



Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies

The Jerusalemite Palestinian Youth Identity Struggle

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Supervisor

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**This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master's Degree in the**

Conflict Resolution

July /2024

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Thesis Approval

The Jerusalemite Palestinian Youth Identity Struggle

By

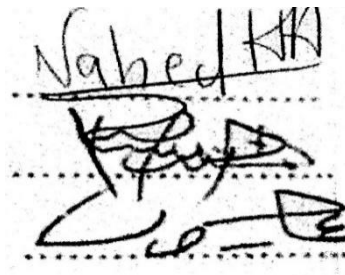
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This thesis was defended successfully on 27/7/2024 and approved by:

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The image shows three handwritten signatures on a grid of dotted lines. The top signature is 'Nahed KH' in cursive. The middle signature is 'Ayman Yousef' in a stylized, bold cursive. The bottom signature is 'Omar Rahal' in a cursive script.

Declaration


I, Baha Dawas, hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work which has been done after registration for the Degree of Master's in Conflict Resolution at Arab American University and has not been previously included in a thesis or dissertation submitted to this or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

I have read the University's current research ethics guidelines, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures in accordance with the University's Committee on the Degree of Master's in Conflict Resolution. I have attempted to identify all the risks related to this research that may arise in conducting this research, obtained the relevant ethical and safety approval, and acknowledged my obligations and the rights of the participants.

All sources consulted and referenced in this thesis are duly cited and acknowledged. I take full responsibility for the content and ethical conduct of this research.

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Date: 10/12/2024

Dedication

For my father Dawas, whose wisdom, encouragement, sacrifice and unwavering support have been the guiding light of my academic journey.

To my cherished mother, Naila whose love, sacrifices, and unwavering belief in me have fueled my determination to pursue knowledge and make a difference.

To my three brothers, Hiba, Deia, and loor, whose camaraderie, support, and inspiration have been the pillars of strength throughout this journey.

And lastly, to the spirit of the steadfast Palestinians, particularly the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem, whose life experiences, hardships, goals, and unwavering determination paved the way for the preservation of the Palestinian identity of Jerusalem.

Acknowledgment

I extend my sincere gratitude to those who have contributed to the realization of this thesis on "The Jerusalemite Palestinian Youth Identity Struggle."

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Nahed Habib Allah, for her invaluable guidance, unwavering support, and scholarly expertise throughout this journey. her mentorship has been instrumental in shaping the direction and depth of this thesis.

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Abstract

A thesis presented on the identity struggle for the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, (between the national affiliation of their inherited Palestinian identity and the temptations of the Israeli occupation welfare services that seeks to dissolve their Palestinian identity and instill their loyalty to the Israeli labor market).

According to the Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook for 2021, there are 461,700 Palestinians residing in East Jerusalem and its suburbs in mid-2020, which represents about 40 percent of the total population of Jerusalem. They are in a unique position due to the legal status granted to them during the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and later membership in the State of Israel.

In an attempt to assimilate the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem into the Israeli economic, social and cultural system, Israel has used social welfare measures to transform and dissolve the consciousness and identity of the Palestinian people of Jerusalem, especially the youth.

As a result, these Palestinian youth are experiencing an internal conflict over the identity they cling to, between the national affiliation to the Palestinian identity and the Palestinian entity, and between the reality and daily life of the Israeli economic and social welfare system that provides the only life opportunities.

The study focuses on the situation of identity conflict among Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, and how youth in Jerusalem express their orientations and identity in light of the conflict. In terms of the conflict, the study attempts to shed light on the signs of the emergence of features of the Palestinian Jerusalemite identity from the reality experience of the daily life challenges that Palestinian youth in Jerusalem live and face.

On the one hand, the youth seek to benefit from the rights provided by the Israeli economic and social welfare system in order to remain in his land, and on the other hand, he seeks to express his continued Palestinian national affiliation in protecting his national rights of a sacred nature, as is always the case in defending Islamic and Christian sanctities.

Therefore, the study will seek to understand and clarify the state of identity conflict from the point of view of Jerusalemite youth, by studying current events, conducting the necessary personal interviews, and reviewing the literature related to it.

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List of Abbreviations

PA	The Palestinian Authority.....	71
PLO	The Palestine Liberation Organization.....	71
ICJ	The International Court of Justice.....	82
CHE	The Israeli Council for Higher Education.....	115
ALECSO	The Arab Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization.....	158

1.Chapter One

Introduction to the study and its importance

Jerusalem has been the site of many civilizations, cultures, and historical events that have shaped its origin and development over thousands of years, giving rise to a rich history.

Because it is considered a holy site by Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike, this holy city has global religious and cultural significance.

Jerusalem's roots go back thousands of years BC, as the region witnessed many ancient civilizations such as the Canaanites, Jebusites, and Hebrews. "With the arrival of Judaism in the region in the second millennium BC, Jerusalem became an important religious and cultural center. At that time, it was called "Jabus" or "Salim"¹.

Rome conquered Jerusalem in the first century AD, rebuilt it, and gave it the new name "Aelia Capitolina". "Since it saw the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, this period is significant for Christianity²". As a result, Jerusalem grew in importance as a sacred destination for Christians. like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of Saint Anna, were constructed by the Christians.

After the conquest of Jerusalem in the seventh century AD by Islamic conquerors, the city flourished as a religious center of Islam, and its Islamic identity was greatly shaped. "The Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids, Ayyubids, Mamluks, and Ottomans established their rule in Jerusalem, profoundly influencing its cultural identity".

Jerusalem saw a continuation of its religious and cultural life under Ottoman rule, and several mosques, schools, and other places of worship underwent reconstruction and restoration.

¹ Montefiore, S. (2011). Jerusalem: The Biography.

² Boas, A. (2001). Jerusalem in the time of the crusades.

Palestine saw significant political changes after World War I, with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the handover of Jerusalem to the British Mandate. "During the Nakba in 1948, Israeli occupation captured the western portion of Jerusalem, causing the Palestinians to lose sovereignty over West Jerusalem and its boundaries. Later, in 1967 (the Six-Day War), the Israeli occupation seized control of Jerusalem's remnants³".

With its complicated political landscape and lengthy history, Jerusalem continues to be a hot topic of discussion and interest on a global scale. Regarding the Holy City's future, Israelis and Palestinians continue to encounter difficulties due to proof of identity, political, and religious conflicts.

According to international law, the Palestinians in Jerusalem are under Israeli occupation, just like all other Palestinians.

Significant political and social turmoil occurred in the city when Israeli occupation seized East Jerusalem in 1967. Israel's settlement expansion and annexation agenda included the establishment of Jewish colonies in the occupied Palestinian areas in East Jerusalem.

Strong worldwide condemnation was generated by these measures, and a discussion over their international legitimacy was started.

One of the international resolutions that affected Jerusalem's status was United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, "which called for the Israeli occupation to leave the territories it had captured during the Six-Day War, including East Jerusalem⁴".

³ Saleh, M. (2011). The suffering of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

⁴ Shaaban, I. (2011). Jerusalem in United Nations Resolutions.

Nonetheless, the Israeli occupation established total authority over much of the city and preserved its sovereignty over these regions.

In 1980, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 478, "denouncing Israeli occupation decision to designate Jerusalem its "eternal and united" capital and advising member states not to relocate their embassies there⁵".

While vehemently denouncing this decision, Israel emphasized that the international community is reluctant to alter Jerusalem's status.

The Israeli occupation policies that followed the 1967 occupation of East Jerusalem were among the most challenging concerns facing the youth of the Palestinian people in the city. The influence of the city's political, economic, and social occupation on the lives of young Jerusalemites is a vital component of their everyday existence, Identity, sense of self, and connection to it.

The tension that exists between the Palestinian cultural link and the intricate political and social realities exemplifies the unique intricacy of the identity fragmentation, dualism, and alienation challenge. The political and social conditions that impede their growth and cast doubt on their Palestinian identity and efforts to uphold it trap Jerusalem's young.

According to the 2021 Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, "there were 461,700 Palestinians residing in East Jerusalem at the end of 2021, representing approximately 40 percent of the total population of Jerusalem⁶". They are in a unique position due to the legal status granted to them during the Israeli

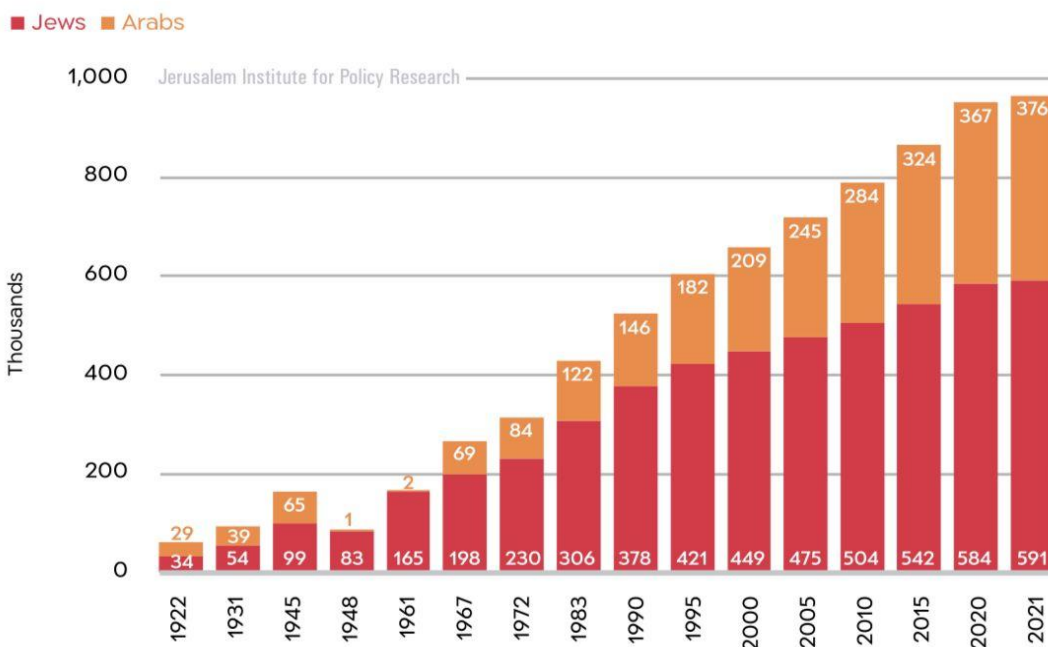
⁵ Security Council Resolution No. 478 of 1980.

⁶ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (n.d.). Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021.

occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967. The legal status of the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem was changed to permanent residents and they are not considered citizens.

But in statistics at the hands of the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, which is considered one of the best research institutes affiliated with the Israeli occupation Jerusalem is considered the most populous city in the Israeli occupation state. "At the end of 2021, the population of Jerusalem reached approximately 966,200, 590,600 of whom are Israeli Jews, and 375,600 Palestinians (Muslims and Arabs)⁷".

Population of Jerusalem* by Population Group, 1922-2021 Jews



* Within Jerusalem's jurisdictional territory in the relevant year

Figure 1: Population of Jerusalem (1922 – 2021) ⁸

The residents of Jerusalem and the youth group are much younger than the residents of the other major cities occupied by the Israeli occupation. "In 2021, the

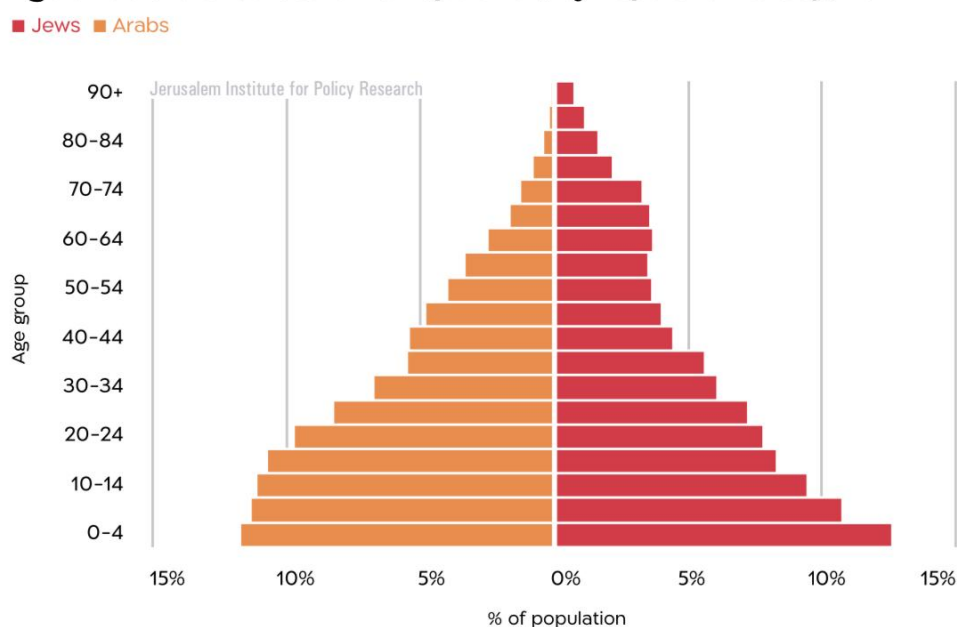
⁷ Yaniv, O., Assaf-Shapira, Y., Haddad, N., & Gefen, A. (2022). Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2023 The state of the city and changing trends. Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

⁸ Yaniv, O., Assaf-Shapira, Y., Haddad, N., & Gefen, A. (2022). Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2023 The state of the city and changing trends. Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

average age of Jerusalem residents was 24.2 years, compared to 36.31 among residents of "Tel Aviv" and 38.9 among Haifa residents⁹.

Jerusalem's Israeli-Jewish population is older than its Arab- Palestinian population. In 2021 the median age of the Israeli-Jewish population in Jerusalem stood at 25.4, compared with 22.3 among the city's Arab- Palestinian population. In the same year, the median age of Israel's Jewish population stood at 32.2, and the median age of the Arab- Palestinian population stood at 24.3.

Age Structure of Jerusalem's Population, by Population Group, 2021



5 Median age – the age that divides a population into two numerically equal groups, such that half the population is younger than the median age and half the population is older.

Figure 2: age structure of Jerusalem's Population (0 – 90+)¹⁰

Although there is a strong and active Palestinian youth population in the occupied city of Jerusalem, they confront several obstacles because of the continued Israeli

⁹ Yaniv, O., Assaf-Shapira, Y., Haddad, N., & Gefen, A. (2022). Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2023 The state of the city and changing trends. Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research

¹⁰ Yaniv, O., Assaf-Shapira, Y., Haddad, N., & Gefen, A. (2022). Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2023 The state of the city and changing trends. Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research

occupation policies. The everyday life of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem is impacted by numerous limitations and transgressions that rob them of their fundamental rights.

The Israeli occupation uses disproportionate force and makes arbitrary arrests as part of its oppressive practices targeting Palestinian youths in Jerusalem. Without a fair trial or the proper legal processes, the youth are arbitrarily arrested on false accusations like hurling stones and taking part in protests.

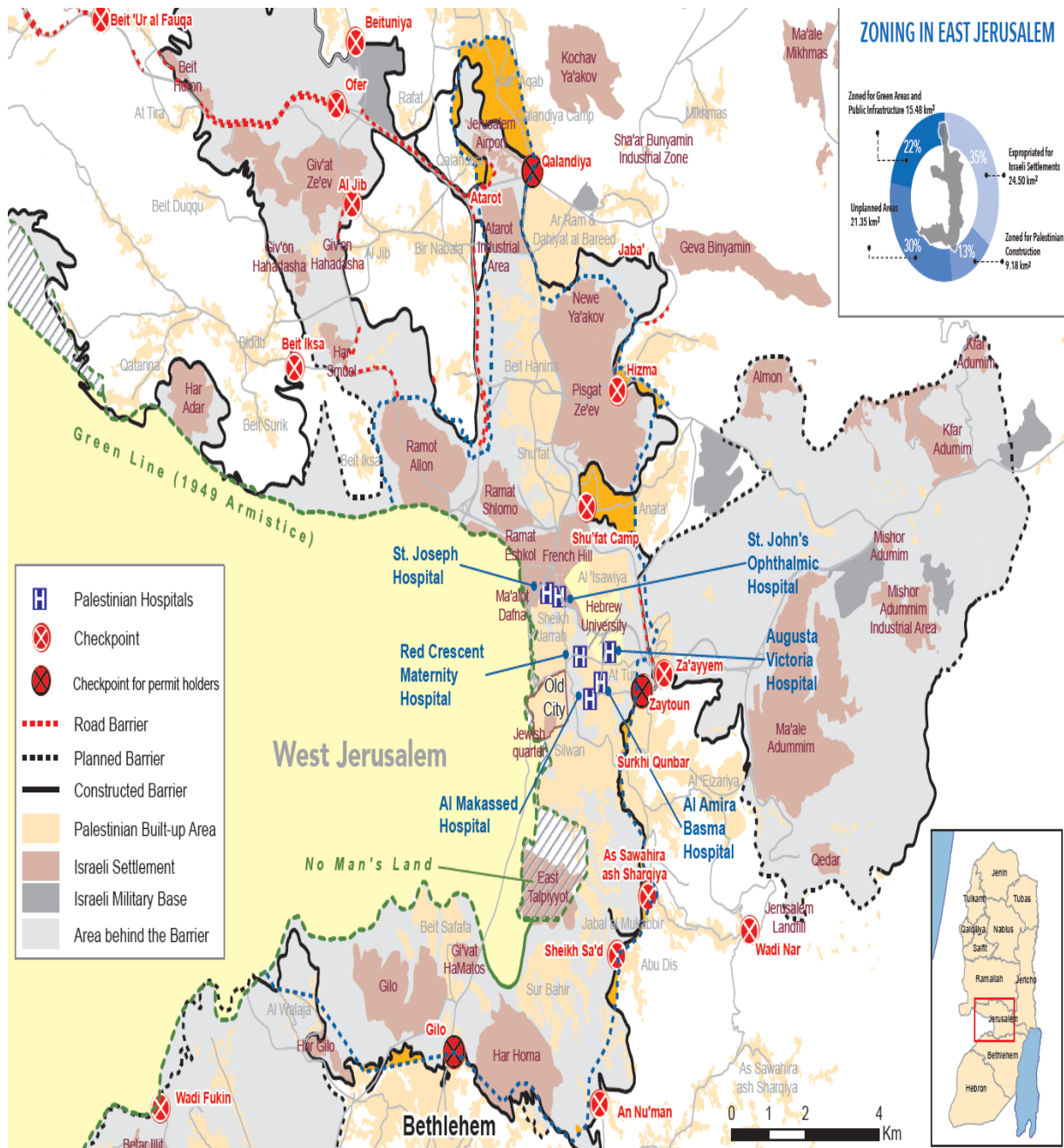
The health and educational services available in the Palestinian areas of Jerusalem are severely restricted by Israeli occupation rules. The youth risk their lives and futures by not being able to get essential medical treatment and high-quality education.

The ongoing Judaization, Israelization, and identity-changing practices of the Israeli occupation settlement policy in Jerusalem pose a danger to the democratic and cultural existence of Palestinian society. Forced relocation and land expropriation against Palestinian youth exacerbate their desperation and unhappiness.

"According to the map attached here, only 13% of East Jerusalem is designated for Palestinian construction, the majority of which is already constructed. The other 35% of the area has been taken up for Israeli settlement purposes.

The length of the apartheid wall around the city of Jerusalem is approximately 142 kilometers, and approximately 70% of it has been completed. Looking at it is noted that the completed part appears (in the solid black line) and what remains of it, which is under construction (appears in the dashed line in black).

While in the (red circles) we are shown the checkpoints and barriers that are the entrances and exits of the city of Jerusalem to the West Bank ", and the height of the wall reaches eight meters.



Map 1: zoning in east Jerusalem¹¹.

"In East Jerusalem, the majority of Palestinian housing does not have Israeli-issued building licenses, which are a challenging document to get. In East Jerusalem, the

¹¹ The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2017). West Bank | East Jerusalem: key humanitarian concerns Humanitarian facts and figures. Retrieved May 19, 2024.

Israeli government has destroyed over 1,400 homes and other buildings since 2000. East Jerusalem saw the greatest number of demolitions in 2016 compared to 2000¹²".

The fundamental human rights of Palestinian adolescents in Jerusalem are being violated by Israeli occupation, particularly their rights to social justice, freedom, and dignity. Palestinian youths' ability to live freely and with dignity is restricted by occupation laws, which has a detrimental impact on their social and personal growth. There are a variety of elements that influence the identities of young Jerusalemites as well as strategies for overcoming the divide and isolation that come with living in this holy city due to political realities forced by the Israeli occupation.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are considered an important social segment that is exposed to direct conflict with the Israelis and communicate with them on a daily basis. They are also the group most exposed to Israeli occupation policies.

Israel's occupation sought to impose military, geographic, political, and cultural control over Palestinian youth in Jerusalem using a variety of policies and techniques, including carrots and sticks and other measures such as grants, social and academic facilities with ambiguous and hidden purposes.

In an attempt to assimilate the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem into the Israeli economic, social, and cultural system, Israel's occupation has used social welfare measures to transform and dissolve the consciousness and identity of the Palestinian people of Jerusalem, especially the youth.

The attempts to isolate and change education curricula, and provide labor market opportunities, social and economic rights, and university facilities as a means for Israeli

¹² The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2017). West Bank | East Jerusalem: key humanitarian concerns Humanitarian facts and figures. Retrieved May 19, 2024.

occupation to impose its control over the youth group and keep it numb to these temptations and luxuries.

Israeli occupation goal is to obliterate the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and the national belonging of the youth and return, forming a new identity that is socially, economically, and culturally connected and dependent to the Israeli occupation and its institutes.

Because of this, these young Palestinians are going through an internal struggle over the identity they hold onto, between their national affiliation with the Palestinian identity and the Palestinian entity -whose political project has come to a standstill because of the closed horizon of peace- and between reality and the day-to-day existence of the Israeli welfare system that offers opportunities for success.

The thesis focuses on the state of identity conflict among Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, and how youth in Jerusalem express their orientations and identity in light of the conflict situation.

Starting with studying the concept of identity, theories of identity formation, and the theoretical frameworks that organize it, and then studying and understanding the stages of the formation of Palestinian identity in general and within the city of Jerusalem in particular, passing through the most prominent time periods that followed the history of the city of Jerusalem.

Then, the thesis addresses the identity and legal status of Jerusalem and its Palestinian residents under international law and the decisions of the most prominent international bodies and institutions, and under the peace talks and agreements that took place between the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli occupation over recent years.

Finally, the thesis examines the most important oppressive and cunning policies of the Israeli occupation towards the city of Jerusalem and its population of Palestinian youth, including attempts to Judaize and Israelize the Palestinian identity of the city of Jerusalem, with a focus on the role of Palestinian youth in protecting the Palestinian national identity in light of recent challenges such as the issue of electronic gates, the case of Sheikh Jarrah, and what is happening in Recent events.

The thesis attempts to shed light on the signs of the emergence of features of the Palestinian Jerusalemite identity based on the life experience and daily life challenges that Palestinian youth in Jerusalem live and face.

On the one hand, he seeks to benefit from the rights provided by the Israeli welfare system in order to remain in his land, and on the other hand, he seeks to express his continued Palestinian national affiliation in protecting his national rights, which are of a sacred nature, as is always the case in defending Islamic and Christian sanctities.

In the morning, the Palestinian youth works in the Israeli labor market, learns in Israeli universities, communicates with Israelis as work colleagues or classmates, and interacts with their Israeli society. In the evening, he faces the Israeli police in Al-Aqsa squares in defense of the holy places from which he derives his Palestinian identity.

Therefore, the thesis will seek to understand and clarify the state of identity conflict that Palestinian youth in Jerusalem may be exposed to through their contact with Israeli society and daily reality (the influence on which their Palestinian identity is exposed by Israeli identity and culture), through studying current events, conducting the necessary personal interviews, and reviewing the literature related to it.

Palestinian Jerusalemite youth live an internal struggle for identity in light of the complexities of the political, social, cultural, and economic environment in which they live in the city of Jerusalem.

On the one hand, the Palestinian political project has been halted due to the closing of the horizon of the peace process in all its manifestations, and Jerusalem remained outside the extension of the Palestinian entity, whether in relation to the Palestinian National Authority or the Palestine Liberation Organization, in light of the Oslo Accords and the Israeli de facto policies, which makes the Jerusalemite youth the only forefront against the occupation to preserve the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, in order to strengthen his steadfastness and residence in Jerusalem, the Palestinian tries to feed on all of the services provided by the Israeli occupation state to residents of the Jerusalem area, as well as to benefit from job opportunities available to Arabs due to a lack of these opportunities in Arab neighborhoods, even if that means hiding and not showing the Palestinian identity and not partially adhering to it.

The research problem appears in: the internal conflict and identity crisis experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem as they seek to benefit from the opportunities, rights, and services provided by the Israeli occupation regime in light of the struggle to survive on the land.

To what extent does the integration of Palestinian Jerusalemites into the Israeli state system affect their sense of belonging to the Palestinian nation?

Does the integration of Palestinian Jerusalemites into the Israeli state system in turn affect the preservation of the Palestinian national identity in Jerusalem, which means, in one way or another, a clash with the Israeli occupation authority in defense of its national

rights in light of what Israel is practicing against the land, what is on it, and the Palestinian citizens?

The Israeli occupation practices policies aimed at tightening its control over Jerusalem and changing its historical, political, cultural, and demographic features within the conflict state.

This thesis also examines the impact of Israeli social welfare policies on the national identity of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem in light of the conflict, contradiction, and alienation experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

Despite the momentum and diversity of studies and research related to Jerusalem, especially with regard to its history and sanctities, this does not negate the need for more studies related to the situation of Palestinian Jerusalemites in all its national, economic, social, and cultural aspects especially while the situation is also always changing.

In the recent years the Israeli political scene has become more religiously extremist for the Jewish state, especially after the issuance of the Israeli Nationality Law, which specifically stipulates the Jewishness of the state without regard to any other religions, groups, or ethnicities, which directly affects the Palestinian population and their presence in the city of Jerusalem and its suburbs, because the occupying state continues to deny their presence and restrict them.

These policies practiced by the Israeli occupation directly affect the Palestinian Jerusalemites' affiliation and national identity as the original inhabitants of this holy place.

Furthermore, **The importance of this study** stems from the consideration of the youth group as one of the most reflective of the reality experienced by the city of Jerusalem, by providing first-hand knowledge through the interviews with the youth

group residents of the city and providing them with a platform to explicate their stance in light of the Israeli policies to influence the personality and identity of Jerusalem, its status, and its residents in a clear attempt to isolate it from its Arab-Palestinian environment.

This academic thesis focuses on: the state of identity struggle for Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, and how youth in Jerusalem express their orientations and identity in light of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict-

Where the importance of this study lies in its overlapping, complexity, and importance between the reality of daily life and the requirements of living for Palestinian youth in Jerusalem and the problem of belonging to their national identity and the forms of expression of it.

The Jerusalemite Palestinian began to look from the perspective of the self, society, and the other, as the youth thought about his personal needs to remain alive within the city of Jerusalem at the expense of giving up some convictions related to the other and society and submitting to some Israeli occupation policies in light of the direct pressures the youth is exposed to in various aspects of life in exchange for providing food and temporary peace for the youth home and family.

In terms of the state of the conflict, the thesis seeks to shed light on the symptoms of the emergence of the Palestinian youth's sense of identity, as well as how they devise techniques to keep their identity within the experience of reality in the face of everyday hardships.

In light of the direct pressures that are on his head between the dialectic of daily reality and their national affiliation, experiences a feeling of alienation within his city as his perspective of the self-versus the other.

He feels that he is alone in this confrontation to preserve his collective Palestinian identity in the absence of any other parties who stand by his side on a daily basis.

This academic thesis gains its importance in searching the urgent need for a strong and coherent Palestinian national identity for young Palestinian Jerusalemites, who have been forced by the reality of the situation to coexist with their Jewish peers in work, universities, and social life?

Where, consciously or unconsciously on the part of Jerusalemite youth, they may be exposed to hidden, systematic Israeli policies and plans through their dependence on and use of economic and social welfare services to serve Israel's goals of controlling Jerusalem, dissolving the Palestinians, and making them dependent on the services of the occupying state.

Where the question arises is whether it is true that when the Jerusalemite Palestinian gradually continues, time after time, to feed and receive Israeli services from Israeli societal institutions, he will at the same time dissolve within Israeli society as a small foreign social class that coexists with them, such as Indians, Russians, and Filipinos, which make him only a resident who came to work and benefit from the services that is provided by the Israeli occupation institutions And waive his right as citizens who are the owners of the land?

With these attempts and services, the Israeli occupation state may be trying to change the awareness of Palestinian youth and make them forget their roots and their belonging to their land as legitimate Palestinians and turn them into residents of the State of Israel. Could these services make them indirectly give up their right to their lands and the right of return when they become satisfied with these services?

These services include engaging them in the search for their livelihood, their integration into the labor market, and the social, educational, and economic rights provided by the Israeli occupation.

This generates the need for a study that tries to identify the dangers of this complex reality and the state of alienation in which the Palestinian youth live in Jerusalem, and the impact of this reality and alienation on the formation of their awareness, belonging, and Palestinian national identity.

What are the modalities available for the youth Palestinian Jerusalemites to stay true to their Palestinian identity which strengthens their steadfastness in the face of the occupation policies and services?

The study revolves around how Israel's control over the space in which Palestinians live in East Jerusalem, along with its separation from the organic social environment of Palestinian society in the West Bank, affected the Palestinian perception of who they are? What type of Jerusalemite national identity do they adopt in light of the problematic relationship between their national affiliation with the Palestinians and the conflict with the occupying state and in light of the reality of daily life? Is there a noticeable change from the past to achieve the requirements for living and survival during existence through the components provided by the Israeli welfare system, whether in the labor market or social, economic, educational, and health rights? Is this change comprehensive, or is it affected only by specific economic and future relations/interests? To answer this question, the study raises several sub-questions that we will answer in this study, these questions are:

-What is the Palestinian national identity and the stages of its formation?

