



Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies

**USA foreign policy role in the identity formation of the
Second-Generation of Palestinian Americans 2001-2018**

By:

Tarik Mokadi

Supervisor:

Dr. Omar Rahal

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the requirements for the master's degree in Conflict
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II

III

Theses Approval

"USA foreign policy role in the identity formation of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans 2001 – 2018"

By:

Tarik Mokadi

This Theses was defended successfully on 02/July/2019, and approved by
Committee Memebers:

Committee Memebers

Signatures

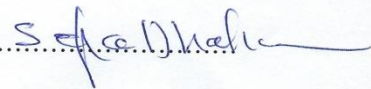
1- Dr. Omar Rahal

Chief Supervisor.....



2- Dr. Safaa Daher

External Examiner.....



3- Dr. Ayman Youse

Internal Examiner.....



III

Declaration

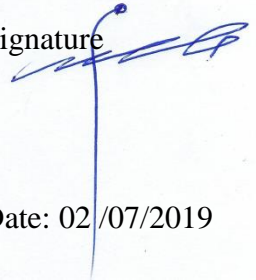
The Undersigned, the author of Master Thesis entitled “USA foreign policy role in the identity formation of the Second-Generation of Palestinian Americans 2001 – 2018”.

Where I submitted to Arab American University for Master.s Degree and that it is the result of my own research, except as indicated, of which none has been offered for a higher degree to any university or other educational institution.

Tarik Mokadi

Signature

Date: 02/07/2019



IV

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to

My late father and my late brothers who taught me the meaning of belonging

To my Lovely Mother, To which I read in her embroidered dress the ABCs
of identity

To my partner in success .. my dear wife Feda, for her love, support, and
encouragement.

To the core of my heart and soul .. My daughters, Hanin and Jana

To my dear sons; Jamil, Jamal, and Jad.

My Special Thanks dedicated to my youngest brother

Dr. Nadeem Mokadi

Which had a major impact on reaching this achievement?

Tarik Mokadi

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I hope to add to the Arab library what benefits researchers and interested in the identity of the second-generation of Palestinians in the diaspora in general and the identity of those who suffer from the arrogance of American politics and the ethnic discrimination in the United States in particular.

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Tarik Mokadi

VI

Abstract

This study aimed to discuss the impact of USA foreign policy on the identity formation of the Second-Generation of Palestinian Americans after the events of September 11, 2001, until the date of the thesis.

This thesis covers the change in American foreign policy of the presidents of the United States during the same period –which are; President George W. Bush 2001 – 2008, President Barack Obama, 2008 – 2017, And finally the current US President Donald Trump, the forty-fifth president of the United States of America. He was elected on January 20, 2017. His discourse overshadowed his election campaign and the highly controversial results, not only at the American level but also at the global level.

The study dealt with the roots of US policy toward the Palestinian cause from its inception until the date of the study. The period of adoption of the Zionist project by successive American administrations also dealt with the determinants of American foreign policy toward Israel and the Palestinian cause, especially after the September 11, attacks, And the impact of this policy on the Palestinian Americans, where the rise of racial discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in general and the Palestinian Americans in particular, because they are mostly Arabs and Muslims in addition to being spearhead in resistance of the Zionist project in Palestine.

The study also highlighted the hostile environment of discrimination and exclusion in the formation of ethnic identity, transnational identities and the Second-Generation of hybrid cultural components, or what is scientifically known as the Third Culture. The study distinguishes between the concepts of citizenship and loyalty, discussed the dialectical relationship between the two concepts and their relationship to the country of origin and the host country.

VII

In addition to the mobility between the two places, the freedom of movement that the Second-Generation has overcome to connect with the homeland using modern technological means, in shortening space and time within the concept of zero friction, which is promoted within the concept of globalization.

The study also concluded with a set of conclusions and recommendations, the most important of which is that Palestine, although the most important source in the identity formation of the Second-Generation of Palestinian Americans, who are a 100% proud of being Palestinians, is that Palestine is not the only source of their identity.

One of the most important recommendations that can be emphasized is that the Second-Generation needs to be armed with knowledge so that they can penetrate the American political system to make the desired change in the American foreign policy toward Palestinian issue, in addition to the importance of a thoughtful integration in American society- for or the same reasons as mentioned above, while maintaining their ethnic identity and national belonging to Palestine as a Homeland and a cause.

Key Words: Foreign policy, citizenship, dual nationality, transnational identity, American Palestinians, second-generation.

VIII

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	VI
Chapter One	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.1.2 Research Problems:.....	7
1.1.3 Justifications and Importance of the Study:.....	8
Reasons for Topic choice.....	9
1.1.4 Research Objectives:.....	10
1.1.5 Research Methodology and tools:.....	11
1.1.6 Research tools:	13
1.2 Research sample and Population:	13
1.2.1 The Study Population:.....	13
1.2.2 The research sample:.....	14
1.2.3 Research Limitation:	14
1.2.4 Research Questions:.....	14
1.3 Theoretical framework:.....	15
1.3.1 Identity Crisis:.....	19
Chapter Two.....	23
US Policy toward the Palestinian Issue (2001-2018).....	23
2.1 Introduction:.....	24
2.2 The Fixed and the variable in the US Foreign Policy	27
2.3 US Policy toward the Palestinian Issue (2001-2018)	28
2.4 The US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue in the era of President George W. Bush.....	29
2.4.1 US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue under President Barack Obama:.....	36

2.5 US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue under President Donald Trump:	51
2.5.1 Determinants of Trump's policy towards Israel:	52
2.5.2 Determinants of the “Trump” policy towards the Palestinian issue:	53
2.5.3 Manama Workshop (Deal of the Century):	62
2.5.4 Summary:	63
Chapter Three	65
The Palestinian American “Transnational Identity”	65
3.1 Introduction:	66
3.2 Second- generation Definition	68
3.3 Concept of Identity:	69
3.4.1 Palestinians and Ernest Gellner theory	71
3.4.2 The Palestinians and Benedict Anderson Model:	72
3.4.3 The Palestinians and the Anthony Smith Model:	74
3.4.4 Halbwachs and the Palestinians space memory	76
3.4.5 Translational Identity development of Palestinian Americans second-generation:	77
3.5 Palestinians, Arab-Muslim Americans and stereotypical research :	82
3.5.1 Stereotype: Confirmed evidence	85
3.6 Stereotypes and psychological research:	86
3.7 Integration or alienation	87
3.8 Persistent of stereotypes:	89
Chapter four	94
The narrative from the Field	94
4.1 Introduction:	95
4.2 Open Questions Interviews	98
4.4 Key Informant about Interviews	99

4.5 Field Observation:.....	100
4.6 The second-generation Identity.....	101
4.7 Data Analysis	102
4.7.1 Transnational Identities.....	104
4.8 The legitimacy of Transnational Identity:.....	109
4.8.1 Recreating a Palestinian Home in Miami	113
4.9 September 11, identity formation of the second-generation.....	115
4.10 To be a Palestinian Americans.....	117
4.11 Concept of “homeland” for the second-generation.....	119
4.12 Second-generation and relationships with the homeland.....	122
4.13 Summary	124
Chapter Five.....	126
Discussion, Conclusion, and Recommendations	126
5.1 Introduction.....	127
5.2 Discussion	127
5.3 Results Overview	129
5.3.1 Conflicted Identities.....	131
5.3.2 Transnational Identity	133
5.3.3 Transnational Intergeneration	134
5.3.4 Belonging in a Transnational World.....	136
5.3.5 Implications of social exclusion.....	138
5.3.6 USA Foreign Policy role in Identity Formation	140
5.3.7 Challenges and changes	141
5.4 Conclusion	142
5.5 Recommendations.....	145
5.6 Summary	148
References.....	150

XI

English References.....	150
المراجع العربية:.....	157
Websites References	158
Appendixes.....	164
Sample Questions: Appendix A.....	164
Publication approval form: Appendix (B).....	167
Publication approval form: Appendix (c).....	168
ملخص.....	169

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Palestinian immigration to the U. S. started as early as the 20th century with migrants in search of a better economic condition and followed the Arab-Israeli conflict 1948 and 1967 Wars. Nowadays there are about 200,000-250,000, though exact figures are uncertain because few of the early Palestinian migrants listed Palestine as their country of origin and because a number of them enter the United States with Israeli passports or travel Document, These numbers may also be problematic since survey respondents are asked to identify their country of origin, and many Palestinian immigrants who are living in the United States came from Palestinian refugee camps in surrounding states of historical Palestine, such as Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, they may be listing that as their country of origin despite being of Palestinian descent, furthermore, no significant statistics issued by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, The Department did not recognize Palestine as a Nation either Palestinians as a people, nor “Palestinian” as a nationality.

It is essential to explore the unique Contextualize Palestinian Hybridity: and to what extent a Pragmatic Citizenship of Palestinians, But, why the second-generation of Palestinian Americans of stateless immigrants second-generation Influences Diasporic Identities in a hostile atmosphere?

The researcher found a gap in the literature of this diasporic group facing a unique experience where the host country is hostile to their cause and they have no choice but to live and adapt within a pro-Israel atmosphere, in both official and mass media environments and that became even more visible after September 11th, 2001 attacks.

It is important to note in this context the constant and moving American foreign policy toward the Palestinian cause in general, and the impact of this policy since the attacks of

September 11 to the moment, and the impact of this policy on the formation of the identity of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans.

It is hard to find serious differences between the 10 Republican and Democratic presidents who have ruled the United States over the past 50 years on the question of Palestine. Israel has remained the main issue in US policy in the region. It remains the general nature of this policy, as a firm standing with it and supporting its occupation and practices.

Does Trump's dialectical and pragmatic nature open up different horizons for future scenarios? But it is important to note that the promises made by the candidates in the elections do not always bear fruit... where the United States has a strong, stable and influential institutional structure in decision-making. There is, but, an influential margin for the president's movement and policies, especially given that the Republican Party has the majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate, the party in which Trump came on its card.

The study of American foreign policy is of great importance due to the extent of its influence and effectiveness on the international political scene, as well as its status in the international forces' hierarchy. The study will cover presidential terms for George W. Bush and Democrat Barack Obama, and how American hegemony was accompanied by a broad debate under the current US President Donald Trump, especially those involved in the Palestinian cause, especially during his campaign and later actions. And decisions after his election as President of the United States of America, such as the transfer of the embassy of his country from Tel Aviv to occupied Jerusalem, and the annexation of the US Consulate in Jerusalem, which was intended to serve the Palestinians to the US Embassy in Jerusalem, not to mention recognition of the US administration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine

Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and finally the closure of the PLO office in Washington and the decision to stop a lot of aid to the Palestinian National Authority.

As for the theoretical literature and previous studies, the researcher will look at the historical aspect of Palestinian migration to the United States of America and the legal, and the standard of what is known as the identity crisis. Peter Burger, for example, addresses the issue in the context of identity; “that one is born in an environment or a society with a language, a culture, etc. One usually inherits this data by education and society. It remains the task of every generation to add to the collective identity because not static and dependent on one generation. Identity is built across generations, and every generation contributes to the process of building”¹.

The question of the national identity is mainly related to the land on which the human group lives, where its culture and system develop its values. The loss of land usually leads, as in the Palestinian cause, to a real problem with which the human group loses its balance. We know from similar circumstances, as happened with the indigenous people of the American continent, how the cultures of these communities were destroyed after the theft of their lands and lead to the destruction of their way of life. Therefore, the biggest challenge for the Palestinian people has become how to deal with the severe imbalance to restore the collective psychological and social balance. Consequently, we are concerned about a national wound in which the fragmentation of the identity of an existing people and society has been dispelled and transformed into practically small communities with larger communities.

“Dual/double citizenship has become a widespread phenomenon in many parts of the world. Whereas during most of the 20th century it was seen as an evil, which has to be

¹Berger, Peter L. Social construction of reality. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1966

avoided, the dominant opinion (in the Western world) was that dual citizenship causes problems and should be avoided. Today dual citizenship accepted by most countries. ”²

To understand how the Palestinians dealt with this challenge, we must understand how the Palestinian people looked at these profound and destructive transformations. From my point of view, the Palestinian collective mind dealt with the catastrophe on the basis that history ceased or frozen in 1948, living two contradicted histories at the same time. The pre-1948 period which is the natural history associated with stability, homeland, security, and beyond 48 associated with loss and destruction. In other words, the Palestinians are viewed as pre-1948 as natural, and the correct history and beyond 48 as the unnatural and related history with pain and suffering, The first generation of immigrants and refugees in the Palestinian diaspora transferred this picture dramatically to the second-generation of children and grandchildren.

“Palestinian movement to the USA started before the 1948 catastrophe (Nakbah), It started in the mid of the twentieth century as little quantities of Christians scabbed from Ottoman Empire mistreatment.”³ ,” Palestinian streams to the USA became considerably after the wars of 1948 and, as in the next decades numerous Palestinians left the West Bank and Gaza Strip, that uprooted from Arab nations by consequent clashes (especially those in Syrian, Lebanon and the Gulf countries), and others looking for business education and better open doors.”⁴ “As of 2015, USA census data expressed 118,622

²Blatter, Joachim K., Dual Citizenship and Democracy, Institute of Political Science, University of Lucerne, 2008

³Helena L. Schulz, The Palestinian Diaspora (Global Diasporas), 1st Edition London, Routledge, 2003, 43.

⁴BADIL, Closing Protection Gaps, 260 and 263

Palestinians were living in the USA.”⁵ however, this is likely a traditionalist gauge. While Helena Lindholm Schulz in 2001 detailed 200,000 Palestinian Americans, just around 10 percent (10%) of the two million Arab-Americans (numbers that furthermore meet something under 4 percent (4%) of the American Jews). No strong assessment figures exist for Palestinian Americans. Since the U.S. Government doesn't perceive “Palestinian” as a nationality, that's why a credible Palestinians migrant's insights are inadequate.

Legally, “By World war I, on 9 December 1917 the British powers attacked Palestine finishing the Ottoman nearness in Palestine, the appropriation of the Palestine Mandate by the League of Nations on 24 July 1922, later on came the requirement of the Treaty of Lausanne on August 6th, 1924, whereby Palestine was authoritatively disconnected from the Ottoman Empire, from that date until August 1st, 1925, the day on which the Palestinian Citizenship Order (which was authorized on July 24th, 1925) became effective.”⁶

The British Mandate government-issued official documents on Palestine under the title “the government of all Palestine” and confirmed in the place of birth: Palestine, in the category of nationality: Palestinian

The Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, which expands on the standards of the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol. The meaning of outcasts in the Cartagena Declaration

⁵U.S. Census Bureau, “2015 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates - Total Ancestry Reported,” Angela Bringham and G. Patricia de la Cruz, *We the People of Arab Ancestry in the United States*, Census 2000 Special Reports, U.S. Census Bureau, March 2005. Available at: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censr-21.pdf>.

⁶QAFISHEH, Mutaz. THE INTERNATIONAL LAW FOUNDATIONS OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALITY, Genève, 2007

incorporates “persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order.”⁷ The Cartagena Declaration is non-authoritative; however, the approving nations are required to include their standards into local law.

Furthermore, the conflict of nationality law dated 12 April 1930 adopted by “The League of Nations considering that it is of importance to settle by international agreement questions relating to the conflict of nationality laws.

Being convinced that it is in the general interest of the international community to secure that all its members should recognize that every person should have a nationality and should have one nationality only; Recognising accordingly that the ideal towards which the efforts of humanity should be directed in this domain is the abolition of all cases both of statelessness and double nationality.”⁸

1.1.2 Research Problems:

The dual citizenship idea is incompatible with the conventional concept of citizenship as a legal status connected to a nation-state. It contradicts the very notion of a State as having a defined territory with a permanent population. A dual citizen faces problems of variation of rights, conflict of laws and claims arising from the interplay of stateless groups. For instance, united state doesn't recognize Palestinian Americans, as a nationality and Palestine as a state (Nation-State), that results a feeling of injustice, oppressive and may create an identity crisis among the second-generation in particular of

⁷United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, Colombia, 22 November 1984," *UNHCR*.

⁸CONVENTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE CONFLICT OF NATIONALITY LAWS, United Nation, THE HAGUE - 12 APRIL 1930,

Palestinian Americans and their sense of identity as Americans and Palestinians without any formal citizenship or legal status in the Occupied Palestine.

Vulcan explores a large group of people psychologically, studying the need and meaning behind the “other” common in individual and collective psychology. He explains that “adolescents and children belonging to a large ethnic group have common goals supported by adults, in order to obtain the expectations of all this age group in the group, especially at the peak of their production. .. These shared goals, most of which are non-living high voices in their midst, and their awareness of the beginnings of the “other” (enemies) and the shared mutual (We-ness).”⁹

However, the question pop-up as; what happens when your nationality and ethnicity are inconsistent with one another? What happens when you have a place with an ethnic character that is looked down on, marginalized, regarded as mediocre by those individuals having the same nationality?

How do you react and feel when your government's foreign policy is negative towards your people and your country of origin?

1.1.3 Justifications and Importance of the Study:

The dual citizenship concept produces citizenship statuses that are devoid of requisite accompanying rights and duties. It distorts attributes of the nation-state and creates instances of legal uncertainties arising from the interplay of multiple jurisdictions. However, apart from conventional thought for which dual citizenship is embraced and

⁹Volkan, V. D. Ethnicity and nationalism: A psychoanalytic perspective.

tolerated there exist limited scholarly explorations on the multifaceted manifestations of dual citizenship concept, important to explore the unique Contextualize Palestinian Hybridity: and to what extent a Pragmatic Citizenship of stateless immigrants second-generation Influences Diasporic and Transnational Identities in a hostile atmosphere.

First: The importance of research in studying the impact of US foreign policy on the Palestinian issue on a specific ethnic group, born or raised in the United States of America, that the negative effects that may be left by this policy in the formation of identity American citizens will be a serious call to representatives of the American people in various official institutions and decision-making centers to reconsider this policy.

Second: The Arab and English Library lacks research on this case, which is unique to:

- A. The target ethnic group does not have an independent national state
- B. The host country does not recognize the motherland as a state and thus the Palestinian identity and citizenship
- C. The host country stands absolutely with the other side (Israel)
- D. The target group is full-fledged US citizens who support part of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict
- E. They are an ethnic group actively participates in the American elections to select representatives of the American people who have recorded in the history of American foreign policy positions (Veto) against the achievement of international justice towards the solution of the Palestinian issue

Reasons for Topic choice:

The research on the identity of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans was chosen because there is a gap in the literature about this group, which faces a unique experience where the state in which they grew up and their parents are clearly hostile to their cause and to the people they come from and have no choice but to live and adapt An

atmosphere that is unequivocally supportive of the other side of the conflict (ie, Israel). This animosity is evident in both the official and media environments, which became more evident after the September 11 attacks 2001 until the moment this research was completed.

The Palestinian people are still under Israeli occupation, and their citizens do not enjoy the freedom and basic human rights, the most important of which is their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on the soil of their homeland. The Israeli occupation treats Palestinian citizens Of American origin in the same way that their evidence is treated by the Palestinians of the occupied territory since there is no value or consideration for the American citizenship they hold Once they enter occupied Palestine.

The researcher himself has lived in the United States of America during the events of September 2001 and has his own observations on the subject of matter, which generated a sense of the need for scientific research regarding the second-generation of Palestinians in the United States, and what may affect the formation of their personal identity.

1.1.4 Research Objectives:

This study has three main purposes:

First to analyze the concept of dual citizenship on the division between the 1.5 concepts of citizenship and the nation-state in the case of stateless groups, Palestinian Americans as a case study.

The second aim: Is to investigate the implications of the stateless origin immigrants on the second-generation Palestinian Americans sense of identity,

Thirdly: The study aims at examining the implications of conflicting loyalties and belonging on Palestinian Americans second-generation of their native country in light of the hostility of the host country (USA) to their parents and their cause.

Fourth: To examine to what extent the Palestinian Americans Second-Generation connected to their Native Homeland (Palestine)?

1.1.5 Research Methodology and tools:

The Thesis focuses on:

The second-generation of Palestinian Americans (the Ones who born in the USA, or came as a child (five years old or less) to the country.

The sample of the populace will be similarly separated into Palestinian Americans who keep on living in the U.S. and the ones who moved back to Occupied Palestine transitory or permanently.

The study will be founded on top to bottom subjective research (qualitative research) to be completed in 2018 - 2019, in which 30 Palestinian Americans of Second-generation will be met and interviewed casually (informally) utilizing snowballing procedures.

Interviews could be loosely organized around key subjects yet are open sufficiently designed for respondents to talk about issues they felt were critical or important.

If consent is given, interviewees will be asked for permission to record and digitally copied and transcribed.

An arrangement of coding around the key subjects of home/homeland /national identity, politicization/political exercises, diasporic spaces and citizenship/dual are then utilized.

A systematic approach is adopted to ensuring that the information gathered is precise, and the data collected is accurate enough to be used in this thesis and elsewhere, the process

involves; data collection, data immersion, data reduction, categorization, processing and finally data evaluation

The study adopts an analytical research approach as it builds on abstraction, hypothesis, and theories rather than tests in understanding the meaning that has been constructed on the concept of dual citizenship of Palestinian Americans second-generation and their sense of Identity. In particular, the grounded theory of modern citizenship in the liberal democracy approach, which is a systemic process for discovering, developing, refining theory and research to explain a phenomenon has been applied.

The analytical research approach has been used in examining the transnational identity in general and in the United States in particular, and secondary literature such as leading textbooks on the subject, research thesis and studies, relevant journal, articles, and various other sources, including the internet and other online sources.

Discussions and analysis of immigration and citizenship policy of the host country and publications of different civil society organizations of the Palestinian community in the USA, tasked with policy formulation and implementation of a dual citizenship idea have also been considered.

How the second-generation of Palestinian Americans are identifying themselves and their sense of identity especially after September 11th, 2001, the existing research documents form the basis of the literature review had helped lay the groundwork for understanding the research problem that one could investigate, however, that lack of prior research on the topic of dual citizenship especially in on stateless immigrants to the frequently appears as a hostile country and pro-other side of the conflict in which they

left their homeland because of, indeed the unique case and perspective in the context have limited the intended object of the study. In the circumstance, the study adopted an exploratory rather than an explanatory.

1.1.6 Research tools:

In-depth interviews: The research questions were prepared in advance to be asked to the sample of the study. Participants were asked to answer these questions without interrupting the participant, they were given the freedom to answer the questions.

1.2 Research sample and Population:

1.2.1 The Study Population:

The purposely sample of this study is the second-generation of Palestinian Americans living in the United States or in Palestine.

The researcher chooses the second-generation instead of the first generation because this category is deeply involved in the American social fabric and that the participants meet the following criteria:

- 1) The participant must be a second-generation American born in the United States to parents or fathers of Palestinian origin or came to the United States at the age of five years or less.
- 2) The participant is between 18 and 35 years of age and at least one parent is a first-generation immigrant from Palestine or a Palestinian from an Arab country.
- 3) The participant has been raised and raised in the United States of America
- 3) The participant agrees to answer questions Research, dissemination of information and results of the interview.

1.2.2 The research sample:

The research sample is an objective sample used by the snowball technique, The relations between the respondents in the study community are used to identify the researcher with other suggested sample members.

The size of the sample: thirty respondents, half of them in the United States of America and the half of them in Palestine, who returned temporarily or permanently, taking into account the diversity of the ages of the respondents according to the specified specification in the sample where the identity is formed to a certain extent, taking into account the gender differences and cultural levels Party or religious, if any.

1.2.3 Research Limitation:

Spatial Limits: United States of America and Palestine

Time Limit: The research covered the period from September 11, 2001, to the date of completion of the research

1.2.4 Research Questions:

This research seeks to answer one key question and several sub-questions: the main issue is: To what extent, the American foreign policy regarding the Palestinian cause-effect the Palestinian American second-generation's sense of entity?

And the sub-questions are as follows:

- 1- What was it that tied the Palestinian in the United States to a homeland -in many cases they did not see?
- 2- What does it mean to be a Palestinian American to second-generation of Palestinian descent?

- 3- What are the views of a Palestinian American who born and grow-up in the United States regarding how their ethnic identities find expression in the context of the American way of life?
- 4- What are the difficulties that Palestinian American second-age looks as they experience American society?
- 5- Why couldn't they incorporate into and feel comfortable in the host nation (USA) of their parents or grandparents?
- 6- Why was the feeling of bonding when they met with a new Palestinian, paying little heed to where he or she had been conceived or raised?
- 7- Why did they have a collective narrative and or a commune feeling of homelessness, suffering, loss, and uncertain look to the future?

:1.3 Theoretical framework

This thesis situates itself in a theoretical perspective that grants both an analytical and a normative value to the concept of dual citizenship, “The Liberal model's origin is traceable to the Roman Empire and early-modern reflections on Roman law. The liberal tradition understands citizenship primarily as a legal status derived from a natural law tradition emphasizing the rights of individuals, representation, and material progress.”¹⁰ It stresses individual rights inside the system of the control of law. Dissidents perceive that nationals have certain commitments, for example, compliance with the law and installment of charges and taxes, which are fundamental to support of the state.

“The central points of reference for liberal conceptions of democracy are the natural/universal rights and equal liberties of individuals which have to be secured by and

¹⁰Heater Derek, *A Brief History of Citizenship* (New York University Press, 2004)

at the same time, against the government. In liberal theory there exists a rather strong conceptual differentiation between the society and the polity which is reduced to the government and the relationship between the government and the society is thought to be instrumental: the government serves the society and is not constitutive for the society.”¹¹

With a specific end goal to be a real instrument for the general public, governments need to satisfy the desire of the people, which is conceptualized as an accumulation of individual inclinations. Every one of the individuals who are liable to legislative ought to have the privilege to vote unreservedly, and their vote must be thought about similarly. “In consequence, one of the central struggles of liberal democrats has been the fight for universal suffrage—within the bounded universes of nation-states”¹²

Bauböck stated; “With the abolition of property requirements and equal political rights for women, it seemed that the liberal principle of congruence between the demos and the democratic government had been fulfilled in western democracies. But in recent years, it became obvious that migration represents another challenge for the principle of congruence, this challenge to the core principle of liberal democracy can be problematic.”¹³

Since in communitarian thinking there is a solid cover and relationship amongst society and polity, every one of these contentions is important from a communitarian majority rules system point of view. Nevertheless, here we focus on the one which becomes the dominant focal point in the dialog about the political results of double citizenship—its effect on individual patriotism and his or her devotion to a particular country, In the case of the population of this study, the Palestinian Americans cannot stand neutral toward the

¹¹Held, D. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford, Cal: Stanford University Press. 2006

¹²Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

¹³Bauböck, Rainer, *Transnational citizenship: membership and rights in international migration*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Incorporated, 1994

US foreign policy, which is clearly supportive of Israel, and that is why they are always suspicious of their loyalty, regarded as ungrateful. Hence, for some Palestinians, the submersion of their political personality to become “American” in this sense was impossible.

Generally, patriotism has been mostly a matter of dependability to a particular country in the midst of war. Formal citizenship never again is by all accounts a vital foundation for judging the steadfastness of individuals in the time of military clash.

Dual citizenship might be barred from an official with a sensitive governmental post or on a conflict-of-interest based in a particular circumstance (as in international negotiation with the citizenship of the other nationality) “and stay absent from these specific tasks. Nevertheless, for communitarians, these pragmatic approaches are not feasible since they “neglect the psychological laws of attachment “From a communitarian point of view, dedication or loyalty to a particular state or country is the focal pre-condition for officeholders and can't be traded off.

“An international regime for multiple citizenships could help place understandings and developments of citizenship within the context of the multi-scale connections between societies and peoples and thereby potentially take it out of the frame of exclusive state formation.”¹⁴ It could also help contend with notions of exclusive loyalties by institutionalizing the possibility of multi-allegiances.

This thesis examines as well, the Palestinian community in the regard of Assimilation and alienation especially the second-generation as its research Population.

