



مؤسسة الدراسات الفلسطينية
Institute for Palestine Studies

Annual Palestine Forum

2023

28-30 January 2023



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[Timetable](#) | [Participants](#) | [Participants in Workshops](#) | [Participants in Ostour Symposium](#) | [Speakers and Chairs](#)

Timetable

Day 1 - Saturday, 28 January 2023

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 9:30 - 10:30 | <p style="text-align: center;">Al Majlis Hall</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Opening Session</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Ayat Hamdan</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Tarek Mitri: Opening Remarks</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Azmi Bishara: Opening Lecture</p> |
| Session 1 | |
| Salwa Hall (1) | <p style="text-align: center;">Settler Colonialism in Palestine</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Marwan Kabalan</p> <p>Nadim N. Rouhana: Landlords and Tenants in the Jewish State: Settler Colonial Citizenship, Homeland, and the Right to Belong</p> <p>Mark Muhannad Ayyash: Zionism, Nationalism, and Settler Colonialism: On Motivations and Violence</p> <p>Caroline Lund: Settler Colonialism and the Erasure of the Other: Constructing Hegemonic Narratives</p> <p>Zeina Jallad: Identity Annexation: Israel's Non-Territorial and Psychic Annexation of the West Bank Samaritans in the Occupied Palestinian Territories</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | <p style="text-align: center;">Palestine in International Law</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Mohamed Olwan</p> <p>Elhoucine Chougrani: Compensation for Environmental Damages in Occupied Palestine: With Reference to the Environmental Effects of Israel's Separation Wall</p> <p>Saif Yousef: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Right of Return as Enshrined in United Nations Resolution No. 194</p> <p>Mohamed El Ouadrassi: Constraints on the Application of International Criminal Justice in Palestine</p> |
| Salwa Hall (3) | <p style="text-align: center;">Palestine in the International Context</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Abdelwahab El-Affendi</p> <p>Michael R. Fischbach: Native Struggles against Settler Colonialism: Ongoing Palestine Solidarity among Indian and Latinx Peoples in the US from the 1960s</p> <p>Abdulla Moaswes: The Interconnected Colonial Projects in Palestine and Kashmir: Understanding the Settler Colonial World Economy in the 21st Century</p> <p>Nguh Nwei Asanga Fon: Complicated Partnership: The Evolving Trajectory of Israeli-African Relations</p> <p>Muna Awadallah: The Problem of Democracy in Colonial Entities according to John Rawls's Theory of Justice: The Zionist Entity as an Example</p> |
| 12:30 - 12:45 | Break |

Session 2

| | | |
|----------------|---------------|--|
| Salwa Hall (1) | | <p>Security in Palestine: Colonial Security Techniques</p> <p>Chair: Sana Hammoudi</p> <p>Yousef Munayyer: Transnational Repression: The Israel Repression Network</p> <p>Pietro Stefanini: COGAT and the Humanitarian Mode of Settler Colonialism</p> <p>Nur Arafteh: Entrenching Privilege and Promoting Local Agency in Counter-Insurgency: A Case Study of Trade Facilitation Programmes in Hebron in the Occupied West Bank</p> <p>Areej Sabbagh-Khoury: Jerusalem, the Settler Colonial Condition, and Anti-Colonial Resilience</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | 12:45 - 14:45 | <p>Palestinian Patterns of Resistance</p> <p>Chair: Salam Kawakibi</p> <p>Tareq Radi: "No Face, No Case": A Financial Account of Indigenous Insurgence and Imperial Insecurity</p> <p>Khaled Anabtawi: A Sociological Perspective on the Dignity Uprising and the Metamorphoses among Palestinians in the 1948 Territories</p> <p>Ahmad As'ad: Uprisings of Attrition – "Your Projects Won't Pass": Understanding the Palestinian Uprisings and Resistance Patterns, 2013-2022</p> <p>Mustafa Sheta & Ayman Yousef: Reconceptualization of Cultural Resistance in Palestine in the Context of National Theatre</p> |
| Salwa Hall (3) | | <p>Palestine in Academic/Intellectual Discourse</p> <p>Chair: Ibrahim Fraihat</p> <p>Ilan Pappé: Palestine Studies: Achievements and Future Orientations</p> <p>Bilal Salaymeh: How Has Palestine Been Academically Constructed in Turkey?</p> <p>Abdallah Abulouz: Palestinian Representations in Saudi Arabian History Curricula since the 1990s: A Critical Discourse Analysis</p> <p>Saja Torman: Public Policy Research in Palestine Under Colonisation: A Contribution to the Discussion of the Intellectual and Societal Commitment of Researchers</p> |
| | 14:45 - 15:45 | Lunch Break |

Workshop

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| <p>Workshop (1) 15:45 - 16:45</p> | <p>Al Majlis Hall</p> <p>Palestine in Opinion Polls</p> <p>Chair: Mehdi Mabrouk</p> <p>Shibley Telhami: Shifting American Public Attitudes on Israel/Palestine and Their Impact on Politics and Policy</p> <p>Mohammad Almasri: Palestine in Arab Public Opinion</p> |
| <p>16:45 - 17:00</p> | <p>Break</p> |
| <p>Workshop (2) 17:00 - 18:30</p> | <p>Al Majlis Hall</p> <p>Palestinian Division and Reconciliation Prospects</p> <p>Chair: Ghassan Alkahlout</p> <p>Mohammed Abu Nimer, Lourdes Habash, Tamer Qarmout</p> |

Day 2 - Sunday, 29 January 2023

| Session 3 | | |
|----------------|---------------|--|
| Salwa Hall (1) | | <p style="text-align: center;">On the Sociology of Palestinian Identity</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Ayah Randall</p> <p>Rami Rmeileh: Trans-Territorial Sumud: Refugee Responses to Multiple Systems of Oppression in Bourj el-Barajneh Camp</p> <p>Nour Bader: Spatial and Temporal Sociology of Camp Identity: Al-Wehdat - New Amman as a Model</p> <p>Ahmed Mamoun & Zahraa Shabana: Settler Colonialism and the Birth of New Prisoners: Migration from the Gaza Strip (2007-2022)</p> <p>Elizabeth Martejijn: Between Ruins and Remnants: Religious Renewal among Christians in West Bank Palestine</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | 9:00 - 11:00 | <p style="text-align: center;">Development Discourse in Palestine and Colonial Violence</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Tariq Daana</p> <p>Hasan Ayoub & Eleyan Sawafta: Development and Settler Colonialism: Perpetuating Neo-Colonial Domination and Apartheid</p> <p>Ashraf Bader: A Critical Reading of the Neoliberalism of the Palestinian Authority under Zionist Settler Colonialism</p> <p>Abdelrahman Murad: The Construction of a Counter-Hegemonic Discourse on Economic Development: A Critical Analysis of Palestinian Policy</p> <p>Marta Parigi: The Effect of Israeli Settlement-Related Structural Violence on Palestinian Food Security</p> |
| Salwa Hall (3) | | <p style="text-align: center;">Palestine in a Historical Perspective</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Amal Ghazal</p> <p>Adel Manna: Transformation of Collective Identity from Ottomanism to Arabism: Ahmad Helmi Pasha as a Model</p> <p>Johnny Mansour: The Palestinian Cultural Scene during the British Mandate: Al-Karmel and Filastin Newspapers as Examples</p> <p>Ali T. As'ad: Palestine and the National Sensorium: Exhibition-Making in the Twentieth Century</p> |
| | 11:00 - 11:15 | Break |

Session 4

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| Salwa Hall (1) | | <p style="text-align: center;">On the Palestinian Economy</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Ayhab Saad</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Raja Khalidi & Islam Rabee : Prospects for Palestinian Economic Cooperation and Complementarity across the Green Line</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Rabeh Morrar & Rand Jibril: Promoting the Development of the Startup Ecosystem in Palestine, and its Potential Effects on Public Finance</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Areen Hawari & Sami Mahajna: Split in Two Parts: The Dynamics of the Commercial Relationship between the Palestinians from within the Green Line and Jenin</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | 11:15 - 13:00 | <p style="text-align: center;">On Palestinian Demography</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Majdi Al-Maliki</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Youssef Courbage & Hala Naufal: Demography of the Palestinians</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mohammed Duraidi: The Palestinian Population in the Palestinian Territories and the Palestinians within the Green Line: Demographic Status and Population Projections</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thayer Hastings: On the Crisis of Demographic Balance and Majority in Jerusalem</p> |
| Salwa Hall (3) | | <p style="text-align: center;">Palestinian Memory: From the Nakba to the Camps</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Mueen Al-Taher</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Azadeh Sobout: War-Memoryscapes and the Grassroots Agency for Justice: Re-Searching the Truth-Memory Practices of Palestinians in Nahr el Bared</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Reham Amro: The Moment of the Nakba: The Erasure of the Palestinian People ... The Keys to Stolen Doors ... The Duality of the Intellectual and the Peasant (Al-Fallah)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Rola Sirhan: Memory of Defeat and Palestinian Social and Political Imaginaries: Dominance without Hegemony</p> |
| 13:00 - 14:00 | Lunch Break | |