- What are the most prominent features of Israeli policies and plans that sought to affect the Palestinian national identity of Jerusalem?
- What is the Palestinian role (the Palestinian Authority and the Liberation Organization, Palestinian factions, civil society institutions, social forces, media, and discursive tradition) in promoting the Palestinian national identity of Jerusalem and confronting Israeli plans?
- How do Jerusalemite youth express their orientations in an attempt to crystallize a special Palestinian national identity to face alienation if it exists? To challenge the occupation and the reality and requirements of daily life in light of the state they live in?
- Is the identity adopted by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem today the result of respect and appreciation for the identity of the Israeli occupation and its society, culture, and services, or because of fear of the occupation policies and the result of their imposition on them?
- What is the future role of the national identity of the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem in light of its impact on the state of the conflict over Jerusalem?

One of the **obstacles** that the study faced was the need for translation from Hebrew sources. also, one of the obstacles faced in the research is the difficulty of conducting interviews and survey analysis in light of the policies of the Israeli occupation, its prohibitive restrictions and the penalizing power in the city of Jerusalem, and its security policies that prevent access to personalities who will benefit the academic thesis in the best way.

Despite all the Israeli attempts and policies that worked and sought to reshape and engineer the Palestinian people's national cultural awareness and identity through its various policies, plans, and programs.

The Jerusalemites, led by the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, are still able to accommodate through walking this thin line of maintaining their Palestinian identity without jeopardizing their livelihood in the city, which is linked to dealing with the requirements of economic, social, and cultural life and the preservation of their national identity.

The Palestinian youth in Jerusalem consider that dealing with this lived reality is not an antithesis of national belonging and is not an acceptance and adaptation to what the occupation seeks to impose from a new reality.

The Palestinian youth in Jerusalem sees Adapting to reality as a chance not only to confront Israel's daily racist policies of isolation, siege, and deportation attempts but also to build a Palestinian national human capital that can confront the attempts of Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem so that the orientation of Jerusalemite youth becomes to achieve independence and economic empowerment as part of the daily struggle to preserve their national identity.

Adapting and dealing with the reality and the current situation creates and highlights a special Palestinian Jerusalem identity that seeks to highlight the Jerusalem identity by forming it on foundations and issues imposed by the special and distinctive reality experienced by Jerusalemite youth from daily challenges.

This distinctive reality that the Palestinian Jerusalem identity faces Unlike the rest of the Palestinian identities of the other cities of Palestine, is affected in light of the lack weak role of national parties and forces, in light of the multiplicity and branching of social references for Jerusalem and its citizens, and between the multiplicity of institutions and their sometimes disputes, and the phenomenon of strengthening loyalty to the clan, family and social group at the expense of strengthening Palestinian national belonging, and also

in light of the restrictions imposed by the Oslo Agreement on the reality of the city and its relationship the Palestinian political system.

So, the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem seeks to crystallize their own model in the Palestinian national identity of Jerusalem to confront the attempt to impose the Israeli model in the absence or failure of the forces and factions from the Palestinian national movement, to find the Palestinian model that enhances the identity and belonging of the Palestinian individual and the rising generations in Jerusalem bears the ingredients for confronting Israeli plans and policies in Jerusalem.

As for the theories:

The first theory that helps in answering the thesis questions theory of the self and identity formation. It is worth mentioning Max Weber's sociological ideas that suggest that the view of the self is dynamic and influenced by social action, culture, and the roles individuals play in society.

The self is not a fixed entity but is shaped by external factors and the context in which individuals find themselves.

Weber's work provides a foundation for understanding how individuals construct their identities within a sociocultural framework.

Weber highlighted the importance of social activity in molding individual behavior, and hence the self. Individuals with their own reasons and purposes influence social action. The self is viewed as an actor involved in diverse social acts from this perspective, and identity development is impacted by the sorts of behaviors that individual chooses to engage in.

Culture and society have a large influence on how people view themselves, the ego does not exist in isolation, but rather within a cultural and societal environment. "Cultural

values, customs, and beliefs develop and impact an individual's self-concept and identity¹³".

Also, Weber focuses on how self-identity contributes to building the collective identities of the groups, when there is a conflict in society or competition between various groups - "us vs. them" mindset- members of a group unite around shared values, symbols, and a common aim. In the face of competition, the urge to protect or promote the group's interests may contribute to the strengthening of the collective identity.

This theory helps the thesis to understand how the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem may form a self-identity that is consistent with the values and conventions of the culture and the societies in which they live and how could they contribute to the strengthening of the Palestinian collective identity.

The larger framework that helps answer the thesis questions is the literature related to colonialism and the relationship between colonial subjects and their colonizers. This theory focuses on the fact that the result of colonialism shows us different orientations of the colonized people towards their identity, as the feeling of identity is linked to different social connections on the emotional, psychological, and subjective levels.

This diversity may give a kind of flexibility to some segments of society under colonialism by showing allegiances to other identities to replace others according to real and social variables, and that this identity is not fixed.

Colonial identities are often shaped by racial hierarchies imposed by colonial and occupying powers. The process of racialization involves classifying individuals based on

¹³ Weber, M., & Tribe, K. (2019). *Economy and Society: A New Translation*.

perceived racial differences, which contributes to the construction of hierarchies that position the colonized as inferior.

One of the most prominent thinkers to address colonized identity was **Frantz Fanon**, who in turn explored how colonized individuals could internalize biases and stereotypes imposed by the colonizer, leading to a form of self-oppression and a broken sense of self.

This internalization can affect self-esteem, aspirations, and interpersonal relationships.

Some theorists, building on Fanon's ideas, explore "the ways in which colonized individuals engage in cultural hybridization or syncretism as a form of resistance, including blending elements of their indigenous culture with aspects of the colonizer's culture to create a unique identity ¹⁴".

On the other hand, one of the trends of the society under colonialism is submission and the creation of a new identity that is not for resistance but rather more loyal to the occupier. It may be the result of self-persecution and oppression in an attempt to impersonate strangers and the occupier, in the hope of getting rid of the burdens of distraction or getting rid of an unwanted identity that they were born with and classified by, yearning to attain the glories of the borrowed identity (the identity of the colonizer) which he sees as the identity that will liberate him the misery in which he lives.

Fanon emphasizes the necessity of decolonization, not only as a political process but also as a psychological and cultural process. True liberation, according to Fanon, involves a radical recovery of one's true identity and a rejection of the dehumanizing effects of colonialism.

¹⁴ Haddour, A. (2019). Frantz Fanon, Postcolonialism and the Ethics of Difference.

Here, in this academic thesis, the theory of postcolonial identities can be used to defend national identity by rejecting colonial civilization, as Fanon indicated, and criticizing the policy of exclusion, marginalization, and central hegemony, as well as rejecting dispossession and domestication, calling for displacement, moving towards a return to authentic national culture, and praising the national identity.

Within the theoretical framework of this study, multiple theories will also be discussed, including fragmented identity and how identity may be subject to fragmentation because of the existing occupation.

Understanding and addressing fragmented identity often involves acknowledging the complexities and influences that shape one's sense of self, and in the context of postcolonial experiences, acknowledging the effects of colonial history and efforts at cultural revitalization and decolonization can contribute to creating a more cohesive sense of identity.

The theoretical framework of the thesis discusses also the Postcolonial identity which is a dynamic and ongoing process that includes dealing with the complex interaction between the historical legacies as a result of colonialism and its remnants, the cultural influences on which the occupied society was exposed, and the contemporary challenges it now faces. Researchers and thinkers in the field of postcolonial studies explore these complexities to understand how Individuals and communities construct and negotiate their identities in the wake of colonialism.

In a more general theoretical framework, this thesis will address the theory of the imagined community in creating identity. The concept of the imagined community has had a wide influence in the fields of political science, sociology, and cultural studies.

It provides a framework for understanding the subjective and socially constructed nature of national identity and challenges assumptions about the naturalness or inevitability of the state.

One of the most prominent thinkers associated with this theory was Benedict Anderson. Anderson's work was particularly influential in discussions of nationalism, identity formation, and the role of the media in shaping collective consciousness.

Understanding imagined community in the context of colonialism helps to illuminate the complex dynamics of identity formation, power relations, and cultural interactions during periods of colonial and occupation rule, and it emphasizes the role of both colonizers and colonized in shaping collective identities within the framework of occupying domination.

Methodology: The study uses primary resources through interviews aimed at clarifying how Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are in a state of alienation and face an identity crisis experience and how their identity is directly or indirectly affected by real-life events, adaptation, policies, and services of the Israeli occupation.

The study aims to shed light on the plight of youth as they manage their daily lives by compromising their national fervor for the economic and social benefits offered to them by the Israeli state. They are forced to avoid thinking about and interacting with their national feelings during a temporary period in their work and integration into the Israeli labor market and while they are in academic education halls at universities.

The study also uses secondary resources by reviewing literature related to understanding and clarifying the reality of the Palestinian identity crisis in Jerusalem, and literature related to theories of identity formation and construction, identity politics, the relationship between individual and collective identities, theories of national identity,

fragmented identities, colonial identities, and post-modern identities, and more specifically Literature concerned with conflict zones and divided cities.

The study follows several approaches, such as the descriptive approach, the analytical approach, and the comparative approach, by studying previous theories related to the subject of the academic thesis, which addresses separate parts of the question of defining identity in general, its theories and forms, and studying the phenomena and mechanisms that shape the identity of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem and influence them entering into a state of crisis and identity conflict.

The research samples are the residents of the city of Jerusalem, aged 18 and over, and the nature of their work obliges them to engage in Israeli culture and society.

As mentioned previously, the sample of the study community is the Palestinian Jerusalemite youth, and accordingly, the youth group is examined and selected according to the topics raised by the thesis in a way that is sufficient to provide the thesis with what it needs to improve the accuracy of the results. The sample that was interviewed is 10 people.

Structured/Semi-Structured Personal interviews were conducted with the sample. **Seven** interviews were conducted with youths, some of whom were students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (BA and MA students) and others who were active as leaders, workers, social media influencers, and volunteers in Jerusalem community institutions and at the voluntary community level. The main focus was on gaining knowledge about whether Palestinian youth in Jerusalem live in a state of conflict between their national aspirations as Palestinians and the daily concerns that drive them to engage in Israeli society.

In addition to a second group of interviews (**Three** Interviews) with influential and powerful figures, especially the former Director General of Curricula in the Palestinian Ministry of Education, the Director of Al-Iman School in Jerusalem, and the Executive Director of Al-Matras Youth Work Company. The focus of these interviews was on understanding the academic situation in the city of Jerusalem and its students who are Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, and how this situation affects the presence of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and the impact of the remaining Israeli policies on the roots of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and the attempts to dissolve the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

These methods helped feed the thesis with fresh, realistic, and contemporary sources from the Palestinian street in Jerusalem in light of the renewed crises they are exposed to, which in turn will contribute to answering the questions of the academic thesis since interviews are the primary source for the academic thesis.

The principles of representation, accuracy, control, control, volume, impartiality, and objectivity have been respected to better reflect the results of the academic thesis.

Interviews have been audio-recorded as much as possible to maintain the anonymity of the samples in the research.

This academic thesis aims to shed light on the identity struggle experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, unlike the rest of the Palestinian youth, as Jerusalemite youth are internationally classified as people without a Full political identity that refers to them as permanent citizens of a specific state. They are not integrated into the Israeli national framework and do not have Political rights; they cannot decide their fate and cannot participate in any elections.

Their presence inside Jerusalem under the rule of the occupation is limited as residents are threatened with disappearance at any moment and are not permanent citizens. This makes them feel a constant, daily lack of respect for their identity and the meaning of their existence and makes them feel threatened by what is coming in the future.

It is worth noting that the legal status before various institutions internationally and the citizenship they obtained from the Israeli occupation defines them as residents and not permanent citizens, meaning that for the youth it is impossible for him to identify himself as a “citizen” with the full rights - in other words "Israeli citizen" - in front of others, as he does not hold citizenship, and on the other hand, the Palestinian residing in Jerusalem does not have a Palestinian identity card like the rest of the Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza, and he is also known according to the travel document as a temporary Jordanian citizen! All these interactions with the legal status directly contribute to making the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem feel a state of alienation by defining his identity in front of others and feeling a permanent inferiority to his fellow youth, every time he is forced to define himself differently.

The academic thesis also aims to follow Israeli plans and policies aimed at reshaping the identity and awareness of Palestinian youth in the city of Jerusalem by trying to isolate Jerusalem from its Arab-Palestinian environment and using the Israeli welfare system to influence the collective awareness of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem and try to dissolve and integrate them into Israeli society.

The study also aims to trace the Palestinian role represented by the Palestinian Authority, the factions and institutions towards Jerusalem and the holy sites, and their impact on preserving the national identity of the Jerusalemite youth.

Here, because of this conflict, a space is created that may allow the emergence of a new identity formed by the Jerusalemite youth alone, in the sense that they are torn between the two national identities they face in their reality and their daily situations, which are the Israeli and the Palestinian identities.

This academic thesis also aims to review the status of the identity of Palestinian Jerusalemite youth in general in accordance with international laws and the viewpoint of the Israeli side, and in particular, the academic thesis will focus on reviewing the identity of Palestinian Jerusalemite youth and the conflict between national affiliation and loyalty to the services of the Israeli occupying state.

This academic thesis also aims to study the current identity experienced by Palestinian Jerusalemite youth, which is expressed or established for a specific period or circumstance in light of the reality of their daily life and the ongoing challenges they face for survival, and how discursive tradition affects the development of individual and collective identity under these circumstances.

This academic thesis will also attempt to investigate the attempts to polarize and dissolve the identity of Palestinian Jerusalemite youth through coexistence with their Israeli peers at work, universities, and society.

The academic thesis will assess the extent of the attraction, integration, or dissolution of the Palestinian youth from Jerusalem, and analyze the impact of this attraction in light of the daily interaction with the other (the Israeli Jew) on his Palestinian national identity and its impact on re-forming his Palestinian consciousness and belonging.

At a time when his identity is lost while there is another competing identity that is dragging him to it, which is the identity of the successful, strong, and educated Israeli Jew

who earns all the profits because of his identity and who is in contact with the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem at work or university as a colleague or as their boss.

In the end, the thesis also aims more clearly to investigate whether Palestinian Jerusalemites form a kind of connected identity where they feel that there is a kind of admiration for the institutions of the Israeli occupation state because of the services they provide, as they are in direct daily confrontation with the Israeli occupation and its institutions and even in light of the forms of The persecution they face, which differs from other Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Palestinian diaspora, forcing them to find innovative ways to serve them and strengthen their steadfastness within Jerusalem.

The study chapters:

In the current first chapter, there is an introduction to the study, which talks about the thesis in advance and focuses on the problem of the thesis and its importance and then presents the questions of the study and the limitations and obstacles of the study. Later, it studies the hypotheses of the study and the exhausting methodology of the study and then addresses the population sample, the subject of the study, the analytical tools used, and the procedures for collecting information. Then the literature review for the study.

The second chapter seeks to explore and analyze these complex challenges faced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, using a theoretical framework to understand identity, social influence, and cultural belonging through theories (postmodern identity, fragmented identity, colonial identity, imagined community, conflict, and competition). This chapter also studies the most important events and changes that the city has undergone over the years and evaluates the extent to which these changes have affected the identity of the Palestinian city and its cultural and religious progress.

beginning from the ancient times, when the city of Jerusalem was founded as an ancient community of historical importance and will trace its growth as it was influenced by many empires and civilizations. The city witnessed major transformations during the Roman and Byzantine eras, including those experienced by the Canaanites, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, The Islamic era, the British mandate, and the division of Jerusalem between Israel and Jordan until today's Jerusalem.

The third chapter deals with the legal status of the city of Jerusalem and its Palestinian citizens in terms of the international laws and conventions that govern the city of Jerusalem and its residents, and then studies the most prominent international organizations, bodies, and institutions that focused their attention on the city of Jerusalem and its Palestinian residents and issued decisions against them, and later studies the legal status of the city of Jerusalem and its Palestinian residents in light of the peace agreements and the peace talks between the parties concerned and even the latest Israeli plans regarding Jerusalem.

The fourth chapter of the study focuses on the policies of Israelization and Judaization by the Israeli occupation state and its institutions in academic, economic, and social terms towards Jerusalem and its Palestinian residents and focuses in particular on the soft policies (from social economic welfare services) in addition to the repressive policies and how to use the policy of carrots and sticks against Palestinian Jerusalemite youth.

In this chapter, the study also addresses the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem in particular and how the Palestinian identity emerged for them and their vital role over time in the city of Jerusalem until the present day, including the role of the media, and then looks at the state of conflict and dispersion in the Palestinian identity in view of the daily reality

they live in direct conflict with the Israeli occupation, its institutions, policies, and services.

In the concluding chapter, I rely on the text of the thesis and summarize the state of the Jerusalemite national identity for Palestinian youth in light of each of the various Judaizing Israeli occupation policies that are mentioned in the rest of the chapters, along with the necessary recommendations for the relevant authorities towards a steadfast Palestinian national youth identity in Jerusalem.

Literature review: Although there is not much research regarding the research problem, few studies have discussed this problem.

The first relevant study that discussed the research problem is:

" Palestinian youth from the partisan movement to the street movement. Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (Masarat).", written by Ahmad Azem and published in 2019" The summary of this study is:

This study took a wide picture of the trends of the Palestinian youth movements from 1908 until 2018, in order to understand the most prominent historical eras and transformations experienced by the Palestinian youth, especially in 2011.

The main idea that the research is exposed to is based on proving the existence of a shift in the youth work pattern from the so-called "partisan movement" to the "street movement".

According to Ahmed Azem, according to his book, the impact of the street movements was partly negative due to their lack of long-term strategies, and their direct impact on weakening the existing partisan movements in Palestine in advance by withdrawing popular support for them in favor of the street movements that were dying quickly later.

Ahmed Azem also shows, "by studying the weakness and mismanagement of partisan movements, that the gap between them and the people has become large and the phenomenon of corruption has spread in it, and even the goals of this partisan movement have deviated from the current demands of the people ¹⁵".

The book shows the end of the apparent emergence of youth gatherings and groups that predominate in this Yamuna as an alternative to the street movement and the factional movement. These groups, which are spread throughout the country, according to Ahmed Azm's book, are the choice and the alternative that exists today, which also play a role as a mediator and link between the movement and the Palestinian movement.

Ahmed Azm's book came in a wide picture of Palestinian youth in general without dedicating study and statistics to a specific region or city, while this academic thesis specifically addresses the youth of the city of Jerusalem since in every crisis they form a separate identity or street movement separate from the rest of the Palestinian arena because they are in daily confrontation direct with the occupation.

In the absence of the role of partisan movements within the city of Jerusalem due to the restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation, this academic thesis specifically addresses the youth of the city of Jerusalem and the identity transformations and street movements that appear in the alleys of Jerusalem in every crisis faced by this Jerusalemite youth against the occupation.

The academic thesis also deals in more depth with the role of youth groups and youth forums within the city of Jerusalem and their role and impact on youth segments.

The second research related is:

¹⁵ Azem, A. (2019). Palestinian youth from the partisan movement to the street movement. Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (Masarat).

"The Israeli attacks on Jerusalem 1994 – 2010" written by Abu Jalalah, Ahlam Kamal, published in 2016", the summary of this study is:

"This study took a wide picture of the Israeli policies in Jerusalem including the sanctities of all the attacks on all aspects of life in Jerusalem, and the study dealt with the thesis problem in its presentation of the attacks that occurred in Jerusalem and on Muslim and Christian holy sites, and the effects that resulted from them, in an attempt to expose and document these policies so that other researchers can conduct studies on them".

Where the study focused on the Israeli attacks in Jerusalem, the attacks on Al-Aqsa Mosque, the policies pursued by Israel in violating its sanctity, the transformations of its demolition and its replacement with the alleged Temple of Solomon for Judaism through excavations that are taking place under it, the closures and continuous restrictions against it, and the right of Jerusalemite citizens to enter and practice their rituals.

"In an attempt to cover up the policies it pursues against Al-Aqsa Mosque, it delegated these violations to the hands of private Zionist institutions so that they would not be held accountable in the future in a governmental manner ¹⁶".

The study came only to clarify the violations without giving its effects directly on the Palestinian citizens and more specifically on the Palestinian youth, and also this study lacks the solutions that could be implemented at the near temporal level or solutions that could be offered to international organizations, by clarifying the protection that must be imposed on the Palestinian residents as a people under occupation in the international law, and the protection that must be imposed on the holy sites in their own right to take care of their religious importance, political and the historical sacred importance To prevent to provoke Palestinian youth and prevent the escalation of conflict and

¹⁶ Abu Jalalah, A." The Israeli attacks on Jerusalem 1994 – 2010", Islamic University of Gaza, (2016).

confrontation. While in this thesis the direct effects on the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are discussed and recommended proposed solutions.

The third research related is:

"Palestinian Youth: Studies on Identity, Place and Community Participation. center for development studies". written by Jamil Hilal and published in 2017", the summary of this study is:

This study attempted to study the interactions of identity definition and its formation among the Palestinian youth residing in the Palestinian territories who live in Lebanon.

It addressed (not least the deadly siege of the Gaza Strip, the racist occupation that expels the people of the country, the dehumanizing discrimination), and many forms of confiscation of individual and collective liberties, unemployment, poverty, and the absence of social care, and the construction of obstacles and walls to deprive classes, groups, and segments (including women, children, youth and the poor). and marginalized) is one of the simplest forms of equality in life opportunities¹⁷.

It also went to the social level, how Palestinian youth view the role of women in their society, and the regional difference in that vision. The study also touched on the interaction of Palestinian youth with the issue of religion, secularism, and the left. It became clear after the statistics that Palestinian youth define themselves as leftist rather than secular and secular rather than religious.

According to the youth's self-definition, they see that they are Palestinians first and Arabs second. In terms of what the Palestinians unite, all youth have tended to believe

¹⁷ Hilal, J. (2017). Palestinian Youth: Studies on Identity, Place and Community Participation. center for development studies.

that the land and the homeland come first, and then the collective feeling, religion, and history.

This study is very important and vital to help write an academic thesis, but it lacks in addressing one of the most important features of youth today, which is the pattern of voluntary and non-voluntary youth groups and youth group forums after the clear despair of every other representative that may represent them, whether from political parties, organizations or regime Tribal or so on.

These youth groups and forums touch mainly the lives of young people and express them and their desires and what unites them to know themselves through them, they cannot be neglected by any statistics that have taken place or to come.

They represent the truest personal orientations of the youth, not restricted by any family, clan, or party framework, but rather a pure representation. On the self-orientation of the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem, his private and collective identity.

This is an aspect that the thesis discusses in detail with the related parties, as it is a vital and active factor in the city of Jerusalem and its youth and an area to which Palestinian Jerusalemites go in most aspects of their lives.

The fourth research related is:

"Agitators of anger among Palestinian youth. Education Magazine - Al-Azhar University - College of Education, 96". written by Abu Mustafa, Nazmi and published in 2001", the summary of this study is:

The study touched on what are the most prominent features that anger Palestinian youth in general and exacerbate the existing conflict, as it outlined the most common problems for the youth that arouse their resentment and anger, including the feeling of oppression when injustice and this injustice have multiple interventions, whether from

the Israeli occupation or the existing regime, as well as another factor What is important is the feeling of bitterness when the goal is not achieved.

And then the phenomenon of women's makeup and its reflection on the anger of Palestinian youth, as well as the relationship between the phenomenon of nepotism and corruption and its impact on Palestinian youth.

Among the phenomena that the study also linked to "the anger of Palestinian youth is bad behavior by a trusted person, family disintegration, the phenomenon of beggary in society, loss of a valuable thing, deteriorating economic conditions, failure to perform worship, and belittling the youth's life ¹⁸".

This study came exclusively to Palestinian youth in the Gaza Strip only in 2001, that is 20 years ago, but it helps in understanding the indicators of the orientation of the Palestinian youth and the formation of their individual identity first and the collective later since history is part of the present.

Due to the study's lack of space and its confinement to Gaza and its old age, the thesis presents developed criteria that can identify the triggers of anger among Palestinian youth in the city of Jerusalem according to contemporary standards of our time.

The fact that the triggers of anger for the youth help to understand the behavior of the Jerusalemite youth to form independent Jerusalem identities, given the special situation of the city of Jerusalem from the rest of the Palestinian cities, The standards are different, and the time and the penetration of power are different, and the conflict in Jerusalem is more united and confrontational.

The fifth related research is:

¹⁸ Abu Mustafa, N. (2001). Agitators of anger among Palestinian youth. Education Magazine - Al-Azhar University - College of Education, 96.

" Social alienation among Jerusalemite youth. Palestine Liberation Organization - Research Center, 256.", written by Najlaa Makawi and published in 2014", the summary of this study is:

The study attempted to approach the phenomenon of social alienation among Jerusalemite youth, by shedding light on the social, economic, and political reality in which they live, and its effects on the youth's relationship with his community, his view of himself, and his behavior towards him, and in the face of his pressures, and concluded that the young Jerusalemite is actually living in a state of alienation in his community, its elements are related to the details of his reality, the structure of his society, and the nature of the crises he faces, all of which resulted in an individual's life, and his lack of influence on the social situations with which he interacts.

The study discussed that, in light of this state of absence, the Jerusalemite youth lack all the support tools to continue their steadfastness in the face of the occupier financially and psychologically, "even though it is the national capital and the pillar of Palestinian society and the front for defending the incubator of the human cultural heritage and the holy Arab land ¹⁹".

The academic thesis comes up to clarify and explain what are the components that will empower the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem to stand firm in the face of this Israeli occupation and to bring the Palestinian youth out of the isolation that has been imposed on them.

Among the elements that the study lacked and which has been discussed in this academic thesis is the role of media professionals and social media content activists, especially in

¹⁹ Makawi, N. (2014). Social alienation among Jerusalemite youth. Palestine Liberation Organization - Research Center.

Jerusalem, in raising awareness of the state of isolation and identity crisis experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, and conveying the image and expressive freedom of opinion to Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, and directing their fellow Palestinian youth about the need to protect their Palestinian identity.

Also, this study did not address the methods of attraction by the Israeli occupation of the socially and politically isolated Palestinian youth from Jerusalem to dissolve in the Israeli cultural incubator and lose their own identity and the culture of their ancestors. While this academic thesis touches through the door of the Israeli welfare policies presented by the Israeli occupation to these methods of attraction and dissolution.

The sixth related research is:

"The self and the other in the eyes of Palestinian youth. Journal of Social Sciences, 25(3). written by Mahmoud Meari and published in 1997" the summary of this study is:

The study deals mainly with the Palestinian youth's view of himself, his evaluation of himself, and his view of the other in his spatial space, such as the Palestinian Arab living in the occupied territories and the Israeli Jew.

Where the study held statistics and tables after taking random samples from Palestinian youth at Birzeit University and asking them a question related first to their personal details to know the background of each respondent and then an evaluation question for their view of the Arab, the Palestinian Arab inside the occupied, the Palestinian in general, and the Israeli-Jewish.

Later, the study found that most of the Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, according to the answers, were satisfied with the Palestinian personality first, then the Palestinian Arab, and in the last place came their satisfaction or admiration for the Jewish-Israeli personality.

In the ranking, it was found that the image of the Arab according to the Palestinian youth is lower than the image of the Jewish Israeli and that the intolerance of the Palestinian youth against the Israeli Jews is less than the intolerance of the Jewish Israeli against the Palestinian youth.

Then the study went to results related to the variables and conditions experienced by the Palestinian and the place of residence, "to show that the Palestinian youth living in the refugee camps have a greater positive image of the Israeli Jew, and this stems from the fact that most of the youth of the Palestinian camps work in the Israeli markets and always have contact with the Israelis ²⁰".

This academic thesis addresses the vision of the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem in particular for himself first, and then his view of the Israeli Jew who works and lives against him and next to him daily, since the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem are the young people who interact most with the Jews in their daily lives, and this is what was missed by Mahmoud Miari's study that did not specifically address that separately about Palestinian youth in the West Bank, but he did not even mention them.

Also, Mahmoud Miari's study is a study according to old statistics from a quarter of a century ago.

That is why the importance of this thesis appears which takes the vision of the Palestinian youth from Jerusalem about himself and the Israeli Jew nowadays after this long time that has passed, as great changes occurred that changed the way of thinking of generations and changed their experience.

²⁰ Meari, M. (1997). The self and the other in the eyes of Palestinian youth. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 25(3).

2. Chapter Two

**The concept of the Identity and its formation and the Historical
Palestinian identity.**

This chapter will start by defining identity and the basic theories for its formation and then will address identity formation theories from a socio-political perspective with an emphasis on collective national identity within a settler colonial context and a strange external party that affects its construction.

In addition, the chapter will shed light on the Palestinian historical identity in Jerusalem, the development of this identity in light of the colonial eras that it passed through, and how each era affected the formation of this identity and its flexibility in all fields, and at the end of the chapter, we explain the transformation of identity into a shattered identity resulting from these colonial eras, and the consequences of the shattered identity.

2.1 The concept of Identity:

Identity is a multifaceted and dynamic concept that encompasses a person's self-perception as well as the perception of others, self-concept, and the characteristics, values, beliefs, and affiliations that define his or her sense of self in the context of different social and cultural environments.

It is the result of multiple interactions among personal, cultural, psychological, social, and biological factors that shape a person's understanding of who he or she is and how he or she relates to the world around him or her.

Identity formation refers to the ongoing process by which individuals develop, refine, and articulate their identities, influenced by their life experiences, relationships, and the broader social and cultural context in which they live.

This dynamic process involves self-discovery, self-reflection, and negotiation of various aspects of identity, including but not limited to ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, and social roles. "Identity formation is influenced by internal and external factors, and it is a lifelong

journey marked by growth, exploration, and the continual construction of one's self-concept²¹".