Assimilation is an internal concept, exceptionally individual process, and it is practically difficult to make speculations about Palestinian-American change following American

¹⁴Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

culture. There is no relationship between Palestinian patriotism and the level of assimilation.

The best Palestinian patriots are not by any methods the slightest American; nor are the most integrated, or the entirely American, fundamentally deficient with regard to an intense feeling of being Palestinian, Failure to communicate in Arabic in the home, the capacity to talk unaccented English American, marriage to a non-Arab, associating with non-Arabs are generally indications of assimilation, yet they require not likewise demonstrate the nonattendance of a Palestinian identity.

Hammer's study shows that; "First- and second-generation Palestinians adjusted to English and succeeded within American political and educational systems. However, many Muslim Palestinian migrants struggled within a largely Islam phobic American context, especially after the events of September 11th, 2001. Furthermore, many migrants (Muslim and Christian) felt certain levels of persecution and alienation, due in part to the large American pro-Israel lobby within the United States, and thus groups including the American Anti-Arab Discrimination Committee were created."¹⁵

Moreover, Alienation among Palestinian Americans is uncommon, yet it is conceivable to live in this nation while never turning into a part of it. Social distance or Cultural alienation are more regularly the cases with Palestinian women, who, in light of Arab social structures, are frequently kept from co-associated in American culture. in an investigation of (Palestinian women in the United States), Louise Cainkar has inferred that "since women are the essential defenders and transmitters of Palestinian culture, they

¹⁵Hammer, J. 2005. *Palestinians born in Exile: Diaspora and the search for a homeland* (1st ed.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

are regularly and intentionally kept separated from the American way of life and standard mainstream.”¹⁶

Alienation can be applied to the elderly, who might move to the U.S. with their immigrant children. “These elderly usually live with their nuclear family, never learn English, don't work, rely upon the family for transportation, and mingle just with family or different Palestinians.”¹⁷

1.3.1 Identity Crisis:

As for the identity crisis, it is important to look at the complexities of citizenship and the legal status of Palestinians in the United States.

Before going in-depth discourse of experimental empirical proof to investigate the identity emergency, it is essential to look at the complexities of citizenship and legal status of Palestinians in the U. S.A.

This and the logical foundation that takes after will help show why the connections among citizenship and national identity are imperative to these exilic and diasporic Palestinians as they take part in politicized talks of pre-Nation-state building and the right of self-determination that are regularly founded on a contrary impression of injustice and statelessness.

This may also lead to a sense of respect and contradiction, as well as the negotiation of double or multiple attachments to space and land. However, this can also lead to the consolidation of relations between citizenship and national identity at home or in the future state, especially if the group concerned is involved in the building of the nation-state. Transnational identity may take particular importance for such groups because it

¹⁶Cainkar, L. Palestinian women in the United States: Coping with tradition, change, and alienation, 1989

¹⁷Christison, Kathleen. The American Experience: Palestinians in the U.S. This content downloaded from 96.91.243.195 on Fri, 10 Jun 2016 15:41:00 UTC All use subject to <http://about.jstor.org/terms>

can be seen as a way to obtain the status of citizenship and the rights and privileges it provides without the need for full membership of the host State and without the need to “give up” the annexes, Home. This, in turn, may feed concepts relating to the nature of nationality and its relationship to national identity at home and the future state that are not necessarily exclusive.

Individuals create their own identity by combining the unique influences and impacts of different social, cultural, economic and political factors that are important in their lives. The Palestinian experience in the diaspora consists of contexts in which migrants and refugees live in different political environments and systems, Lebanon, Jordan, Chile, Australia, and the United States, have special sets of legal and social characteristics that drive the identities of Palestinian refugees or migrants in each and every country they found themselves in. But regardless of spatial or temporal separation from Palestine, the Palestinians and their descendants consistently embody Palestine as a decisive factor in formatting their identity. Transnational identity, which enables individuals to benefit from state services while maintaining national loyalty to their homeland. By analyzing the critical location of Palestinian Americans, we can see what it means to be Palestinian-American.

For the majority of interviewees in the previous study of Abu El-Haj for example, Palestine was characterized by resistance, honor, family, and persistence. The nature of Palestine as a stateless nation is also a feature of the identity of the diaspora and stimulates the continuation of Palestinian identity. What is more, examining this unique type of diaspora also allows us to explore the model of transnational identity to include Palestinians or a contextual appearance of what it means to be a Palestinian in an officially political policy of hostility against their country of origin.

This analysis includes a cultural exchange between host countries and diaspora communities. In this context, there is a range of cultural influences that together create hyphenation identities (as in our case, Palestinian-Americans Second-generation). This study will analyze how these hybrid identities match the concepts of national affiliation and membership to answer the question of the identity crisis of Palestinian Americans who born or raised up in the USA.

Whatever the evolving social patterns, Palestinians still regularly confront ethnic discrimination and political stereotyping;

Many have been singled out for examination by the FBI or other government security offices for no reason more they are Palestinian, in which they have reacted to these events, and government provocation when it happens is a manhandle and abuse rather than the standard law or norms.

therefore, regardless of those incidents, they still welcome the American system in spite of the extreme conflict with American foreign policies, and ready to concentrate on good changes in the American mentality as opposed to harp on cases of segregation.

It is evident in many cases, As Abu El-Haj states, "This is a direct result of the overwhelmingly negative messaging that has permeated American culture and institutions as well as how communities of color have been excluded from the privileges of White supremacy." ¹⁸ "This can lead to an identity crisis."¹⁹

In the meantime, the challenges posed by the United States have helped Palestinian Americans to strengthen their sense of identity. This is true of the first and second-

¹⁸Abu El-Haj, T.R. (2007). "I was born here, but my home, it's not here": Educating for democratic citizenship in an era of transnational migration and global conflict. *Harvard Educational Review*, 77.

¹⁹Sirin, S. R. & Fine, M. (2008). *Muslim American Youth: Understanding hyphenated identities through multiple methods*. New York: New York University Press.

generation, and this has been demonstrated by some Palestinian emigrants who think and cherish their heritage.

This is the final result of American administration experts who do not view the Palestinians as a nation and have the right to self-determination as do all the peoples on the planet, including their right to establish their state on their lands a Capital, the same applies to American administration recognition of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel, Palestinian Americans feel more attached to the city as a Palestinian Capital more than ever.

Chapter Two

US Policy toward the Palestinian Issue (2001-2018)

2.1 Introduction:

Since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the present day, The United States has launched many initiatives that do not recognize the right of Palestinians to self-determination and to establish a sovereign and viable Palestinian State within the customary conditions, and the US foreign policy toward the Palestinian cause is a linear function in its political behavior, which has been reflected in the continuation of certain critical and temporary sectors, and according to the necessity of national struggle and changes in its international interests. The process of negotiations and the peaceful political settlement of the “Palestinian - Israeli” conflict under the auspices of America over the past two decades - as the sole and official sponsor of the Middle East conflict - has paved the way for a distinctive context for the analysis and interpretation of American political behavior, especially under President George W. Bush's administration during the period (2001-2009), which, given the final exit of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat from the theatre of conflict, who has been a major player.

Under the rule of President George W. Bush, the Republican Party relied on its monotonous possession of the comprehensive force to protect the American land, and to consolidate the United States' domination. He said that the US administration has to do with the idea of managing America's back to the world, saying that “if America speaks, the world should listen and “obey” based on the logic of imposing US hegemony on the world by force to prevail (Hard Power) in order to serve the principle of “America first and depending on what is known as “pre-emptive war.” Thus, the US foreign policy depends on strength under a new concept of national security that goes beyond the US borders to include any future threat to the US security and interests, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, in addition to its absolute support to Israel.

“We are not going to be able to get into the situation, but we are not going to have a chance to get the job done,”²⁰ he said, according to the AP, It is a firm distinction between the marginal and vital interests of America.

Commenting on the White House announcement of the first national security strategy under President Trump, his speech accompanying the announcement, and sometimes contradictory, Dr. Ali al-Jarbawi presented an analysis of the content of the new American discourse and strategy, which was drafted by a team led by National Security Advisor Gen. McMaster, showing that the preparation team succeeded in presenting a coherent vision for a US national security strategy. Dr. Jerbawi confirms that “a recurrent strategy aims at dominating over a confusing world, and needs, according to it, salvation by “the justest and prosperous countries in the history of mankind.”, according to the strategy's authors.”²¹

It is strange that the mention of the Middle East region is nothing but a glimmer of this strategy. This is related to confronting Iran and terrorist groups, helping and protecting partners in return for encouraging them to reform their internal situations, and increasing their contribution to the material cost of cooperation with the United States of America. As for the Palestinian issue, Dr. Ali Al-Jerbawi said, “There are only two signals, one basic and the second is passing by. The main reference is that Israel is not the cause of regional unrest, but Iran and terrorist groups. This is evidenced by the fact that there is a rapprochement between many States of the region and Israel at present. The fleeting signal is that the US administration will remain committed to helping and facilitating a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians but on the basis of both sides'

²⁰ FAYSAL ITANI AND NATE ROSENBLATT, US Policy in Syria: A Seven-Year Reckoning Atlantic Council, SEPTEMBER 2018, P. 6

²¹ الجرباوي، علي، استراتيجية الأمن القومي لإدارة الرئيس ترامب: تحليل في المضمون، وكالة سما نيوز <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/324039/>, 03/01/2018

acceptance, which means that Israel has the final right to engineer the settlement it wishes.” In such a view of the world, and of the Middle East, the Trump administration must not be expected to make any meaningful gesture on the Palestinian issue. Instead, we must be prepared for the possibility that this administration might make a serious attempt to impose its vision (which emanates from the Israeli vision) of the struggle of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through a future settlement entitled “The Deal of the Century.”

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), on February 1, 2019, suspended all its assistance to Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, including the suspension of U.S. aid of some \$60 million to Palestinian security forces. The decision is linked to a deadline that ended on January 31, 2018, set by a new US law, and the ACTA law, which was approved by Congress last year, states that any government receiving US funding or aid is more subject to lawsuits in the field of fighting terrorism.

On its part, the Palestinian Authority responded by sending Prime Minister Dr. Rami al-Hamdallah a letter to the US Secretary of State Pompidou on December 26, 2018, informing him that the Palestinian Authority would refuse US financial support because of the new law. He asked the US administration to end the finance by the end of January 2019, fearing from facing lawsuits under the new law known as ACTA,” the Anti-Terrorist Act.

The Palestinian Authority faces possible lawsuits from US families who were victims of previous Palestinian attacks, who threatened to sue them for supporting violence.

It seems clear that relations between the Palestinian Authority and the United States have deteriorated significantly since US President Donald Trump's decision to recognize

Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in December 2017 and then transfer his embassy in Tel Aviv to occupied Jerusalem last May.

However, the controversy that has arisen since the initial results were announced that Donald Trump (2017) won over his predecessor, both inside and outside the United States, over the nature of his personality and the contents of his political speech, especially since the Republican candidate's positions on the foreign policy of the United States in the Middle East were contradictory and unclear. However, Trump's doctrine is based primarily on opposition to military intervention in the Middle East, it is one of following the principle of isolation and internal exile, and does not want America to play the role of the world's policeman, by intervening in crises and conflicts, unless there are real suspicions that there is a direct danger to the security and interests of the United States and then intervention is justified. What is striking about Trump's policy toward the Middle East is his relationship with Israel, which has made it more allied, his anti-Palestinian stance that he has openly shown, and his refusal to settle the Palestinian issue in accordance with the resolutions of international legitimacy?

2.2 The Fixed and the variable in the US Foreign Policy

There are constants (Fixed) in American policy that form its continuity, regardless of the nature of the American administration as a republican or democrat, and that change is always only in the mechanisms, between the use of fixed mechanisms such as war, military intervention, and sanctions, often associated with Republicans, and between soft or variable mechanisms such as diplomacy, negotiations, and aid, often linked to democratic administrations. But there is an agreement among all administrations on achieving these constants that are related to the way of accomplishing the American interests

In addition to the growing influence of the Zionist lobby that supports Israel inside the United States itself, Israel is important and vital in the American policy and in the American foreign policy mentality, as it is a tool to prevent any regional power from emerging in the region, as well as the growing influence of the Zionist lobby supporting Israel within the United States itself.

The changes in American foreign policy are untouchable changes in the American empire's mentality. Any president, regardless of whether republican or democrat, will be within a square of the general framework and essence of domination and control, detailed parts (such as increasing assistance to a country and cutting it off from another, or threatening sanctions against a country or an organization...), does not affect a single argument of its position toward violations of the rights and interests of the Palestinian people, and an example of their daily self-determination.

2.3 US Policy toward the Palestinian Issue (2001-2018)

The US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue is based on two main criteria that no White House president would ignore: The US strategic interests in the Middle East and its relation with the occupation country, consequently we would tackle the official US attitude regarding the Palestinian issue, starting from the US president George Bush's term “son to former US president Barack Obama's term, till the current president Donald Trump.

Therefore we addressed the US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue through separating it into two main research fields, the first covers the terms of President George W. Bush. (2001-2009) while the second covers President Barack Obama's presidential

term (2009-2017), as well as the beginning of President Donald Trump's term until the end of writing this research.

2.4 The US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue in the era of President George W. Bush

The US president George W. Bush's arrival in office in January 2001 substantially changed the form and functions of the US administration controlled by the conservative rightist figures known for his extremism and ideological views of the different issues. "This change was reflected in the form and nature of the US treatment of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the terrorist attacks on the Palestinian people on September 11, 2001, reinforced the US aggression against the Palestinian people and the Bush administration's attack on the Palestinian, describing the Palestinian people's struggle to liberate their land as terrorism."²² After Al-Aqsa Intifada, Sharon exploited the Palestinian attacks to describe the Palestinian struggle as a national liberation movement with all its organizations by terrorism and the military action against the Israeli occupation in the list of "America's war on terrorism." The Bush administration has adopted the Israeli right terms, concepts used by former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu during his tenure as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, such as "dividing the world into two parts: A developed and strong world that fights the other oppressor" and "terrorism only."

"The "religious fundamentalist" coalition in America, specifically the so-called "private churches", with the Israeli lobby contributed to the hostility of the Bush-led administration, the son of the Palestinian people and its leadership."²³

²² حافظ، صلاح الدين. ماذا تريد أمريكا من القمة العربية، قناة العربية. 2006\3\8

²³ حمد، سائدة، جريدة الحياة اللندنية، 16 سبتمبر 2002 / <http://www.alhayat.com/article/1137318>

The scale of the challenge facing the United States following the 9/11 attacks was great, and it is not easy for a country of this size to receive such strong, focused and degrading strikes, without having a great reaction and repercussions commensurate with the size, weight, and global influence and pride of this country. “The United States has pushed for a major shift in its foreign policy, particularly toward the Arab and Muslim world. Its new strategy was formulated on 20/9/2002, which included the thought of direct intervention and selective intervention and the introduction of the principle of pre-emptive wars into American defense doctrine, which was replaced by the term preventive wars, and the American perception of the outside world turned into a marginal consideration, and dealt with other countries that consider their classification as an axis of good and axis of evil.”²⁴

This classification gave the United States some sort of moral legitimacy to deal with those who describe it as an axis of evil using armed force, invasion and occupation if necessary, under the pretext of defending US national security, the military nature prevailed Bush administrations and their view of dealing with countries that do not agree with US policy or describe them as rogue states or as part of the axis of evil, then “the United States launched its military campaign in the Middle East, and occupied Afghanistan following its new strategy of 9/11 attacks.”²⁵

The US strategy was directly reflected in US-Israeli relations, in contrast to US hostility toward Muslims and Arabs and broader US support for Israel. In international forums, the United States stands strongly in favor of Israel and in support of Israel, as evidenced by

²⁴، الجبوسي، ميساء عصام ، الخطاب الرسمي للرئيس جورج دبليو بوش تجاه القضية الفلسطينية، (2001-2009) ، رسالة ماجستير، جامعة بيرزيت، 2014

²⁵الغول، موسى يوسف، تأثير العامل الديني في السياسة الخارجية لإدارة الرئيس جورج دبليو بوش تجاه منطقة الشرق الأوسط، رسالة ماجستير، جامعة بيرزيت، 2011

This is equivalent to 55% and to adopt different positions and policies, given the green light for their repeated attacks, as happened from the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip at the end of 2008.

Israel has benefited from the American hostility and agitation resulting from these events, in the additional incitement against the Palestinians, and in portraying the Palestinian resistance as terrorism from which Israel and the United States suffer) Islamic terrorism.

The US administration started its missions with the release of the Mitchell Report and the International Committee of Six in May 2001. Even with its total dependence on international affairs, it has not ruled out formal multilateralism in its projection of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and has tried to impose its own “roadmap” plan, which, among other things, enshrines Bush's vision of resolving the conflict through a two-state solution: The State of Israel, a Palestinian State with unique temporary borders (deprived of demographic, geographical and economic communication, is a limited administrative autonomy by the name of a state. In addition, the vision of the US President George W. Bush on the two-state solution was modified in a speech on June 24, 2002, in which he said, “My vision is that two states of two peoples whose “vision is that two states living

²⁶ Retrieved on January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007, from
January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007, from January 1, 2007,

side by side in peace and security, and there is no way to achieve this peace, until all sides fight terrorism.”²⁷

In this context, the fabrication of theoretical concepts by the regular and member intellectuals of the Bush Junior Administration is similar to “creative chaos, constructive ambiguity, failed state, viable state, etc.” so that others can embrace the Bush Junior Administration's policy and concrete steps toward Palestine. At the same time, the Department has continued to sell illusions to American and world public opinion, suggesting that it is doing its utmost to achieve a peaceful, negotiated solution to the conflict. “In this context, Bush's visit to the Middle East and the Annapolis conference in the United States of America took place on 27 November 2001.”²⁸

After Hamas took control of Gaza and the Palestinian split, the US administration wanted to declare this conference at that time, to invest and consolidate the Palestinian division, so that just accepting President Abbas to participate in this conference would be a lesson for the division between the West Bank and Fatah and Hamas, because the US administration sees this division as a justification for its policy of managing the conflict, but the US administration and Israel do not seek a solution as much as it can.

The administration also linked the solid strength stemming from the national security strategy to popular diplomacy and the contributions of civil society in dealing with the Palestinian issue, i.e. without abandoning the almost absolute role, paved the way for popular diplomacy policies by soft power and spreading values of democracy and freedom peacefully, economic assistance at the time of disasters, military and economic repression, and resort to multilateralism whenever necessary.

²⁷ نص خطاب الرئيس بوش في وكالة الانباء الفلسطينية وفا http://info.wafa.ps/ar_page.aspx?id=4940
²⁸ الوادية أحمد جواد ، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه القضية الفلسطينية 2001-2011 ، مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات 2013،

The Bush administration has provided all logistical resources and intensified its blatant interference in Palestinian society under military occupation in order to create a “multinational security reality in favor of Zionist imperialist interests by regional and international forces and their local allies.

According to Per Tristram (Bush's road map for peace: Five years later 2007), two years before he became president, George W. Bush looked at the Palestinian territories. Bush described what he saw as “Palestinian camps”, and said, according to Paul O'Neill, who was the Treasury Secretary for a short time: “It seemed very bad. I don't see much that we can do there at this point. I think it is time to get out of this situation,”²⁹ he said. There was. The United States will be separated from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, leaving it to Israelis and Palestinians to fight it. It was a fateful decision with bloody consequences. In the last days of his presidency, Bill Clinton attempted to mediate a peace deal between Israel's Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat at Camp David. Negotiations failed. A second uprising broke out in the occupied territories (the first was extended from 1987 to 1993). By the spring of 2002, blood was flowing in the Palestinian and Israeli streets, Bush's non-interference approach has failed.

But he also referred twice to a Saudi peace plan launched in February 2002, or the so-called Arab Peace Initiative, which called on Israel to withdraw to pre-1967 borders in exchange for full diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia - Arab world. He delivered two speeches on 4 April and 24 June 2002 - known as the “Road Map for Peace in the Middle East.” Five years later, this road has not yet been taken. Bush called on the Israelis to stop incursions into the Palestinian territories and called on the Palestinian Authority to stop

²⁹ See Pierre Tristram, Bush's Road Map for Peace: The Second Speech (June 24, 2002), at <http://middleeast.about.com/od/documents/a/me070912b.htm>.

supporting terrorism, warning that “bombings could blow up the only hope for a Palestinian state.”

By the time Bush's speech in June 2002, “Bush had canceled references to the Saudi peace plan. He did not refer to bombings as such, but (suicide bombings), a clear indication of a more hardened attitude. He called on the Palestinians to get rid of Yasser Arafat and find “leaders not touched by terrorism.”³⁰ Accusing the Palestinians of responsibility for asylum to violence Terrorism, It was agreed that American President with “Sharon” That “Arafat has become (irrelevant).”³¹ , and while he was still berating Israel because of its incursions in the Palestinian territories, has identified Bush calls for Israeli troops to withdraw “to the positions they occupied before September 28, 2000.” As violence subsided, he said, “freedom of movement must be restored.” But most of the burden for peace has been placed on the Palestinians.

Bush warned that “they are trying to exploit the current crisis as an opportunity to expand the conflict.” But Bush himself strengthened and expanded the conflict a year after the invasion of Iraq, adding to discontent on the Arab Street and causing long-term mistrust of Western intentions. According to Pierre Tristam, the evolution of war from trying to create democracy simply to prevent a state from exploding into sectarian blasts has corrupted Bush's claim to the Palestinians that he expects “better leadership” and “better results.”

The “extreme poverty” Bush referred to in his speeches is the daily reality of many Palestinians who must face unemployment and severe restrictions on movement. “The Palestinians are traveling inside the West Bank.” the New York Times reported in

³⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/breakfast/2064435.stm> , The BBC website 25 June, 2002

³¹ الكحلوي طارق ، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وتشكيلتي فريقي الحكم، 2010-11-14، على الرابط التالي: http://wasatiaonline.net/news/details.php?data_id=573

November 2006. “There are now 542 military checkpoints, 83 of which are guarded by Israeli soldiers, compared to fewer than 400 a year ago.”³²

By 2007, with Condoleezza Rice as secretary of state, the road map was historic. In addition to making matters more chaotic, bombing attacks in Israel have dropped slightly, but Gaza and the West Bank are entirely surrounded by Israel economically, and will soon be surrounded by two physical bridges as well.

While the Bush initiative was called the “road map for peace,” he did not specify in either speech how “and” what “he could do. Bush was relieved to make certain statements.” I expect better leadership and better results. “He supported the two-state solution.” But as usual in his presidency, was less willing to address the underlying issues that encourage the Palestinians not to resort, to unrest and violence: Israeli settlements and the state of siege in the occupied territories, the economic strangulation imposed by Israel on the Palestinians, with reduced numbers allowed to enter to work in Israel significantly.

Bush also spoke of peace at hand as long as the Palestinians developed democratic institutions on the Western model: parliamentary institutions, separation of powers, and an independent judiciary. Bush saw these ideals as a basis not only for peace between Israel and Palestine but also as a source of inspiration for “the millions of men and women around the world suffering from poverty and oppression.

Those goals were commendable, but they were blurred and contradictory. According to Tristram, Bush has sympathized with the “frustrated and desperate Palestinian people,” as

³² محمد ماضي، أولويات السياسة الأمريكية في عهد أوباما، موقع سويس انفو، 9-11-2008، على الرابط التالي:
<http://www.swissinfo.ch/ara/detail/content.html?cid=7026030>

he says, “treating the Palestinians as pawns in the Middle East.” Didn’t he treat them as an inspired hostage?”³³

President Bush's Junior ended up with no concrete results on the Palestinian issue, and his initiative (President Bush's vision of a two-state solution) remained a dead letter in the White House.

2.4.1 US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue under President Barack Obama:

With the election of President “Barack Obama” On 20/01/2019 Arab hopes for peace in the Middle East and ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of a Palestinian state promised by President Bush escalated. On June 4, 2009, US President Barack Obama delivered a speech entitled “A New Beginning” The great reception at Cairo University, Obama has announced that he will support the establishment of a Palestinian state and will freeze Israeli settlements to enter into negotiations and resume the peace process. But in his speech he addressed the suffering of historic Jews for centuries and adopted the Jewish vision of six million Jews Burn them And how the number of wounded and prisoners, how many refugees have been displaced by Israel, and whose state has been built on the ruins of their homes and what are their rights to the perpetrator. Is it fair to leave the Jai free? Not to refer to the Israelis as perpetrators in this regard, but to address the suffering of the Palestinians came from a humanitarian dimension, rather than political, legal and at the root of that right of the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny and the establishment of a state on its national soil, the speech represented the double standards of Obama publicly in his speech, The two countries that called for In this speech, he seeks to calm the situation of the Palestinians

³³ IBIN

and withdraw the issue from the Arab and Islamic perspective, weaken the Arab and Islamic insurgencies in general and isolate them from the Palestinian cause. “This Palestinian state or state is clearly left behind by the negotiations, And not to exert any pressure on Israel, any state cantons isolates the Palestinians.”³⁴

In his first term, President Obama sought to cleanse the Arab world from the negative stereotypical image of the Arab public toward the United States position on the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to win the trust of the Arab world and to change that image which had been created during President George W. Bush's term. In his 2009 Cairo speech on the peace process and the Arab-Israeli conflict, Obama focused on seven issues: “violence and extremism, peace between Israelis, Palestinians, and Arabs, and shared responsibility for nuclear weapons, democracy, and freedom of religion, women's rights, and development Economic opportunities.”³⁵

The importance of this speech is the possibility of bringing about important changes in the attitudes of American public opinion, especially with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was subjected to severe distortion by the Zionist lobby and the American media loyal to it, which created “the conviction of the American public that Muslims carry extremist ideas, which was exposed to the United States in the atheist of September bears the responsibility of Muslims, as the media tried to demonize the Palestinian national liberation struggle and portray Israel as a victim of terrorism and continued Palestinian violence by the military action factions in both the Gaza Strip and the Occupied West Bank.”³⁶

³⁴ (133). مجلة شؤون الأوسط : وثيقة خطاب أوباما في القاهرة (العدد

³⁵ Laidi. Zaki, Limited Achievements: Obama's Foreign Policy, (Sciences Po Series in International Relations and Political Economy), (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 56 – 58.

³⁶ Kalaitzidis. Akis, Gregory W. Streich, U. S. Foreign Policy: A Documentary and Reference Guide, (Documentary and Reference Guides) (California: Greenwood, 2011), pp. 275 – 276.

The Obama administration, however, backed down before the end of 2009 by announcing what it had declared. It accepted the project presented by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, which included a partial freeze on settlement growth and the launch of negotiations without preconditions.

“This decline in the position of the US administration was a reason to question the Palestinians and the Arabs, in general, the ability of this administration, credibility, and perhaps its commitment to positions that have already announced.”³⁷

American moves to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict began with George Mitchell seeking to bring the two sides closer together. He held dozens of meetings in January and November 2009, but his efforts did not result in any agreement because of Israel's intransigence policy and Netanyahu's insistence on continuing settlement activity. The point at which negotiations were suspended in December 2008, known as Rice's understandings, coupled with the absence of real and effective pressure from the US administration on Netanyahu, was the first Palestinian-American summit under Obama on June 28, 2009 at the White House, Abu Mazen urged restoring credibility to the peace process through the continuation of the Palestinian side in implementing all its commitments and to stop incitement while preserving Israel's security and resuming the negotiations from the point where it stopped in December 2008. The Arab countries should take steps towards Israel To enhance confidence. Obama also told President Abu Mazin that the United States will not pose any positions at this stage to see how the negotiations will develop. “He also asked President Abu Mazen to continue building the

³⁷قرطام، أسامة، اتجاهات خطاب الصحافة المصرية تجاه قضايا حقوق الإنسان في عصر العولمة، رسالة ماجستير، (القاهرة: جامعة القاهرة، كلية الإعلام، قسم الصحافة، 2011)، ص 259.

institutions of the Palestinian state and to promote the principles of accountability, transparency, democracy and the rule of law.”³⁸

In May 2010, Mitchell conducted new rounds of talks between Israelis and Palestinians, urging the US administration to develop a clear program of solutions and push it to take balanced positions among the parties. He asked the Palestinian Authority to commit to preventing resistance and security coordination with Israel against the Palestinian resistance. , In return, Israel was asked to stop the settlements and stop creating a new reality on the ground, but Israel refused to do so And even by deliberately insulting the US administration and its representatives, such as declaring settlement plans during Vice President Joe Biden's visit to Jerusalem, the Israeli administration failed to persuade or oblige it to seriously settle a settlement in the region. After the cessation of negotiations, the Palestinian issue fell from the priorities of US President Barack Obama, in light of the eruption of the Arab revolutions that hit American diplomacy confusion and anxiety, Washington focused its efforts and diplomacy in an attempt to ride the wave of revolutions and guide them in paths that serve their interests, or at least mitigate the potential damage Possible.