Workshop

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| <p>Workshop (3) 15:00 - 17:00</p> | <p>The Arab Center - Cultural Building, Main Auditorium</p> <p>Solidarity with Palestine in the Western Context: Reality, Changes, and Challenges</p> <p>Chair: Khalil Jahshan</p> <p>Osama Abuirshaid, Ahmad Abuznaid, Malia Bouattia, Majed Abusalama</p> |
| <p>17:00 - 17:30</p> | <p>Break</p> |
| <p>Workshop (4) 17:30 - 18:30</p> | <p>The Arab Center - Cultural Building, Main Auditorium</p> <p>Launch of the Palestinian Memory , Jerusalem Story, and Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question</p> <p>Mueen Al-Taher, Kate Rouhana, Khaled Farraj</p> |

Ostour Symposium

Historical Writing in Palestine

Day 1

Dukhan Meeting Room

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 9:15 - 10:15 | <p>Opening</p> <p>Chair: Abderrahim Benhadda</p> <p>Beshara Doumani: The Battle for Palestine's Historiography</p> |
| 10:30 - 10:15 | <p>Break</p> |
| 10:30 - 12:30 | <p>Session 1</p> <p>Archive and Counter-Archive</p> <p>Chair: Khaled Ziadeh</p> <p>Munir Fakher Eldin: The History of Land Records and the Struggle for Palestine: Taboo, Society, and State (1858-1948)</p> <p>Bilal Shalash: Our Plundered Archives: Prospects and Limitations</p> <p>Himmat Zoubi: Digging into the Coloniser's Archive: Writing the History of Those who Remained in Palestinian Coastal Cities</p> <p>Walid AlAreed: Historical Writing in Palestine in the Documents of the Ottoman Archives</p> |
| 13:00 - 14:00 | <p>Lunch Break</p> |

Day 3 - Monday, 30 January 2023

| Session 5 | | |
|----------------|---------------|---|
| Salwa Hall (1) | | <p>Settler Colonialism and Ethnic Cleansing - Legal and Linguistic Dimensions</p> <p>Chair: Ayat Hamdan</p> <p>Nizar Ayoub: Ethnic Cleansing as a Tool for Consolidating Settler Colonialism and Apartheid in Jerusalem</p> <p>Lena Obermaier: Disablement and Debilitation during Gaza's Great March of Return (2018-2019)</p> <p>Saul J. Takahashi: Linguistic Rights of '48 Palestinians</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | 9:00 - 10:45 | <p>Gender Perspective on Palestine</p> <p>Chair: Ferdoos Al-Issa</p> <p>Hà Bao Ngan Dong: Not Allowed to Play under Zionist Colonisation: The "Speed Sisters"</p> <p>Camelia Ibrahim-Dwairy: The Case of Single Palestinian Men in Israel: Between Patriarchal and Israeli Oppression</p> <p>Suhad Daher-Nashif & Areen Hawari: The Lived Experience of Married Palestinian Women from the Palestinian Territories Occupied in 1967 Residing within the "Green Line"</p> |
| Salwa Hall (3) | | <p>Palestine from a Historical Perspective</p> <p>Chair: Issam Nassar</p> <p>Mohammed Maraqtan: Towards Liberation from the Narrative of Biblical Archaeology in Writing the Ancient History of Palestine</p> <p>Bilal Shalash: "Mā kansch fīh"! Oral Narratives as a Missing Source for the Military Historiography of the Palestine War 1947-1949</p> <p>Mehmet Osmanli: Aspiring to the Sympathy of His "Hümâyunic Shadow": The Limits of the Ottoman Bureaucracy's Perception of Jewish Immigration to the Land of Palestine (1876-1904)</p> |
| | 10:45 - 11:00 | Break |

Session 6

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| Salwa Hall (1) | 11:00 - 12:45 | <p style="text-align: center;">The Impact of Settler Colonialism on the Environment and Agriculture in Palestine</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Mohammad Abu-Zaineh</p> <p>Kholoud Al-Ajarma: Tobacco Cultivation in Palestine: Farmers' Struggles over Land Ownership in the Context of Settler-Colonialism</p> <p>Rawan Samamreh: Nature Reserves and National Parks: An Approach to Settlement Expansion and Control of Space.</p> <p>Yasmin Qaadan: Environment Meanings from the Language of Local Knowledge for the Movement of Palestinian Peasants</p> |
| Salwa Hall (2) | 12:45 - 13:45 | <p style="text-align: center;">Palestine in Literary Discourse</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Haider Saeed</p> <p>Asaad Alsaleh: A Palestinian Woman Looking for Place: Fadwa Tuqan's A Mountainous Journey</p> <p>Abdelrahman S. Abuabed: The Stranger's Mirrors: Place, Time, and Questions of the Self in Biographical Writing</p> <p>Hosni Mlitat: Representing the Palestinian Cause in Contemporary Spanish Orientalist Discourse</p> |
| 12:45 - 13:45 | | Lunch Break |

Workshop

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| <p>Workshop (5) 13:45 - 15:45</p> | <p>Al Majlis Hall</p> <p>Palestine in Western and Arab Media Discourse</p> <p>Chair: Amal Arab</p> <p>Khaled Hroub, Alain Gresh, Ben White, Yousef Munayyer</p> |
| <p>3:45-4:00</p> | <p>Break</p> |
| <p>Workshop (6) 16:00 - 18:00</p> | <p>Al Majlis Hall</p> <p>Closing Session: The Future of the Palestinian National Project</p> |

Ostour Symposium

Day 2

Dukhan Meeting Room

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|----------------------|--|
| <p>9:00 - 10:15</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Session 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Critical Approaches to the Palestinian Historiography</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Wajih Kawtharani</p> <p>Issam Nassar: The History of Palestine or the History of Palestinians?</p> <p>Adel Manna: Roots of the Palestinians' Erasure from their History during the Ottoman Period</p> <p>Hani Hourani: Palestinians and Historiography through Photos: A Preliminary Reading</p> <p>Salim Tamari: The Maqam of Simeon the Just: Popular Religiosity and the Zionization of an Arab-Jewish Mawsim in Jerusalem</p> |
| <p>10:15 - 10:30</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Break</p> |
| <p>10:30 - 11:45</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Session 3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Research Areas in Writing Palestinian History</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Mohanad Mustafa</p> <p>Beshara Doumani: "Look to the Stones!": Towards a Modern History of the Palestinians</p> <p>Faiha Abdulhadi: The Political Contribution of Palestinian Women: Missing History</p> <p>Mjriam Abu Samra: Palestine on the World Map: Written and Visual Production of the General Union of Palestinian Students in the 1960s and 70s</p> |
| <p>11:45 - 12:00</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Break</p> |
| <p>12:00 - 13:00</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Session 4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Magic of Jerusalem</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Adel Manna</p> <p>Nazmi Al-Jubeh: Western Europe in Jerusalem in the Second Half of the 19th Century and Early 20th Century: Visual Control over the Identity of the City</p> <p>Musa Sroor: West Jerusalem: The Forgotten and the Untold in Palestinian Historical Writing</p> |
| <p>13:00 - 14:00</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Lunch Break</p> |
| <p>14:00 - 15:00</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Session 5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Palestinian City: Aspects of Obscured History</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Himmat Zoubi</p> <p>Mahmoud Yazbak: Reclaiming the Hidden History of Jaffa: The Cultural Scene in the Late Ottoman Period</p> <p>Leena Dallasheh: Writing of Palestinians who Remained in Palestinian Historiography: Nazareth as an Example</p> |
| <p>15:00 - 15:30</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Conclusion: Munir Fakher Eldin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Closing Remarks: Abderrahim Benhadda</p> |

Participants

Abstracts



Abdallah Abulouz

Social anthropology researcher and entrepreneur. He has a master's degree in Social Anthropology and a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering Technology with a major in Electrical Power Engineering from Yarmouk University in Jordan. Since 2010, Abulouz has been involved in different volunteer projects and supported, participated in, and co-founded multiple cultural initiatives to strengthen knowledge and skills for students and the youth. He has also worked as an independent researcher, freelance writer, and translator. In addition, he has published many articles and translations on well-known online platforms. His research interests include identity formation and its intersection with socio-economic and political contexts. He also has a deep interest in representations and intersections of queer theory and feminism with Islam and Muslim societies, as well as academic freedom in the post-colonial states of the Middle East and the influence of globalization and neoliberal economics upon academia in the region.