Defining Identity could come in different dimensions, the first of them is **personal identity** which focuses on the individual's unique qualities and characteristics, such as (Name, experience, physical appearance, and personal history).

The second dimension is **social identity**, "this aspect of identity relates to the communities or groups to which an individual belongs and shares his expectations and livelihood with these groups in a way that he can define his identity by defining his commitment to these groups²²" (occupational affiliations, cultural, political, religious).

The social identity overlaps with the **membership identity** dimension (group identity) when the sense of belonging to the identification of the individual comes from the experience they live when they are part of a specific group such as (a sports team, professional association, online community, or ethnic group).

Membership identification can be a strong source of support and social integration, but it can also lead to in-group prejudices and conflicts with out-groups.

It is a fundamental feature of human identity and an important factor in determining how people perceive themselves in relation to the various groups to which they belong, Members of a group frequently identify themselves from people outside the group (out-group) and may feel a sense of camaraderie and solidarity with other members (in-group).

National identity is another identity dimension in which "the individual feels that he/she is connected to a specific nation or country²³" and the type of this connection could

²¹ Alkooheji, L., & Sinha, C. (2017). Discourse and Identity Formation: Parliamentary Debates in Bahrain. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Publishing Company.

²² George, D., & Kurchin, B. (2019). Archaeology of Identity and Dissonance: Contexts for a Brave New World. Gainesville, FL : University Press of Florida.

²³ Verdugo, R. (2016). National Identity: Theory and Research.

come from a shared cultural heritage or patriotism or the welfare system that this country provides to their communities or individuals.

Another dimension of the identity is the **psychological identity** which "involves an individual's self-image, self-esteem, and self-concept, the individual builds this identity on the basis of his sense of self-worth, his internal beliefs and values which can be influenced by the social, and national identity²⁴", and in our age even the online identity taken into account as an influencing factor.

"**Online identity** is a new dimension in our digital age that plays a very big role in shaping the individual identity and even the other dimensions of identity ²⁵".

This online identity has a direct impact on the self-perception of the individual which can manipulate and build a different identity for the individual, from the children and the youth between his origin community and nation by being exposed to social media and other online platforms from the nations of the world.

The online identity is tied with the theory of globalization "which refers to the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of nations, economies, cultures, and individuals across the globe²⁶". It is driven by advances in technology, communication, and transportation, leading to a more interconnected world.

The Internet and digital communication technologies have played a pivotal role in shaping and reinforcing the dynamics of globalization, fostering the emergence of new forms of affiliation and collective identity.

²⁴ Gamble, C. (2007). *Origins and Revolutions: Human Identity in Earliest Prehistory*.

²⁵ Hanan, E. (2020). *Social media influencers and the online identity of Egyptian youth*.

²⁶ Atay, A. (2015). *Globalization's Impact on Cultural Identity Formation: Queer Diasporic Males in Cyberspace*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

The **cultural identity** is also a dimension to define the identity, "the individual's shared experiences, shared language, shared customs, cultural backgrounds, and traditions with a specific ethnic or cultural group²⁷".

In addition to the dimensions explained above also **gender and sexual identity** which the individual aligns with their own sex assigned or differs from it.

All the dimensions that have been explained above could be affected by each other when it comes to defining the identity or the identities of an individual a community or a nation in a concept called the **collective national identity**.

The identity of the individual never stands alone and is formed based on the influence of the various dimensions of identity that were detailed above with the influence of the collective society around him.

The collective society may also be composed of different dimensions of identity and then begins the processes of enculturation that is done through different identity mechanisms such as religion, school, family, etc. so that a strong and common bond is created that attracts and connects individuals and achieves the needs and desires that they want and seek through Their lives as separate individuals and as members of a society that represents them as a particular culture.

Despite this in today's reality and the importance of identity politics in consolidating the individual's identity and the creation of sub-identities within a certain collective consciousness is what connects a diverse group of people and allows them to identify with and differentiate themselves from other nations or groups.

²⁷ Pennington, R. (2014). Cultural Theory for the Humanities.

Shared Geographic and territorial connections, shared values and beliefs, symbols and icons, cultural heritage, and historical narratives are the basic elements of the collective national identity.

Collective national identity refers to "the shared sense of belonging, values, traditions, history, and cultural characteristics that unite members of a specific nation or country²⁸".

2.2 Identity Formation Methods Theories:

Identity formation is a multifaceted process influenced by various factors, including individual experiences, social interactions, cultural contexts, and in our age online platform interactions.

There is no one-size-fits-all method for identity formation, but there are some common approaches and concepts associated with the development of identity. Here are several methods that play a role in identity formation:

2.2.1 Conflict and Competition:

Within a society, distinct groups, whether based on economic status, ethnicity, religion, or other criteria, frequently compete and clash. The desire for riches, power, and social position can fuel this competition. Collective identities can be strengthened in these competitive contexts.

This concept aligns with Weber's ideas about the role of conflict and competition in shaping social structures and group dynamics, when one group or community perceives rivalry or conflict with another, it can set in motion a process of identity development and consolidation.

²⁸ MORIN, E. (1984). Sociology. In Paris, Fayard.

"This happens when members of a group come together around similar beliefs, symbols, and a common goal. In the face of competition, the need to safeguard or promote the group's interests might help to strengthen the collective identity ²⁹".

Faced with competition, collective identities can develop a feeling of social solidarity and cohesiveness within the group. Members may develop a deeper link and sense of belonging, which can add to the group's resilience and drive.

In this theory, the Competition for resources, power, and prestige may include economic, political, or social gains. As groups struggle for these resources, their collective identity can serve as a rallying point for members and supporters.

"This "us vs. them" mindset has the potential to reinforce the collective identity's limits. The group stands out from the crowd by emphasizing its distinct qualities and aims ³⁰".

Weber's insights on the role of competition in building collective identities add to our knowledge of how and why various groups join together and acquire a sense of unity and identity in response to competition and conflict in society.

We can comprehend the internal and external elements that lead to the split and fragmentation among the Palestinian community better by seeing the collective identity of Palestinians through a conflict and competition lens.

There exist differences and conflicts among different political factions and ideological groupings within the Palestinian collective identity. This covers lesser factions including the split between Fatah and Hamas.

These groups' rivalry for dominance, wealth, and influence has the potential to splinter and impair the cohesion of the Palestinian collective identity.

²⁹ Weber, M., & Tribe, K. (2019). *Economy and Society: A New Translation*.

³⁰ Previous Reference.

Regarding the essence of Palestinian identity and the conflicting narratives surrounding the fight for self-determination, various Palestinian demographic groupings may subscribe to them.

Regarding the best way to realize Palestinian rights and aspirations, for instance, there could be disparities in viewpoints between Palestinians in the diaspora, East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, as well as between generations.

For their own purposes, external actors such as international stakeholders and regional powers (the Israeli occupation) frequently try to mold and influence the collective identity of the Palestinian people.

Internal conflicts and the disintegration of the collective identity might be made worse by these outside players competing with one another for control over the Palestinian narrative.

Identity politics may fuel rivalry within the Palestinian collective identity. These differences might be based on religion, political affiliation, socioeconomic position, or geography.

Competition and social division among the various Palestinian demographic divisions may also be influenced by socioeconomic differences and geographical inequality.

"The Palestinian national identity has developed as a cohesive force aiming to oppose Israeli occupation and later British colonialism since the founding of the Palestinian struggle³¹".

³¹ Azem, A. (2019). Palestinian youth from the partisan movement to the street movement. Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (Masarat).

This all-encompassing national identity was built around a shared story that articulates the fight for the restoration of Palestinian political and historical rights, making the ideas of "homeland" and "the Palestinian cause" the cornerstones of the group's identity.

The national identity served as a unifying force for Palestinians of all social strata and political persuasions throughout the 1950s and 1960s Palestinian revolt, irrespective of their kinship or place of origin.

Over the past three decades, Palestinian society has undergone significant internal shifts despite its outward cohesiveness. "Political divides amongst Palestinian groups as well as the worsening of economic conditions and national institutions, together with the fall of the political process, all contributed to these shifts on a political, economic, and social level³²". Sub-identities emerged as substitutes for traditional forms of expressing allegiance and belonging as a result of all of this.

If we address the political aspect during the last decades and with the emergence of political differences between Palestinian factions, especially between the Fatah movement and the Hamas movement, the Palestinian national identity began to fragment. Loyalty to political organizations has come to play a major role in determining individuals' identity and political orientations. "These divisions were evident after the Palestinian division in 2007 between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where factional identity (Fatah or Hamas) sometimes preceded national identity³³".

Sub-identities and factional fanaticism have replaced the one national identity of Palestinians as a result of the changes Palestinian society has undergone over the past

³² Khalidi, R. (2010). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*.

³³ Previous reference. Azem, A. (2019).

thirty years. Factional disputes, the deterioration of the political system, and the lack of strength in the national leadership were the causes of these changes.

In the battle for justice and self-determination, the Conflict and Competition viewpoint emphasizes the significance of resolving internal conflicts, encouraging communication and peacemaking, and cultivating a feeling of solidarity and shared purpose among Palestinians toward a strong Palestinian collective identity.

2.2.2 The imagined community:

One of the first thinkers who adopted this notion was Benedict Anderson, “the notion implies that nations are "imagined" by their members rather than being concrete or material things. They are socially manufactured communities in which individuals fantasize sharing a common identity and belonging with millions of strangers they will never meet ³⁴”.

This imagined feature is critical to comprehending how national identities emerge, there is typically a shared culture, history, language, and symbols within this imagined society, these cultural components play an important role in defining the identity of people who identify with a specific nation.

The envisioned community notion is strongly tied to nationalism and patriotism, people develop an identification with their country and its symbols, producing a sense of pride and devotion that contributes to their identity, and this identity is frequently based on historical narratives that describe a country's past, difficulties, and victories.

“A nation's political structure, institutions and can also play a role in shaping identity. People may identify with the principles and values represented by their country ³⁵”.

³⁴ Anderson. B. (2004). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*.

³⁵ Blok, G., Kuitenbrouwer, V., & Weeda, C. (2017). *Imagining Communities: Historical Reflections on the Process of Community Formation*.

The welfare system, Economic grants, social assistance, education, and socialization activities inside a country frequently support the imagined community, scholarships, and schools, for example, and educating the nation's history and ideals, which helps residents establish a sense of common identity.

The notion of the "imagined community" is associated directly with national identity creation, it is a construction of national belonging through inserting the values and beliefs of a group within the framework of the nation-state, it may adopt several types of identification while constructing the national identity, the values and beliefs of the Subcultures, professional associations, religious groups, online communities, and other social groupings, for example, might be thought of as sub imagined communities in which shared ideas, values, and symbols contribute to the construction of collective modern identity formation.

To summarize, the imagined community notion helps us understand how identities, particularly national identities, are constructed via common culture, shared expectations, shared satisfaction, symbols, language, and a sense of belonging to a collective that its members conceive.

Through the application of the "imagined community" theory to the Palestinian community, a deeper comprehension of how Palestinians create and preserve a shared sense of identity and inclusion may be gained, even in the face of geographical dispersion and divergent political environments. In order to maintain the endurance of the Palestinian identity and its aspirations for justice and self-determination, this viewpoint emphasizes the significance of common values, symbols, history, culture, communication, and political solidarity.

2.2.3 Colonial identity:

Colonial identity theory is a postcolonial study and critical theory framework that investigates how colonial histories and power dynamics have shaped and continue to form the identities of both colonized and colonizer people.

"Colonialism frequently resulted in the formation of hybrid or mixed identities. When people or groups in colonized areas embrace, adapt, or oppose components of the colonizer's culture, language, or values while keeping portions of their pre-colonial identity, this is referred to as hybridization ³⁶". In colonial identity theory, hybridity is a crucial notion.

Colonial identity theory examines how colonialism influenced the identities of both the colonizer and the colonized. It examines how colonial regimes and power structures produced these communities' self-identities, which were frequently at odds with one another.

"It acknowledges the interconnectedness of identity categories such as race, class, gender, and ethnicity, as well as how they overlap to form the experiences of people and communities in colonial and postcolonial contexts³⁷".

Language and discourse have a profound impact on the formation of colonial and postcolonial identities. The use of language in colonial administration, education, and the media has far-reaching implications for the construction and representation of identities.

Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and many other prominent scholars and intellectuals have contributed to colonial identity theory.

³⁶ Haddour, A. (2019). Frantz Fanon, Postcolonialism and the Ethics of Difference.

³⁷ Sazzad, R. (2017). Edward Said's Concept of Exile: Identity and Cultural Migration in the Middle East.

Colonial identity theory also investigates how colonized peoples reject and undermine the dominant colonial identity, **allowing them to express their own cultural, political, and social identities**. Cultural renewal, political action, and decolonization movements are all examples of resistance.

The theory investigates the process of "othering," or establishing one's own identity in contrast to, and frequently in antagonism to, the perceived "other." "Colonialism frequently entails dehumanizing and marginalizing colonial populations, resulting in the formation of different and hierarchical identities³⁸".

The theory shifts its attention to the postcolonial period, examining how colonial legacies continue to shape the identities of nations, communities, and people in once-colonized areas. This covers the consequences of neocolonialism, globalization, and the continuous battle for independence.

It's important to note that the impact of globalization on identity is complex and multifaceted, and not all consequences are uniformly negative.

Many individuals and communities engage with globalization in positive ways, blending global and local influences to create new and dynamic forms of identity such as the "Egalitarian identity" which refers to the process of developing a collective identity based on equality and justice. In the context of social and political identity, "it suggests that members of a group or society are dedicated to promoting and defending egalitarian principles, this can appear in a variety of ways, including campaigning for equal rights,

³⁸ Haddour, A. (2019). Frantz Fanon, Postcolonialism and the Ethics of Difference.

opportunities, and treatment for all people in the community, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic background³⁹".

However, the negative aspects mentioned above highlight some of the challenges and concerns associated with the globalizing forces on identity and culture.

Colonial identity theory has been helpful in providing light on the difficulties of identity in states with colonial histories, as well as the continuous efforts to question and reinterpret these identities in a postcolonial world.

We may get a deeper understanding of the historical foundations, continuous struggles, and resilience of Palestinian identity in the face of colonial oppression and dispossession by examining the Palestinian community through the perspective of colonial identity. This viewpoint emphasizes how the liberation of the Palestinian people is linked to larger global campaigns against colonialism, imperialism, and oppression.

2.2.4 The fragmented identity:

"The phrase "fragmented identity" is frequently used to describe a sense of self that is not united or coherent, but rather comprises several, sometimes opposing, parts of one's identity⁴⁰".

It indicates that an individual's identity is not a single, consistent, or stable construct, but rather a collection of disparate, frequently segregated identity pieces. A range of variables, including cultural influences, personal experiences, and social expectations, might contribute to this fractured identity.

³⁹ Atay, A. (2015). *Globalization's Impact on Cultural Identity Formation: Queer Diasporic Males in Cyberspace*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

⁴⁰ Al Sabari, A. (2021). *the representation of social fragmentation and identity crisis in Naguib Mahfouz's Midaq alley*.

When a person's views, values, or duties clash, it can cause cognitive dissonance and a fragmented sense of self. This can happen when society standards collide with personal ideals, resulting in a sense of internal conflict.

To deal with unpleasant or traumatic situations, some people establish of fragmented identities. They may, for example, compartmentalize key pieces of their identity in order to protect themselves emotionally.

"Migration, changing family dynamics, or personal maturation can all contribute to a fragmented identity. Individuals' identities may grow increasingly complicated, and fragmented as they adjust to new circumstances or change personally⁴¹".

By implementing the fragmented identity lens to the Palestinian community, we can better understand the complexities, contradictions, and resilience of Palestinian identity in the face of historical injustices, ongoing struggles for self-determination, and the diverse experiences of Palestinians worldwide.

This viewpoint emphasizes the significance of recognizing and appreciating the many aspects of Palestinian identity, as well as admitting the difficulties and tensions that come with managing divided identities in the context of relocation and occupation.

Exposure to various cultural, religious, or social situations can also lead to identity fragmentation. Individuals who are members of many cultural or social groups may face conflicts or tensions between these various components of their identity.

⁴¹ Rasoul. (2022). Fragmented identities and alienation: belonging in Kobani's novel as an example.

Fragmented identity theory is especially pertinent in talks about multiculturalism, diversity, and the difficulties of integrating different identity components in an increasingly complicated and linked society.

On the one hand, multiculturalism promotes variety and encourages people to embrace and express their cultural heritage, which may foster a sense of pride and belonging among people from varied origins.

However, managing several cultural identities can be difficult, leading to feelings of separation or alienation from one's own culture or the dominant culture of the society.

At its core, while multiculturalism celebrates diversity and promotes inclusivity, it also requires individuals to navigate complex identities, which can sometimes lead to feelings of fragmentation or separation without a shared balance of dialogue, understanding, and ongoing efforts to promote mutual respect and acceptance within diverse cultures.

2.2.5 Postmodern Identity:

Postmodern identity theory is a postmodernist paradigm that investigates the complexity of identity in the postmodern period. It questions traditional concepts of identity as stable, cohesive, and unchanging, highlighting that identity is fluid, fractured, and constantly changing and reconstructing.

Postmodern identity theory, which is closely related to critical theory and cultural studies, investigates how identity is affected by several cultural, social, historical circumstances, and the role of power in shaping discourses and narratives about identity. The hybrid aspect of current identities is emphasized by postmodern identity theory. "It acknowledges that people develop their identities using a variety of cultural, social, and

historical elements. Intertextuality, or the interaction of several texts and discourses, has an impact on how identities are produced and negotiated⁴²".

Deconstruction is frequently used by postmodern theorists to investigate how identity is produced and maintained. "Deconstruction entails dismantling existing categories and narratives in order to expose their underlying assumptions and power relations. Identity can be recontextualized and reinvented because of this process⁴³".

Postmodern identity theory questions the concept of a permanent and fundamental identity. Instead, it implies that identity is in perpetual flux, with individuals assuming many and changeable identities in different circumstances and at different times.

The idea acknowledges globalization, online platforms, social media, and increased mobility's influence on identity. People nowadays may have transnational or cosmopolitan identities as they move across cultural, national, and social contexts.

The role of culture, media, online platforms, and popular culture in determining identity is examined in postmodern identity theory. It investigates how media portrayals and cultural texts shape how people view themselves and others.

Jean-François Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, Judith Butler, and Michel Foucault are among the prominent postmodern theorists and researchers who have contributed to postmodern identity theory.

⁴² Hasan, L. (2016). Writing History Against the Grain: Country Memory as A Site of Reconstructing Postcolonial Identity in Michelle Cliff's *No Telephone to Heaven*.

⁴³ Bouaita, H. (2021). Modernity and Postcolonial Nationalism: An Islamic Feminist Reading of Maïssa Bey's *Hizya*

A pluralistic approach to identity, embracing variety and tolerance, is frequently emphasized in the philosophy. It promotes the acceptance and appreciation of a diverse spectrum of identities and experiences.

Using a postmodern identity lens to examine the Palestinian community entails critically engaging with the fluid, disputed, and dynamic character of Palestinian identities, narratives, and experiences within the larger framework of power relations, globalization, and cultural creation.

Postmodernism emphasizes the importance of power in influencing discourses and narratives about identity. In the Palestinian context, this lens would look at how power relations between Palestinians and other actors, such as Israeli occupation, international players, and Palestinian society itself, affect identity production and representation.

Postmodernism acknowledges the fragmentation and dislocation experienced by many communities in the context of globalization, migration, and diaspora. In the case of Palestinians, this lens would examine how displacement, occupation, and the Palestinian diaspora have contributed to fragmented identities and diverse experiences of belonging and attachment to the homeland.

2.3 The Historical Palestinian Identity:

"The history of Jerusalem is vast and extends over thousands of years and includes many cultures, religions, and conflicts from the Babylonian, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic,

Christian, and Ottoman eras, until the British Mandate and the Israeli occupation nowadays⁴⁴".

Jerusalem has a rich cultural history that is almost impossible to summarize in a paragraph, but the fluctuation and change of these cultures shaped the identity of Jerusalem, which was built on the successive eras that came before it.

It has had a profound influence on Palestinian collective identity, Jerusalem is known as the country of religions, believers, and sacred things, whether for Muslims, Christians, or Jews," as it contains different holy places for each religion, such as the Al-Aqsa Mosque for the Muslims, the Church of the Resurrection for the Christians.⁴⁵ "

Because of the importance of the city of Jerusalem, because it contains the history and sanctities of different religions, many conflicts have arisen to control the city and this historical wealth by many religions, as many campaigns have continued throughout the former eras to the present day to control it.

Tracing Jerusalem's history begins with the ancient Canaanites, "who lived about 4000 BCE. One of the first known villages in the location of modern-day Jerusalem was founded by the Canaanites, who were among the first known residents of the area⁴⁶".

"Jerusalem's history was greatly influenced by the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, especially in the eighth and sixth centuries BCE, respectively⁴⁷".

⁴⁴ Montefiore, S. (2011). Jerusalem: The Biography.

⁴⁵ Goldhill, S. (2008). Jerusalem : City of Longing.

⁴⁶ Cline, E. H. (2004). Jerusalem besieged: From ancient Canaan to modern Israel.

⁴⁷ Goldhill, S. (2008). Jerusalem : City of Longing.

Jerusalem's conquests by the Assyrians and Babylonians are important moments in biblical history as well as in the larger framework of ancient Near Eastern history, illuminating the geopolitical dynamics and power struggles of the day.

These victories signaled times of turmoil and change for Jerusalem and its people, laying the groundwork for later changes in the area.

All things considered, "Jerusalem's cultural environment underwent significant transformation throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (first century BCE–fourth century CE), as the city was progressively impacted by Greek and Roman customs⁴⁸". Significant advancements and the rise of Christianity also occurred during these times, setting the groundwork for Jerusalem's designation as a holy city across a variety of religious faiths.

Jerusalem emerged as a significant Christian hub following the Roman Empire's conversion to Christianity. "Jerusalem was ruled by the Byzantine Empire, which was the Roman Empire's eastern extension, until the 7th century⁴⁹". "The Rashidun Caliphate, commanded by Caliph Omar, eventually took possession of Jerusalem in 637 CE⁵⁰". It was then governed by a number of Islamic dynasties, including as the Ayyubids, Fatimids, Umayyads, and Abbasids.

Jerusalem was taken over by Christian Crusaders in 1099 during the First Crusade, "and it later served as the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, one of the Crusader nations founded in the Levant"⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Previous reference.

⁴⁹ Goldhill, S. (2008). *Jerusalem : City of Longing*.

⁵⁰ Montefiore, S. (2011). *Jerusalem: The Biography*.

⁵¹ Boas, A. (2001). *Jerusalem in the time of the crusades*

Afterwards, "in 1187, Saladin, the Ayyubid dynasty's founder, retook Jerusalem. Up to the sixteenth century⁵²", it was ruled by the Ayyubids and then the Mamluks.

In 1517, Jerusalem joined the Ottoman Empire, and it was under Ottoman control until the early 20th century.

For Four centuries, Jerusalem, like most of the Middle East, was under Ottoman rule. "The Ottomans captured the city from the Mamluks in 1517, and it remained part of the Ottoman Empire until the empire's collapse at the end of World War I in 1918⁵³", The city's demography changed throughout this time, and a varied population of Arabs, Jews, and Christians coexisted. The city's Arab community, which included Palestinians, established its own urban culture and identity.

Under Ottoman rule, the Palestinian identity was defined and by its association with the Arab or Ottoman identity, or by a reference to a religion or specific family, or to a specific city and region, or to Palestine, where it remained overlapped with no discernible contradiction between these and identifications and commitments.

A strong feeling of historical connection and identity has evolved from the city's lengthy history of continuous presence and habitation. Palestinians have a long history in the city, with many Palestinian families stretching back decades to the various eras described above.

"Jerusalem is a sacred city for Muslims, Christians, and Palestinians, notably since it is the location of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Resurrection⁵⁴". These sacred

⁵² Montefiore, S. (2011). Jerusalem: The Biography.

⁵³ Jacobson, A. (2010). From Empire to Empire : Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule.

⁵⁴ Jordan. Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs (prepared). "The state of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

places and holy landmarks are vital to Palestinian identity, and their religious ties to the city are an important part of their collective identity.

Jerusalem has always served as a cultural hub for Palestinians, and the city has played an important role in developing Palestinian culture, literature, music, and art. It has served as a focal point for cultural interaction and intellectual activity, helping to shape a unique Palestinian cultural identity.

"Following World War I Between 1917 and 1948, The British Mandate for Palestine was created following the Ottoman Empire's defeat, including Jerusalem⁵⁵". During this time, the mandate comprised modern-day Israel as well as the Palestinian territories, as well as the city of Jerusalem. tensions between Jewish immigrants and the Arab population grew, resulting in a rising feeling of Palestinian identity.

The Palestinian identity in late 1920 – 1930, After the end of the Ottoman Empire, had to keep pace with the changes taking place around it and tend towards stability because it overlapped between several definitions of itself, "The Ottoman identity ended and new entities and national states emerged around it as a result of the European mandates, which placed the Arab identity in a lower rank and began to define itself and its identity as loyalty to the state and the nation such as Syrian, Egyptian and Iraqi identity⁵⁶".

"The League of Nations contributed to the British Mandate in 1920 with the goal of governing the Palestine territory, assisting in the creation of a national home for the

⁵⁵ Jacobson, A. (2010). From Empire to Empire : Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule.

⁵⁶ Khalidi, R. (2010). Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness.

Jewish people, and preserving the rights of the existing non-Jewish populations, mostly Palestinian ones⁵⁷".

By giving the Jewish Agency, a quasi-governmental organization that represented Jewish interests, considerable control over immigration, property acquisition, and development, the British Mandate restricted Palestinian autonomy. Palestinian voices and ambitions were sidelined by this arrangement.

"To express their rights and safeguard their land and identity, Palestinians organized rallies, strikes, and uprisings against Jewish immigration initiatives and British colonial control. the British government frequently reacted violently, which resulted in arrests, deportations, and the stifling of nationalist groups advocating for Palestinian independence⁵⁸".

Palestinians were resilient and proud of their identity because they were able to preserve their cultural customs, language, and legacy in the face of persecution. Palestinian authors, artists, and intellectuals were instrumental in developing and maintaining Palestinian nationalism.

A distinct national identity for the Palestinian people emerged during the British Mandate era as they came to understand themselves as a unified group with common historical, cultural, and geographical links.

"Palestinian villages were uprooted and ejected as a result of Zionist colonization operations, which were made possible by the British Mandate. Palestinians' common

⁵⁷ Fromkin, D. (2000). *A peace to end all peace: The fall of the Ottoman empire and the creation of the modern Middle East*.

⁵⁸ Pappe, I. (2007). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Simon and Schuster.

experience of injustice and loss encouraged a feeling of unity and shared destiny, which aided in the formation of a collective identity⁵⁹".

The Jewish Zionist identity that appeared to be nourished and strengthened by the British Mandate that was ruling Palestine at that time, which made the Palestinian identity and the Palestinian life, instead of one challenge, facing two challenges.

During this period, the Buraq Revolution took place, a popular uprising that broke out in Palestine in 1929 as a result of tensions between Jews and Muslims over the right to pray at the Buraq Wall (Western Wall), which Muslims consider part of the Noble Sanctuary while Jews revere it as part of their temple⁶⁰". The protests turned violent, including attacks on both sides and riots and led to the intervention of British forces, which governed Palestine under the Mandate.

This revolution was a pivotal moment in the Palestinian-Jewish conflict and led to the strengthening of Palestinian national consciousness in the face of British-backed Zionist expansion.

At that time, and based on the recommendations of the international committee formed by the League of Nations to investigate the events related to the Buraq Revolt, the League of Nations issued a decision at that time, "which indicated that the ownership of the Western Wall and its surroundings belonged to the Muslims alone, and they alone had the right to it, as it constituted an integral part of the courtyard of the Noble Sanctuary, which is the property of the Muslims alone⁶¹".

⁵⁹ Previous reference. Pappe, I. (2007).

⁶⁰ Al-Khayyat, A. (2005). Jewish attacks on Islamic and Christian holy sites in Palestine.

⁶¹ League of Nations Resolution. Report of the International Commission on the Western Wall (Shaw Commission), 1930.

"Following the Buraq Revolt, the First Islamic Congress was held in Jerusalem in 1931 at the invitation of Haj Amin al-Husseini⁶²", with the aim of uniting Muslims to confront threats to the holy sites and to strengthen support for the Palestinian cause. The congress resulted in the formation of the Arab Committee, which worked to direct popular protests and communicate with international powers.

Later, the Arab Higher Committee was established in 1936 as the highest body representing the Palestinians, and included Palestinian leaders to organize national action and confront British colonial policies and Zionist expansion, especially during the Great Palestinian Revolt (1936-1939).

The Buraq Revolution, the First Islamic Conference, the Arab Committee, and the Arab Higher Committee represented institutional efforts to strengthen Palestinian identity and organize resistance against threats to Palestinian existence.

The First Islamic Conference sought to unify Islamic efforts in support of Jerusalem and the holy sites, adding a religious and regional dimension to the issue of Palestinian identity.

"The Arab Committee and the Arab Higher Committee embodied Palestinian national aspirations by providing a unified leadership to confront the British occupation and Zionist expansion, and contributed to laying the foundations for national political action that focused on strengthening the comprehensive Palestinian national identity⁶³".

The Palestinian identity became challenged and threatened by the rising Jewish Zionist identity that was trying to replace it and deprive it of its land and challenged by

⁶² Jordan. Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs (prepared). "The state of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

⁶³ Khalidi, R. (2010). Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness.

an attempt to impose on it the European Mandatory political vision (Nationalism) by replacing the link of identity with religion and Arabism towards nation and states.

