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The Role of the Palestinian Peaceful Popular Resistance in the  
Shaping of Palestinian National Identity.

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**The role of the Palestinian Peaceful People Resistance in the shaping of Palestinian National Identity**

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## **Dedication**

To my father who will always be my father

To the mother who held the love of land

To the pillars of the heart and the essence of life

My brothers and sisters

To the voices which keep rejoice in our houses – our grandchildren

To the guardian angels and the strong trinity – my friends

To my inspiration with a dream like the muse of music

## Declaration

*The thesis entitles “The Role of the Palestinian Peaceful Popular Resistance in the Shaping of Palestinian National Identity” is conducted under the supervision of Dr. Rose Othman, an instructor of Conflict Resolution and Development in the Arab American University (AAUP). And Co-Advicor Dr. Kayed Shreem, an instructor of Humanities in the Al Istiqlal University.*

*I declare that the information reported in the current paper is the result of my own work, except where due to references is made. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted to any candidature for any other degree.*

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## **Abstract**

This study aims at highlighting the role of the Palestinian peaceful resistance in the shaping of the Palestinian national identity. In order to do so, the researcher has done a study about the transformations of the Palestinian national identity and the dialectic struggle and the Palestinian resistance. Also, it projects the most important stages of the Palestinian popular resistance in the Palestinian cause and its role in the formation of the Palestinian national identity.

Furthermore, the main hypothesis of this study is that there is a dialectic interchangeable relationship between the Palestinian peaceful resistance and the Palestinian national resistance which is proven in this study. In other words, a united leadership has been formed in order to adopt a national strategic plan unifying the Palestinian peaceful resistance from Palestinians from all Palestinian factions in Palestine and abroad. Such a plan has specific national aims increasing the feeling of belonging to the Palestinian national identity.

This study has employed the descriptive analytical methods as a result of the suitability of the nature of the study that it is based on describing the phenomenon as it is. Also, it employs the historical methods that it has collected basic data from books, documents and articles as well as conducted interviews as being the main tool of the study.

The sample of the study comprises professors, peaceful resistance activists and personnel at the governmental, official, and factional levels. In other words, these interviews comprise the backbone of the study giving it a scientific and realistic dimension through their expertise in the role of the Palestinian peaceful resistance and their vision about the future as well as its impact. The results of these interviews are analyzed using descriptive code.

This study presents a comprehensive analysis of the Palestinian experience in its peaceful resistance in its various stages and its impact on the formation of the Palestinian national identity. Furthermore, it has proven that there is a dialectic interchangeable relationship between the Palestinian peaceful resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

In other words, it is an inter-influential relationship not a causative one that the Palestinian national identity affects the path of peaceful resistance and its development. At the same time, resistance affects the formation of the Palestinian identity.

One of the most important results of this study is that the Palestinian peaceful resistance is the best and perfect choice in resisting the Israeli occupation since it motivates Palestinian to join the national activities according to their abilities. Also, it grants the Palestinians international solidarity and continuity for a longer time in their liberation activities. In other words, every Palestinian resists according to his potentials and abilities in order to feel that s(he) is part of the national struggle process which aims to liberate Palestine and strengthen the Palestinian national identity.

However, the Palestinian peaceful resistance cannot achieve its goals unless the formation of a unified national leadership has been formed in order to put a national strategic plan including all Palestinian factions with specific place and time. In such a framework, all Palestinians in Palestine and abroad participate according to their goals and potentials aiming to the liberation and independence of Palestine.

**Keywords:** The Palestinian national identity, resistance, popular peaceful resistance.

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**Chapter One: General Framework of the Study**  
**The Study's Background and Significance**

## **1.1. Introduction**

This study discusses the role of popular peaceful resistance in the shaping and development of the Palestinian national identity in light of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks contributing in analyzing that role. Thus, it is done by making use of the modern international historical experiences similar to the Palestinian one. In other words, there seems to be a tight relationship between resistance and identity, but what is needed is analyzing that relationship, its form, mechanism, and impact on both sides which is the core issue in this study.

Palestine is distinguished with its strategic geo-political, civilized importance throughout history since it lies on the eastern side of the Mediterranean. Also, it has borders with the Red Sea giving it the advantage of reaching to Edin gulf and the Indian Ocean. Then, it reaches to the trade route with the far East to India controlling oil lines later. This makes it a hot spot and the target of the imperial countries before Zionism's emergence. Then, after the emergence of Zionism, the latter became an expansion to the imperial and colonization projects in Palestine and the Arab world.

The Palestinian- Israeli struggle is one of the hardest cases of struggles in the world because of the nature of the struggle which becomes more complex as time passes. This is because Palestine has been facing a Zionist project which negates the Palestinian existence. Thus, this struggle developed from fighting colonization British forces to resisting the Zionist movement which aims at achieving racial cleansing since the Palestinian Israeli struggle is based on identity and existence and still growing until it is resolved from its roots.

The Palestinians used many strategies, tactics, and methods to resist foreign control over Palestine that the Palestinian resistance in early 20<sup>th</sup> century against the British occupation of Palestine started in 1917. During the British mandate, Zionism started to transfer Jews from Europe to Palestine to take over its land and expel its Aborigines using terrorism, violence, and massacres under the supervision of the British forces which supported and protected them.

After the occupation of Palestine in 1948, the Palestinian arena has been witnessing various forms of struggle and resistance for liberation and independence; these styles reached their ultimate level when the PLO was founded in 1964 and then Fatah was established in 1965. At that period, the concept of the Palestinian national identity was formulated that the PLO depended on resistance factions which were the best option for armed resistance to end the occupation of Palestine until the eruption of the first intifada in 1987.

After the eruption of the first intifada in 1987, the Palestinian national council held in Algeria in 1988 declared the independence of Palestine on the borders of 1967 and suggesting the Palestinian peace program based on the two-state solution. Then, the PLO accepted the stipulations of the international community for starting peace talks in Madrid which led to Oslo Accord in 1993. Finally, the PLO amended some articles in the Palestinian National Charter (PNC) and canceled other to deal with the fears of the call for armed resistance in 1998. Also, it, the refused of the recognition of Israel and the call for the liberation of historic Palestine as well as the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> article of the charter.

The 10<sup>th</sup> article in the PNC states:” armed struggle is the only way for the liberation of Palestine, so it is a strategy not a tactic strategy changing the Palestinian strategy

dramatically. Since the PLO adopted the option of popular peaceful struggle as its official and strategic choice in its new system, they based it on negotiations and the call for implementing the resolutions of the international legitimacy.

This reality was translated on the ground in several Palestinian cities and locations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to fight back the projects of colonization and building the separation wall. For example, the popular peaceful resistance was adopted in several Palestinian cities and villages alongside the separation wall from *Zboba, Anin, Al-Tayba, Tora Al-Gharbia, Der Al-Ghson, Kofr Qadom* and *Jayyos* in *Tulkarm* and *Qalqilya* to *Na'lin* , *Bal'in* and *Bodros* in Ramallah as well as *Al-Ma'sara, Om Salmona* and *Al-Wilja* in *Bethlehem* leading to *Beit Omar* and *Yata* in Hebron.

In light of the previously said, this study tackles the impact of the Palestinian popular resistance on the formation of the Palestinian national identity and its development over the years throughout the various struggles with the Zionism and the Israeli state from 2005 until nowadays. This is done to highlight the achieved progress concerning preserving the Palestinian national identity especially after the adoption of the PLO the popular peaceful resistance as a strategic form of resistance.

This study depends on previous studies and conceptual and theoretical frameworks related to national identities and resistance in light of historical, local, national, and international experience especially in the area of popular peaceful resistance. For example, it made use of the Indian experience in fighting the British colonization through adopting a strict form of peaceful resistance under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi relating it to the recreation of the Indian identity realization.

Still, there was a need to be distinguished from others through the relationship with it regardless its shape and the ability to influence it. In this context, Anderson defines national identity as the characteristics of the nations that every nation has its own unique characteristics which distinguishes it from others.<sup>1</sup> Palestinians are no exception because their national identity was created in the natural order of evolution which is the context of natural, historical, and legal rights of the Palestinians in their historical land. However, it developed in unnatural context including struggle and resistance which affected it since the beginning of the last century living in a dialectic interchangeable relation until now.

## **1.2. Research Problem:**

The Palestinian national identity has been the hallmark of the Palestinians for ages, so this study will be dealing with the development of the Palestinian national identity and its gradual development until nowadays. However, the Palestinian occupation by the Israelis affected its shape that after occupation's threats decreased, the Palestinians returned to their tribal and local national identities. Therefore, this study questions the role of the Palestinian popular resistance in reshaping the Palestinian national identity.

## **1.3. Research Objectives:**

This study is an attempt to:

1. Understand and determine the aftermath of the relationship between the Palestinian national identity and peaceful resistance.

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 2006.

2. Explain the impact of this relationship on reshaping the Palestinian national identity for upcoming generations.

#### **1.4. Research Significance and Justification:**

To begin with, this study is significant due to highlighting the relationship between the Palestinian popular resistance and the change in the Palestinian identity throughout history. Many factors affected the change in the Palestinian identity including the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, the results of 2006 Palestinian elections as well as the division between Gaza and the West Bank in 2007 leading to having two governments.

Then, two wars were raged against Gaza including the wars of 2008 and 2014. In the meanwhile, the rise of the knife's intifada in 2015 and electing Donald Trump, who recognized Israel and moved the American embassy to Jerusalem, led to his announcement of his peace plan. Such a plan indicated the annexation of 60% of the lands of the West Bank to Israel.

The other thing is that peaceful resistance strategy agreed with the American strategy in the Arab region especially the Americans' efforts to achieve peace building with the Palestinian government led by Dr. Salam Fayyad.

The previously mentioned changes led to a kind of mutation in the Palestinian national identity. It is believed that this study will lead to recommendations paving the way to other researchers to dig deeper in this issue since this study will not end these changes.

The continuous identity reshaping in the Palestinian case kept social scientists alerted to any change since the development of the conflict affects the shaping of the Palestinian identity. Still, the most important question would be about the long-term impact of these changes on the future of the Palestinian identity especially in light of this raging conflict. Consequently, this study will pave the way to other researchers to do future studies about this topic.

### **1.5. Research Questions and Hypothesis:**

This study is an attempt to answer the following questions: “What is the relationship between the Palestinian popular resistance and the development and shaping of the national identity in the period from 2005-present day?”

It hypothesizes that there is dialectic interchangeable relationship between the PPR and the shaping process of the national Palestinian identity.

### **1.6. Methodology:**

The researcher employed the descriptive, analytical method which describes the situation systematically observing the problem, phenomenon as well as provides information about the issue at hand. Then, the analytical method explains and evaluates any possible answer for the questions of the study based on the historical method which is generating principles based on chronological evolution course of the issue.

## 1.7. Research Tools:

This study made use of the following:

1. Primary and secondary information and data available in books, court documents and scientific journals.
2. In-depth interviews that will be adopted as a study tool with an intentional sample from the study community represented in four different levels of: Academics, activists of the popular resistance, officials at the official government level, as well as officials at the party level.
3. The descriptive code method will be used in analyzing the interviews; this method summarizes each section, sentence, or words. Noting that usually one sentence could include more than one code. Coding is suitable to analyze all forms of data such as interviews, notes, documents, blogs, pictures, and videos<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Qualitative research: An interpretative research that deals with symbolic materials that need a lot of interpretation, and it usually answers questions and does not test hypotheses.

Thematic analysis: Thematic analysis is one of the methods used in analyzing qualitative data where the researcher organizes and places data in specific topics or categories, and then explains and analyzes them analytically to find the answer to his research question. Objective analysis may be done by focusing on the commonalities between the data, but the common or repetitive topic may not necessarily be important or meaningful.

Codes: Descriptive Code: it summarizes each syllable or sentence in a word or two, knowing that one sentence may include more than one coding at times. The coding is suitable for analyzing almost all data formats such as interview, note, documents, blogs, pictures, and videos.

Codes and Themes: After writing the notations comes the subject writing stage which is the result of the notations.

After analyzing the data into many and small encodings, comes the stage of converting them into larger and more encompassing topics. This transformation is accomplished by combining identical or similar encodings into one classification called a theme.

After completing the data analysis, extracting coding and topics, and sorting the qualitative data according to those topics, Themes begins the stage of writing and discussing the results. Presenting and discussing the results may be in one chapter that combines presentation and discussion, and may be in two separate chapters so that it is a separate chapter to present the results and another separate chapter to discuss and interpret these results and link them to previous studies.

## **1.8. Limitations of the Study:**

The limitation of this study includes the following:

1. Subjective limitations: it is the strict commitment to the specific topic of the role of the Palestinian popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian national identity.
2. Space limitations: the West Bank including Jerusalem and Gaza Strip.
3. Time limitations: it is done during the scholastic year 2020-2021.
4. Human limitations: a group of academic professors, activists of popular resistance and personnel at the level of the government and the factions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

## **1.9. Research Terminology:**

This study includes a number of terms including:

1. Identity: Individual's identity is the internal feeling earned through religion, language, social values and criteria through education and realization to the extent that it became the racial stigma of humans <sup>3</sup>. Concerning collective identity, it is the special characteristics of nations that every nation has its own unique characteristics distinguishing them from others according to Anderson.
2. The Palestinian national identity it is the collection of common characteristics which distinguish a nation or a community from others. This is applied to the Palestinian

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<sup>3</sup> Al-Maraghi, Abeer Dawood. Ta'theer Al-Ihtilal Al-Isra'eli Ala Al-Hawiya Alwatania Al-Filistinia "Al-Torath Al-Sa'bi Namothajan. 2013. 48.

national identity with considering it a special one because it evolved due to resistance making it a struggle identity in its essence.<sup>4</sup>

3. Resistance: the word “resistance” was mentioned in the extra attaché of Geneva Convention in 1949 referring to people who fight against colonization and racism.<sup>5</sup> However, resistance can be achieved peacefully without using armed power.<sup>6</sup>
4. Peaceful resistance: it is the resistance which is based on political negotiations without using violence in self-expression including coordinating marches and protests or civilian mutiny.<sup>7</sup>
5. Armed resistance: it is different from peaceful resistance including revolutionary methods that individuals and groups seek it based of his sense of national duty to liberate Palestine and achieve its independent.<sup>8</sup>
6. Popular resistance: it is one of the methods of struggle in which all the Palestinians participate in in the 1948 land or the refugee camps aboard that the child, women, and men are part of the popular resistance.<sup>9</sup>
7. Popular peaceful resistance: it is the resistance which tackles the civilian peaceful nature without using armed force or any violent action. It is one of the national

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup>فتيان، محمد عمار. "الدور التاريخي للمقاومة الفلسطينية في توحيد الشعب الفلسطيني منذ عام 1917\_2014". 2017

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

movements' methods in the British settlements in Africa and Asia before their independence.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid,

## **Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies**

## 1. Theoretical Framework:

In this study, many national identity, resistance, and popularity will be used as the pillars of the theoretical framework in analysis including:

1. Benedict Anderson's<sup>11</sup> theory of "imagined communities" is concerned with the origin of nationalism and national consciousness as the basis of the imaginary political group where imagination is specific and independent.<sup>12</sup> According to Anderson, the fact that a nation with the national identity is an imaginary group doesn't make it a fictional group because they are realistic group with realistic tools.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, it provides researchers with necessary theoretical means in analyzing and analyzing the progress of identities development and transformation. In other words, identity is evolutionary and can impact the reality and development of the national identity accurately.

2. The theory of Mahatma Gandhi<sup>14</sup> relied on mass civil disobedience leading to the independence of India based on civil rights and freedom movement around the world. "I

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<sup>11</sup> Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson was born on August 26, 1936 and died on December 13, 2015, is an honorary professor of international studies, specializing in Asian studies at Cornell University. In 1983, he was famous for publishing a book "Imagining Communities", which explored the origins of nationalism.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869 and died on January 30, 1948, is remembered as the prominent politician and spiritual leader of India during the Indian independence movement.

object to violence because, when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary, the evil it does is permanent.”<sup>15</sup>

“Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French...What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct...If they [the Jews] must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb.

They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs... As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them. I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regard as an unacceptable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.”<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, it mirrors the significance of employing peaceful methods like popular resistance in resolving disputes by taking the Indian experience as a model. In this model, it is possible to go through the historical events of the Palestinian popular resistance against Israel without resorting to violence at the social, economic, and political levels.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Othman, Dr. Rose. “Strategies of popular resistance and their role in the reinforcement of the Culture of nonviolence in the Palestinian Society 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Othman, Dr. Rose. “Strategies of popular resistance and their role in the reinforcement of the Culture of nonviolence in the Palestinian Society 2013.

<sup>17</sup> The scope of this study is specific to study and understand PPR. Although armed resistance is another form of resistance that was utilized in many countries successfully, for the purposes of this study, I will keep study in line with the scope set forth.

3. The social theory<sup>18</sup> of Henry Tajfel<sup>19</sup> and John Turner's theory of social psychology. Furthermore, it is an attempt to explain individuals' behavior as members of a particular group. It does so based on differences and similarity of a set of elements such as status, loyalty, self-vision, legitimacy, and the possibility of its transmission to another group. These theories are to tackle social identity by the ways of interpreting personal identities of the members of a specific group. Resolving a conflict based on these theories, should be related to the nature of the relationship between social identity and groups' political behavior. Furthermore, they highlight the competitive, conflictual, and cooperative behavior in the nature of the interactive relationship between the "we" and "them" group.<sup>20</sup>

The theory of social identity grants the studies of popular resistance and its impact on the Palestinian identity a theoretical tool in understanding and analyzing individuals' behavior within political groups. As a result, it contributes to the study and analysis of the various changes in the behavior of the Palestinians and their sense of their identity in conjunction with the various political decisions that accompanied the Palestinian cause since the occupation in 1948, the first intifada in 1987, the Declaration of Principles / Oslo and the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000.

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<sup>18</sup> Tajfel. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. P 7-24.

<sup>19</sup> Henri Tajfel: Henri Tajfel is a Polish social psychologist, born on June 22, 1919 and died on May 3, 1982, famous for his pioneering work on the cognitive aspects of prejudice and the theory of social identity, as well as Henry is one of the founders of the European Association for Experimental Social Psychology.

<sup>20</sup> الخزندار، سامي إدارة الصراعات وفض المنازعات 2014.

### **2.1.1. The Transformations of the Palestinian National Identity:**

There is an argument about the formation of the Palestinian national identity and its development according to the lifestyle of the Palestinians at the socio-political level. However, this argument did not take significant importance despite its cultural, political, and social importance to the Palestinians as a result of the Palestinian internal divisions. Furthermore, they have weakened the Palestinian national identity which was affected by the Diaspora, refugees' countries, and the Israeli occupation. Other attempts included changing, replacing, marginalizing, and solidifying the Palestinian national identity using oppressive and eliminative blending. Also, there was an effective role for the Palestinian revolution because of the creation of a new political reality after Oslo Accord and the Palestinian division.

Palestine will always be part of the Islamic and Arab world, so the Arab and Islamic components are essential parts of the Palestinian national identity since Palestine has a religious status considering it the birth place of the three heavenly religions. In other words, Islam reached Palestine due to the Islamic invasions led by Khalid Bin Al-Walid after Ajnadin battle in 13 H and Al-Yarmuk battle in 15 H that the Rashidi Caliph Omar Bin Al-Khattab came to take the keys of Jerusalem.

For the great stature of Jerusalem, it was the only city in the Rashidi era whose keys were delivered to the Rashidi Caliph. Then, after 88 years, Salah Al-Din Al-Ayoubi took over Jerusalem in 853 H- 1187 AD at Hittin battle.

Then, after the Ayyubid dynasty, the Mamluks came after the latter's rule weakened in Palestine in 1516 to the extent that their rule continued for four consecutive centuries. In the meanwhile, the Ottoman empire ruled Palestine as a state representing all Muslims. Then, the Palestinian patriots started to go against the Ottoman aggression that the Palestinian liberation movements started to express themselves intellectually and politically. Consequently, the first anti- Ottoman rule movement was created in Beirut in 1875 especially after the spread of the Turkish policy which aims to strengthen the Turkish government and blending others in the Turkish societies. <sup>21</sup>

The Arab national sense rose after the union group to the rule of Istanbul in 1908 that corruption spread in the administrative bodies in Jerusalem making it easy for the Jews to get to Palestine and buy lands leading Shekhs like Asad Al-Shoqairi and Madi Abi Al-Azaem to issue a religious judgment to forbid selling lands to the Jews to raise the awareness to this dangerous phenomenon which threatens the Palestinian existence. <sup>22</sup>

After Belfour statement and the British mandate in Palestine in 1917, the first anti-British colonization association was founded in Yafa led by Haj Ragheb Abu Sound Al-Dajani named "The Islamic- Christian Palestinian Association". Furthermore, this kind of associations continued to be established that their number reached 15 associations.

In this period, the Palestinians suffered from displacement from their lands to be given to settlers that it witnessed confrontations between Arabs and Jews signifying that this struggle was religious and political. In addition, Haj Ameen Al-Husseni led the national

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<sup>21</sup> معالي أحمد عصمت، "المكون الإسلامي في الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية،" *مجلة صامد الاقتصادي*، العدد 141 (2005).

<sup>22</sup>:ibid

movement as he was the religious man of Jerusalem and the head of the Supreme Islamic Council.<sup>23</sup>

Since the beginning of the British Mandate, the Palestinian traditional Islamic movement played a vital role in taking in the national message which was welcomed by all religions since Arabic was the only language that encompasses all national ideas.

This way, the Islamic ideology became one of the forms of resistance during the British Mandate period that Friday's speech aimed to give a rise to the idea of resistance as a religious duty making people looking at their struggle against the colonizer from a religious perspective.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the Islamic component in the Palestinian identity rose when the situation was escalated in late 1928 after the extremist Jews asked for a change in the status quo of Al-Buraq wall that.