Palestinian Representations in Saudi Arabian History Curricula since the 1990s: A Critical Discourse Analysis

There is a considerable shortage of literature on the Palestinian community in Saudi Arabia. Almost no studies deal with the presence of Palestinians in Saudi Arabia after the Nakba despite the crucial role they have played in the development of Saudi society and state. The study mainly aims to investigate representations of the Palestinian cause in Saudi curricula. I track the discursive changes these representations have seen and contextualise them historically, socially, and politically from 1990 to 2022. Through critical discourse analysis, I examine the impact of the most prominent political events, social developments, and changes in Saudi policy over the last thirty years on educational policies. In this research, I found that changes in Saudi political orientations in the last decade have brought radical transformations in the representation of the Palestinian cause and its people in school curricula. In addition, I found that political movements by Saudi Islamists during the 1990s and 2000s played a decisive role in preserving a religious discourse around the Palestinian cause and the rights of its people in Saudi curricula.



Abdelrahman Murad

Researcher and translator based in London. He has published several media articles on Palestine, covering political, economic, humanitarian stories, on UK platforms. He was previously News Editor at the Government Media Office in Gaza.

The Construction of a Counter-Hegemonic Discourse on Economic Development: A Critical Analysis of Palestinian Policy

This paper investigates the ways in which a counter-discourse on development has emerged from Palestinian civil society after two decades of observing the mainstream neoliberal policies for developing the economy of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). It also considers the possibility of creating a new national identity discursively. To this end, through a critical reading of Palestinian policy briefs, the research identifies the shortcomings of neoliberal policies (e.g., integration and free trade) and practices (e.g., industrial parks) for economic development in the OPT under the current systems of Israeli control and colonialism. Specifically, the analysis discusses the impact of these policies and practices on Palestinian farmers in the agricultural sector. The study finds that counter-hegemonic discourse challenges the application of neoliberal policies and practices in an adverse political environment and negotiates a national identity that requires the integration of self-reliance and self-determination within the Palestinian consciousness.



Abdelrahman S. Abuabed

Palestinian writer and researcher in the humanities. He specializes in Arabic literature, as well as comparative literature in Arabic, Hebrew, and English. He holds a BA in English Literature from Al-Aqsa University, Palestine and an MA in Comparative Literature from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies.

The Stranger's Mirrors: Place, Time, and Questions of the Self in Biographical Writing

Despite the abundant richness of biographical writing in Arabic literature, it has not corresponded with theoretical depth. Discussions surrounding literary genres tend to take Western European and North American perspectives and not much organic theoretical attention has been given to this diverse corpus of Arabic literary practice regarding the question of the self that began with its centralization and ended with its destabilization, and the globalization of the term life writing. This paper argues that this challenge is intensified by Palestinian autobiographies, especially Hussein Al-Barghouti's autobiography *Among the Almond Trees*. By examining biographical writing philosophically and methodologically in its spatial, temporal, subjective, intersubjective, and objective dimensions and translation through its interpretative, historical, and linguistic implications, the paper engages with two main practices and concepts – biography and translation – to tackle this challenge. These two concepts are further applied to the question of the Other in (auto)biographies. The study thus seeks to contribute novel ideas to the theoretical discussions of this exciting interdisciplinary field.



Abdulla Moaswes

PhD candidate at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies. His research examines the relationship between world capitalism and settler colonial practices and logic. His previous academic work has explored the politics of food, with special reference to chai karak, and the socio-political role of internet memes in South and West Asia. He is also a creative writer in the field of speculative fiction.

The Interconnected Colonial Projects in Palestine and Kashmir: Understanding the Settler Colonial World Economy in the 21st Century

This study traces some of the connective threads that tie Israel's presence in Historical Palestine to India's presence in Occupied Kashmir regarding their relationship with the world economy. Building upon literature that understands settler colonialism as a global network, this study will use these connective threads to sketch the ways in which settler colonialism and its logic have evolved alongside and in relation to the evolution of world capitalism, especially since the end of the Cold War and the accelerated rise of neoliberalism. The interlinking of, rather than comparison between, colonising projects in Palestine and Kashmir allows for an approach that situates economic movements between them as an essential characteristic of contemporary world capitalism. The paper concludes that the world economy both benefits from and contributes to the racialisation of Palestinians and Kashmiris and the subsequent forms of domination that they are mandated to suffer, as per the norms, assumptions, and hegemonic logic of neoliberalised world economics. The paper understands this process as resulting from the accelerated development of defence, financial, and logistical ties between India, Israel, and other regional and global actors that has embedded the colonising of Palestine and Kashmir deep into the circuits of world capitalism.



Adel Manna

Historian specialising in Palestine during the Ottoman period and the Palestinians in the 20th century. Since the early 1980s, he has served as a professor of history at several universities, and he has published ten books and dozens of academic articles in his fields of specialty. The Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut published three of his books on Palestine during the Ottoman rule, followed by *Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956* in 2016. The book was recently published in English translation (2022) by the University of California Press. About a year ago, Manna concluded writing his manuscript, *Biography of the Palestinian Leader Ahmad Helmi Pasha, 1882-1963*.

Transformation of Collective Identity from Ottomanism to Arabism: Ahmad Helmi Pasha as a Model

This paper deals with the delicate issue of collective identity in Palestine and the neighbouring Arab countries by shedding light on the life and works of Ahmad Helmi Pasha (1882-1963). Born to an Albanian family in South Lebanon, he experienced living in Palestine and other parts of Greater Syria during a period of many external and internal challenges to the last Islamic Empire. He learnt Arabic and mastered writing poetry but, like most members of the Ottoman elite, believed in the strengths of the Empire he served and its collective, multi-national Ottoman identity. However, with demise of the Ottomans in WWI he joined the short-lived government of Faisal I in Damascus (1918-1920). The belief in Arab unity and independence replaced Ottoman identity for a while, until Ahmad Helmi moved with his family and settled in Jerusalem in 1926. Ahmad Helmi Pasha became a leading member of the Palestinian national movement and played a decisive role in defending Arab Jerusalem in 1948. His role in the struggle for Palestine, having represented it in the Arab League until his death in 1963, is a stark example of the transformation of Arab elites from Ottoman collective identity to Arabism in the first half of the 20th century.



Ahmad As'ad

Palestinian researcher with master's degrees in Contemporary Arab Studies and Israeli Studies from Birzeit University. His research interests focus on mass resistance, civil disobedience, social movements, mass movements, and immobility in Palestinian society, with a special focus on the city of Jerusalem. He has published a book entitled *The Sociology of Resistance and Movement in the Spaces of the Colonial City of Jerusalem*, another entitled *Al-Isawiya: Narratives of Isolation and Separation*, a number of edited chapters in peer-reviewed books, and articles in Palestinian, Arab, and international journals. In 2021, he published a book titled *A Country on the Edge of Dawn: Civil Disobedience and Daily Life in Beit Sahour* with the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has received grants from the Palestinian Museum's "Printed in Jerusalem" project and is working on the project "Printing and Resistance: The Cultural Movement of Printing in Jerusalem 1972-1990."

Uprisings of Attrition – "Your Projects Won't Pass": Understanding the Palestinian Uprisings and Resistance Patterns, 2013-2022

The paper explores the rise of the phenomenon of resistance in Palestine from 2013 until 2022, when an intifada centred in the northern West Bank broke out. This study does not aim to chronicle or document these events in any sense; rather, it provides an analytical reading of the phenomenon in order to understand it in the context of Palestinian resistance in the territories occupied after 1967. The study argues that the uprisings that broke out in Palestine between 2013 and 2022 have their own characteristics, patterns, tools, and actors that limit them in time and space. These uprisings did not turn into a durable popular movement for decolonisation and liberation. Rather, they flare up and move from one region to another via colonial geography (the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and colonised Palestine since 1948) as if to reaffirm the core of Palestinian identity in spite of fragmentation and political weakness. The study explores the uprisings of attrition in the context of the Palestinian resistance movement in the occupied territories since 1967, as an extension of this experience and a borrowing therefrom. The uprisings have taken on the characteristics of the current era, as well as the burdens and issues of Palestinian society bound up in a colonial arrangement, political division, geographical fragmentation, and institutional and leadership amputation. However, the uprisings of attrition are one of the stages of the Palestinian resistance which works to preoccupy and exhaust the enemy at the security, military, technical, political, economic, and other levels, keeping the door of conflict open and leaving the coloniser without calm, security, or the opportunity to resolve the conflict according to their colonial will.



Ahmed Mamoun

Researcher in the Department of Programs and Documentary at the Alaraby Television Network. He studied Political Science and International Relations at Nişantaşı University in Turkey. His research interests include democratisation, civil-military relations in the Arab world, state theory, the history of the Arab East, Arab thought, and demography in Palestine. He has published many articles and book reviews in a number of journals and with research centres, including *The New Arab*, Nuhoud Center for Studies and Research, *Omran Journal of Social Sciences*, *Metras*, *Romman Cultural Magazine*, *UltraSawt*, and Syria TV. His most recent study is "The Conflict between the Political Factions of the Syrian Military Establishment, 1954-1958: Coups and Political Pluralism" (2022) published by the ACRPS's periodical *Siyasat Arabiya*. The study was translated into English and published by the Centre for Syrian Studies (CSS) at the University of St Andrews in Scotland.