In addition to Obama's inclination and bias toward Dennis Ross, “Mitchell resigned on May 13, 2011, in addition to his failure to persuade Obama to take action and in-kind positions binding on Israel. Mitchell's resignation suggests that the current administration is unwilling to take any steps that force Israel to bow to the requirements Settlement.”³⁹

The negotiations entered into total stalemate again, and President Obama showed negative positions on the request of the Palestine Liberation Organization to recognize

³⁸عريقات، صائب: الموقف السياسي على ضوء التطورات مع الإدارة الأمريكية والحكومة الإسرائيلية واستمرار انقلاب حماس، تقرير خاص، دائرة شؤون المفاوضات، منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، 8 ديسمبر. 2011
³⁹غانم، أسعد، أومهم التعويل على أوبامي في حل الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي، مركز الجزيرة للدراسات، 18 يونيو 2011

the membership of the State of Palestine in the United Nations in 2011, where he expressed strong opposition to the Palestinian orientation, and considered the US administration the Palestinian position a challenge to it, and worked in the Security Council to drop The Palestinian request did not receive the necessary and necessary votes to accept and discuss the request, and with the orientation of President Mahmoud Abbas in 2012, the General Assembly of the United Nations, demanding a Palestinian state is a member, Obama's response was to send an official message to European countries warning them not to vote for the Palestinian demand. "He said that diplomatic relations with the Palestinians should be reviewed, all financial aid to the Palestinian people cut off, US financial support to the United Nations should be revoked and pressure should be taken to block the holding of the General Assembly vote."⁴⁰

In early 2012, the US administration issued a document on a shift in its priorities from the Middle East and Europe to the Pacific Basin and Asia because of the diminishing threats of US interests in those regions, and the diminution of their relative importance compared with Asia. "The US-Israel peace process entered a state of stalemate with massive settlement expansion in both the West Bank and Jerusalem, Occupied Palestinian territory in 1967, and so the first term of President Obama ended without any achievement mentions on the road to achieving peace in the Middle East."⁴¹

During his first term in office, President Obama was unable to achieve any breakthrough on the path to a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. His Middle East envoy, George Mitchell, left his country because of Tel Aviv's aggressive and expansionist policies. The Israeli occupation and support Even after the success of the US president and his accession to power in his second term, and the weakness of the Israeli pressure on him in

⁴⁰عبد الرحمن، محمود، مواقف أوباما من القضية الفلسطينية، هيئة التوجيه السياسي والمعنوي، 12 مارس، 2013
⁴¹مطاوع، محمد : توجهات إدارة أوباما الثانية تجاه الشرق الأوسط، مجلة السياسة الدولية، العدد 193 ، يوليو 2013

the presidential elections, John Kerry sent the Secretary of State to work to extend the negotiations until the end of 2014) And the amendment of the clause on Jerusalem, which provides for the establishment of a capital on part of East Jerusalem and not in all of East Jerusalem, which constituted a retreat in the American position even from the policies of the previous administrations, despite their bias towards Israel. "On the continuation of negotiations is to prevent a Palestinian uprising or the outbreak of a Palestinian revolution against Israeli policies on the ground in the West Bank, which is primarily Israeli policy, making Obama, in fact, one of Israel's most sincere friends of former presidents." ⁴²

President Obama, who spoke at the beginning of his first term on a relationship based on dialogue, mutual respect, and common interests with the Middle East, followed a more balanced approach. His administration pledged to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. But, quite the contrary, his policy reflected his absolute bias towards Israel, He continued as his predecessors in Unlimited support and various means to Israel.

Obama and his aides have reached the point of blackmail and threatened of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas in various rounds of negotiations in order to accept what is expected of the Israeli leadership, but it reached a degree of decline in the dictates and demands unless reached by any of the former US administrations, Jerusalem under international supervision, but pre-election granted it the status of the united and eternal capital of Israel. He expressed his concern about the humanitarian tragedy that took place in Gaza at the beginning of 2009 and during the Israeli bombardment of Gaza. Before taking office, he expressed his intention to move systematically and immediately to seek a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which gave the impression first that the next

⁴²بشارة، مروان: أهداف الولايات المتحدة واستراتيجياتها في العالم العربي، مجلة سياسات عربية، العدد الأول، مارس 2013.

US administration will be more serious and objective to discuss the Palestinian issue, and put the Obama administration as a top priority to re-launch the stalled peace process in the region to achieve the vision of a two-state solution, and to this end Obama appointed Congressman George Mitchell, “To launch the stalled negotiations, and announced a project within this effort, which includes absolutely bilateral negotiations under the auspices of America as well as the start of Arab normalization steps with Israel.”⁴³

Obama has faced challenges both at the domestic economic level and at the level of the conflict in the Middle East since the beginning of his tenure as President of the United States of America, but he nevertheless notes that “he was the first American president to speak openly and clearly about the suffering of the Palestinian people to build an independent state on the 1967 borders, noting more than once the suffering of the Palestinian people suffered for more than sixty years suffered during the displacement, where many remained in the refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza and neighboring territories, and the situation of the Palestinian people can not bear And that America will not turn its back on the Palestinians in the face of the legitimate aspirations of the search in dignity within their own homeland.”⁴⁴

But Obama linked the importance of building a Palestinian state and America's strategic interests, considering that it serves the interests of all parties, ie “the interest of Israel, and the interests of Palestine and America and the world as a whole, and that is why he

⁴³ Kalaitzidis. Akis, Gregory W. Streich, U. S. Foreign Policy: A Documentary and Reference Guide, (Documentary and Reference Guides) (California: Greenwood, 2011), pp. 275 – 276.

⁴⁴ Martin Indyk, S. Bending History: Barack Obama’s Foreign Policy, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), p. 115.

resolved to personally follow this file and to have all the determination and patience required Such a task.”⁴⁵

“The US retreat came as a result of Obama's inability and his supporters to put pressure on Netanyahu, who is strongly supported by the Zionist lobby in the United States.”⁴⁶

“It has become clear that the Obama administration is not occupied in the Middle East other than finding a solution to the crisis of the Iranian nuclear program, even at the expense of US strategic relations with the Gulf states, which show that the policy of America under President Obama can change their alliances and converge from the enemy Iran Strategic strategy of the Gulf states from its point of view.”⁴⁷

Even President Obama, even when he called in Israel for the first time on May 19, 2011 to return to the 1967 borders, stressing that the future Palestinian state must be established on these borders with the exchange of land changed his position in his speech at the annual conference of the AIPAC, saying that his words “ interpreted” and that they represent neither controversial language nor new, on the grounds that this is the general framework of the American solution to all previous administrations, including the Clinton administration, Means that Israel and the Palestinians will agree on borders that are different from those of June 1967, and that this formula is well known to all those who have worked on this issue and will allow the parties themselves to take into account the changes that have taken place over the past years, including the new demographic realities on the ground and the needs of Sides, Target “THE final is two states for two peoples: Israel as a Jewish state and a national homeland for the Jewish people, a

⁴⁵ Davidson. Tim, *The Essential Obama: Speeches of Barack Obama*, (Chicago: Aquitaine Media Crop, 2009), p. 110.

⁴⁶ Migdalovitz, Carol, “Israeli-Arab Negotiations: Background, Conflicts, and U. S Policy “, (Washington: Congressional Research Service January 29. 2010), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷ محمد السيد سليم، تحليل السياسة الخارجية، القاهرة: مكتبة النهضة المصرية، ط 2 1998 (ص 101) ،

Palestinian state as a national homeland for the Palestinian people, each country has the right to self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.”⁴⁸

Obama's lack of understanding of the nature and specificity of the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular, Obama adopted a comprehensive approach to the Middle East crisis, considering the region as a whole integrated, but as part of the “arc of crises, “which extends from Palestine to Pakistan through Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, which has caused a great failure to manage it in its policies towards the Middle East in general and the Palestinian issue in particular.”⁴⁹

In the light of this faltering reality, the Obama administration's interest in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict has dropped, and the Iraqi issue at the beginning of Obama's priorities at the international level for symbolic, personal and even economic reasons. Obama opposed the war before the 2003 attack on Iraq. His position did not change during the campaign; “The gradual withdrawal from Iraq for 16 months and the failure to maintain permanent military bases in Iraqi territory while strengthening the institutional sphere by forming a government and drafting a constitution for stability.”⁵⁰

In addition to the Iraqi file, the Afghan file and the war on terror were at the top of President Obama's political agenda. For Obama, “Afghanistan was considered the original battleground for al-Qaeda and the attempt to pressure Pakistan to move its military forces against the cells of this terror organization.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ نورهان الشيخ، “الموقف الأمريكي من عملية التسوية” مجلة أوراق الشرق الأوسط القاهرة: المركز القومي لدراسات الشرق الأوسط، العدد (47)، يناير 2010، ص 63-65.

⁴⁹ Rabionvich, Itamar, The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East. 1948-2011, <http://www.aipac.org/resources/speeches> (Washington: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 202 – 203. And ⁵⁰ طارق الكحلوي، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وتشكيلي فريقي الحكم، 14-11-2010، على الرابط التالي: http://wasatiaonline.net/news/details.php?data_id=573

⁵¹ محمد ماضي، أولويات السياسة الأمريكية في عهد أوباما، موقع سويس انفو، 9-11-2008، على الرابط التالي: <http://www.swissinfo.ch/ara/detail/content.html?cid=7026030>

President Obama has redefined the war on terror by focusing on a specific enemy, initially al Qaeda, and changing his priorities by increasing the number of troops in Afghanistan by sending 30,000 troops to stabilize the deteriorating situation that lacks guidance and resources in return for its reduction in Iraq. "Afghanistan and areas of contact with Pakistan, pressure on al-Qaeda, fighting the Taliban insurgency, linking the continuation of the war on terror with the international arms control policy, and working to prevent the arrival of nuclear weapons to terrorist groups."⁵²

In fact, what some have said is that President Obama - based on his statements and positions - is thinking in a different and different way than what his predecessors of American presidents think about the Arab-Israeli conflict because he coordinates efforts with the Palestinian Authority and does everything in his power to give the Palestinians a comfortable independence. On Israel, is fraught with scepticism, because President Obama has not only backed down from his promises but has openly declared his full support for Israel, which has continued to threaten the peace process and not abide by relevant international resolutions.

"It was clear from Obama's policies that he did not depart from the American position on Israel and a special relations between Israel and the United States, where Obama stressed his commitment to Israel's security as the strongest allies of the United States in the

علاء بيومي، باراك أوباما والعالم العربي (الدوحة: مركز الجزيرة للدراسات، 2008)، ص 95 – 92.

، لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر موقع الجزيرة نت 2016/9/14 الرابط التالي⁵²
 مساعدات أمريكا وإسرائيل توقعان اتفاق/2016/9/13 <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/international/2016/9/13>

region of the only democracy, which means that Obama corresponds to the vision America, which considers Israel an important strategically.”⁵³

Israel's security has a special focus on successive US administrations because security needs take a clear dimension in any settlement initiative in the Middle East. In its various initiatives since Rogers to Obama, “it is clear that the United States is stressing the defense of Israeli security by offering a range of security arrangements Which would effectively retain Israeli hegemony.”⁵⁴

From this perspective, the United States under the Obama administration did not break with the way the United States handled its history with the Palestinian issue. “The way US policymakers have adopted the peace process is centered on Israel. It has maintained its strong relations with Israel, And to remove obstacles that threaten Israeli security, such as the formation of Palestinian armed forces, full control over the Palestinian airspace, control of entry and exit points from the Palestinian territories, and the response to Israeli security requirements.”⁵⁵

In addition to President George W. Bush, President Obama is keen not to leave the White House until he offers the largest military aid package to Israel, the largest of its kind in the history of the relationship between the two countries, as Israel will receive 38 billion dollars of military support throughout Ten years, a marked increase from the previous package provided by Bush and amounted to 30 billion dollars, thus repeating the misunderstanding of differences between the two countries on issues such as the relationship with Iran and the Palestinian file, and to emphasize that “America is still

⁵³ Tommey. Joseph, Change You Can Really Believe In: The Obama Legacy of Broken Promises and Failed Policies, Bloomington: Author House, 2012, p. 257.

⁵⁴ فوز جرجس، أوباما والعالم العربي والإسلامي،
<http://www.aljazeera.net/analysis/pages/2693341e-f47a-8be2-1bf4017d17d152f>

⁵⁵ فوز جرجس، أوباما والعالم العربي والإسلامي
<http://www.aljazeera.net/analysis/pages/2693341e-f47a-8be2-1bf4017d17d152f>

very committed to Israel's security in the long term, And prove to the Zionist lobby in the United States His administration has provided no other administration for Israel, which is becoming more important in the presidential election year.”⁵⁶

“Although the Obama administration chose to express its accumulated frustration over Israel's policy towards the peace process by abstaining from vetoing the UN Security Council Resolution 2334, which condemned Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and its promise is illegal.”⁵⁷ The American delegate to the Security Council, Samantha Bauer, explained that her country abstained from voting and not to veto the resolution by saying “because the resolution reflects the facts on the ground and is in line with US policy, noting that continued settlement construction” seriously undermines Israel's security. “A secret and public message about five decades ago that settlements must stop”, He said.

Why did not the US administration veto the draft resolution? The answer lies in the feeling of the American administration and President Obama, whose administration was nearing completion, in a complete failure to manage him in moving the political process and resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Specifically, Barack Obama wanted to end his tenure as president. “The White House by a diplomatic move, to achieve an achievement by creating a political infrastructure to move the peace process in the Middle East in the future, and he wanted to put an obstacle to the next president and candidate Donald Trump from taking steps that would fuel the conflict, The settlements

⁵⁶أوراق كارنيغي، واشنطن: مؤسسة كارنيغي للسلام الدولي، العدد ميشيل دن: حل الدولتين يستوجب وجود حياة سياسية فلسطينية، 2010، ص 10. 113

⁵⁷أوباما يودع البيت الأبيض بأكبر حزمة مساعدات الي اسرائيل، لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر موقع السي إن إن بالعربية، 14 سبتمبر 2014، على الرابط التالي:

<http://arabic.cnn.com/middleeast/2016/09/14/israel-usa-package-aid>

in the occupied territories in 1967 is part of Israel.”⁵⁸

Following the statements of the American administration, from various levels are sharp statements towards settlement projects in the West Bank and Jerusalem, and angered by the practices of Israel, we find that the representative of America in the Security Council in the first resolution, which was intercepted by America at the time Susan Rice launched an offensive speech against Israel's policies in the occupied territories.

“The Obama administration viewed the two-state solution as a vital necessity dictated by its political and economic interests. David Petraeus, commander of US forces in Asia that the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is necessary to help the US military to achieve its goals in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, making Obama's vision based on the position of the US military.”⁵⁹

Obama's policies have confirmed, contrary to what is expected of him, that he is part of the American capitalist and military establishment and not part of the change he has promised, and to engage in the context of the need to find “a “solution” to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Palestinian conflict, but falls within the balance of power that controls the US president, which emphasizes the harmony of the American and Israeli perceptions, with the only difference between the United States and its various administrations and Israel on the details and not on the principle.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ <https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/events/2016/12/24/> موقع الجزيرة 23 ديسمبر 2016،
قرار مجلس الأمن بمطالبة إسرائيل بوقف الاستيطان

⁵⁹ وحدة تحليل السياسية، تصعيد إدارة أوباما مع إسرائيل: الدوافع والآفاق، سلسلة تقدير موقف، (الدوحة: المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات، يناير 2017).

⁶⁰ Stewart. Dona J the Middle East Today: Political, Geographical and Cultural Perspectives. New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 234.

The Obama administration is no different from its predecessors, whether Republican or Democrat, in favor of Israel. His administration's position was contrary to expectations that it would have been a major change in US foreign policy after Obama took office. And Cairo University The position of the Obama administration and its diplomacy on the Palestinian issue has been fully pro-Israel and is reflected in the following positions:⁶¹

1. Supported the Israeli demand for Palestinian recognition of the Jewishness of the state of Israel.
2. He opposed the Palestinian right of return.
3. Refusing to pressure Israel and avoid talking about land for peace.
4. He could not force Netanyahu to stop settlement construction and opposed a UN resolution criticizing settlements.
5. He opposed the intention of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to obtain the membership of the State of Palestine in the United Nations.
6. He advocated that unified Jerusalem be the capital of the state of the Israeli entity, although it has retreated and left it to the negotiations between the two parties.

This contributed to the nature of decision-making in American institutions, and the influence of groups.

This has created a limited margin of political maneuvering by President Obama in these institutions and centers. Therefore, there is no point in relying on the American position in the peace process or on the integrity of the American mediator who seeks to manage

⁶¹ <https://www.palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/207365> Webpage visited on July 4th, 2019

the conflict to achieve Israel's goals of changing the reality on the ground, if he can not get the signature of the Palestinian leadership to end the conflict by an agreement does not meet the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and therefore is of little benefit from all attempts in the second period of the Obama administration, and the efforts of his foreign minister John Kerry, the Palestinians must find alternative strategies capable of imposing a new reality both in the negotiations or in the face of Israeli projects to uproot the remaining land in the West Bank and Jerusalem and impose a new reality that Israel has the opportunity to impose under negotiations in a vicious circle, Israelis continue to implement their plans.

We conclude that the policy of President Obama and the American Democratic Party did not differ significantly from those of his predecessors. The United States generally deals with Israel, especially after 1967, to make it a strategic asset in the region. The requirements of Israel's survival are superior militarily, economically and scientifically to the rest of the countries of the region. Hence, the American tendency has always been to resolve the conflict based on its desire to achieve a settlement. Which would allow Israel to enjoy security stability, avoid the threat of Arab states, give it the opportunity to integrate into the Middle East through economic cooperation and prepare for the process of integration in the Middle East? Therefore, the American role remained confined to a certain extent, to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which enticed other international and regional powers to try to avoid the American role in resolving the conflict, and then increase its influence and maximize its interests in the region and humiliation At the expense of the US role in it.

We also conclude that the role played by the United States depends on the strength and unity of the Arabs and their ability to influence US interests in the region and that as long as those interests remain secure, the peace process and the priority of the Palestinian-

Israeli conflict on the American agenda will be reversed. The United States on its strategic alliances and will build new alliances as did President Obama when he approached Iran at the expense of US strategic relations with the Gulf states.

Therefore, it is not expected that American policy will change the situation towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and may even increase the bias of the Israeli interests in security and stability at the expense of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to establish their independent state on the 1967 borders, as stated by Obama and other US presidents. There may be increased pressure on the Palestinian parties to make more concessions because of the Arab weakness at the moment and the state of division that is taking place in the Palestinian arena, especially the region in general.

2.5 US foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue under President Donald

Trump:

The US presidential election of 2016 was not like its previous ones, or as a kind of traditional case that American society has lived every four years as usual. The election of American businessman Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States was a big surprise for many after he shocked the world. The future of the European Union and NATO or the relationship with Russia. Although these positions cannot constitute a coherent philosophy, even if they turn into an actual political direction, they can threaten the foundations of the liberal world order, as it is today, “Even if Trump could not deliver on his radical promises he made during the election campaign, when he presented himself

as an absolute antithesis to President Barack Obama's administration, he seemed capable of making remarkable changes in US foreign policy.”⁶²

The 2016 elections were more sensitive and were the most anticipated of all researchers and workers in the field of international relations not at the American level, but at the international level, given the magnitude of developments in American policy during the periods of President “Bush Jr.” and President “Barack Obama” and also given The result is the announcement of Donald Trump's most controversial victory in the presidential election and the reflection on a range of domestic and foreign policies. Perhaps the most important point in this context that must be recognized early is the success of Trump Control of a hard-line political stream Roll political visions internally and externally for his predecessors, and what may follow necessarily a number of shifts in US policies and attitudes, especially as we stand at a buffer zone would be beyond different from before.

2.5.1 Determinants of Trump's policy towards Israel:

“Trump believes that Israel is the first ally of the United States in the Middle East. It must work to secure its interests and strengthen its national security. Dealing with Israel as a secondary matter, or later, should not continue, as was the case with Obama and Clinton. Trump pointed out in his speech to the AIPAC conference, so he announced three points to Israel:”⁶³

- President Trump rejected all actions taken by the Obama administration on dealing with Iran, which must be deterred for the national security of Israel's considerations.

⁶²الفاضي، جمال خالد ، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في ظل ترامب مجلة العلوم السياسية والقانون ،: ، فبراير 2018 العدد 7 ، ألمانيا ، برلين، ص 73
⁶³ربايعة، محمود الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي في منظور ترامب، مركز الجزيرة للدراسات، 2016/5/21 ص 3-2،

- His opposition to trying to reach a settlement between Israel and Palestine, because he believes that will put the legitimacy of Israel in question and reward the Palestinian terrorism instead of confronting it.
- The transfer of the US Embassy to Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the Jews, and the declaration that Israel is the Jewish state, and the Jewish state will continue to refer to the Israeli internal approach to this declaration and their desire to include it in the text of the agreement and force the Palestinians to recognize it as the Jewish state.

2.5.2 Determinants of the “Trump” policy towards the Palestinian issue:

Donald Trump's victory in the US presidency is bad news for the Palestinian cause, not only for his traditional ties with his administration but also for his sympathy for the Zionist project. Trump's appointment was the husband of his daughter, Has no diplomatic experience, the task of finding a settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the degree of disrespect the president-elect looks at, and “whether Trump is trying to find a negotiated solution to the conflict, he will clearly adopt a biased policy of the Israeli side, Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Jerusalem, which was considered the main reason behind the failure of all those who tried before him, Trump's statements early, very early on his approach to the crises in the Middle East, in short, do not suggest that he holds a vision to rebuild stability in the region, or give careful consideration to the interests of its peoples.”⁶⁴

In his interviews and speeches, Trump emphasized the need to offer all kinds of support to make sure Israel's supremacy and support. “His administration will not only continue

⁶⁴منصور أبو كريم: أبرز ملامح السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه منطقة 15 الشرق الأوسط بعد فوز ترامب" ، (تاريخ النصف http://www.al-bayader.org/2017/01/55777/ ، 2018/11/29

to provide unmatched US assistance to Israel but will do its utmost to expand and strengthen this support. He accused the Palestinians alone of the failure of the peace process and held them responsible for not making it. In a clear indictment, the “two-state solution” seems to be impossible now, accusing the Palestinian Authority of being “a partner in spreading hatred and stressing that the United States will not support the establishment of a terrorist state in the occupied territories

He also pledged to veto any anti-Israeli resolution at the United Nations and reiterated his promise to transfer the US Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. The statement remained silent on Israeli settlement in the West Bank with Trump renewing his promises to fight popular activity against the occupation and settlements, Boycott and divestment from Israel “is just another try by the Palestinians to avoid having to commit to peaceful coexistence with Israel, and clearly threatened to take action” against anti-Semitism and anti-Semitism, “especially at universities.

On the other hand, Hamas and Islamic Jihad were accused of raising Palestinian children against violence and hatred of “Jews, the Israeli state; and expressed skepticism about the peacefulness of the Palestinian side, Noting that the Israelis' tendency for peace is the clearest.

The role of the president's national security advisor, the Pentagon, and the CIA on issues related to the US security equation is different from that of the United States, but the president and the State Department remains the key to implementing this policy. As Donald Trump came to the Oval Office, the intervention of military personnel and associates increased as he elevated individual values at the expense of institutionalism.”

This is linked to his adherence to the slogans of his populist campaign.”⁶⁵ “Apart from the traditional foreign policy approaches, given the importance of the Palestinian-Israeli issue and the Palestinian issue, in particular, this may reveal three.”⁶⁶

The first is that the American policy during the Trump era towards the question of Palestine is based on the projection of the Palestinian dimension and its marginalization, and the focus on the so-called regional solution. This is the proposal of the former Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, as well as the normalization of Arab and Islamic relations with Israel, Towards the Palestinians, it cannot go beyond the concept of economic peace. That is, the US-Israeli deal with the Palestinian Authority as a recipient of aid, along with the sovereignty of this concept, which means that the security dimension, ie the security of Israel, and the economic dimension, ie the provision of economic advantages and assistance to the Palestinians dominate the negotiations, which must be resumed unconditionally with the absence of the political dimension On the question of Palestine, which is the most important dimension, in fact, being a national political liberation movement in the face of a racist occupation of foreign colonial.

The second is Trump's unwillingness to present concrete facts or commitments to the Palestinians, even on humanitarian issues, which means Washington's imbalance and bias toward Israel's radical agenda.

The third is Trump's administration, waiting for what its allies can offer in the region. Perhaps what the US president is doing is a “negotiating tactic,” which aims to explore things and bring them to fruition in order to push the allies to present their initiatives and

⁶⁵مزيد من المعلومات حول حملة ترامب وشعاراته الانتخابية، أنظر:

Tessa Bernson, Donald Trump Wins the 2016 Election (9/11/2016), *Time*, Available

Access date: 20/3/2018 at: <http://time.com/4563685/donald-trump-wins/>

⁶⁶ديفيد ماكوفسكي، ترامب يبني علاقة في إسرائيل؛ هل م معهد واشنطن لسياسة، ”رس سياسات قادمة؟“ت الشرق الأدنى ، على الرابط: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/ar/policy-analysis/view/trump-builds-rapproach-in-israel-2017/5/23-policies-to-come>

contributions, “The Arab Peace Initiative is being amended to separate Israel from withdrawing from the territories occupied in 1967 and normalization. The US and Israel have now required a regional process of normalization with Israel to mobilize regional efforts to isolate Iran and weaken its influence in the Middle East.”⁶⁷

Trump has stated on more than one occasion that he will remain neutral in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. He is therefore expected to reinforce Obama's negative isolation policy, which guarantees Israel's superiority and does not allow any international actor to disrupt Israel's structural plans for settlement expansion and acceleration. “Establishing a new reality in the West Bank that will guarantee Israeli sovereignty and maintain the siege imposed on the Gaza Strip and the annexation of Jerusalem. In this context, Trump will intensify the policy of pressure on the Palestinian side, and the confiscation of its financial resource.”⁶⁸

The arrival of Trump to the White House has changed the landscape in the Middle East, in terms of rearranging the thesis and alliances in the region, and it can be seen that there is a shift in the transition from the alliance with Iran, as happened during the Obama period, to return again to coordinate with the Arab regimes (Egypt and the Gulf) Which will establish relations of strong rapprochement with the United States, and these relations will be built on the priority of protecting Israel's security, and may result in a tripartite “American-Israeli-Saudi” in line with the recent developments in the relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel, It means that Iran could be a priority for the Trump administration at the expense of a real and meaningful peace process between Israel and the Palestinians. This shift could result in a rebalancing of power in the region which is

⁶⁷ أمجد أحمد جبريل،:، مركز إدراك للدراسات والاستشارات 31/5/2017، الرابط <http://idraksy.net/what-after-the-us-presidents-visit-to-the-middle-east/>

⁶⁸ مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات، تقدير استراتيجي: (90) مسارات القضية الفلسطينية في برامج مرشحي الانتخابات الرئاسية الأميركية، 29 يوليو/تموز 2016، ص: 6-7

reflected in Iran's growing role in more than one spot, especially if Trump's administration treats Iran as one of the tributaries of terrorism. "Trump points out more than his speech; that is, relations between Iran and the Trump administration May return to zero, and in return will be at the top of the list of allies in the region Israel, because the United States will not leave Israel from any attempt to coordinate in the Middle East, according to Trump."⁶⁹

Ignoring the idea of a two-state solution: The Trump guidelines support the two-state solution as a general idea. The only way to end the conflict is bilateral negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli sides, and the role of the United States to facilitate these negotiations is opposed to Trump. Palestinian moves that could, in his view, constitute unilateral steps, such as the tendency of international institutions, especially the United Nations, to recognize a Palestinian state on the territories occupied in 1967, believes that "the solution must be through the negotiations of the parties." Therefore, it will take any steps that could hamper the bilateral negotiations between the two parties, including the possibility of using the veto against any solution adopted by the UN Security Council. In this context, "Trump's policies cannot be expected to depart from traditional American positions, From the United Nations or the international community. This policy will, therefore, set a framework for the implementation of Israeli policies in the West Bank, particularly those related to settlements and accelerated Judaization of the West Bank and East Jerusalem."⁷⁰

Despite the passage of less than two years since taking office in the United States, President Donald Trump took the reins of the seven decisions considered one of the most

⁶⁹يماني، سليمان، المعهد المصري للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، توجهات السياسة الخارجية عند دونالد ترامب، القاهرة، 2016
⁷⁰مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات تقدير استراتيجي ت (90 :) مسار القضية الفلسطينية في برامج مرشحي الانتخابات الرئاسية الأميركية، يوليو/ تموز 2016

dangerous decisions taken by the American president regarding the Israeli-Arab conflict, these fateful decisions, which are clearly taken to hit the depth of the Palestinian cause, especially with respect to the file of Jerusalem, the Palestinian refugee issue.