In addition, Haj Ameen Al-Husseini called for the convention of the Islamic conference in Jerusalem on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, 1928, Delegations for Syria, Lebanon and Jordan participated in it that it called for protests in many Palestinian cities including Jerusalem. Then, clashes between the Palestinians and the Jews continued for two weeks.<sup>25</sup>

Concerning the Arab component in the Palestinian national identity, the Western colonization's project in the Arab world and the separation of Palestine from the levant leading the Palestinians to cling to their Arab identity. Radwa Abdulqader<sup>26</sup> considered

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<sup>23</sup> ibid

<sup>24</sup> موسى البديري، "الفلستينيون بين الهوية القومية والهوية الدينية"، *مجلة الدراسات الفلسطينية*، عدد 21 (1995).

<sup>25</sup> أكرم زعيتر، القضية الفلسطينية (القاهرة: دار المعارف، 1955).

<sup>26</sup> رضوى عبد القادر، "المكون العربي في الهوية الفلسطينية"، *مجلة صامد الاقتصادي*، العدد 2005، 141.

that Sykes–Picot Agreement in 1916 was the spark that exploded the situation in Palestine and the Arab region in general that it was divided between Britain and France.

This led to separating Palestine from the Levant and Syria which enhanced the necessity of protecting the Arab national identity of the Palestinians who adopted the flag of the Arab revolution since 1918. Also, their activities did not separate for the first political expressions of their movement which took the form of Islamic- Christian associations assuring their refusal of the separation of Palestine from the Arab Syrian government related to the Arab unity.

The importance of the Arab dimension and the Arab unity arose in the confrontation of the Zionist threat considering Palestine the main issue of the Arabs. After that, protests went on due to this separation taking many forms including establishing Arab clubs in Jerusalem, sending an objection memo to the American senates. However, San Remo conference in 1920 added an international legitimacy to occupying Arab regions. This was another motivation to the Palestinians' clinging to their Arab identity.

Also, they participated in establishing factions, movements and Arab secretive associations which were established after the foundation of the Ottoman constitution in 1908. Thus, they adopted the ideas of national reformation, but their national belonging took the form of belonging to specific land and homeland which were about to be lost due to immigration and colonization of the Jews.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid

Many parties arose in the Palestinian arena that the Marxist Labor party which was the first Marxist party in Palestine established in late 1919. Since 1922, this party was renamed to the Palestinian Communist party, In the meeting held in Jerusalem in 1932, the establishment of the Arab independence party was declared in order to achieve the independence of the Arab states which were natural part of Syria.<sup>28</sup> Another party was established in Jerusalem in 1935 was the party of Reform focusing on the demands of the Palestinian independence within the Arab unity.

Also, the Arab party was established led by president Jamal Al-Husseini in 1935 to revive the idea of the Arab unity. Concerning the party of National Unity established in 1936, it took an objective method towards the struggle between Al-Husseini family and Al-Nashashibi family aiming to the independence of Palestine keeping its Arabism within the Arab unity.

Thus, the emergence of these parties in the Palestinian arena led to the emergence of factional press such as Al-Arab newspaper affiliated to Al-Istiqlal party. Also, Al-Liwa', the Arab League and the Arab Unity newspaper affiliated to Arab party. Furthermore, there were other newspapers affiliated to Difa' party such as Islamic university, Mira't Al-Sharq and Al-Sirat Al-Mostaqim. Also, there was Al-kifah newspaper affiliated to Mo'tamar Al-Shabab and finally there was Al-Ghad newspaper affiliated to Rabitat Al-Talaba Al-Arab as well as Al-Qariba newspaper affiliated to Hizb Al-Istiqlal. In short, self-expression arose in the Palestinians nature and newspaper as well as books such as Osos Al-Nohod Al- Qawmi

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid

Wal Madi Wal Hader to for Ahmad Kamal who assured in his writings the Arab personality of the Palestinians.<sup>29</sup>

The Palestinian writer Rasheed Al-Khaldi in his book:” Al-Hawiya Al-Fiistinia: Takween Al-Wa Al-Watani Al-Mo’aser” (The Palestinian identity: The Contemporary Awareness Formation” said that the roots of the Palestinian identity was prior the rise of the awareness of the Palestinians of it that they imagined themselves as a unique political unity since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This emerged when the writer Najib Azazi in 1908 suggested the idea of expanding Sonjoq Jerusalem in include northern Palestine because it was necessary for the development of the Palestinian land.<sup>30</sup> In his perspective of the Palestinian identity, Al-Khaldi based his argument on Anderson’s theory of “Imaginary Groups” who linked between the emergence of the media discourse and the emergence of the awareness of the ego and the other.

Even though nationalism seems to be a novel idea; it is the product of a collective feeling of racial identity rooted in the past. Also, it became subject to the ones who believe that it is as a result of socio-economic changes in the society. Consequently, it is made in the imagination of a whole nation without being there in the first place. In other words, this imaginary group is not imaginary at all because it a real one because it has a great effect and uses realistic methods.

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Khalidi, Rashid. Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness. New York: Columbia University, 1997.pp28.

Based on that, Anderson provides a comment on printed culture that he proved that these tools and elements can be used for linguistic variation that this imaginary group and its tools and methods can be different from other groups. Still, he considers printed languages as a primary stipulation, so he considers the role of the press as one of the cultural products related to the industrial production of discovering printers and capitalism. He highlighted that it contributed in investing in printing and marketing because printed language can contribute in developing the national imaginary group.

After the British mandate drew the natural and political borders, it separated the areas located to the east of River Jordan establishing an independent administration subject to Prince Abdullah's rule. This made the causes of identity and national awareness intermingled with struggle and fighting back against the British mandate's articles.

Taking these into consideration, the authorities of the Mandate paved the way to the establishment of the Jewish state without keeping any trail for the aboriginals but being 'non-Jew' citizens. Consequently, the establishment of the Palestinian state was bound to a defense battle against two fronts, namely: the policy of the British Mandate and Zionism's projects in Palestine.

These events came while the Palestinians were busy with the formation of their identity which was linked to the Ottoman state for hundreds of years. In other words, their identity was linked with their concepts of traditions and religion. After ending the British mandate in Palestine and the state of the Diaspora and refugees which the Palestinians suffer from since 1948, this situation created a special national identity for the Palestinian even after 1967 when they emerged to the political area.

Still, they – as Edward Saed said- banned narration freedom. The Palestinian national identity is an original and important one despite the attempts of some Israeli historians to say that it is modern as a result of being anti- colonial project. <sup>31</sup>

Any national identity is based on key components including heritage, history, culture, language, humans, land, and collective memory. Still, the Palestinian identity has been facing the Israeli project since early 20<sup>th</sup> century which changes the Palestinian reality and tries to obliterate the Palestinian identity through its practices and policies. Such policies include Judaizing the Palestinian land, damaging the Palestinian agriculture's role and the Palestinian economy.

In other words, heritage comprises an essential part of people's history since it reflects their habits, traditions, popular art, and artifacts which express the interaction of those people with their surroundings. Similarly, the Palestinians are distinguished with their habits, customs and artifacts which comprised essential part of their national identity through which the Palestinians reflected their daily activities represented with their proverbs, fables and tales, houses' designs, and artifacts. Those artifacts included pottery, wood carvings, glass blowing and shells.

Furthermore, there are other social customs in the Palestinian society reflected in the Palestinian dress distinguished for every man and women reflecting a masterpiece of lines, colors, and symbols. Those are the most important aspects of the Palestinian identity in the

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<sup>31</sup> Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University, 1997.

geographical, cultural, and social space in which the Palestinians express their identity.<sup>32</sup>

Also, having a collective memory is an essential element which holds common aspects such as language, habits, traditions, history, land, culture, and fate unity.<sup>33</sup>

Here, we go back to Anderson in providing the national historical Palestinian narrative based on the Palestinian Arab press in order to notice the solidified Palestinian identity as the first decade of mandate ended. The Palestinians considered themselves an essential part of the socio-political organization of the Levant until the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century based on the common interests, culture, history, and social bonds. In addition, they considered themselves part of the Islamic world and Arab world. In other words, at that time, the Palestinian identity was not fully mature to the extent to create power necessary to hold on in the face of the new Zionist colonial project before 1948. Also, it wasn't strong enough to impose political solutions that the government of Palestine disappeared after months of its establishment.

The Palestinians always seek to formulate their identity in order to contribute in the stability of the Arab nation and its development. Also, they can be distinguished from others' culture, social and political history which expresses its hopes for the future in order to fight back any attempts of obliterates its identity. In order to unite the whole society among other political and social groups, the Palestinians should formulate their own identity to stand against the Israeli projects.

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<sup>32</sup> زينب حسن، "التصوير الشعبي والهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية،" *مجلة صامد الاقتصادي*، العدد 141 (2005).

<sup>33</sup> شريم، كايد عزات. "الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية: جدل الواقع ومآزق الخطاب مقارنة نقدية تحليلية." تشرين أول 2017.

### **2.1.2. The Palestinian Identity Before Nakba:**

The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the division of the countries which was under its control in addition to the colonized countries by Western countries after the First World War led to the weakness of the Islamic religious identity and shred it into racial identities. In other words, the Arabic identity and Turkish identity emerged to the extent that the Arabic identity was prevalent among the Palestinian society in the era of the British Mandate. In other words, it was considered an essential part of the social, cultural, and political fabric of the Levant which stood for the Zionist colonial project.

The Palestinian resistance against the Zionist colonial project and the policies of the British Mandate represented by Belfour's promise as well as Al-Buraq revolution in 1929 and the Great revolution in 1936 deepened the sense of unity and the religious, national sense of their identity.

Then, the Palestinian National Identity developed to the level of the national Arab level. There is no doubt that the Zionist project and the Israeli policies are a threat on the Palestinian national identity which was developed in the shades of the Islamic and Arab identity after the dissolution of the Ottoman rule and the division and colonization of the Arab states.

The collective Palestinian identity was not firmed as a reaction to a specific historical event. However, it is the constant development throughout history being affected by the surrounding political and cultural developments. Also, Nakba, refugees' situation, the

Diaspora and resisting the Israeli occupation added additional elements to the contemporary Palestinian identity.

However, it remained connected with the national and Arab identity. Still, the internal and domestic disputes represented the Palestinian identity until the declaration of Palestine Government which represented the Palestinian identity and entity. In that period, Palestinian national elites were immature political and administratively making it unable to confront the Zionist project and the policies of the British Mandate.

### **2.1.3. The Palestinian National Identity After Nakba:**

After the displacement of the Palestinians from their land and shredding the Palestinian society into socially, culturally, politically, and economically scattered groups living in absolute loss and poverty, the Palestinians only thought about how to get back to their houses and lands. This contributed in enhancing the Arab national identity among the Palestinians coinciding with the spread of the national unity speeches between Syria and Egypt linking them with the liberation of Palestine and the Arab unity.

Some countries followed policies of merging and nationalizing Palestinian refugees while others discriminated them, so the Palestinian identity suffered from a state of weakness and variations in its development areas. It is worth mentioning that Palestinians refused the policy of compulsory merger because this meant the increase of the agony of the Palestinians as well as dehumanizing them contributing greatly in the formation of the Palestinian identity at the sensational and cultural level paving the way of the political formation.

After a group of socio-political developments, the Palestinian identity began to get to the surface in the 1970s in the West Bank, Gaza and the 1948 land and the Diaspora due to the start of the Palestinian revolution; the emergence of the armed revolution; the defeat of the Zionist project in 1967 and the Israeli occupation of the Southern part of Lebanon, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai.

In addition, this defeat bridged the communication between the Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the 1948 land which enhanced the development of the Palestinian identity. Also, Al-Karama Battle on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, 1968 was a great turning point and a land mark in the struggle history of the Palestinians. In other words, it enhanced the political solidarity for the armed struggle methods that many Palestinians joint forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a way of strengthening the Palestinian situation locally and regionally.

After that battle, Arafat was elected to lead Fatah and visited Egypt that when the Egyptian president Jamal Abdul-Naser asked him about the resistance of the fighters in the battle. He answered him saying that they feed their flesh to the tanks without having any intention to kneel. This led the Egyptian president to say his famous quote about the Palestinian revolution:” It was found to rise... It is the noblest phenomenon history has ever known”.

These victories in the battles and the enrolment in the resistance led to achieving a political victory in giving the leadership to the PLO in 1969 which freed it from the restraints of the Arab domination. In other words, the PLO became the refuge of the Palestinians and the legal representative of the Palestinians. Despite the successes of the PLO, the well-known

retreat of the Palestinian from Jordan in Black September in 1970 which continued until 1971.

Back then, the Palestinian forces clashed with the Jordanian forces as a result of strategic differences between the political regime and the Palestinian resistance. As a result, the Palestinian struggle factions lost one of the most important grounds for its strategic position. The consequences of these events led to being aware of their need to get rid of their agony and the disappearance of their hopes of returning to their lands made them believe that they should depend on themselves to end this occupation.

After the retreat of the Palestinian resistance from Jordan in 1970, the PLO intensified its operations in Lebanon. Similarly, the existence of the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon led to crises there. In return, Israel retaliated after every raid by the PLO from the Lebanese territory. In 1973, the PLO lost three of its leaders including: Kamal Adwan, Kamal Naser and Abu Yousef Al-Najjar in an Israeli commando's operation in Beirut. Also, the Lebanese army did an operation against the bases of the PLO and refugee camps.

Then, in 1974, the UN assembly recognized the PLO as being the legal and sole representative of the Palestinians that Arafat delivered his famous speech before the UN assembly. Then, the UN assembly confirmed the unnegotiable rights of the Palestinians' rights especially their right of self-determination. Also, it granted the PLO as a non-member observer in its sessions. Furthermore, the Arab league recognized it the sole representative of the Palestinians in any freed lands, so it got the full membership in the Arab league in 1976.

In 1978, the Israeli forces occupied the Southern part of Lebanon avenging one of the raids of the Palestinians that Israel called that operation “Al-Litani operation” in which more than 25,000 soldiers were recruited to take away the Fidae groups from the borders. This attack continued for seven days that the Israeli forces occupied 10 km of the Lebanese land. Then, it retreated due to the existence of the UNIFEL forces which handed that area to the Lebanese forces. In that period, the Lebanese civil war was raging since 1975 between the Right Christians and the Left Muslim party which played a great role in changing the point of view of the Palestinian resistance.

In 1981, Israel bombed Beirut and in July 1982, it started its invasion of Lebanon in “Salam Al-Jalil” operation” avenging the assassination of the Israeli ambassador in Lebanon by Abu Nidal’s groups which separated from the PLO.

Then, the Israeli army started its air strikes of the cities of the south of Lebanon, and then its forces moved on land aiming to destroy the PLO. After that, the Israeli forces moved to Beirut and sieged it leading to the bloody battle which lasted for 88 days of siege, land, and sea shelling as well as air strikes targeting the Palestinian resistance. Still, due to the situation of the Lebanese people and the hold of the Israeli operations; the PLO had to get out of Lebanon that about 12,000 Palestinian fighters left it to other countries such as Tunis on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1982.

The PLO fortified its forces after its exit from Lebanon through its civilian and institutional activities which were linked with the PLO. It raised people’s political awareness and organized them within the national unity putting aside all the differences and factional disputes making ending the Israeli occupation as its main goal.

Also, the eruption of the Palestinian popular intifada in 1987 led to a huge participation of people from all the Palestinian factions who were united in the Palestinian national identity. However, the political and intellectual transformation after Oslo Accord and Madrid conference leading to the Palestinians' division leading to a crack in the Palestinian unity.

Still, some Palestinian political factions are still clinging in their agendas aiming to solidifying the Palestinian identity; however, they couldn't do that in real life. This was obvious when the PLO forces returned to the West Bank and the disagreement on the way of liberating Palestine by using armed struggle of negotiations. The latter was based on a conviction that Israel is a peace partner while the former considered it as an enemy.<sup>34</sup>

The Palestinian national identity witnessed a stand down after signing Oslo Accord because of the marginalization of the Palestinians by their Palestinian leadership without including them in the Accord. Still, they kept their Palestinian identity making it stronger than the Israeli identity despite the Israelis attempts to oblivate its thorough Judaizing Jerusalem, imposing military rule, confiscating lands, settlements constructions, persecution policy and practicing discrimination against the Palestinians by enforcing the law of nationalism in Israel.

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<sup>34</sup> أشرف صقر ابو ندا. "الهوية الفلسطينية المتخيلة بين التطور والتأزم." جامعة القدس المفتوحة، 2014.

Concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the building of the Palestinian humanity was neglected as well as its national identity. Also, all the institutions of the PLO were marginalized in doing their effective role in constructing the Palestinian national unity. Considering the political, economic, cultural, and social reality the Palestinians were living, it was natural to witness the drop of the feeling of the Palestinian national identity and emergence of other allegiances to clans, stature, and factions in order to get the power to rule without allowing Palestinians to participate in the rule. All the previously mentioned led to weakening the Palestinian national identity.

#### **2.1.4. The Dialectic Argument and the Palestinian Resistance**

The Palestinian popular resistance emerged in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the Palestinians awareness of the aims and threats of the Zionist colonial project which represented the mass Jewish immigration and Zionist settlement. Furthermore, Palestinians expressed their rejection to these plans that a group of Palestinian writers wrote objections to the Ottoman authorities to prevent this immigration on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 1891, so the Ottoman authorities ordered restricting the entrance of the Jews to Palestine.<sup>35</sup>

Then, after overthrowing Sultan Abdul-Hamid in 1909, the party of Itihad was Al-Taraqi was accused of allying with the Jews and facilitating their immigration to Palestine. Consequently, Palestinians became more aware of the Zionist threat to the extent that they established Palestinian associations and companies in Jerusalem, Jafa and Istana to resist

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<sup>35</sup> حوراني، فيصل: جذور الرفض الفلسطيني 1918-1948، المؤسسة الفلسطينية لدراسة الديمقراطية "مواطن"، رام الله، فلسطين، 2003.

Zionism. In addition, the Palestinian popular resistance was able to raise the awareness of the Palestinians of the Zionist threat peacefully using complaints, conferences, and forums.

### **2.1.5. Popular Resistance before 1948 Nakba:**

After the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the Palestinians were at the verge of a new era represented by putting it under the British Mandate leading to resisting it by any means possible including a having a media campaign using newspapers and magazines such as Palestine newspaper. It included encouraging articles and resistance breaking news as well as issuing printed materials targeting individuals in the British army. One of the main writers of that stage was Najib Azori and Khalil Al-Sakakini who were arrested and their centers were closed.<sup>36</sup>

Also, the popular resistance took many forms including statements, mails and protests as well as sending foreign policy delegations and popular protests facing the military governor and the conciliates of the Western countries. The response to such actions was to suppress these protests leading to the martyrdom of many Palestinians. Furthermore, these protests were included with general strikes and closure of stores. Also, they followed the policy of boycotting and practicing civil disobedience against the government of the British Mandate as well as boycotting Israeli products. Besides, the leaders of the national movement relinquished their governmental positions in the authorities of the British Mandate.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> ناجي علوش. المقاومة العربية في فلسطين (1917-1948). عكا: الاسوار للطباعة والنشر، 1979.

<sup>37</sup> التميمي، باسم خضر: المقاومة اللاعنفية في فلسطين فلسفتها وأدواتها وأثرها (1967-1993)، رسالة ماجستير، جامعة بيرزيت، فلسطين، 2007.

The other form of resistance was armed resistance which led to the rise of being aware of the Palestinian national identity to the extent that the idea of armed resistance spread among all the Palestinian factions and classes. In addition, the Palestinian resistance set ambushes to the British forces, assassinated military personnel and organized rallies, and strikes.

In 1920, Al-Quds Revolution erupted in the season of Moses after the meeting of the delegations of the conference in Jerusalem, and then anti- Jews movements started in Hebron and prevailed to include Jerusalem continuing for more than a week leading to the killing of five Jews and the martyrdom of four Palestinians.<sup>38</sup>

In 1921, Jafa revolution started leading to new wave of armed activities when a group of Jews in Labor Day attacked Palestinian workers living in Al-Manshia neighborhood in Jafa by shooting them. Then, the Palestinians retaliated by attacking the houses of the Jews and killing 13 Jews as well as wounding 24. Furthermore, the confrontations expanded that 3000 Palestinians attacked Petah Tikva settlement, but a British force along with its air force bombed them leading to the martyrdom of 28 Palestinians and wounding 15 of them. However, it led to killing 4 Jews and wounding 12.<sup>39</sup>

In early 1929, the government of the British Mandate facilitated the flow of thousands of Jew immigrants to Palestine reaching more than 100000 immigrants not to mention their illegal immigrants. Also, it was linked with the expansion of the pieces of lands taken away from Arab peasants. Furthermore, the authorities of the British Mandate transferred the

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<sup>38</sup> جميل هلال: التنظيمات والأحزاب السياسية الفلسطينية بين مهام الديمقراطية الداخلية والديمقراطية السياسية والتحرر الوطني، مواطن، المؤسسة الفلسطينية لدراسة الديمقراطية، رام الله، 2006.

<sup>39</sup>فتيان" محمد عمار "عمر". الدور التاريخي للمقاومة الفلسطينية في توحيد الشعب الفلسطيني منذ عام 1917\_2014\_2017.

privilege of drying Al-Hola valleys to the Israeli companies that the space of these valleys was the third of the fertile lands in Palestine. Moreover, the Zionist institutions monopolized industry and trade because they had a great budget and great capital and experience which lacked the Palestinians.

Then, the first spark of Al-Buraq revolution started in 1929 that the Jews organized a massive protest on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1929 in Tel Aviv in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple of Solomon. Then, protests started in the streets of Jerusalem leading to Al-Buraq wall demanding the reclamation of the wall as the remaining of Solomon's temple.