Settler Colonialism and the Birth of New Prisoners: Migration from the Gaza Strip (2007-2022)

This study investigates whether Israel has applied policies that have caused a population decline in the Gaza Strip since 1967, and whether one of the main purposes of the blockade of the Strip since 2007 is to stimulate a mass migration that leads to this depopulation. The study traces the official Zionist discourse and government policies and argues that one of the main objectives of the blockade and the continuous (slow, seasonal, and systematic) violence practiced by Israel against Gazans is to create a state of gradual emigration that disrupts the demographic composition and lowers fertility rates in the Gaza Strip. The study also argues that the effectiveness of some political actors (e.g., the Hamas government, the Palestinian Authority, and Egypt) in Gaza's conditions and with regard to the issues of emigration and borders are limited, and even predetermined, by the structure of Israeli settler colonialism. For this, the study employs the concepts of annihilation and elimination of the indigenous population by the settler-colonial structure, reviews the historical relationship between the Gaza Strip and Israel since the June 1967 war, and analyzes the political and social conditions of the Strip. It also studies the factors of attraction and expulsion related to emigration from the Gaza Strip between 2007 and 2022, based on official statistics and data in addition to 75 individual interviews and focus group discussions.



Ali T. As'ad

Architect, researcher, and curator living in the Netherlands. He manages a transdisciplinary doctoral research project within the Curatorial Research Collective, part of the Chair of Architecture History and Theory at the Eindhoven University of Technology. The project examines 20th and 21st century Palestinian exhibition-making and museum practices within a broader interrogation of the incongruity between the political space of the state and the cultural space of the nation.

Palestine and the National Sensorium: Exhibition-Making in the Twentieth Century

This article presents a historical overview of Palestinian exhibition-making in the twentieth century. Exhibitions first came to be mobilised by Palestinian actors as forums for visualising a modern Palestinian identity in the shadow of the British Mandate. They evolved as part of a social praxis towards catalysing community in the aftermath of al-Nakba and were deployed as a form of political resistance within Third World anti-imperialist solidarity networks. Out of the impasse of colonial rule and military occupation, a repertoire of pedagogical and representational materials, temporary/makeshift spaces, and multiple proto-diplomatic or unionised frameworks, a "national sensorium" and a culture of exhibition-making have evolved. Exhibitions became critical sites for the cultivation and critique of taste or social reference, operationalising national sentiment, promoting "political consciousness", and mobilising international support around the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause through the substructure of culture. As space-times within which twentieth-century Palestinian knowledge, memory, and experience have been (re)negotiated and transformed into contemporary Palestinian culture, exhibitions have not only acted as displays of Palestinian art and culture but were themselves present as objects of Palestinian representation.



Areej Sabbagh-Khoury

Member of the board and academic research committee of the Mada al-Carmel: Arab Center for Applied Social Research. Her research interests lie in political and historical sociologies, settler colonialism, memory, indigenous studies, and critical social theory. Her forthcoming book (Stanford University Press) examines encounters between kibbutz settlers and Palestinian inhabitants in Northern Palestine's Jezreel Valley before, during, and after 1948. Sabbagh-Khoury received her PhD in Sociology from Tel Aviv University and has taught, conducted research, and held postdoctoral appointments at leading universities such as Columbia, New York, Brown, and Tufts Universities. Her research has been generously supported by institutions like Fulbright, the Pan Arab Research Council (PARC), New York University, Columbia, Tufts University, and recently Guggenheim. She has published articles in different journals such as *Politics and Society*, *Theoretical Sociology*, *Theory and Society*, and *Current Sociology*.

Jerusalem, the Settler Colonial Condition, and Anti-Colonial Resilience

The shifting dynamics in Jerusalem instantiate the one [apartheid] state reality. Israeli state apparatuses operate through the application of differentiated governmentality based on hierarchies of socio-political categories, reflected prominently in Jerusalem. Contemporaneous to the erection of the "apartheid wall" around the early 2000s, a new reality has set in within the confines of Jerusalem. Following political changes, Palestinian East Jerusalemites—in some ways forcibly separated from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza—have seen the rapid "invasion" of territorial holdings, both through state annexation and individual settler colonial encroachment and through mundane forms of occupation. Accompanying settler colonial violences of dispossession, surveillance, and control have been the Israeli state's paradoxical economic "inclusion" efforts aiming to alleviate infrastructural and economic pressures in the eastern part of Jerusalem. Drawing on empirical analysis of variegated state actions and interviews with 20 Palestinian leaders across historical Palestine and Jerusalemites living in the eastern part of the city, this paper delineates the contours of the complex, dialectical processes affecting Palestinians in Jerusalem, and of political actions and agency in light of the absence of Palestinian political sovereignty. The paper conducts an analysis of both trends in settler colonisation and Palestinian practices, situating the recent transformations of Jerusalem within a longer history of occupation and shifting practices of settler colonisation and indigenous resilience, bridging the temporalities of 1948, 1967, and the present.



Areen Hawari

Director of the Gender Studies Program at Mada al-Carmel: Arab Center for Applied Social Research in Haifa. She holds a PhD in Gender Studies from Ben-Gurion University. Her research focuses on the activism of Palestinian women between feminism, religion, and the state.

Split in Two Parts: The Dynamics of the Commercial Relationship between the Palestinians from within the Green Line and Jenin

Palestinians from the West Bank meet Palestinians from the other side of the Green Line almost daily in different social, economic, and political contexts. However, while emphasis is placed on the political relations between the two sides, relations of a social and economic nature have not received the attention of political actors, nor researchers. This paper analyses the commercial interactions between Palestinians from both sides of the Green Line to understand the impact of daily economic interactions on Palestinian society, its social fabric, and thus its political unity. It seeks to grasp the unwritten understandings that have resulted in such a reality. When do these understandings reflect solidarity between a divided people, and when do they manifest in relationships of exploitation? How can this relationship affect the political positions of the two communities? Do they contribute to creating an inclusive Palestinian identity, or do they serve to imbed social and cultural differences created by complex political reality? This paper approaches these relationships from the consumers' point of view. The city of Jenin was selected for case study as an area that consumers visit. The paper uses a mixed methodology combining quantitative and qualitative methods.



Asaad Alsaleh

Associate Professor of Arabic Literature and Director of Graduate Studies at Indiana University's Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures (MELC) in Bloomington. He is an interdisciplinary scholar, specialised in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies (PhD University of Arkansas, 2010). He has published on various topics related to the Middle East, covering Syria, the Arab Spring, and literary studies. His books include *Voices of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories from the Arab Revolutions* (Columbia University Press, 2015) and *Historical Dictionary of the Syrian Revolution and Civil War* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021). He is author of many scholarly articles and chapters, as well as policy reports and encyclopaedia entries.

A Palestinian Woman Looking for Place: Fadwa Tuqan's *A Mountainous Journey*

Fadwa Tuqan's *Rihla Jabaliyya, Rihla Şa'ba* [A Mountainous Journey, A Difficult Journey] is an autobiography that portrays the suffering of a Palestinian woman whose alienation and displacement deprive her of any sense of ownership of, or stability in, the self, the body, and the homeland. I propose re-examining the text and scrutinising how Tuqan's sense of alienation, despite that she had the privilege of living in Palestine with her family, allows the text to appear to characterise a collective Palestinian experience. I argue that her reflection on her life implies identifying with the rest of Palestinian women, thus making her text likely to be (mis)read as a "social document" not of her life, but of a whole generation. I provide a new reading of the text within a sub-field of autobiography called displaced autobiography—a journey-like narrative that dominates Palestinians' writing in the genre. Within this subgenre, I show how Tuqan's text responds to the lack of home by seeking alternatives to such a home in writing. The act of writing, regardless of how we interpret it, is the way in which Tuqan defies displacement, empowered by creating a private space where the self can find its voice to confront all systems of oppression.



Ashraf Bader

Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University, Palestine. He holds a PhD in Social Sciences from Birzeit University and a master's degree in Israeli Studies from Al-Quds University.