The Zionist movement promoted Jewish immigration and property acquisition in the area with the goal of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. As a result, Palestinian land rights and self-determination were undermined, and Palestinian communities were uprooted, and land became concentrated in Jewish hands.

Zionist leaders announced the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, which sparked the Arab Israeli War and the Nakba, or catastrophe, of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees including Jerusalem. This incident weakened Palestinian rights and self-determination even further.

"The 1948 Arab Israeli War and subsequent foundation of the State of Israel had a significant influence on Palestinian collective identity⁶⁴". During the fighting, many Palestinians were uprooted from their homes, resulting in the Nakba, or "catastrophe." The loss of land and homes, as well as the experience of relocation, strengthened Palestinian national identity." According to the Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021 prepared by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, many Jerusalemite villages with an area estimated at 272,000 acres were displaced and uprooted, and their Palestinian population at that time during the Nakba amounted to approximately 97,000 people⁶⁵".

⁶⁴ Sela, A., & Kadish, A. (2014). *The War of 1948 : Representations of Israeli and Palestinian Memories and Narratives*.

⁶⁵ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (n.d.). *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021*

Table 1: Depopulated Jerusalem Governorate Localities of the Year 1948 by Population and Area⁶⁶.

Table 1. Depopulated Jerusalem Governorate Localities of the Year 1948 by Population and Area

Locality	Land Area (Dunums)	Population	Displaced Date
Lifta	8,743	2,958	1948/01/01
Bayt Naqquba	2,979	278	1948/01/01
Bayt Thul	4,629	302	1948/01/01
Qaluniya	4,844	1,056	1948/04/03
Al Qastal	1,446	104	1948/04/03
Dayr Yassin	2,857	708	1948/04/09
Nitaf	1,401	46	1948/04/15
Saris	10,699	650	1948/04/16
Jerusalem (Qatamon)	20,790	69,693	1948/04/28
Bayt Mahsir	16,268	2,784	1948/05/10
Al-Jura	4,158	487	1948/07/11
Aqqur	5,522	46	1948/07/13
Khirbat al Lawz	4,502	522	1948/07/13
Sataf	3,775	626	1948/07/13
Suba	4,102	719	1948/07/13
Maliha	6,828	2,250	1948/07/15
Dayr 'Amr	3,072	12	1948/07/17
Khirbat Ism Allah	568	23	1948/07/17
Kasla	8,004	325	1948/07/17
Artuf	403	406	1948/07/18
'Ayn Karim	15,029	3,689	1948/07/18
Dayr Rafat	13,242	499	1948/07/18
Ishwa	5,522	719	1948/07/18
Islin	2,159	302	1948/07/18
Sar'a	4,967	394	1948/07/18
Al-Burayj	19,080	835	1948/10/19
Dayr 'Aban	22,734	2,436	1948/10/19
Dayr al-Hawa	5,907	70	1948/10/19
Sufia	2,061	70	1948/10/19
Bayt 'Itab	8,757	626	1948/10/21
Bayt Umm al-Mays	1,013	81	1948/10/21
Dayr al-Shaykh	6,781	255	1948/10/21
Jarash	3,518	220	1948/10/21
Ras Abu 'Ammar	8,342	719	1948/10/21
Khirbat al-Tannur	1948/10/21
Khirbat al-Umur	4,163	313	1948/10/21
Al-Walaja	17,708	1,914	1948/10/21
Allar	12,356	510	1948/10/22
Al-Qabu	3,806	302	1948/10/22
Total	272,735	97,949	

⁶⁶ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (n.d.). Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021.

After losing their, lands, homes, and everything they owned, and exposing all Palestinians to the Nakba, a large number of Palestinians were displaced to neighboring Arab countries and Western countries, and in their place was replaced by an Israeli Jewish identity that directly threatened the Palestinian identity and exposed it to crisis and unequal competition.

The Palestinians did not have the right to self-determination or any authority or rule over the Palestinian territories, " unlike the Israeli Jewish, which was strengthened by the British Mandate rule⁶⁷", which later handed it the reins on a golden platter.

The Zionist movement and the British Mandate for Palestine were essential in creating the collective identity of the Palestinian people, encouraging resilience, a feeling of national consciousness, and the quest for self-determination among Palestinians in both historic Palestine and the diaspora. These factors still have an impact on modern-day Palestinian identity formation and the movement for justice and liberation.

In 1960, " Palestinian nationalism began to expand in the international arena and in international organizations, which came as a result of building new political parties such as the Fatah movement, which represents the Palestinians in the Middle East and carries their message to the world, with the support of the Arab nationalists⁶⁸".

Following the Nakba, Palestinian political parties came to prominence, which contributed to uniting the diaspora of Palestinian identity and concentrating the overlap between Palestinian identities towards a single Palestinian nationalism. This nationalism centers

⁶⁷ Habiballah, N. (2014). *Aliens in their own land A Sociological Analysis of the Lives of Palestinians in East Jerusalem*.

⁶⁸ Khalidi, R. (2010). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*.

the Palestinian identity on its stolen and remaining lands on a map and opposes the Israeli-Jewish occupation identity that encroaches on its territory.

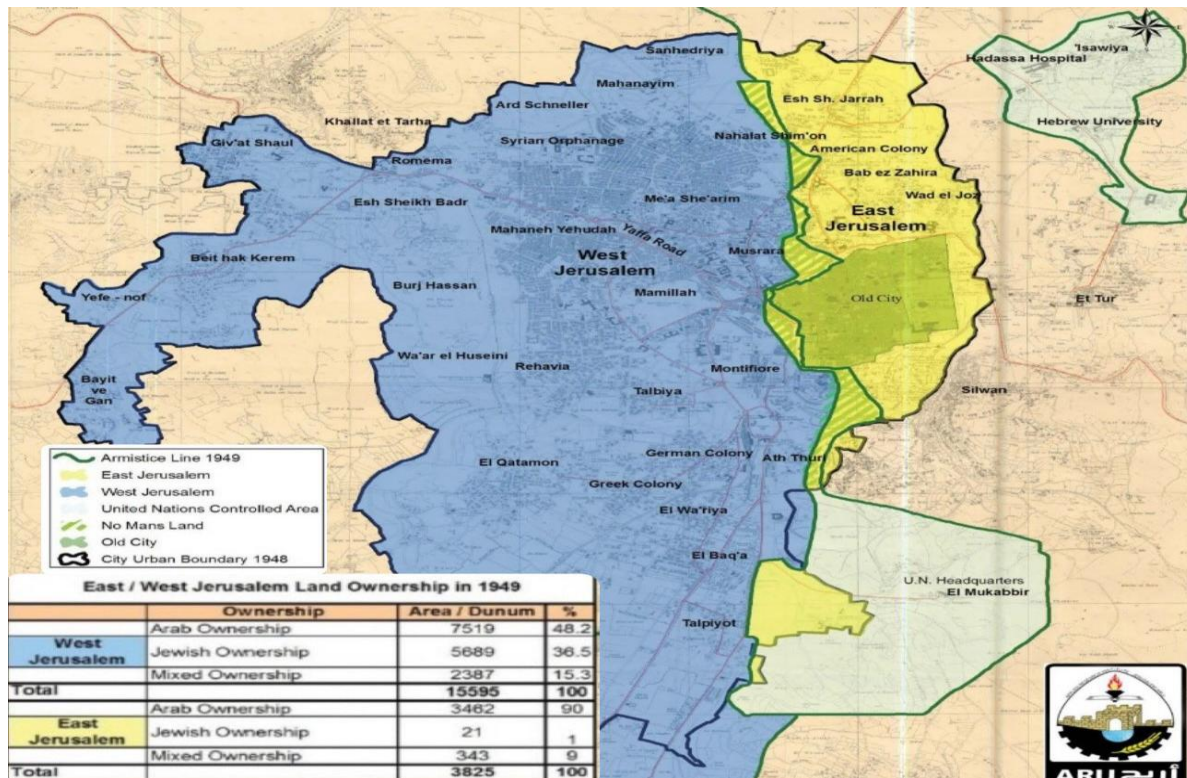
After the Nakba, West Jerusalem was taken over by the Israelites and turned into the western part of Jerusalem, acting as Israel's de facto capital. When Jewish immigrants—including survivors of the Holocaust and Jews from Arab nations—resettled in areas once occupied by Palestinians who had fled or been expelled during the conflict, the city saw tremendous changes.

"Jewish immigration displaced the Palestinian population of Palestinian districts in West Jerusalem, including Sheikh Jarrah and Talbiya, causing demographic upheavals in those areas⁶⁹". Numerous Palestinian houses and possessions were seized or used for Jewish commercial and residential construction.

Israel's political, cultural, and economic hub is now West Jerusalem, thanks to large investments made in institutions, infrastructure, and urban development initiatives. West Jerusalem's standing as the capital of Israel and the center of the Jewish state was strengthened by the establishment and celebration of landmarks and institutions connected to Jewish culture and identity.

Attached here is a map of the city of Jerusalem in 1949, divided between East and West Jerusalem:

⁶⁹ Pappé, I. (2007). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Simon and Schuster.



Map 2: East/west Jerusalem land ownership in 1949⁷⁰.

Events quickly changed after the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem, including the Old City, during the 1967 Six-Day War until today, this occupation is still having a tremendous influence on Palestinian collective identity. "Palestinians in East Jerusalem endured increased pressure and limitations during Israeli occupation, which led to their distinct identity and the Palestinian fight for self-determination⁷¹".

The Six-Day War of 1967 represents a pivotal moment in the history of Palestinian identity. The Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem was one of the most important results of this conflict, which had far-reaching effects on the Palestinian people, especially with regard to their identity. Despite the illegality of this occupation and the United Nations Security Council

⁷⁰ www.arij.org retrieved may. 2024.

⁷¹ Saleh, M. (2011). The suffering of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

Resolution No. 242, "which calls for Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied, but Israel continued to occupy Jerusalem and Judaize and Israelize its identity⁷²".

Whereas before 1967, East Jerusalem was under Jordanian control, and its majority Arab population shared a cultural, historical, and religious affinity with the broader Palestinian identity, the city had great significance for Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike, with its diverse religious sites and rich history.

The division of Jerusalem and Israel's occupation of it have had a significant and varied impact on the Palestinian identity. These impacts support Palestinians continued battle to preserve their identity and claim their rights in the face of persecution and occupation, as well as their perception of dispossession and marginalization.

"As the displacement and uprooting of Palestinians in East Jerusalem resulted in a collective sense of loss and injustice, fueling a resilient determination to preserve on their cultural heritage and national identity⁷³".

On the other hand, an important influence on Palestinian identity has been the challenge of maintaining a sense of unity and shared history in the face of occupation, as the physical separation of Jerusalem from the West Bank created a divided Palestinian land, making it difficult for Palestinians to connect with their cultural and historical roots and isolating their direct connection with the rest of the Palestinian people.

"Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank now have administrative and physical borders as a result of the occupation of East Jerusalem⁷⁴". In order to regulate the flow of people

⁷² Shaaban, I. (2011). Jerusalem in United Nations Resolutions.

⁷³ Muhammad, S. (1992). The Jewish distortion of history and sacred things.

⁷⁴ Saleh, M. (2011). The suffering of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

and products between East Jerusalem and the West Bank, Israel erected walls, obstacles, and checkpoints. The Palestinian residents of the region have experienced severe social, economic, and psychological effects from these restrictions, which has resulted in sentiments of separation and loneliness.

The Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem were able to grow because of Israel's control of the territory. In defiance of international law, Israeli authorities promoted the establishment of settlements in East Jerusalem and the surrounding regions. In addition to contributing to the eviction of Palestinian inhabitants from East Jerusalem, settlement growth strengthened Israeli sovereignty over the area.

"The imposition of Israeli policies, such as settlement expansion and construction of the separation wall, has further fragmented Palestinian society, hindering the organic growth of a unified Palestinian identity⁷⁵".

The 1967 war and subsequent occupation of East Jerusalem had a profound and lasting impact on Palestinian identity to this day. The annexation of this culturally rich and historically important city tested the resilience of the Palestinian people and challenged them in dealing with a complex landscape of occupation, displacement, and cultural fragmentation.

However, the struggles faced by Palestinians in East Jerusalem have also fueled a strong and enduring determination to preserve their identity, ensuring that the spirit of resistance and cultural heritage continues in the face of adversity. As the geopolitical situation in

⁷⁵ Dumper, M. (2014). *Jerusalem Unbound : Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City*.

the region continues to evolve, lessons and experiences from East Jerusalem remain integral to understanding the multifaceted nature of Palestinian identity.

The Oslo Accords of the 1990s resulted in the formation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and limited self-government in sections of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While the Palestinian Authority has had a role in building Palestinian political awareness. Oslo resulted in the mutual recognition by Palestine of the State of Israel, and by Israel of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The Oslo Accords of the early 1990s did not recognize Palestine as an independent state. Rather, the PLO entered into talks with Israel in its capacity as the Palestinian people's representative organization.

The PLO negotiated on behalf of Palestinians in areas under Israeli occupation, such as the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and was acknowledged globally as the only authorized representation of the Palestinian people.

In Oslo, "the Palestinian side relinquished 78% of its lands, and the Palestinian side committed itself to preventing terrorism and violence against Israel and deleting clauses related to it in its charter such as armed action and the destruction of Israeli Occupation⁷⁶".

Under this agreement, the occupying Israelis state was to recognize the right of the Palestinians to establish autonomy on the lands it withdraws from In the West Bank and

⁷⁶ Hussein, A. (1995). Middle Affairs Magazine. The Oslo Accords: Principles for Difficult Choices.

Gaza, and within five years, Final stage negotiations will begin to arrange Israeli Occupation withdrawal from the lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip⁷⁷".

"The Oslo Accords resulted in the division of the West Bank into zones under differing levels of Israeli and Palestinian authority. Palestinian communities in Jerusalem experienced difficulties with administration, service accessibility, and socioeconomic inequality as a result of this division⁷⁸". The increasing isolation of Palestinian districts in East Jerusalem from the larger Palestinian areas added to their sense of alienation and marginalization.

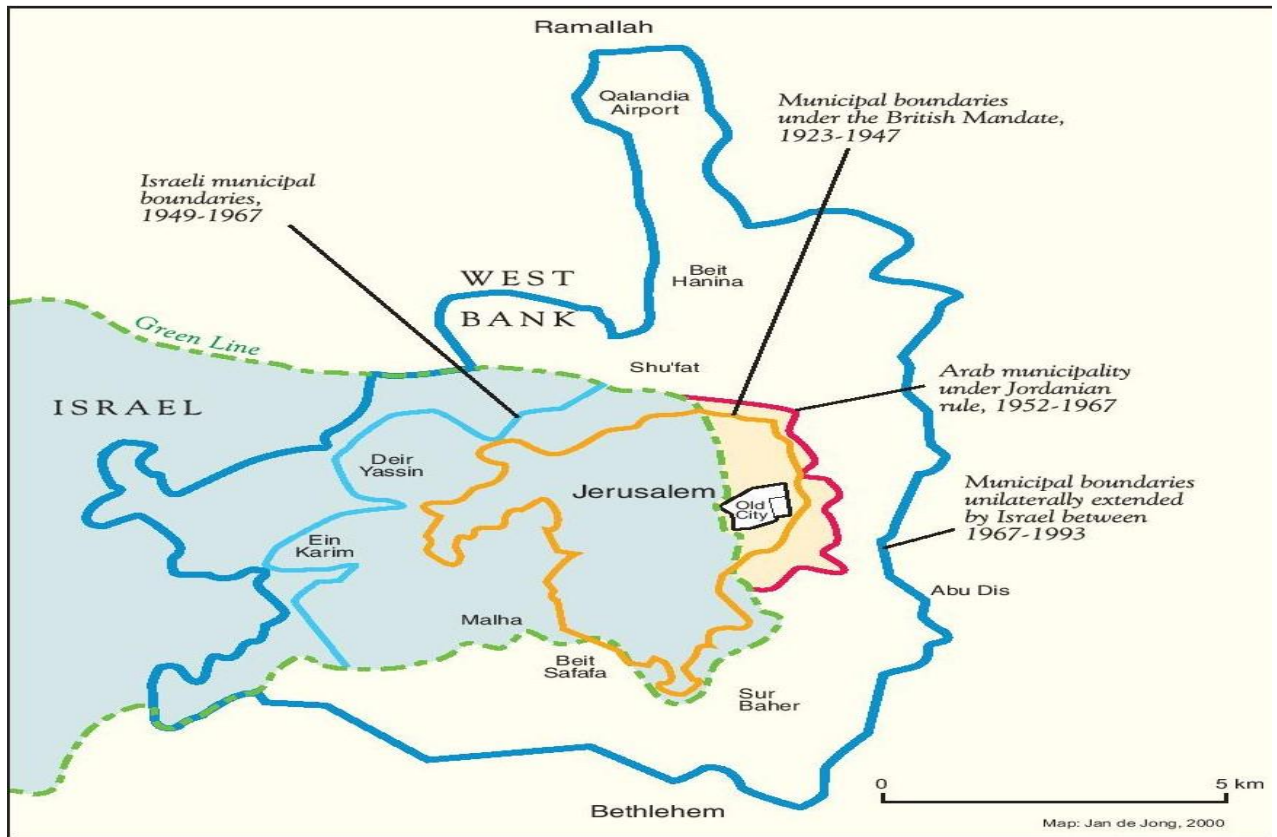
The Oslo Accords and other events have influenced Jerusalem's Palestinian identity in a complicated way. On the one hand, the accords established the Palestinian Authority and offered a framework for Palestinian representation and self-governance. As a result, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including Jerusalem, were able to strengthen their political institutions and develop a feeling of national identity.

However, there are still several obstacles to Palestinian identity, including the Israeli occupation, settlement growth, and limitations on Palestinian rights in Jerusalem. "The persistent prejudice, expulsion, and restricted access to resources experienced by Palestinians in Jerusalem erode their feeling of connection and inclusion in the city⁷⁹".

⁷⁷ Ziadeh, R. (2009). The Arab Journal of Political Sciences. The Complete Palestinian Narrative of the Negotiations: From Oslo to the Road Map Part 1 Oslo Negotiations 1993 / Ahmed Qurei.

⁷⁸ Previous reference.

⁷⁹ Abu Jalalah, A. (2016). The Israeli attacks on Jerusalem 1994 – 2010



Map 3: Municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, 1947-2000⁸⁰.

Attached above is a map showing all the changes that occurred in the city of Jerusalem and its municipal borders over the aforementioned time periods, from the period of the British Mandate until the year 2000.

During the Second Intifada in the early 2000s Jerusalem and the Palestinian identity in the city have been profoundly impacted by the "Apartheid Wall" sometimes referred to as the Israeli West Bank barrier or the separation barrier. The barrier, which consists of barriers, fences, and checkpoints, ostensibly for security purposes.

"The "Apartheid Wall" has increased the divides, limitations, and dispossession that Palestinians living under Israeli rule face. It has also had a significant impact on Jerusalem

⁸⁰ <http://www.passia.org/maps/view/55>. retrieved may. 2024.

and the Palestinian identity in the city⁸¹". The barrier, which stands for both psychological and physical obstacles to peace, cohabitation, and the fulfillment of Palestinian rights and ambitions, is still one of the most divisive issues of the Israeli occupation.

The Palestinian collective identity has been shaped by the continuing Israeli occupation, Under Israeli occupation and its Policies of Judaization of the city of Jerusalem. "Palestinians in Jerusalem have experienced numerous challenges, including Repeated arrests, closing and executing shops, the weakening of the educational system, preventing foreign aid and grants, and spreading chaos in the Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem, mobility restrictions, home demolitions, and the establishment of Israeli settlements⁸²".

The Palestinian tenacity and resistance to these challenges have bolstered their collective identity and commitment to remain in the city.

Jerusalem continues to be a central issue. The city's and its holy sites' status is a major subject of contention, The Palestinian struggle for self-determination, including the aspiration to have Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state, is a central component of their collective identity.

Even though religion plays a big part in the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem, Palestinians living under Israeli rule confront several obstacles to exercising their freedom to practice their faith. "The freedom of Palestinians to practice their faith is frequently hampered by restrictions on their travel, place of residence, and access to holy places⁸³".

⁸¹ Cook, J. (2006). *Blood and Religion: The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State*

⁸² Abu Jalalah, A. (2016). *The Israeli attacks on Jerusalem 1994 – 2010*.

⁸³ Al-Khayyat, A. (2005). *Jewish attacks on Islamic and Christian holy sites in Palestine*.

Following the occupation, religion, and religious liberties became essential components of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem. "Palestinians show tenacity in preserving their religious and cultural legacy in the face of constant hardships and limitations, highlighting Jerusalem's significance as a symbol of their identity, past, and future goals⁸⁴".

The length of the apartheid wall around the city of Jerusalem is approximately 142 kilometers, and approximately 70% of it has been completed. Looking at Map No. 1 in the introduction to the study, it is noted that the completed part appears (in the solid black line) and what remains of it, which is under construction (appears in the dashed line in black).

While in the (red circles) we are shown the checkpoints and barriers that are the entrances and exits of the city of Jerusalem to the West Bank⁸⁵". The apartheid wall extends beyond Jerusalem and around the occupied West Bank for 770 kilometers, and the height of the wall reaches eight meters.

⁸⁴ Saleh, M. (2011). The suffering of Jerusalem and its holy sites under the Israeli occupation.

⁸⁵ The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2017). West Bank | East Jerusalem: key humanitarian concerns Humanitarian facts and figures. Retrieved May 19, 2024.

3. Chapter Three

The International Legal Status of the City of Jerusalem and Its Palestinian Citizens.

The rights of Palestinian people living in Jerusalem and the city's legal status have long been hot topics of discussion and intrigue on a global scale. Situated at the intersection of history, religion, and geopolitics, Jerusalem holds immense significance for Muslims, Jews, and Christians, rendering it one of the world's most contentious and fiercely debated places.

Since its occupation as the capital of the Israeli occupation in 1948 as West Jerusalem and its subsequent annexation of East Jerusalem after the Six-Day War in 1967, Jerusalem has been a central contested issue.

The legal framework governing the status of Jerusalem and the rights of its Palestinian residents is complex, shaped by historical precedent, international law, and political maneuvering.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a general overview of Jerusalem's legal situation as well as the rights of the Palestinian residents living there under Israeli occupation rule. The main international organizations and legislative frameworks that have shaped the administration and control of the city will be examined, along with the current difficulties and disputes related to these matters. These include UN resolutions, international treaties, municipal legislation, the European Union, and peace agreements.

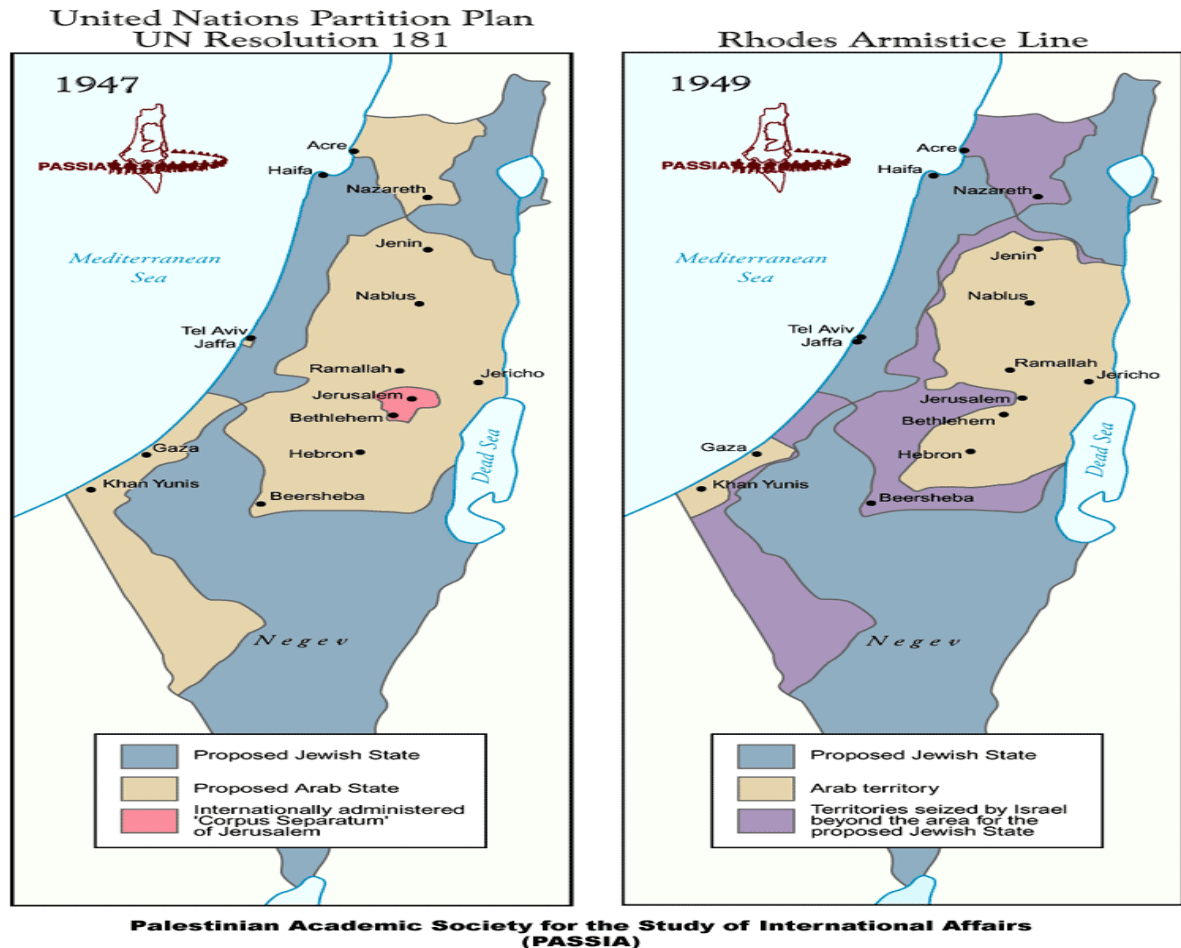
3.1 The legal status of the city of Jerusalem and the basic rights of Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem under international law and the main international organizations and institutions:

To understand the legal status of Jerusalem, it is necessary to address more than one international organization and institutions:

3.1.1 United Nations (Security Council, General Assembly).

The first resolution related to the city of Jerusalem was Resolution No. 181 issued by the General Assembly in 1947, which included placing the city of Jerusalem under international trusteeship and to be administered by the Trusteeship Council and not subject to the sovereignty of either the Palestinian state or the Israeli occupation state.

Attached here is the map of Palestine according to the Resolution 181 division, including the status of the city of Jerusalem under international guardianship, and the territories seized by Israeli occupation beyond the area for the proposed Jewish state in 1947:



Maps 4 and 5: UN Security Council resolution 181 for partition plan of Palestine, and the territories seized by Israeli beyond the area for the proposed Jewish state in 1947⁸⁶

⁸⁶ <http://www.passia.org/maps/38>. retrieved may. 2024.

From map no.5 it appears that, despite Resolution No. 181, the Israeli occupation was penetrating Jerusalem, outside the area it was allowed to enter according to Resolution 181.

The General Assembly later issued three resolutions to organize the administration of the city of Jerusalem under international guardianship, but these resolutions were not implemented due to the difficulty of implementing them on the ground due to the presence of two authorities at that time governing the two parts of Jerusalem. As previously mentioned, the city of Jerusalem has become divided into West and East Jerusalem. West Jerusalem and its residents are under the sovereignty of the Israeli occupation, and East Jerusalem and its residents are under the administration of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (See map No. 3).

However, the international community did not recognize the sovereignty of either country over the city of Jerusalem at the time, regardless of how this sovereignty was acquired, whether it was a legitimate defense or merely the imposition of a fait accompli. In the wake of the Israeli occupation of the rest of the Palestinian territories in 1967, including East Jerusalem, Israel's occupation sought to impose its authority and sovereignty over it.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 25/169 of 1980, demanded: "the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's occupation from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, in

accordance with the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force⁸⁷". The General Assembly also states that later in its Resolution No. 43/176.

The Security Council affirmed this in its resolutions No. 242 issued after the outbreak of the 1967 war and No. 338 issued after the outbreak of the 1973 war.

Security Council resolutions No. 476 and 478 of 1980 stipulate in their articles that "all legislative and administrative measures and measures are taken by Israel occupation, the occupying Power, which aims to change the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem have no legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relating to the protection of Civilian persons in time of war⁸⁸".

It also constitutes a serious obstacle to achieving a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East, and reiterates that all these measures that have changed the geographical, demographic, and historical character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and must be rescinded in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Its resolution 672/1990 "that East Jerusalem is an occupied territory⁸⁹". The resolution was passed unanimously by all of its members. It is possible to rely on the following resolutions issued by the Security Council, which also included the same subject, are each of these resolutions 252 (1968), 267 (1969), 271 (1969), 298 (1971), and 465 (1980).

⁸⁷ General Assembly Resolution No. 25/169 of 1980, the resolution was passed by a majority of 98 countries, 16 countries rejected the vote, and 32 countries abstained.

⁸⁸ Security Council Resolution No. 476 of 1980.

Security Council Resolution No. 478 of 1980.

⁸⁹ Security Council Resolution No. 672 of 1990, passed unanimously by all members of the Security Council.

The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have played a crucial role in shaping and preserving the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem through their actions and resolutions.

"By recognizing the rights of Palestinians in the city and condemning Israeli policies that undermine their identity and heritage, these international bodies have provided a platform for advocacy and solidarity, helping to sustain Palestinian identity amidst ongoing challenges and occupation⁹⁰".

3.1.2 International Court of Justice:

In 2004, the International Court of Justice issued its advisory opinion on the separation wall being built by Israel's occupation of the occupied territories, after a request from the United Nations General Assembly for an opinion from the Court.

This advisory opinion included several aspects, including "the Court noted that according to applicable international law, territories are considered occupied when they “actually fall under the authority of a hostile army” during or as a result of an armed conflict and that Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967 during an armed conflict; therefore, Israel occupation in the situation of an occupying power in these lands, and that subsequent events did not change anything in this situation⁹¹".