These decisions came in a sequential manner, apparently in response to the official Palestinian rejection of the “deal of the century”, which has not been officially announced by the US administration so far, and has not reached them yet, but the leaks, which in total detract from legitimate Palestinian rights, and touched in essence The final solution issues, the most important of which is the file of Jerusalem and the files of refugees and settlements.

The plan, according to media leaks, is based on autonomy for the Palestinians in the West Bank, while granting legitimacy to an Israeli settlement in the occupied territories. The plan also seeks to erase the refugee issue and eliminate their right to return. The Jerusalem deal recognizes Jerusalem as the united capital of Israel while granting the Palestinians the capital of their entity in the village of Abu Dis, on the outskirts of the Holy City.

The Trump administration has taken a series of decisions as a prelude to the deal of the century which the Palestinian presidency declared completely rejected, cut relations with the United States of America as a reaction to those resolutions and declared that the American is no longer acceptable to the Palestinian side as a sponsor of the peace process.

1. Recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel: The most dangerous American decisions in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; since 1972, the decision of President “Trump” to transfer his embassy from Tel Aviv to what was called “the historical capital of Israel” Twenty presidential candidates of the US has

promised to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, but none of them has carried out his promise. Since the US Senate enacted a bill in 1995 to transfer the “United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem”, which was officially promulgated on May 31, 1999, where the law stipulated that the embassy should be moved to Jerusalem no later than six months, To postpone the implementation of this law every six months because of the political and legal status enjoyed by the city of Jerusalem and damage to US interests in light of the turmoil in the region and the consequent escalation of tension in the Middle East, “including not to enter the settlement and increase pressure on the Palestinians :

2. Reducing the US contribution to UNRWA's budget: In mid-January 2017, the Trump administration began cutting aid to UNRWA, freezing some \$300 million of its total assistance of \$365 million. Causing the financial crisis suffered by the international institution originally, which led the Agency's administration to take various measures, including reducing the services provided for the refugees in camps, which rely mainly on them such as education and health.
3. The move of the United States Embassy to Jerusalem: The United States effectively moved its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem on 14 May 2017, about five months after the decision of Trump to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, it was clear in his speech, “to remove the file of Jerusalem from any Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.”
4. Cut all aid for UNRWA: On August 3, 2018, a few months after the decision to cut aid, Trump's administration decided to cut all its financial aid to UNRWA.” Washington has decided not to make further contributions to UNRWA anymore spokeswoman for the State Department said in a State Department press release. The Palestinians considered it a “dangerous American escalation against them, aimed at ending the refugee issue and erasing their right of return.”

5. Cut off all US aid to the Palestinian Authority: In a statement to Palestinian Prime Minister Rami Alhamadallah . 2 July / August last year, he said in remarks at a press conference in Ramallah that the US administration has decided to stop all aid to the Palestinians. This includes “direct assistance to the treasury and indirect, which comes in favor of infrastructure projects and development projects,” according to Hamdallah. The White House issued a statement saying Washington had redirected more than \$200 million earmarked for economic aid to the West Bank and Gaza to projects elsewhere in the world.
6. Stop the aid to the hospitals of Jerusalem: On September 7, 2018, the US State Department blocked \$25 million that the US administration was due to contribute to supporting six Jerusalem hospitals.
7. USA closed PLO representative office in Washington: The United States Administration officially informed the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization its dissension Dr. Saeb Erekat, he said on Monday 10/09/2018 that “the US administration officially informed them of its decision.” “We have been officially informed that the US administration will close our embassy in Washington as a punishment for continuing to work with the International Criminal Court against Israeli war crimes and will drop the flag of Palestine in Washington, DC,”⁷¹ Erekat said in a statement.

It will be difficult to predict the Trump policies towards resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict at this stage. However, all possible options for his administration's positions on the Palestinian issue and what US-Palestinian relations can pursue after declaring Jerusalem as the capital of Israel seem to work for the political agenda of the Israeli

⁷¹ وكالة الأنباء الفلسطينية وفا
http://www.wafa.ps/ar_page.aspx?id=pZKQV5a829867703808apZKQV5

right. More often than not, there will be more than one Palestinian option regarding the administration's intervention in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, in the light of the announcement by the Palestinian side that the United States will end its role as a sponsor of the peace process.

Perhaps one of the most salient features of the Trump administration's disregard for the Palestinian cause and the undermining of the Palestinian dimension and the attempt to marginalize it is the US-led Middle East Conference in Warsaw. On February 13 and 14, 2019, "it was attended by 60 countries, to which the United States sent Arab leaders to sit side by side. Israel, under the pretext of resistance to the common enemy, namely the Iranian threat, and it is clear from this combination, "the crowning of the Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu as the leader of the Arab NATO in Warsaw," according to the article by writer Rasem Obeidat."⁷²

But the truth should not be overlooked by any Palestinian leader, said Dr. Omar Rahal, "the main point of any conference and any meeting that detracts from the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people confirmed by the resolutions of international legitimacy since the League of Nations and until the moment does not mean anything to us. It is worth mentioning that the outcome of the Warsaw Conference will be no better than the results of the 1973 Geneva Peace Conference, which was held in isolation from the Palestinians. The Palestine Liberation Organization was and remains the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the end of the occupation and the empowerment of the Palestinian people. The establishment of an independent State on its national soil with Jerusalem as its capital and the return of refugees is a guarantee of

⁷² عبيدات راسم، هل إكتمل "نتويج" نتتياهو زعيماً للئاتو العربي في وارسو..؟؟ وكالة معا ، نشر بتاريخ: 2019/02/15

international peace and security. On the contrary, the outcome of the Conference does not concern us.”⁷³

2.5.3 Manama Workshop (Deal of the Century)

Attempts to apply the economic aspect of the deal of the century come at the “Peace to Prosperity” Workshop to be held in the Bahraini capital of Manama on 25 and 26 June 2019. “This workshop is a pivotal opportunity to convene government, civil society, and business leaders to share ideas, discuss strategies, and galvanize support for potential economic investments and initiatives that could be made possible by a peace agreement.”⁷⁴ according to the Joint Statement of the US Administration and the Kingdom of Bahrain.

The joint statement added “(Peace to Prosperity) will facilitate discussions on an ambitious, achievable vision and framework for a prosperous future for the Palestinian people and the region, including enhancements to economic governance, development of human capital, and facilitation of rapid private-sector growth. If implemented, this vision has the potential to radically transform lives and put the region on a path toward a brighter future.” With an Arab and international partnership, including Israel.

The US administration announced a date for the announcement of the century deal, it has been postponed once waiting for the results of the Israeli elections and a second after the month of Ramadan, and finally for the third time after the failure of the Likud party led by Netanyahu in forming a coalition government of right and extreme right parties, the

⁷³ رجال عمر، "مؤتمر وارسو ... ما بين القطر الأمريكي وسفينة نوح" وكالة معاً، نشر بتاريخ: 2019/02/16

⁷⁴ : White House official web site : <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-united-states-america-kingdom-bahrain/>

call for the dissolving of the Knesset and set a date on the seventeenth of Sept. 2019 for the second national election.

“They are missing the point,” said Sam Bahour, a Palestinian-American business consultant who was watching the proceedings online from Ramallah, in the West Bank. “The point is not talking about pie-in-the-sky projects. These projects, if you take the word ‘Palestinian’ out of them, any developing country can do well. Some of them have been talked about for 25 years now. Why haven’t they materialized? What’s stopping them? The Israeli military occupation. It’s the elephant they left out of the circus when they went to Bahrain.”⁷⁵

2.5.4 Summary:

The US foreign policy did not exceed the limits set-up forth at the beginning of this chapter under the fixed and changing title of US foreign policy towards the Palestinian issue and Israel.

But the facts on the ground show that the current president of the United States of America is so direct that it has not left diplomatic know-how, international agreements, and norms.

Although the deal for the century has not been officially announced, practices on the ground suggest much of what the deal could be.

His decision to move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem means his recognition of the legitimacy of the annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel as the capital of the United Jewish people and not the land occupied by Israel in 1967, just as he recognized the legitimacy of Israel's annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights in the same year.

⁷⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/26/world/middleeast/bahrain-kushner-palestinian-peace.html>

Chapter Three

The Palestinian American “Transnational Identity”

3.1 Introduction

In 1921, Fuad Shatara founded the Palestinian Renaissance Society in New York. Ali al-Qawla was among the most prominent members, along with Jamil al-Salati, Ibrahim Habib, Peter George Shehadeh, and Ibrahim Rahbani. As well as the Palestinian League for the Resistance of Zionism, founded in 1918, was one of the first and most important Palestinian associations abroad (Diaspora) that tried to counter Zionist influence in the United States. "It also sought a rare goal of Arab associations in the diaspora, which would facilitate the permanent return of Palestinian migrants who wanted to return to Palestine. On 21 September 1924, Ali was elected President of the Society. It was followed by Fouad Shatara, who was a treasurer."⁷⁶

In the United States, there are between 150,000 and 250,000 people of Palestinian origin. Only about 10 percent of the Arab-American community, with a population of 2 million, represents less than 4 percent of the American Jewish community. There are no reliable figures for the migration or census of Palestinian Americans. Because the US Immigration and Naturalization Service rarely recognized "Palestinians" as a nationality, migration statistics do not exist. In the 1980 census, the first to have an opportunity to include their predecessors, only 21,288 people were on the Palestinian list. Lists the Palestinian Statistical Abstract of the 1983 list of 108,045 Palestinians living in the United States, but speculation activists in Arab countries T. J tomcat numbers in the range of 200,000-400,000. The last figure may be fairly high, but the 200,000 range seems reasonable. Whatever the exact figure, it is very small compared to other ethnic minorities. If it is difficult to identify a number of Palestinian Americans,

⁷⁶ From a letter Ali al-Judeh sent to fi listtin newsthesis about the association and its goals, activities, and elections that made him president. felistin newsthesis, 21 October 1924, p. 4

they do not know anything about them politically. A survey of the “Palestinian community in the United States indicates that while first-generation Palestinian immigrants tend to make a rapid adjustment in American society, they remain, to an extraordinary degree, among immigrant communities, very aware of and well aware of the economic conditions in their hometown. More surprisingly, the second-generation of Palestinians born in the United States also shows a high degree of political awareness and ethnic pride.”⁷⁷

This awareness appears to be the result of the extent to which the degree of political acculturation in this country has been affected. America often demands immigrants more than its native citizens not to address American domestic affairs. Unlike US-born Americans, immigrants must avoid criticism of any aspect of the “American system or risk the idea of incompetence, risk or questioning their allegiance. Although in general many immigrants from other nationalities did, most Palestinians could not hide their political identity to become “Americans” in this sense.”⁷⁸

Numerous Palestinians tend to stay in the United States, but this is not a political choice, but simply because there is nowhere else to go. For these Palestinians, the transition to America is not an option that is enthusiastically but a negative one, because there is no alternative or better alternative. Other refugees, such as Vietnam, Cuba, the former Soviet Union, and other countries, have fled large numbers of refugees due to civil wars or escape from the oppression of foreign occupation to the United States. They have shown little interest in the United States' relationship to their countries of origin The United States towards their home country. Because there are Palestinian lands under foreign

⁷⁷ Census of Population: Supplementary Report: Encyclopaedia of the Population by State: 1980 (Washington: US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1983), 21.

⁷⁸ Palestinian Statistical Abstract for 1983 (Damascus: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistic Ts, 1984), cited in Laurie A. Brand, *Palestinians in the Arab World: Institution Building and the Search for State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 9.

occupation, and because the Palestinians refuse to join this occupation, many Palestinians feel that no other country can be adopted. The sense of something that has yet to come (the establishment of an independent Palestinian state) perpetuates the vision of the exile country as a temporary foreign homeland, thus distinguishing them from other immigrant Americans and even other Arab citizens.

3.2 Second- generation Definition

“The second-generation of immigrants refer to children born to parents or children born abroad but brought to the host country before adolescence.”⁷⁹

However, “the normative definitions of the first and second-generations do not adequately reflect the complexities of the living experiences of some immigrant.”⁸⁰ Palestinian Americans are one such group. For example, the second-generation of Palestinians associated with the Nakba is the third generation born outside their homeland. However, the term “second-generation” is the term used in this study to refer to children

Palestinian or Palestinian children brought from outside the pre-puberty United States; second-generation instead of third-generation is used to avoid complexity.

This section deals with ways to maintain relations with a state of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans and tries to clarify the contradictions and different ways to preserve the Palestinian identity and contact the homeland. And what this generation is doing through translational practices, for example, repatriation visits to promote the social and cultural relationship of this group with their compatriots.

Rumbaut Rubén G. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second-* ⁷⁹ Portes Alejandro, *Generation*. University of California Press; 2001. P.23

⁸⁰Mason, V. (2007). Children of the "Idea of Palestine": Negotiating Identity, Belonging and Home in the Palestinian Diaspora, *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 28 (3), 271-285.

3.3 Concept of Identity:

Identity is the consciousness of the human being, his sense of himself and his belonging to a national or religious human group, community, nation, sector group within the framework of general human belonging. “It is our knowledge of what, where and where we come from and where we go, and what we want for ourselves and others, and our position in the map of relations and contradictions and existing conflicts.”⁸¹

Identity in this sense is a set of cultural features that represent the minimum common to all those who belong to them, which makes them know and characterize them than other members of nations and groups. ” Identity may develop with openness to others. It may shrink, be constricted or shrunk, limited or spread, but it is undoubtedly enriched by people's experiences, sufferings, victories, and hopes. This issue is negatively and positively affected by the relationship with the other.”⁸²

In this sense, identity does not consist only of origin and belonging, which are the natural heritage, but consists of the process of creation, work and process, which is a process of creative and continuous.

The more the identity of the “ego” is not ambiguous, the more he can engage in an equal dialogue with the other on the cultural level. If the identity is problematic, it will be suspended, delayed or swaying, according to Adonis, who says that he can not give her a description: Citizenship, nationality, language, creativity, and excellence, individually or collectively.

In his book “Palestinian Identity: Formation of Contemporary National Consciousness, Rashid Khalidi asserted that “the roots of Palestinian identity preceded the emergence of the Palestinian public consciousness of this identity as the people of Palestine began to

⁸¹ Barakat, Halim - Arab society in the twentieth century, a former source, p . 62

⁸² Jabri, Muhammad Abed - Globalization and Cultural Identity, a previous source, p. 298

imagine themselves as a distinctive political unit since the beginning of the twentieth century. This came when the writer Naguib Azouri proposed in 1908 the idea of expanding the Sanjak of Jerusalem to include northern Palestine “because that is necessary for the development of the land of Palestine, as he put it.”⁸³ In his view of Palestinian identity, al-Khalidi built his argument on the theory of “Imagined Communities” by Benedict Anderson, which linked the emergence of media discourse and the initiation of awareness of the ego and the other.

In his book “After the Last Sky,” an emotional image, in text and images, of Palestinian life and identity, both exploring the past and testimony to those living in exile, Edward Said not only talks about the difficulty Palestinians face to maintain their identity in exile, On the ongoing struggle that any Palestinian must fight to legitimize this identity. It also points out, “Identity - Who we are, where we come from, what we are - difficult to keep in exile. Most of the other people take their identity for granted. But not the Palestinian, in the required of it always, he must prove his identity is or appears another. “Not only do we consider terrorists, but our presence as indigenous Arabs of Palestine, with primitive rights there (and nowhere else).”⁸⁴

For the words of Edward Said, “recently I discovered that I have to be careful to speak out against the American power and I need to develop some mechanisms or payment not to insist on their efforts to silence me or exclusionary than that of it, rather than switch to what they want me to be on it.”⁸⁵

Therefore, it attempts to blur the Palestinian presence was perhaps t of the main reasons that strengthened the sense of the need to strengthen identity, as the identity means of

⁸³ Essam Nassar, " Rashid Khalidi, The Palestinian Identity : Formation of Contemporary National Consciousness, " Palestinian Politics Magazine, Volume 4 , No. 18 (1998): p. 185 .

⁸⁴ Said, Edward, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986) p16-17.

⁸⁵ Edward Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999).

existence in the first place, it is the protector of political, social and cultural entity, and this is what infused the Palestinian identity privacy in terms of awareness and formation.

3.4.1 Palestinians and Ernest Gellner theory

Ernest Gellner considers that “national identity is a way of life as a completely modern marvel, as a result of social development and creation” ideological, unexpected and simulated. Gellner considers that industrialization and related improvements in urbanization are an essential element in the formation of nationalism. The modern state must be the one that needs a modern mechanical workforce and a modern military force by a nation-state, where the framework of focused education encourages the formation of a unified collective culture.

Developed and focused. Eventually, “the culture of “high”, these changes lead to a weakening of classical relations between the general public, and the creation of new social relations in the light of the national.”⁸⁶ According to Gellner, “It is nationalism that generates nations and not the other way around, and insists that nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-awareness: they invent states where they do not exist.”⁸⁷

In the Palestinian case, there is no doubt that modernization - the spread of the modern educational system due to the Ottoman changes - has played a pivotal role in the development of nationalism in the Arab world. However, Gellner's theoretical framework seems to be very mechanical. It excludes human activity more than ever before.

⁸⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), p55-56

⁸⁷ IBIN

Gellner's approach has nothing to do with the Palestinian cause because the Palestinian state does not yet exist. Moreover, his argument in a common written language may prove to be unfavorable to the idea of separate Palestinian nationalism: Arabic is not, in fact, a unique or special language for Palestinians alone. It is used here in the entire Arab world. Hence, the emphasis on its role will have a more comprehensive Arab identity, not just an Arab identity.

3.4.2 The Palestinians and Benedict Anderson Model:

The emergence of Palestinian identity can best be explained by combining elements of the two seemingly opposite approaches advocated by Benedict Anderson and Anthony Smith. The focus of Anderson, one of the most prominent defenders of a modern school, on the dynamics of identity building, and emphasizes the creative nature of the emergency and national identity, as well as their ability to adapt to the social and political contexts in the wide world, ie the modern world, This process is closely linked to modernity, secularism, and capitalism, which led to the spread of printing through the so-called Anderson "printed capitalism", which facilitates the development of political mobilization Assembly.

Using two basic tools" for printed capitalism"; " The new thesis and the novel, both creating, he says, new concepts of space and time that in turn led to a new social feeling. printing spread and convert colloquial dialects oral to written language coincided with the secularization process, and reduce the imperial dynasties, and with the division of Europe. People and their languages have gained importance, and printing has become the hallmark of new societies."⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991) chapters 2 and 3.

But if Anderson insists on the centrality of the process of identity-building, the “imagined society”, it does not indicate that the nations themselves are fictional. On the contrary, it is a real phenomenon, rooted in historical tracks. However, unlike the smaller traditional societies, the members of modern states will never know all their own citizens, and therefore can only be associated with their own nation through their imagination.

Another major contribution of Anderson's theories, based on the case of Latin America this time, is the role played by colonial boundaries information modern national consciousness. In the post-colonial lands, colonial lands often determine the nation. In the case of the Middle East, the areas that have been transformed into countries are dependent on the divisions imposed by the French and British delegations, especially because of the Sykes-Picot agreement.

“The Middle East was a single cultural union, but it formed various political, social and cultural societies that gradually gained their own lives, and these colonial boundaries contributed to the formation of national identities that were particularly relevant to Palestinian identity.

The impact of rapid and successive major challenges throughout the period from the beginning of the war 1923 / First World to the British Mandate in Palestine, in 1922 during the sense of political and national belonging, for most political intellectuals and Palestinian civilians, has undergone a series of major transformations. The end result was a close and growing identification with Palestine. The Arab citizens began to “imagine”, as Benedict and Anderson put it, that they were part of a single political society with clear borders and sovereign rights. However, this identification was not exclusive - because Arabism, religion and local loyalties remained extremely important, and continued to allow the Arabs in Palestine to see themselves as part of other larger and smaller societies at the same time. This identity certainly did not

include all sectors or classes among the population, but it formed a new kind of identity, was not this type, simply, exists a generation or two ago, a new and limited shadow spread before the First World War.

After the First World War, he opposed the Arab nationalists In general and the Palestinians, in particular, the separation of Palestine from the new Arab Republic of Syria. They adopted the identity and political agenda of southern Syria as a means of combating the Zionist threat, which denies their existence by raising the slogan of the Zionist propaganda known as “a land without a people for a people without a land.”⁸⁹

Therefore, the natural consequence of the issue of the limits established by Western colonialism in the region is that the new mapping has also transformed the new “imagined society” into a clear and tangible reality. The maps of Palestine within its mandatory borders are of great importance because they preserve the space lost in 1948.

3.4.3 The Palestinians and the Anthony Smith Model:

Anthony Smith accepted “invent nationality as an ideological development. However, he moves from the camp modernist by defending the idea that there is a material ethnic core of modern states. As if counting the French language expressions used to identify the relevant population who share genetic myths and memories of the inherent social characteristics of regular, associated with a nation, However, Smith emphasizes that modern political nationalism cannot be understood without regard to these ethnic relations and previous memories, i.e., the collective memory, at one time, of these ethnic groups and identities that existed before.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ KHALIDI, RASHID. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. Columbia University Press, 1997 (P162-167)

⁹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *The Problem of National Identity: Ancient Medieval and Modern?* »In *Myths And , by Memories Of The Nation* (Oxford University of Oxford Press,1999), P102-105

Smith's approach is especially useful for analyzing the rise of Arab nationalism and clarifying the Arab part in the various regional nationalities in the Arab world. Unlike the European situation, the cultural life of the last Arab lands has not disappeared under the influence of modernization. It has undergone the process of modification, formation, and differentiation to form the modern Arab national culture. However, these components do not serve much to clarify the Palestinian identity as a separate nationality from Arab nationalism because it does not distinguish between Palestinians and Arabs. And what distinguishes the Palestinians is a new development that is analyzed by Smith.

“Development of a specific identity as a result of a dispute between two groups in one geographical area.”⁹¹ ” The frequency, intensity, and duration of wars between rival governments is in itself an important factor in the formation of ethnic sentiment among the affected population,” Smith says.”⁹² The confrontation with the ” other” always leads to raising the value of ” self”; in this case, a distinctive Palestinian identity emerged.

“The imagined society, in Andersen's view, transcends the borders of the state, yet the Zionist power of aggression - perhaps unwittingly recognized the Palestinians as a different society from other Arab citizens in the Arab states. In this way, the Palestinians led the struggle for a long period, although the struggle is not alone enough to build a common sense of the natural situation and the formation of national identity, the Palestinian struggle was manifested by the longing for a Palestinian national state. Was the primary goal for Palestinian nationalism, which came after the First World War under the slogan Resistance to the Zionist threat, or removes it completely.

⁹¹ «Nation and Ethnoscape», in (*Myths and Memories of the Nation* , P149).

⁹² Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1987) P38.

3.4.4 Halbwachs and the Palestinians space memory

No identity without memory, this is the basis of all national identities. It promotes a sense of interdependence across time and space by pretending the remembering, and then, what is remembered is characterized as “the expected identity.” Each group embraces the memory of its past and in this way is distinguished by something different from other groups. As Maurice Halbwachs explained, the Collective memory is a social construction creates and manifests itself in a particular social context, and in this capacity, is arranged as he calls “social structures of memory.” While people are not willing to think about the past, they do not remember the past as separate individuals; rather, the individual acts as an element in a group.

The memory function is the association of any group, in his opinion Halbwachs, “It response that capacity as a channel that passes through options that either forget or remember and then send to the new generation; traditions are therefore modified as a modified group. Each community or social group build a collective memory of its past calculated or even challenges the memory of an association of different groups. The social capacity of collective memory is to re-create the past and legitimize the present and the future.”⁹³

This is also related to what Halbwachs offers about collective memory. He believes, “There must be a social group to talk legitimately about collective memory. Another aspect of the theory seems to Halbwach It is connected to the Palestinians in the diaspora who did not know Palestine as a place or a homeland. Edward Said says this way: “Everything with the Palestinians that struggles to maintain its identity on at least two levels: first, as a Palestinian with respect to the historic clash with Zionism and the rapid loss of the homeland. Secondly, As a Palestinian in the existential sense of daily life, and

⁹³ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980) 1-49.

dealing with the pressures he faces in the country of residence. ” The Palestinian does not have a state like Palestine, even if he believes that there is something that does not belong to it, the state in which he currently lives.” In Maurice Halbwach's view, space “gives us a sense of non-change over time and gives us the ability to find the past in the present.”⁹⁴ ; it is the space that is somehow connected to collective memory.

3.4.5 Translational Identity development of Palestinian Americans second-generation:

Migrants and immigrants look to the country where they settled as their home, but what is the idea of ” homeland” for the second-generation of Palestinian Americans? Those born in the diaspora have little or no knowledge of their country of origin, which was essentially passed its association and awareness of Palestine without living or did not suffer directly as the suffering of the Palestinians inside their homeland? As noted by Mourid Barghouthi: “Until now we know little about our history ... The occupation has created generations of Palestinians who are strangers to Palestine, generations born and living in exile, and they are ignorant of their homeland and the homeland of their fathers and forefathers ... These generations were ruled by an invisible lover.”⁹⁵

In a study entitled (The American Experience: Palestinians in the United States), Kathleen Christison recalls that “The second-generation of Palestinian Americans have a strong sense of belonging to their home country, be that as it may, they have a feeling that the United States is the main home they have lived. Previous research with Palestinian youth has uncovered conflict in the concept of home. The homeland is characterized as the physical space and the emblematic impression of the spot to which

⁹⁴ Edward W. The question of Palestine, Times Books, New York, 1979 (chapter 3)

⁹⁵Barghouti, M. (1998). Songs for a Country No longer known. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, X XVII (2), 60-61. Web Page <http://jps.ucpress.edu/content/27/2/59.abstract>

the individual has a place. This worldwide recognition is reflected in their reactions to inquiries concerning the nation and the place they believe they belong to.”⁹⁶

The writer Kathleen Christison worked as a political analyst for the CIA from 1964 to 1979.