As a result, thousands of Palestinians from Jerusalem and its villages headed to the wall smashing the platform of the Jews and burned the religious prayers' papers which were placed in the holes of the wall. This led to scaffoldings between the Palestinians and the Jews that the British Mandate forces suppressed the Palestinians by using violence and killing. These flashes of news reached other cities; consequently, masses protested and attacked Jews' neighborhoods as well as police stations.

The aftermath of this revolution was the killing of 133 Jews and wounding 239 of them including 198 who were seriously injured. However, the Palestinians presented 116 martyrs and 232 were wounded. Other consequences included the destruction of several Palestinian villages by the British forces while the Palestinians destroyed six settlements completely.<sup>40</sup>

In 1929, a new group called "Al-Kaf Al-Akhdar" in Safad and Akko that it's started with 27 armed men participating in Al-Buraq revolution and slipped from the hands of the British

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<sup>40</sup> كامل محمود خلة. فلسطين والانتداب البريطاني. بيروت ، 1974.

Mandate's forces to become 80 armed men. However, they didn't have any orders to presume armed activities, so they faded away in 1929. Furthermore, in 1933, October intifada started by going in strikes and protests and then became violent leading to the martyrdom of 30 Palestinians and wounding about 60 of them.

The revolution of Al-Shekh Iz Al-Din Al-Qassam started in 1935 that he formed several groups with several tasks including recruitment, intelligence, training, foreign relationships, confidential military activities, and fund raising. Then, the authorities of the British Mandate surrounded him in Ya'bad Woods that the battle lasted for several hours until he fell as a martyr along with his friends while some of his followers were arrested.<sup>41</sup> This battle had many political indications that Bin Gurion predicted that the seed of turning the struggle to a religious one was by following Al-Shaikh Al-Qassam paving the way to the great Arab revolution and the general strike in 1936.

This general strike lasted from April to October 1936 leading to the eruption of a violent revolution in two stages: the first was directed from the High Arab Committee focusing on strikes and protests that by October 1936, the British civil administration by using political concessions and international diplomacy. The second stage started in late 1937 using violent movement led by peasants caused by the results of the British oppression in the 1936 strike. The British authorities targeted the Palestinians in order to scare them and cut the popular support for their revolutions.

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<sup>41</sup> محمد حسن شراب: عز الديق القسام شيخ المجاهدين في فلسطين. الطبعة الاولى، دار القلم، دمشق، 2000.

Furthermore, Al-Nashashibi clan had a great role in the Arab side that its party “Al-Difa’ Alwatani” withdrew from the High Arab Committee which was led by Ameen Al-Husseini. Instead, it stood with the British sending them peace factions to coordinate with the British Army against the Arab national factions.

At this stage, seeking armed resistance was the only option for the Palestinians as the Palestinian national identity arose that it came from their conviction in the necessity of resisting the British Mandate and the Zionist project.

However, this dropped after changing their minds about the military option that the national leadership separated from the armed resistance groups. Also, the role of the popular leadership represented with the family personnel became provocative giving the power to whoever had the strongest clan or power. In short, nothing was invested to reach the hopes of the Palestinians at the political level.

#### **2.1.6. Popular Resistance after 1948 Nakba:**

This period was the chance to the rise of the feeling of the Palestinian national identity that the establishment of the state of Israel on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, 1948. Furthermore, the 1948 Nakba was a unifying factor and a common fear of the near threat to the Palestinian national identity. It was necessary to resist Zionism which confiscated the Palestinian land and displaced its owners. Consequently, the Palestinians had a collective memory that the Palestinian cause changed from a cause of a people whose land, homeland and historic rights were taken to the cause of refugees who should be rescued to secure their lives.

Also, Israel sought to merge Palestinians in the neighboring Arab countries in order to obliterate their identities and giving them residency there by calling for economic development projects in the Middle East suggested by the American president Eisenhower in order to reside the Palestinian refugees.

This period was known for the occurrence of many events which led to the rise of the Palestinian national identity. In 1955, the biggest protest occurred causing the martyrdom of 30 Palestinians as retaliation on the project of residing the Palestinian refugees from Gaza to the Sinai. Still, the popular resistance succeeded in cancelling the project and caused the failing of the eradication of the Palestinian cause.<sup>42</sup>

The Palestinian resistance was active in the period of 1951-1956 that according to the statistics of the Israeli defense ministry, the total number of Israelis who were killed 503 which means 84 Israeli a year. This was proven by the Israeli historian Beni Morris in his book "Israelis Border Wars: 1949-1956) page 98. In the details, he indicated in page 245 that they were killed by infiltrators that means 41 a year. In addition, 446 were injured by the same infiltrators in the same period. Morris added that the 245 remaining killed Israelis were soldiers that some were killed by infiltrators while others were killed in border fights with Arab forces.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> بدره، شامخ: في ذكرى إسقاط مشروع توطين اللاجئين في سيناء، حزب الشعب الفلسطيني، 1 آذار 2011، [http://www.ppp.ps/ar\\_page.php?id=cbe8fcy13363452Ycbe8fc](http://www.ppp.ps/ar_page.php?id=cbe8fcy13363452Ycbe8fc)

<sup>43</sup> محسن محمد صالح. "المقاومة الفلسطينية.. من نكبة 1948 إلى انطلاقه فتح." عربي 21، 2020.

In 1964, the PLO was established representing the beginning of the Palestinian political system and the Palestinians in and out of Palestine. Then, the Palestinian armed revolution started with the Fatah in 1965 that it unified the Palestinians in one identity and target. Furthermore, the Fidae operations continued its strikes in the depths of Israel according to the complete agenda of political, media and cultural activities turning the reality of Diaspora and refugees to methods of liberation.

These actions continued until the war of June 1967 when Israel occupied the rest of Palestine as well as the Sinai, the Golan Heights, and South of Lebanon. Still, the Palestinian revolution recollected its cells after this defeat that it did more than 130 operations in the first month of the occupation.

In 1967, many Palestinian villages and cities witnessed a state of civil disobedience and the execution of the policy of defying the policies of the Israelis responding to the annexation of East Jerusalem. Also, they refused to pay taxes and went to strikes. Concerning Al-Karama Battle on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1968 was the landmark of the Palestinian resistance that the Palestinian resistance supported by Jordanian units to block the Israeli military action.

In 1967 land, the Israeli authorities led the leadership of national actions, which was active in 1967 using creative traditional methods such as protests and strikes, away from Jerusalem<sup>44</sup>. Despite the hardship of the equation of the Palestinian resistance, it kept its

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<sup>44</sup> هوارى، هشام : ملاحظات حول الانتفاضة في الأرض المحتلة خلال العام 1976، مجلة شؤون فلسطينية، العدد 67، 1977.

track and strategies to achieve all its goals. In other words, it kept resisting the policies of Zionism and commemorating the national occasions such as the Land Day. <sup>45</sup>

### **2.1.7. Popular Resistance during the First Intifada in 1987:**

The first popular intifada “the intifada of stones” was peaceful and popular earning a local and international support and a turning point in the struggle history of the Palestinians. It recruited the Palestinians including all classes and factions. This popular resistance wore out Israel military, financial and intellectual wise. <sup>46</sup> It was estimated that 1300 Palestinian were martyred and 160 Israeli were killed.

It was a model for the popular resistance in which peaceful resistance overruled the power of arsenal with their ability to resist and stand tall making any possible changes in the local and international point of view. The result was signing Oslo Accord between the PLO and Israel in which the PLO took over its institutions. <sup>47</sup> The suspension of this intifada after Oslo affected the Palestinian national identity negatively for the recognition of negotiations as a way of getting the Palestinian rights and getting rid of the Israeli occupation which failed after 3 decades on this agreement.

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<sup>45</sup> أبو عامر، عدنان: تطور المقاومة الفلسطينية الشعبية والمسلحة بين عامي 1967-1987، مجلة الجامعة الإسلامية، المجلد التاسع عشر، العدد الأول، يناير 2011.

<sup>46</sup> كشك، تغريد: إشكاليات المقاومة الفلسطينية بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول 2001، رسالة ماجستير، جامعة بير زيت، فلسطين، 2006.

<sup>47</sup> مضية، سعيد: اللاعنفة انسجام الوسيلة مع الغاية، مجلة معابر الإلكترونية،

### **2.1.8. Popular Resistance after Oslo Accord and the Arrival of the Palestinian Authority in 1994.**

This period was distinguished with peace and serenity until the occurrence of Al-Aqsa intifada in 2000 that the Palestinian factions focused on the establishment of the institutions of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and controlling the cities which were under the Israeli control according to Oslo.

Then, in 2000, the second intifada occurred that the Palestinians used popular resistance using protests and calling for rallying before international institutions and official institutions for the PA raising the pictures of the martyrs' flags. Also, weapons were used to retaliate the crimes of the Israelis that the events were escalated leading to military actions between the Palestinian factions and the Israeli army.

Consequently, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were imposed to military incursions and the destruction of thousands of houses as well as bulldozing thousands of donums of land and arresting the grand leaders of the Palestinians. Also, the Palestinian factions did many operations in Israel such as targeting buses, restaurants leading to killing of hundreds of Israelis. Furthermore, the Palestinian factions developed their military wings especially Kataeb Al-Aqsa/ Fatah and Kataeb Ez Al-Din Al-Qassam / Hamas which expanded to own rockets hitting Israeli cities. Sderot settlement received the first locally made rocket launched by Kataeb Iz Al-Din Al-Qassam. In 2001, the Kataeb developed their rockets exponentially that it can make rockets.

In 2002, Israel started to build the separation wall to prevent the Palestinians to get to the West Bank to the occupied land. According the Israeli statistics, the second intifada caused the martyrdom of 4412 Palestinians and wounding 322. However, 1100 Israelis were killed including 300 soldiers and injuring about 4500 others.<sup>48</sup>

### 2.1.9. Peaceful Popular Resistance

The Palestinian popular resistance after the intifada in resisting the separation wall and settlement expansion included the formation of popular committees from all the Palestinian factions. In addition, it wasn't organized and unified in its program since the Palestinians practiced new methods in peaceful resistance such as building Palestinian villages over the threatened lands such as Bab Al-Shams village, Bab Al-Karma village. Also, peaceful resistance succeeded in convincing the UN to take an action against the wall that the International Court of Justice issued in 2004 a consolatory opinion on the principles of the international law especially in 4<sup>th</sup> Geneva agreement in which the wall was a great violation of the international law.<sup>49</sup>

Palestinians used many methods such as using bodies to protect others such as the case of Rachel Currie as well as economic boycott of the Israeli products that the BDS organized many campaigns to boycott these products in various villages and cities in Palestine from Zboba, Anin, Al-Taiba, Tora Al-Gharbia, Jenin, Deir Lghson, Kof Qadom, Jayos, Flamia,

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<sup>48</sup> عيد الوهاب المسيري. من الانتفاضة الى التحرير. عمان، الأردن: دار الفكر، 2005.

<sup>49</sup> الميزان: رأي محكمة العدل الدولية أكد عدم قانونية جدار الفصل العنصري وطالب مجلس الأمن باتخاذ التدابير لإزالته، مركز الميزان لحقوق الإنسان، 10 حزيران، 2004، <http://www.mezan.org/post/1258>

Habla, Azoun, Nalin, Belin, Bodros, Masara, Om Salama, Al-Walaja, Bethlehem, Beit Oamr and Yata in Hebron.<sup>50</sup> These are real models on the real practices on the ground and continue.

These peaceful experiences created the possibility of working on a national strategic plan to activate it and gather people around it considering the total closure of the negotiations with the Israelis. Also, the daily actions against the Palestinians as well as the regional and international data represented by transferring the embassy to Jerusalem and declaring Jerusalem Israeli's capital as well as the annexation plan and having agreements with other Arab countries.

The Islamic national forces as well as the political and cultural elites didn't have common values, strategies and a unified national program specified for the Palestinian popular resistance. Furthermore, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 2020, the conference of the secretary generals of the Palestinian factions adopted the option of popular resistance<sup>51</sup> that every faction had its

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<sup>50</sup> عواودة، وديع: إسرائيل تبرى جيشها من قتل المتضامنة راشيل كورين موقع الجزيرة الإخبارية، 28 آب 2012، <https://f24.link/rHNyt>

<sup>51</sup> On September 3, 2020, the final statement was issued by the meeting of the secretary generals of the National factions headed by President Mahmoud Abbas in which the Palestinian factions discussed the rules of engagement with the Israeli occupation, and agreement was reached on the means and mechanisms of struggle in confronting the occupation on the occupied land, as guaranteed by international conventions of the right of peoples to resist the occupation.

It was agreed to develop and activate the popular resistance as a more appropriate option for the current stage politically and socially to defend our legitimate rights. It was also agreed to form a unified national committee to lead the comprehensive popular resistance, provided that the Executive Committee of the Liberation Organization would provide it with all its needs necessary for its continuation. On the thirteenth of September 2020, the Unified National Command of the Popular Resistance issued Statement No. 1 in which it affirmed the decisions of the Conference of Secretary Generals and announced a comprehensive popular struggle march that begins and will not end unless the independence of the State of Palestine is achieved with Jerusalem as its capital.

own vision, methods and adopted program considering that one of those factions would be the most appropriate for holding the flag of liberation and independence.

However, the Palestinian struggle history included many peaceful resistance methods such as the Palestinians' People's Party (PPP) which separated from the Palestinian communist party. Furthermore, it practiced popular peaceful resistance in order to achieve its goals and vision as well as participating in strikes, protests, and civilian disobedience.

Concerning Fatah, it declared in its basic system especially article 17 and 19 stating that the main way of achieving its goals is by popular armed revolution. However, the struggle history of Fatah employed popular resistance calling the masses to protest and a sit in strike leading to the adoption of peaceful popular resistance by the Chairman of Fatah and the President of the Palestinian National Authority Abu Mazen. Then, Fatah adopted it in its 6<sup>th</sup> conference in 2010 the struggle strategy for popular struggle as one of the resistance options for the Palestinians in order to free their homeland.

Concerning the PFLP, it adopted the armed struggle as the only option for the liberation of Palestine through the war of liberation, however; it followed peaceful popular resistance methods by mobilizing forces and political struggle. Also, it followed the strategy of the long-term war taken from armed resistance, the political struggle and popular struggle.<sup>52</sup>In short, it was the first Palestinian faction adopting armed struggle based on its vision and political program.

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<sup>52</sup> العويصي, صلاح مصطفى. "المقاومة اللاعنفية في فلسطين بعد اتفاق اعلان المبادئ / اوسلو بلعين ونعلين نموذجاً". 2013.

Similarly, Hamas and Al-Jihad Al-Islami adopted armed struggle as the main way of liberating Palestine considering that any peaceful solutions for the Palestinian cause contradictions with the movement's creed. However, they resisted the Israeli occupation following popular methods such as protests, marches, and strikes in the Israeli prisons.

Because the Palestinian peaceful popular resistance had deep roots in the Palestinian struggle experience, the means of peaceful resistance varied according to the historic circumstances as well as local, regional, and international considerations. Since the peaceful resistance experience was distinguished with its achievements and failures as well as the socio-political and economic and cultural effects at the Palestinian level.

This led the researcher to study the role of this experience in the formation of the Palestinian national identity and its development. From here, the problem of this study can be summarized in the following question: What is the role of the peaceful popular resistance in the formation and development of the Palestinian national identity?

This question led to other question about the transformations of the Palestinian national identity and the dialectic nature of the relationship between the Palestinian national identity and the Palestinian resistance by going through the main stages in the Palestinian history and the transformations of the Palestinian identity considering the ups and downs of the Palestinian political, social, and economic situations.<sup>53</sup>

The Palestinian national identity as being in a constant change and transformation according to the fluctuations of the historical events in the struggle history of the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid

Palestinian issue. Consequently, it is found that the Palestinian national identity is racing in this struggle leading to developments in the identity while facing the Zionist project by protesting, rallying, and revolting against the Israelis from Al-Buraq revolution to the great strike in 1936 leading to the Nakba. Furthermore, the Palestinian identity developed slightly due to the division geographically, socially, and politically. Also, the countries hosting the Palestinian refugees practiced a kind of discrimination, racism and marginalization, so their identity developed faster than the Palestinians who were blended with other people using social blending and citizenship policies.<sup>54</sup>

## **2.2. Previous Studies:**

There are many studies about the Palestinian popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity which were important due to their focus. Furthermore, most of them were descriptive studies, analytical studies, or surveys, but none of them had correlational relations. Unlike previous studies, this study is an attempt to figure out the relationship between popular peaceful resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

The most important studies related to the subject matter of this study are:

- 1. The study of Sameer Yousef Sulaiman Haj Hassan about:” Al-Fikr Al-Siasi Al-Filistini Bayn Al-Kifah Al-Mosalah Wa Al-Taswiya Al-Silmiya 1964-2010. MA thesis in the program of regional studies, Al-Quds University, 2011.<sup>55</sup>**

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup> حسن بسمير يوسف سليمان حاج". الفكر السياسي الفلسطيني بين الكفاح المسلح والتسوية السلمية "2010\_1964". 2011.

It tackled the Palestinian political ideology between armed struggle and peaceful settlement between 1964 and 1910. Also, it clarified the basis and stages of the Palestinian cause by depending on armed struggle as the way of liberating Palestine and then changing to peaceful settlement. Also, it aimed to investigating the reasons of the change in the Palestinian political ideology by studying the relationships between these two ideologies and the possibility of merging the in the future.

It is found that the Palestinian leadership couldn't cope with the Israelis military power as a result of the imbalance of power in favor of Israel. Thus, after the unfortunate events the PLO had experienced in Lebanon and Jordan and the Palestinian internal disagreements, the PLO took advantage of the first intifada by getting it back to the political arena with its full agreement with the international legitimacy and the declaration of independence in the meeting of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) at Algeria in 1988.

The researcher concluded that armed struggle regained the Palestinian identity solidifying that the Palestinian entity to be the formal representation of the Palestinian national identity. However, studying the relationship between armed struggle and the Palestinian national identity was as a result not a study as this study which seeks to study the relationship between peaceful resistance and national identity. Then, the PLO adopted peaceful settlement in 1974 with the agreement of the PLO 10-point program which stated the establishment of a Palestinian state on any liberated land in Palestine. Furthermore, there was the Palestinian national project concerning establishing the Palestinian state on the borders of 1967 considering negotiations as the main tool of resistance. Also, the

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researcher concluded that the armed struggle was risky and wouldn't be allowed by the international community.

This study is similar to the current study by focusing on peaceful settlement and the logic behind the change from armed struggle to peaceful settlement. However, it diverges from it by trying to merge armed struggle and peaceful struggle with the Palestinian identity as well as clarifying the interconnections between them reflecting on the political developments in the Palestinian cause throughout history.

**2. The study of Salwa Baker Mohammad Hassan about “Dawr Al-Moqawama Al-Sha’biya Kehda Wasael Al-Taharor Al-Falastini Lita’ziz Al-Mosharaka Al-Siasia Fe Filistine 2005-2013. MA thesis in Planning and Political Development. An-Najah University. 2016. 56**

This study aimed at investigating the role of popular resistance in fostering political participation in Palestine from 2005-2013. Furthermore, the researcher introduced the concept of popular resistance along with highlighting its main stages, results, and contributions in the political life.

It introduced a complete analysis of the Palestinian experience in following the way of popular resistance following its different stages. She proved that popular resistance had a great role in fostering the political participation in Palestine unless it was adopted on the ground as one of the collectively agreed upon option.

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<sup>56</sup>سلوى بكر محمد حسن جول. "دور المقاومة الشعبية كأحدى وسائل التحرر الفلسطيني لتعزيز المشاركة السياسية في فلسطين 2005\_2013". 2016.

She concluded through her analysis and description of the different stages that the stage in which the Palestinian cause was going through hadn't reached the meant popular resistance. Consequently, there is still a national agreement for the adoption of this method in the resistance of the Israeli occupation despite the leaderships' calls for adopting it. This was due to the Palestinian division as well as the lack of trust among Palestinians in people and their leadership.

The researcher assured that fostering the strategy of popular resistance would create a real change in the fostering of political participation in the Palestinian arena. This is done by working according to the strategy of popular resistance through phrasing a comprehensive national program based on the foundation of popular resistance. She indicated the importance of the participation of all the Palestinian factions and classes of the Palestinians in the West Bank, the Diaspora and the 1948 land to enable every citizen to do his duties to end the occupation.

This study differs from previous studies since it moved from general to specific in dealing with the issue of popular resistance. Also, it focused on the role of this resistance in political participation promotion as a way of reshaping the Palestinian national identity.

**3. The study of development studies center's team at Birzeit and the committee of American friends services about "Al-Shabab Al-Falastini: Dirasat Al-Hawiya Wal Makan Wa Al-Mosharaka Al-Mojtama'ya" Markaz Dirasat Al-Tanmiya/ Birzeit, 2017. 57**

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<sup>57</sup> جامعة بير زيت. "الشباب الفلسطيني: دراسات عن الهوية والمكان والمشاركة المجتمعية." 2017.

This study is a comprehensive analysis about the impact of division on the Palestinian identity in including the economic, social, and political interventions across ages which increases the importance of the analysis by relating it to the reality imposed by colonization and the social, economic, and political occupation. This study included different classes of Palestinians including the ones in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, 1948 Palestinians and refugee camps in Lebanon.

It presented a comprehensive reading of the crisis of the Palestinian national project and its impact on the Palestinian identity from social and developmental aspects. This study tackled different dimensions including analysis of the status quo, the impact of the occupation on that state, the political relations between the Palestinians. Also, it tackled the possibility of studying communication among Palestinians through national relations and the alternatives of the Palestinian division imposed by the Israeli occupation and the political status quo. In addition, it focused on the political participation and public freedoms as well as a reading for the reality of the division and how to rectify this undesired path.