The Court also "called upon both Israel occupation and Palestine to adhere strictly to their obligations under humanitarian law, as "protecting the lives of civilians is one of its lofty goals⁹²" The Court also urged the United Nations to redouble its efforts to reach a speedy and negotiated solution to the Israeli occupation on Palestine.

⁹⁰ Benvenisti, M. (1996). *City of Stone: The hidden history of Jerusalem*

⁹¹ Opinion of the International Court of Justice of July 09/2004, Paragraph No. (78).

⁹² Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 9 July 2004, Paragraph No. 163.

Through its decisions and advisory opinions on legal matters pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the International Court of Justice has significantly safeguarded and protected the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem in the face of Israel's continuous aggression.

"The International Court of Justice (ICJ) has given judicial credibility and support to the Palestinian narrative and the city's fight for justice by upholding Palestinian rights and denouncing Israeli activities that violate international law⁹³".

Notwithstanding obstacles, the International Court of Justice's rulings have bolstered attempts to hold Israel responsible and advance the cause of Palestinian rights and sovereignty in Jerusalem.

3.1.3 International conventions and treaties.

Later, after the occupation of East Jerusalem by the State of Israel occupation following the outbreak of the 1967 war, the city of Jerusalem became an occupied city according to the fourth Hague Convention in its article No. 22, and therefore according to the Hague Convention that Israel's occupation of the city of Jerusalem does not give it the right to place the city of Jerusalem under its sovereignty, and it does not authorize the occupation authorities except for supervision Actual control over the occupied territory, but the city of Jerusalem remains an occupied territory in its entirety.

This is what was stipulated in the Military Occupation Law annexed to the Hague Convention of 1907, that "the occupation does not entail the transfer of sovereignty over the occupied territory to the occupying power⁹⁴".

⁹³ Dumper, M. (2014). Jerusalem Unbound : Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City

⁹⁴ Shaaban, I. Jerusalem in United Nations Resolutions: A Legal Study. Jerusalem: Arab Studies Association, 2011.

Thus, its Jerusalemite residents are also a people under occupation and must be treated as required by international law and given the right to self-sovereignty over their lands and the right to self-determination, a right confirmed by the Charter of the United Nations, and an infinite number of international agreements on human rights and countless international resolutions.

Most notably the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Accordingly, and in accordance with all the mentioned resolutions issued by the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, and the International Court of Justice, and in accordance with all the aforementioned international covenants such as the Hague Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the document of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, and the International Bill of Rights, They did not recognize Israel's occupation sovereignty over Jerusalem.

"All the decisions of the organization and the court included a call for Israel's occupation to withdraw from East Jerusalem and stop all its activities inside Jerusalem, and here the European Union adopted this approach in most of its international discourses⁹⁵".

Likewise, even if the General Assembly, the Security Council, or the European Union did not focus on West Jerusalem, they did not issue any decision or statement granting sovereignty directly and officially to West Jerusalem to the State of Israel occupation.

⁹⁵ Dumper, M. (2014). Jerusalem Unbound : Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City

The same applies to Palestinian citizens inside the city of Jerusalem. According to international treaties, they are considered citizens living in an occupied city, and they should have the right to enjoy their full political rights, including the right to self-determination and other rights, and any infringement on that is a violation and a flagrant violation of the international umbrella that has protected these rights for hundreds of years.

"Conventions and treaties around the world have reinforced legal recognition, protected cultural assets, and aided diplomatic attempts to resolve the status of the city, all of which have contributed significantly to the development of Palestinian identity in Jerusalem⁹⁶".

Despite the fact that these tools offer crucial frameworks for furthering Palestinian rights and sovereignty in Jerusalem, difficulties are nevertheless present as a result of the occupation and political barriers. Still, the values reflected in international law remain a ray of hope for Palestinians trying to hold onto their history and identity in Jerusalem.

3.1.4 The European Union.

The European Union's approach to the issue of Jerusalem is clear through the discourses that have gone before history from the beginning to the present day. Its behavior towards Jerusalem depends on the legitimacy of international law and the status established by international law for Entire Jerusalem (East and West) as an occupied city that is not under the sovereignty of Israel's occupation.

⁹⁶ Akram, S. M., Dumper, M., Lynk, M., & Scobbie, I. (2010). International law and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: A Rights-Based approach to Middle East peace.

This is evident in the European Union's condemnation and denunciation of the Israeli occupation violations of international law in Jerusalem. The European Union has taken a clear rhetorical approach towards Jerusalem, in line with international law and international consensus.

Among his latest statements, Mogherini (Former High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) made the following statement on the morning of the transfer of the US embassy:" The European Union remains committed to continuing to work with both parties and with its partners in the international community to resume negotiations for a two-state solution based on the June 4, 1967, borders and the sharing of Jerusalem as the capital of both parties. The EU has a clear unified position on Jerusalem that the Council on Foreign Relations has confirmed on numerous occasions".

"The European Union will continue to respect the international consensus on Jerusalem, as embodied in numerous international instruments, including United Nations Security Council Resolution 478, and with regard to the premises of diplomatic representatives until a solution is reached regarding the final status of Jerusalem⁹⁷".

As a result, the European Union provides aid and grants to the two parties in a divided manner on the basis of the presence of more than one identity inside the city of Jerusalem. It provides grants for research and facilities to the Israeli occupation party individually, and in the other direction, it provides grants, aid, and missions in all its economic, social, and educational forms to the Palestinian side in Jerusalem.

⁹⁷ Zeiadeh, A. (2020). Europe's Stand on Jerusalem and the US "Deal of the Century".

The European Union provides the Palestinians in Jerusalem with financial and technical assistance for various development and humanitarian projects. The European Union is funding projects to improve the city's infrastructure, including repairing and developing roads, health, and education networks." The European Union also provides support to humanitarian institutions such as the Red Cross, Red Crescent, and UNRWA to provide medical care and relief to populations in need⁹⁸".

However, this aid provided by the European Union to Palestinian Jerusalemites in Jerusalem is often intercepted, confiscated, and destroyed by the Israeli occupation, such as attacks on the projects of Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem funded by the European Union, such as the Burj Al-Luqluq Palestinian Foundation located inside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem and other various institutions in various fields.

The Israeli occupation confiscated the funds of Palestinian community institutions in Jerusalem and other Palestinian areas. "These confiscations may be carried out with a variety of justifications, including accusations of financing "terrorism" or carrying out illegal activities, among other reasons. Confiscation may include freezing bank accounts or seizing money or property⁹⁹".

This reality and the actions of the occupation put the European Union in a state of pressure, as it either stops providing its aid to empower the Palestinians in Jerusalem and wastes its money that the occupation destroys, or it continues to provide aid in the hope that a little of it will pass and serve even a little of the target group.

⁹⁸ Koch, C. (2017). The European Union and the current crisis over Jerusalem: a state of political stalemate.

⁹⁹ Hilal, J. (2017). Palestinian Youth: Studies on Identity, Place and Community Participation. center for development studies.

In a new precedent of its kind that has recently emerged, it is possible to draw a third direction that the European Union may take, which is to demand compensation and punish Israel's occupation internationally for its violations and interventions in the Palestinian issue.

"Eight European countries recently requested compensation from Israel's occupation in the issue of solar cells that were provided as aid by the European Union to the Palestinians in one of the Bedouin communities destroyed by Israel¹⁰⁰". The eight European countries requested compensation for the price of these cells.

As a result, the European countries may seek compensation from Israel's occupation for the aid provided to the Palestinians of Jerusalem, which Israel's occupation has destroyed and continues to confiscate.

This opens the door to requests for compensation formally in the form of lawsuits or requests on a government domain for government, and not just as threatening statements.

This will also open the way for new methods to punish Israel's occupation and hold it accountable internationally, as the boldness of these eight countries will open the doors for the rest of the twenty-eight European Union countries to demand compensation and international responsibility and take punitive steps for the Israeli occupation state.

The European Union and European countries have the ability to hold Israel's occupation accountable through the scientific, cultural, and economic cooperation it provides to Israel's occupation, as it may cut off this aid or reduce it and control it as a result of the actions of the occupying state.

¹⁰⁰ Howari, Y. (2018, November 25). The European Union and Jerusalem: the possibility of resistance. Al-Shabakah. Retrieved September 3, 2022.

As this is a painful hand that may pressure the occupation through it, the European Union's aid to the occupying country has contributed to many projects, research, and developments, including civil and military technology, and this is a very important sector for Israel's occupation.

The boycott campaigns for the products of the Israeli occupation in European lands may seriously pressure the Israeli occupation economically, "especially since this will not be the first time for this, but with its repetition and becoming apparent, this will subject the occupying power to listening and listening to European complaints about human rights violations and acting on them and in fear of them¹⁰¹".

This precedent will help the member states of the European Union, collectively and individually, to affirm the legal and historical rights of the Palestinians in East and West Jerusalem without fear of repercussions.

When the occupation attacks and violates Human rights or the infringement of aid from the European Union, the European Union countries will stand in front of the Israeli occupation and hold it accountable with joint lawsuits and requests from more than one government against the single occupying state.

The EU has worked to protect Palestinian rights and aspirations in the contested city by supporting Palestinian communities, calling for a two-state solution, and denouncing Israeli settlement activity. "But obstacles still exist because of the deadlock in politics and Israeli regulations, underscoring the continuous fight for Palestinian identity and sovereignty in Jerusalem¹⁰²".

¹⁰¹ Beshara, K. (2019). Europe And The Palestinian Question 1958 - 2018 Declaratory But Toothless Diplomacy. *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 101.

¹⁰² Zeiadeh, A. (2020). Europe's Stand on Jerusalem and the US "Deal of the Century".

3.2 The legal status of the city of Jerusalem and its residents under the peace agreements.

3.2.1 The Oslo Accords:

An important turning point in the pursuit of Israeli-Palestinian peace was the signing of the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The accords tackled a number of conflict-related topics, such as security protocols and the creation of Palestinian self-government; nonetheless, they notably postponed the difficult problems of Jerusalem's ultimate status and the rights of its Palestinian citizens for further discussions. The approach taken by the Oslo Accords towards Jerusalem and its Palestinian residents is examined in this paper, which also highlights the accords' limits and importance in resolving these important concerns.

The Oslo Accords, which comprised the 1993 Declaration of Principles and other accords, did not specify Jerusalem's ultimate status, acknowledging its immense religious, historical, and political importance to both Israelis and Palestinians. Rather, "Jerusalem was identified under the agreements as one of the "final status issues" to be discussed in the later stages of the peace process¹⁰³". This purposeful ambiguity recognized the profound complexity that comes with trying to determine Jerusalem's status while also reflecting the sensitivities surrounding the city.

"The Oslo framework envisaged Jerusalem as the capital of both Israel and a future Palestinian state, acknowledging the aspirations of both peoples while leaving the specifics open for negotiation¹⁰⁴". However, the absence of concrete provisions regarding

¹⁰³ Bauck, P., & Omer, M. (2013). The Oslo Accords 1993–2013: A Critical Assessment.

¹⁰⁴ Hussein, A. (1995). Middle Affairs Magazine. The Oslo Accords: Principles for Difficult Choices.

Jerusalem's final status left room for divergent interpretations and competing claims, contributing to ongoing tensions and disputes over the city's sovereignty.

The Oslo Accords did not significantly change the status of the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem or take into account their political rights and desires. The Palestinian population residing in East Jerusalem remains under Israeli governance authority and control, and their eligibility for basic services and status as citizens remained ambiguous. Although the agreements allowed for some degree of Palestinian self-governance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, they did not offer a way to deal with the particular difficulties that Palestinians in Jerusalem faced.

The Oslo Accords' inability to sufficiently address the rights and ambitions of the Palestinian community in Jerusalem was indicative of larger flaws in the peace process, such as a deficiency in inclusive representation and thorough interaction with important parties. The lack of significant involvement in the discussions by Jerusalem's Palestinian population further devalued their voices and interests, escalating pre-existing concerns and adding to a sense of alienation and disenfranchisement.

However, the Oslo process failed to deliver on its promises, not only in relation to Jerusalem but in relation to `Palestine as a question concerning Jerusalem. The absence of a final status agreement on the city's status left key questions unresolved, leading to disillusionment among Palestinians and reinforcing Israeli control over Jerusalem's demographics and geography. "Palestinian identity in Jerusalem remained deeply rooted

but increasingly challenged by Israeli policies of settlement expansion and land confiscation¹⁰⁵".

3.2.2 The 2000 Camp David Summit:

A critical turning point in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the 2000 Camp David Summit was characterized by great expectations and ultimately unfulfilled ones. The status of Jerusalem and the rights of its Palestinian population surfaced as major grounds of disagreement among the complicated topics discussed during the summit.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat met at the Camp David Summit, which was called by then-US President Bill Clinton in an effort to finalize a status deal. The future of Jerusalem, a city cherished by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike, was at the center of the talks.

Various recommendations were made about Jerusalem's status during the meeting. The administration of Prime Minister Barak proposed a split of sovereignty: "Palestinian sovereignty would encompass Arab-majority regions and may include some kind of symbolic recognition in the Old City, while Israel would retain control over Jewish-majority neighborhoods and the Western Wall. But as the capital of a future Palestinian state, Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian delegation insisted on Palestinian sovereignty over all of East Jerusalem, including the Old City¹⁰⁶".

The parties eventually failed to reconcile their differences over Jerusalem's status, even after protracted discussions and diplomatic attempts. Deeply ingrained national and religious feelings combined with the unsolved issue of municipal sovereignty proved

¹⁰⁵ Ziadeh, R. (2009). The Arab Journal of Political Sciences. The Complete Palestinian Narrative of the Negotiations: From Oslo to the Road Map Part 1 Oslo Negotiations 1993 / Ahmed Qurei.

¹⁰⁶ Piner, A. (2008). The US media, Camp David and the Oslo peace process.

intractable at Camp David, ultimately contributing to the summit's failure to reach a comprehensive agreement.

The situation of the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem, who have long endured hardships as a result of Israeli occupation and discriminatory practices, was also brought to light by the Camp David Summit. Palestinians in Jerusalem have experienced marginalization, limited access to resources, and political disenfranchisement despite playing a crucial part in the social fabric and cultural legacy of the city.

The Palestinian delegation argued for the preservation of these rights and the acknowledgment of East Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state when the topic of Palestinian citizenship and residency rights in Jerusalem came up at the summit. Nonetheless, "the majority of the discussions was devoted to matters of territory and sovereignty, ignoring the worries of the Palestinian community living in Jerusalem and their demands for equality and self-determination¹⁰⁷".

The delicate and complicated nature of Jerusalem's status, as well as the deeply held beliefs of both Israeli and Palestinian leadership, were brought to light by the collapse of the Camp David Summit. Palestinian discontent and pessimism about the chances of peace were heightened by the summit, which highlighted the difficulties of talking with an Israeli administration that is refusing to yield on fundamental issues, including Jerusalem.

3.2.3 The Geneva Initiative:

The Geneva Initiative was started in 2003 by leaders of Israeli and Palestinian civil society in an effort to end the impasse in peace negotiations between the two sides.

¹⁰⁷ Helmick, R. G. (2004). Negotiating outside the law: Why Camp David failed.

Two of its primary objectives were the resolution of the contentious Jerusalem issue and the recognition of the rights of its Palestinian residents.

"The Geneva Initiative acknowledged Jerusalem's importance as a spiritual, cultural, and historical hub for both Israelis and Palestinians and provided a comprehensive roadmap for addressing the status of the city¹⁰⁸". The idea of shared sovereignty and the creation of two capitals in Jerusalem, which would represent the aspirations of both peoples for national expression and self-determination, were fundamental to the initiative's propositions.

The Geneva Initiative designated East Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian state and West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. With its holy sites that are important to Muslims, Christians, and Jews, the Old City would come under a unique regime with international assurances to protect access and freedom of worship for people of all religions. "In order to foster harmony and respect for one another in the city, the initiative also suggested procedures for dealing with problems including border crossings, municipal services, and collaboration on cultural and religious topics¹⁰⁹".

Most importantly, the Geneva Initiative acknowledged the rights and ambitions of the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem, recognizing their essential contribution to the social cohesion and cultural legacy of the city. The project put out plans to protect Palestinian residents' rights in Jerusalem, guaranteeing their continuous presence and involvement in municipal life. A just and inclusive society's foundation is equal access to

¹⁰⁸ Eisenberg, L. Z., & Caplan, N. (2010). *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Second edition: Patterns, problems, possibilities.

¹⁰⁹ Previous reference.

resources and services for all of its citizens, regardless of their nationality or ethnicity, as this was also underlined.

"The Geneva Initiative also addressed the question of Palestinian citizenship in relation to Jerusalem, providing Palestinians of East Jerusalem with a means of obtaining Palestinian citizenship while upholding their connections to the city and their right of return. The movement aimed to foster peace between Israelis and Palestinians and correct past injustices by reaffirming the Palestinian identity and connection to Jerusalem¹¹⁰".

Although the Geneva Initiative was not an official initiative between the Israeli and Palestinian governments, it was an attempt to devise solutions to the conflict and give ideas for negotiation paths. But despite the progress the initiative has made in some aspects, it has not achieved much success in achieving widespread popular support or official recognition from the two governments.

After the launch of the Geneva Initiative, negotiations between the Israeli and Palestinian sides within the framework of the peace process were limited to fruitless. There were no real initiatives from international parties to discuss the peace process.

3.2.4 Deal of the Century:

Later, in a reverse initiative of its kind, The long-running Israeli-Palestinian conflict was the focus of the Trump administration's **"Deal of the Century" peace plan, which was revealed in January 2020**. Proposals for the status of Jerusalem and its Palestinian inhabitants were at the center of the plan.

¹¹⁰ Eisenberg, L. Z., & Caplan, N. (2010). Previous reference.

The "Deal of the Century" recognized Jerusalem as the "undivided" capital of Israel, breaking with decades of international agreement on the city's status. The proposal recognized Israeli authority over the whole city, including East Jerusalem, which is home to sizable Palestinian communities and is deeply vital to Palestinians and Muslims globally in terms of religion and culture¹¹¹.

The "Deal of the Century" has significant ramifications for the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem, whose rights and goals were mostly overlooked in the agreement. The plan marginalized the Palestinian population in Jerusalem and harmed hopes for a negotiated settlement based on equality and self-determination by recognizing Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem without addressing Palestinian claims or guaranteeing their rights and political representation.

In addition, "the plan does not address the long-standing issues that Palestinians in Jerusalem have had to deal with, such as restrictive residence laws, discriminatory practices, and restricted access to basic services¹¹²". Rather, it exacerbated already-existing tensions and undermined initiatives to support cooperation and reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians by maintaining an unjust and disenfranchised system.

The international world, Palestinian leadership, and human rights organizations have criticized the "Deal of the Century" for its unilateral attitude and contempt for accepted international standards and resolutions. Declaring that it did not meet their fundamental aspirations for statehood, sovereignty, and the rights of refugees and

¹¹¹ Ma'oz, M. (2021). *Jews, Muslims and Jerusalem: Disputes and dialogues*. Liverpool University Press.

¹¹² Walid, S. (2020). *Jerusalem in the Deal of the Century: Analysis and Alternatives*.

Palestinian residents, especially those in Jerusalem, Palestinian officials categorically rejected the plan.

Furthermore, "the plan's legitimacy and credibility as a workable framework for discussions were damaged by the absence of engagement with important parties, such as Palestinian leaders and regional players. Its isolation and slim chances of success were further highlighted by the international community's inability to support it¹¹³".

The Deal of the Century directly threatened the identity and existence of the Palestinian people in Jerusalem. "The proposal bolstered Israeli authority over Jerusalem's sacred sites and cultural treasures while endangering the viability of a future Palestinian state by legitimizing Israeli annexation and settlement development¹¹⁴".

The 2020 "Deal of the Century" peace proposal marked a dramatic divergence from earlier peace attempts. Deepening differences and undermining hopes for a fair and durable settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the proposal recognized Israeli authority over Jerusalem without taking into account Palestinian rights and aspirations.

After studying the status of the city of Jerusalem in accordance with international law and reviewing the opinions and decisions of international bodies between the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the European Union, and the peace initiatives regarding the issue of the city of Jerusalem and its residents, it becomes clear that the status of the city of Jerusalem and its residents remains an unresolved issue to this day.

¹¹³ Alhamd, J. (2020). Deal of the Century: Challenges Opportunities and Scenarios.

¹¹⁴ Walid, S. (2020). Jerusalem in the Deal of the Century: Analysis and Alternatives.

The prevailing international orientation did not recognize the legitimate sovereignty of the Israeli side over the entire city of Jerusalem and its residents (eastern or western) but rather considered it a city subject to occupation to this day.

3.2.5 The Greater Jerusalem Bill:

Two draft laws, "the Greater Jerusalem Draft Law and the Basic Law: Jerusalem, the Capital of Israel (Amendment No. 2), have been presented by members of the Israeli government coalition recently¹¹⁵".

Both of these laws seek to alter the borders and demographics of Jerusalem, in defiance of international laws, resolutions, international institutions, and even bilateral peace attempts.

A third of the 140,000 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem who reside in districts currently divided from the city by the separation wall (Kafr Aqab, Shuafat Camp, and Anata) would be displaced by these laws, which essentially aim to annex the settlement blocs encircling Jerusalem.

The "Greater Jerusalem" plan aims to create an artificial Jewish majority in Jerusalem by expanding the city's borders to include three large settlement blocs: Givat Ze'ev in the north, Ma'ale Adumim in the east, and Gush Etzion in the south.

Fearing that Israel would lose in the future the "demographic war" in Jerusalem, as well as in the rest of historic Palestine. "The new Greater Jerusalem Bill proposed in recent years proposes the annexation of five settlement blocs (Maale Adummim, Gush Etzion, Efrat, Beitar Illit, and Givat Zeev) with approximately 150,000 settlers under the

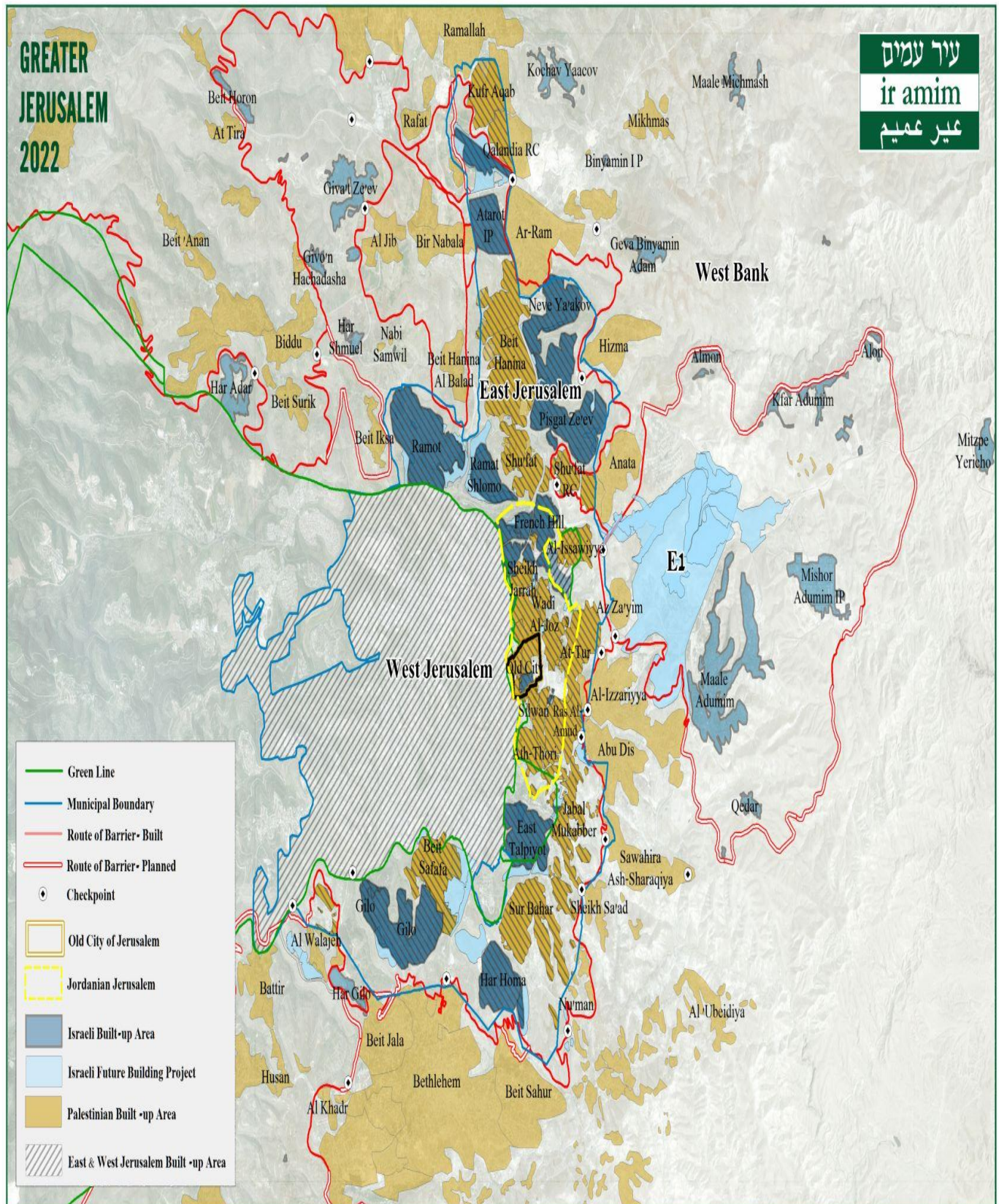
¹¹⁵ Moien Odeh, Israel's Greater Jerusalem Bill, JURIST Professional Commentary, Mar. 5, 2018, <http://jurist.org/datetime/2018/03/Moien-Odeh-greater-jerusalem-bill.php>.

authority of the Jerusalem municipality, but they have not been officially annexed to Israel¹¹⁶.

The motive behind the bill is to "weaken Palestinian identity and control over the capital and enshrine Jerusalem's status as the eternal capital of the people of Israel and the Jewish majority in the capital.

In Map No. 6 below, the impact of settlement in the city of Jerusalem in the year 2022 is clearly visible, as the areas covered in dark blue are areas and lands that have already been settled and converted into residential areas for Israelis (the areas covered in light brown in Map No. 1 as well), while the areas covered in sky blue represent the expansion plan included in the Greater Jerusalem bill.

¹¹⁶ Moien Odeh, Israel's Greater Jerusalem Bill, JURIST — Professional Commentary, Mar. 5, 2018, <http://jurist.org/datetime/2018/03/Moien-Odeh-greater-jerusalem-bill.php>.



¹¹⁷ <https://www.ir-amim.org.il/en/node/2403>. retrieved may. 2024.

4. Chapter Four

Israeli occupation policies and restrictions in Jerusalem

The Israeli occupation policies intended to weaken the Palestinian youth's sense of identity. The Israeli state adopted the economic measure as one of several measures to pacify the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem. The first section of the chapter discusses the Palestinian identity and socioeconomic level of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem in an attempt to understand the attempts of Israelization and Judaization, the state of social alienation, fragmentation, and dual identity among Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

After that, this chapter addresses the policies of the Israeli occupation, by presenting the most prominent Israeli institutions that implement the Israeli occupation policies that obliterate the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem on the one hand and provide social and economic services with the aim of subjecting the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem to them on the other hand with the aim of Judaizing and Israelizing the city of Jerusalem and ending the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

Israeli occupation academic, social, and economic policies and their impact on the national identity of the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem nowadays, Palestinians live under the Israeli occupation system of government, and there are unique challenges that affect Palestinian youth's participation in the Israeli occupation social welfare system and its impact on Palestinian identity.

In order to accomplish the dual goals of Judaizing and Israelizing Jerusalem and erasing Palestinian identity both in the city and in the Palestinian individual, the Israeli occupation forces malicious policies on the youth of Palestine in Jerusalem.

Stated differently, the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem employs a "carrot and stick" approach with regard to the Palestinian youth. When attempting to weaken the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and reduce the Palestinians' influence in the city's life by

withdrawing the identity cards of Jerusalemites, arresting them, imposing false curricula in schools, destroying homes, preventing building and expansion permits, and other violent policies that will be detailed during this section, it employs the stick approach.

Conversely, the Israeli occupation uses the “carrot” strategy through its governmental and non-governmental institutions, providing social welfare services to Palestinian youth and educational and economic grants and facilities. “Giving limited rights of equality and breathing room within certain frameworks that the Israeli occupation controls, taking advantage of the Palestinian weakness after the harsh policies they face, and falsely claiming that its goal is to enhance their standard of living¹¹⁸”.

The restrictions and the policies carried out by the Israeli occupation towards the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem:

The Palestinian youth in Jerusalem is subject to laws and regulations enforced by the Israeli occupation. Several policies have an impact on the Palestinian youth consciousness throughout the academic and educational process, and other social and economic policies target Palestinian residents in the city and Palestinian business owners in the city.

4.1 Israeli Occupation Restrictions and Policies on the Palestinian Academic and Educational Process in Jerusalem:

Since the city of Jerusalem is a city subject to an internationally illegal occupation by the Israeli occupation, the Israeli occupation education system in Jerusalem is managed

¹¹⁸ Essa. (2023). “ATiDNa” Network: an Israeli project to erase the identity of the rising generations of Palestinians from the occupied interior.

by the Israeli Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Israeli occupation municipality in Jerusalem, as well as the rest of the Israeli educational institutions.

4.1.1 The curricula:

The Israeli system of education and tired curricula differ significantly from the Palestinian educational programs used in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. “Israeli curricula and resources receive priority in Israeli education in Jerusalem, with an emphasis on the country's Israeli history, Israeli culture, and Hebrew language¹¹⁹”.