A Critical Reading of the Neoliberalism of the Palestinian Authority under Zionist Settler Colonialism

The paper analyses the political economy of the Palestinian Authority by testing the hypothesis that it is neoliberal by raising a central question as to the extent of its affiliation with the neoliberal ideology. Several questions emerge from this inquiry, the most important of which are: What is the definition of neoliberalism, what is the neoliberal agenda, and to what extent is it compatible with the Palestinian reality? The paper is a case study of the Palestinian Authority through a survey of the most prominent literature published from 1994-2021, analysis of relevant statistics and primary sources, and interviews. The paper proposes that the Palestinian Authority's adoption of some neoliberal policies does not necessarily make it neoliberal. The importance of the paper lies in its attempt to delve into the theoretical debate about the essence of the Palestinian Authority, which may benefit those interested in Palestinian public affairs and policy makers. However, it should be noted that the paper does not evaluate the negative effects of neoliberal policies. The paper concludes that to regard the Palestinian Authority as neoliberal involves a logical fallacy in terms of linking the premises to the results, and that to brand it as neoliberal contradicts its functional role.



Ayman Yousef

Professor of International Relations and Conflict Resolution at the Arab American University, Palestine and Director of the Policy and Conflict Resolution Studies Center. Previously, he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the Arab American University. He has written books and articles in international peer-reviewed journals dealing with international relations and peace studies and has received wide range of awards, including a Fulbright fellowship, Erasmus+, DAAD, and the Marie Curie Award. His latest article is about the vitality of popular resistance in transforming the conflict with the occupation in Palestine, published in *Conflict Studies Quarterly* in 2021. He recently presented a research paper at a conference in Ankara exploring the relationship between crisis management and public relations in public and private organizations.

Reconceptualization of Cultural Resistance and National Theatre in Palestine

This study is futurological in its theoretical and field dimensions, in that it seeks to relocate the concept of cultural resistance in the context of Palestinian national theatre as an authentic part of the contemporary Palestinian national movement. It is connected intellectually to the construction of national identity given the inability to establish an independent sovereign state. Further, the concept of cultural resistance is among the instruments and strategies Palestinians today use to transform the conflict with Israel due to power imbalances and oppression in the field. Cultural resistance is considered a manifestation of national resistance, with organisational, social, and national implications linked to opportunities to transform the conflict with the occupying state on the ground in the context of complex political conditions. How can the role of the national theatre be re-read in the context of cultural resistance today, and how have these analytical, intellectual, and field readings been affected by the general national conditions? Is it possible to take advantage of international experiences and theoretical frameworks to re-describe the state of Palestinian national theatre as an all-encompassing epic national spirit? What impressions do activists and theatre experts have about the state, role, and functions of national theatre in a period of political impasse that has seen the retreat of the political elite and renewed confrontation with the occupying state in both peaceful, cultural and non-violent forms and, on the other hand, armed resistance.



Azadeh Sobout

Postdoctoral scholar at the University of Manchester. She recently completed a project on the intersection of the arts and peace building, investigating the role of art, aesthetics, and creative methods in revolutionary practice. Sobout's research and practice have centred on the complex encounters between critical urban studies, grassroots peace building, and transitional justice processes, specifically engaging with post-war geographies, geographies of (in)justice and displacement, as well as radical epistemologies. Throughout the past eight years, Sobout has created visual and ethnographic accounts into the exploration of post-war geographies and narratives of displacement in Afghan, Palestinian and Syrian contexts, bringing a new paradigmatic shift to the study of post-war reconstruction and (in)justice.

War-Memoriescapes and the Grassroots Agency for Justice: Re-Searching the Truth-Memory Practices of Palestinians in Nahr el Bared

Revisiting the systematic and widespread human rights violations in the aftermath of the destruction of Nahr el Bared camp in 2007, this paper employs urbicide as a theoretical and methodological tool to contextually investigate the various accounts depicting the post-war memories of the camp and the dynamic of individual and collective confrontation of past violations. To this end, the study explores narratives, stories, and memories that focus on the destruction, the siege, the suspended home, and the need for return, memorialisation, and reconstruction. The paper elaborates the interplay of memory and truth in post-urbicide Nahr el Bared and reflects on the perception of justice in the experience of women, youth, and men, exploring their coping mechanisms and the various transitional justice practices they have initiated to deal with the injustice they have experienced. Finally, the paper highlights the growing, yet neglected, role of local 'institutions of truth' in advancing the community's struggles for acknowledgment, accountability and human rights, and the impact of these local institutions on transitional justice.



Bilal Salaymeh

PhD candidate in the Department of International Relations/Political Science at the Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID). His dissertation focuses on how political regimes are formed under an oligopoly on violence. He is a doctoral researcher for the project "A Child of Its Time: The Impact of World Politics on Peacebuilding" at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding.

How Has Palestine Been Academically Constructed in Turkey?

This paper examines how the question of Palestine has been constructed in Turkish academia by focusing on postgraduate theses on the Palestinian issue produced in political science and/or international relations departments at Turkish universities between 1990 and 2021. The paper starts with a brief overview of the evolution of Palestine Studies in Turkey. It presents the original dataset "Turkish Theses on Palestine: 1990-2021", which features 99 theses written in the discipline of international relations and/or political science that address the Palestinian issue out of 208 theses across different disciplines. By analysing the data, the paper shows that: 1) the number of theses on Palestine has increased in the last two decades, with a notable contribution by non-Turkish nationals; 2) no university or supervisor has a monopoly on Palestine Studies in Turkey; 3) there is confusion on how to frame the Palestinian question, which has been framed with a notable absence of approaches to "settler colonialism" and the "anti-colonial struggle"; and 4) Turkish foreign policy towards the Palestinian question and its entanglement with domestic politics is the most salient theme among the theses. The paper concludes with recommendations for improving the status of Palestine Studies in Turkey.



Bilal Shalash

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and a PhD candidate in Social Sciences at Birzeit University. His current research interests concentrate on the history of Palestinian military action in the long term, especially during the 1947-1949 war and from 1967-1970. He has published two books on this topic: *Yāfā: Dam'alā Ḥajar: The Jaffa Garrison and its Military Action - Study and Documents*, in two volumes (2019); *Dākhil al-Sūr al-Qadīm: A Study of Qassim Al-Rimawi's Texts on Holy Jihad* (2020), in addition to the forthcoming: *Shay' 'ābir: Hamdi Taher Kanaan's Papers on the Occupation of Nablus (June 1967-March 1969) - Memoirs and Documents*.

"Mā kانش fih"!": Oral Narratives as a Missing Source for the Military Historiography of the Palestine War 1947-1949

While the name and date of the war of 1947-1949 may be disputed among scholars, the war maintains a central presence in various oral history projects. The most prominent of these projects are the Birzeit University project to document depopulated villages and the Nakba Testimony Program. This paper reviews how the outputs of the two projects reflect the military history of the war through these oral narratives, concluding that oral narratives for this type of history remain limited and reflective of the requirements of specific research agendas. Some of these narratives relate to the academic objectives of lead researchers, or their perspective of the war and the historical narratives produced around it, especially the Zionist narratives, for which military history is of minor importance. Thus, preconceived notions affect the range of questions and limit answers, restricting the potential of oral narratives related to the war. By examining the exception to this pattern, the Nakba Testimony Program, the study finds that the way the interview is conducted is a major factor in limiting the oral narratives that could contribute to military historiography.



Camelia Ibrahim-Dwairy

Lecturer, feminist and social activist. A postdoctoral scholar at Bar-Ilan University, she studies the experiences of single Palestinian men through a psychological and cultural prism. She received her PhD in Gender Studies from Bar-Ilan University, where her dissertation examined the experiences of single Palestinian women, the pressures they face, and how they cope with them. Her research focuses on mental health and ethics in the therapeutic professions in the context of culture and gender.

The Case of Single Palestinian Men in Israel: Between Patriarchal and Israeli Oppression

This study examines the discourse of single Palestinian men living within the Green Line in a patriarchal society, arguing that their situation reflects one reality of national oppression and racial discrimination. The study is based on interviews with single Palestinian men in Israel, ages 30-58. The data indicates that their choice of bachelorhood reflects the social and political processes they are undergoing, as well as changes in their lives and marriage patterns in their society. Some single men are forming new perspectives of masculinity, challenging the dominant outlook that ties masculinity with marriage, starting a family, and fatherhood. The research also highlights the distress and frustrations that single Palestinian men and women experience as a result of oppressive patriarchal practices and racial discrimination, and the difficulties they face in the wake of changes in the status and power of Palestinian women in society. Crucially, these findings cannot be understood without considering the political, economic, and cultural context within the Green Line.



Caroline Lund

PhD candidate at the School of Religion, Theology, and Peace Studies at Trinity College Dublin. Her research interests include structural violence, human rights, development, the role of civil society, and the donor-recipient relationship. She has previously held positions at the United Nations Development Programme in Palestine, the Unit for Civil Society at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society.