Traditionally, the children of US-born immigrants usually reject their parents' origins in an attempt to be fully American. However, this does not apply fully to young Palestinians. There are exceptions to this rule: some cannot deal with the political stigma that often This will lead some young people to put their Palestinian consciousness in the background, that is, an attempt to conceal their ethnic identity, believing that this will lead them to success in working and integrating into American society. But others cannot bear the burden of balancing the identity American and Palestinian. Often, the majority of the second-generation can easily deal with their dual identities. The first is the growing ethnic awareness of American society as a result of ethnic diversity throughout the country, and the second is the increasing prominence of the Palestinian struggle as a political and national issue at the international level.

The process of balancing two identities was not difficult for the families of Palestinian immigrants. Most parents do not make an effort or force to feed the Palestinian culture to their children but are allowed to make their own choices. Especially those who marry Americans or non-Arabs, but even when both parents are Palestinians, there seems to be a realization that children grow up in a non-Palestinian culture and must adapt to it even if they maintain Palestinian consciousness.

⁹⁶ Christison, Kathleen, *The American Experience: Palestinians in the US*, Summer, 1989, Vol. 18 No. 4, (pp. 18-36) DOI: 10.2307 / 2537495

The confusion between Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims in American popular culture stem, in part, from the way in which popular culture has historically reduced the enormous diversity inherent.

The deliberate combination of many American and Israeli policies “ostensibly based on the shared values and principles of democracy, the rule of law and strategic interests, among others, compared to Arabs and Muslims, reinforces these stereotypes.”⁹⁷ The Palestinian identity indicates that this integration indicates that for many in the United States, the distinction between Palestinians as a distinct nationality and Arabs and Muslims, in general, is neither easy nor even necessary - especially in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. ” In the absence of accurate information in popular culture and social and official institutions such as schools, this has been held and has been an obstacle to the ability of many Americans to see Palestinians as indigenous people who were expelled from their historic homeland through illegal occupation.”⁹⁸

This complicates matters further, it is important to note that there is a general misunderstanding in the United States of terms such as “Arab”, “Muslim”, “Arab Americans” and “Arab-Muslim Americans.” Such wide posters are often used interchangeably - wrongly and reflect an inaccurate but common perception among many Americans (and still popular) that Arab Americans - regardless of ethnicity or religious affiliation - are the same, and therefore, It is difficult to speak of the Palestinians without mentioning the implicit or explicit relationship that binds them to Arabs and Muslims. Because of the negative stereotypes associated with these two groups, Palestinians often suffer from bilateral duality: Understanding publicly accuse because of (popular culture) while also accusing them through their association with the Arabs / Muslims (ie, when

⁹⁷ Smith LC & Haddad L.(2002) How potent economic growth in reducing under nutrition? What are the pathways of impact? New cross country evidence. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 51, 55

⁹⁸UN Human Rights Council Report
https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/A.66.53.Add.1_en.doc

the Arabs or Muslims commit, for example, acts of violence, Palestinians associated implicitly.

On the practical level, many Americans are confused about whether Muslims are a religion or a race. ” Given the fact that the average American is nurtured by constant and sustained feeds from Hollywood stereotypes, which often depicts Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims are not entirely clear, this blurry picture inevitably leads to such confusion. After all, there are two versions: Arabs and Islam and the version created by the Hollywood group, Shaheen noted;”⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the disdain, fear, and misunderstandings of many Americans for Palestinians, Arabs, and Islam do not stem from personal contact and direct experience with these individuals, but from their portrayal of Hollywood, which translates into punishing a process suffered by Arab Americans (Christians and Muslims). (For example, the Iranian hostage crisis in 1979, the bombing of the US naval barracks in Beirut in 1983, the Gulf War in 1990, and the attempted bombing of the World Trade Center 1993, the 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and other sites in the United States), “Many cases of racial profiling, workplace discrimination and hate crimes against Arab and Muslim Americans - or those who resemble Arabs or Muslims - have been reported. These practices are also common within American society - even in times of relative calm - but increase dramatically during times of crisis, reflecting the underlying fear, misunderstanding, and uncertainty that characterize the relationship between Arabs and American Muslims elsewhere in the United States.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Shaheen, JG (2008) *Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs After 9/11*. Northampton: Olive Branch Press. P. 21

¹⁰⁰ Ibin, Smith LC & Haddad L. (2002)

Historically, “one of the consequences of stereotypes has been to adopt public opinion to allow the government greater freedom to apply discriminatory policies that violate US civil liberties.”¹⁰¹ Many ethnic groups have suffered such practices, such as African and Native Americans, Latins and Asians.

In the case of the Palestinians and other Arab and Muslim Americans, “the adoption of legislation that the United States National in 2001, and that the people on racial profiling and the use of secret evidence with serious threats to public freedoms and civil rights.”¹⁰² Thus, the cumulative effect of such misleading information and stereotypes is often translated into real political and social consequences. As Haddad realized early on, this makes Arab-American Muslims feel that they are in a “theme park” in which they have to test new levels of defamation and defamation while living in an increasingly hostile environment for their ethnic origins and religious beliefs.

Smith points out, “that some people know the truth about the Arab world, Islam and Muslims.”¹⁰³ is being distorted for the political benefit of those in political positions. “However, such acts and generalizations are regularly conducted by senior government officials and opinion-makers And others” .. Silberstein emphasizes that the discourse of occupation has focused in the Middle East on Palestine, the symbol of grievance and Western hegemony over some, to terrorize others, this kind of comments contribute to create an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion between Arab-American Muslims and the large American society and lead to economic policies Political and social issues Its impact on all concerned. This is especially true for the Palestinians, charities, and

¹⁰¹ American Muslim Council. (1993). *American attitudes towards Islam: A nationwide poll*. Conducted by the John Zogby Group International, Inc. Washington, DC: American Muslim Council

¹⁰² Salaita, Steven. (2005). Ethnic identity and imperative patriotism: Arab Americans before and after 9/11. *Image Literature* 32 (2), 146-168.

¹⁰³ Haddad, YY (2002). Muslim minorities in the West: Visible and invisible. YY Haddad & JI Smith (Eds.). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

organizations that have been established to assist them in everything from medical relief to food distribution.

The media are complicating matters by promoting “stereotypes of Islam and Arabs and equating them with extremism and terrorism. “The negative image of the Arab world and Islam has been distorted more by these Western commentators who have portrayed Islam in recent years as a triple threat: a political, cultural and demographic threat.”¹⁰⁴ For example, in the days, months and years following the tragic events of September 11, “the situation was shaken by the fear and fear felt by many in Arab-Muslim American society. In particular, Israel benefited from the fear generated by many in the United States towards Arabs and Muslims, using September 11 as a means of strengthening relations with the United States and as justification for more harsh treatment of Palestinians.”¹⁰⁵

3.5 Palestinians, Arab-Muslim Americans and stereotypical research :

To understand how stereotypes influence people you should understand the Palestinians people and the conflict Palestinian-Israeli, it is useful to have a sense of history if a response search in the US relationship with the Palestinians.

The term “stereotype” was first used by “Walter Lippmann”¹⁰⁶ to refer to beliefs about ethnic groups, and “Miller.”¹⁰⁷ Stereotypes have been defined as generalizations about social groups that are strictly adhered to, derived illegally and negatively. He also described stereotypes as ‘images in our heads,’ which constituted ‘a false representation

¹⁰⁴ Khan, MAM (1998). Muslim and identity politics in America. In YY Haddad & JL Esposito (Eds.), *Muslims on the Americanization path?* Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

¹⁰⁵ earsheimer, JJ, Walt, SM, & Rogers D. Spotswood Collection. (2007). *The Israel lobby and US foreign policy* .

¹⁰⁶ earsheimer, JJ, Walt, SM, & Rogers D. Spotswood Collection. (2007). *The Israel lobby and US foreign policy* .

¹⁰⁷ Miller, A. (1982). *In the eye of the beholder: contemporary issues in stereotyping*. Westport: Praeger, P.3

that was acquired other than the direct experience of reality that they claim to represent' Despite Leibman's research, "what has been demonstrated recently is that most stereotypes of known groups in society are of low value In fact, while the field of social psychology, in particular, has surveyed the elucidation of stereotypes, examined their impact on social cognition and behavior, and considered the motivational rules of bias, along with personal psychologists, who analyzed the origins of bias, Of researchers now agree with Devin."¹⁰⁸ However, stereotyping is the result of communicative processes (such as public discourse, popular culture, and curriculum) that play a central role in acquiring stereotypes. Knowledge of cultural stereotypes is shared by people regardless of the level of the individual.

Although typical research from the 1920s to the 1940s did not include Palestinians or even Arabs or Muslims, their images can nevertheless be drawn from news and films from that time. For example, the stereotype of Arab / Muslim during the early part of the 20th century was exemplified by Rudolph Valentino as featured in the film, *Sheikh* (1921). "These individuals were seen as 'exotic deserters', 'brutal savages' and 'rogue elders' to harm the defeated Western hero and seduce the fair Western heroine,"¹⁰⁹ This image remained in the heads of the community as it was during the 1920s and 1930s, and formed the image of a whole generation of Arabs and Muslims. As Shaheen revealed, the Arab is not safe, and unlike the stereotypes of some ethnic groups, this picture has not been eliminated or replaced. Instead, they have been changed - with varying modifications - to be recycled and recreated in countless other movies. As one film producer pointed out, the image of the Arabs is a **"stereotype ready" for exploitation.**

¹⁰⁸Lippmann, Walter. "Public Opinion." Google Books. [Link to resource](#) (accessed January 14, 2018).

¹⁰⁹ Devine, PG (1989). Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 5-18.

Thus, “Arab and Islamic stereotypes continue to serve a dual purpose. Easily recognizable by viewers with little or no effort, files are ready and suitable for screenwriters and producers who need fast stuffing .”¹¹⁰

The stereotype is thus defined as “a representation of a culture of learning that people in that culture are inferior in nature.”¹¹¹” This definition better reflects the stereotypes Palestinians (as well as Arabs and Muslims) face in the United States and reflects an idea of ” reconsideration.”¹¹²

“Individuals possess volatile characteristics (such as terrorists, fundamentalists, oppressors, greedy and violent) and that nothing can be done on their part to change this condition.”¹¹³ The repercussions of such mistaken outcomes can be destructive to entities and groups. For example, but some Palestinians used violence to resist the Israeli occupation, the fact is that the vast majority of Palestinians use nonviolence regularly to assert their desire to be free. Similarly, while it is true that very few Arabs are extremely rich and obtain their revenue from petroleum, but most of the people in the Arab world are almost poor and lacking essential needs, such as access to clean water over time. “To negatively affect the understanding of the people of the Palestinians and the Arabs and negatively affect the US domestic, foreign and economic policies.”¹¹⁴

Given the nature of the stereotypical research of the early 20th century and the Arab and Muslim Americans at that time, it is not surprising that this segment of society is ignored. Immigration officials at that time had just begun to recognize the Arabs as

¹¹⁰ Orfalea, G. (1988). *Before the flames: A quest for the history of Arab Americans*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

¹¹¹ Greenberg, BS & Brand, JE (1994). Minorities and the mass media: 1970s to 1990s. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 273-314). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

¹¹² Alatom, BE (1997). *Orientalist stereotyping in modern American popular culture*. Unpublished doctor dissertation, The University of Texas, Arlington. P. 24

¹¹³ Allport, GW (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass: Addison Wesley. P.9

¹¹⁴ Fishman, JA (1956). An examination of the process and function of social stereotyping. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 43. 27-64

different countries.” What is surprising is that, despite the growing number of Arabs and Muslims in the United States, and despite the intensification of research on all aspects of human interaction and the tragedy of September 11, this group is still relatively excluded from such research?”¹¹⁵

3.5.1 Stereotype: Confirmed evidence

Most early research on stereotypes assumed that stereotypes were necessarily wrong. “Stereotypes were not necessarily based on fixed facts. An important confirmation of this assumption was the belief that people's perceptions of others were emotionally defended, even in the face of evidence to the contrary. This is especially true with regard to the Palestinians and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”¹¹⁶

“The concept of communication hypothesis in Allport's research stems from prejudice, as well as from inter-ethnic research (Intergroup Which he conducted My shoulders)”.¹¹⁷ It has been adopted by many social psychologists. The main theme of this concept is that interactions with members of groups that have been fundamentally reformulated provide a means of reducing the level of discrimination and improving relations between groups. “The researchers hypothesized that the hypothesis of new evidence about members of a stereotypical group would be contrary to people's expectations and induce a change in their stereotyped image content.”¹¹⁸ A number of scientists who were convinced of this hypothesis were very willing to implement it. For many, the concept of self-evident premise communication and relatively easy implementation and a means to reduce the various stereotypes and eliminate it seemed, and that plagued the society at that time. However, the opportunity to provide people with a strategy to interact with

¹¹⁵ J. (1998). The politics of exclusion. *Civil Rights Journal*, 3 (1), 42-48.

¹¹⁶ Salaita, Steven George, (2005) *Ethnic Identity and Imperative Patriotism: Arab Americans Before and After 9/11*, *College Literature* 32 (2): 146-168

¹¹⁷ Ibid, Allport

¹¹⁸ Tajfel, H. (1968). Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of social issues*, 25, 79-98

members of the other group does not agree with the stereotypes,” Hewstone a have achieved little success. In fact, it has been shown that stereotypes are often kept at long intervals even after manipulating co-operation with atypical members of the group.”¹¹⁹ This is evident in the continuing efforts of many to change the general image of the Palestinians.

3.6 Stereotypes and psychological research

This gap is also fed into understanding in other ways as well. For example, while the effect Stereotypes on individuals are well documented (eg low self-esteem, self-concept, self-perception and academic issues). Studies on this subject have expanded over the past few decades to include not only concern with the achievement of African American students but with greater recognition of groups another ethnic in the United States, some population, such as the Palestinians, are still not enough understood unfortunately, Palestinian students were excluded from such research, because unlike many other minorities, are not schooled as a group with historical ties with the United States. This is not surprising given that popular culture has consistently portrayed this segment of society as foreign. “In research studies, which tend to focus on adaptation issues, Palestinian American students are always treated as foreign students.”¹²⁰ This marginalization is surprising because the vast majority of these children were born in the United States. Moreover, “the Palestinian community is part of one of the ethnic and religious groups, the fastest growing in major urban areas where the distinctive patterns

¹¹⁹ Hewstone, M. & Brown, RJ (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the contact hypothesis. In M. Hewstone, R. J. Brown (Eds.). *Contact and conflict in intergroup discrimination* (pp. 1-44). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

¹²⁰ Hewstone, M. & Brown, RJ (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the contact hypothesis. In M. Hewstone, R. J. Brown (Eds.). *Contact and conflict in intergroup discrimination* (pp. 1-44). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

of migration have produced a variety of internally diverse attitudes and behaviors vary by birth, social class, the nature of cultures life.”¹²¹

But what I find more concerned about the lack of research on the Palestinians is that the voices of these individuals are still unknown at a time when historically disadvantaged groups are demanding more accurate representation and inclusion of their culture and mission in society, in American culture and curricula. Even multicultural education, which raised the voices of many marginal groups, has not adequately addressed the needs of this growing segment of students.

“This is ridiculous, because while Americans are considered members of the community Philistines yeh part of a minority “invisible”, but they are highly visible from a negative perspective in popular culture.”¹²² As Samhan observes, because Arab identity in the United States “has historically been largely invisible and obscurely racist, located between the cracks of the white / non-white duo and not officially recognized as an ethnic identity”¹²³ This negative vision has proved to be extremely damaging to the ability of many Americans to communicate with the Palestinians, and despite the fact that Palestinian Americans are considered being the most racially assimilated in the United States (for example, they lose their ability to read, In their traditional Arabic language - after one generation only).

3.7 Integration or alienation

The idea of integration is an internal concept, an exceptional individual process, and it is difficult to make predictions about Palestinian-American change according to American

¹²¹ Zogby, J. (1998). The politics of exclusion. *Civil Rights Journal*, 3 (1), 42-48.

¹²² Naber, N. (2000). Ambiguous insiders: An investigation of Arab American invisibility. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (1), 37-61.

¹²³ Samhan, Helen Atab, (1999), "Not only quite white: race classificat, and the Arab-American experience" *Arabs in America Building a new Future*, Ed. Michael W.Suleiman. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 114

culture. There is no relationship between Palestinian nationalism and the level of integration. The best Palestinian patriots are by no means less integrated into American life; the integration is more integrated or less national. Some families suffer from a basic lack of a strong sense of being Palestinian, lack of communication in Arabic at home, the ability to speak English and American dialectics, marriage from non-Arabs, and generally communicate with others as a coordinator t data on the merger, but in spite of all this, it is not they have to prove the absence of a Palestinian identity of the type of what they have.

“First and second-generation Palestinians adapt to English and succeed in engaging in American political and educational systems, but many Palestinians immigrants have fought Islamophobia in American society, especially after the events of September 11, 2001. Moreover, Muslims and Christians) with certain levels of persecution and alienation, in part because of the large American support for pro-Israel organizations within the United States, and thus groups such as the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee were created.”¹²⁴

Moreover, the state of alienation between Palestinian Americans is uncommon, yet it is reasonable to live in this nation while never becoming part of it. Social distance or cultural alienation is more common with Palestinian women. For example, in light of Arab social constraints, women are often reserved for integration with American culture. In her study on Palestinian women in the United States, Lewis Kainkar concluded that “as women are the main defenders of Palestinian culture, they deliberately and deliberately isolate the lifestyle and traditional American standard.

The theory of alienation can also be applied to the elderly, who have moved to the United States with their older children.” As these elderly people usually live with nuclear

¹²⁴ Cainkar, L. Palestinian women in the United States: Coping with tradition, change, and alienation, 1989

families, and never learn English, they do not work, and rely on the family in their lives, and mingle only with the family or members of the families of Palestinians around them.”¹²⁵

3.8 Persistent of stereotypes

“Allport was aware of one process that could contribute to the persistence of stereotypes. And used the term”¹²⁶ re-foundation” to describe the strong tendency of people to evaluate the behavior shown by indirect so that the implementation of e through the exceptions in the group. It was also suggested that individuals should be judged to be members of an atypical and non-representative group that provided an effective strategy for maintaining preconceived beliefs.

Since then, other researchers have confirmed their findings, such as “Schaller and others.”¹²⁷ This idea of re-framing gives more insight into why some stereotypes about Palestinians (Arabs and Muslims) persist despite efforts to change them.” In fact, attempts to snoop on such perceptions by providing Americans with little chance of interacting with Palestinians and other Arabs / Muslims have not been successful. Zogby suggests.”¹²⁸ That there is a fundamental shift in the environment in which such stereotypes are created, nurtured and sustained (ie in popular culture and curriculum of LED anchored), overcoming the effects of her simply be increased communication between these different groups, though not enough.

¹²⁵ Christison, Kathleen. The American Experience: Palestinians in the US This content downloaded

¹²⁶ Allport, GW (1954). The nature of prejudice. Reading: Massachusetts. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

¹²⁷ Bodenhausen, GV, & Wyer, RS (1985). Effects of Stereotypes on Decision Making and Information-Processing Strategies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* , 48 (2), 267-282. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.48.2.267>

¹²⁸ John Zogby . Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 74, Issue 3, 1 January 2010 , Pages 570-584

Two private studies offer insights into what appears to be images of Stereotypes about specific groups (such as African Americans, Jews, Palestinians, and Muslims) continue to resist change over time. According to Schaller and Conway, some groups are more likely to be talked about than others. While there are many reasons why these groups are more prominent in dialogues on the subject (eg, visual appearance, dress, religious differences, community size), “it has been decided that the way people talk about others has a causal effect on stereotypes. That is, the more features are discussed, the more likely they are to be stereotyped.”¹²⁹ In addition, these traits are likely to become more pluralistic, and remain, part of the stereotypes common to ethnic groups.

Thus, the features identified are likely to remain stereotyped for a long time, especially if the features are part of a continuous conversation about a particular group. Because Palestinians and their images have been an integral part of Hollywood and popular culture for decades, it is logical that such stereotypes remain more vivid than the stereotypes of other groups of lesser interest.

For example, “one of the most common stereotypes of Palestinians that have existed over the last 60 years in American films is the image of the terrorist.”¹³⁰ This stereotype has been anchored in cinema, the media and popular culture to the extent that many Americans are convinced that the stereotype is accurate, taken as a fact known to all and not as a means by some to paint a caricature of the Palestinians.

“The keffiyeh is the most visible manifestation of this stereotype. While many Americans may accept stereotypes that the scarf is the embodiment of Palestinian terrorism (just as symbolized by the swastika of the Nazi and genocide bridles of consciousness), the fact

¹²⁹ Schaller, M., & Conway, LG III. (2001). From cognition to culture: The origins of stereotypes that really matter. In GB Moskowitz (Ed.), *Cognitive social psychology: The Princeton Symposium on the Legacy and Future of Social Cognition* (pp. 163-176). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

¹³⁰ Shaheen, JG (2000) 'Hollywood's Muslim Arabs.' *The Muslim World* 90.1-2, 22-43.

that most Palestinians consider the keffiyeh piece of cultural and national folklore, as worn by a few of them as clothing daily.”¹³¹

The way in which the stereotype users talk about individuals, they know little about the Palestinians or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this shows that the more stereotypes, the more likely they are to remain passive.

Given the lack of inclusion of Palestinians in stereotyped research, it is necessary to look elsewhere for evidence of such stereotypes. In this regard, he can explain again how Arabs and Muslims have been portrayed in films over the years. In fact, it was early recognized that the film was the most powerful tool to shape people's understanding of others. In the aftermath of the First World War and the lessons learned from the production of war propaganda, for example, the president of Paramount Pictures claimed that 'as a means of propaganda, as a conduit for the transfer of thought and opinion, the film is unmatched in terms of impact as a form of communication.

Over the years, three stages of Palestinian / Arab / Islamic stereotypes have developed in the film. While each stage is distinct in many ways, the three share many basic characteristics. Stereotypes during the first stage did not include a clear signal to the Palestinians. Instead, the male and Muslim stereotypes that emerged from Hollywood in the early 20th century were simply “primitive people living in shantytowns or tents, whose task was to arrest the blondes of their leaders.”¹³²

Women have been portrayed as they are ‘dancers’ they go outside the veil ‘or’ naked harm adorned with the edges of the exposed naked, restricted in the palace rooms, such as movies (Walsh J x, Arabs, bride desert) This kind of films produced by Hollywood at the time. Although it is worth recognizing that Hollywood did not necessarily create these

¹³¹ Shaheen, J. (1988, November 10). The media image of Arabs. Newsweek, 126, 48- 52.

¹³² Ibid, Shaheen (2000)

holograms species, but they inherited from the British and French colonial literature, but the American cinema, however, is responsible for making these stereotypes more widely known in American culture and world alike.

The second phase of stereotypes was formed after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. “While many stereotypes were included from the first stage, they also developed their own characteristics. Arabs and Muslims - especially Palestinians - have been seen as terrorists to kill Americans, Europeans, Israelis, and even other Arabs.”¹³³ The Arab-Israeli war of 1967 contributed to the spread of this genre in films produced to this day.

Part of the challenge of understanding how stereotypes of Palestinians and/or Arabs / Muslims affect many Americans is linked to research conducted on the apparent influence of media in social beliefs. However, “while this is a more popular area of psychological study, few studies have examined the impact of the media on racist stereotypes, and even less on their impact on cultural, religious and political stereotypes.”¹³⁴ Given the three main ways in which the media may influence stereotypes, they provide some insight into the impact of these methods on the Palestinians. For example, minorities portrayed on US television and other American media are often under-represented with census data (except for Palestinians where the reverse is true) and are presented in selective situations only, often portrayed in stereotyped and negative ways. “Although it is difficult to determine the real consequences of the stereotypical roles of minorities in the media - it is impossible to examine these effects in isolation from the stereotypical effects of stereotypes - negative stereotypes (including gender, religion, ethnicity, and racism) have been shown in the

¹³³ Smith LC & Haddad L. (2002) How potential is economic growth in decreasing under structure? What are the pathways of impact? New cross-country evidence. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 51, 55 -76

¹³⁴ Beasley, B., & Standley, TC (2002). Shirts vs. skins: Clothing as an indicator of gender role stereotyping in video games. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5 (3), 279-293.

media Act Negative by young viewers towards the group, as positive images lead to more positive views.”¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Mullen , PE & Pathé , M. & Purcell , R. (2000) *Stalkers and their Victims*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press .

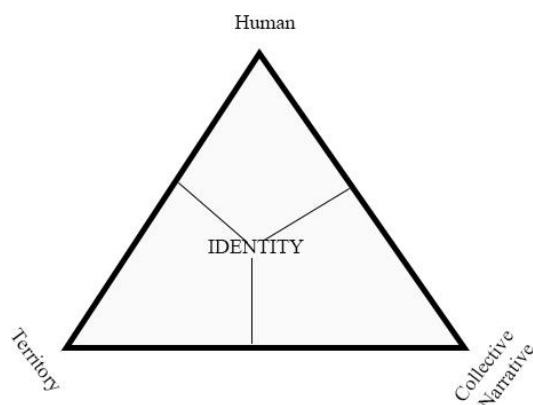
Chapter Four

The narrative from the Field

4.1 Introduction

The Researcher's interest in the subject of identity came from many reasons, the most important of which came on a personal level. I have lived a life of refuge and homelessness, which began in the homeland itself, then neighboring countries and the region, through the old continent (Europe) and ending in the Americas. In this diaspora, some of my children were born with Palestinian refugee genes, refugees, and hence my interest in the identity of the second-generation.

One day, my children came back from their school in Montreal and entered the house, busy with their conversation, but in French, before throwing their bags on the ground. We stopped them and asked them to leave the house and to stand at the entrance, they did, and then, we told them: Leave the French outside this threshold of the house. We do not want to hear another language inside our house except Arabic.



The researcher believes that the Palestinian national identity from a philosophical perspective is much broader than the concept of the nation-state, which the Palestinians seek to establish on a part of historical Palestine.

The triangle of identity consists of three sides (human, collective, and Territory). My main interest in this matter stems from my firm conviction that the Palestinian national identity must be a Palestinian strategic choice as a national liberation issue in its existential conflict with its basic antithesis, the “Zionist project.” This project, which aims to destroy the Palestinian national identity, two of its three sides, had been destroyed; the land of (historical Palestine), and the human being side, in which the

Palestinian people were dispersed and displaced in five major divisions, the territories occupied in 1948, the Palestinians of the West Bank and the occupied sector in 1967, Palestinian camps on the Palestinian land itself, The fourth division is the Palestinian refugees in the Arab neighboring countries, followed by the Palestinian refugees in the West, especially the second-generation of them (Palestinian American).

Each of these groups has its own experience and thus its unique memory, in addition to the collective memory and memory that the Palestinian people meet. Therefore, the sides of the identity differ in length or shortness according to the circumstances of the gathering and its location, either near or far from the center.

Palestinian human is the center of identity and its essence, the narrator of the story and the collective memory of generations, while the land (historic Palestine) is the incubator of this memory and its portfolio, around it, is the collective narrative. Hence the problems of Palestinian identity, The three sides of the triangle were destroyed by the occupation in a frightening way.

The establishment of a Palestinian state on the borders of 1967 means the demarcation of the borders of the new West Bank and Gaza Strip, ie recognition of the borderline of the Green Line at the level of the second side of the Triangle of Identity, and the amendment to the collective narrative at the level of the third side of the triangle.

Here, it is necessary to distinguish between the political discourse that calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state on 22% of the Palestinian land and the discourse of the comprehensive identity of all Palestinians.

Therefore, I believe that the concept of the homeland must remain constant, regardless of the discourse of establishing a Palestinian state on a part of the homeland. This is a very important strategy that should be the top priority of the Palestinian cultural front, which leads the whole front of the narrative. Refraction or melting in light of the collapse of the

rest of the fronts and this is a step related to the restoration of the Palestinian national identity of the unified meaning of the whole land of Palestine and the Palestinians.

