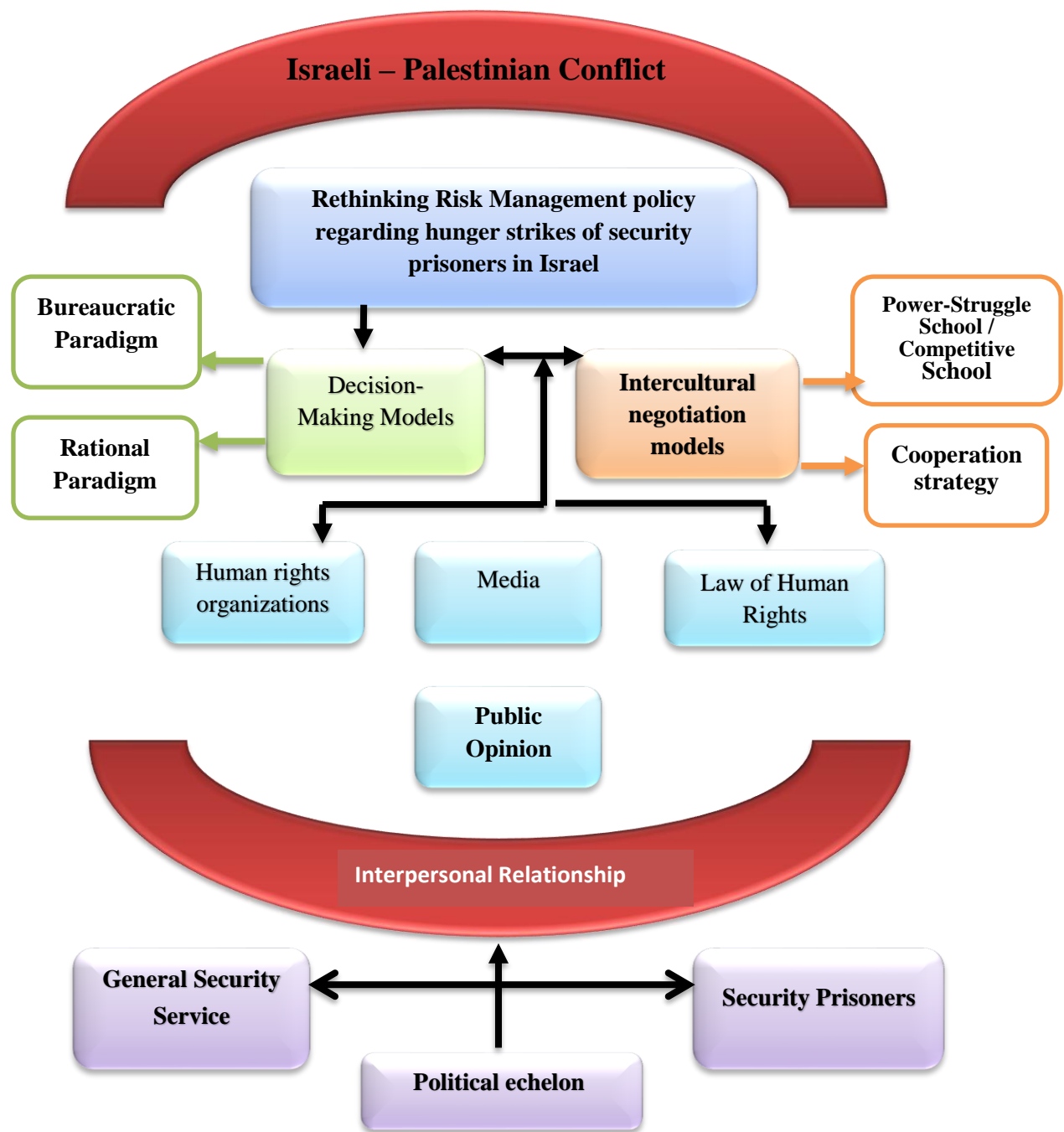


Figure 3: Risk management and decision-making model in security prisoners' hunger strike

Figure 4 illustrates the circles of influence of the main actors that shape decision-making patterns in security prisoners' hunger strikes.