Settler Colonialism and the Erasure of the Other: Constructing Hegemonic Narratives

This article explores how Israel, as a settler colonial polity, produces and disseminates narratives pertaining to Palestinian civil society and its resistance. For this purpose, the article is centred around the case study of six Palestinian civil society organisations that were designated "terrorist organisations" in Israel and "unlawful organisations" in the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT) as of late 2021. The case study shows that the inner logic of settler colonialism, as it is organised around the principle of elimination, has been central to the designation of the six organisations. The settler polity has, through different stages of expansion and dispossession, built and disseminated a false "terrorist" narrative around Palestinian civil society, based on a perspective of exceptionalism and denial. As such, the construction of its narrative has served as an advancement of the settler polity's ongoing erasure of indigenous narratives, while at the same time legitimizing the settler project itself and its utilized strategies.



Eleyan Sawafta

Graduate research assistant for the School of Education, University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG). Sawafta has a BA in Engineering and an MA in Political Planning and Development from An-Najah National University, Palestine. His main research interests concern the relationship between development and conflict through political economy and public policy analysis. Sawafta has provided commentary on democracy, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, environmental justice, and development for various media and events across the Middle East and the US.

Development and Settler Colonialism: Perpetuating Neo-Colonial Domination and Apartheid

This paper discusses the relationship between the conceptual framing of Israel in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and development practices. If Israel is a hybrid regime between the characteristics of settler colonialism, neo-colonialism, and military occupation, the premise of this paper is that settler colonialism uses physical force and coercion manifested in the exploitation of the peace process by requiring security to achieve peace, the apartheid wall, siege and closure policies, land expropriation, and legislation to create economic and non-developmental structures that are compatible with and reproduce power relations in their colonial-settler context within the framework of the apartheid regime. Utilizing structuralism as the methodological framework for the study, the paper bases its deconstructive criticism on a strategic, political, economic, and geopolitical survey of development to question the hierarchy of coloniser and colonised.



Elhoucine Chougrani

Associate Professor of International Law and International Relations at the Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech. He received his doctoral degree in 2003 with a thesis titled "The European Investment Bank and Environmental Protection in the Mediterranean". He is the Director of the Moroccan Observatory for Future Generations (MOROFUGE), a Member of the International Research Center for Crisis Management, and the General Director of the *Arab Journal of International Law*. His main research areas cover international environmental law, water, climate justice, and the rights of future generations. His most recent publication in Arabic is "*Contradictions in International Law - A Preliminary Analysis*" (Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2019). His professional experience also includes serving as Accountant General at the Ministry of Economy and Finance (2002–2014).

Compensation for Environmental Damages in Occupied Palestine: With Reference to the Environmental Effects of Israel's Separation Wall

The Arab-Israeli conflict is a struggle for survival, not a border conflict. The Israeli occupying forces hence work to contain, displace, and detach Palestinians, pushing them to live in isolated cantons and separating them from their family and lands. Undeniably, it takes great pains to maintain the status quo, thereby ensuring stability and security on Israeli terms. The present study locates the Palestinians' constraints and considers the opportunities offered by international mechanisms, useful practices of international jurisprudence, arbitration, and the efforts of regional and international organisations to secure the right to live in a sustainable environment. The environmental dilemma in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its climate repercussions have been highlighted by studying the influence of Israel's separation wall on Palestinian lives and future generations. The paper addresses such influence from the perspective of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (2004), the Geneva Convention (1949), the Additional Protocols (1977), specific international conventions, and the Rome Statute (1998). The study further considers issues related to compensation such as the German-Polish Chorzow Factory case (13 September 1928), the Hungarian-Slovakian Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros (1997) and Nicaraguan-Costa Rican projects (2018).



Elizabeth Marteiijn

Postdoctoral researcher at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany. She works on the intersection of theology and anthropology and specialises in Middle Eastern Christianity, Palestine, and lived religion. She holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh. Her thesis was an ethnographic exploration of the Christian village of Taybeh in the central West Bank, through which she explored themes such as mission history, Palestinian contextual theology, Palestinian Christian ritual practice, and the communities' socio-political involvement in Palestinian society. Select publications include *The Rowman & Littlefield Handbook of Christianity in the Middle East, Exchange: Journal of Christianities in Context*, and *Studies in World Christianity*.

Between Ruins and Remnants: Religious Renewal among Christians in West Bank Palestine

This paper examines Palestinian Christian thought and practice in relation to the changing social and political context of West Bank Palestine. The study argues that changes in recent history have brought about a renewal of ancient Palestinian Christian religious expressions through which the community has reinvented itself and adapted its theologies and practices to the changing socio-political circumstances. The paper presents two ethnographic case studies from the rural Palestinian context. Firstly, it discusses how Christians from the village of Taybeh understand continuity between their modern-day village and the Biblical places of Ephraim and Ophrah. The paper argues that these notions of an ancient lineage have merged with political discourse, helping this Palestinian Christian community to construct a sense of historical belonging and territorial legitimacy. Secondly, the paper zooms in on the political uses and spiritual meanings of Saint George in the Palestinian context. By connecting saint veneration to expressions of national consciousness, it argues that figures of saints could be interpreted as models of Palestinian *sumud* (steadfastness). While traditional meanings regarding saints continue to exist, the practices at shrines have turned into a rite of identification and belonging, affirming Palestinian indigeneity and the connection to the land.



Hà Bao Ngan Dong

Master's student at the McGill Institute of Islamic Studies. Their research interests include sports studies, solidarity studies, queer theory, and translation studies. Currently, they are working on their master's thesis exploring the use of the sports boycott by the BDS movement and Palestinian sportswomen as a tool for liberation. Their works have appeared in the *Michigan Journal of History*, *the Columbia Journal of History*, *Mondoweiss*, and the *Routledge Companion to Literature and Social Justice* (forthcoming).

Not Allowed to Play under Zionist Colonisation: The "Speed Sisters"

This paper examines the "Speed Sisters" car racing team in Palestine, using the eponymous documentary by filmmaker Amber Fares. The author argues that sports, speed, and movement generate layered and grassroots affective spaces of resistance and community-building amidst the colonial fragmentation of the Palestinian social fabric, geography, and politics. Car racing allows the racers to circumvent the deliberate, layered slowing down of Palestinian life and mobility at the hands of the Zionist settler-colonial enterprise. A symbol of freedom, car racing is also a unifying sport for Palestinians. It rebuilds different affective layers of Palestinian society, from the family to the larger Palestinian collectivity, in order to nurture Palestinians' spiritual wellbeing and foster unity and pride.



Hala Naufal

Professor Emeritus, supervising doctoral theses in the field of Demography and Population Studies at the Doctoral School of Literature, Humanities and Social Sciences at the Lebanese University. She is an international expert on population and development issues and strategies and a member of international associations, including the International Union for the Scientific Studies of Population (IUSSP). She has worked as an Expert Demographer with several national institutions, ministries, and private institutions (e.g., AUB, La Sagesse University, Saint Joseph University Faculty of Medicine). Her most important regional achievement has been the implementation of the "Lebanese Survey of Mother and Child Health" within the framework of the Arab League's "Pan Arab Project for Child Development". At the regional and international levels, she has worked with the ESCWA, UNFPA, UNDP, UNICEF, ILO, and the World Bank. She is the author of several books, studies, and articles.

Demography of the Palestinians

From high hopes to lost illusions, the Palestinians, since the Oslo Accords (1993) have become thoroughly disenchanted. Yet, focusing on the many political, military, and diplomatic disappointments: (e.g., Camp David, shifting borders, Jerusalem as capital of the Jewish state, the Knesset bill on the "Nation-State", etc.) is futile. In the long run, 'the people' are what matter. An overview of the Palestinian population in the world is a preliminary to this reflection. Today, there are 15 million Palestinians around the world — perhaps a modest underestimation given the extent of the diaspora. For Palestinians, for obvious political reasons, this figure is of strategic importance. As the earth gives way from under their feet, one setback at a time, asserting themselves through the weight of their population gives Palestinians visibility. This research seeks to comprehensively examine the range of Palestinian presence in the world, tackling the problem of data (or lack thereof) head on. The paper identifies the Palestinian presence worldwide even in the most unexpected settings, from the State of Palestine and Historical Palestine to Chile, covering a total of some twenty countries in the Arab region, Europe and the US, uncovering data limitations and contradictions. The study concludes with suggestions to improve knowledge about the Palestinian population worldwide.



Hasan Ayoub

Assistant Professor of Political Science at An-Najah National University in Nablus (NNU), Palestine. He completed both his MA (2009) and PhD (2012) at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, before joining An-Najah's Department of Political Science as an assistant professor covering Palestine Studies, US policy in the Middle East, political sociology, political change, and challenges to development. He is also active in professional training on topics of conflict resolution, good governance and democracy, and Human Rights. In the last two years during his leadership of the Political Science Department at NNU, he managed to open new international venues for his BA and MA students and faculty members to carry on co-research and academic exchange.