From here, my interest in the diaspora, in general, came to the attention of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans in particular, to know the reactions that surround them, and what can be done in light of this, and met the selected participants in both the United States and Palestine. I found, without a doubt, that the participants were carrying Palestine as a homeland and as an idea. This applies to all participants residing in both countries, although many of them were born in Palestine, it is remarkable that they all used the term “repatriation.” Or “Return”

When I asked Mutaz about his experience, where he was born and raised in the United States and then returned to Palestine. He said: *“Palestine is quieter and more peaceful. I feel a bit of inner comfort. Here you feel it is yours. If you have something here, you feel it is yours, but there is the US. If you have everything, you do not feel like it.”*¹³⁶

While Aziza, described her feeling about living on the land of Palestine? “Living in Palestine makes you feel more at home, because people are closer here, and everything that happens makes me feel that I have a lot, and we have to be thankful to God.”¹³⁷

When Maria answered the question, regarding her feeling as an American despite American support for Israel, She said: “Never, I am Palestinian and I do not say I am proud to be an American. I am only an American, but I am proud to be a Palestinian.”¹³⁸

Many participants are well aware that the American public misinterprets do not know where Palestine is located.

¹³⁶ Mutaz 28 years old, Personal Interview, Al-Bireh City, Palestine, May 2019

¹³⁷ Aziza 19 years old, Ber Zeit University, Ramallah, May 2019

¹³⁸ Maria 18 years old, Ber Zeit University, Ramallah, May 2019

Muhammad responded, for example, to the question “In the context of the American educational system, how do you view yourself as a Palestinian American?” And how do Americans view you as Palestinians?

“I will be honest with you, I think, we cannot judge everyone in this country as bad, we are proud of our roots, we are proud of the country we came from and all the other generation still have this connection and are still looking for the best that can be achieved. But for the majority of us today, most of the time, we are just ordinary Americans who care about their homes just like everyone else, like those who came from Bangladesh or Iceland, they care about their urgent daily needs. But when it comes to us Palestinians, We talk often, especially when there are political reasons Whatever the reasons... I know that I have to deal with everyone who came to this country. What is their view of Palestine and the Palestinians? The whole idea is based on the news. The media puts very negative images in their minds; most people do not know or have not heard A cat in Palestine. When I tell them I'm from Palestine, they ask; Pakistan?”¹³⁹

3.2 Strategies for Data Collection

The research utilizes subjective (qualitative research method in-depth-interviews) using Snowballing research method, Significant research systems that are utilized in the incorporate key samples interviews, face-to-face meeting with thirty participants and field notes were taken on the spot.

4.2 Open Questions Interviews

The researcher utilized semi-organized, Person to Person interviews, dependent on the thought of the qualities and shortcomings of the various kinds and techniques. Interviews

¹³⁹ Mohhamad Yousef, Medical Doctor, Miami college Hospital, Miami, FL, March 2019

have been conducted in various locations where Palestinian Americans can be found, at workplaces or schools and universities.

The category members who are in the fieldwork, their Age in most cases over 25 years old, this part of the sample is very important because, they are more mature and experience, they are taxpayers, they were adults when 911 happened, most probably they lived the experience of the changes and shifting of the American foreign policy after 2001, that's why it was important to acquire information about the negotiation of cultural identity within the context of hostility and discrimination that follow the 911 attacks.

The other part was those Palestinian Americans second-generation who were very young when 911 happened, or the born right after the attacks, their age range from 18 to 25 years old, they are mostly students, their identities and symbolic resources they use could be different from the first-mentioned above, along these lines, of the social and social essentialness of keeping up associations with the country to the individuals from second-generation in such hostile condition.

Essential information in this research was gathered through semi-organized meetings with fifteen Palestinian Americans living in the USA; the other fifteen interviews were conducted with Palestinian Americans return live in Palestine. Instrument used (Appendix A) was composed of open-end inquiries, which had been created, in view of the literature in relation. The examination went on until the hypothetical immersion had been come to as no new bits of knowledge were developing.

4.4 Key Informant about Interviews

Person to person and Semi-structured interview questions were employed as a technique in this research.

4.5 Field Observation:

In this research, prior knowledge of the geography of the place and of the field experience was of particular importance at all stages of the study, where the questions and ideas that were used were formulated. The direct field experience has had a positive effect as one of the research methods that add points of strength and accuracy which makes the study of scientific value.

The initial data were obtained from field visits of many planned and semi-official interviews with Palestinian Americans of all ages (18 to 35), including gender occupations, and the religious background, at work (restaurant, grocery store), in the streets, and in a variety of school environments both in the United States and Palestine, such as FIU, Miami College, and Birzeit University, Which gave the researcher a clearer picture of the nature of their lives where it was possible to build indicators of statistical significance of how they negotiate their national, political and cultural identity in both countries, the country of origin and the host country. The research trip was not an easy one at all, the visit of the United States and the initial start of the interviews within two weeks, the presentation of documents in kind and the explanation of the objective of the interview to demonstrate the purely scientific and research purposes,(Appendix A, B, C) and to reassure the sample that the search results and their names will remain confidential was a very difficult task, overall, the researcher did not meet obstacles in the arrangement of meetings in the right place and time, only one case was nervous and asked to stop the interview and declined to participate, for a psychological reason as she stated.

It was much more difficult in Palestine. There were individuals who rejected the interview and expressed their fear that they were residing in Palestine illegally. They do not hold the Palestinian identity. The Israeli occupation authorities do not allow them to live in Palestine for more than three months. They were in the country for over two years.

The second-generation of Palestinian Americans usually come to Palestine for the summer holidays and then leave for the United States, because the Israeli authority issues a three months visa only, a small number of them live permanently in Palestine.

One of the obstacles was to find individuals to whom the conditions of the sample applied in Palestine, unlike the United States where they feel more secure.

It is important to note that the interviews were recorded electronically and then the transcript the audio recordings, and into a written text, this process consumed a lot of effort and time, the interviews were completely transcript with some deletion of the necessities of speech, such as frequency and repetition of some words and sentences such as (Mmm, , I mean, as you know,.)

4.6 The second-generation Identity

The sad picture of the second-generation of Arab Americans was the emergence of this generation in a cultural environment that does not support any positive development of ethnic identity. *“For Arab Muslim children and adolescents, the formation of ethnic identity is already challenging because of the complexities of being a minority, especially when culture and political society do not support the positive development of ethnic identity.”*¹⁴⁰ This conflict between self and social context may put children at risk Deterioration of mental health.

Despite the classic meaning of the first and second-generations, they do not convincingly reflect the experiences of some migratory ethnic groups. Palestinian Americans are such an ethnic group. For example, the second-generation of the Palestinian Nakba, which

¹⁴⁰ Britto, P. R. (2008). Who am I? Ethnic identity formation of Arab Muslim children in Contemporary U.S. society. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, P.855

Palestinians remember on May 15 of each year, actually consider the third generation born far from Palestine their homeland.

The chapter then examines the role of American Foreign Policy toward Palestine in the Identify formation of Palestinian Americans, to see whether this Policy create an Identity conflict or not, then examine both languages and inter-relationship with Family friends and Palestinian community, and how this ties reinforcing the social relations and the cultural attachment of this group of Palestinian people with their home.

4.7 Data Analysis

The Total Sample of the study are thirty Palestinian Americans, divided into two main categories, the USA residences, and the Palestinian residences, each category is divided in two, the ones who are students (18-25) years old, the ones who are working and aged from 25 to 35 years old.

The number and type of some questions are changed Accordingly .there were about (14 to 17 questions) designed to fit in three main themes (The Identity, The USA Foreign

Policy, and the change in strategies to maintain the Identity)

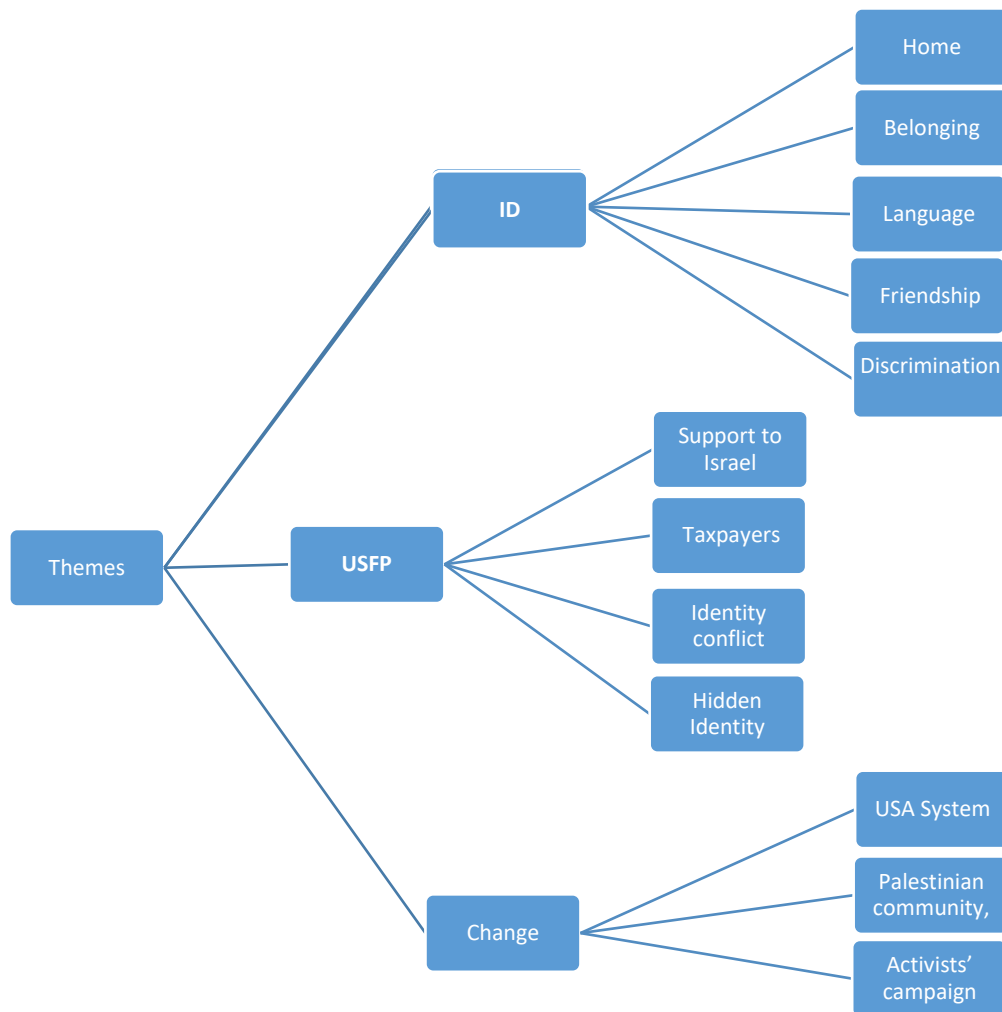


Figure 1, Identity theme design

- 1- The Identity theme as shown in (Figure 1) has Five codes (Home, Belonging, Language, Friendship and Discrimination),
- 2- While the United States Foreign Policy toward Palestinians theme has four Codes (American support to Israel, Taxpayers, and Identity conflict),
- 3- The Last theme emerged because of the need to change the sample members think it is important to maintain and strengthen the second-generation identity. This change has three codes which are (USA System, Palestinian community, and activists' campaign within American School and Universities).

The three main themes and its coding subcategories are designed to answer the research question (the Role of USA foreign policy in the Identity Formation of Palestinian Americans second-generation after 9/11 /2001 attacks)

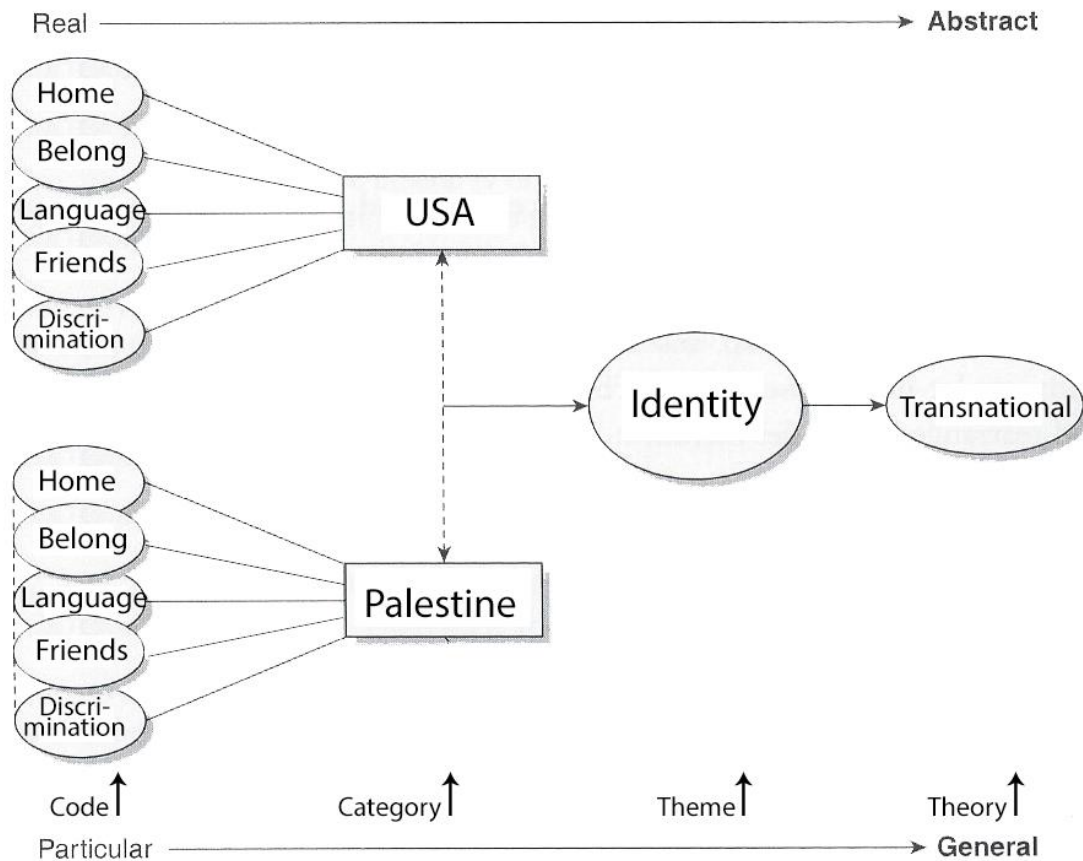


Figure 2, Identity theme design

4.7.1 Transnational Identities

This thesis puts forward the notion of transnational identity as a way to highlight the strategic element diasporic identity acquisition that enables and allows for multiple feelings of belonging that are positioned at particular times/spaces for particular reasons. In the process, although it is inclusive, it does not deny people the right to belong and form strong attachments to place(s), particularly the homeland which for those in Diaspora can continue to be important.

Palestine came first, and remains a central point in the second-generation mind, both in their identification and imagination of homeland, for all participants. They all believe that it is important to maintain their national and cultural identity. They said that they identified themselves as “Palestinian Americans”, however, I noticed that they refer to the United States as a place, in some cases as A second-home despite they born and raised in the USA, which for them is *“The land of opportunity and it's a place where anyone is free, it's a place where we're supposed to believe everyone has the equal right to build themselves up.”*

The Palestinians found what they were looking for in the United States, They regard themselves as empowered by settling in the United States; further education, health care, and foremost the Freedom reason is fundamental. Therefore, perceptions of the motherland and belonging for Palestinian Americans are multi-floored. These multi-layered interpretations of home and belonging are accentuated by many of my interviewees who revealed that they have two homes: Palestine “their first home” and Unites States their “second home.” This multi-locality or living “in-between” is farthest illustrated in one of my interviewees’ responds to my questions concerning self-consciousness as An American and A Palestinian.

Abdullah 21 years old, said:

*“yeah I do see myself as American, I always tell people that I am first, and foremost a Muslim Palestinian-American, But I'm not solely an American, I have culture and identity that doesn't prevent me to be an American, and I would say along with the fact that I am a US citizen, and I have the same equal rights as other Americans as the right to vote, right to bear arms, that's what makes me an American.”*¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Abdullah 21 years old, FIU, Miama, FL, march 2019

	Home		Proud Identity		Language % at home		Friends %		Hide ID	ID Conflict	Discriminated
	Pale	USA	Pale	USA	Ar	En	Pale	USA			
1	home	place	Prou d	citizen	50	50	65	35	no	No	Yes
2	Home	home	yes	no	80	20	70	30	yes	Yes	No
3	home	place	yes	yes	50	50	75	35	yes	Yes	Yes
4	home	home	yes	no	80	20	90	10	no	No	No
5	home	place	yes	yes	50	50	50	50	no	Yes	yes
6	home	land	yes	yes	70	30	60	40	no	No	yes
7	Home	Home	yes	yes	60	40	50	50	no	Yes	yes
8	home	home	yes	yes	90	10	50	50	no	No	yes
9	home	Place	yes	yes	30	70	70	30	no	yes	yes
10	home	place	yes	no	80	20	100	0	yes	Yes	yes
11	home	place	yes	yes	90	10	95	5	no	No	No
12	home	place	yes	no	75	25	80	20	yes	No	yes
13	home	home	yes	yes	65	35	50	50	no	No	yes
14	home	home	yes	no	50	50	40	60	no	Yes	No
15	home	home	yes	no	65	40	50	50	no	Yes	No
	100%	47% home	100	7Y/8N	65.5 %	34.5 %	66%	34%	4Y/11N	8 y/7N	10 Y/5N
		53 Place	100 % Prou d	47% proud					73% don't hide	53% have conflict	66% discriminated

Figure 3 USA Participants Interviews Coding Table

He continued:

Regarding the question, If I perceive myself as a Palestinian? Without a doubt, I travel there as much as I can, like every two years, I go back and I support them and in my house, Palestine is our home, and we'll never forget and we'll keep fighting for it."¹⁴²

(Abdullah, FIU, March 25, 2019).

Palestinian Americans who live in Palestine have little differences comparing to the Palestinian Americans who live in the USA, the two categories have quite the same percentage of Arabic language use at home compared to English (65-35%) the same

¹⁴² IBED

apply to Identity conflict feeling, more than half of them are confused regarding the issue (53%)

Before an in-depth discussion of empirical evidence to explore the identity crisis, it is necessary to examine the complexities of identity and legal status of Palestinians in the united state. This and the contextual background that follows will help illustrate why the relationships between identity and national identity are important to these exilic and diasporic Palestinians as they engage in politicized discourses of pre-nation-state building and self-determination that are often based on negative perceptions of statelessness and injustice.

“Being Palestinian changes your whole life,” Dina, a young Palestinian woman whose parents immigrated from Beitunia, Ramallah, explains:

“ It means that your whole life is circled around this cause. It is circled around gaining an identity. It's circled around becoming a person to everybody else. It changes what you want to study, what your daily schedule is. You wake up in the morning and you think, “What can I do today?” Being Palestinian is first, and foremost with most Palestinians.”¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Dina 22 years, personal interview, Home Steed, Florida March 2019

Identity	Home		Proud		Languages		friendship		Hide ID	Conflict	Discri
	Pale	USA	Pale	USA	AR	EN	Pale	USA			
1	nice			Yes	100	0	100	0	No	no	No
2	amazing		Yes	no	0	100	75	25	No	yes	No
3	nice			no	50	50	70	30	Yes	No	Yes
4	The Best			yes	50	50	95	5	No	no	Yes
5	Not bad			Yes	80	20	90	10	No	yes	yes
6	good		Yes	no	90	10	65	35	Yes	yes	No
7	Love t		Yes	no	90	10	90	10	No	yes	No
8	life			no	50	50	90	10	Yes	No	No
9	So nice			no	40	60	100	0	No	Yes	Yes
10	home			no	50	50	99	1	NO	NO	No
11	The Best			yes	50	50	95	5	No	no	Yes
12	Not bad			Yes	80	20	90	10	No	yes	Yes
13	good		Yes	no	90	10	65	35	Yes	yes	No
14	Love t		Yes	no	90	10	90	10	No	yes	No
15	life			no	50	50	90	10	Yes	No	No
	good		15Y	10N	64%	36%	87%	13%	5Y/10N	8 Y/7N	6 Y/9 N
	100%			65 N proud					65 N 35 Y	53 conf	40 Desc.

Figure 4 Palestine Participants Interviews coding data

45% of the category living in Palestine are Proud Americans, while a slight number of second-generation living in the USA feel the same (47%), Both categories feel 100% proud Palestinian and consider Palestine as their Home, none of the Palestinian living in Palestine mention USA as his or her home, where 53% of the ones in the USA consider it Place of opportunity.

Surprisingly 35% of Palestinian Americans in Palestine try in some setting to hide their Identity, while only 27% of Palestinian Americans in the US do so, which explained the security environment advantage of the USA over the Occupied Palestinian territory.

Palestinian Americans who choose to live in Palestine have reduced by the time the social connection with the US, their American friends represent only 13 %, while the connection with the American community still making about one-third of the friendship that second-generation maintain despite the 66% of discrimination the American society demonstrate toward Palestinian community.

4.8 The legitimacy of Transnational Identity:

“Transnational identity entails legal membership in one state concurrent with a sense of belonging to one, two, or more nations.”¹⁴⁴ Transnational identity forms part of the ongoing re-conceptualization of identity in an attempt to make it more inclusive and relevant for migrants and those in the diaspora who may have complex and ambiguous legal status, feelings of belonging and relations to the state. At the same time, because it involves the acquisition of Western state identity it may be seen as a strategic form of identity that arises out of necessity, particularly for those who are stateless like the majority of Palestinian People, Although there may be increasing transnational connections that transgress state-controlled boundaries, such boundaries continue to exist. Those without formal identity status can feel marginalized and trapped. As a result, they may attach great importance to the acquisition of Western state identity. This thesis examines such transnational identity and its relationships with national identity in relation to the Palestinian diaspora.

¹⁴⁴Mavroudi, E.2008. “Palestinians and transnational identity: negotiating relationships between identity and national identity in diaspora.”*Geoforum*,39 (1), Pp. 307-318.

“In relation to this, Stein and Swedenburg.”¹⁴⁵ have argued that: “the present-day (and past) conflict between Palestine and Israel illustrates the ongoing violence associated with the enduring exclusivist ideologies of the national.”

One of the interviewees who lived in the United States and then returned to Palestine for family reasons stated:

” People will look at you when they say something about Palestine, and since I'm an Arab, I'm always expected to know or agree with what they say or say something opposite.”

(Mahdi, 28, interview, Ramallah, March, March 2019)

This pressure makes it difficult to identify Palestinian identity in the United States, especially for the identity of dual heritage. I explained the other who I met was half American and a half Palestinian:

“My American identity and my Palestinian identity are in constant conflict with each other, and frankly I do not know what to do myself sometimes.”¹⁴⁶

In this study, the researcher finds that the second-generation of Palestinian Americans suffer from multiple tensions and exclusions as a result of transnational interactions, as well as issues of assimilation, dispersal and racial discrimination in their lives. However, they are creative in the process of formulating their multilevel “identities and loyalties.” The study is based on the results of interviews with Palestinian Americans in the United States and Palestine, following the election of Donald Trump as President of the United

¹⁴⁵ “R.L. Stein, T. Swedenburg Popular culture, relational history, and the question of power in Palestine and Israel, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 33 (4) (2004), pp. 5-20”

¹⁴⁶ Sonya, 35, online, Personal interview, Al-Bireh, Palestine May 2019

States, but the exploration of identity formation dates back to 2001, specifically after the events of September 11.

I believe that this neglected category is important because it builds its relations in two opposite societies. The host country that has its nationality supports the existential enemy which since its inception in 1948 has tried to end the Palestinian presence on the Palestinian land.

Exclusionary notions of national identity and its relationship to identity within new states created as a result of self-determination may have significant implications for future identity laws, official membership of and inclusion within such newly formed states. As the notion of transnational identity does not necessarily demand full belonging to the host country, it can encourage strong feelings of belonging to the homeland and potentially lead to the normalizing and accentuating of relationships between identity and national identity in a future state and/or homeland. However, as this thesis will illustrate such perceptions do not have to be exclusive or problematic.

This pressure makes it difficult to define Palestinian identity in the US, especially for those of dual heritage. Another interviewee who was half American and a half Palestinian explained:

“My American identity and my Palestinian identity are just in constant conflict with each other, and I honestly don’t know what to do with myself sometimes.”¹⁴⁷

This pressure is not only social. Some participants mentioned that their student visas were eventually going to expire, and, given the current American political atmosphere, they were not sure about the feasibility of staying in the US.

¹⁴⁷ IBED, Sonia Interview

Some respondents felt honored and happy that research was being conducted on what they thought and that their voices could be heard; some were suspicious, and this resulted in the researcher having to justify and explain the research rationale and motives at length. Therefore, issues of trust were important, the choice of interviewees for inclusion in this thesis reflects their particular interests in and viewpoints on the relationships between identity and national identity; however, in the research itself, Palestinians from a wide range of backgrounds and with varying opinions were spoken to.

That renewed Palestinian consciousness has not left him, but he again thinks of himself as an American.

“This is my home, this is my country. I am an American by choice,” he says now. Here, he can both be an American and a Palestinian.”

Although Palestinians in diaspora may still feel attached to a Palestinian homeland, the fact that many are acquiring transnational citizenship elsewhere and, therefore, may have multiple feelings of belonging, raises questions for their relationship with a future Palestinian state, especially if they want to return. This forms part of the wider debates around the de/re-territorialization of the nation and the ability and need for migrants and those in the diaspora to remain rooted and belong to their homelands and countries of origin even as they may acquire transnational citizenship elsewhere.

Such imagined communities have been seen as an important aspect of national identity and nationalism. As a result, a strong symbolic attachment to one another and a territorialized state or homeland must be imagined in order to create a shared sense of belonging and sustain a nation-state, which can no longer be maintained by traditional face-to-face contact and which may also extend across borders, in the form of long-distance nationalism, I can argue that the second-generation negotiates several layers in the formation of its identity intelligently, despite the sense of exclusion and racist

practices on the basis of ethnic and social pressure of both groups, and has a new insight into how to interact in the atmosphere of transnational absorption, Through dynamic and pluralistic areas that in the future can make a meaningful breakthrough in favor of immigrant communities and transnational identities.

This pressure is not only social. The second-generation of Palestinian Americans believe that because of US support for Israel, their parents and grandparents migrated to the United States from Palestine, and as Mazen said, one of the interviewees who was born and raised in the United States.

” The Palestinian-Americans view of Palestine is primarily important because our issue revolves around Israel or Palestine, and if not, you know that the entire Zionist movement would not have existed without the support of the United States. I was born and now live in Palestine, I do not know myself as an American only, I am also a Palestinian.”¹⁴⁸

4.8.1 Recreating a Palestinian Home in Miami

In this section, I will discuss my observations during the fieldwork, particularly through monitoring the Palestinian households that I went in to carry my dialogues. My initial remark is that there are many typical elements in the manners Palestinian Americans adorn their residences, which may demonstrate a “symptomatic’ implication that the Palestinian migrants are seeking to build inside their residences in Florida to express a grasp of belonging to the land that they emerge from.

The second-generation of Palestinian youth is intended to use symbols that express their Palestinian identity, such as the kufiyah, clothes that carry the map of Palestine or Arabic

¹⁴⁸ Mazen, 22, Florida International University, Miami, FL, March 2019

writings, one of which was wearing a hanging necklace, in attempts to use cultural symbols that express their identity.