“The Israeli education curricula in Israeli schools are based on the Talmud and Tanakh. Rather, they portray the Israeli Jew as a good person and that everyone who is a stranger to the “Gonim” is evil¹²⁰”. The Israeli student grows up on ideas that establish him as historically persecuted internationally and locally and is raised on the principles of racial discrimination and bloodshed as a method of His life to confront others.

This is confirmed by the interview with the Former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid:

“Palestine is a land without a people for a people without a land.” A phrase repeated in the Israeli curricula, there is no mention of the Arab-Palestinian existence in the Israeli curricula taught in Israeli schools. The Israeli curriculum goes deeply into ethnocracy and forms of religiosity and harnesses the past to benefit the settlement expansionist policy that Israel is implementing in its present and may indicate the policy that it intends to implement in the future¹²¹”.

¹¹⁹ Massarwa, I. (2004). Settlement in Old Jerusalem. Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights.

¹²⁰ Peled-Elhanan, N. (2012). Palestine in Israeli school books. I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

¹²¹ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

Meanwhile, the Palestinian education system - which is supervised by the Palestinian Ministry of Education - is in effect in the Palestinian territories, which include the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Palestinian schools in Jerusalem and its suburbs.

“The perception of Palestinians in Israeli school textbooks describes them as primitive, intrusive, worthy of only contempt, and outlaws. They do not live in homes and live in the slums that are available¹²²”.

Military education and the militarization of education can be considered an integral part of the Israeli curricula taught in Israeli schools, “as the curricula raise the Israeli child in the spirit of militarism and volunteering in the army so that the child grows up to become a fighter.¹²³”

Mr. Tharwat Zaid also added during the interview: “The basic and indisputable assumptions in Israeli books are, firstly, existential assumptions (the Jews have the right to exist in the land of “Israel”), secondly anti-Semitism at the global level, and thirdly assumptions of value represented by what is good and desirable (a state). The trinity based on a Jewish state, a Jewish majority, and absolute Israeli control)¹²⁴”.

This educational system, which is completely contradictory to the Israeli education system, focuses on mastering the Arabic language as an authentic language of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, and the history, identity, and culture of Palestine as a basic reference for the identity of Jerusalem and the city of Jerusalem and an integral part of it. Mr. Tharwat Zaid adds: “The Palestinian curricula included the names of martyrs in

¹²² Peled-Elhanan, N. (2012). Palestine in Israeli school books. I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

¹²³ Hagit, G. (2013). Militarization of education in Israel (I. Yahya Muhammad Abdullah, Trans.). Arab Media Center.

¹²⁴ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

the Palestinian cause, such as Dalal al-Mughrabi, and mentioned the first intifada, the map of Palestine, and the right of return for Palestinian refugees, Contrary to the Israeli curricula, the Palestinian curricula and books did not show the Jews as an enemy religion, but rather the Israeli occupation¹²⁵”.

There are significant differences between educational objectives, content, and technology in the Israeli and Palestinian curricula. The rivalry between the Israeli occupation authority and the Palestinian National Authority, which is a reflection of the distinct political and cultural reality in Jerusalem and the Palestinian territories, has a significant impact on education in the region.

“The Israeli occupation state is trying to impose false educational curricula that include its false history and foreign language on the Palestinian city of Jerusalem and its residents, within the framework of its cultural occupation and its attempt to Israelize the city and its residents and obliterate the Palestinian identity¹²⁶”.

In defiance of the pressures of the occupying state, Jerusalem schools are trying to adhere to the Palestinian educational curricula that consolidate the Palestinian history of the city of Jerusalem and its Arabic language, in a way that confronts Israeli methods and goals.

The occupation municipality in Jerusalem is exerting direct pressure on Palestinian schools inside the city to replace the Palestinian curricula with fake Israeli curricula, in an attempt to change the growing awareness of the children of Jerusalem regarding their Palestinian cause, history, and identity. “Significant obstacles have been

¹²⁵ Previous reference, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

¹²⁶ Previous reference, Massarwa, I. (2004).

placed in the way of Palestinian education in Jerusalem since Israel occupied the city in 1967. Among these obstacles are attempts to influence and introduce Israeli curricula into Palestinian schools¹²⁷”.

The Israeli occupation institutions have worked to distort the Palestinian education curricula in Jerusalem and to issue a forged Palestinian curriculum that obliges Palestinian schools to introduce it into the education process as an official curriculum instead of the official Palestinian curriculum.

According to a report from the Palestinian National Commission for Education, Science and Culture, “the number of students in the Jerusalem Governorate in the 2021/2022 academic year reached 98,154 male and female students, and 45,154 of them are studying the Palestinian curriculum. They are students of schools affiliated with the Palestinian Education Directorate in Jerusalem, endowment schools, and private schools. And UNRWA schools¹²⁸”.

“53,000 students go to municipal schools, educational institutions, and institutions affiliated with the Israeli occupation administration, meaning that there are 13,520 students studying the distorted Israeli curriculum in East Jerusalem in 2021, and the rest are forced by the Israeli occupation administration to learn distorted curricula, devoid of all contents and symbols of Palestinian national identity. Which forms the backbone of the general curriculum structure¹²⁹”.

¹²⁷ Masalhah, O. (1993). Palestiniens Israéliens la paix peomise.

¹²⁸ Report from the National Committee for Education, Science and Culture (PLO). (2024). Policies of the Israelization of education in the city of Jerusalem.

¹²⁹ Previous reference.

Table 2: The distribution of students in East Jerusalem schools¹³⁰.

The following table shows the distribution of students in East Jerusalem according to the supervising authority according to 2021 -2022 statistics.

Authority	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of school divisions
Endowments (government)	51	10637	596
Private schools	80	33817	1387
UNRWA	6	972	53
Occupation municipal schools	80	41376	1560
Informal schools under the umbrella of Occupation municipal schools	18	11352	398
The total	235	98154	3994

Mr. Tharwat Zaid adds: “Private schools in the city of Jerusalem are exposed to the carrot-and-stick policy, as based on the decision of the Israeli Supreme Court, Arab schools in Jerusalem are supposed to be treated similarly to Israeli schools in terms of the financial support provided by the occupying state to the educational system¹³¹”.

“This financial support is closely linked to accepting the forged curricula and Israeli education systems, such as the matriculation system. If the school refuses to accept these forged curricula and systems, the financial support stops, and the policy of restrictions and the imposition of fines and heavy taxes begins¹³²”.

Attached here are tables from the Palestinian Ministry of Education that address the number of times the Israeli occupation institutions have falsified the Palestinian

¹³⁰ Previous reference. Report from the National Committee for Education, Science and Culture (PLO). (2024).

¹³¹ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

¹³² An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

curriculum and its books, and the type and grades of falsification that the books have been exposed to.

Tables 3 and 4: The process of forgery in Palestinian books.

A table showing the number of times of forgery in the sample of books studied			
Section(10-1)	Number of times of forgery	Number of study books	Average per book
Islamic education	35	19	1.84
mathematics	69	19	3.36
Arabic	337	20	16.85
Social Studies	281	6	46.83
Socialization	52	2	26
National and life education	20	3	6.66
Science and life	36	9	4
the total	830	78	Average: 10.64

A table showing the number of times according to the type of forgery				
Misrepresenting the entire content	Change part of the content	Blur part of the content	Replace one content with another	the total
165	79	235	351	830

“It is clear that the 78 Palestinian school textbooks were subjected to 830 attempts to forge, distort, and obliterate the Palestinian identity with various degrees of forgery (distorting the entire content, replacing the content with another, obliterating part of the content, changing part of the content)¹³³”.

Palestinian schools in Jerusalem that refuse to introduce educational curricula have been subjected to several repressive policies by the occupation, aiming to close them and transfer their students to schools where the falsified Israeli curricula are taught.

¹³³ Previous reference, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

Among these policies were the procedures for inspecting schools for security reasons and using the justification of incitement against curricula. “This is considered a violation of international human law, especially the Second Additional Protocol to the Fourth Geneva Convention, by depriving students of a normal education, including their right to education from a national curriculum appropriate to their culture¹³⁴”.

Other policies implemented by the occupation against schools are mentioned by Mr. Tharwat Zaid: “During my work as Director General of Curricula in the Ministry of Education, the Education Directorate in Jerusalem was closed by the Israeli occupation authorities, and we faced obstacles in the expansion of Jerusalem schools and even the endowment schools affiliated with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The occupation authorities and the occupation municipality in Jerusalem deliberately rejected every request or license to build new schools or expand existing schools inside Jerusalem with clear racial discrimination, while allowing the rest of the Israeli schools to expand freely¹³⁵”.

Mr. Tharwat also adds: The occupation authorities issued 1,200 house arrest decisions in the year (2022) against educational personnel teaching in Palestinian schools in Jerusalem. 114 of the imprisonment decisions were for imprisoning children under the age of 12 years, and in recent years the Knesset issued a law allowing actual imprisonment. - And not just home detention - against students under 14 years old, which

¹³⁴ Akram, S. M., Dumper, M., Lynk, M., & Scobbie, I. (2010). International law and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: A Rights-Based approach to Middle East peace.

¹³⁵ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

made it easier for the occupation authorities to increase penalties and arrests against the Palestinian children of Jerusalem¹³⁶”.

“Imposing heavy taxes, imposing checkpoints, and obstructing the access of students and educational staff, especially the Qalandiya occupation checkpoint and other barriers, are all policies aimed at restricting the free Palestinian education process in Jerusalem, especially the Al-Iman and Ibrahim schools recently, to impose a reality that forces students and educational staff to surrender and submit to the Israeli educational process and the false curricula¹³⁷”.

Thus, obliterating the Palestinian national identity and ensuring the success of the Judaization and Israelization of the city of Jerusalem.

This is confirmed by the interview with **Mr. Zaid Al-Qeeq** the headmaster of **Al-Iman School** in Jerusalem- Al-Eizariya, like other Palestinian schools that operate according to the Palestinian curriculum, has been exposed to several pressures and challenges that may force it to consider using the Israeli curriculum. Among the pressures that Al-Iman School has been exposed to are:

“In the last two years, Al-Iman School in Jerusalem has faced political pressure from the Israeli authorities to change its curricula and direct them towards the Israeli curricula and was even threatened with closure by the Israeli authorities if it did not adhere to the Israeli curricula¹³⁸”.

¹³⁶ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

¹³⁷ Previous reference.

¹³⁸ An interview with the headmaster of Al-Iman School in Jerusalem- Al-Eizariya, Mr. Zaid Al-Qeeq (18/05/2024).

The Israeli occupying state imposed financial restrictions on Al-Iman School, which made it suffer from a lack of funding and made it difficult for it to provide the necessary resources to provide education at a good level.

On another front, out of fear for their children, Al-Iman School was exposed to pressure from the local community and parents to accept the Israeli curriculum as a means of ensuring their children's education and the continuity of the school.

As a result of Al-Iman School being exposed to security threats from the Israeli authorities if it does not adhere to the Israeli curricula, to this day, "Jerusalemite students and teachers are under constant pressure and tension and fear of being arrested as a result of their intransigence by the occupation authorities¹³⁹".

Similar to the pressures on Al-Iman School, there are several Palestinian schools in Jerusalem run by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and operating according to the Israeli educational curriculum due to the legal and political situation in the city. However, it often maintains its Palestinian identity and seeks to preserve Palestinian heritage and culture in an Israeli educational environment. Examples of these schools include the Islamic Kingdoms School, Aisha Al-Khatib Secondary School, Al-Rashidiya School, and the Ibrahim Schools.

The Israeli educational policies and curricula implemented by the occupation municipality in Jerusalem aim to strengthen Israeli identity while reducing the focus on Palestinian identity in Jerusalem schools and in an attempt to erase Palestinian identity and Palestinian history in Jerusalem.

¹³⁹ An interview with the headmaster of Al-Iman School in Jerusalem- Al-Eizariya, Mr. Zaid Al-Qeeq (18/05/2024).

4.1.2 The education process at university levels:

After completing basic and secondary education, the young Palestinians from Jerusalem head to higher education, often to Palestinian universities in the West Bank or even to universities outside the country, and a minority of them go to study in Israeli universities.

In this level of education, The Israeli occupation is trying to impose limits on academic disciplines and the university education process that it deems “conflicting” or useful in fortifying Palestinian identity.

Firstly, the Israeli occupation imposes restrictions on Jerusalemite students studying in Palestinian universities that promote Palestinian identity and culture, so the occupation, its institutions, and unions refrain from recognizing some of the university degrees of Palestinian youth in the city of Jerusalem when they graduate and attempt to work in the Israeli market in the city of Jerusalem.

“The Palestinian youth of Jerusalem find their horizons blocked when their Palestinian university degree is not recognized by the Israeli occupation and its institutions, which forces them to abandon it and work without it as a worker without a degree in the Israeli labor market in any physical field, just like someone who has not studied or learned¹⁴⁰”.

The Palestinian youth may be forced to re-register and begin his education from the beginning within Israeli universities and educational colleges and submit to their harsh conditions.

¹⁴⁰ Marwan, E. (2017). Settlement and its impact on life in East Jerusalem. National University of Bethlehem.

However, “only 13% of students at Israeli universities are Arab students, and that only 10% of master's students and 5% of doctoral students are Arab due to the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem lacking the requirements that allow them to study in Israeli universities, most notably the Hebrew language component and the exorbitant educational fees¹⁴¹”.

Due to the Israeli occupation and its institutions' adoption of Judaization policies, the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem has challenges and a slim chance of landing a high-paying job in the city.

This is confirmed by the interview with **Ms. Fatima Hammad**, a first-year master's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem: “Starting with the barrier of the Hebrew language, Palestinian youth in Jerusalem find it difficult to learn it in order to join Israeli universities and educational institutions in the city of Jerusalem, and secondly, by accepting Israeli hegemony and Israeli history, which is imposed on the majority of students in Israeli colleges and universities, the Palestinian youth finds himself forced to accept and learn this history that is exposed to his personal existence as a young Palestinian in the city of Jerusalem¹⁴²”.

Thirdly, "the cost of registration, fees, and education in Israeli colleges and universities is very high compared to the average income of the holy Palestinian youth in Jerusalem and even the average income of an entire family¹⁴³". Therefore, the search for scholarships and educational aid begins.

¹⁴¹ Watad, N. (2016). Israeli discrimination in budgets against Arab students. The New Arab.

¹⁴² An interview with a first-year master's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Fatima Hammad (17/05/2024).

¹⁴³ Previous reference.

The Israeli occupation is restricting the Palestinian educational process in Jerusalem and deliberately preventing the arrival of any kind of educational aid from any external party, whether foreign or Palestinian, to the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem.

And even from another aspect, it provides grants, facilities, and educational services to Palestinian youth in Jerusalem through Israeli institutions and funds, which may include some educational programs and educational opportunities in Israeli educational institutions, under harsh conditions that contradict the existence of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

"Among these scholarships is the "Glocal" scholarship funded by the Rothberg Association of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. This scholarship is intended for Palestinian youth in Jerusalem in particular, with the aim of integrating them into a hybrid environment between Palestinian and Israeli academics to build propaganda that aims to show that Palestinians and Israelis are the sons of one peaceful society in Jerusalem¹⁴⁴".

Ms. Fatima Hammad added: "In return for this scholarship, the Palestinian student who receives this scholarship is forced to pass educational and cultural programs In the Palestinian schools in Jerusalem and their Palestinian students, the content of these programs is to introduce Palestinian youth to the culture and history of Israel, spread the principles of normalizing relations with the Israelis, and secure understanding and a political settlement with Israeli society as part of one peaceful Israeli-Palestinian society¹⁴⁵".

¹⁴⁴ GLocal Scholarship (MA in International Development). (n.d.). The Rothberg Association of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Retrieved May 19, 2024.

¹⁴⁵ An interview with a first-year master's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Fatima Hammad (17/05/2024).

The Israeli Council for Higher Education (CHE) runs a program called "**Jerusalem Grants**," which is a striking illustration of donations from Israeli colleges.

Higher education in the Israeli occupation state is governed and coordinated by the Israeli Council for Higher Education (CHE). "This organization aims to promote intellectual and cultural interaction with universities and educational institutions across the world, as well as to grow and improve the standard of higher education in Israel¹⁴⁶".

The Jerusalem Scholarship Program administered by CHE is claimed to be part of its efforts to promote education and provide opportunities for Palestinian students in Jerusalem to pursue their undergraduate studies in Israeli universities.

While these scholarships are provided to Palestinian students who deserve them and have the ability to study in Israeli universities, it at the same time link them and make them completely dependent on the Israeli regime in Jerusalem.

Through these scholarships, Palestinian youths can pursue higher education in Jerusalem, which helps to improve their academic and professional prospects as well as their exposure to the Israeli job market. "Grants may be used to pay for books, housing, daily living expenses, and tuition, depending on the program and particular agreements¹⁴⁷".

Although these scholarships provide opportunities for higher education for Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, they are directly linked to promoting social and cultural integration with Israeli society.

¹⁴⁶ Atiyah, Y. (1993). The Israeli Council for Higher Education. The Planning and Budgeting Committee, Annual Report No. 19, Academic year 1991-92.

¹⁴⁷ Previous reference, Atiyah, Y. (1993).

The experience of young Palestinian students in Jerusalem at Israeli universities, including interacting with Israeli students and benefiting from study programs and cultural activities, may affect their national and cultural awareness and their ability to belong to their Palestinian identity in a way that causes duality or fragmentation of identity for Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

Palestinian students in the Israeli university environment are exposed to social experiences that include interaction with Israeli students and professors. "These experiences can lead to understanding, acceptance, or influence in Israeli culture, which may affect their national affiliation with the Palestinian identity and fragment their Palestinian identity¹⁴⁸".

Their studies at Israeli universities may include historical or political topics related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and this may lead to changes in their views or understanding of the Palestinian issue as a result of repeated courses on Israeli history as general requirements courses for all university students.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem face personal and social challenges related to identity and belonging to the Palestinian identity as a result of their interaction with a new environment that is different from their original environment. These challenges affect their relationship with Palestinian identity in different ways, such as dual identity or even fragmentation of Palestinian identity.

This is confirmed by the interview of a second-year bachelor's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Sally May: "Palestinian students in Jerusalem may feel the

¹⁴⁸ Makawi, N. (2014). Social alienation among Jerusalemite youth. Palestine Liberation Organization - Research Center.

need to present themselves in a less clear way as Palestinians under fears of discrimination, marginalization, or social isolation¹⁴⁹". Especially since they live in an Israeli university environment that deliberately makes national or political discrimination in all its criteria, especially when providing educational scholarships to students.

"The nature of the Israeli university environment lacks cultural and social representation of non-Israeli or Jewish groups, especially Palestinian groups¹⁵⁰". "Palestinian students in Jerusalem may find it difficult to integrate and communicate with their colleagues who do not share the Palestinian culture or language. Palestinian students are even exposed to discrimination or marginalization by some students or faculty members at the university¹⁵¹".

"The Israeli institutions that provide educational scholarships and facilities to Palestinian youth in Jerusalem may refrain from providing them if they find that the Palestinian youth is integrated and flaunts his Palestinian identity and has not submitted and integrated into the Israeli identity and society¹⁵²".

These Israeli policies of the occupying state, its institutions, universities and colleges place the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem in a position where they feel a conflict between their Palestinian identity and the Israeli environment surrounding them, which may lead them to hide their Palestinian identity and not express themselves as Palestinians for fear of feeling isolated and separated from others, which With its repetition, could

¹⁴⁹ An interview with a second-year bachelor's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Sally May (16/05/2024).

¹⁵⁰ Previous reference.

¹⁵¹ An interview with a first-year master's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Fatima Hammad (17/05/2024).

¹⁵² An interview with a second-year bachelor's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Sally May (16/05/2024).

make them feel socially alienated on the one hand, and that their identity is fragmented or dual, with an element of integration into the Israeli environment and society on the other hand.

4.2 Israeli occupation policies on social and economic life in Jerusalem (social welfare services to Palestinian youth):

Many Israeli and non-governmental institutions provide harsh and soft policies and restrictions on the social and economic level of the lives of Jerusalemite youth. Among these policies are the soft policies represented by social welfare services for Palestinian youth, under the pretext of improving their quality of life and providing them with the necessary support in various social and economic aspects.

On the contrary, these institutions also introduce harsh policies represented by withdrawing Jerusalemite identity cards, restricting life, demolishing homes, and other policies, the most prominent of which will be mentioned here. Among the most prominent of these institutions are: The National Insurance Institute of Israeli Occupation and the occupation municipality in Jerusalem.

4.2.1 The occupation municipality in Jerusalem:

The occupation municipality in Jerusalem plays an important and decisive role in the life of the young Jerusalemite. It is the most miserable and authoritative Israeli tool over the Palestinian in Jerusalem. It is the one that makes harsh decisions and imposes fines on the Palestinians in particular at times as a clear racist policy towards the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, while it provides some social services for all residents of the city, including Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

A. Demolition of homes and facilities:

Demolition of buildings and residences: Taking advantage of the pause in the issuance of building permits. "Destroying houses and buildings in locations where building licenses are not obtained is a routine task for the Jerusalem Municipality¹⁵³". Many Palestinians in the city lose their homes as a result of this, which has a significant, direct, and racist impact on them.

"Additional fines will even be imposed in the event that Palestinians fail to demolish their homes with their own hands when their homes are threatened with demolition due to the loss of the necessary permits to keep the home.¹⁵⁴".

Attached here is a figure and statistics related to residence, planning, division and demolition within the city of Jerusalem, issued in a report in 2018 by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs:

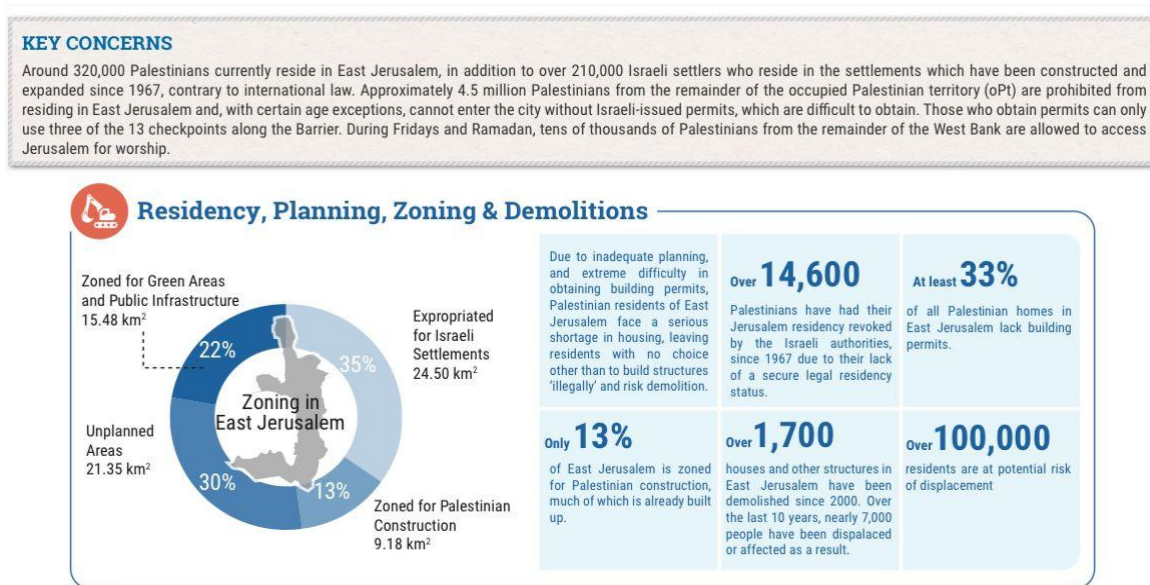


Figure 3: Residence, planning, division and demolition within the city of Jerusalem ¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵³ Institute for Palestine Studies, & Arafat, N. (2017). Israel's colonial projection and future plans for Jerusalem. *Journal of Palestinian Studies*.

¹⁵⁴ Previous reference, Institute for Palestine Studies, & Arafat, N.

¹⁵⁵ The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2019). East Jerusalem | December 2018. In OCHA OPT. Retrieved May 19, 2024.

"Due to inadequate planning, and extreme difficulty in obtaining building permits, Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem face a serious shortage in housing, leaving residents with no choice other than to build structures 'illegally' and risk demolition¹⁵⁶".

"At least 33% of all Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem lack building permits. Over 14,600 Palestinians have had their Jerusalem residency revoked by the Israeli authorities since 1967 due to their lack of a secure legal residency status. and Over 100,000 residents are at potential risk of displacement¹⁵⁷".

"During the year 2020, the Israeli occupation authorities demolished 165 buildings in the Jerusalem Governorate (121 residential buildings, 44 non-residential buildings), while in 2019 the number of settlements established on confiscated lands in the city of Jerusalem reached: 26 settlements, and about 316,176 settlers¹⁵⁸".

In a survey based on an analysis of the trends of 2,386 Palestinian men and women, residing in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip, in 1948 Palestine, and in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon, it is noted that 56% of the majority of Palestinian youth (18-29 years old) believe that displacement is the most important threat facing Palestinians living in Jerusalem¹⁵⁹.

On the economic side, permits for the formation and growth of Palestinian business establishments in Jerusalem are severely restricted by the Israeli occupation. It may be arbitrary to reject license applications, which makes it challenging for Palestinian youth business owners to grow and develop their companies.

¹⁵⁶ Previous reference.

¹⁵⁷ Previous reference.

¹⁵⁸ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (n.d.). Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021.

¹⁵⁹ Abdul-Mjid, A. (2020). Palestinian Youth: Identity, Participation, and Place.

"The economic fabric of Jerusalem is made up of small and medium-sized businesses, shops, family enterprises, the service industry, and the industrial sector. These businesses are essential to the city's job creation and prosperity, but they face many obstacles because of Israeli government regulations and other complex issues¹⁶⁰".

The Israeli army, Ministry of Homeland Security, Ministry of Defense, and Israeli judicial authority are the organizations that symbolize the occupation and actively oppose the Palestinian commercial presence in the Jerusalem municipality.

The main entity impeding Palestinian youth initiatives, organizations, and businesses in Jerusalem is **The Israeli occupation municipality in Jerusalem.**

Whether it's due to drawn-out bureaucratic processes or intricate political issues, The Israeli occupation municipality in Jerusalem purposefully delays the process of giving the required permits to Palestinian entities. It hinders Palestinian institutions' capacity to develop and flourish by placing burdensome demands on them that are difficult for them to meet.

The Jerusalem Municipality uses construction and urban planning requirements, health and environmental licenses, commercial permits, taxes, and compliance with laws and legal regulations as tools and justifications to thwart the emergence of an independent Palestinian economy in Jerusalem and to label any Palestinian institution that does not adhere to these requirements as an illegal institution.

¹⁶⁰ Arrafa, N. (2015). Diagnosis of local economic resources. Institute for Economic Policy Research.

"The Jerusalem Municipality makes decisions to demolish and destroy structures and commercial establishments that are deemed unlawful or unlicensed in collaboration with the Israeli authorities, which causes major losses for Palestinian entities¹⁶¹".

Alternatively, making choices to relocate and evacuate Palestinian institutions under a variety of pretexts, which leads to the loss of employment and output and, consequently, diminishes the prospects for the Palestinian economy in Jerusalem to expand and endure.

B. Imposing fines and municipal fees: The Jerusalem Municipality blatantly discriminates against Palestinians by imposing disproportionately high and intentional fines and municipal fees, including those linked to building violations, unregistered companies, and even parking infractions.

This is confirmed by the interview with Ms. Dana Magdy:" During Eid al-Fitr prayer, "the first day of Eid al-Fitr" after the month of Ramadan, thousands of cars were fined for parking violations due to the city's congestion and the lack of parking spaces due to the influx of hundreds of thousands of worshipers to perform Eid prayers. Palestinians in Jerusalem are frequently the target of illegal parking violations. However, the occupation municipality itself ignores these violations committed by the Israelis when there is a special Jewish holiday or an Israeli football match. ¹⁶²".

This is a small example of the example of racial discrimination carried out by the occupation municipality against the Palestinians in Jerusalem.

¹⁶¹ Institute for Palestine Studies, & Arafat, N. (2017). Israel's colonial projection and future plans for Jerusalem. *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 122.

¹⁶² Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

The municipality often imposes a double fine on Palestinian Jerusalemites, a measure that should only be used in rare circumstances where the building in question is particularly large or the violation is deemed "highly provocative."¹⁶³ The municipality also imposes much larger fines for building violations committed by Palestinians in East Jerusalem while ignoring building violations committed by Israelis in West Jerusalem.

“The Israeli court determines the normal penalties based on the cost of construction, with an additional 25 percent possible. A municipal appraiser determines the building costs, which range from \$200 to \$300 per square meter (sq.m) in East Jerusalem¹⁶⁴”.

For instance, if a Palestinian builds a 100 square-meter home and is "lucky" enough that the prosecution does not want the additional twenty-five percent of the cost, he will be fined \$30,000.

Prior to recently, the family's socioeconomic circumstances were taken into account by the municipal prosecutor's office, which also exhibited some wiggle room in the fine amount.

But as of late, the municipal prosecutor's office has been pushing for the imposition of double fines, attempting to charge the highest sum feasible for practically every construction. The judge often accepts the prosecution's argument without question.

C. Social services from the Jerusalem occupation municipality.

The Israeli occupation municipality in Jerusalem, in the first role, "closes all roads and facilities to the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, suffocating them and blocking their

¹⁶³ Margalit, M. (2014). DEMOLISHING PEACE HOUSES DEMOLITIONS IN EAST JERUSALEM 2000 - 2010. International Peace and Cooperation Center.

¹⁶⁴ Previous reference.

horizons, and in a second, opposite and hypocritical role, it opens roads and facilities that it chooses as a form of facilitation and forcing the Palestinian youth to become subservient to the Israeli state and the municipality itself¹⁶⁵".

The occupation municipality is crucial to the city's population's access to social services, particularly for Palestinian youth.