This study is similar to some extent with the current study, but it is not enough because it did not talk about types of resistance such as armed and popular in light of the current political changes in the Palestinian cause. Studying the relationship between peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

**4. Dr. Rose Othman's PhD study on "The Role of Contemporary Popular Resistance Actions in the Reinforcement of the Culture of Nonviolence in the Palestinian Society". In Granada university, 2017<sup>58</sup>.**

This study aimed at proving the effectiveness of peaceful methods of struggle against the Israeli occupation as it was an influential way to account for social changes in Palestine. Also, it focused on all the key players who perform nonviolent methods against the Israeli making it part of the Palestinian culture. Furthermore, it investigated the role of nonviolent resistance in cultural reformation due to a change in people's public opinion.

The current study is different from other studies since it will tackle the dialectical relationship between the role of peaceful popular resistance in the formulation of Palestinian national identity, which will be through the exploring the figure this relationship and its impact on the formulation of national identity.

**5. Dr. Ayman Yousef. "Al-Moqawama Al-Sha'biya Al-Filistinia: Namthajat Al-Mawaqi Wa Ishkaliyat Al-Ro'ya" Majalat Shon Al-Mara Al-Filistinia. 2017. <sup>59</sup>**

This study explored the experience of popular resistance in Palestine including nonviolence resistance experiences. It focused on this kind of resistance after the second intifada and highlighted the importance of this pattern of resistance since it is able to achieve the Palestinian national goals especially gaining independence.

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<sup>58</sup> Othman, Dr. Rose. "Strategies of popular resistance and their role in the reinforcement of the Culture of nonviolence in the Palestinian Society." 2013.

<sup>59</sup> د. ايمن يوسف. "المقاومة الشعبية الفلسطينية: نمذجة المواقع واشكاليات الرؤية؟؟" 2017.

The researcher found that popular resistance succeeded in creating other forms of resistance, but it was impossible to reach all regular Palestinians who didn't care about popular resistance. Also, the researcher found that the number of foreign solidarity individuals and peace activists from the Left-Wing Israeli were more than the Palestinians.

Those Israeli peace activists caused many suspicions since they were men who served in Palestine in the Israeli forces. Also, they were not interested to act against the occupation, but they were interested in creating a network of relations among the Palestinians from different classes. Also, they enhance the image of the occupation in order to alleviate international pressures on Israel to stop settlements construction.

Also, the researcher concluded that the comprehensive national umbrella under which all the activities of popular resistance were was weak because there wasn't enough effort exerted by media in Ramallah and Bethlehem. Besides, it discussed the absence of political and strategic vision which weakened the role of the popular resistance creating struggles and disagreements among leaderships and activists who had different political and intellectual interests after the foreign cash flow for the popular resistance.

This study is similar to the current study since it applies the descriptive analytical approach and the historical approach to various models of popular resistance after the second intifada, However, it focuses on the role of popular resistance in general in achieving Palestinian national goals, but it did not focus on peaceful popular resistance's role in shaping a Palestinian national identity.

**6. The study of Samer Ibrahim Abu Sir about:” Al-Siasat Al-Israelia Wa Atharoha Ala Ishkaliat Al-Hawiya Fe Al-Quds” MA thesis in political science- Al-Azhar university/ Gaza, 2018.**<sup>60</sup>

This study aimed to focus on the impact of Israeli policies on the Palestinian national identity in Jerusalem. Also, it focused on the formation of the Palestinian identity and its relationship with the struggle with the Israeli occupation by following the historical method in tracing the important historical events of the Israeli policies which had great influence on the Palestinian national identity. Furthermore, it gave this study a greater importance more than the period of post 1967 war and the occupation of the West Bank and Jerusalem. In other words, it focused on the methods of the Israelis in the distortion of the Palestinian national identity and Judaizing Jerusalem using all the military, political, security and cultural power to reach that goal.

It mentioned that due to the policies of the occupation, the youth in Jerusalem became self-aware of the Zionist project giving them the power to keep their identities and block any attempt of overtaking Jerusalem. Also, it presented the concept of identity and how the Palestinian struggle of their identity and the role of the PLO in solidifying the national awareness of the Palestinians.

This study is a correlational study based on the historic method which is similar to this study, but it only studied the impact of the Israeli policies on the Palestinian national on

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<sup>60</sup> سامر ابراهيم ابو سير . "السياسات الاسرائيلية وأثرها على اشكالية الهوية في القدس." 2018.

identity only in Jerusalem while this study studies the impact of peaceful popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian national identity.

**7. The Study of Hosban Shokri Khalil Nazaal about:” Al-Nidal Al-Silmi Fe Al-Sirat Al-Dwaliya: Falastine Namothajan” MA thesis in international studies. Birzeit, 2010.**<sup>61</sup>

This study explored the peaceful resistance role in international disputes highlighting the importance of nonviolent resistance as one of the forms of legitimate resistance against the Israeli occupation’s oppression and injustice. Also, it highlighted many experiences of this kind of struggle comparing them to the Palestinian one which used armed resistance in order to achieve its goals and then negotiations to end the Israeli occupation.

Besides, it presented the main reasons which made the national and Islamic Palestinian resistance movement take peaceful options without adopting the methods of violent resistance to end the Israeli occupation in Palestine especially after signing Oslo accord. It offered questions about the possibility of using non-violent strategy as an action strategy to practice pressure on the Israelis and get into serious negotiations.

The most important results of this study were that non-violence is not a new strategy in the Palestinian resistance movement, but it wasn’t followed as an effective national strategy which would achieve the aim of achieving the independence of Palestine.

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<sup>61</sup>حسبان شكري خليل نزال. "النضال السلمي في الصراعات الدولية: فلسطين نموذجاً". 2010.

Also, he concluded that the religious, historic, and cultural heritage of the Palestinian played a vital role in avoiding non-violent resistance and adopting armed resistance to end the Israeli occupation. In other words, the Palestinian factions moved according to the wish of the Palestinians to avenge what happened to the Palestinians since 1948 and the sensitivity of the issue of Jerusalem for all the classes of the Palestinians.

Furthermore, non-violent resistance is the best model in order to stop settlement expansion and ending the occupation as well as getting the lost rights and international support for the Palestinians.

This study is similar to the current study in tackling peaceful settlement approach that was adopted in some international conflicts, as well as the adoption of peaceful popular resistance in order to resolve and end the conflict. However, this study had not touched upon the role of peaceful popular resistance in the formulation of Palestinian national identity.

#### **8. The Study of Salah Mustafa Al-Oesi about:” Al-Moqawama Alla Onfia Fe Falastin Ba’d Itifaq Al-Mabadi: Belin and Nelin Namothajan.**<sup>62</sup>

This study tackles the experience of non-violence in the Palestinian struggle since the British Mandate since 1917 and going through the non-violent resistance in 1948. Then, this struggle strategy became less popular after the start of the Palestinian armed revolution in 1965, and then non-violent resistance became popular in the first intifada in 1987. Finally,

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<sup>62</sup>العويصي صلاح مصطفى". المقاومة اللاعنفية في فلسطين بعد اتفاق اعلان المبادئ /اوسلو "بلعين ونعلين نموذجاً". 2013، مرجع سابق.

they experienced the non-violent struggle and resistance against building the separation wall that this study took Bein and Neilin villages as models.

This study analyzed the experience of Nelin and Belin in the non-violent resistance which failed the Israeli military power that it depended on attracting the support of the international community and legalizing the struggle of ending the Israeli occupation. The researcher highlighted the villages of Belin and Nelin because of their ability to organize its relations with the forces and factions. Also, they had their methods and tactics under the leadership of the two villages in order to resist the Israeli occupation peacefully.

This study is similar to the current study since it adopts the historical approach in studying the transformation towards peaceful resistance, after the armed Al-Aqsa Intifada and the adoption of peaceful popular resistance until now. It also studies the experiences of peaceful resistance of other people in their struggle against colonialism and the realization of freedom and independence. However, it differs in that it did not link the role of this peaceful popular resistance to the shaping of the Palestinian national identity, the focus of the proposed study.

**9. The Study of Dr. Kayed Shrem about: "Al-Hawiya Al-Wataniya Al-Falastiniya Jadal Al Waqi wa Ma'zaq Al-Khitaba Moqarana Naqdiya Tahliliya: Al-Istiqlal University Journal, 2017. <sup>63</sup>**

This study analysis the prevailing discourses of the identity based on the problem of the Palestinian national movement without having any theoretical analysis. Furthermore, it highlights the expressed identity by the first national project and the latest improvements on the Palestinian identity based on the Palestinian struggle on the land. Then, the

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<sup>63</sup> شريم , كايد عزات. "الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية: جدل الواقع ومأزق الخطاب مقاربة نقدية تحليلية " تشرين أول 2017.

resulted future of the Palestinian identity is run by the Palestinians ability to solve the dilemma of their identity and knowing the threats imposed on it on the ground.

It examined the reality and future of the Palestinian national identity through analyzing the different discourses of identity and the national struggle on the ground, affirming that any plan for the struggle might threaten the identity itself. This might be similar to the proposed study that assumes a dialectical relationship between the formulation of national identity and the role of the struggle with a focus on the impact of the peaceful popular resistance in particular to the formulation of this identity.

**10. The study of Imad Al-Din Mohammed Abu Rahma about:” Athar Al-Taswiya Al-Siasia Ala Al-Hawiya Al-Filistinia” Dirasat Al-Itijahat Talabat Al-Jamiat Al-Fiistinia Biqita Gaza. Al-Azhar/ Gaza, 2011.**<sup>64</sup>

This study aimed to study the tendencies of the students of the Palestinian universities at Gaza towards the political settlement and the Palestinian identity. Also, it revealed that there is a negative attitude towards settlement process while the general tendency of the Palestinian identity is positive.

It was found out that there are statistical differences among the averages of the degree of college students on the scale of the tendency towards political settlement due to the variable of the university including Al-Azhar, Al-Aqsa, Al-Quds Open University. This meant that the Islamic University students were the least proponents of political settlement.

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<sup>64</sup> رحمه ,عماد الدين محمد ابو. "أثر عملية التسوية السياسية على الهوية الفلسطينية "دراسة لاتجاهات طلبة الجامعات الفلسطينية بقطاع

The differences among the averages of the degree of college students on the scale of the tendency towards political settlement due to the variable of political affiliation including Islamist or Left-Wing in favor of Fatah in the overall degree on the scale towards political settlement. This meant that Fatah's proponents approved the settlement the most.

Concerning the scale of the Palestinian identity, this study showed that there were statistical differences among the averages of the degrees of students due to the variable of university in favor of the Islamism and between the Islamic University and other universities in favor of other universities in the national dimension.

Also, it turned out that there were statistical differences among the degrees of students due to the variable of political affiliation between the Left-Wing and other factions in favor of the Left -Wing in the national dimension and between the Islamists and other tendencies in favor of the Islamist dimension and the overall degree of the scale of the Palestinian scale. It showed that the national identity was the most powerful among others but with a slight difference from the Islamic identity.

This study is similar to the current study in its methodological orientation as well as the assumption that identity has dialectical relationships with some political variables in ending the conflict. However, it focused on the political settlement in general from Palestinian students of Gaza Universities' point of view, without identifying a specific type of resistance for political settlement. Thus, it didn't address the dialectical relationship between the role of peaceful popular resistance in the formulation of Palestinian national identity.

**11. The study of Ashraf Mohye Al-Din Mohammad Sawafta about: "Al-Moqawama Al-Sha'biya Al-Filistinia Wa Imkaniat Tahwilaha Ela Estratijia Amal WATANI**

**2005-2013". MA thesis in Political planning and development, An-Najah National University, 2015.** <sup>65</sup>

This study aimed at recognizing the possibility of turning the Palestinian popular resistance into a framework strategy and a central option in the resistance of the Israeli occupation. Furthermore, it discussed different political programs for different Palestinian factions and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) about their vision and stand from popular resistance. Also, it discussed the possibility unifying these factions under the umbrella of ending the Israeli occupation according to the current organizational and political circumstances. Furthermore, it discussed the impact of this kind of resistance on the different classes of Palestinians as well as how to build a national strategic plan including all the Palestinian classes and factions.

The researcher found that transferring popular resistance into a strategic framework was possible since there was a theoretical general agreement lacking the Palestinian political factions' implementation. Also, it was under the microscope of the international community which might be the best option to avoid implementing other options for ending the Israeli occupation.

This study converges with other studies in that it focuses on the popular resistance as one of the kinds of resistance and the extent of its impact on the resistance of the Palestinian various classes and factions. However, they didn't correlate the role and impact of peaceful public resistance on the formation of the Palestinian national identity.

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<sup>65</sup> أشرف محي الدين محمد صوافطة. "المقاومة الشعبية الفلسطينية وإمكانية تحولها الى استراتيجية عمل وطني 2005\_2013". 2015.

## **2.1. Comments on the Previous Studies:**

Previous studies included many titles related to popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity through tracing the different historic events in which the Palestinians resisted the Israeli occupation and the Zionist project as well as the impact of these events in the formation of the Palestinian national identity and preserving it.

Also, they had gone through all the circumstances which the Palestinian cause been through ranging from political settlement, popular resistance, and armed resistance. In other words, they included intifadas, revolutions, popular protests leading to Madrid conference and Oslo Accord.

These studies are important since they are the cornerstone of the current study, however they didn't shed light on the role of the peaceful popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian national identity. In other words, they didn't measure the actual impact of these consecutive events and the types of resistance which were produced by the Palestinian resistance of the Israeli occupation. Particularly, the role of the peaceful popular resistance on the Palestinian national identity as the current study aims at. Thus, the PLO made a dramatic change in its strategy in resisting the occupation which assures the necessity of taking care of this study which supposes a dialectic relationship between peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

These studies paved the way to the current study with all their priceless results, recommendations and issues about popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

Furthermore, they talked about important topics using useful scientific methods contributing in reaching such results and recommendations which are essential to the Palestinian reality.

However, they didn't tackle the role of the Palestinian popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian national identity in the stage following the second intifada in 2005 until nowadays. In other words, they didn't cover 15 years of struggling against the occupation including the changes and political, international, regional, and local transformations.

This study is distinguished from the previous studies uniting peaceful popular resistance and its relationship with the Palestinian national identity which was not tackled by previous studies. Consequently, this study is the first in its kind paving the way to many researchers to study this topic deeper and more comprehensively for its importance and lasting impact on the life and future of the Palestinians.

## **Chapter Three: Methods and Procedures**

This chapter includes a description of the methods and procedures which the researcher followed in determining the society of the study, its sample, tools of data collection, the steps of verifying the validity of the tools of the study as well as the description of the procedures of conducting interviews and analyzing them.

### **3.1. Research Methods:**

This study employed the descriptive analytic methods because it suited the nature of the study that the descriptive method is related to social and humanitarian sciences. Also, the descriptive method depends on describing the phenomenon as it is. Besides, the researcher employed the historic method because it depended on collecting data from documents, scientific magazines, and books as well as interviews which can be used as the tools of the study.

The intentional sample of the study comprised four levels, namely: academic professors, official governmental personnel as well as factional personnel, activists of popular resistance. Thus, these interviews are the core of studying the role of peaceful popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian national identity through their experiences about the role of peaceful popular resistance and their views about its future and influence. These interviews will be analyzed using descriptive coding.

### **3.2. Community of the Study:**

The community of this study comprises four levels, including: academic professors, official governmental personnel as well as factional personnel, activists of popular resistance in Gaza and the West Bank.

### **3.3. Sample of the Study:**

Due to the difficulty in conducting interviews with all the members of the community of the study. This is because these interviews coincided with the interviews of the legislative and presidential elections' call. Also, COVID-19 as well as the national dialogue in Cairo made it difficult to conduct these interviews. Besides, virtual interviews were not preferred by some interviewees. Consequently, an intentional sample was chosen comprised 6 academic professors, 5 peaceful popular resistance activists; 4 representatives of the Palestinian political parties as well as 2 governmental officials.

### **3.4. Tools of the Study:**

The researcher employed interviews that six questions were chosen wisely to be directed to the interviewees after being shown to a group of professors in the area of social and humanitarian and political science in order to make sure that they cope with the goals of the study.

After acquiring the required a facilitation paper from the university to conduct those interviews, the researcher determined the dates of the interviews of the community of the study.

### 3.5. The Validity of the Interviews:

The researcher verified the validity of the interviews by using content validity tool by presenting the model of the interview on arbitrators who gave the researcher their feedback. The following arbitrators verified the validity of the interview:

| # | Arbitrator        | Institutions          | Major               |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Dr. Omar Rahal    | Shams center/ Birzeit | Political Science   |
| 2 | Dr. Ali Qashmar   | Istiqlal University   | Educational Methods |
| 3 | Dr. Ghassan Nemer | Ministry of Interior  | Media               |

### 3.6. Data Processing and Analysis:

The researcher used thematic analysis <sup>66</sup> which is one of the methods of analyzing qualitative data that the researcher organizes the collected data according to themes or categories. Then, they are explained and analyzed in order to find out the answer to the determined research questions. Also, it can be done by focusing on the common themes in the data, but the most common themes are not necessarily meaningful by itself.

Brown and Clerk (2012) are the most well-known writers about thematic analysis that they explained that it can be done following six steps, including:

1. Being indulged in the collected data to be familiar with it.
2. Coding the data.
3. Looking for sub-codes.
4. Reviewing possible topics.

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<sup>66</sup> <http://educad.me> أكاديمية البحث العلمي،

5. Naming the themes.

6. Reports production.

In order to codify the quantitative research, descriptive coding which is summarizing every section in a word or two knowing that every section should include more than one code.

After writing the codes, the final themes' stage is the result of the coding. Then, they are collected to similar themes and subthemes.

## **Chapter Four: Results and Discussion**

## **4. Interviews Analysis and Discussion:**

### **4.1. The Analysis and Discussion of the Answers of the Political Parties:**

#### **4.1.1. The Analysis and Discussion of the First Question for the Political Parties:**

“What is the relation between resistance and the Palestinian national identity?”

- If there is a relation, what is its nature?
- Will it include all the kinds of resistance or will it be restricted some kinds of resistance?
- Will it be clearer when it is armed resistance and less clear when it is peaceful?

Based on the themes of the analysis of the first question about the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity directed to the interviewed officials of the political parties. They agreed that there is a dialectic interchangeable relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity as they agreed that resistance has a positive impact on the Palestinian identity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Also, there is a great role for the popular resistance in enhancing the Palestinian national identity. Furthermore, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri and Mr. Suhail Al-Salman agreed that popular resistance is fancy expression of a global Palestinian bond.

Furthermore, they preferred the popular resistance option over other option since resistance create the spirit of defending the unity of the Palestinians as well as their identities. Also, Dr. Mohammad Al-Aboushi saw that the Palestinian national identity enhanced the solidarity of the Palestinians in the 1948 land through poets, intellectuals and literary

writers who contributed in preserving the national identity facing the attempts of the Israeli occupation. Furthermore, the Palestinians succeeded in the 1948 land in achieving local councils' elections which became a model for peaceful resistance there.

The researcher- based on the analysis of the first question about the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity through the interviews of the officials of the political parties- saw that there is a dialectic relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity. This relationship agreed with the current study's hypothesis that there is a dialectic interchangeable relationship between peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

Looking at the themes of the analysis of the first question, it is found that the option of peaceful popular resistance is the best in resisting the Israeli occupation making a source of attraction to the world's countries which stood with the Palestinians and practiced pressure on Israel to stop its violations against the Palestinians.

Peaceful resistance is the practical model for the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation today because it guarantees the international solidarity with the Palestinians for a longer time. In short, every person chooses his own style of resistance according to his/her potentials. In the Palestinian case, it is part of the national struggle which aims at achieving freedom increasing and enhancing the feeling of the national identity. Consequently, the researcher saw that peaceful popular resistance has a great role in enhancing the Palestinian national identity.

#### **4.1.2. The Analysis and Discussion of the Second Question for the Political Parties:**

“How can we evaluate the reality of the peaceful popular resistance in Palestine? Can we consider the stand of the Palestinian leadership from the popular resistance part of its national strategy and why?

- Was the use of the Palestinian leadership the peaceful resistance an urgent solution considering lack of options or does it see it the best option for the Palestinian cause? Why?
- Did the weekly witnessed events in some villages and cities in Palestine reach the level of the national strategy of peaceful popular strategy or are they disorganized actions?
- What is the future of these movements in light of the internal and regional transformations in the area?
- Why weren't the successful experiences of peaceful popular resistance of Bab Al-Shams and Al-Khan Al-Ahmar ignored taken in consideration in the development of a national strategy for the popular national strategy in Palestine?

Many essential issues emerged based on the analysis of the second question, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri and Dr. Mohammed Al-Aboushi as well as Mr. Suhail Al-Salman agreed that there is not any national strategy for popular resistance. In other words, there is a future for the popular resistance if it is adopted by planning a comprehensive strategic national plan and the formation of a unified leadership in which all Palestinians participate. However, Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad indicated that there is a national strategy for popular resistance,

however, he saw that it wasn't a strategic option taken by the Palestinian leadership. Instead, it was a reaction on the failure of the negotiations!

In addition, Mr. Suhail Al-Salman saw that the stand of the Palestinian leadership from peaceful popular resistance cannot be considered part of their national strategy. Dr. Mohammad Al-Aboushi agreed that taking the option of popular resistance was not taken as an option to end the occupation. On the contrary, the lack of trust in people is the mistake of the Palestinian national authority fell in when it relinquished the role of the PLO as the protector and the keeper of the Palestinian national identity in favor of the PNA. However, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri saw that the option of popular resistance is the most peaceful with a heavily armed enemy and controlling all the resources.

Concerning the reality of the Palestinian popular resistance today and the weekly events, Dr. Al-Aboushi thinks that the process of popular peaceful resistance is still managed factionally wise in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Also, these movements have been organized and successful on the ground while some of these works were taken bureaucratically dominating the whole process. However, Mr. Suhail Salman thinks that the reality of the popular resistance in Palestine is seasonal and easily managed by the Israeli occupation. He sees that the solution for resolving this predicament is by adopting a comprehensive strategy and the formation of a unified leadership.