Abdullah 21 years old explains:

“We express ourselves, me being up to others in general, I mean me personally as a Palestinian, I wear Palestinian map on my sleeves, you know I love my country, I love to represent it, I'm a part of, I am part of “Justice for Palestine” a student Organization in my University, and I do my best to help those who aren't aware of the conflict understand exactly what's going on there, and other Palestinians we're very proud of who we are, and where we come from and we do our best to represent that to the best of our abilities and to the best of your knowledge.”¹⁴⁹

Symbols continue to be presented and shown clearly in the Palestinian Americans lifestyle, for example, all Palestinian homes have a portraying of Jerusalem hanging on the wall. Jerusalem is a religious place for Palestinians, both Christians, and Muslims. Jerusalem has key religious scenes, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque. Many of my interviewees mentioned that, whenever they visit Palestine, they go to visit Jerusalem. Furthermore, the capital retains a unique significance to all Palestinians because it is perceived as being the capital of the ultimate Palestinian State and because of the continuous extensive Israeli measures to dominate the city and to drive the Palestinian out of it.

By religious connection, most Palestinians are Muslim and there is a considerable Palestinian Christian minority, so some houses have pictures showing Quranic writing and others have pictures of the Virgin Mary and the City of Bethlehem on the wall. All Palestinian houses display Palestinian Embroidery (Tatreez) decorated objects which are

¹⁴⁹ Abdullah 21 years old, Miami, FL, March 2019

the most primitive set of Palestinian tradition and craft. Palestinians consider the embroidery masterpieces as an expression for conveying their integrity and as a badge of their tradition. Some Palestinian houses displayed pictures of women wearing the conventional dress which is a cross-stitch embroidered costume. All these ornaments are presented along with contemporary pieces of furniture and vases taken from American stores. The most significant part is that the Palestinian Americans received all these plaques from Palestine through their return visits. These items have a symbolic sense to the Palestinians and their sustained transnational activities in the form of return visits facilitate.

I was invited to many Palestinian Americans Houses, In terms of the meal, households also incorporated both American and Palestinian elements. For example, an associate of American and Palestinian food and spices exist in the Palestinian American kitchen. Spices are displayed as are the ingredients for special Palestinian meals and sweets. These ingredients are brought back from Palestine by Palestinian Americans themselves, or it can be found in specialized Palestinian and Arabic grocery stores throughout US cities.

4.9 September 11, identity formation of the second-generation

Immigrants take the host country as a new home but remain emotionally attached to their motherland. We believe that their children have the same feeling. In this context, we will try to discuss two related issues: the stereotype and the discrimination phenomenon in general, and the American treatment of the Palestinians in particular, the necessary action to overcome this hostile environment created and supported by US foreign policy after 2001, through unlimited support for Israel, , On the other hand, the series of recent escalation steps taken by the administration of President Donald Trump, such as recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the transfer of the US Embassy from

Tel Aviv to the Holy City. And the impact on the formation of the identity of the second-generation.

Mohammed Yusuf had an opinion on the first topic above:

“I tend to say yes, and this is really interesting, because I feel that the change came from both sides, let's say that any other American regardless of the Palestinians, because I will not talk, I mean, regardless of the roots you came from, So, I say, everyone has certainly changed, the Palestinian Americans have changed, and the behavior of Arab Americans has changed, I will not go into details about how I saw it directly, but I think that short answer, yes, really.”¹⁵⁰

Palestinian students have organized themselves (Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)) that they want to change their way of life, by integrating more into American society and the political system. In this regard, Nadine, an FIU student, expresses her plan:

“To exert pressure or co-operate together to achieve some important influence in politics unless it is achieved in this way, if the Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians work together to find more representatives in the state or US Congress, and that is what we might have, If we are to balance the Israeli lobby, we have to meet and start making this change. We cannot expect everything to fall in a moment. Everyone should go to Congress. There will be a lot of Muslims in the American system. If we have a lot of Palestinians, Access to Congress, the mother Which will make a big difference, and I think the work that the community can do to reach that stage is education that enables us to reach those places so that we can start it for our benefit.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Mohamed Youssef, Personal interview, Miami, FL, March 2019

¹⁵¹ Nadin 22 years old, personal interview, Miami, FL, March 2019

Farouk al-Salkhi, another Palestinian-American young man, like many others, has their own supreme example:

“If you can see that, it drives you to support more and more Arab or Muslim candidates, to integrate into the American political system so that they can make the necessary change,”¹⁵² he said.

4.10 To be a Palestinian Americans

With regard to the first research question, for participants in both countries, the question of Palestinian-Americans identity was highly multilayered and complex. The data revealed that the idea of being an American, specifically, was more complex than being Palestinian. The term “American” is called a wide range of meanings. Although the participants were active members of a very diverse society and the majority were born in the United States, the conflict with the term “American” has always been controversial in their views. Participants invoked terms related to the term to illustrate their idea of “American.

For example, some participants thought that the American is the one who speaks only one language, “English” while another thinks that the American is “the pure white man.” but Palestinian-Americans speaking English alongside another language which is Arabic, their skin is not white, The answer was that this was not even a personal choice, but that his schoolmates were telling him to tease him in terms such as “You are not an American.” So this complexity in defining who is “American” “He is exposed to many ethnic groups and minorities In general, this is due to language, religion, appearance, and

¹⁵² Farouk Selkhi, 22 years old, personal interview, Miami, FL, March 2019

skin color, that what push Bayoumi to say that “Arab Americans are in fact “neo-blacks”, putting both communities in parallel as victims of racial discrimination.”¹⁵³

For the Palestinian Americans, the subject is more sensitive. The first generation of immigrants was carrying his identity with him. He never confused if he was an American or a Palestinian. He is undoubtedly a Palestinian. He has hope. He immigrated and always has the idea of return in mind, but over time, the years of the exile who has to carry the key, when the first generation realizes that they may never return, life will not give them enough time to do so, and that the task has shifted to their children, who must work hard to achieve the dream of return.

On the other hand, if Palestine had not been under occupation, the first generation of Palestinians would not have fed their children the idea of struggle and return, which in my humble opinion is the main reason why the second-generation of Palestinian Americans differs from their Arab and other ethnic minorities. Some of them return to live in Palestine, specifically in the territories under the control of the Palestinian National Authority, but this in itself is problematic. What is Palestine for the second-generation, is it so-called Israel today, or is the West Bank and Gaza”?. Is it occupied land or are there liberated parts? Is there peace or war?

We did not ask these questions to the participants in this study as representatives of the second-generation, but leave them to researchers and other interested. Because the answer to any of these questions carries a political position, so the answer is no matter how simple it is, it makes it easier to remain vague and to be content with the term “repatriation.” But the second-generation will realize how complex their issue is and how much effort they need to make to reach the goal of “return.”

¹⁵³ Bayoumi, M. (2009). How does it feel to be a problem?: Being young and Arab in America. New York, NY: Penguin Books, P.2

Even the idea of returning home is a complex philosophical idea. The second-generation uses the term “homeland” and returns to a homeland that many of them did not take, but they pass on the experience of their friends or friends who have experienced the so-called “third culture” And transient identity.

The experiences of the second-generation Palestinian Americans correspond to a large extent with this type of literature, which is specialized in what is known as the third culture, an innovative culture, where the children of this culture freely between the middle cultural sometimes conflicting, especially when it comes to place and homeland and exile, all these experiences lived by the second-generation Subject of study.

4.11 Concept of “homeland” for the second-generation

We defined the second-generation of Palestinians as a Palestinian child born in the United States or brought to it at the age of five or less. They have no experience in life in Palestine. Their identity and their connection to Palestine, “*the imagined homeland*” based on the image they built through the story of their parents without living directly.

Mureed Barghouti stated in an article titled; Songs for a country no longer known, (1998):

“Now we know even less than our history, the occupation has created generations of Western Palestinians who are strangers to Palestine, and generations are familiar with every alley in their places of exile, but they are ignorant of their homeland... These generations are governed by a love that is invisible, Including guards and walls and terrorism We have turned the occupation of the people of Palestine to the children of the idea of Palestine.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Barghouti, M. (1998). Songs for a Country No longer known. Journal of Palestine Studies, XXVII (2), 59-67.

At the same time, this is clearly reflected in their sense of allegiance to either country when they answered the question if they were proud of America and Palestine?

My meetings with the majority of participants in the United States and Palestine revealed that there is no ambiguity about interpreting or understanding the meaning of the homeland. It is a concept that defines the physical space and the representation of the individual's place of existence. This impression was different from the “home” feeling in their responses. The responses of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans of both categories were very close, even though it was weaker or less loyal to the United States in favor of the group living in Palestine. 35% of them are proud Americans. Surprisingly, they all considered Palestine their homeland, but 47% of them gave a similar feeling to the USA as the homeland, while 53% viewed the country as a good place to live and a land of opportunity but not home.

For example, when I asked Nadine, a 22-year-old MBA student at Florida International University (FIU) if you saw yourself as an American, what made you feel American? She said:

“Let's ask another way, frankly, for me, the only thing I consider myself American is that I have an American passport, otherwise I would like to present myself as a Palestinian.”¹⁵⁵

Aziza, for example, a student at Bir Zeit University, born in the United States, and moved with her family to Palestine, has the same feeling Nadine:

“No, I do not know to present myself as an American because I speak Arabic fluently and do not look like the American stereotype. I am not a white person (she laughed). I present myself as a Palestinian and am proud of it.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Nadin, 22 years old, personal interview, Miami, FL, March 2019

Some interviewees who were born outside the United States and came to the USA at the age of five are Mu-Selkhi, an information technology student in his third year, who distinguishes between the American people and the US government when he talks about US aid to Israel:

“I do not think that the actions of the government represent the American people as a whole, the majority of the American people have been supportive of the Palestinians, and I have found amazing people mostly here, so these are the ones I would like to say represent me as an American, in fact, the US government does not represent me.”¹⁵⁷

However, the concept of the homeland, belonging and identity formed in the study sample is part of a wide range of interactions that have been divided between two countries: the United States and Palestine, the country where they do not have a meaningful life experience, and the link with the United States, the country where they were born and raised, Which all created some problems and some kind of internal conflict. Mohamed, for example, a restaurant worker, says in his early thirties:

“In Palestine, when I went to get married, my fiancée asked me, Are you an American? I said: I was born in that place, and I would die there. I said: It is the homeland that I find my identity in, but she said: Look, why are you here? I have lived there for years, and I have built a generation there, but my roots are here, but those who do not like to come here do not come.”

Mohammad demonstrates a clear conflicting Identity and contradictory ideas, he continues:

¹⁵⁶ Aziza, 19 years old, personal interview, Bir Ziet University, Ramallah, May 2019

¹⁵⁷ Mo Selkhi, 21 years old, personal interview, Miami, FL, March 2019

“Now she can no longer live in Palestine, because - she says - she can not live with these separation walls created by the occupation. Here I mean, in the United States, at least, we all got a lot of security. But there, in Palestine, we are all stuck in bad areas, where there are no jobs.”¹⁵⁸

He further explained:

“At the same time, go back here, when you see someone say, You are not an American, and you have to ask him, am I not an American? I am born here, this country where I was born. For example, when I was hoping for a financial grant, the social worker asked me: Are you ready to fight for this country? We're giving you money, it's government help so you can go to school, and I had to call him the next day: I said yes, I know they said: that's good, we'll send you next week to the field, there's a big war for the United States, you have no choice, everyone will go to war. I said yes I will go.”¹⁵⁹

4.12 Second-generation and relationships with the homeland

To connect with the home, the second-generation uses different means from their parents. Many of those interviewed said that they are doing a lot of activities to keep in touch with Palestine. For example, they have WhatsApp, Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and FB Messenger, or communicate with the Palestinian media online, as well as with many Arabs and Palestinian radio and television stations, to keep them abreast of activities there. Many also indicated that they had been in constant contact with their distant families through social networking sites and other free social media tools.

Sonia, a Palestinian American living in Al-Bireh, maintains her daily contact with family and relatives in the United States:

¹⁵⁸ Mohamed, interview at a family restaurant, Miami Florida, March 21, 2019

¹⁵⁹ IBED, Mohamed Interview.

“Thanks to social networking sites, it's great to stay in touch with friends and relatives.”¹⁶⁰

Online translation, from Arabic to English and vice versa, has broken the language barrier and made Palestinian Americans closer to home, and communication has become much easier, in addition to being almost free or costing little, however, these activities have bridged the distance between Palestinian Americans Diaspora and their companions, cousins, and relatives in the Palestine. They are less available in Palestine, in terms of material capacity and technology. 3G mobile phones have entered the country less than two years ago; while in the United States, they have cellular networks.

As for the number of Internet users in the Palestinian Territory, the data indicate that “the number of mobile subscribers in Palestine increased by the end of 2017 to reach 3,997,206, which indicates that 96.6% of households in Palestine have a mobile phone, ADSL in Palestine to 357,071 at the end of 2017.”¹⁶¹

A number of second-generation Palestinian students interviewed were from Palestinian student associations such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). These associations opened their eyes to Palestine in a systematic and collective manner, encouraged them to perform their duties as Palestinians and pledged to highlight their cause, The rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent Palestinian State, and to expose the practices of the Israeli occupation. Abdullah, Nadine, Mazen, Dina, and Gabriel pointed out that they are carrying out activities within the framework of the university and the Palestinian community in response to any events at home and in reply to the Israeli atrocity against their people in Palestine such as the offensive and the repeated closure on Gaza:

¹⁶⁰ Sonya, 35, obline Personal Interview, Al Bireh, Palestine May 2019

¹⁶¹ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/postar.aspx?lang=ar&ItemID=3140>

“In our society, we were very proud that abroad we have organizations like SJP, we meet together and represent our Palestinian society, we face some challenges in the university. Let's just say that we have some Zionists, who are trying very hard to influence us negatively when they discover that we are Palestinians, “Palestine is not a state” to make it look as if they say “it does not exist” is causing a lot of hatred.”¹⁶²

Abdullah works hard without fear of the Zionists “Frankly with regard to clubs and SJP we are trying to strengthen our club and promote Palestine. There are special challenges with organizations that support Zionist supporters like Shalom ORG. These different organizations are trying to continue to work against what we are trying to disrupt and make it more difficult for us and make our lives more difficult, As a student in general, we do not care about Palestinians in an Israeli organization, they try to make us second-class citizens and basically erase our hope, and to prevent us from telling the truth, we are trying to present Palestine, we have a lot of people in our group, we offer our best knowledge about Palestinian history but we do not have enough knowledge to reach people who are not aware of our cause.”¹⁶³

4.13 Summary

We analyzed the interviews we conducted with the second-generation of Palestinian Americans in both countries, the United States and Palestine, to explore their identity and the methods used to maintain close relations with the homeland. Their transnational activities, such as traveling to Palestine and returning to the United States, On geographical distance and separation.

¹⁶² IBED, Nadin Interview

¹⁶³ Abdullah 21, University of Miami, Florida, March 2019

The social contexts of the second-generation were discussed in terms of public relations and family relations in both countries and the network of their social relations with friends, homeland and Arabic as a component of cultural and national identity.

Communal situations, such as the relative and the indigenous group, can foster an understanding of belonging to the second-generation in transnational social arenas, which in turn expedites the expansion of transnational experiences.

It is essential to emphasize social cooperation with family members for the second-generation of Palestinian Americans. The consolidation and revitalization of these relationships mean physical association and actual trips to visit family, colleagues, and representatives of the same ethnic group in the homeland.

We discussed the issue of profiling and discrimination based on ethnicity, religion or others, especially after September 11, 2001, and the impact of these practices on the second-generation, as well as American foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause and its impact on strengthening the national identity of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans.

We used the conceptual framework of transnational identity and its composition in terms of family contexts. Language Religion Heritage and travel between the host country and country of origin are important factors in the formation of this type of identity.

Chapter Five

Discussion, Conclusion, and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief look at the results of the study, followed by an examination of the meaning of the results with respect to the research questions underlying this study. Finally, the findings and recommendations are presented to future researchers in terms of identity formation and development among the second-generation of Palestinian Americans according to US foreign policy toward the Palestinian cause.

5.2 Discussion

Globalization demands fast mobility in which contemporary civilization goes in the direction of “zero friction.” As a growing, capital, goods, entities, knowledge and cultural patterns are shifting progressively freely throughout the globe. However, the examination of Palestinian-Americans travel indicates a condition with tremendous resentment because they encounter it challenging to stay at their home. Their transnational activity is mostly confined through visa protocols and checkpoints. The study highlights the pivotal act of states and authorities in regulating mobility and rights, despite the increasing rhetoric of universal mobility.

Mobility takes place through a spacious variety of transitory and spatial scales, and therefore, can be regarded as a continuity of movement that is turning into progressively significant. As indicated in the preceding sentence, it takes place in at least two magnitudes, time and space, although the second segment (the place) consists of horizontal and vertical segments. The first component of this research Place in zero or no time.

This second component is related to movements such as the force of attraction as people move through them up and down or north and south. It includes traveling on short trips

such as shopping in the same neighborhood as the individual, visiting friends and nearby families as well as longer trips such as some business trips, long-distance travel, study abroad, leisure travel, And so on. Such population movements may occur over hours, days, weeks, months and years, and occur at local, regional, national and international levels.

In modern times, human mobility has increased in terms of crossing national borders and has been associated with the concept and nature of globalization, resulting in large-scale movements of all kinds: temporary and durable tendency of work; movements of emigrants, movements of individuals and households; travel of exceptionally experienced specialists and expert employees embolden. Individual mobility, which outlines the time zones of everyday activity, takes various forms in terms of recurrence, distance, duration, and quantity.

Globalization has produced unique sets of mobility. Move between places and the hunt for new communities play an important role in identity formation. However, solicits to establish explanations of transitory human maneuverability, as well as a perpetual human movement based on the distinctive incentives between the forces of exclusion and attractiveness, are no longer outstanding. Both short and long-term mobility is represented by diverse patterns:

1. Mobility can be brought out for expenditure or manufacture, or for consolidation of both. Mobility is “a means of combining a set of objectives in one place or multiple places” where the definition of places such as the first home or the second homeland and the place of origin, origin and various destinations became less complex in the century. Despite the increase and ease of travel and mobility, and as a result, we find that the differences between these places are gradually collapsing at the global level, but they become more rigid and distinct from the point of view of Palestinian Americans.

2. This study, while investigating the second-generation Palestinian-Americans' movement, showed that although some borders had collapsed as a result of globalization, others had been strengthened.

3. The investigation on the travel of Palestinian Americans who even suffer constraints on their movement has demonstrated that not all individuals are able to travel around and that place they reside in a “free of friction” community. This is in itself part of the problem for many of the second-generation, Rights and legal documents granted by States such as the United States and Israel such as visa, residence and travel documents between parts of the same country, as well as the complexities of residency for married American citizens or Palestinian citizens and the policy of family reunification for the occupation government and the US Immigration Service.

5.3 Results Overview

This study examines the experience of the second-generation of Palestinian Americans in the formation and development of transnational identity as children of Palestinian society in both the United States and Palestine itself. It is important to understand the experiences of this group of Palestinian Americans youth. “In the absence of research on the misunderstanding and isolation of these young people in American society, particularly in the post-9/11 era, discrimination against Arab American societies has increased dramatically. Arabs and Muslims generally feel that they are the new “problem” of American society.”¹⁶⁴ In light of the social and political context, this study used a critical approach to research, in an attempt to explore all political and cultural aspects of identity among the second-generation of Palestinians Americans.

¹⁶⁴ Bayoumi, M. (2009). *How does it feel to be a problem?: Being young and Arab in America*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.P.2

To highlight the formation and development of the identity of Palestinian Americans from the sample, the research questions addressed can be divided into three main themes; The Identity, US Foreign policy, and the challenges and changes needed:

- 1- The identity
- 2- US Foreign Policy
- 3- challenges and changes

To the regard of the first theme questions, the most dilemmatic subject is; what does it mean to be a Palestinian American?

For those who are not white and English speaking, the word “American” is not always fully inclusive.

However, Identity with Palestinian culture was less divisive, as evidenced in participants’ responses to the question, “When someone asks you where you are from, what do you say? Of all of the responses, each included a tie to Palestine as a place of belonging, regardless of whether participants had even visited Palestine. In the context of the American school setting, participants in this study operated within the perception that he/she was tied to Palestine in some way. This idea of Palestine as a place of belonging is preeminent through the Palestinian diaspora, as evidenced by the many families who still hold the keys to their homes in Palestine that they were forced to abandon as refugees. The key is a symbol of the hope of return, but as Schulz and Hammer explain:

“As time has passed and as exile has proved enduring, however, the hope and the dream have been transferred to the younger generation. Ceremonies have been held to hand over keys to the children. As the first generation came to realize that maybe they were not

going back after all, then it was the children who would come home: "If we can't go, then maybe our children will." ¹⁶⁵

5.3.1 Conflicted Identities

The United State pledge of allegiance creates a complex relationship to some Palestinian Americans identity, Rawan for example revealed:

"In the morning, we were in the square full of Americans, when we stand for national peace, Americans will look at us and say," My God. She wears a Mendel (Hijab), and she stands for our Flag. "Although I do not repeat the oath, I stand respectfully toward my colleagues, and the teachers will like it too and say, 'Look, she is a Muslim girl respects herself and others, she defend our flag.'"

Even though she saw herself as an American citizen,

"I live in the United States. Although there is no emotional attachment to this flag, the truth is that I am an American citizen, so it is my flag, whether I like it or not."

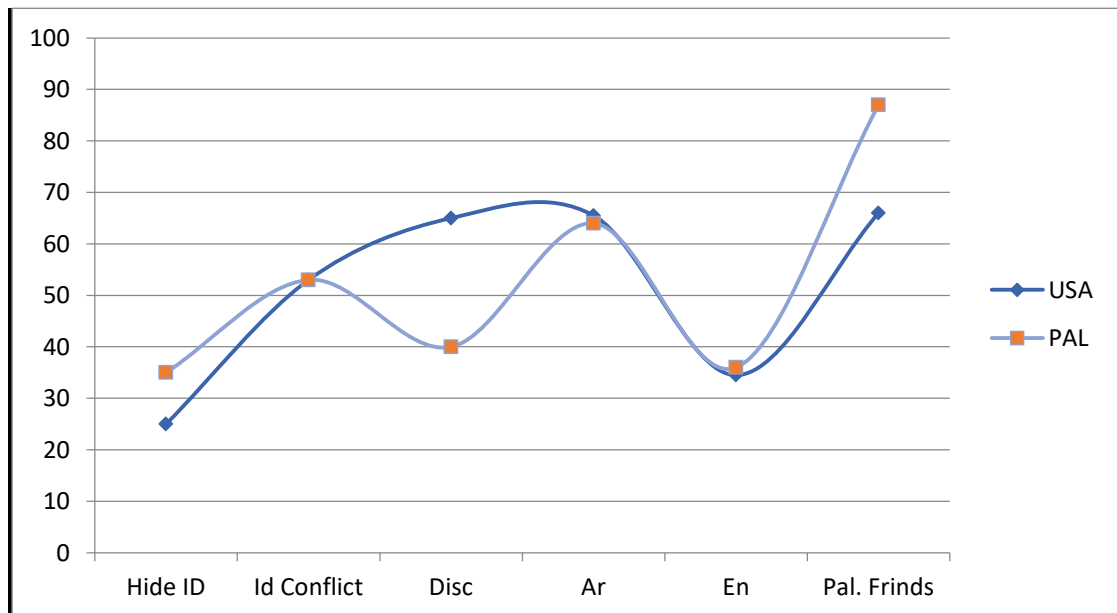
Rowan thought that her fellow students and other professors regarded her as a foreigner because she wore a veil. But by standing up to the flag, she wanted to change their view of Arabs and Muslims differently. At the same time, Rowan explained her position from inside / outside as a citizen: she is disturbed by her relationship with this science, which is completely different from the original society, she did not raise any emotional attachment. Rowan is one of the few students who has spent her entire life in the United States. However, "as a Muslim and Palestinian, I felt the tension and separation from the" "Americans" - that is the distinction between the citizens of the nation and belonging to it. Belonging is a "deeper concept" of much of citizenship: it is that social relationship

¹⁶⁵ Schulz, H. L. & Hammer, J. (2003). The Palestinian diaspora: Formation of identities and politics of homeland. Retrieved from <http://www.amazon.com>, P. 204

that is built, to some extent, For Rowan and many of her colleagues; some practices have cast doubt on the citizenship they hold and accuse them of not belonging to the American community - and considering them outsiders.

For Rowan and other Arab students, this determination to stand for the American flag, without recitation of the oath of allegiance, goes beyond the limits of the United States towards world politics. Rowan argues that standing for the flag is a sign of respect for "the American people." However, she believes that the recitation of the oath will mean approval of what the United States is doing with respect to US foreign policy, such as Israel's support and the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. She explains:

"I feel like they're pledging for — there are the American troops in Iraq killing Arabs. So when I think about it, it's like me praying for the troops to kill more Arabs. That's how I think of pledging to the flag."



	Hide ID	Id Conflict	Disc	Ar	En	Pal. Friends
USA	25	53	65	65.5	34.5	66
PAL	35	53	40	64	36	87

5.3.2 Transnational Identity

A key component of Diaspora is that their point of tribute is a place other than the location in which they presently inhabit, It was discovered in this research of Palestinian Americans that transnational activities enhance relationships with their folk and motherland. When the personal approach is not conceivable, communication is sustained by new transnational means available through technological advancements as phone, internet chats, WhatsApp, Facebook, Snapchat, and Twitter and web-based Palestinian institutions that bring together Palestinians from all over the globe. These transnational activities constitute a network of relationships covering the planet.

Thus, Diaspora affects the handling of identification and belonging in several aspects. In other terms, transnational movements for which mobility is a preconditioned, foster “hybrid” or” hyphenated” identities where members of Diaspora experience emotions of affinity, bond, security and belonging to better than one place, Within this situation, some scholars, such as Schultz and Hammer (2003) extend deeply and contend that transnational activities not merely reinforce family relations but also boost nationalism in a sophisticated life, relatively than creating it outmoded.

Globalization has contributed to enhanced individual mobility and crossing international borders this, in turn, increases the social and cultural allegiances that transnational migrants have with their buddies and people. Such immigrants are removed by their homelands to generate return visits to preserve the connections with their companions and families which in turn promotes the evolution of hybrid identities as the Palestinian identity has been deterritorialized from the physical boundaries of Palestine and thus moves through the refining of hybridization. Palestinian Americans give a considerable significance to the enhancement of family and ethnic reunion, as well as the Conservancy

of their Palestinian identity. All these, in turn, become the primary incentive for their travel for their motherland “visiting cousins and family.”

Both first and second-generations are linked to Palestine as their motherland. However, for the early generation, Palestine is the motherland as it is the essential origin of their identity but they are still attached to the country they reside in, while for second-generation Palestine is one of the places to which they belong. This indicates the fluidity of correlations between places, host and home countries, which can be seen through various lenses or layers, all of which are believed as constitutive of the migrant’s living realm.

5.3.3 Transnational Intergeneration

One of the main characteristics of migrants, in general, is that their reference is a place other than where they currently reside. This study found that Palestinian-American transnational activities reinforce the backward ties with the people and the motherland. When physical connection is not available, the connection is preserved through alternative channels available through technological means such as phone, web-based communications, WhatsApp, Facebook, Snapchat, Twitter, and Palestinian websites on the Web, which brings together Palestinians from a specific diaspora and home communities of relationships spanning all over the world.

Thus, the diaspora affects the transform of identification and belonging in several respects. In other words, transnational activities where migration is a requirement or the promotion of “incorporated” identities where Diaspora people experience concerns of loyalty, freedom, establishment and belonging to better than one place. In this situation, some scientists, such as Schultz and Hummer, argue that transnational activities not simply promoted family relationships but still stimulated nationalism in a globalized society rather than a traditional one.

Globalization has developed human mobility and crossed international borders, which in turn increases social and cultural ties linking migrants across national borders with their families and friends. These migrants are attracted by their homelands to conduct family visits that preserve social connections with their friends and relatives, which in turn facilitate the formation of immigrant identities since the Palestinian identity has been removed from the natural borders of Palestine and are thus undergoing hybridization. For example, Palestinian Americans show considerable emphasis on upholding family reunification, as well as retaining their Palestinian identity.