Health Care, Social Protection, Sports and Culture, Employment: Through a variety of events and programs, the Jerusalem Municipality aims to give Palestinian youth the chance to engage in sports, cultural events, and leisure activities.

It is trying to provide job opportunities affiliated with the municipality in particular, subjecting Palestinian youth to the Israeli labor market and placing them completely under the eyes of the municipality, as during an interview with Ms. Fatima Ahmed Nafi, a youth activist at the Jerusalem Youth Groups Forum:

"The occupation municipality launched a soft war on the volunteer Jerusalemite youth groups and the Youth Volunteer Groups Forum, Taking advantage of the extinction of volunteering during the Corona crisis, the municipality provided job opportunities under the framework of "Jerusalem Youth Work" within fictitious institutions that derive their funding directly from the occupation municipality, such as the Einar Foundation the "Jerusalem Youth Center", where the young Jerusalemite finds himself in front of a job opportunity with an excellent salary (75 shekels per hour for work he was doing for free as a volunteer) and through this job he got the opportunity to continue carrying out youth

¹⁶⁵ Marwan, E. (2017). Settlement and its impact on life in East Jerusalem. National University of Bethlehem.

activities in Jerusalem, but with or without his knowledge, he is under the supervision and eyes of the occupation municipality in Jerusalem¹⁶⁶”.

Through these fictitious institutions, which derive their funding from the occupation municipality, sports, cultural, and recreational activities are carried out with unprecedented funding, attracting a group of Jerusalemite youth who are unaware of the background of these institutions and competing with the rest of the Palestinian community institutions and Jerusalemite youth groups.

4.2.2 The National Insurance Institute of Israeli Occupation:

"Known in Hebrew as “Bituach Leumi,” provides social welfare and insurance services to the population of the Israeli occupation, including Palestinians living in occupied East Jerusalem¹⁶⁷”.

The National Insurance Institute of Israeli Occupation policies towards Palestinians in Jerusalem are characterized by discrimination and ongoing violations of Palestinian rights. As mentioned during the study, Palestinians in East Jerusalem enjoy permanent residency status, which grants them some social rights such as health insurance and social services, but this status can be withdrawn under certain circumstances.

One of the main policies applied against Palestinian Jerusalemites by the National Insurance Institute is the withdrawal of permanent residency from Palestinians based on what is known as the “center of life”.

"National Insurance sends investigators to Jerusalem Palestinians holding blue ID (permanent residency) randomly to examine and ensure that the center of life in which

¹⁶⁶ An interview with youth activist at the Jerusalem Youth Groups Forum, Ms. Fatima Ahmed Nafi (15/05/2024).

¹⁶⁷ Walker, R. L. (2004). Social Security and Welfare: Concepts and comparisons.

they live is the city of Jerusalem. If the Palestinian cannot prove that the center of his life is in East Jerusalem, the Israeli Ministry of Interior can withdraw He is denied permanent residency, which deprives him of the rights associated with National Insurance and other services¹⁶⁸".

On the other hand, the National Insurance Institute of the Israeli occupation represents the soft policy of the Israeli occupation, as it is part of the Israeli social welfare system and covers a wide range of social and economic services and assistance to Palestinian youth in East Jerusalem:

A. Economic Aid.

"Providing financial assistance to families and individuals experiencing financial difficulties¹⁶⁹", whether of a permanent or temporary nature. This assistance includes:

Assistance for unemployed people: Palestinian youths in Jerusalem who lose their jobs are given support by the Israeli National Insurance Institute. Claiming that the purpose of this help is to give them short-term financial support while they look for employment.

Income Security aid: Palestinian youths living in Jerusalem who are struggling to make their living, such as paying for food and rent, may be eligible for aid from the National Insurance Institute.

¹⁶⁸ Institute for Palestine Studies, & Arafat, N. (2017). Israel's colonial projection and future plans for Jerusalem. *Journal of Palestinian Studies*.

¹⁶⁹ Goldscheider, C. (2015). *Israeli Society in the Twenty-First Century: immigration, inequality, and religious conflict*.

Family and child assistance: The National Insurance Institute may offer extra funding to low-income families in order to help with the costs of raising children, including schooling and medical expenses.

Assistance for economic rehabilitation: A few National Insurance Institute-affiliated programs offer training courses and rehabilitation programs to young Palestinian adults in Jerusalem. The programs' claimed goals are to improve the youths' employability, increase their chances of finding new employment, and improve their financial status overall.

B. Health coverage:

Basic medical coverage: "Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are given access to basic medical treatment. This coverage entails essential medical treatment as well as general and diagnostic medical checkups¹⁷⁰".

Physical therapy and rehabilitation: For conditions that call for it, including injuries sustained in sports or accidents in vehicles, health insurance may cover physical therapy and rehabilitation.

Psychotherapy and psychological counseling: To assist Palestinian kids in Jerusalem with psychological and mental health issues, health coverage may include psychotherapy and psychological counseling.

pharmaceuticals and Medical Treatments: Prescription drugs and other medical treatments are covered, as are other required pharmaceuticals for Palestinian youngsters residing in Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁰ Boslaugh, S. (2013). Health care Systems around the World: A Comparative guide.

Medical examinations and tests: For Palestinian youth residing in Jerusalem, coverage is offered for standard medical examinations as well as required medical tests like x-rays and blood tests.

C. Retirement and social insurance:

"Palestinian youth in Jerusalem can receive retirement and social insurance aid from the Israeli National Insurance Institute¹⁷¹". Typically, this help consists of the following:

Pensions for retirement: When Palestinian youth in Jerusalem reach the designated retirement age, the Israeli National Insurance Institute grants them pensions for retirement. The goal of these pensions is to give elderly Palestinians financial help.

Assistance for disabilities: "Palestinians living in Jerusalem who are disabled can receive assistance from National Insurance¹⁷²". Financial support is part of this aid to help them fulfill their daily necessities and enhance their quality of life.

4.3 The stages of the formation of the Palestinian Youth national identity:

Defining youth:

"Youth" is a term used to describe the young age group, usually referring to people between the ages of adolescence and early to middle adulthood.

Definitions vary depending on culture and context, but in general "youth" is considered a stage in an individual's life characterized by activity, enthusiasm, and discovery, often interspersed with stages of developing personal identities and making important decisions about the future.

Youth represent a fundamental pillar of any society. They are not only its future, but they are also the living force that drives change and development. They have the

¹⁷¹ Mittelstadt, J. (2005). From welfare to workfare.

¹⁷² Drori, I. (2009). Foreign workers in Israel: global perspectives.

energy of creativity, enthusiasm and ambition, and they are able to achieve positive transformations in the societies in which they live based on the principles and values with which they are imbued.

The disastrous effects of the 76-year occupation and ethnic cleansing on all Palestinian youth are still being felt today, and they are only getting worse. Following the 1948 Nakba, the 1967 occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, the 1993 Oslo Accords, and the collapse of the remaining peace agreements and talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian people faced an even more severe decline in a number of areas of their lives, including the political, social, and economic circumstances linked to various forms of Palestinian youth's development and articulation of their Palestinian identity was directly impacted by the harm inflicted by the Israeli military's occupation of their homeland.

Palestinian youth are subjected to constant individual and communal exposure to instability, persecution, discrimination, marginalization, and humiliation as a result of the Israeli military occupation and continuous war. This has a significant effect on social, psychological, and physical health, all of which are cumulatively related to health, particularly in youths who are exposed to such unfavorable living situations during a time of life transition.

The basis of Palestinian national identity first emerged in the early 20th century as a reaction to Zionist immigration and British colonial control in Palestine. This is when the foundation of Palestinian national identity was established. Palestinians started to express their own national identity at this time, which is based on their history, culture, and ties to the land.

During the times of Palestinian resistance against foreign occupation and persecution, the Palestinian national identity was reinforced. The Nakba of 1948, which resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, was crucial in forming the collective consciousness of the Palestinian people and encouraging a feeling of unity among them, particularly among the youth.

The First Intifada (1987–1993) and the Second Intifada (2000–2005) had a crucial role in forming the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem perceptions of the Palestinian identity. Palestinian youth in Jerusalem took the lead in organizing large-scale demonstrations, engaging in acts of civil disobedience, and defending their right to self-determination during these uprisings against the Israeli occupation.

"Several reasons, including dissatisfaction with Israeli occupation practices, economic hardships, and the yearning for self-determination, combined to cause the First Intifada, which began in December 1987¹⁷³". What started out as an unplanned rebellion swiftly grew into a large-scale movement in which Palestinians of all ages took part and where youths were heavily involved. The First Intifada was distinguished from earlier forms of resistance by its grassroots aspect, with Palestinian youth in Jerusalem widely employing peaceful resistance, civil disobedience, and stone-throwing protests as common methods.

"Palestinian youth in Jerusalem was at the front of the conflict during the First Intifada, leading protests, boycotts, and strikes while facing Israeli soldiers in their villages and the city of Jerusalem¹⁷⁴". Palestinian Youth in Jerusalem asserted their resilience against the occupation at this time, which represented a turning point in the development of the

¹⁷³ Al Jabouri, A. (2020). The role of Jerusalemites in preserving the Palestinian identity and confronting the methods of the Zionist occupation 1987-1967 CE.

¹⁷⁴ Previous reference.

Palestinian national identity. They established ties of solidarity that cut above class and geographic barriers by demonstrating their dedication to the Palestinian cause, frequently at considerable personal cost.

Youth used a variety of creative and cultural mediums to express their desires for freedom and justice during the First Intifada, which had a significant influence on Palestinian culture and society as well. "Poetry (The poem "I am Palestine" by Mahmoud Darwish), music ("Oh My Homeland" by Rim Banna), graffiti (Murals in the Israeli annexation and expansion wall), and other creative forms of resistance developed became effective weapons for solidarity building and mobilization, strengthening the younger generation's feeling of Palestinian identity¹⁷⁵".

"The Israeli leader Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the collapse of peace negotiations precipitated the Second Intifada, which broke out in September 2000¹⁷⁶". This visit inspired Palestinian youth in Jerusalem and fortified their dedication to the liberation movement. Youth in Jerusalem remained a key component of the resistance movement even though the second intifada was marked by greater carnage and violence than the first due to the rise of suicide bombings and armed conflicts.

The First Intifada and Second Intifada were transformative periods in Palestinian history, especially in shaping the identity and consciousness of Palestinian youth. These uprisings not only represented acts of resistance against the Israeli occupation but also catalyzed the formation of a strong and resilient Palestinian national identity among the younger generation in Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁵ Azem, A. (2019). Palestinian youth from the partisan movement to the street movement. Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (Masarat).

¹⁷⁶ Previous reference.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are increasingly politically aware and engaged, participating in grassroots movements, student unions, and civil society organizations. They are advocating for Palestinian rights, including the right of return for refugees, an end to the occupation, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian identity with East Jerusalem as its capital. They face numerous challenges in their quest for national identity, including ongoing occupation, economic hardship, restrictions on movement, and lack of opportunities.

4.4 The role of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

The social, political, and economic structures in Jerusalem have presented several difficulties for Palestinian youth throughout the years, but they have persevered in preserving and defending their identity because of their strength and determination.

Thousands of Palestinians, including numerous youths, have been forcibly removed from Jerusalem between 1948 and the present. They have experienced the anguish of being uprooted, losing their houses, and being cut off from their social networks. "Those who stayed in Jerusalem experienced discriminatory laws that limited their possibilities and restricted their freedom of movement. They also lived under Israeli military control¹⁷⁷".

As mentioned previously, the role of Jerusalemite youth in preserving the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem began before the first intifada.

Recently, in light of the increasing restrictions on living in Jerusalem for Palestinian youth by the Israeli occupation, the activity of Palestinian youth aimed at preserving the Palestinian identity has begun to diminish and is limited to participation in social and

¹⁷⁷ Massarwa, I. (2004). Settlement in Old Jerusalem. Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights.

environmental work and cultural and educational activities provided by community institutions inside Jerusalem, such as the Burj Al-Luqluq Foundation and Palestinian Vision Foundation and Al-Mitras Company for Training and Qualification.

Through peaceful means, workshops, seminars, lectures, and training are the most prominent current activities through which the Palestinian youth strengthen and preserve their Palestinian identity. Among them is the “Jerusalem Ambassador” project, which is being implemented by Mitras Company these days. It is a project that provides training in the fields of Palestinian national identity, breaking stereotypes, and studying the modern history of the city of Jerusalem.

This is confirmed by the interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Company, Ms. Dana Magdy: “In light of the lack of awareness among Jerusalemite children and university students of the dilemma and crisis of the Palestinian national identity in Jerusalem, and in light of the fierce attack to Judaize and Israelize the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem schools, we launched the Jerusalem Ambassador Project in order to spread awareness.” On the importance of defining oneself with the Palestinian identity and the Jerusalemite collective identity.¹⁷⁸”

Also, the Jerusalemite youth, through Jerusalemite youth groups such as AL-Bab Al Sabeh Group, Y-PEER Group, and Bassmet Shabab Group through their community initiatives, are trying to present a Palestinian identity presence within the city of Jerusalem and spread awareness about the necessity of preserving identity in light of the daily challenges that Palestinian Jerusalemites live through.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

“With financial support from the Burj Al-Luqluq Community Foundation within the city of Jerusalem, the Jerusalem Youth Groups Forum was established, which worked to bring together Jerusalem youth groups under one umbrella as a “unified youth movement” that works to strengthen the presence of the Palestinian identity inside Jerusalem in the crises and phenomena that challenge it, and through volunteer initiatives and youth awareness tours inside Jerusalem¹⁷⁹”.

In 2021, in light of the crisis of the attempt to displace the Palestinian population from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah by the Israeli occupation forces, Jerusalemite youth groups moved under the umbrella of the Jerusalem Volunteer Groups Forum and strengthened the presence of Jerusalemite youth in the Sheikh Jarrah area through awareness tours in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhoods in an attempt to preserve The Palestinian identity of the neighborhood.

"28 Jerusalemite families, including approximately 550 individuals, from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood are threatened with displacement by settlement associations under the protection of the occupation courts, so that the policy of deportation and targeting of Palestinians in Jerusalem continues¹⁸⁰".

Since its inception, the occupation entity has been based on ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians. These families were displaced from their homes during the Nakba.

¹⁷⁹ Previous reference. Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

¹⁸⁰ Abdel Raouf, A. (2021). Palestine rises up: A new, innovative Jerusalemite generation breaks the wall of fear and reclaims Palestine. Institute for Palestine Studies.

"These families were settled in 1956 by the Jordanian Ministry of Construction and Reconstruction, in cooperation with UNRWA, on the "Karam Al-Jaouni" land, which has an area of 18 acres and 800 square meters in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood¹⁸¹".

In addition, there are several other neighborhoods threatened by forced displacement by the occupation, which are the neighborhoods of (Batn Al-Hawa, Al-Bustan, Wadi Al-Rababa, and Wadi Yasoul).

The involvement of Palestinian youth became even more evident in 2020, when the Israeli occupation's intention to install electronic gates at the Old City of Jerusalem's Lions' Gate and Al-Atma Gates sparked a wave of protests and demonstrations in Jerusalem.

"The youth-led protest movement in Jerusalem gained momentum, and many Palestinian residents from different areas of the city joined it. The youth of Jerusalem played a pivotal part in this campaign by organizing public resistance, rallies, and demonstrations against these electronic gates ¹⁸²".

These electronic gates were eventually taken down as a result of pressure from the public, the international community, and Jerusalemite youth, and others who stood their ground. This achievement illustrates the role played by Jerusalemite youth in popular resistance and the preservation of the Palestinian and Jerusalemite identities in the face of the difficulties they face under Israeli occupation.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, through **social media**, played a prominent role in preserving the Palestinian identity and resisting the occupation, by documenting the

¹⁸¹ Editorial Board. (2021). Our story of resorting to Judaization and displacement, Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, Jarrah neighborhood.

¹⁸² Previous reference, Abdel Raouf, A.

violations and attacks they are exposed to by the Israeli occupation forces, such as filming on video and publishing photos.

By organizing international campaigns aimed at solidarity with the Palestinian cause and pressuring international bodies to intervene to protect the rights of Palestinians, confront Israeli violations, and spread local awareness of issues of Palestinian identity and the human and legal rights of Palestinians.

"As happened in the Sheikh Jarrah crisis in 2021, and what is happening now in the war on Gaza, it is clear the strength and size of the influence of social media on global awareness of identity and the Palestinian issue, and the evidence of this is the size of the demonstrations and protests in all countries of the world in support of the Palestinian issue and demanding an end to the war on the Gaza Strip Immediately¹⁸³".

"Unfortunately, when I talk about social media, I never mean television and the weak media itself. Rather, I am talking about individual cases of young Jerusalemites who are content creators who succeeded in communicating the Sheikh Jarrah crisis at that time to the rest of the cities of the world, and unfortunately in this day, since they are individual cases, they have no one to protect them. They have been silenced in various ways¹⁸⁴".

¹⁸³ Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

¹⁸⁴ Previous reference.

5. Chapter Five

Towards a Palestinian National Youth Identity in Jerusalem.

5.1 Conflict and Identity:

After seeing the vital role of Palestinian Jerusalemite youth in Jerusalem recently, as explained in the last chapter, the Palestinian youth themselves are experiencing the challenge of identity and its expression on a daily basis.

The Palestinian young man from Jerusalem who volunteers with Jerusalem youth groups and community institutions in these initiatives, seminars, and workshops aimed at preserving the Palestinian identity is the same young man who studies at an Israeli university and mixes with the Israeli student community during education or while working.

He is the same young man who benefits from the welfare services and facilities provided by the occupation institutions in Jerusalem, such as National Insurance and the Jerusalem Municipality, and benefits from the educational facilities and scholarships from the (CHE).

The result of mingling with Israeli society through education and work and the impact of the assistance provided by Israeli occupation organizations on Palestinian youth in Jerusalem may affect their Palestinian identity on multiple levels, and these levels:

A. Creating a renewed and strong Palestinian identity that can confront and resist:

Fanon Frantz in **Colonial Identity Theory** talks about how individuals' self-identity is distorted under colonialism. In Jerusalem, Palestinian youth suffer from constant attempts to erase their Palestinian identity through Israeli policies.

These policies, which were previously explained, such as control over education, imposing restrictions on the Arabic language, and the attempt to erase Palestinian culture and history, etc., force the colonized society to reshape its identity in the face of pressures

and resistance. In Jerusalem, we see Palestinian youth reshaping their identity by combining traditional cultural elements with modern practices, creating a renewed and strong Palestinian identity that can confront and resist ongoing challenges on a daily basis.

This aligns with the theory of the **fluid postmodern identity**, which is characterized by ongoing identity modification and adaptation. Youth Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are frequently threatened with being uprooted and subjected to forced migration, which forces them to constantly redefine who they are in response to shifting conditions.

According to Jean-François Lyotard, grand narratives such as nationalism, religion, and overarching ideologies no longer have absolute power in shaping identity. In the case of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, we find that Palestinian identity is shaped not only by the grand Palestinian national narrative but also by their diverse daily and living experiences, which interact with different local and global contexts.

In the postmodern era and according to postmodern identity theory, technology, and media, especially social media, play a major role in shaping identity. Palestinian youth in Jerusalem use social media as a platform to express their true historical identity of the city of Jerusalem, an identity that is also the result of daily events, to spread their own narratives that are the result of the policies implemented against them by the Israeli occupation, and to communicate with other Palestinians in the diaspora and the rest of the free peoples of the world. This enables them to build a digital identity that challenges dominant narratives and helps them strengthen their Palestinian identity.

Fanon-Frantz's theory also discusses how colonizers utilize resistance to affirm their identity in the face of colonial oppression. In response to efforts to obliterate their

identity, Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are taking part in demonstrations, cultural events, and efforts to preserve and record their legacy.

Also, according to Max Weber and **the theory of conflict and competition** to fragment identity, social competition between different groups affects the formation of identity. Palestinian youth in Jerusalem compete with Israeli settlers and Israeli institutions that seek to change the demographic and cultural character of the city. This competition strengthens the cohesion of the Palestinian community and pushes them to express their identity more strongly, whether through cultural events or protests.

Weber points out that social status plays a major role in shaping identity. In Jerusalem, the Palestinian identity of the youth is also shaped by the social position they occupy in society, which is challenged by discriminatory and exclusionary policies. This distinction enhances their awareness of their Palestinian identity and pushes them to work to improve their social and economic situation as a unified group and to work to protect their Palestinian identity inside Jerusalem and even renew it in conjunction with the renewed circumstances and policies imposed by the racist Israeli occupation.

B. Imagined collective identity in Jerusalem:

As Benedict Anderson emphasizes in his **theory of imagined community** in Chapter Two, despite the fact that its citizens would never cross paths in real life, the country is an "imagined community" that is thought of as a cohesive one. Shared cultural and historical traditions, as well as symbolic acts like flying the Palestinian flag and listening to patriotic music, all contribute to the collective identity of young Palestinians in Jerusalem and strengthen their sense of identification as citizens of a hypothetical Palestinian country.

Social norms and daily activities play a part in creating and preserving the imagined community. Everyday events like family get-togethers, religious and national holidays, and the Jerusalem Youth Forum's charitable initiatives in the city's marketplaces and residential areas all contribute to the cohesiveness of the imagined community and the strengthening of collective identity in Jerusalem. These social customs foster close relationships between people and bolster a feeling of group identity.

C. Dependency on the Israeli Institute:

Palestinian youth may depend on the job opportunities, economic aid, and educational scholarships provided by Israeli occupation organizations or Israeli companies. This financial dependence can be affected and their personal professional decisions. “The Palestinian youth in Jerusalem may avoid taking hostile positions against the institutions that provide them with these scholarships and opportunities, and it is difficult for them to give up this aid or educational scholarships in light of the restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation state on other options or alternatives¹⁸⁵”.

Receiving this aid may cause Palestinians living in Jerusalem to grow more reliant on the organizations, which could diminish their sense of national identity. Instead of feeling more a part of their Palestinian national identity and the Palestinian institutions that provide nothing, they can feel more connected to the organizations that are giving them financial support.

D. Social distancing:

¹⁸⁵ An interview with a second-year bachelor's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Sally May (16/05/2024).

Getting financial assistance from an Israeli organization may lead to a social divide between Palestinians living in Jerusalem and those living in other Palestinian communities, which exacerbates the division of cultures and identities.

On the other hand, exposure of Palestinian youth to Israeli values and culture may lead to changes in their way of thinking and behavior, as the Palestinian youth from Jerusalem may adopt some customs and values that are inconsistent with his Palestinian traditions and identity, "once he learns different values regarding work, education, and social relations, and by learning new terms and phrases from Hebrew or English, Dress Styles, and Entertainment They may begin to take an interest in Israeli culture, music, and movies¹⁸⁶".

Later, when he meets Israeli co-workers and participates in conversations about Israeli culture and customs, which leads to an exchange of opinions and experiences between the two cultures, he may gradually become attracted to the Israeli identity without realizing that he is moving away from his Palestinian identity and thus feels socially distant from his original Palestinian environment.

E. Effect on social identity:

Palestinian youth may feel curious and open to a new culture and new horizons when interacting with Israeli society. "This could be new experiences and different learning opportunities that enhance their personal growth. At some point, Palestinian youth may face an internal conflict between belonging to their Palestinian identity and the Israeli experience they live¹⁸⁷". This conflict can lead to feelings of confusion and

¹⁸⁶ Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

¹⁸⁷ Aghazarian, Ellis. (2010). Jerusalemites and the splitting of identity: Inspired by Frantz Fanon. Journal of Palestine Studies.

psychological rupture, conflicting feelings between belonging to their Palestinian identity and the desire to adapt to and integrate into Israeli society.

“They may even develop a hybrid social identity that combines aspects of their Israeli and Palestinian identities¹⁸⁸”.

According to Jean-François Lyotard in postmodern theory, there is importance in recognizing fragmentation and diversity in identity formation. Palestinian youth in Jerusalem face the fragmentation of their identities as a result of political, social, and economic pressures. They do not express one homogeneous identity but rather live a group of overlapping identities that are formed through their different experiences, whether in Jerusalem neighborhoods or through interaction with Israeli cultures through educational life, working life, and contact with the service institutions that provide the economic and social welfare system.

F. National allegiances may be called into question:

Palestinian youth living in Jerusalem may find their national allegiance and Palestinian identity called into question if they get economic assistance from an Israeli organization.

When Palestinian youth in Jerusalem become dependent on financial assistance from Israeli organizations, they may feel economically dependent on these bodies, which may affect their national loyalty and raise questions about their financial independence and economic sovereignty.

¹⁸⁸ Abu Jaber, I. (2011). Zionism of education inside Palestine. Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations.

“They may wonder whether their allegiance should remain with Palestine or whether they should be grateful for the aid provided by Israeli institutions¹⁸⁹”.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem face social pressure to accept financial aid provided by Israeli organizations, due to difficult economic conditions or political pressures mentioned in the chapters above, and in conjunction with this pressure, they are forced to reduce their national loyalty and Palestinian affiliation.

The Palestinian Jerusalemite youth who receives financial aid from Israeli groups represents a multifaceted and intricate experience.

This person, in order to achieve their fundamental needs, is dependent on financial aid, which leads to economic alienation. They may feel vulnerable in the face of economic hardship and reliant on donors as a result of this dependence, which causes them to lose their feeling of financial independence and dignity.

Second, he experiences a fragmentation of his Palestinian identity due to an internal conflict between his desire for immediate aid from Israeli sources and his commitment to the Palestinian cause. Because of the person's sense of disarray and contradiction between the two discordant attachments, this conflict leads to psychological and mental problems.

Third, he suffers from social separation and isolation because he is ignored by institutions and the larger Palestinian society or because he believes that he is connected to the Israeli environment and society.

¹⁸⁹ Previous reference, Aghazarian, Ellis.

These elements clash with one another, resulting in a complicated environment full of internal conflicts and inconsistencies. The Jerusalemite Palestinian's sense of alienation and the fragmentation of their identity is reinforced by this experience, which heightens emotions of alienation and identity fragmentation.

5.2 The shattered identity:

The city of Jerusalem stands as a microcosm of the complex and turbulent history of the Israeli occupation. "For Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, the past decades have witnessed a profound shattering of their identity, marked by displacement, political turmoil, and constant, daily challenges to their cultural and historical roots and their collective Palestinian identity¹⁹⁰".

Whereas, as previously mentioned in the second chapter, before the 1967 war, East Jerusalem was an integral part of the Palestinian territories under the rule of the Jordanian control, fostering a rich and diverse cultural fabric that reflected the heritage of its Palestinian Arab population. However, the post-war period saw Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem, leading to the displacement of Countless Palestinians have imposed a new reality on their lives.

The forced displacement of Palestinians in Jerusalem shattered the continuity of their lives and severed ties with their ancestral homes and communities. They lost their homes in West and east Jerusalem. Families were uprooted, neighborhoods were divided, and the familiar landscape of their daily existence was changed. Barriers, restrictions, and checkpoints on movement in and around Jerusalem increased, and the construction of Israeli settlements In East Jerusalem, disrupted the social fabric, creating pockets of

¹⁹⁰ Abdul-Mjid, A. (2020). Palestinian Youth: Identity, Participation, and Place.

foreign presence within the Palestinian urban landscape and exacerbating the feeling of separation, alienation, individualism, and directly confronting this foreigner with daily life.

The Israeli legal system and the imposition of Israeli administrative procedures have added another layer to the fractured identity of Palestinians in Jerusalem, as residency restrictions, discriminatory zoning laws, and bureaucratic hurdles have made it increasingly difficult for Palestinians to maintain their connection to the city.

Even the Israeli judicial and legislative system, through the Supreme Court and the Knesset, was not satisfied with the reality of the situation and the suffering that the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem are currently suffering, but rather with the Greater Jerusalem Plan, it aspires to make matters worse, by presenting the draft law in the Knesset and its attempt to exclude hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Jerusalemites from the borders of the city of Jerusalem and replace them with the introduction Five settlements inhabited by hundreds of thousands of settlers within the borders of the city of Jerusalem and its municipality.

"The conversion of pre-occupation Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem into legal status as residents without full political rights such as the right to self-determination, the cancellation of residency rights, and the denial of building permits have left many Palestinians in a permanent state of uncertainty and destabilization of identity, with the daily threat of eviction looming large on their heads¹⁹¹".

¹⁹¹ Habiballah, N. (2014). Aliens in their own land A Sociological Analysis of the Lives of Palestinians in East Jerusalem

Palestinian residents of Jerusalem who are not citizens but have residency status are in a special legal condition. They lack rights and benefits granted to Israeli citizens, such as the opportunity to apply for an Israeli passport and vote in national elections, because they are regarded as residents of Israel rather than citizens. The status and rights of Palestinians in Jerusalem are a source of anxiety and worry for them because of this legal limbo.

The Palestinian identity in Jerusalem seems fragmented due to the legal status of residents lacking full political rights. "While Palestinians in Jerusalem are related to the larger Palestinian community by family, culture, and history, they are distinct from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip due to their legal position¹⁹²". These areas are under Israeli occupation and have different legal and administrative systems. Feelings of loneliness and alienation from the larger Palestinian national struggle may result from this separation.

According to the 2021 Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (Figure no.3), 14,701 Jerusalemite ID cards were confiscated from Palestinian Jerusalemite residents of Jerusalem between 1967 and 2020 by the Israeli occupation for various security reasons and arguments¹⁹³". This forces Palestinian youth to leave the city of Jerusalem and search for a new place of residence.

The constant threat of displacement, discriminatory policies, and cultural erosion mentioned above by the Israeli occupation and its institutions, especially the occupying municipality of Jerusalem, leads to psychological distress among Jerusalemite Palestinian

¹⁹² Cook, J. (2006). *Blood and Religion: The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State*.

¹⁹³ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (n.d.). *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook 2021*.

youth, as the torn Palestinian identity contributes to feelings of alienation, frustration, and feelings of helplessness.