Still, Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad sees that these weekly events are good but not enough that the option of peaceful popular resistance was adopted when negotiations failed and powers were imbalanced in favor of the Israelis. This is an indirect paradox in the Palestinian leadership's decision in adopting popular resistance. Is it for military imbalance or the closure of the path of negotiations?

Based on the analysis of the second question, the researcher sees that the leadership's decision was obligatory considering the blockade of other options especially negotiations. It is evident from the absence of steps in the adoption of popular peaceful resistance and the absence of a national unified strategy for all the Palestinians. Despite the statement of Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad that there is a national strategy for popular national resistance, no official statement was issued concerning this issue or any announcement of any plans of activating the peaceful popular resistance by the Palestinian leadership.

Concerning the reality of the weekly events and the reality of the Palestinian popular resistance, the researcher agrees with what the political party's officials said when they described them as being seasonal and reactions to Israeli violations as well as being disorganized because they are not strategized. In other words, they fade away once the action is gone.

In addition, these movements are considered insufficient for a comprehensive movement for all the Palestinians. Besides, they are restricted to limited Palestinian classes. Furthermore, the researcher sees that the Palestinian political parties calling for popular resistance in their political programs had limited participation in the weekly events in some villages and cities. Also, this form of resistance doesn't represent all Palestinians leading to a deformation of the Palestinian national identity. Consequently, the researcher thinks that the Palestinian leadership should go on with the recommendations of the secretary generals to adopt peaceful popular resistance and form a unified leadership in order to put a comprehensive national strategic plan with a timetable of achieving specific goals of liberating Palestine.

### **4.1.3. The Analysis and Discussion of the Third Question for the Political Parties:**

“In light of your previous stand, how do you evaluate the usefulness of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals? Why?”

Based on the themes of the analysis of the third question above, Dr. Mohammed Al-Aboushi said that there is usefulness from achieving the goals of peaceful resistance that he strengthened his answer by mentioning global experiences in India and South Africa. He saw that military work enhanced peaceful resistance.

Similarly, Mr. Suhail Al-Salman agreed with Dr. Mohammed Al-Aboushi, but he added that there should be a space for all kinds of resistance with the participation of all the Palestinians. Also, it should be part of a national strategic plan believing in the awareness of the Palestinians’ rights and believing in the justice of their rights and cause.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the analysis of the third question are not enough that some of the Palestinian political parties’ officials didn’t answer this question. According to the mentioned themes in this study and previous studies, peaceful resistance can achieve its goals unconditionally unless a strategic unified plan for all Palestinians according to their abilities.

### **4.1.4. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fourth Question for the Political Parties:**

“After experiencing peaceful popular resistance in 2000, how do you see the relation between this form of resistance and the feeling of the Palestinians in their national identity?”

Did it contribute in enhancing the feeling of the Palestinian national identity or weakened it? Why?

No one answered this question.

#### **4.1.5. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fifth Question for the Political**

##### **Parties:**

“Why didn’t the popular resistance- from 2000 until now- achieve diplomatic and political achievements which could be moved to the international level compared with the achievements of the first intifada in 1987?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fifth questions above, the officials of the political parties agreed that the military actions of the second intifada led to consequences done by the Israeli actions such as the separation wall. Dr. Al-Aboushi saw that the political practices of the leadership and depending on external funding was the main reason for the failure of popular peaceful resistance in achieving its goals. Also, Mr. Al-Salman saw that the absence of unified leadership for the second intifada and the weakness of the PLO in representing the Palestinians led to weakening the trust of the Palestinians in their political leaderships.

The researcher saw that the themes of the analysis of the fifth question were not enough to answer it, it is thought that the peaceful popular resistance since 2000 until now hasn’t achieved what the first intifada did back in 1987 because of the participation of all the Palestinians practicing many peaceful resistance forms including civilian disobedience, strikes, protests and peaceful marches attracting the attention of the international community.

However, the second intifada started using peaceful resistance methods, then it changed to military actions that the Palestinian factions developed their military groups which attacked Israeli cities by targeting restaurants, busses leading to the killing of hundreds of Israelis. As retribution, the IDF destroyed thousands of houses and official institutions and assassinated Palestinian leaders as well as losing the international solidarity.

The international community looked at the Palestinian as attackers of Israeli cities leading to killing hundreds of Israelis while Israeli actions were taken as an act of self-defense including the separation wall which uprooted thousands of trees and confiscated thousands of dunums.

#### **4.1.6. The Analysis and Discussion of the Sixth Question for the Political Parties:**

“How can we strengthen the Palestinian national identity?”

Based on the thematic analysis of the sixth question above, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri indicated that it is necessary to strengthen the Palestinian story in the hearts of the youth linking the political stands with the Palestinian agendas. Also, she said that the Palestinian political decision supporting popular resistance which withdraws recognizing the state of Israel enhances the Palestinian national identity. However, Dr. Al-Aboushi focused on preferring the High interests to individual ones giving models of leaderships and national education for all. Also, Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad stated that the expansion in the circle of the popular resistance is the only way of enhancing the Palestinian national identity.

The researcher agrees with what was indicated before that it is thought that the steadfastness of the Palestinians in his land is by supporting him and allowing him/her in decision making, so it is essential to enhance it by popular collaboration and strengthening the Palestinian household. It is done by ending the political division and unifying all the Palestinian factions under one clear strategy including all the Palestinians showing them the way to independence.

## **4.2. The Analysis and Discussion of the Answers of Academics:**

### **4.2.1. The Analysis and Discussion of the First Question:**

“What is the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity?”

- If there is a relationship, what its nature would be?
- Does this relationship include all kinds of resistance or it is limited to specific kinds?
- Will this relationship be obvious if it is armed and less obvious when it is peaceful?

Based on the analysis of the themes of the first question above, the interviewed academics agreed that there is a dialectic relationship between resistance in all its forms including peaceful and armed and the Palestinian national identity. Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub added that resistance is the one which formulated the structure of the Palestinian identity. Also, he considered the effectiveness of the resistance as a tool for measuring whether it is armed or peaceful. Besides, he thinks that resistance granted legitimacy to the movements and leaderships which is one of the keys to the success of Fatah. Furthermore, identities are formulated in other forms of struggle.

Similarly, Dr. Omar Rahal saw that resistance enhances the Palestinian national identity considering their national struggle as the key of their identity. Also, he saw that armed resistance had the greatest role for the formation of the Palestinian national identity. He also considered the first intifada as the soul of the Palestinian national identity. However, Dr. Saied Ayyad that the armed resistance didn't succeed in preserving the Palestinian identity. Instead, popular peaceful resistance prevailed in preserving it. He assured that if the Palestinians cling with the results of the first intifada in 1987, they would have got their independence and preserved their identity.

Still, Dr. Bilal Shobaky thought that the relationship between resistance and national identity is indirect since resistance is not a key issue in identities. On the contrary, it is a key element for the formation for identity and the protector of other elements of that identity. Also, he saw that the formation of the Palestinian national identity is related to the struggle resistance state giving the Palestinian new characteristics.

He also thought that the impact of identity is not related to the form of resistance, but to its popular efficiency. However, Dr. Sari Nusseibeh thought that armed resistance was a key element in the emergence of the Palestinian identity. Furthermore, the relation between the Palestinian identity and peaceful resistance is direct focusing more on 1967 areas. Still, Dr. Mazen Qamsia saw that the differentiation in the Palestinian national identity preceded the existence of resistance, however, colonization helped in strengthening this identity because it practices pressure on people. In short, he saw that the relation between resistance and the Palestinian national identity is positive that with more resistance comes more national belonging to the identity.

Based on the analysis of the themes of the first question and their answers by academics, the researcher saw that what was mentioned is very important since it confirms the hypothesis of the existence of dialectic relationship between peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity. Furthermore, resistance contributed in the formation of the Palestinian national identity and its efficiency in supporting it. Also, the struggle state of the Palestinian resistance added new characteristics since the name of the Palestinian is related to resistance and its codes.

The researcher thinks that academics agreed on the importance of popular resistance and its greatest role in fostering the Palestinian national identity and gaining more international support. Dr. Al-Shobaky assured that the role of popular resistance lies in redefining occupation as it should be known that its existence is a problem whether it held a weapon or a musical instrument.

Peaceful resistance is the practical model for the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation since it gives the Palestinians international support and the continuity of the Palestinian participation in their resistance according to the capacity of every individual. This way, every individual feel that he/she is part of the national struggle which aims to gaining freedom and independence increasing the feeling in the national identity. Consequently, the researcher believes that peaceful popular resistance has a great role in the formation of the Palestinian national identity.

#### **4.2.2. The Analysis and Discussion of the Second Question:**

“How can you evaluate the reality of the Palestinian peaceful popular resistance? Can we consider the stand of the Palestinian leadership from peaceful popular resistance as part of its national strategy? Why?”

- Does the Palestinian leadership choose the peaceful popular resistance as the last action considering the blockade of other options or did it find it the most suitable option for the Palestinian cause? Why?
- Do weekly events in some Palestinian cities and villages reach the level of becoming a national strategy for peaceful popular resistance, or they are just random movements?
- What is the future of these movements considering the internal and regional transformations in the region?
- Why weren't the successful experiences of popular resistance at Bab Al-Shams village and Al-khan Al-Ahmar taken in consideration when developing a national strategy for the Palestinian popular resistance?

Based on the themes arose from the analysis of the second question above, academics agreed that there isn't a unified national strategy for popular resistance. Also, they found that the Palestinian leadership used peaceful popular resistance is only to escape from their reality. In other words, these actions are seasonal and disorganized since they are restricted to some areas without linking them to a plan.

Dr. Mazen Qamsia saw that the reality of the peaceful popular resistance today doesn't contribute in empowering the Palestinian national identity. On the contrary, it is getting worse due to the reality of the Palestinian popular peaceful resistance. Similarly, Dr. Rahal

agreed with Dr. Qamsia in saying that there is no horizon for the Palestinian peaceful popular resistance since the Palestinian leadership was not serious about following peaceful, popular, or armed resistance with the occupation. Also, he saw that it won't succeed if it is related to official decision and interests with the occupation. Furthermore, Dr. Hroub agreed with Dr. Qamsia that the PA can't have a structure based on resistance, popular resistance, or peaceful resistance.

Based on the analysis of the themes of the second question above, the Palestinian leadership decision to adopt the peaceful popular resistance as the last option due to the failure of all options including negotiations which is expressed by academics in their interviews. The reason for that is that there isn't any unified national strategy for all Palestinian. Since the meeting of the secretary general in September 2020 and issuing the meeting statement of adopting peaceful popular resistance by the leadership and all the Palestinian factions. However, no actions taken to implement this statement at the official level.

Concerning the weekly events of peaceful popular resistance in Palestine, the researcher agrees with what the academics stated that weekly events are seasonal and reactions to a sense of national feeling as Dr. Omar Rahal said on the Israeli violations. However, they are not organized and don't depend on a clear strategy and goals, so they fade away with the end of these movements. Also, they are insufficient to have a full-scale popular resistance including all the Palestinians, but they were limited to a specific class of Palestinians. Despite the adoption of peaceful resistance in the Palestinian factions' meeting in September 2020, their participation was limited and limited for specific factions.

This form of resistance doesn't represent all the Palestinians because it represents a specific class of Palestinians leading to a mutation in the Palestinian national identity.

Consequently, the researcher thinks that the Palestinian leadership should go on with the recommendations of the meeting of the general managers of the factions in 2020. It stated the adoption of peaceful popular resistance and the formation of a unified leadership in order to put a comprehensive national strategy with a limited timetable.

#### **4.2.3. The Analysis and Discussion of the Third Question:**

“In light of your previous stand, how do you see the point of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the third question above, the academics didn't find any point of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals that Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub saw that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals effectively more than armed resistance unless there is a unified national strategy and perfect leadership.

Dr. Omar Rehal said that there if there is a unified strategy and an action plan as well as a good leadership in Palestine, resistance will achieve its goals. However, Dr. Saied Ayyad saw that it will achieve its goals if the concepts of peaceful resistance are restored. However, Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky said that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals if leaderships went over the traditional styles of resistance since it is thought that peaceful resistance will achieve its goals. However, peaceful popular resistance didn't achieve its goals.

Based on the analysis of the themes of the third question, the researcher thinks that the themes of this question are very important in achieving peaceful resistance in Palestine. Consequently, the goals of peaceful popular resistance cannot be achieved with the absence

of a unified leadership and a national strategy in and out of Palestine in which every Palestinian participates according to his/her potentials.

#### **4.2.4. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fourth Question:**

“After experiencing the peaceful popular resistance in 2000, how do you see the relationship between this form of resistance and the Palestinians’ sensation of their national identity? Did it contribute in fostering the sensation of their Palestinian national identity or weakened it? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of question four, there weren’t many themes in the answers of this question, but Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub saw that the first intifada fostered the Palestinian national identity unlike the second intifada. Dr. Bilal Shobaky saw that the second intifada moved from peaceful popular resistance to military resistance model after 2000.

This, the researcher saw that the themes of the fourth question were not clear that not all interviewees answered the questions, so it is thought that the experience of post 2000 intifada changed to military armed style limiting resistance to specific people and places. In other words, no strategic united clear plan was set because the Palestinian resistance created new styles of peaceful resistance such as boycotting Israeli products.

#### **4.2.5. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fifth Question:**

“Why didn’t the popular resistance since 2000 until now achieve any diplomatic and political infiltrations at the international level compared to the achievements of the first intifada in 1987?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fifth question, Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub saw that the reason for not achieving any international and political achievement is due to the trust crisis in the leadership after Oslo and the division of government in Gaza and the West Bank after Hama’s coup against the PA. Consequently, he thinks that the flaw in the Palestinian national identity is due to power monopoly of the PA and Hama’s government. However, Dr. Ayyad and Dr. Rahal agreed that the military armed resistance of the second intifada while the first one depended on the peaceful popular resistance.

Dr. Rahal saw that this intifada is not an experience that can be build other experiences on that Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky indicated that the official Palestinian institutions were unable to offer the diplomatic international issue away from the Zionist narrative. However, Dr. Sari thought that the main reason for not achieving any success is marginalizing the masses. Also, Dr. Qamsia added that the over power of the Israeli occupation was one of the reasons for not achieving any diplomatic and political benefits after 2000.

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fifth question, the researcher thinks that the peaceful popular resistance from 2000 until now hasn’t achieved what the first intifada achieved in 1987 because every Palestinian participated in it practicing civil disobedience, strikes and peaceful marches leading to attracting the international attention.

However, the second intifada started by using different peaceful methods and then military armed actions which were practiced by specific class as a response to the Israeli violations. Consequently, military actions escalated among the Palestinian factions who developed their military groups which targeted Israeli cities, bombed restaurants and busses leading to the death of many Israelis. Then, the Israeli army retaliated these attacks by destroying thousands of houses, arrested Palestinian leaders, and destroyed official departments which led to great losses to the Palestinians.

In return, the Palestinian lost their international solidarity that the international community considered the Palestinians who attack Israeli cities as anti-Semitic. Also, they gave Israel the right to defend itself by building the separation wall which confiscated thousands of donums.

In addition, Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky described the situation as a weakness in the official Palestinian institutions which didn't adopt peaceful popular resistance in Al-Aqsa intifada. Also, it didn't organize peaceful popular resistance in which all Palestinians participate in putting the unified organized strategy with having a unified leadership.

#### **4.2.6. The Analysis and Discussion of the Sixth Question:**

“How can we empower the Palestinian national identity?”

Based on the analysis the themes of the sixth question above, the academic mentioned several themes that Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub said that fostering the Palestinian national identity comes from having new leaders, restructuring the PLO, and electing a true Palestinian national council. However, Dr. Saied Ayyad saw that empowering the Palestinian identity

comes from creating a Palestinian political factional vision working hard to end the division and reorder the priorities. Furthermore, it is done by strengthening the Palestinian narrative, preserving the Palestinian heritage, having a program cherishing struggle at the popular level, contributing in supporting the perseverance of the 1948 Palestinians as well as developing the social and economic behavior of the Palestinians to the resisters' level.

However, Dr Sari Nusseibeh indicated that fostering the Palestinian identity can be by holding on with the Palestinian cultural and narrative identity. Still, Dr. Qamsia sees that it is imperative to rise the younger generation on citizenship. However, Dr. Omar Rahal said that it is possible to end this crisis by ending the Palestinian division, peaceful transition of power, elections, establishing a political democratic internal system in the West Bank and Gaza Strip away from racial, religious and gender discrimination as well as law independence.

In addition to restructuring the Palestinian narrative based on the factional vision in which Palestinian factions can do their role in the field. Also, Dr. Rahal said that fostering the Palestinian national identity happens through ending the crisis of the civil society and the participation of women, youth, and young academics and this creates social justice and credibility between people and the leadership.

The researcher thinks that according to the analysis the themes of the sixth question, it is imperative to empower the Palestinian national identity in terms of forming a unified national leadership from which emerges a unified national strategy with the participation of all the Palestinians. Also, it is important to resolve any political disagreement among the Palestinian factions in order to end the division.

This enables the Palestinians to create new vision in order to foster the perseverance of the Palestinians socially and economically. Furthermore, this makes the Palestinian people all over the world organize peaceful resistance campaigns in order to fight back normalization as well as reviving the Palestinian heritage and popular struggle with the participation of all the Palestinians based on their potentials.

### **4.3. The Analysis and Discussion of the Answers of Governmental Officials:**

#### **4.3.1. The Analysis and Discussion of the First Question:**

“What is the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian National Identity:

- If there is any relation, what is its nature?
- Does this relationship include all kinds of resistance or is it limited to specific forms?
- Will their relation be clear if there is armed resistance and less clear when it is peaceful resistance?

Based on the analysis of the responses of the first question, the interviewed Palestinian officials confirmed the existence of a dialectic relationship between the forms of resistance and the Palestinian national identity. In fact, the governor of Ramallah and Al-Bereh Laila Ghanam assured those national identities are the catalyst of peaceful and armed resistance. Similarly, Mr. Adnan Ghaith the governor of Jerusalem governorate said that there is a strong bond between resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the first question are enough for having a clear answer that the Palestinian officials' interviews indicated a dialectic relationship between

resistance in all its forms and the Palestinian national identity on which this study is based on that the researcher assumed the existence of a dialectic relationship between resistance and national identity.

#### **4.3.2. The Analysis and Discussion of the Second Question:**

“How can we evaluate the reality of the peaceful popular resistance in Palestine? Can we consider the stand of the Palestinian leadership from the popular resistance part of its national strategy and why?

- Was the use of the Palestinian leadership the peaceful resistance an urgent solution considering lack of options or does it see it the best option for the Palestinian cause? Why?
- Did the weekly witnessed events in some villages and cities in Palestine reach the level of the national strategy of peaceful popular strategy or are they disorganized actions?
- What is the future of these movements in light of the internal and regional transformations in the area?
- Why weren't the successful experiences of peaceful popular resistance of Bab Al-Shams and Al-Khan Al-Ahmar ignored taken in consideration in the development of a national strategy for the popular national strategy in Palestine?

Based on the analysis of the themes of the second question, several issues emerged about the subject matter of the question. For example, Dr. Laila Ghanam - the governor of Ramallah and Al- Bereh- indicated that peaceful resistance is the best option for the Palestinians in light of the international and regional developments Also, she indicated that

it is imperative to urge all Palestinians to participate in this peaceful resistance and putting an overall plan related to the diplomatic and political actions.

Similarly, the governor of Jerusalem Mr. Adnan Ghaith agreed with Dr. Ghanam saying that the outcomes of the meeting of the Palestinian factions in 2000 should be implemented under one unified leadership assuring that weekly movements are organized and a successful model of popular peaceful resistance.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the second question were not fully answered since the researcher thinks that the option of popular peaceful resistance was an emergency option since all other steps failed because the Palestinian leadership didn't issue any official decision to adopt peaceful resistance especially after the meeting of the secretary generals of the Palestinian factions in 2000. Consequently, it is thought that the adoption of the Leadership of peaceful resistance was urgent to cope with the international stipulations, treaties and agreements signed with Israel.

Concerning the reality of popular resistance in Palestine and the weekly activities, the researcher believes that they are reactions to the violations of the Israeli occupation. Furthermore, the researcher believes that they are disorganized and in their way to oblivion. Finally, if the experience of Bab Al-Shams village and Al-Khan Al-Ahmar were not the corner stone of the unified national strategy along with joining the Palestinian efforts, nothing will be achieved.

#### **4.3.3. The Analysis and Discussion of the Third Question:**

“In light of your previous stand, how do you see the point of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the third question, Dr. Ghanam saw that resistance is valid, but under specific stipulations that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals if popular forces along with syndicates and institutions joined forces.

The researcher believes that answers were not enough to get a clear picture because not all officials answered this question. The researcher here disagreed with the stipulations of achieving the goals of popular resistance since the researcher believes that it can achieve its goals according to a unified national strategy including the efforts of all the Palestinians. This study converged with other studies in this point.

#### **4.3.4. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fourth Question:**

“After experiencing the peaceful popular resistance in 2000, how do you see the relationship between this form of resistance and the Palestinians’ sensation of their national identity? Did it contribute in fostering the sensation of their Palestinian national identity or weakened it? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fourth question, Dr. Laila Ghanam thinks that this form of peaceful popular resistance contributed positively in enhancing the Palestinian national identity especially after 2000. Thus, this enabled many Palestinians to participate in the national actions such as boycotting Israeli products.

The researcher believes that the themes of the fourth questions were not enough since not all officials answered it. Also, the researcher thinks that the experience of the Palestinian popular resistance in 2000 was armed after a few months of the start of Al. Aqsa popular resistance. Consequently, the Palestinian resistance was restricted to a specific class of

people that they created a new form of resistance which is boycotting Israeli products. Furthermore, the researcher believes that this process of boycotting Israeli products is a method of defending on the rights of the Palestinians especially the right of self-determination.