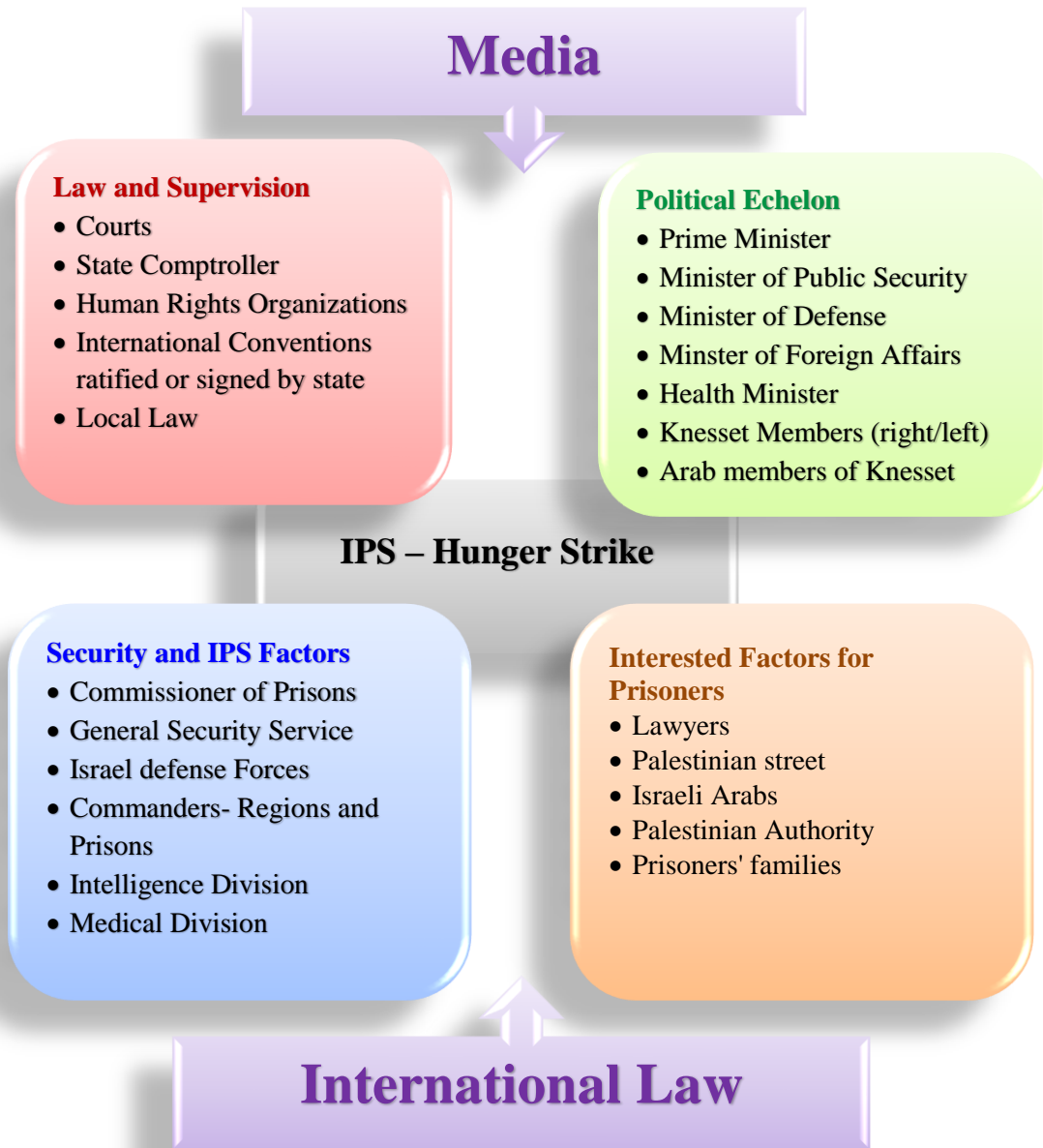


Figure 4: circles of influence

IV.1 Practical Implications

Figure 5 depicts the components of risk management and decision-making in hunger strikes according to negotiation stages.