Frantz Fanon highlights the internal conflict that the colonized person has between the identity that the colonizer is attempting to impose and the original identity in his theory of colonial identity. Every day, youthful Palestinian people in Jerusalem struggle between clinging to their Palestinian identity and efforts to force them to adopt an Israeli identity. This conflict may result in extreme psychological strain as well as persistent irritability and hostility.

The Jerusalemite Palestinian became alone on the front line and defended the Palestinian identity with limited capabilities in light of the daily restrictions he lives under without the ability to seek help from any external party, whether international, Arab, or foreign.

The Jerusalemite Palestinian began to think in an individual way to achieve his individual needs and interests in all possible ways to enhance his steadfastness within the city of Jerusalem as he is the only person representing the survival of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

" Because it is difficult for me to complete my education at the Hebrew-Israeli University in Jerusalem without the "Glocal" scholarship that I receive, which in turn sends me to train contents for children and youth in Jerusalem, which are contents that I personally do not agree with and I feel remorseful because they are considered contents that are friendly and approachable to Israeli society. To atone for this, I am carrying out awareness-raising training, disseminating, and strengthening the Palestinian identity for Jerusalemite youth

through the Jerusalem Ambassador project, which is implemented by Al-Matras Company ¹⁹⁴”.

The economic situation of Palestinian Jerusalemites within the city of Jerusalem was directly affected by the political and administrative restrictions imposed on them. Residency restrictions and limited access to job opportunities constituted economic obstacles, hindering the pursuit of individual interests such as career advancement, economic stability, and financial well-being.

All of these economic obstacles force the Jerusalemite Palestinian to give up his independence in his own work, close his Palestinian business, and resort to the Israeli labor market due to its abundance of opportunities, the temptations of its high wages, the existing assistance for workers, and the services provided.

As the Jerusalemite Palestinian integrates into the Israeli labor market, he is forced to avoid identifying himself with his Palestinian identity, and in some cases, to indulge in and praise the other's Israeli identity in order to advance his career and improve his livelihood.

" During my work with Israeli human rights organizations in my first year at the Hebrew University as a student, I found my Palestinian colleagues at work avoiding showing or highlighting their Palestinian identity as for my Israeli colleagues who work under the same roof for fear of being framed. Therefore, I was forced to go along with the situation

¹⁹⁴ An interview with a first-year master's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Fatima Hammad (17/05/2024).

and not highlight my Palestinian identity. So that my Palestinian colleagues do not feel guilty about the position they have taken ¹⁹⁵".

From the standpoint of education, Palestinian Jerusalemites and their individual interests in education face challenges in accessing quality education. "The curricula in Palestinian schools in Jerusalem have been subjected to several attempts at Israelization and Judaization, and discriminatory practices, including unequal allocation of resources and restrictions on academic freedom, can hinder educational endeavors¹⁹⁶".

Mr. Tharwat Zaid adds: "The first fake curriculum that Jerusalem schools were exposed to was the curriculum of the oppressive policies that strike schools, teachers, and students before any other fake educational curriculum. The restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation on the access of students and teachers to schools, arrests, and inspection campaigns have led to harm in attracting high-quality educational staff to the Palestinian schools in the City of Jerusalem. This led to a blow to the quality of education and the well-being of education in terms of the educational environment, including manipulation of the Palestinian curricula in schools and depriving schools of financial support. All of this led to the weakness of the Palestinian national schools and the students' bias toward schools loyal to the occupation in terms of financial support ¹⁹⁷".

When the stages of university education are reached, the sources of education inside Jerusalem are very limited due to the lack of Palestinian universities inside

¹⁹⁵ An interview with a second-year bachelor's student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ms. Sally May (16/05/2024).

¹⁹⁶ Zahd, R. (2017). The impact of Israeli educational policy on the public awareness of Palestinian youth in East Jerusalem schools.

¹⁹⁷ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

Jerusalem and the difficulty of having their degrees recognized within the Israeli labor market.

The alternative option for the Jerusalemite Palestinian inside Jerusalem is to learn the Hebrew language and culture to enroll in Israeli universities inside the city of Jerusalem to obtain recognized certificates to improve his future job opportunities after graduation.

As a result of enrolling in Israeli universities, whose fees are considered exorbitant for Jerusalemite Palestinians, the lack of job opportunities in Jerusalem, and the weakness of foreign grants and aid, Palestinians are forced to resort to scholarships and educational aid available from Israeli ministerial institutions such as The Israeli Council for Higher Education (CHE) and Israeli educational institutions such as the “Glocal” scholarship funded by the Rothberg Association of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, so that they are able to complete their education.

Thus, as a result of individual interests in seeking employment and education opportunities to maintain survival and steadfastness within the city of Jerusalem, the Palestinian national identity is affected and even a unique Palestinian Jerusalemite identity emerges that feeds on what is available to it for its survival while its members suffer from displacement, steadfastness, and the challenges of maintaining a sense of belonging to the community. Its presence becomes apparent at crucial moments when it clashes with the occupation by fighting the Judaization and Israelization of the Islamic and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem, for example, or any crisis carried out by the occupation on the Palestinian youth of Jerusalem or the rest of the Palestinian people.

"Personal interests in forming and maintaining meaningful social connections are crucial to emotional support, resilience, and maintaining Palestinian identity in Jerusalem¹⁹⁸". However, the fragmented nature of neighborhoods, checkpoints, and other physical barriers impact the daily lives of Palestinians in Jerusalem, and essential activities, such as commuting to work or Visiting family, complex tasks.

The shattered identity of Palestinians in Jerusalem lacks various aspects of their individual interests, from psychological well-being to economic stability, from educational pursuits to cultural preservation, and suffers from a lack of equity and justice due to the occupation.

The fragmented identity of the youth Palestinians in Jerusalem has far-reaching consequences beyond the immediate individual and cultural spheres, affecting the social and economic development of the community. The effects of identity fragmentation contribute to strengthening the feeling of backwardness, which hinders progress and development in various fields.

Educational disparities, discriminatory practices, limited access to resources, and political instability impede the development of a strong educational system, and the social, political, and administrative challenges faced by Palestinians in Jerusalem from the spread of the scourge of drugs, attempts to destroy awareness, child labor, and neglect of basic infrastructure further exacerbate the feeling of backwardness within society and the lack of innovation. And progress within society.

¹⁹⁸ Al Jabouri, A. (2020). The role of Jerusalemites in preserving the Palestinian identity and confronting the methods of the Zionist occupation 1987-1967 CE.

Addressing these challenges requires not only political solutions but also a concerted effort to recognize and support society's potential for growth and progress.

According to the **fragmented identity theory**, identity is created through cross-cultural interactions in what he refers to as the "third space," where several cultures collide and combine to create a new hybrid identity. Palestinian teenagers in Jerusalem inhabit a milieu where Israeli and global influences blend with Palestinian culture, resulting in a fractured identity that synthesizes these disparate aspects.

The experiences of young Palestinians in Jerusalem can be connected to Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha's idea of fragmented identity. This relationship illustrates how their identity is created by ongoing engagement with many political and cultural settings as well as ongoing negotiations with dominating authorities, culminating in a complex and varied identity that embodies their singular experience in the Holy City.

5.3 Towards a Palestinian National Youth Identity in Jerusalem.

Palestinian youth in Jerusalem's national awareness of their Palestinian identity can be enhanced by providing correct information about the history and culture of Palestine, and the importance of preserving national identity in the face of political and social challenges.

In order to provide this information, all parties in Palestinian society must work as one single front at all levels, starting with the young Jerusalemite himself, the family, the school, the teacher, and all local and international government agencies, Arab or foreign.

❖ **Family** upbringing primarily plays a role in creating a young Palestinian Jerusalemite generation that is aware of its identity and the challenges it will face in the future from

universities and the labor market, the family is the powerful factor that affects the identity and awareness of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem. In the end, what the young man learns at home while growing up is what he presents outside the home.

- ❖ **Voluntary youth groups** are the second important weapon to spread the Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem among its youth. Youth attract youth, and by creating youth groups in different and qualitative fields (technology, mathematics, geography, social media), the rest of the youth are attracted to them, each in the field of hobbies that they love. Therefore, when he enters these groups, the youth group must work to provide awareness-raising activities about the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and the danger it faces, in conjunction with the activities from which he benefits in his field of hobby.

The role of youth groups is not limited only to their individuals, but rather they must kill two birds with one stone. While carrying out awareness-raising activities for the Palestinian identity for their members, they also work as volunteers in the field. Community volunteer initiatives within Jerusalem schools and on national holidays and holidays are an important and vital part of spreading the Palestinian identity.

During these initiatives, in creative ways outside the box, while taking caution to attract unwanted eyes from the occupation authorities and its agents, youth groups must open the door to volunteering for any Palestinian youth who are not members of them who wish, and they must even welcome them. Also, choosing the segment that is intended to be sensitized to the Palestinian identity is a very important matter, especially for Palestinian school students in Jerusalem who are studying the false curricula modified by the Israeli occupation.

“Because I was a graduate of Birzeit University with a specialty in law, and my brothers are graduates of Israeli universities in Jerusalem, I noticed big differences between me and them in understanding the Palestinian identity and the dangers that await it from Israelization and Judaization inside Jerusalem, and therefore youth groups were one of the means that I relied on to spread the Palestinian identity inside the city of Jerusalem as a volunteer,” At the same time, I educated my brothers and integrated them into the activities of youth groups as members, as volunteers, and as a group that was being educated at the same time¹⁹⁹”.

❖ **The Palestinian community institutions** in the city of Jerusalem have a very important role in the process of creating a Palestinian generation aware of its Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem. Through training, workshops, seminars, and appointing the best trainers, the nature of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and the collective identity can be spread among the children and youth of Jerusalem.

The role of community institutions also comes in supporting and containing youth groups, whether financially or by providing all services that facilitate their work, including giving them access to use their facilities and halls to implement and plan youth group initiatives.

“Due to the absence of awareness in the city of Jerusalem of the dangers facing the Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem, such as Israelization and Judaization, I, through my company, have implemented many programs and activities, one of which is the “Jerusalem Ambassador,” in cooperation with many Jerusalemite institutions, including the Al-Bustan Foundation and the Miftah Foundation, as well as the Burj Al-

¹⁹⁹ Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

Luqluq Foundation is trying once again to revive and support the Jerusalem Youth Groups Forum and reactivate its role as a unified youth movement that works to strengthen the presence of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem through its members²⁰⁰.

National education that highlights the history and culture of Palestine must be strengthened in the curricula of schools and educational institutions in Jerusalem, and the youth should be encouraged to have a deep understanding of the importance and role of Jerusalem in the Palestinian national identity.

- ❖ **The role of schools and teachers** play an essential and vital role in confronting the Israelization and Judaization of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem. By providing high-quality education based on purely Palestinian curricula and by bringing educational competencies from the educational staff, they spread Palestinian awareness and identity to the emerging Palestinian youth generation in Jerusalem.

Despite the false curricula and Israeli educational systems that were imposed on the majority of Jerusalem schools and which are still being imposed on the rejectionist schools to this day, the hidden role of the school and the role of the teacher appears to confront the false curriculum.

In the room, the real educational curriculum remains what the teacher presents (the hidden curriculum). The teacher is the conveyor of the message and is the executive tool and hand of the school. The teacher can, through lessons and courses, convey ideas that foster and raise awareness of the Palestinian-Arab identity of Jerusalem through any course taught. If we take for example, in the mathematics lessons, through

²⁰⁰ Interview with the CEO of Al-Mitras Youth Work Company, for training and rehabilitation in the city of Jerusalem, Ms. Dana Magdy (21/05/2024).

integration and differentiation equations, we can convey an implicit message that says, and I quote, “The Arab nation does not accept differential equations because the counter decreases, while it accepts integration and addition (and in this way it introduced the concept of Arab unity)²⁰¹”.

- ❖ **The role of the Jerusalemite community** is not necessarily less than the role of the teacher and the schools in building a unified Palestinian Jerusalemite youth identity. Establishing a sustainable parents’ council and providing a financial side gives it the margin to move and work with the rest of the schools in Jerusalem of all religions and forms of church schools as well, as to unite the front on how to respond to pressures. The occupation faces schools with a united Muslim and Christian front.

“The Parents’ Movement in Schools refused to teach the false curricula to their children in some Jerusalem schools, and even smuggled the Palestinian curricula into the classrooms so that their children would not learn the false history of the city of Jerusalem²⁰²”.

In addition to the major role of Jerusalemite youth, youth groups, community institutions, families of students, schools, and teachers, the role of state governments also comes.

- ❖ **The Palestinian National Authority**, through its ministries, has an important and fundamental role to play in preserving the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and creating a Palestinian Jerusalemite generation that is aware of its identity.

Through its ministry, such as the Ministry of Finance, it must support the steadfastness of schools and community institutions within the city of Jerusalem with financial

²⁰¹ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

²⁰² An interview with the headmaster of Al-Iman School in Jerusalem- Al-Eizariya, Mr. Zaid Al-Qeeq (18/05/2024).

support, since these schools and institutions with income face the budget of an entire occupying state.

"The Palestinian Ministry of Finance has paid for many of the financial crises that Jerusalem schools were suffering from, especially the tax, exorbitant rent, "Arnonas", and fines due to its refusal to accept teaching the forged curriculum²⁰³".

The Ministry of Finance must also give special allowances to encourage Palestinian teachers and cover their expenses to spread the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem schools, given the large shortage of educational staff.

The Palestinian National Authority must also keep an eye on the schools that are under direct confrontation with the occupation, and in particular inform them not to go to hearing committees summoned by the Israeli occupation institutions without appropriate legal representation.

It is also the role of the Palestinian Authority to search for non-European or American sources of funding (that are not biased towards the Israeli occupation) so that this funding does not later become a tool for pressure on the Palestinian Authority and its schools.

"The Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO), in cooperation with the Palestinian National Committee for Education, Culture, and Science, launched the "ALECSO Chair for Studies of Al-Quds Al-Sharif" and the media platform "Jerusalem is Your Arabness". This launch comes in implementation

²⁰³ An interview with the former Director General of Curricula at the Palestinian Ministry of Education, Mr. Tharwat Zaid (18/05/2024).

of the decision of the Executive Council held in its 117th session, related to Jerusalem and the dangers that threaten it²⁰⁴".

It includes calling on the General Administration and the member states of the Arab Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization to continue working to provide support and protection for the Islamic and Christian holy sites and Arab landmarks that the occupation seeks to Judaize and to protect educational, cultural and scientific institutions, in addition to supporting Palestinian institutions in the Holy City in a way that ensures that they continue to perform their role and provide services to all Palestinian Jerusalemite youth and at all educational, cultural, health and other levels. Later comes the turn of the ministerial committees representing the Palestinian Authority and the rest of the Palestinian institutions that represent Palestine in international arenas.

These committees and institutions must spread the issue of Judaization and Israelization of the Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem, which Jerusalemite youth suffer from in their daily lives, before international and regional human rights institutions, and carry out specific and mobilization activities to preserve the Jerusalemite national identity of Palestinian youth in Jerusalem.

- ❖ Going to the **Arab Economic and Social Council, UNESCO**, and the Human Rights Council, and addressing countries through their ambassadors, the European Union, and the European Commission, and highlighting the issue of the Israelization of the Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem, in violation of all international laws, resolutions, and treaties, in an attempt to curb it.

²⁰⁴ Abu Bakr, F. (2023). The efforts of the Palestinian National Committee for Education, Culture and Science to confront the Israeliization of education in Jerusalem. Palestine Liberation Organization Palestinian National Committee for Education, Culture and Science.

- ❖ Addressing **the Hashemite Queen of Jordan**, in particular, to take a frank and serious stance against the Israeli occupation, as she is responsible for a number of endowment schools currently in the city of Jerusalem, which suffer from the same Israeli attempts and imposition of false curricula within them.
- ❖ **Forming a legal clinic** concerned with addressing the decisions issued by the Israeli occupation judicial institutions and supporting the Palestinian schools in Jerusalem against which these decisions were issued.

To conclude, The Israeli violations against the city of Jerusalem, its people, its youth, and its sanctities do not end, and unfortunately, they have reached a point where it has become difficult to count them all accurately due to their large number.

Palestinian identity faces on a daily basis, and even in our present time, waves of direct and indirect Judaization and Israelization policies, with deliberate attempts to erase its history in Jerusalem.

School curricula have been changed, falsified, and Israelized, Excessive fines were imposed on youth economic projects, building violations, and other violations committed by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, youth, school children, and even teachers have been arrested, and Checkpoints were imposed to obstruct movement and inspection campaigns were carried out on schools to confiscate Palestinian curricula. Unemployment was spread among Jerusalemite youth. The homes of Jerusalemite youth were demolished and they were prevented from building houses or giving them licenses to build them. The withdrawal of permanent residency from Palestinians Jerusalemite youth, youth talents were controlled by closing their career horizon and guidance to work in Israeli institutions and under the supervision of the Israeli

occupation institutions and other policies that do not stop erasing the Palestinian youth and the Palestinian identity within the city of Jerusalem.

Despite these violations and the harsh and soft policies of Israelization and Judaization, Palestinians in Jerusalem participate in a variety of community organizing activities, civic engagement, and youth volunteer groups to solve regional problems, defend their rights, and assert their presence and representation of Palestinian identity in the squares of Jerusalem.

Advocacy efforts, cultural events, and popular projects implemented by all local and international governmental bodies and all segments of Jerusalemite society, especially community institutions, are considered vital in preserving and strengthening the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem and encouraging the city's citizens to persevere and unite despite their legal status and despite the state of instability and fragmentation in the Palestinian identity.

The identity of the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem is still steadfast within the Palestinian youth in light of all attempts at Judaization, Israelization, and fragmentation, and even in light of isolation and exclusivity from the rest of the Palestinian community in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian diaspora, the Palestinian youth in Jerusalem was able to build a flexible Palestinian identity that is nourished by the services of the institutions within The city of Jerusalem, which includes the Israeli economic and social welfare system, with the aim of strengthening his steadfastness within the city of Jerusalem and providing daily food for himself and his family, thus strengthening the steadfastness of the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem.

In line with Frantz Fanon's idea of colonial identity, the formation of Palestinian identity in Jerusalem is a result of resistance against efforts to diminish and eradicate identity.

In the face of colonialism and outside influences, Palestinian youth are confirming their identity by preserving their culture, history, and language.

According to Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined community, language, national symbols, and shared histories are essential components of the identity of a Palestinian living in Jerusalem. Palestinian youth may strengthen unity and cohesiveness by creating a sense of belonging to an imagined Palestinian community that links them to other Palestinians worldwide through modern media, communication, and social media.

In conformity with Jean-François Lyotard's postmodern theory of identity, the Palestinian identity is shaped by a multitude of experiences and encounters and is marked by fragmentation and plurality. Palestinian youth are able to change their identities in ways that mirror their actual experience, making it more dynamic and multifaceted, via cultural and critical opposition to prevailing narratives.

Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall's fragmented identity theory further adds that Palestinian identity is a result of ongoing interaction with many political and cultural circumstances. Palestinian adolescents in Jerusalem negotiate with prevailing powers, hold onto traditional aspects of their identities, and adjust to new influences in order to express complex identities.

Lastly, Max Weber's theories of rivalry and conflict: the fight for recognition, resources, and social standing strengthens Palestinian identity. Palestinian adolescents in Jerusalem forge a robust and enduring identity via struggle with prevailing forces and persistent resistance to discriminatory policies.

Since the Jerusalem identity is formed through interaction with local and global contexts, negotiation with dominant powers, and cultural and political resistance, Palestinian youth in Jerusalem can create a renewed and strong identity by combining

these theories using the tools mentioned above in this chapter at all local, regional, and international levels. Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are redefining their identities via an emphasis on national symbols, shared narratives, and multiculturalism, which is strengthening their capacity to overcome obstacles and maintain internal cohesiveness. They can protect and uphold their distinct Palestinian identity in the face of the Israeli occupation and its policy of Judaizing and Israelizing the city of Jerusalem and its Palestinian identity, thanks to this all-encompassing and integrated strategy, which strengthens and extends the Palestinian identity of Jerusalem.

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Appendices

Appendix (1): Human Subject Consent Form

I, _____ being a resident of the city of Jerusalem, aged 18 and over, and having full capacity of informed consent, volunteer to participate in a research project entitled, “The Jerusalemite Palestinian Youth Identity Struggle.”

I understand that the purpose of this research is to shed light on the identity struggle experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem, as Jerusalemite youth are internationally classified as people without a Full political identity that refers to them as permanent citizens of a specific state. They are not integrated into the Israeli national framework and do not have Political rights; they cannot decide their fate and cannot participate in any elections.

I recognize that the only people who can provide this information and are able to shed light on the identity struggle experienced by Palestinian youth in Jerusalem are the residents of the city of Jerusalem and my decision to partake in this research is entirely voluntary. I realize that sincere and truthful answers are of great importance if the research findings are to be useful. I am aware that I may refuse to answer any of the questions, and that I can stop the interview at any time. I also can withdraw from the project altogether without any negative repercussions.

I understand that the interview will be recorded, and that I have the right to review the tapes after the interview and to erase any or all parts of the interview.

I understand that Mr. Baha Dawas (the interviewer) will treat all personal information I provide with confidentiality. Actual names will be dropped if the interviewee prefers to stay anonymous.

I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions about the study, and they have been answered to my full satisfaction.

This research is being conducted by Baha Dawas, under the supervision of Dr. Nahid Habib Allah as a thesis project for the degree of Master's in Conflict Resolution in The Arab American University – Palestine.

If I should encounter any difficulties as a result of my participation in this project, or need to contact the interviewer for any reason, I may contact him at:

Bahadawas2020@gmail.com

Cell. # +972597884901.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix (2) : Interview Questions

Questions to the director of Al-Iman School and the director of the Curriculum Center at the Palestinian Ministry of Education:

1. What is the difference between the Palestinian educational curricula and the Israeli curricula in the city of Jerusalem, especially with regard to Palestinian national identity?
2. Is the occupation municipality putting pressure on Jerusalem schools and Al-Iman schools to introduce educational curricula as an alternative to the Palestinian curricula? What aspects of pressure are being exerted? Are there threats of closure, imposition of financial fines, etc.?
3. What is the position of students' families and student parents' councils? Is there pressure from the students' families to accept the Israeli curriculum for fear of closing the school?
4. Is there pressure on educational staff and students and threats of arrest?
5. Are there other schools suffering from the same crisis as Al-Iman School?
6. What is your vision for preserving the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem? And confronting Israeli policy against Palestinian educational curricula?

Questions for university students

1. Does your graduation from a Palestinian or Israeli university affect your chances of joining the Israeli labor market? And the quality of work in the job?
2. Have you been forced to work without a certificate in another field that is not related to your work because your certificate was refused recognition?
3. What challenges do you face when enrolling in Israeli universities? the language? the culture? Discrimination? Dealing and integrating with Israeli society? Courses? Financial cost? Among these difficulties?

4. Are there options and alternatives available to complete higher education?
5. Does the scholarship system contribute to enabling Palestinian students to complete their higher education?
6. What does this scholarship include? books? Daily expenses? installments?
7. Do you find yourself forced to hide and express your Palestinian identity for fear of being framed or isolated from the university community? Do you feel discrimination from students or the university administration?
8. Does expressing your Palestinian identity threaten your chances of obtaining grants? Or losing it?
9. Do you feel that receiving scholarships from the university has affected your position on Israeli society? Or your national affiliation?
10. What is the impact of your daily interaction with Israeli society, educational staff, and friends on your feelings, and did it create a kind of alienation from your Palestinian society and fragmentation of identity? Do you find yourself, by virtue of your studies at an Israeli university, becoming more receptive and influenced by Israeli culture? What effect does this have on your belonging to your Palestinian identity? Do you feel that it has become fragmented or fragmented? Do you feel a conflict of identity?
11. Do you feel socially alienated from the Palestinian identity, or have you formed a dual identity or another option due to the cultural conflict you are experiencing in the university community?
12. What are the means that contribute to preserving the Palestinian national identity in Jerusalem?

Questions with heads of community institutions, trainers, and volunteers in Jerusalem youth groups

1. Safir Jerusalem Project (Mitras)? How do you see the importance of this project in raising awareness of Palestinian national identity in Jerusalem?
2. Being a member of a youth group? How do you see the role of youth groups in preserving Palestinian identity and what is the role of volunteers?
3. What was the role of Jerusalemite youth in protecting the sanctuary and holy sites, such as the issue of electronic gates? And the case of Sheikh Jarrah, for example? What was the role of the Youth Groups Forum?
4. How do you see the role of social media in the interaction of Jerusalemite youth with national issues such as the case of Sheikh Jarrah? What is happening in Gaza? Does it pay off internationally?
5. Because of your daily dealings with Israeli society through institutions and friends at work, do you carry feelings of alienation from your Palestinian society and division in national identity?
6. How do you see the best way to preserve the Palestinian identity in Jerusalem?
7. Questions about the discrimination in dealings by the occupation municipality between Palestinians and Israelis, such as Fines for parking violations in Laylat al-Qadr (Ramdan)? In exchange for No fine for parking violations Jewish holidays? And the behavior in dealing with crises, traffic jams, and congestions between Palestinians and Israelis?

ملخص الرسالة

أطروحة قدمت حول صراع الهوية لدى الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس (بين الانتماء الوطني لهويتهم الفلسطينية الموروثة وإغراءات خدمات الرعاية الاجتماعية التابعة للاحتلال الإسرائيلي التي تسعى إلى إذابة ونسيان هويتهم الفلسطينية وغرس ولأئهم لسوق العمل الإسرائيلي).

وبحسب كتاب القدس الإحصائي السنوي لعام 2021، فإن هناك 461700 فلسطيني يقيمون في القدس الشرقية وضواحيها في منتصف عام 2020، وهو ما يمثل حوالي 40% من إجمالي سكان مدينة القدس. وهم في وضع فريد بسبب الوضع القانوني الذي مُنح لهم أثناء الاحتلال الإسرائيلي للقدس الشرقية عام 1967. تم تغيير الوضع القانوني لسكان القدس الفلسطينيين إلى المقيمين الدائمين (مثل النزلاء) بدلاً من المواطنين الأصليين للأرض.

ويخضع الفلسطينيون في القدس، مثل كل الفلسطينيين، للاحتلال الإسرائيلي من خلال السياسات التي تفرضها إسرائيل بهدف التأثير على الواقع اليومي في القدس وتلفيق وتشويه الهوية الفلسطينية للقدس وسكانها.

ويعتبر الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس شريحة اجتماعية مهمة تتعرض للصراع المباشر مع اليهود ويتواصلون معهم يومياً عبر المؤسسات والعمل والتعليم والجامعات.

سعى الاحتلال الإسرائيلي إلى فرض سيطرته العسكرية والجغرافية والسياسية والثقافية على الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس، بهدف أسرلة وتهويد الهوية الفلسطينية للقدس باستخدام مجموعة من السياسات والتقنيات الصلبة والناعمة، بما في ذلك سياسة العصا والجزرة وغيرها من الإجراءات مثل تقديم المنح والتسهيلات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية بأجندة غامضة وخفية.

وفي محاولة لاستيعاب الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس في النظام الاقتصادي والاجتماعي والثقافي الإسرائيلي، استخدمت إسرائيل تدابير الرعاية الاجتماعية لتحويل وحل وعي وهوية الشعب الفلسطيني في القدس، وخاصة الشباب.

إن عزل وتغيير المناهج التعليمية الفلسطينية في القدس، وتوفير فرص سوق العمل والحقوق الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والمرافق الجامعية، هي أساليب ووسائل تستخدمها إسرائيل لفرض سيطرتها على فئة الشباب وإبقائها مخدرة أمام هذه الإغراءات والرفاهية، من أجل تحقيق هدف

الاحتلال الإسرائيلي المتمثل في طمس الهوية الفلسطينية في القدس والانتماء الوطني للشباب وإعادة تشكيل هوية جديدة مرتبطة ومعتمدة اجتماعياً واقتصادياً وثقافياً على الاحتلال الإسرائيلي ومؤسساته. ونتيجة لذلك، يعيش هؤلاء الشباب الفلسطيني صراعاً داخلياً حول الهوية التي يتمسكون بها، بين الانتماء الوطني للهوية الفلسطينية والكيان الفلسطيني، وبين الواقع والحياة اليومية لنظام الرعاية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية الإسرائيلي الذي يوفر لهم احتياجاتهم وفرص الحياة الوحيدة.

تركز الدراسة على حالة صراع الهوية لدى الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس، وكيف يعبر الشباب في القدس عن توجهاتهم وهويتهم في ظل حالة الصراع. ومن حيث حالة الصراع، تحاول الدراسة تسليط الضوء على بؤابر ظهور ملامح الهوية الفلسطينية المقدسية من واقع التجربة الحياتية والتحديات الحياتية اليومية التي يعيشها ويواجهها الشباب الفلسطيني في القدس.

فهو يسعى من ناحية إلى الاستفادة من الحقوق التي يوفرها نظام الرعاية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية الإسرائيلي من أجل البقاء في أرضه، ومن ناحية أخرى يسعى إلى التعبير عن انتمائه الوطني الفلسطيني المستمر في حماية حقوقه الوطنية في فلسطين ذات الطبيعة المقدسة، كما هو الحال دائماً في الدفاع عن المقدسات الإسلامية والمسيحية.

في الصباح يعمل في سوق العمل الإسرائيلي ويتواصل مع يهود وإسرائيليين كزملاء عمل وأصدقاء عمل، وفي المساء يواجه الشرطة الإسرائيلية في ساحة الأقصى دفاعاً عن الأماكن المقدسة. لذا سعت الدراسة إلى فهم وتوضيح حالة صراع الهوية من وجهة نظر الشباب المقدسي، من خلال دراسة الأحداث الجارية، وإجراء المقابلات الشخصية اللازمة، ومراجعة الأدبيات المتعلقة بها.