#### **4.3.5. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fifth Question:**

“Why didn’t the popular resistance since 2000 until now achieve any diplomatic and political infiltrations at the international level compared to the achievements of the first intifada in 1987?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fifth question, Dr. Laila Ghanam indicated that peaceful resistance after 2000 achieved the recognition of the Palestinian membership in the UN as a non-observant member and joining to specialized international committees such as the Interpol, UNESCO, and International Criminal Court as well as boycotting Israeli products internationally.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the analysis of this question were not enough for a clear answer because she thinks that peaceful resistance since 2000 didn’t achieve what the first intifada did in 1987 because the latter was popular per se. In other words, all Palestinians participated in it using different forms of peaceful resistance such as civil disobedience, strikes, marches and peaceful protests attracting the attention of international community to the Palestinian cause.

However, the second intifada began with using peaceful method and then armed resistance since the Israeli occupation escalated its actions leading the Palestinian factions to train

their groups to attack Israeli cities and busses. Thus, this led to killing hundreds of Israelis. In return, the Israeli attacked many Palestinian cities, destroyed many houses and official institutions as well as arrested and assassinated many Palestinian leaders. Also, the Palestinians lost their international solidarity because of the imbalance of powers since the worldwide echoes of the Palestinian attacks indicated that the Palestinians are attacking Israel considering the Palestinians as anti-semitic. Also, the West considered all the Israeli actions as self-defense including building the separation wall which confiscated thousands of donums as well as putting military roadblocks between the Palestinian cities.

#### **4.3.6. The Analysis and Discussion of the Sixth Question:**

“How can we empower the Palestinian national identity?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the sixth question, Dr. Laila Ghanam indicated that the enforcement of the resistance of the Palestinians lies in giving them the chance to participate in decision-making through political and social activities while Mr. Adnan Ghaith stated that national unity is a necessity in ending the Palestinian division and putting the Palestinian house in order.

The researcher agreed with what was talked about in the themes of the sixth question that she thinks that enforcing the perseverance of the Palestinians lies in supporting him in his land and enabling him to take decisions to feel that he is part of his society.

Also, it is vital to enforce the Palestinian national identity by supporting the Palestinians and ending the division in order to have a clear strategic plan for all Palestinians.

#### **4.4. The Analysis and Discussion of the Answers of Popular Resistance Activists:**

##### **4.4.1. The Analysis and Discussion of the First Question:**

“What is the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity?”

- If there is a relationship, what its nature would be?
- Does this relationship include all kinds of resistance or it is limited to specific kinds?
- Will this relationship be obvious if it is armed and less obvious when it is peaceful?

Based on the analysis of the first question, most of the activists assured that there is a dialectic relationship between all forms of resistance and the Palestinian national identity.

Also, Mr. Mahmud Darwaja' and Mr. Salah Al-Khawaja agreed that the option of peaceful popular resistance because it is the most peaceful option in which most Palestinians participate according to their potentials. Besides, the former thought that the response to the Israeli violations cannot be retaliated through armed resistance, but it should be peaceful resistance and being anti-normalization with Israel.

The researcher thinks that there is a dialectic relationship between resistance and its forms and the Palestinian national identity which is the hypothesis on which this study was built on. Looking back at the analysis of the first question, it is found that popular peaceful resistance is the best option because all Palestinians take part in it attracting the international communities. This will result in practicing pressure on Israel in order to stop the Israel violation in Palestine.

In short, peaceful resistance is the best practical option for the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation because it gives the Palestinians the ability to do their duties according to

their potentials in order to feel they belong to the Palestinian society. Finally, it has a great role in enhancing the Palestinian national identity.

#### **4.4.2. The Analysis and Discussion of the Second Question:**

“How can you evaluate the reality of the Palestinian peaceful popular resistance? Can we consider the stand of the Palestinian leadership from peaceful popular resistance as part of its national strategy? Why?

- Does the Palestinian leadership choose the peaceful popular resistance as the last action considering the blockade of other options or did it find it the most suitable option for the Palestinian cause? Why?
- Do weekly events in some Palestinians cities and villages reach the level of becoming a national strategy for peaceful popular resistance, or they are just random movements?
- What is the future of these movements considering the internal and regional transformations in the region?
- Why weren't the successful experiences of popular resistance at Bab Al-Shams village and Al-khan Al-Ahmar taken in consideration when developing a national strategy for the Palestinian popular resistance?

Based on the analysis of the themes of the second question, all the activists agreed on the absence of a unified national strategy as well as a unified leadership. Also, the refuge of the Palestinian leadership to popular resistance was due to lack of available options as well as considering it the best option for the Palestinians in order to get the support of the international community.

Concerning the Palestinian popular resistance and the weekly activities as well as the future of these events, the Palestinian activists thought that these movements were seasonal and disorganized. In other words, popular resistance means the participation of all Palestinians and practicing all forms of popular resistance within a strategic coherent and national plan. Mr. Salah Al-Khawaja assure the necessity of moving from the model of peaceful resistance to collective strategy of all Palestine. Still, Mr. Mahmud Nawaja' that it is important to adopt the peaceful popular resistance strategy, but -as Mr. Nabil Diab said- this is not enough in light of the absence of a unified leadership working based on a unified national plan.

The researcher thinks that from themes of the analysis of the second question, the execution of the peaceful resistance was an urgent decision based on the failure of negotiations with the Israelis. This decision is only dead letters because no actions were taken to implement it.

Concerning the weekly events and the movements of popular resistance, the researcher agreed with the activists that they are seasonal reactions to the Israeli forces' violations in specific areas. Also, they are not organized and aimless movements.

The researcher believes that they fade away that they are not enough for an overall collective uprising of all the Palestinians because they are limited to specific people. As Mr. Nabil Diab stated, it is due to the absence of a unified national leadership stating a defensive strategy to resist the Israeli occupation. Consequently, the researcher believes that the Palestinian leadership should take the recommendations of the meeting of the secretary generals of the Palestinian factions as well as form a unified leadership according to a timetable to liberate Palestine.

#### **4.4.3. The Analysis and Discussion of the Third Question:**

“In light of your previous stand, how do you see the point of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the third question above, Mr. Abdelhadi Hanash and Mr. Nabil Diab agreed that if there isn't a unified program under one unified leadership all popular resistance will go in vain. Also, Mr. Nawaja' thought that achieving the goals of the peaceful resistance is possible if we look at previous successes of the Palestinian resistance. Consequently, the activists agreed on the ability of the peaceful popular resistance on achieving its goals.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the third question are not enough that one of the activists didn't answer this question. Also, she believes that peaceful resistance can't achieve its goals unless there is a unified strategic plan in which all the Palestinians participate according to their abilities.

#### **4.4.4. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fourth Question:**

“After experiencing the peaceful popular resistance in 2000, how do you see the relationship between this form of resistance and the Palestinians' sensation of their national identity? Did it contribute in fostering the sensation of their Palestinian national identity or weakened it? Why?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fourth question, there weren't many themes to answer this question fully that Mr. Murad Shtewi saw that all forms of resistance enhance

the Palestinian identity. Similarly, Mr. Khawaja said that popular resistance enhanced the Palestinian unity without defining this period of the history of the resistance.

The researcher concluded that the analysis of the themes of the fourth question wasn't clear enough that they didn't answer the question. In other words, the researcher thinks that the experience of popular peaceful resistance after 2000 was the period of military action per se, so it was limited to specific class of Palestinians in specific areas. Finally, this kind of resistance produced a new form of peaceful resistance which is the call for boycotting the Israeli products especially settlements' products.

#### **4.4.5. The Analysis and Discussion of the Fifth Question:**

“Why didn't the popular resistance since 2000 until now achieve any diplomatic and political infiltrations at the international level compared to the achievements of the first intifada in 1987?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the fifth question above, some activists indicate that there are benefits of popular resistance. However, Mr. Diab saw that there is a lack of benefits due to the multiplicity of political decision. Still, Mr. Hanash thought that the reasons behind that was not organizing popular resistance which is what Mr. Khawaja agreed on. The latter thought that not expanding the forms of peaceful popular resistance and the lack of the participation of the Palestinian leadership in peaceful resistance. Also, it didn't take political decisions to face the Israeli occupation and settlement expansion which had the greatest effect internationally and politically.

The researcher thinks that the themes of the fifth question were not enough to answer the asked question. She believes that the popular resistance since 2000 didn't achieve what the first intifada in 1987 achieved. This is because all the Palestinians participated in the first intifada practicing all forms of peaceful resistance including civil disobedience, strikes, marches and protests.

Furthermore, it turned all the attention to the Palestinian issue. However, in the second intifada, the use of peaceful popular resistance and then armed struggle by developing their military groups by attacking Israeli cities and busses. This leads to killing hundreds of Israelis and avenging the victims of the Israeli attacks.

In return, the Israeli attacked many Palestinian cities and villages as well as arrested senior Palestinian leaders. Also, these losses included losing the international solidarity for the Palestinian cause because of the huge western support for Israel. Most of the International communities considered the Israeli actions as an act of self-defense including building the separation wall which confiscated thousands of donums in the Palestinian lands.

Furthermore,, the lack of organization in the Palestinian popular peaceful resistance and the lack of the participation of the Palestinian leadership as well as the lack of a unified strategy for the Palestinian resistance led to a total failure diplomatically and internationally.

#### **4.4.6. The Analysis and Discussion of the Sixth Question:**

“How can we empower the Palestinian national identity?”

Based on the analysis of the themes of the sixth question, many activists including Mr. Khawaja that enhancing the Palestinian political identity will be by having an active leadership, having a united national strategy as well as determining the political stand and gathering Palestinians on a central issue. In addition, Mr. Nawaja’ added that enhancing all forms of resistance and organizing campaigns for enhancing the Palestinian national identity in order to prevent normalization and Israelization. He indicated that it is necessary to communicate with other Arab nations. On the other hand, Mr. Diab and Mr. Shtewi indicated that it is imperative to empower the Palestinians and ending the Palestinian division in order to strengthen the Palestinian national identity.

The researcher agrees with the themes of this question especially what was mentioned about forming a unified leadership against the Israeli actions in order to foster the Palestinian national identity. Also, it is important to resolve all political disagreements and join forces in order to overcome the stage of division, empower the Palestinian state as a way of fighting normalization in all its forms.

### **4.5. The Comprehensive Summary of the Analysis:**

#### **4.5.1. Question One:**

“What is the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity?”

- If there is a relationship, what its nature would be?
- Does this relationship include all kinds of resistance or it is limited to specific kinds?

- Will this relationship be obvious if it is armed and less obvious when it is peaceful?

Based on the answers of the interviewees on the first question mentioned above, all of them agreed that there is a dialectic interchangeable relationship between resistance and the Palestinian popular resistance that resistance affects the Palestinian national identity and vice versa. Also, resistance has a positive impact on the Palestinian national identity that some of them indicated that peaceful popular resistance fostered the Palestinian identity. However, others saw that armed resistance is the one fostering this identity.

Politically speaking, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri, Dr. Mohamed Al-Aboushi and Mr. Suhail Al-Salman agreed that popular resistance is the classy expression of resistance which was linked to the Palestinian globally. Furthermore, they preferred popular peaceful resistance to other options because resistance creates the spirit of defending the right of the unity of the Palestinians and holding on their identity and land.

Also, Dr. Mohammad Al-Aboushi thought that the Palestinian identity enhanced the perseverance of the Palestinians in the 1948 land through literary writers, poets and intellectuals who preserved the national identity and stood in the face of the Israeli's attempts to wipe it out. Besides, they succeeded in conducting local councils' elections which became a model for popular peaceful resistance in the 1948 land.

Academically speaking, Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub saw that resistance is one of the factors of the formation of the structure of the Palestinian identity considering its efficiency as a scale even though it was armed or peaceful. Also, he saw that resistance gave legitimacy to the movements and leaderships which can be considered the success factor of Fatah.

He also added that identities form from the clash of struggles while Dr. Omar Rahal saw that resistance enhances the Palestinian national identity making national struggle the core of this identity. Furthermore, armed resistance had the greatest role in the formation of the Palestinian national identity considering the first intifada the rebirth of the Palestinian identity.

However, Dr. Saied Ayyad saw that armed resistance didn't succeed in preserving identity unlike peaceful resistance which could gain the Palestinian independence and preserve the Palestinian national identity. Still, Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky believed that the relationship between resistance and the Palestinian national identity is an indirect one since it is not a key element in the identity, but it is the protector of other elements. Also, the formation of the Palestinian national identity is highly related to the struggle state which gave the Palestinians new characteristics. In addition, the impact of resistance on identity is irrelevant to the form of resistance whether it was armed or peaceful because the masses are the heart and soul of any resistance which is the scale of our feeling of our national identity.

Similarly, Dr. Sari considered armed resistance as the key element of the birth of the Palestinian identity. Concerning the relationship between the Palestinian identity and popular peaceful resistance, it was focused in the 1967 land. In addition, Dr. Mazen Qamsia considered that having a distinguished Palestinian identity preceded the existence of resistance. However, colonization helped strengthening this identity because colonization practiced pressure on people making it a positive relationship that with more resistance comes more affiliation and belonging.

Governmentally, governmental officials indicated the existence of a dialectic relationship between all forms of resistance and the Palestinian national identity. In this context, Dr. Laila Ghanam said that national identity is the catalyst of the peaceful and armed resistance while Mr. Adnan Ghaith found a strong bond between resistance and Palestinian national identity.

Concerning the activists of peaceful resistance, they all agreed that there is a dialectic relationship between resistance forms and the Palestinian national identity. Basically, Mr. Mahmud Nawaja and Mr. Salah Al-Khawaja preferred peaceful popular resistance to armed one because it achieves its goals as well as the high participation of Palestinians in it. Also, Mr. Nawaja considered that the response of the Israeli violations cannot be by using armed resistance. Instead, it should be using peaceful popular resistance methods such as being anti-normalization.

From here, the researcher concluded that there is a dialectic relationship between all forms of resistance and the Palestinian national identity, so the opinions of the interviewees supported the hypothesis of this study which supposed the existence of a dialectic relationship between the Palestinian popular peaceful resistance and the Palestinian national identity. Thus, this affects the process on both sides as it is a causative relationship because the Palestinian national identity affects the development of resistance and vice versa.

Also, the option of popular peaceful resistance is the best option in resisting the Israeli occupation leading to the attraction of the world's attention on the Palestinian cause and the increase of international solidarity with the Palestinians. In other words, resistance contributed in the formation of the Palestinian national identity the emerged by using the

force of the Palestinian struggle. The Palestinian struggle state gave the Palestinians the characteristic of resistance. Still, peaceful resistance is the practical model for the Palestinian resistance against occupation today giving the Palestinians international solidarity.

Thus, the researcher thought believes that peaceful popular resistance had a great role in enforcing the Palestinian resistance and this agrees with the opinion of Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky who said that popular peaceful resistance had a great role in redefining occupation as illegal. Consequently, popular resistance enhances the national identity and the sense of belonging for the importance of its existence and its relation to resistance.

Concerning armed resistance, there is no doubt that it has a great role in the formation of the Palestinian national identity, but it is limited to specific classes. Also, it didn't achieve its goals unlike peaceful resistance. Consequently, Palestinians are proud of their armed resistance, but this is not enough to enhance their sense of belonging and identity because it is not part of their life since it is restricted to specific classes upon whom the tasks of liberating Palestine fall.

#### **4.5.2. Question Two:**

“How can you evaluate the reality of the Palestinian peaceful popular resistance?

Can we consider the stand of the Palestinian leadership from peaceful popular resistance as part of its national strategy? Why?

- Does the Palestinian leadership choose the peaceful popular resistance as the last action considering the blockade of other options or did it find it the most suitable option for the Palestinian cause? Why?
- Do weekly events in some Palestinian cities and villages reach the level of becoming a national strategy for peaceful popular resistance, or they are just random movements?
- What is the future of these movements considering the internal and regional transformations in the region?
- Why weren't the successful experiences of popular resistance at Bab Al-Shams village and Al-khan Al-Ahmar taken in consideration when developing a national strategy for the Palestinian popular resistance?

The evaluation of the reality of the Palestinian national resistance and the possibility of considering the stand of the Palestinian leadership from popular peaceful resistance as part of the Palestinian national resistance as well as the weekly events and the achievements of those movements are the main topics of the second question.

All the interviewees that there is no such national strategy for popular resistance confirming the studies of previous studies except Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad the representative of Fatah and the PLO who confirmed its existence but it wasn't published until now. Palestinian political parties agreed that there isn't any strategy for political national popular resistance that unless adopted, the future of the popular resistance is lost.

At the same time, Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad said that the adoption of popular resistance was not a strategic option, but a reaction to the failure of negotiations which was agreed by Mr. Suhail Al-Salman and Dr. Mohammad Al-Aboushi who said it was as a result of lack of

faith in the leadership. Consequently, it wasn't an option for ending the Israeli occupation, but this is the mistake of the PA when it relinquished its role in protecting the Palestinian identity. Mrs. Majida Al-Masri considered that popular resistance is the best choice with a heavily armed enemy.

Concerning the reality of the popular resistance in Palestine today and the future of the weekly movements, the Palestinian political parties had similar opinions in the idea and content. The representative of the Palestinian Initiative Mohammad Al-Aboushi thought that popular resistance is still managed factionally in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Besides, they have been organized for a long time with great achievements on the ground. However, some of its practices were practiced bureaucratically. Still, the PFLP representative Suhail Al-Salman considered that the reality of the popular resistance in Palestine is seasonal and easily adapted by the occupation that Mr. Salman proposed a solution to get out of this reality which is adopting a comprehensive strategy and the formation of a unified leadership for it.

However, Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad saw that these events are good but not enough because popular resistance was adopted when negotiations failed and the incompatibility of the Palestinian arsenal.

Academically, all academics agreed on the absence of a unified national strategy of the Palestinian popular resistance as they agreed on using popular resistance was due to an urgent plan to escape from their reality. In addition, they agreed that the reality of those movements is seasonal because it is limited in specific areas. However, Dr. Mazen Qamsia

saw that the reality of the popular resistance doesn't contribute in enhancing the national identity regarding the regression of such resistance in Palestine.

Furthermore, Dr. Omar Rahal indicated the horizon of the Palestinian popular resistance never existed because the Palestinian leadership is not serious about adopting popular resistance or even armed resistance. He also thinks that any decisions about popular resistance won't work if they are related to official decisions and interests with the Israeli interests. This agreed with Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub who said that the structure of the PA cannot include resistance and cannot lead to popular resistance or non-popular resistance.

Governmentally speaking, Dr. Laila Ghanam indicated that the option of popular resistance is the choice of the Palestinian leadership which is the best regionally and globally. She also indicated the necessity of putting it in a clear national and political strategy. However, Mr. Ghaith Adnan stated that the best strategic choice for the Palestinian factions is popular resistance which is confirmed in the meeting of the Palestinian factions in 2020. In that meeting, the secretary generals of the Palestinian factions confirmed that weekly events are organized and successful models for popular resistance.

Also, Palestinian popular resistance activists along with academics and governmental officials confirmed the absence of a national unified strategy as well as leadership. Also, the Palestinian leadership employed popular resistance due to the failure of negotiations and because it is the best choice to gain international solidarity.

Concerning the reality of the popular resistance in Palestine and the weekly events, popular resistance activists agreed that they are seasonal and disorganized. In other words, popular

resistance means the participation of all factions in the strategic plan. However, the Palestinian leadership – according to Mr. Mahmud Nawaja- adopted the decision, but Mr. Nabil reflected the same thing in Gaza.

This way, the researcher agreed that the popular resistance option is an urgent decision for the PA because of the failure of the negotiations and this indicated the absence of a unified national strategy and a unified leadership.

Despite the statements of Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad in the interview that there is a national strategy for the Palestinian popular resistance, but there isn't any announcement of strategic plan by the Palestinian leadership. Also, the decision of the meeting of the Palestinian factions in 2020 September, 2020 to adopt peaceful resistance, but there isn't any formal decision or even a draft about a national strategy across Palestine. Consequently, the researcher believes that the leadership's adoption of the popular resistance is an emergency procedure in order to cope with the international treaties and conventions signed with Israel.

Concerning the reality of the weekly events and the movements of popular resistance in Palestine, the researcher agreed with the opinions of the interviewees in considering them seasonal and easily adapted by the Israelis. Consequently, they are not up to a strategic plan despite the success stories of such movements. Unfortunately, they are not continuous and fade away easily unless the success stories of Bab Al-Shams village and Al-Khan Al-Ahmar experiences are taken in consideration in a comprehensive strategy.

Also, these movements are not enough for a full-scale popular movement. Most of the Palestinian political factions called for them, but their participation was limited which created a crack in the Palestinian national identity. As a result, the researcher saw that the Palestinian leadership should take the recommendations of the secretary generals of the previously mentioned Palestinian factions' meeting final statement.

#### **4.5.3. The Third Question:**

“In light of your previous stand, how do you see the point of peaceful resistance in achieving its goals? Why?”

The politicians, governmental officials, academics, and activists saw that there was no point from popular peaceful resistance and achieving its goals. Factionally speaking, Dr. Mohammed Al-Aboushi supported his lack of faith in popular resistance by mentioning international experiences such as the Indian and South African ones. He added that military actions are a way of empowering the peaceful resistance not vice versa.

However, Mr. Suhail Al-Salman considered that there is a point in peaceful resistance only if there is space for other ways of resistance and the participation of all Palestinians. Also, it should be part of a national unified strategy based on the awareness of the Palestinians rights.