Development and Settler Colonialism: Perpetuating Neo-Colonial Domination and Apartheid

This paper discusses the relationship between the conceptual framing of Israel in the Palestinian Territories Occupied in 1967 and development practices. If Israel is a hybrid regime between the characteristics of settler colonialism, neo-colonialism, and military occupation, the premise of this paper is that settler colonialism uses physical force and coercion manifested in the exploitation of the peace process by requiring security to achieve peace, the apartheid wall, siege and closure policies, land expropriation, and legislation to create economic and non-developmental structures that are compatible with and reproduce power relations in their colonial-settler context within the framework of the apartheid regime. Utilizing structuralism as the methodological framework for the study, the paper bases its deconstructive criticism on a strategic, political, economic, and geopolitical survey of development to question the hierarchy of coloniser and colonised.



Hosni Mlitat

Researcher, academic and translator. He holds a PhD from Autonomía University in Madrid, specialising in Comparative Literature and Cultural and Artistic Studies. He is an assistant professor at Birzeit University and the Arab American University. He has participated in many international conferences, published academic research in international journals, and translated a number of intellectual and literary works from Spanish into Arabic.

Representing the Palestinian Cause in Contemporary Spanish Orientalist Discourse

This study explores the representation of the Palestinian cause from the perspective of contemporary Spanish orientalists, taking the works of Juan Goytisolo, Emilio Ferrín, and Isaiás Barreñada as an example. The researcher argues that their works include an important "vision" as to the path taken by the issue, which he explains by studying the "structural form" of their works to demonstrate how the issue is represented and the goal in doing so. Through these works, the researcher seeks to study the comprehensive orientalist theory of the ongoing situation in Palestine. He reaches several conclusions, including that Spanish orientalists have shown an interest in the Palestinian cause, specialised in it academically, and sequentially traced the events of its modern history.



Ilan Pappé

Director of the European Center for Palestine Studies and a senior fellow at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, UK. Pappé is the author of more than 20 books, including *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006) and two books with Noam Chomsky (*The War on Gaza* and *On Palestine*). His recent two books are *Our Vision for Liberation* (with Ramzy Baroud) and *The Historical Dictionary of Palestine* (with Johnny Mansour).

Palestine Studies: Achievements and Future Orientations

This paper follows the emergence and development of a new and exciting academic field of inquiry: Palestine Studies. This area of inquiry has shown that many past Palestinian claims, and the Palestinian narrative in general, can be substantiated by proper and professional academic research. Palestine Studies owes its emergence to the resilience of Palestinian scholars who despite the Nakba were able to resume the intellectual life of the mandate period. Its most notable achievement was the establishment of the PLO research centre in Beirut in 1965. The researchers there introduced the paradigm of settler colonialism that now inspires Palestine Studies. Despite the fragmentation caused by the Nakba, the Israeli occupation of Beirut in 1982, and the Israeli seizure of the archives of the Palestine Research Center, Palestinian scholarship continued, and an impressive new generation of Palestinians and scholars of Palestine now inhabit a handful of Palestine Studies centres and quite a few programs in the global academy focusing on Palestine. Notwithstanding this success, Palestine Studies is under constant attack by the Israeli lobby trying to delegitimise it. But so far these efforts have failed, and Palestine Studies, as committed yet professional scholarship, is an important part of the struggle for liberation and justice in Palestine.



Islam Rabee

Assistant Researcher at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) since 2019 and General Coordinator of the Quarterly Economic Monitor. He holds a master's degree in Economics and a bachelor's degree in Applied Mathematics in Economics from Birzeit University. He also worked for the Jerusalem Development Cluster project and coordinated a study into the prospects for cooperation and integration between the Palestinian economy on both sides of the Green Line. He has published extensive research on macroeconomics, the Palestinian labour market, international trade, and public finance and worked at the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics from 2015-2018 as a statistical assistant in the National Accounts Department.

Prospects for Palestinian Economic Cooperation and Complementarity across the Green Line

The study provides an in-depth examination of the nature of economic relations between the Palestinians, in both the 1967 Occupied Territories and in Israel. It examines methods to strengthen and develop these economies, in order to achieve some form of cooperation, based on principles of economic integration between the two entities. The study illustrates that despite the expansion and diversity of economic relations between the Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line, particularly after the Oslo Accords, this expansion did not lead to further integration, coordination, or the division of responsibilities. Economic relations between the two entities are still hostage to Israeli policies, the security situation, and economic rent seeking, in addition to a host of other challenges. The latter is primarily linked to the weakness of Palestinian governmental policies in terms of strengthening economic relations with the Palestinians in Israel; the weakness of the investment environment in Palestine; and the prevalence of certain concerns related to the influx of Arab capital to the West Bank. Despite the ambiguity of both the existing situation and available data, this does not preclude a certain degree of confidence in the hope of strengthening this relationship and reaching a more advanced stage. This conclusion is evidenced by the positive results of the field survey and in-depth interviews, which were conducted in order to bridge existing gaps in available data. It confirms the existence of promising prospects to achieve greater cooperation in the next phase, allowing both parties to move ahead with strengthening current economic relations, while building on these to further develop future economic relations. The study shows that there are existing opportunities for interaction across a range of economic sectors, such as manufacturing, ICT, and tourism.



Johnny Mansour

Historian, researcher, and lecturer from Haifa who has taught for nearly four decades. He has published many studies, including "The Military Institution in Israel"; "The Other Israel: A View from the Inside"; and "Religiosity in Curricula and Teaching Books in Israeli Schools", as well as authoring *The Historical Dictionary of Palestine* with Ilan Pappé. He has participated in many conferences on his subject area and is currently studying internal displacement in Palestine in the first decade after the Nakba.

The Palestinian Cultural Scene during the British Mandate: *Al-Karmel* and *Filastin* Newspapers as Examples

This paper studies the Palestinian cultural scene in the cities of Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa during the British Mandate through cultural advertisements published in the newspapers *Al-Karmel* (Haifa) and *Filastin* (Jaffa). Cultural advertisements promoted play performances produced by Palestinians and Arab countries like Egypt, film screenings in Arabic and English, lyrical performances by Arab and foreign singers, academic lectures, sports activities, and restaurants and cafes. The paper analyses the evolution of advertisements over the three decades of the British Mandate and the language that developed because of extraneous influences from English and French, in turn influencing the cultural and social lexicon. The paper examines the new words and phrases that were influenced by foreign languages and how they became components of the Palestinian linguistic and cultural scene. The two newspapers were selected for study because they originated in two coastal cities exposed to cultural and economic inflows. The advertisements in these two newspapers reflected the nature of the new cultural scene and how it was responded to linguistically, socially, and commercially.



Khaled Anabtawi

PhD student at the Graduate Institute of Geneva (IHEID). His research interests are focused on the sociology of identity and space in a settler colonial context. He has worked as a researcher at the Madar Center for Israeli Studies in Ramallah and at Mada al-Carmel in Haifa. He has published works with several academic and cultural platforms, among them a study on Palestinian Christians in Israel, which will be published in 2023 by Wipf and Stock Press and Dar al-Kalima University; a study on "Israel and American and World Jewry" by the Institute for Palestine Studies; a study on Balfour Declaration in Madar's Israeli issues journal; and a study on military rule in the West Bank published by the Madar Center.

A Sociological Perspective on the Dignity Uprising and the Metamorphoses among Palestinians in the 1948 Territories

This paper traces the Dignity Uprising in May 2021 in the 1948 Palestinian territories. Building on a memory of dissent and aspiration, it took place after a wave of successful uprisings during the last decade such as the "Praver Uprising" of 2013. The paper argues that the uprising's explosive historical moment articulated a point of intersection in the course of dialectical metamorphoses over the last two decades at the trifold levels of 1) Israel and Zionism, 2) Palestinian society in Israel, and 3) the Palestinian issue. It holds that the colonial and neoliberal dimensions of the Israeli regime have been strengthened in the past two decades along with techniques of erasure, control, and containment toward Palestinians in Israel. These and other metamorphoses impacted the mode of popular mobilisation during the Dignity Uprising (e.g., compared to the Second Intifada), such as the transformation in the uprising's geography and its shift toward mixed cities and the Negev: the regions most impacted by recent Israeli policies. Further, the relationship with Jews was re-defined as one of settlers and the indigenous, as seen for example in the clashes with settlers. The mode of popular action became characterised by the dominance of bottom-up, decentralised, and non-partisan organisation. Moreover, the socio-economic base of the uprising was diversified, now led by new popular segments, generally socio-economically marginalised groups, whose mobilisation activities are affected by intensifying neoliberal Israeli policies. Slogans of unity and hope took root in the uprising's vocabulary as an articulation of a point of intersection between Palestinians, the Palestinian question, and the Green Line.