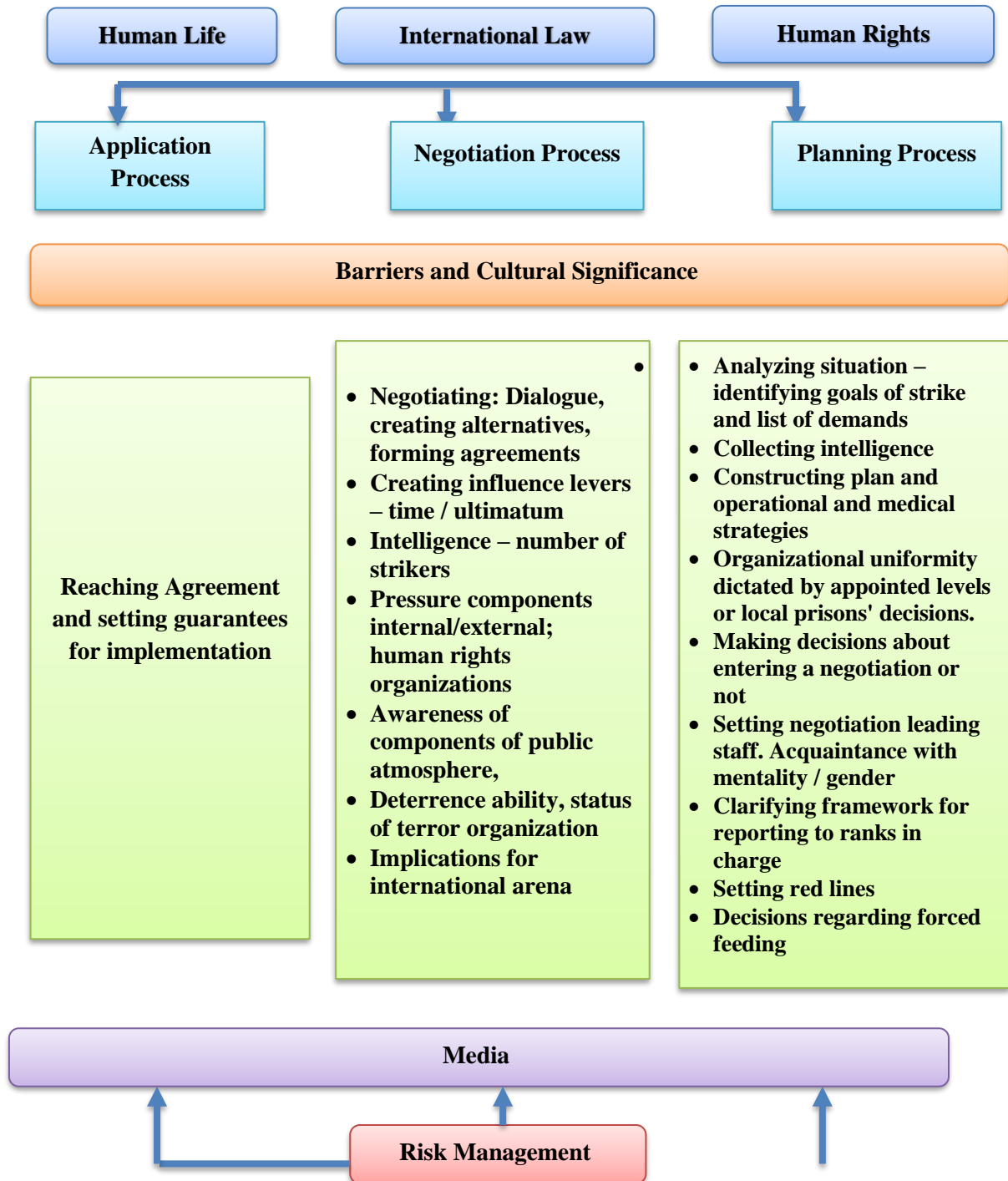


Figure 5: risk Management and Decision Making regarding hunger strikes

IV.3 Contribution to Theoretical Knowledge

The research aim is to develop a policy of risk management and decision-making to deal with security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel and around the world. Through an examination of existing dynamics within the context of security prisoners' hunger strike as a risk management process and decision-making, mapping out the key players involved in the process and factors influencing decisions both on an internal political and foreign level. This research contributed to theoretical knowledge in that it closed the gap in knowledge in the area of conflict and risk management policy linked to security prisoners' hunger strikes in Israel within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This research closed the gap because it developed an empirical model based on data that can help on two levels: possible theoretical contribution advancing understanding of the social phenomenon of security prisoners' hunger strikes, understanding motives and processes behind decision-making, with an emphasis on stages of negotiation, which almost always traditionally take place between the sides. By developing a model of optimal policy for risk management during hunger strikes, this model constitutes a contribution to theoretical knowledge in the field of risk management: managing prisoners (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983; Goldberg 2015); conducting intercultural negotiations: 'struggle strategy' (Lax & Sebenius, 1993) and cooperation strategy (Glynn, 1996) and decision-making models including the rational model, limited rationality model, additional change model and organizational-bureaucratic model (Barda, 2006; Lindblom, 1959; March, 1994; Nachmias et al., 2010).

The proposed model emerged from the research and draws on findings revealed using various research tools and therefore is original and innovative.

IV.4 Contribution to Practical Knowledge

The optional practical knowledge is concealed within since this research can provide decision-makers - and those who assess the institutional conduct of organized processes of decision making and distilling the influential elements as a basis for a risk management policy, structuring and supervising judgment, which will help reduce the risks derived from relying uncontrollably on emotions, baseless intuition, impulsive

reactions, or personal and political considerations, which are likely to break the line/mess things up.

IV.5 Future Research

From the current research and its findings, a number of future, possible research directions emerged, deriving from its limitations, expanding investigation to other areas and refining and deepening the examination. Following are a number of recommendations for future research directions:

- It is recommended to carry out in-depth research looking into hunger strikes carried out by individual prisoners.
- We recommend a further research using a more representative sample and approaching potential participants anonymously.
- It is recommended that research be carried out with security prisoners who have been released and are to be found at home.

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