Academically speaking, Mr. Al-Salman, Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub and Dr. Omar Rahal saw that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals more effectively than armed resistance if there is a unified strategy and a good leadership. Dr. Omar Rahal and Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky added that the deconstruction of the concepts of peaceful resistance away from the classic form is necessary for achieving the goals of peaceful resistance. Similarly, Dr. Laila Ghanam

agreed with the academics and politicians that nothing can be achieved unless the popular forces, institutions and syndicates cooperate in achieving the goals of popular resistance.

Other popular resistance activists agreed with the others about the importance of having a unified program for national strategic work under a unified leadership. Mr. Nabil Nawaja assured the possibility of achieving the goals of peaceful resistance if we looked back to the successes of popular resistance.

Consequently, they agreed that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals despite some of them didn't answer it. However, most of them answered it assuring the ability of popular resistance in achieving its goals if conditions met.

According to the global experiences of popular peaceful resistance from previous studies and interviews, the researcher saw that peaceful resistance can achieve its goals if there was a comprehensive national plan for all the Palestinians who can contribute according to their potentials. In addition, a unified political and national leadership should be formed and it should be able to gather Palestinians under one umbrella as well activating the role of popular forces and syndicates in order to achieve independence.

#### **4.5.4. The Fourth Question:**

“After experiencing the peaceful popular resistance in 2000, how do you see the relationship between this form of resistance and the Palestinians' sensation of their national identity? Did it contribute in fostering the sensation of their Palestinian national identity or weakened it? Why?”

Based on the themes of the analysis of the themes of the fourth question, there weren't many themes to answer this question at all factional and political levels. Academically, Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub thought that the first intifada enhanced the Palestinian national identity unlike the second intifada- according to Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky- which moved from peaceful to armed resistance after 2000. Then, popular resistance moved forward despite it was a humble experience which wasn't adopted in a strategic plan.

Concerning the activists of the Palestinian popular resistance, they didn't determine the date of their popular resistance that Mr. Morad Shtewi said that all forms of popular resistance enhance the Palestinian identity. Similarly, Mr. Al-Khawaja said that it enhanced the unity of the Palestinians and their identity. Governmentally speaking, Dr. Laila Ghanam saw that this form of peaceful resistance especially after 2000 contributed positively in enhancing the Palestinian national identity allowing many Palestinians to get into national actions paving the way to the emergence of the BDS.

The researcher believes that the popular peaceful experience after 2000 was military per se after months of having a peaceful nature, so not many Palestinians participated in it. Also, no strategic plans were put based on it even though the popular resistance forces were creative in their resistant methods such as boycotting the Israeli products.

#### **4.5.5. The Fifth Question:**

“Why didn't the popular resistance since 2000 until now achieve any diplomatic and political infiltrations at the international level compared to the achievements of the first intifada in 1987.

The academics and politicians agreed that popular peaceful resistance since 2000 until now hasn't achieved any international or political initiation compared to the achievements of the first intifada in 1987. Furthermore, the officials of the political parties agreed on the fact that the second intifada was in the military actions phase. Dr. Al-Aboushi considered that the political practice of the Palestinian leadership and depending on the external funding were the main reasons for not achieving any international and political achievements in the second intifada.

Also, Mr. Suhail added that the absence of a unified national leadership in the second intifada, the weakness of the PLO in the representation of Palestine as well as the lack of trust in the political leaderships had the greatest impact in not achieving international or political gains.

Academically speaking, Dr. Khalid Hroub indicated that the main reason for not achieving any international and political gains is the crisis of leadership, the loss of the leadership after Oslo as well as the privatization of politics in Ramallah and the monopoly and privatization of resistance in Gaza. Consequently, Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank were marginalized, so resistance failed because it cannot succeed without them.

Consequently, Dr. Hroub and Dr. Ayyad as well as Dr. Rahal agreed that the military nature of the second intifada was the reasons for not achieving any political gains. Other reasons were presented by Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky that he said that the inability of the Palestinian official institution of presenting a diplomatic international level equal to the Israeli one as well as their inability to present a complete popular resistance model. Also, Dr. Sari added that other reason is the marginalization of the masses. Furthermore, Dr.

Qamsia added that the superiority of the Israeli forces is a major cause of this especially after 2000.

Concerning the peaceful popular resistance activists, they said that there are many gains, but they didn't mention any of them that they supported the politicians and academics in not achieving any international and diplomatic gains. Also, Mr. Diab saw that the diversity of the political discourse is the main reason for not achieving political gains. Similarly, Mr. Hanash said that it is because of the lack of organization of popular resistance.

Likewise, Mr. Al-Khawaja concluded that not expanding the forms of popular resistance, political disagreements, the lack of the participation of the leadership in popular resistance, not taking practical political decisions in facing the occupation were influential in not gaining international gains.

Governmentally speaking, only Dr. Laila Ghanam considered that the popular peaceful resistance after 2000 achieved great achievements including the recognition of the membership of Palestine in the UN as a non-observer state as well as joining the Interpol, UNESCO, the International Criminal Court as well as the BDS internationally, economically, and academically.

The researcher believes that the popular peaceful resistance since 2000 until now hasn't achieved anything compared to the first intifada in 1987 because it was done by implementing many forms of resistance such as civil disobedience, strikes, peaceful marches while the second used peaceful methods at the beginning and then turned to armed resistance by preparing their military wings and attack Israeli cities and villages as well as busses leaving hundreds of casualties. In return, the Palestinians lost their international

solidarity, the destruction of Palestinian houses, attacking formal institutions as well as the assassination of Palestinian leaders.

The world considered the Israeli procedures as an act of self-defense including the separation wall which led to the confiscation of thousands of donums and putting roadblocks between cities. Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky said that the inability of the Palestinian official institutions led them to ignore popular resistance for the lack of strategic plan for it.

#### **4.5.6. The Sixth Question:**

“How can we empower the Palestinian national identity?”

Factionally speaking, Mrs. Majida Al-Masri saw that enhancing the Palestinian identity comes from enhancing the Palestinian narrative and linking the political stand with the field unity. Also, denying the existence of Israel enhances the Palestinian identity. Dr. Al-Aboushi focused on putting the higher interests forward above any individual, factional or organizational interests. Also, giving models of national leaderships is essential that Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad said that it is imperative to expand the circle of popular resistance in order to enhance the Palestinian national identity.

Academically speaking, Dr. Khaled Al-Hroub said that enhancing the Palestinian national identity comes from pumping new blood in the PLO and electing real PNC. However, Dr. Saed Ayyad saw that enhancing it comes from a new political and factional vision in which it includes ending the Palestinian division and putting the Palestinian political house in order.

Also, Dr. Al-Shobaky said that it is done by enhancing the Palestinian narrative, preserving the Palestinian heritage, designing a program for popular resistance as well as contributing in supporting the perseverance of the Palestinians in 1948 land.

Dr. Sari indicated that fostering the Palestinian identity can be by holding tight to the cultural and narrative identity while Dr. Qamsia saw that it is essential to raise children on citizenship since young age. Still, Dr. Omar Rahal said that it is done by ending the crisis of the political system by ending the Palestinian division, peaceful transition of power, elections, establishing a democratic political system without any discrimination based on religion, race or gender and law independence. Dr. Rahal added that it should be done by increasing the participation of women, the young, researchers and civil community in the affairs of the Palestinian state in order to achieve social justice.

Governmentally speaking, Dr. Laila Ghanam agreed with Dr. Rahal in increasing the participation of people in decision making through political, syndicate and social work while Mr. Adnan focused on the necessity of achieving the national unity and ending the Palestinian division in order to enhance the Palestinian identity.

Concerning the activists of the popular resistance, Mr. Khawaja said that enhancing the Palestinian national identity can be done by the leadership of activists of the state of unity and adopting a unified strategy uniting people on one cause. Also, Mr. Hanash, Mr. Diab and Mr. Nawaja saw that enhancing the Palestinian national identity through political and diplomatic resistance as well as standing against normalization with the Israelis. Also, they agreed on publicizing the idea of popular resistance.

The researcher agrees with the interviewees about the ways of supporting the national identities assuring that the perseverance of the Palestinians is by supporting him and giving him part in decision making in order to feel that he is part of this country.

Also, it is imperative to form a united national leadership from which comes a unified strategy with the participation of all the classes of the Palestinians as well as resolving all their disagreements and join their forces together.

The researcher assures that the actual practice of popular resistance on the ground confirms the hypothesis that states that there is a dialectic relationship between popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity. Looking back at what happened in Jerusalem at Bab Al-Amoud and displacing Palestinians by force at Salawan and Shekh Jarah indicated that the Palestinians' emotional maturity reached its peak. Other areas in which there were popular resistances are Sbeh Mountain in Beta in South East Nablus against building settlements on its lands that all Palestinians there were unified to express their refusal for such act.

Also, the researcher saw that the analytical stands of the academics were strong with evidence while politicians were confused. At the same time, the factions and activists were partially biased to the popular resistance due to their status.

At the end of this summary, the researcher thinks that this issue is very important, so it needs more researches with more depth and influential studies affecting the lives of the Palestinians.

According to the themes of the analysis of the sixth question concerning the ways of strengthening the Palestinian national identity, the researcher believes that what was mentioned by the activists of the peaceful popular resistance is important for strengthening

the Palestinian national identity. In other words, it forms the unified national leadership from which a unified national popular strategy is formed including all the Palestinian factions.

Also, it is imperative to strengthen the Palestinian national identity by resolving political disagreements as well as joining the Palestinian forces in order to fortify the internal structure of the Palestinian society by ending the Palestinian division. This is done in order to strengthen the resistance of the Palestinians and organize a popular movement for fighting all kinds of normalizations and strengthening the Palestinian national identity.

### **Comprehensive Analytical Summary**

Peace is a tool of power and a strategy of liberation as well as a means of life survival representing a state of rebellion against injustice and oppression. Peaceful resistance is seen in many societies as a form of weakness, lack of determination, inability to confront and as a form of submission. However, the peaceful resistance has achieved its goals reflected on achieving what the peoples aspire to from their right to self-determination.

The success of the "Salt March" led by Mahatma Gandhi in India proved the victory of the principle of pacifism in the resistance, as the protesters stormed the salt stores guarded by the Indian forces backed by British power in order to break the ability of the local authorities to control the fate of the people despite knowing that they might face backlash from British/Indian forces.

This study presented the peaceful pattern of the Palestinian popular resistance under the title of the peaceful popular resistance. As the resistance practiced by the Palestinian people on a daily basis is diverse and different, it dealt with the discussions that revolve around the peaceful popular resistance that the Palestinian people also practice at different levels. The theoretical framework and previous studies dealt with the controversy of the conflict and the most important stations of resistance in Palestine in general, and the peaceful popular resistance in particular. This is because it became clear to us that the various and different methods of peaceful resistance have been practiced for a long time, and achieved great victories related to the resistance against the Israeli occupation.

It linked the role of peaceful popular resistance to the Palestinian national identity, as the study tool proved the existence of a reciprocal (dialectical) relationship between the resistance and the Palestinian national identity, where the resistance affects the national identity, and the national identity affects the resistance, and that resistance has a positive impact on the national Palestinian identity.

This relationship between the resistance and the national identity is not a direct one since resistance is not a founding element of the identity. Rather, it is a crystallizing element of this identity and protecting the other remaining elements of the Palestinian identity. As the impact of resistance on identity is not related to the form of resistance, whether it is peaceful or armed, but rather to its effectiveness in the conscience of the masses, as passing through the various stations of the Palestinian resistance. Furthermore, it is also seen that the armed resistance had a major role in creating and framing the Palestinian national identity.

The differentiation of the Palestinian national identity preceded the emergence of the Palestinian struggle and its effectiveness, which contributed more to the strengthening of this identity. The state of the struggle of the Palestinians resistance gave them new characteristics that they would not have acquired without this case since Palestinians are associated with the resistance and its symbols. Thus, resistance is considered to be the formative process in the structure of the Palestinian identity, and the effectiveness of the resistance is the measuring tool, whether it is armed or peaceful. It is the one which gave legitimacy to the movements and leaders, and this is the secret of the success achieved by the Fatah movement previously, as described by Dr. Khaled Al-Hroub. Identities crystallized in the form of conflict with the other, this is what was referred to in the theoretical framework when studying the transformations in the Palestinian national identity, and Dr. Kayed Shreim's study on "The Palestinian National Identity: Controversy of Reality and the Predicament of Discourse".

The dialectical (reciprocal) relationship between the peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity is a relationship of influence and the influenced in both directions, not a causal or mechanical relationship, so that the national identity affects the course of the resistance and its development at the same time that the resistance affects the process of that identity. Thus, the option of peaceful popular resistance is the best and finest option in resisting the occupation, and it is this type of resistance that has attracted the whole world and mobilized international public opinion in solidarity with the Palestinian people and put pressure on Israel to stop the violations that are being practiced against the Palestinian people.

It is the peaceful popular resistance that has strengthened the Palestinian national identity. It is an elegant expression of the character of the resistance that has been associated with the name of the Palestinian people globally creating the spirit in defending rights, people's unity, identity, and adherence to the land. The Palestinian national identity has also strengthened the steadfastness of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories through Palestinian writers, poets and intellectuals contributed to preserving the national identity and consecrating it in the face of the occupation's attempts to obliterate it.

Basically, the Palestinian people inside the occupied interior succeeded in holding elections for local councils, which became a model for peaceful popular resistance inside the Palestinian territories.

It is also the practical model for the Palestinian resistance against the occupation today, and it is the model that gives the Palestinians international solidarity and continuity for a longer time and a broader and deeper extension of the participation of the Palestinian people in this type of resistance. In other words, each person chooses the method by which he resists according to his capabilities and capabilities. Thus, he feels that he is part of this national struggle that aims for freedom and independence, which increases and enhances his feeling and its connection to the national identity.

Thus, the researcher believes that the peaceful popular resistance has a major role in strengthening the Palestinian national identity. The researcher here agrees with the opinion of Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaki, who believes that the role of the peaceful popular resistance is to

redefine the occupation as it should be known and that its mere illegal existence is the problem and not how it exists, whether it is carrying a weapon or a musical instrument.

Consequently, the peaceful popular resistance enhances the national identity of the Palestinian people, and deepens their affiliation to their cause and homeland, due to the fact that every Palestinian feels the importance of his existence and what he presents to the cause, and what this type of resistance has achieved in the succession of events for the Palestinian cause.

Despite the dialectical (reciprocal) relationship between peaceful popular resistance and the development of the Palestinian national identity, there is a different reality of the peaceful popular resistance in Palestine today and the weekly events taking place in some Palestinian villages and cities.

As there is no national strategy for peaceful popular resistance, this is confirmed by all the previous studies that this study touched on, about the Palestinian resistance, as well as all those interviewed, with the exception of Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad, the representative of Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization during his interview, who stated the existence of this strategy National, which has not appeared to the public until now.

Consequently, the absence of a national action strategy for the Palestinian popular resistance in general and the peaceful pattern of it in particular, makes the management of this resistance to end the occupation a factional and factional administration, as the weekly events on the ground today are seasonal, unorganized, and confined to specific places.

Therefore, the occupation has come to expect and anticipate its results. Popular resistance means the participation of all segments of the Palestinian people and the exercise of all forms of resistance under a unified national strategic plan. This is confirmed by Dr. Mazen Qumsiyeh, who believes that the reality of the peaceful popular resistance in Palestine today does not contribute to strengthening the national identity, but rather the identity is in a state of decline due to the reality of this resistance.

Peaceful popular resistance movements in Palestine were for a long-time organized movements and achieved successes and achievements on the ground. However, some of these national movements and activities took an official and bureaucratic dimension, and began to practice the method of domination over the process of work on the ground, which affected the effectiveness of these movements and peaceful popular resistance.

The researcher believes that there is a future for these movements and peaceful popular resistance if they are adopted and a comprehensive national strategy is developed related to political, diplomatic, and popular action. Furthermore, this is done through the formation of a unified leadership that takes upon itself the development of popular resistance throughout the country, and a popular uprising in which all Palestinians participate in their various positions and orientations at home and abroad.

As for the reality of the weekly events and the movements and reality of the popular resistance in Palestine, the researcher believes that the weekly events are seasonal events and are reactions to some violations practiced by the Israeli occupation army, and therefore do not rise to the level of a unified national action strategy, because these movements.

Despite the victories they have achieved, they are irregular movements that do not depend on a clear strategy and specific goals, and these movements and the achievements they achieve are part of successful experiences. However, these successful experiences were within specific areas and achieved limited successes that are not continuous, and not extended to other areas of Palestine. Thus, these movements disappear with the demise of the event without continuity or extension to other areas.

The Palestinian political parties called for popular resistance in their political programs and bylaws, but the participation of these organizations, parties, and factions in the weekly events in some villages and cities is very limited and for specific factions and not others. This creates a state of distortion of the Palestinian national identity in the hearts of those who do not belong to this category.

Therefore, the researcher believes that the Palestinian leadership should move forward with what was recommended by the meeting of secretaries-general of adopting peaceful popular resistance and forming a unified leadership to develop a comprehensive national strategic plan specific to a specific time to achieve its goals of liberation and independence.

The researcher looks at the decision of the Palestinian leadership to adopt the peaceful popular resistance, which is nothing but a forced asylum and an escape from the fait accompli, in light of the obstruction in other options. The most important one is the option of negotiations due to the lack of practical steps towards the decision to adopt peaceful popular resistance and the absence of a unified national strategy for all Palestinians and the leadership of a unified national action. This was confirmed by Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad, who

stated that adopting the peaceful popular resistance was not a strategic choice as much as it was a reaction to the failure of the negotiation option!

The only option for the Palestinian leadership when the negotiation option was blocked due to the lack of equality in the armed resistance, which shows an indirect contradiction in the Palestinian leadership's decision to adopt the peaceful popular resistance. As Al-Ahmad's statement about the existence of a unified national action strategy:" is it because of the unequal balance of power in terms of Military or because of the blockage in the negotiation option?"

The position of the Palestinian leadership on the popular and peaceful resistance cannot be considered part of a national strategy, and this was reinforced by the opinion of Dr. Muhammad Al-Abboushi. Furthermore, he saw that the decision of the Palestinian leadership and the Palestinian factions to adopt the popular peaceful resistance did not crystallize as an option to actually end the occupation. The mistake was made by the Palestinian National Authority when it relinquished the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a protector and preserver of the Palestinian national identity in favor of the Authority.

The researcher does not see realistic prospects for peaceful popular resistance in Palestine in the future, as until this moment no official statement has been issued about the unified national strategy and no practical plans have been announced towards activating the peaceful popular resistance through the Palestinian leadership.

It is also worth noting that since the meeting of the secretaries-general of the Palestinian factions in September 2020 and the issuance of the meeting's statement adopting the peaceful popular resistance from the leadership and all the Palestinian factions, practical steps towards activating the peaceful popular resistance, mobilizing the Palestinian people, and involving all its spectrums and institutions have not been implemented until now.

Any official decision or draft is issued about a unified national action strategy for peaceful popular resistance throughout the country. Therefore, the researcher confirms that the decision to adopt popular resistance by the Palestinian leadership is only to comply with international conditions and international treaties and agreements signed with Israel. This is confirmed by Dr. Omar Rahal, who believes that the Palestinian leadership is not interested in peaceful, popular, or armed resistance at all, that any decisions of peaceful popular resistance will not succeed if they are linked to official decisions and interests with the occupation. This is what Dr. Khaled Al-Hroub agrees with, who stated that the structure of the Palestinian Authority cannot be a resistance structure, nor can it lead a popular resistance or an unpopular resistance.

Peaceful resistance can achieve its goals. According to global experiences in modern history and previous studies that were reviewed during this study, and the opinions of those interviewed. It is concluded that the peaceful resistance can achieve its goals if a unified and comprehensive national strategic plan is drawn up for all segments of the Palestinian people, with specific goals and in which each person participates according to his capabilities and capabilities, and thus achieving these goals.

Consequently, it is a wide space that opens the way for all forms of resistance and with the participation of all people in the struggle that the peaceful popular resistance is part of a national strategy of struggle and struggle. It also unites the core and is based on awareness of our rights and our belief in the justice of our cause and our belief in the message that we carry.

Peaceful resistance achieves its goals and more effectively than the armed resistance has not achieved. In other words, a unified national struggle political leadership should be formed to mobilize the Palestinian community under the framework of a unified national action plan. Thus, this ensures the participation and activation of the peaceful resistance of all the Palestinian people, including popular and national forces, institutions and unions , each in his position according to his abilities and capabilities in order to achieve freedom and independence, by rebuilding the concepts of peaceful popular resistance based on its traditional patterns liberating it from the leadership's use of it and from spontaneity and individualism, as the peaceful popular resistance.

The theory will definitely achieve its goals and have great achievements. Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaki believes that peaceful popular resistance, as presented now, does not achieve its goals. Peaceful popular resistance is a resistance that transcends all the classic images that we are experiencing now in the form of marches and sit-ins.

The experience of the popular resistance after the year 2000, is an experience that took on an armed militaristic character several months after the start of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, with a popular, peaceful character in 2000. Thus, peaceful resistance at this stage was confined to

a specific category of the Palestinian people and in certain areas, and not everyone was involved, and it was not implemented. Adopting or building on it to develop a unified national strategic plan with clear objectives. Moreover, the Palestinian resistance in all its various stages invented different means and methods in the peaceful popular resistance, such as the boycott of Israeli products.

It was not a new form that appeared after the year 2000. Rather, it is a call to revive the previous calls for boycotting Israeli products, specifically settlement products in the first place, which is what the researcher disagrees with the government opinion in By Dr. Laila Ghannam, who considered that boycotting Israeli products was a new form of resistance after the year 2000. Thus, the researcher believes that boycotting Israeli products is an approach by which the Palestinian people defend their rights, existence, and self-determination.

The experience of popular resistance after the year 2000 differs from the first Palestinian national identity that during the second intifada, resistance style turned from the model of peaceful popular resistance to the model of military resistance. Therefore, Palestinians began to retreat and did not take progress in the context of popular peaceful resistance, which is a very modest experience, has not been adopted and planned by a national strategy for all Palestinians.