The second-generation of Palestinian Americans have indicated an inclination to visit their extended families in Palestine where they are glad, meet relatives of the same age and collaborate with the Palestinian society and the motherland. These visits certainly help to build the identity of the second-generation. These trips by young Palestinian migrants can in many situations be characterized as root-related trips. Travel to Palestine provides Diaspora members with conveniences to identify claims to queries about their roots and past and their perceiving of belonging in the Palestinian context.

This study also found that most second-generation Palestinian Americans define themselves as Palestinian Americans and those they are proud to be Palestinians.

This study disclosed that Palestinian Americans greatly acknowledge the civil liberties and human rights they experience as US citizens. However, they felt American identity as a source of political and social security.

Many Palestinian Americans view family and friends visiting home as a strategy to maintain the present partition and diffusion, and as a political stand that demonstrates that the Palestinians are not and will never be And that their temporary visits come within the framework of their affirmation that “no means how deep we go, Palestine is our homeland and one day we will rebound to it forever.”

The actual jolt of this struggle may not be calculated by external visit, but its national results have both proper and pragmatic impact and encouragement. Travel to Palestine, despite all the obstacles associated with cutting across the border, facing Israeli checkpoints, and restriction, degrading conditions Which prevail in the occupied territories, this scheme is a source of satisfaction, self-esteem, and peace of mind. The second-generation believes that American identity opens the dilemma and empowers them to visit their motherland. This visit, which is essential, measures that you experience the attention of your fellow citizens and determine not to perform the role of the victim or have a negative position towards what is going on Palestine.

5.3.4 Belonging in a Transnational World

The United States, like many other countries around the world, is facing a new strain. Changed the modern patterns of migration across the porous borders of the local demographics, since many people now living in these Western countries have multiple national affiliations. At the same time, an increase in national sentiment has led to a positive increase in the demand of some to fortify the border against illegal immigrants believed to threaten national security and the jobs of American workers. Especially in the wake of the events of September 11, as the United States and other Western countries engaged in fierce debates about the sincerity of the feelings of belonging to immigrant Muslim communities of the nation. - or the state in which they reside.

More importantly, the second-generation of Palestinian Americans built and negotiated a complex and multilayered sense of national belonging, which was more comprehensive than the status of citizenship, by practicing what some scholars call flexible citizenship such as Sparke;¹⁶⁶ “these young people were largely linked to the Palestinian political

¹⁶⁶ Sparke M.B., A neoliberal nexus: Economy, security and the biopolitics of citizenship on the border, (2006) *Political Geography*, 25 (2) , pp. 151-180.

movement, even with their recognition of the privileges granted by American citizenship in economic terms, and social and political rights. And to some extent benefited from the rights and privileges of American citizenship to maintain their direct and emotional relationship with their families and villages in Palestine,” and to support the Palestinian struggle for freedom and justice through economic and political action. The attachment of these young people to the American community was only a civic one.

It is important here to clarify that no one should understand the mistake of interpreting the relationship of this generation to American citizenship as a purely utilitarian relationship. Despite the fact that a number of them suffer a lot because of the sense of belonging to the American nation - a conflict that was linked with an unclear and undefined Arabs and Muslims, especially that this linkage exceeded the limits of national affiliation in the context of the political scene after the events of 9/11.

However, the majority of the second-generation generation called for their status as Americans in a brave challenge to exclusionary discourse and practices through daily life experience within the necessary legal procedures to challenge the negative attitudes of the American society against them, and called for the right to freedom of expression to provide alternative views on US policy in the Middle East, especially with regard to the Palestinian cause, with full knowledge, given the current political climate, , These alternative views may be dangerous, as the FBI's activities against Palestinian Americans, especially after 9/11, confirm. Palestinian student associations and organizations in American schools and universities have produced multimedia materials such as short films and video clips to confront the stereotypical portrayal of Palestinians as terrorists. They exhibit their work in universities and public places. Students have persistently faced discourse and exclusionary practices that place their communities in many Sometimes,

not only outside the nation but beyond the limits of humanity. Through their words and actions, they resisted the ideologies that dominate the radical American nationalism.

5.3.5 Implications of social exclusion

First Impact: As transnational societies undoubtedly change the demographics of the United States and other modern nation-states. These societies must bridge the boundaries of nation-states and reconsider the concept of belonging and citizenship in our modern age.

The second effect of this work: is that the curriculum of social studies, the traditional site of citizenship education. “Young people need opportunities for critical research on citizenship models that seek to understand the idea of not discussing ‘American’ or multicultural identity while leaving the structural concepts of society that have not been addressed that relate to the differential access of people to social and civil communication and political, cultural and economic rights.”¹⁶⁷

It should not be forgotten that not long ago, there were marginalized groups and individuals who were completely excluded in a structured manner and denied access to their rights as groups and individuals in American society, such as political, social and cultural participation, and were viewed as individuals less than the full American.

Most American sociologists have failed to explore the ways in which Arabs and other Muslims are framed as enemies of the American nation and foreigners by Americans and their citizens, and the consequences of this type of framing on the second generation. Palestinian Americans, for example, challenge ideas, "being first American, and secondly built-in ways that deprive groups of American citizens, constructed and still exist in ways

¹⁶⁷ Staeheli, Lynn & Castles, Stephen & Davidson, Alastair. (2002). Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging. *Economic Geography* - ECON GEOGR. 78. 10.2307/4140816.

that deny certain groups of citizens (blacks, for example) and migrants alike,”¹⁶⁸ depriving them of the rights that would ensure their inclusion in this society. Renato Rosaldo launched cultural citizenship; “the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense.”¹⁶⁹ - As the Palestinian youth did in this study, they did the work “to revive an old American tradition, calling on this nation to live up to the lofty ideals proclaimed in its constitution and not to ignore the daily practices of people. , That is to raise practices to the theory (the American Constitution), which calls for the ideals rather than to consider the community affiliations as contrary to the American identity, Modern societies need to rethink concepts such as nationality, redefining it, bearing in mind that the 21st-century people and globalization have a great deal of multi-layered identities and identities that transcend the borders of the nation, and this is their natural right without any doubt about their belonging to the American nation.

Transnational societies, like the Second-Generation of Palestinian Americans, suggest that people who live in a nation-state may view themselves as belonging to imaginative societies in other countries. As a result of this sense of belonging, they may be affected and struggling for the rights of people they live elsewhere.

So that we can look at the multiplicity of loyalties is the strengthening of members of society and their ability to participate in this society, consciously and more understanding of political practices outside the borders of the nation-state.

Even at the level of the global theater filled with refugees in most Western countries, adherence to and cross-border issues should not be viewed as evidence of disloyalty to the host country or as a problem with citizenship, but an opportunity to help the human

¹⁶⁸ Rubin, B. (2007). „There“s still no justice“: Youth civic identity and development amid distinct school and community contexts. *TeachersCollege Record*, 2, P. 81

¹⁶⁹ Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy." *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 402-11. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656372>.

community to think about rights and justice across national boundaries. Instead of looking at multiple national affiliations as a threat to social integration, transnational communities should be seen as an important source of new views of identity and belonging to postmodern societies, and as a resource for dealing with alternative perspectives on local and global issues in the context of globalization in Western countries in particular.

5.3.6 USA Foreign Policy role in Identity Formation

Rawan was deeply conflicted about whether pledging to the flag was a sign of supporting the war in Iraq and, as such, condoning the killing of Arabs. Nadin, who refused even to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance, also cited U.S. foreign policy as a large part of the reason for her actions. Nadin cited U.S. support for the Israeli occupation as a critical reason she did not want to pledge allegiance to the United States. She also said she felt confused about whether paying taxes in the United States indicated complicity in the occupation, given the level of U.S. financial support to Israel. These conflicted feelings suggest that the demand for allegiance to a single nation-state may be anachronistic in an increasingly transnational world, one in which people often have a complex, multilayered sense of belonging.

Palestinian Americans conflict in the everyday practices that are involved in ongoing processes of nation formation. These processes work to create stark boundaries between American and Arab identities. These fault lines of national allegiance were heightened by the political climate of the American administration's global war on terror. President George W. Bush's declaration after September 11, 2001 — "You're either with us, or you're with the terrorists."¹⁷⁰ Fostered a climate in which dissent from national foreign

¹⁷⁰ وكالة الانباء الفلسطينية وفا، http://info.wafa.ps/ar_page.aspx?id=4940 خطاب جورج بوش حول سياسته في الشرق الأوسط وحل الدولتين 2002/6/24

policy, particularly among Arab Americans and mainly among Palestinian Americans communities, may be suspect.

The distinction that Palestinian American second-generation make between their citizenship status and their national affiliation — their sense that they are Palestinian but carry U.S. citizenship — is critically bound up with contemporary processes through which the imagined community of the U.S. nation is being created and negotiated. The strong affiliation that these young people maintain with Palestine is related not only to their community's aspirations for an independent nation-state — that is, their involvement with the imagined community of Palestine — but is also a reflection of their experiences of exclusion from the imagined community of the United States.

5.3.7 Challenges and changes

One of the biggest problems faced by American Palestinians is the anti-Semitism taboo - in the form of fictional accusations and ugly reality, expressed by many participants, especially those studying in American schools and universities

One of the most interesting ideas I have so far to explore is that Palestinian experiences of inequality, discrimination, and exclusion have strengthened their desire to maintain their links with the people of the homeland and to reconcile with Palestine and the Palestinians around the world. Instead of weakening Palestinian identity, It seems that the experience of exclusion and discrimination against them to weaken them has stimulated the second-generation to invest more in this identity and increased their motivation to cope with the conflict in the motherland and thus reflected positively on their adherence to ethnic identity.

5.4 Conclusion

Because of the nature of the Palestinians displacement from their homeland and their political exile, there is a great need to go beyond the traditional concepts of Palestinian migratory “first” and “second” in order to understand the complexities of the Palestinian experience in exile, the American exile is what distinguishes him from other nearby and distant exile , In addition to the US policy is completely biased to one of the parties to the conflict, there is media in all its forms and branches owned or controlled by Jewish capital, which in turn is the Zionist lobby is stronger at all between the powerful American pressure groups, added to his side and the same Yeh, hundreds of thought and research centers, and thousands of networks across the country, and their allies of the Zionist Christian Right, Movers and key agents in any matter related to US foreign policy in the Middle East. Where the Palestinian finds himself in an atmosphere charged with hostility and denial of the rights of his people. This is one of the most important reasons why research into a case is considered unique information the identity of diaspora and transnational identities.

The study highlighted the changes in the process of negotiating the concepts of identity, belonging and the homeland for the first and second generations of the Palestinian diaspora. The study answered questions such as: How do members of the Palestinian Diaspora understand the concepts of identity, belonging and the homeland,

The study found that members of the second-generation grew up in families full of the country's influences; they lived in transnational attitudes and practices at a level similar to their parents. This includes travel to the country of parental origin for purposes of family reunification and race, meaning that the travel objectives were essentially purely social.

In addition to frequent travel, the second-generation of Palestinian Americans has maintained ties with the homeland through transnational communication technology that

facilitates the development of “virtual” relations and “three-dimensional” relations with Palestine, where Palestinians gather together in more than one Diaspora country, Of a Palestinian generation together in a process of shortening the time and distances separating them, in the process of crossing and bypassing the border bureaucracy, visas, and official documents, especially by the occupation, which succeeded in drafting laws that obstruct the movement of Palestinians in the United States and Diaspora in general in an attempt to prevent them from returning Even if temporary.

We have also found that with greater contacts within the same family in the country of origin, the ethnic language (Arabic) and the tangible and intangible culture associated with it, such as popular folklore and folklore, have been preserved in addition to traditional songs and proverbs and dialects of Palestinian villages and cities In addition, by repeating the trips of the second-generation to their native country (Palestine), the young Palestinians of the United States were able to adopt both transnational and ethnic tendencies, and thus their identity was formed in the contexts of origin and destination, ie the homeland and the host country.

The study also provides an overview of the social and cultural meanings behind return visits - a temporary physical establishment to the motherland and conceived as a transnational practice - Palestinian Americans who are empowered to maintain family and social ties and to preserve culture and language. As a means of resisting the separation resulting from forced dispersion and its consequences. The study also revealed that the link with Palestine is a major driver of international transnational travel patterns.

We found through the preliminary data that Palestine is one an important source, but not alone for the identification of the Palestinian second-generation. This conclusion leads, of course, to the emergence of multi-layered formations in the “mixed” identities. This type of identity is dynamic, Identity, and continuity of formation, creation, and adaptation.

Thus leading to the use of “strategic hybridization of identity” that allows many Palestinian Americans to move smoothly between the different elements that form their identities. This is illustrated by the relationships that these young people have with both the host country and the motherland, with implications for their travel patterns. The Palestinian issue shows that Palestine is a very attractive place and in this case remains a central focus of the Palestinian identity in the diaspora.

A number of the second-generation members struggle to live in Palestine in an “illegitimate” way from the perspective of the Israeli occupation, exceeding the period of visa granted to them by the occupation, which is often confined to three months or six months at best, And continues to live in the homeland despite a state of fear determined by his movement because of the military barriers surrounding the Palestinian villages and cities and threatening his life imprisonment, deportation and separation from his family.

As for the second-generation group that resides in Palestine and bears Palestinian identity and citizenship alongside American citizenship, the study found that it gradually merged into Palestinian society and that the reasons for returning and living in the homeland are purely social motives. The subject of links with the American society, which is almost nonexistent, but more pragmatic in its position on US foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause, and perhaps due to the social incubator and the Israeli occupation, and this pure worthy of research.

The study found that the two main categories under consideration are Al-Hafiz, who tries to use the Arabic language at home rather than English to preserve their Palestinian identity. More than Arabic, to preserve their American and their mother tongue.

This study adopted a qualitative approach by studying the meanings of “homeland” and “belonging” and “conflict of identity and identity across borders.” The study showed how transnational identities can play a role in rebuilding the diaspora. The study showed the

ways in which Palestinian Americans build their identity within different spatial social contexts through their vision and experience in the field of travel, which in turn opens up global perspectives and perspectives on the diversity, assimilation, and pragmatism of transient identity.

The study highlights the importance of direct contact with friends and families with the second-generation of Palestinian Americans, despite the risk of traveling to the West Bank and Gaza often. The study illustrates the complexity of the Palestinian-American drive to visit home, including a sense of commitment to those who are still behind them and continue to suffer, loyalty to the homeland, a sense of national commitment to identify at-risk, guilt, support for the extended family, To defeat, are motivated to meet all or part of it to repeat travel to the homeland.

Given their long experience of exile and the dispossession of Palestinians, the concepts of identity, belonging and the homeland are “contradictory” to Palestinian expatriates. However, the relationship with Palestine differed from the first generation to the second-generation, where successive generations of the diaspora were born and became increasingly integrated into the countries in which they lived.

5.5 Recommendations

The results of this study lead researchers to undertake further research on the under-researched social strata, especially as migration rates and the emergence of transnational societies are remarkably high.

This study will also help to provide a range of research on the second-generation of Palestinian Americans in aspects that the researcher has raised without going into detail or to discuss them in order to consider the subject of the study and its limits, for a deeper

understanding of the research community. Based on the results of the study, Obtained by the researcher or appeared with him during the analysis:

1. The research data indicate that the study community lacks information, historical facts and politics about Palestine and the Palestinian issue and that a few those interviewed, despite their unquestionable affiliation, can stand up and debate on the Palestinian issue, especially in a university atmosphere fraught with media exaggerations and Zionist groups of students University.

It is important to work with Palestinian student organizations in American schools and universities and Palestinian community institutions to provide Palestinian political and academic lecturers from Palestinian academics and politicians to provide every possible support to the second-generation of Palestinian Americans, especially with regard to the development and development of ethnic identity and belonging.

2 - Through field observations and research data, it was found that part of the study community visited Palestine and met with relatives and friends and practiced citizenship directly for a short period of time. This has enhanced their ability to communicate in Arabic and a wider understanding of customs and traditions. The visits led to the experience of the Palestinian citizen under occupation as well as to the development of the ethnic identity of the sons of the second-generation and belonging to the homeland, but others did not have the opportunity to do so.

A national program based on hosting a number of Palestinian youth of the second-generation each year, especially those who have no relatives in historic Palestine, will have a positive impact on strengthening their identity and their attachment to the homeland. Their Palestinian-Palestinian counterparts, which would affect and change the stereotypical view of American society itself of the Palestinians and their long-term national rights.

3. A number of participants revealed what makes up a real and deeply troubling challenge in three main areas: the racial discrimination after 9/11, the payment of taxes partly to Israel, and US foreign policy towards the Palestinian cause, especially under the administration of President Donald Rumsfeld Trump Current.

How can the second-generation study overcome these obstacles is a worthy topic of research, some participants said that the trend to education and entering the American political system more widely is the most effective way to confront the Zionist lobby strong, and they set a living example can be modeled is a Palestinian success of The second-generation in competition and access to the US Congress, to Rachida Talib. As well as a young Muslim Congressman Elhan Omar, who is of Somali origin, and also belongs to the second-generation.

4 - The results indicate that the society of the study is not sufficiently integrated into American society for many reasons, which in itself is a positive approach on the one hand and negative. On the other hand, the lack of integration means strengthening the ethnic identity and more connected with the Palestinian community and the Palestinian society in the motherland. Isolation and retreat on a small group in a multi-society, limiting the growth of the social capital of the individual and increasing the areas of profiling and racism, and the continued ignorance of the American society Palestine homeland, people and issue.

That the study of the integration of ethnic minorities in the societies of origin is important in terms of the psychological stability of individuals with a focus on the cultural and social specificity of each minority, and this would benefit everyone and makes the multi-community mosaic panel consistent and consistent with the aesthetic difference in human nature Promotes equitable integration and competition among members of society.

On the other hand, one participant referred to her hesitation in conveying her feelings about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Another pointed to the insult she felt when she presented a presentation about Palestine when her teacher denied her Palestinian identity to her colleagues. Based on participants' responses, But sometimes there is an element of fear of discrimination that prevents them from being able to offer their experiences freely, in the light of this fact, the psychological factor that creates this type of conflict and perhaps discontent on society must be taken into account when talking or research on the subject of absorption Instead of exclusion and inclusion rather than retreat.

Finally, this study highlights the fact that more research is needed in this category of citizens. Although this study offers a modest addition to a limited collection of research on Palestinian-American youth, the Arab and American Library has very few in terms of this outstanding community. It is very clear that in light of the results of the study, there are other areas of research.

5.6Summary

Chapter 5 presents a detailed discussion of the themes of this study, from the findings and conclusions of the researcher. Where he repeated each axis of the study and questions related to it and answer them, and finally, the chapter presented the recommendations of the research based on the results of the study.

While thinking of the conclusions of this study. I repeat my thanks and gratitude to the participants in this study who participated with me in-depth, freedom, honesty, and seriousness. As a researcher who seeks to convey the results of this study to social stakeholders and researchers of various kinds, Now I am more aware of the identity that the exiled generation is still proud of and active in preserving this kind of Palestinian identity. I am also becoming more understanding of a Palestinian community that can be

bet on in the future to work for the desired change in the foreign policy To be more equitable and fair towards the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people.

I am also more aware of the fact that the second-generation, still living in the United States of America, needs more information and organized knowledge to promote its identity as a Palestinian.

This study concludes with a desire to absorb more of what it learned from the participants in order to spread and transfer their experience of national belonging and their experience in negotiating transnational identity to future generations that will undergo similar experiments so that they will be more coherent and clear to reach the goal of realizing the Palestinian dream in the independent Palestinian state and Jerusalem as its capital.

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Appendixes

Sample Questions: Appendix A

The experiences of Palestinian Americans with regard to identity issues within a large American urban system are of great importance. Therefore, the experiences of the Palestinian youth in the United States, which have not been thoroughly studied, misunderstood or isolated, should be understood in the post - Discrimination against the American, Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian society, which is mostly a combination of Arabism and Islam, as well as being Palestinian and somewhat connected with the conflict in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In the light of the socio-political context, this study used a critical approach to research, as outlined in the Bayoumi study when he asked: “How do you feel that you are the problem, being an Arab youth in America?”¹⁷¹ “In an attempt to explore the cultural worlds of identity between the second-generation of the Palestinian Americans.”¹⁷² Because the sample of the study is in the target age group (18-35 years), some of the samples are still in the secondary or university level, ie 18 to 25 years old. Therefore, the nature of the questions that are planned may change slightly due to the nature of the age group; This is because the life experience is different:

1. In the context of American school settings, how do you perceive yourself as a Palestinian?
2. What does the U.S mean to you?
3. In your opinion, How Palestinian Americans Students perceive or express their ethnic identity.

¹⁷¹ Bayoumi, M. (2009). How does it feel to be a problem?: Being young and Arab in America. New York, NY: Penguin Books. P. 2

¹⁷² Merriam, S. B. (2009). Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

4. What are the challenges faced by Palestinian American students at school?

Is it possible to mention the most important challenges you have encountered?

5. Do you perceive yourself as an American? What makes you feel as an American?
6. How do your American classmates think of the Palestinians? And why?
7. What was your reaction to the president's executive order announcement regarding Jerusalem as the capital of Israel?
8. Do you find anyone who doubts your identity as an American? And on the contrary, is there anyone who doubts your Palestinian identity?
9. Did you ever have to prove your allegiance to the United States of America after September 11th?
10. Do you perceive Palestine as your homeland?
11. Do you have relatives or friends Palestinians or Arabs in Palestine or anywhere else? Do you communicate with them? How deep is the relationship?
- 12.** What is the percentage of your Palestinian friends among your entire social network?

Those who have passed this age or have entered the working life rather than the classroom will have questions of a more open nature in the interviews as well:

1. Did you feel a clear change in the treatment of the American people before and after September 11?
2. Do you feel a conflict between two people inside you, one Palestinian and one American?
3. Have you ever tried to hide your Palestinian identity when you identify American people at the social, political or career levels?
4. As an American Palestinian, how do you feel about US foreign policy toward the Palestinian cause?
5. Do you find the Arabic language present at home, and what percentage do you give Arabic compared to English ??

6. Among your group of social relationships, what percentage do non-Arab Americans and Palestinians have?
7. Have you personally been discriminated against or stereotyped because of your ethnicity?
8. Has anyone accused you of racial discrimination or profiling on the basis of nationality or other?
9. Do you think that the American foreign policy toward the Palestinian cause makes you more or less Palestinian?
10. Despite the American pro-Israel and anti-Palestinian policies, do you consider yourself a proud American?
11. How do you feel as an American Palestinian and you know that part of the American aid to the other party (Israel) is from your own pocket as a taxpayer?
12. How did you feel or hear the current US president read out his administration's acknowledgment of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and his decision to transfer the embassy to it and the other resolutions regarding cutting aid to the Palestinians?
 1. Do you find anyone who doubts your identity as an American, and on the contrary, is there anybody who doubts your Palestinian identity?
 2. Do you feel that you have to prove loyalty to either country?

For the second-generation sample living in Palestine, the same questions were posed to them in addition to two questions:

1. What are the reasons that prompted you to live in Palestine? Are they social, political or economic motives?
2. How do you feel when you live on the land of Palestine?

*Arab American University**Faculty of Graduate Studies*

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

كلية الدراسات العليا

To: Potential Interview Participant
 Subject: Informed Consent to Participate in Study
 Date: April 4th, 2019

We hereby to testify That Mr. Tarik Mokadi is a student of Arab American university of Palestine (AAUP) Conflict resolution Master Program. He is researching (US Foreign Policy roles on Second Generation of Palestinian Americans Identity formation after September 11, 2001 attacks).

This research will add to the body of knowledge about the Identity of Palestinian Americans. This research could potentially assist with a greater understanding of Palestinian Americans community and the future generation.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview. Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If at any time you do not want to continue with the interview, you may decline. Your time and involvement is profoundly appreciated. The entire interview will take approximately half an hour. To maintain the essence of your words for the research, the researcher will record the information. At any time, you may request to see or hear the information he collect.

The interview will be recorded and the interviewer will take notes. This is done for data analysis. The recorded data will be transcribed by the interviewer and kept confidential. All personal identification will be removed if requested from the hard copy of the transcript. Participant identity and confidentiality will be concealed using coding procedures.

This certificate was given upon his request.

Dean of Graduate Studies

Abdel-Rahman

Dr. Abdel-Rahman Abu- Labdeh



Page 1 of 1

Jenin Tel: +970-4-2418888 Ext.:1471,1472 Fax: +970-4-2510810 P.O. Box:240
 Ramallah Tel: +970-2-2941999 Fax: +970-2-2941979 Abu Qash - Near Alrehan
 E-mail: FGS@aaup.edu ; PGS@aaup.edu Website: www.aaup.edu



Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Mr. Tarik Mokadi from the Arab American University of Palestine. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about his research titled “Us Foreign Policy roles on Second Generation of Palestinian Americans Identity formation after September 11, 2001 attacks”. I will be one of approximately 30 people being interviewed for this research according to the following terms.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one on my campus will be told.
2. I understand that most interviewees in will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
3. Participation involves being interviewed by researcher. The interview will last approximately 30-45 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be recorded. If I don't want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.
4. I understand that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.
5. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of AAUP.
6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

I agree to release my name or initials in the study discussions or results if needed.

Participant Name
Date

Participant Signature

Tarik Mokadi

Researcher Name
Date

Researcher Signature

Publication approval form: Appendix (c)

ملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى مناقشة تأثير السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه القضية الفلسطينية في تشكيل هوية الجيل الثاني من فلسطيني أمريكا بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001 وحتى تاريخ الرسالة.

تغطي الرسالة التغيير الذي طرأ على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية لرؤساء الولايات المتحدة في نفس الفترة وهم الرئيس جورج بوش الابن 2001 – 2008، الرئيس بارك أوباما، 2008- 2017، وأخيراً الفترة الحالية للرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب.

تناولت الدراسة جذور السياسة الأمريكية تجاه القضية الفلسطينية منذ نشوئها وحتى تاريخ الدراسة، وما تحمله تلك الفترة من تبني للمشروع الكولونيالي الصهيوني من قبل الإدارات الأمريكية المتعاقبة، كما تناولت الدراسة محددات السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه إسرائيل والقضية الفلسطينية خاصة بعد أحداث 11 أيلول (سبتمبر) 2001، وتأثيرت ذلك على فلسطيني الولايات المتحدة، حيث ارتفعت وتيرة التمييز العنصري ضد العرب والمسلمين عموماً والفلسطينيين على وجه التحديد.

كما سلطت الدراسة الضوء على سياسات التمييز والاستبعاد في تشكيل الهوية الإثنية والهويات عبر الوطنية وما يحمله الجيل الثاني من مكونات ثقافية هجينة، فيما فرقت الدراسة بين مفهومي المواطنة والولاء والعلاقة الديالكتيكية بين المفهومين وارتباطهما ببلد المنشأ والبلد المضيف، بالإضافة إلى علاقة التنقل بين المكانين وحرية الحركة التي تغلب عليها الجيل الثاني للتواصل مع الوطن باستخدام الوسائل التكنولوجية الحديثة، في اختصار الفضاء والزمان ضمن مصطلح “الاحتكاك الصفري” الذي يتم الترويج له ضمن مفهوم العولمة.

كما خلصت الدراسة إلى مجموعة من النتائج والتوصيات، أهمها أن فلسطين وإن كانت المصدر الأهم في تشكيل هوية الجيل الثاني من فلسطيني أمريكا والذين يفخرون بنسبة مئة بالمائة كونهم فلسطينيين، إلا أن فلسطين ليست المصدر الوحيد في تشكيل هويتهم.

ومن أهم التوصيات التي يمكن التركيز عليها أن الجيل الثاني يحتاج إلى التسلح بالعلم والمعرفة حتى يتمكن من اختراق النظام السياسي الأمريكي لإجراء التغيير المنشود فيما يتعلق بالسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية، إضافة إلى أهمية اندماج مدروس في المجتمع الأمريكي ولنفس السبب السابق مع الحفاظ على هويته الإثنية وانتمائه الوطني لفلسطين وطنا وقضية.