Peaceful popular resistance since 2000 until this moment has not achieved any international and political gains or even breakthroughs that can be built upon at the international level compared to what the first intifada achieved in 1987 in which the people participated.

The Palestinians practiced it following many different forms of peaceful popular resistance from civil disobedience to strikes, protests and peaceful marches, as this uprising put the Palestinian cause the focus of attention and attention of international public opinion. As for the second intifada (the Al-Aqsa Intifada), it began using various means of peaceful popular resistance, and after several months of peaceful popular resistance, armed military action was adopted to respond to Israeli violations.

The inability of the official Palestinian institution to adopt the peaceful popular resistance in the Al-Aqsa Intifada, and to organize it through a national strategy and a unified leadership, in which the Palestinian people participate at home and abroad. In addition, the Palestine Liberation Organization suffers from weak representation of the Palestinian people, and the lack of a unified political discourse, after the Oslo Agreement and the dispersal of the compass, and the shaking of the Palestinian people's confidence in political leaders. This led to the loss of the compass in the Palestinian national identity, and thus the absence of resistance. One of the reasons that prevented any international or diplomatic gains for the Palestinian cause. The official Palestinian institution has also failed to present an international diplomatic level that is opposed to the Zionist narrative, and the inability to present an integrated model of popular resistance is the main reason for the failure to achieve diplomatic and political gains at the international level.

Thus, the renewal of the Palestinian political and parties' vision for Palestinians came as a step to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian citizen, develop the social and economic behavior of the Palestinian citizen into a resistance behavior, and organize peaceful popular campaigns to combat normalization in its various forms. Adhering to the Palestinian

cultural and narrative identity, reviving the Palestinian narrative and heritage, and popular mobilization for the national struggle, with the participation of all Palestinians, can strengthen the Palestinian national identity.

Also, changing the general Palestinian situation means that Palestine is for all Palestinians by achieving social justice, equal opportunities and credibility between the leadership and the people to resolve political differences, rebuild the Palestine Liberation Organization, and elect a Palestinian National Council.

The actual practice on the nowadays confirms the hypothesis of the research that there is a dialectical (reciprocal) relationship between the peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity, given the events that Palestine witnessed recently in Jerusalem from the confrontations in Bab al-Amud, forced displacement in the Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah area, what followed from the events, and the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip.

There, the feeling of a comprehensive Palestinian national identity for all Palestinians at home and abroad and in all places of his presence reached its climax. In addition to the popular resistance in Jabal Sabih in Beita, southeast of Nablus, against settlement building and land seizure where the peaceful popular resistance united all Palestinians under the banner of the Palestinian national identity.

The international boycott experience in the cultural, educational, and political fields adopted by the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement is considered one of the unique experiences that must be taken by the political and partisan factions in Palestine. During the past years, the movement succeeded peacefully in persuading hundreds of

actors, commercial companies, and artists to boycott the Israeli propaganda that it uses in order to obtain support from the world.

The peaceful Palestinian movements succeeded in persuading the United Nations to issue a list called the “List of Shame” for commercial companies dealing with illegal Israeli settlements. Dozens of prominent companies were added to this list, and this was the result of continuous work by Palestinian organizations and movements within the context of the peaceful popular resistance.

The decision of the occupation to classify some peaceful human rights organizations that work within a national approach and use the available peaceful tools in order to expose human rights violations at home and abroad. Furthermore, they were classified under the list of terrorism, and this decision confirms that the peaceful popular resistance leads to its goals and makes the occupation flounder in its decisions especially after the international solidarity that these human rights organizations obtained from the world.

At the end of this summary, the researcher believes that there is great importance to the issue of peaceful popular resistance and the Palestinian national identity, therefore it needs continuous, deeper, and comprehensive research because of its importance and its continuing impact on the life and future of the Palestinian people.

## **Chapter Five: Results and Recommendations**

## 5.1. Results:

The most important results of this study can be summarized in the following:

1. The existence of dialectic relationship between all forms of resistance and the Palestinian national identity which can be the influenced and the influencer relationship not a causative one because national identity influences the path of resistance and vice versa.
2. The resistance contributed in the formation of the Palestinian national identity which was distinguished in its efficiency on identity that the Palestinian struggle of the Palestinian resistance gave them new characteristics.
3. The option of peaceful popular resistance is the best option for the Palestinians because it gained Palestine international solidarity which allowed the West to practice pressure on Israel to stop their violations.
4. Popular resistance is the practical model for the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation giving the Palestinians international solidarity for a long time that every person chooses his own potentials of struggling for freedom.
5. It has a great role in fostering the Palestinian national identity and deepening the sense of belonging to a cause because every Palestinian feels the importance of his presence and what he can present to this kind of resistance in the following events in the Palestinian issue as well as the role of the peaceful popular resistance in redefining the Israeli occupation as being illegal.
6. It is undeniable that armed resistance is important in the formation of the Palestinian identity, but it is limited to a few people and didn't achieve its aims as in the peaceful

popular resistance. Consequently, the Palestinians are proud of their armed resistance, but this is not enough to enhance their belonging.

7. The option of peaceful resistance was implemented by the Palestinian leadership due to the failure of their negotiations with the Israelis as well as to cope with the stipulations of the international treaties and agreements signed with Israel. The proof on that is that there aren't any steps for the adoption of popular peaceful resistance and the lack of coordinated strategy.
8. The weekly events are seasonal and reactions against some of the Israeli violations which are adaptable by them, so they are not up to a national strategy because they are disorganized and would fade away once events are gone. Their successes don't include all the areas in Palestine.
9. The Palestinian leadership didn't exert any efforts to pay attention to the success of the popular resistance movement in Bab Al-Shams village and Al-Khan Al-Ahmar to be the cornerstone of the national unified strategy including all the factions and Palestinians, so they are not enough for a full-scale popular movement.
10. Peaceful resistance can't achieve its goals unless there is a unified strategic plan including all the Palestinians met on specific goals and participating according to their potentials.
11. The experience of the popular resistance after 2000 is a military one per se because it changed from peaceful to armed resistance and was restricted to specific Palestinians, so not all Palestinians participated in it and wasn't adopted in any strategic plan.
12. The popular resistance of the first intifada 1987 was different from the second intifada in 2000. The first intifada achieved international gains because all the Palestinians

participated in it. Secondly, several forms of peaceful resistance were performed such as civil disobedience, protests, peaceful marches. However, the second intifada was military per se that it was limited to specific people and not many Palestinians participated in it. Also, the Palestinians lost their international solidarity because of considering the Palestinian attacks as attacking innocent people while the Israeli attacks were considered a self-defense act.

13. The inability of the official Palestinian institution which didn't adopt peaceful popular resistance in the second intifada without the participation of the Palestinians in the West Bank and in the 1948 land prevented gaining any international gains for the Palestinian cause.
14. It is imperative to enhance the perseverance of the Palestinians by allowing them to participate in decision making as well as making him feel he is part of this nation in order to enable him to feel his Palestinian national identity.
15. It is imperative to resolve all the disagreements and achieve the unity of the Palestinians under one flag. Consequently, in order to support the Palestinian perseverance economically and socially, there should be campaigns against normalization as well as it is imperative to revive the Palestinian narrative.

## **5.2. Recommendations:**

The researcher recommends the following:

### **Recommendations for the PLO and the Palestinian leadership**

- ✓ Urging Palestinians continuously to adopt popular peaceful resistance after the meeting of secretaries-general in September 2020 by translating it on the ground. This is done by forming a unified leadership to develop a comprehensive national strategic plan for all Palestinians, defined by a specific time, to achieve its goals of liberation and independence.
- ✓ Investing in the successes and victories achieved by the peaceful popular resistance movements in Palestine and by adopting and building on them to be part of the unified national strategy of peaceful popular resistance.
- ✓ Documenting the crimes of the Israeli occupation and its policies in Judaizing the land, building settlements, racial discrimination, and ethnic cleansing, and submitting them to international courts.
- ✓ Forming a unified national struggle political leadership, working to mobilize the Palestinian street under the framework of a unified national action plan that guarantees the participation and activation of the resistance. Popular Peace should include popular and national forces, institutions, and unions that each does his duty according to his ability and capabilities in order to achieve freedom and independence.
- ✓ The establishment of the institutions of the national authority to strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinian citizen on his land. This is done by supporting the survival of Palestinians on their land, assuring their participation in decision-making

that determines his fate and giving them the right to determine their the fate. This way, they feel that they are part of this system and is not far from it and marginalized.

- ✓ developing the social and economic behavior of the Palestinian citizen into a resistance behavior, organizing peaceful popular campaigns to combat normalization in its various forms. Also, the Palestinian narrative and heritage, and popular mobilization for the national struggle should be with the participation of all Palestinians, which can strengthen the Palestinian national identity.

### **Recommendations for Palestinian National and Political Parties**

- ✓ Invitation to parties and the national action factions who called in its political programs and internal systems, to participate widely and actively in the weekly events in the various Palestinian villages and cities. Also, it is recommended to encourage the mobilization of those belonging to these parties and factions from all regions, for a comprehensive popular movement for all segments of the Palestinian people.
- ✓ Resolving political differences, strengthening class unity and popular solidarity, and fortifying the Palestinian internal house by ending division and national unity, and renewing the Palestinian political system.

### **Recommendations for Palestinian Universities**

- ✓ Conducting deeper, and more comprehensive research on the importance of the issue of resistance in all its forms, specifically the peaceful popular resistance, in the process of Palestinian national identity and its continuing impact on the life and future of the Palestinian people at home and abroad.

- ✓ Establishing a specialized center in (identity and resistance) research at the Arab American University.

### **5.3. Conclusion:**

This study discussed the role of the Palestinian popular resistance in the formation of the Palestinian popular resistance and its development in light of the provided theoretical framework which contributed in analyzing that role. Furthermore, it was done by learning from the international similar cases of popular peaceful resistance that the relationship between resistance and national identity is a two- way relationship. In other words, the Palestinian national identity affects the course of resistance and its development. At the same time, resistance affects the formation of the Palestinian national identity which was distinguished by the struggle history it includes.

This study used previous studies, theoretical and conceptual framework related to the issues of national identities and resistance considering historical, local, national, and international experiences especially in the field of popular peaceful resistance. Furthermore, the transformations of the Palestinian national identity were studied with the dialectics of the Palestinian resistance and struggle.

In addition to the main stages of popular resistance in the history of the Palestinian cause and their role in the formation of the Palestinian national identity concluding that peaceful resistance is the best solution for resisting the occupation. In other words, it is the practical model which the Palestinians practice every day granting the Palestinians international solidarity and the required continuity enabling all Palestinians to play their roles according

to their potentials. This makes them feel that they belong to the whole situation and enhances their sense of national identity.

This study recommends the necessity of ending the Palestinian division and solidifying the internal system of the Palestinian political system by calling all the factions to form a unified political struggle leadership which gathers all Palestinians under one flag. Also, it is recommended to enhance the resistance of the Palestinians by allowing them to take part in decision-taking and be part of this community. Also, it is imperative to revive the Palestinian narrative in order to feed the Palestinians with it and transfer it to the Palestinian solidarity movement around the world.

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#### **Academics:**

Dr. Khalid Al-Hroub – A Palestinian researcher and intellectual- An interview via Zoom- 09/12/2020.

Dr. Omar Rahal- A professor of political science at Berzeit University and the manager of human rights and democracy media center (Shams)- An interview via Zoom- 14/12/2020.

Dr. Saed Ayyad- A media professor at Bethlehem University- A researcher and a critic- An interview via Zoom- 26/12/2020.

Dr. Bilal Al-Shobaky- The head of the department of political science at Hebron University- An interview via Zoom- 12/12/2020.

Dr. Sari Nusseibeh- A Palestinian researcher, academic and intellectual- An interview via Zoom- 22/12/2020.

Dr. Mazen Qamsia- A professor at Bethlehem University and the Arab American University- The Manager of Palestine institute for biological diversity and sustainability at Bethlehem- An interview via Zoom- 13/12/2020.

#### **Resistance Activists:**

Morad Shtewi- The coordinator of the popular resistance in Qalqilya- The Spokesman of Fatah Qalqilya district- The manager of the committee of resisting the separation wall and establishing settlements in the Northern part of the West Bank- An interview via Zoom- 15/12/2020.

Nabil Diab- An activist in popular resistance and a member in the National Initiative- An interview via Zoom -15/12/2020.

Mahmud Nawaja'- The General Coordinator of the BDS – An interview via Zoom- 15/12/2020.

Abdelhadi Hantash- An expert in Colonization and Confiscated Lands- An interview via Zoom- 16/12/2020.

Salah Khawaja- A popular political activists- One of the founders of the popular resistance committees- An interview via Zoom- 12/12/2020.

### **Political Parties:**

Majida Al-Masri- A member in the political office of the DFLP- A n interview via Zoom- 18/02/2021.

Dr. Mohammed Al-Aboushi- A member in the political office of the Palestinian National Initiative- An interview via Zoom- 17/01/2020.

Suhail Al-Salman- A member in the political office of the Palestinian People's Party- An interview via Zoom- 08/02/2021.

Azzam Al-Ahmad- A member in the Central Committee of Fatah- A personal interview- Ramallah- 10/01/2021.

**Governmental Officials:**

Dr. Laila Ghanam – The Governor of Ramallah and Al-Bereh- Written answers via email- 15/02/2021.

Adnan Ghaith- The Governor of Jerusalem- An interview via Zoom- 14/01/2021.

## Appendices:

Arab American University  
Faculty of Graduate Studies



الجامعة العربية الأمريكية  
كلية الدراسات العليا

2020-11-22

الى من يهمه الامر

تسهيل مهمة بحثية

تحية طيبة وبعد،

تهديكم كلية الدراسات العليا في الجامعة العربية الأمريكية تحياتي الطيبة، وبالإشارة الى الموضوع أعلاه، تشهد كلية الدراسات العليا في الجامعة أن الطالبة حكمت يوسف محمد علاوي والتي تحمل الرقم الجامعي 21512489 هي طالبة ماجستير في الجامعة العربية الأمريكية تخصص حل صراخ ونفعية وتعمل على دراسة عاموية تأمل من حضرتكم الإيعاز لمن يلزم لمساعدتها للحصول على المعلومات اللازمة للدراسة وإجراء المقابلات المطلوبة، علماً أن المعلومات مستخدمة لغاية البحث فقط وسبب التعامل معها بخاصة السرية، وقد أعليت هذه الرسالة بناءً على طلبها.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام

كلية الدراسات العليا



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## اسئلة المقابلات والمحكمين

## اسئلة المقابلات

1. ما هي العلاقة ما بين المقاومة والهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية؟  
 اذا كان هناك علاقة ما هي طبيعة هذه العلاقة؟  
 هل هذه العلاقة تشمل جميع انواع المقاومة أم انها تقتصر على اشكال محددة؟  
 هل تكون العلاقة اكثر وضوحاً عندما تكون المقاومة مسلحة؟ وقل وضوحاً عندما تكون المقاومة سلمية؟
2. كيف يمكن تعميم واقع المقاومة الشعبية السلمية في فلسطين؟ هل يمكن اعتبار موقف القيادة الفلسطينية من المقاومة الشعبية والسلمية جزء من استراتيجية وطنية ولماذا؟  
 هل لجوء القيادة الى خيار المقاومة السلمية كان لجوء اضطراري في ظل الاستداد للخيارات الأخرى، ام ان القيادة ترى بأنه الخيار الأنسب والأسلم للقضية الفلسطينية؟ ولماذا؟  
 هل الأحداث الاسبوعية التي تشهدها بعض القرى والمدن الفلسطينية، ترتقي لمستوى استراتيجية وطنية للمقاومة الشعبية السلمية، ام انها مجرد حركات غير منظمة؟  
 ما هو مستقبل هذه الحركات في ظل التحولات الداخلية والإقليمية التي تشهدها المنطقة؟  
 لماذا لم تتم الاستفادة من التجارب الناجحة للمقاومة الشعبية السلمية مثل قرية باب الشمس، والخان الأحمر في تطوير استراتيجية وطنية للمقاومة الشعبية في فلسطين؟
3. في ضوء موقفك السابق، كيف ترى جدوى المقاومة السلمية في تحقيق اهدافها، ولماذا؟
4. بعد تجربة المقاومة الشعبية السلمية عام 2000، كيف ترى العلاقة بين هذا الشكل من المقاومة وشعور الفلسطينيين بهويتهم الوطنية؟ هل ساهمت في تعزيز الشعور بهويته الوطنية الفلسطينية ام عملت على اضعافه؟ ولماذا؟
5. لماذا لم تحقق المقاومة الشعبية، منذ العام 2000 لغاية اللحظة، أي مكاسب دبلوماسية وسياسية أو اختراقات يمكن البناء عليها على المستوى الدولي، مقارنة مع ما حقته الانتفاضة الأولى عام 1987.
6. كيف يمكن تعزيز الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية؟

تم التحقق من صدق أداة الدراسة باستخدام صدق المحتوى (content validity)، وذلك بعرض نموذج المقابلة على عدد من المحكمين المختصين والذين أبدوا بعض الملاحظات حولها والتي أخذت بها الباحثة، وذلك حسب الجدول التالي:

| # | المحكّم          | المؤسسة                 | التخصص       |
|---|------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | الدكتور عمر رحال | مركز شمس/ جامعة بير زنت | علوم سياسية  |
| 2 | الدكتور علي قنمر | جامعة الاستقلال         | مناهج تربوية |
| 3 | الدكتور عسان نمر | وزارة الداخلية          | إعلام        |

## الملخص

هدفت هذه الرسالة إلى دراسة دور المقاومة الشعبية السلمية في صيرورة الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، ومن أجل التعرف على كيفية تأثير المقاومة الشعبية السلمية بشكل ملموس على صيرورة الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، ولتحقيق أهداف الدراسة عملت الباحثة على دراسة تحولات الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية وجدل الصراع والمقاومة الفلسطينية، بالإضافة إلى أبرز محطات المقاومة الشعبية التي مرت بها القضية الفلسطينية والبحث في دورها في صيرورة الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية.

انطلقت الدراسة من فرضية مفادها ان هناك علاقة جدلية (تبادلية) ما بين المقاومة الشعبية السلمية والهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، وهو ما تم اثباته خلال هذا البحث، حيث ان تشكيل قيادة موحد وتبني استراتيجية عمل وطني موحد للمقاومة الشعبية السلمية تجمع كافة اطراف الشعب الفلسطيني في الداخل والخارج ذات إطار زمني محدد وذات اهداف وطنية محددة لها ان تزيد من الشعور والانتماء بالهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية.

اعتمدت منهجية الدراسة على المنهج الوصفي التحليلي وذلك لمناسبته لطبيعة الدراسة، حيث يعتمد على وصف الظاهرة كما هي وتحليلها من جميع جوانبها. اضافة الى المنهج التاريخي حيث اعتمدت الدراسة على المعلومات والمعطيات الأولية والثانوية المتوافرة في الكتب والوثائق المحكمة والمجلات العلمية، اضافة الى تنظيم مجموعة من المقابلات المعمقة التي تم اعتمادها كأداة للدراسة مع عينة قصدية من مجتمع الدراسة المتمثل في أربعة مستويات مختلفة من: اكايمييين/ات، ونشطاء/ات المقاومة الشعبية ومسؤولي/ات على المستوى الحكومي الرسمي وكذلك المسؤولين/ات على المستوى الحزبي. حيث شكلت هذه المقابلات المعمقة اللبنة الأساسية واعطت بعداً علمياً وواقعياً، من خلال خبراتهم المختلفة في دور المقاومة الشعبية السلمية وتصوراتهم لمستقبلها ومدى تأثيرها، وتم تحليلها من خلال طريقة الترميز الوصفي (Descriptive Code).

قدمت الدراسة تحليلاً للتجربة الفلسطينية في استخدام المقاومة الشعبية السلمية بمختلف مراحلها وكيفية تأثيرها وتأثرها في صيرورة الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، حيث اثبتت الدراسة في نتائجها وجود علاقة جدلية (تبادلية) ما بين المقاومة الشعبية السلمية والهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، وهي علاقة تأثير وتأثر

في الاتجاهين وليست علاقة سببية أو آلية، حيث تؤثر الهوية الوطنية في مسار المقاومة وتطورها في نفس الوقت الذي تؤثر فيه المقاومة على صيرورة تلك الهوية.

من أهم نتائج الدراسة أن المقاومة الشعبية السلمية هي الخيار الأفضل والامثل في مقاومة الاحتلال الاسرائيلي، حيث ان هذا النوع من المقاومة يحفز ويشجع الفلسطيني للانخراط في العمل الوطني وفق قدراته وامكانياته، كما ويمنح الفلسطينيين، بالإضافة الى التضامن الدولي، يمنحهم الاستمرارية لوقت اطول وامتداد اوسع واعمق لمشاركة الشعب الفلسطيني في النضال الوطني، حيث يختار كل شخص الاسلوب الذي يقاوم به وفق امكانياته وقدراته، وبذلك يشعر بأنه جزء من هذا النضال الوطني الذي يهدف الى الحرية والاستقلال مما يزيد ويعزز من شعوره بهويته الوطنية. الا ان المقاومة السلمية لا تستطيع تحقيق اهدافها الا اذا ما تم تشكيل قيادة وطنية موحدة تعمل على وضع خطة استراتيجية وطنية موحدة وشاملة لكل اطراف الشعب الفلسطيني، ذات اهداف محددة واطر زمني محدد، ويشارك بها كل فلسطيني في الداخل والخارج كل وفق امكانياته وقدراته وبالتالي تحقيق الاهداف نحو التحرر والاستقلال.

**كلمات مفتاحية:** الهوية الوطنية الفلسطينية، المقاومة، المقاومة الشعبية السلمية.