Kholoud Al-Ajarma

Palestinian anthropologist and an award winning photographer and film maker. She is a lecturer at the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Edinburgh (UK). She holds a PhD in Social Anthropology and Comparative Study of Religion (from the University of Groningen, Netherlands), an MA in Peace and Conflict Studies (from Coventry University, England) and an MPhil in Anthropology and Development Studies (from the University of Bergen, Norway). Al-Ajarma has conducted research on Islam, refugee studies, gender, youth leadership, water and migration, human rights, and visual culture in Palestine and several countries of the Mediterranean.

Tobacco Cultivation in Palestine: Farmers' Struggles over Land Ownership in the Context of Settler-Colonialism

Tobacco production has become one of the most important sectors in the economy of Jenin and its surrounding villages in the Northern West Bank of Palestine. The tobacco value chain provides employment and sustenance to hundreds of farmers, merchants, and female labourers who process the crop mainly inside their houses. By ethnographically examining the value chain of tobacco production, this paper investigates how Palestinian farmers grow tobacco as a mechanism of claiming ownership to their lands in the face of ongoing Israeli colonial policies and as a form of resistance to Israel's occupation. The data presented in the paper is based on thirteen months of fieldwork conducted in the Jenin governorate and its villages between April 2021 and May 2022. The paper provides examples of the daily struggles of Palestinian farmers and their active participation in land protection in the face of settler-colonialism and policies of destruction. The study engages with the literature on labour, health and well-being, and class and gender in the context of settler-colonialism.



Lena Obermaier

PhD candidate at the University of Exeter's Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies. She previously taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. Before focusing on academia, she also worked at the International Criminal Court and Human Rights Watch. Lena's work is published in *The Washington Post*, *Mondoweiss*, *Jacobin Mag*, and *+972Mag*. Her podcast "Parallwelt Palästina", the first podcast on Palestine in German, will be released in the beginning of 2023.

Disablement and Debilitation during Gaza's Great March of Return (2018-2019)

This article examines Israel's policies of deliberate disablement and debilitation during the Great March of Return in Gaza between March 2018 and December 2019. The orchestrated attacks on Palestinians during the Great March of Return are the latest incidents on a trajectory of premeditatedly produced mass injuries and impairments in the Israeli settler colonial context. The disabling of Palestinians and the debilitation of Palestinian health and rehabilitative infrastructure should be seen as part of Israel's settler-colonial 'logic of elimination'. Disabling the Palestinian body politic is a way to systematically erase indigenous people from the land, in this case from Gaza which has, in the words of Rashid Khalidi, refused to be a 'docile ghetto'. Injuries should therefore not be seen as mere by-products of war, categorised as collateral damage, nor as a 'humanitarian' alternative to death.



Mark Muhannad Ayyash

Professor of Sociology at Mount Royal University, Canada, where he emigrated from Silwan, Al-Quds. He published *A Hermeneutics of Violence* in 2019 and several articles on topics such as political violence, vaccine apartheid, anti-Palestinian racism, writing in exile, the social-political relationship, and Palestinian decolonial movements in journals such as *Critical Sociology*, *Distinktion*, *Interventions*, *the European Journal of International Relations*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, and *the European Journal of Social Theory*. He is also the author of multiple book chapters, and has written opinion pieces for *Al Jazeera*, *The Baffler*, *Middle East Eye*, *Mondoweiss*, *The Breach*, and *Middle East Monitor*.

Zionism, Nationalism, and Settler Colonialism: On Motivations and Violence

In discourse that normalizes, justifies, and propagates Israeli settler colonial conquest and domination, analytical attention is given to the supposed nationalist nature of the Zionist project, painting Zionism as a liberatory project for persecuted Jewish peoples in Europe and beyond. To counter this discourse and its erasure of the colonised, many critical scholars have emphasized that Zionism is both nationalist and settler colonial. But to present a decolonial alternative to the exclusive focus on Zionism as a nationalist project, critical analysis must insist that state nationalism, whether state ethno-nationalism or state civic nationalism, is but one of the elements that scholars can analyse within, not alongside, the larger framework of settler colonial sovereignty. This paper argues that we must examine the effects of the Zionist project and give the Palestinian experience its proper analytical weight at the forefront of the analysis: not as that which can illuminate the "unintended consequences" of Zionism, but as that which reveals the very logic and nature of Zionism and the Zionist project.



Marta Parigi

Research associate at the University of Hohenheim (Germany). Her research employs a quantitative approach to investigate the effects of political and structural violence on socio-economic and health outcomes of people living in the SWANA region. Her ongoing work includes studies on conflict and its impact on diet quality in post invasion Iraq, as well as on social cohesion in communities affected by war and forced displacement. She has undertaken fieldwork in Turkey and Kenya to collect both quantitative and qualitative data.

The Effect of Israeli Settlement-Related Structural Violence on Palestinian Food Security

The structural violence entrenched in settlements hinders Palestinian access to healthy and diversified diets. This violence damages local agricultural production, limits access to food markets and impoverishes Palestinian communities. This study combines the 2018 Socio Economic and Food Security survey with OCHA data on the Occupied Palestinian Territories to quantify the effect of structural violence on food security. It proxies structural violence through three indicators: number of checkpoints, number of houses demolished, and the share of firing zones' area all computed within a 5 kilometres radius from households' locality of residence. The paper addresses the possible sources of endogeneity by utilizing an instrumental variable approach which exploits the exogenous variation in the distance between Palestinian localities of residence and biblical landmark sites. The results show that structural violence has a statistically significant negative effect on food security. Further supporting this finding is a supplementary analysis on the effects of two potential underlying mechanisms: access to water and commuting time to the closest food market.



Mehmet Osmanli

PhD researcher in Modern Ottoman History at University of Pamukkule, Denizli, Turkey and a translator of both Ottoman and modern Turkish. He holds a bachelor's degree in Civil Engineering and a master's degree in Islamic Studies and Media. His research interests are concerned with the philosophy of history and modern historical writing. His narrower specialization is in the history of Ottoman institutions and the political system and their evolution through the Tanzimât period in the 19th century.

Aspiring to the Sympathy of His "Hümâyunic Shadow": The Limits of the Ottoman Bureaucracy's Perception of Jewish Immigration to the Land of Palestine (1876-1904)

This paper examines the Palestinian issue in the mentality of the central Ottoman bureaucracy as one of its most important 'causes.' The first political Jewish immigration to the Palestinian territories (1881-1904) represented intentional political immigration. The study extracts multiple documents from the Ottoman archives covering the initial research period from 1876-1904, including letters of supplication received by the Ottoman administration (the first section) from the most important Jewish personalities discussing the measures (the second section) that the aforementioned administration took regarding these migrations. The study asks if we can talk about a Palestinian 'cause' in the nineteenth century — did a 'cause' actually exist, or is it just a harbinger of what would come? The paper demonstrates the extent to which the Ottoman authorities began dealing with such a 'cause' in the late nineteenth century, exploring the subject through the lens of the 'History of Mentalities,' in part sculpted by French historian Lucien Febvre, focusing on how the 'mental environment' of the ruling bureaucracy dealt with Jewish immigration to Arz-ı Filistin (Land of Palestine).



Michael R. Fischbach

Professor of History at Randolph-Macon College in the US state of Virginia. He is the author of *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Columbia University Press, 2003) and *Jewish Property Claims Against Arab Countries* (Columbia University Press, 2008), which examine property losses sustained by Palestinian Arabs and Jews from Arab countries in the wake of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. He has more recently studied US political activists' understandings of the Arab-Israeli Conflict during the 1960s. This research led to publication of *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Colour* (Stanford University Press, 2018) and *The Movement and the Middle East: How the Arab-Israeli Conflict Divided the American Left* (Stanford University Press, 2019).

Native Struggles against Settler Colonialism: Ongoing Palestine Solidarity among Indigenous and Latinx Peoples in the US from the 1960s

Amidst the global uprising against colonialism and other forms of imperialism in the 1960s and 1970s, some native activists in the US saw themselves and the Palestinians as kindred peoples who had been forcibly deprived of their independence and land and whose presence erased by foreign settlers. They not only began an anti-colonial struggle in the US and Puerto Rico but extended their support to the Palestinian national liberation struggle in the Middle East as well. Their actions set the stage for decades of native activism in the US on behalf of Palestine. This paper details Indigenous and Latinx activists' support for the Palestinians in the US beginning in the Global 1960s. It focuses on how native activists in North America shared a common experience of dispossession by settler colonialism and a shared discourse of liberation with Palestinian liberation organisations. It details how Indian and Latinx support for the Palestinians spread decades later in the twenty-first century, bearing testament to the continued strength of a shared global struggle against imperialism and settler colonialism. The paper prominently presents the words of native activists who explain for themselves why they considered themselves and the Palestinians as kindred peoples struggling together against a common enemy.



Mohamed El Ouadrassi

Assistant Professor at Ibn Zohr University, Agadir, Morocco. He obtained his PhD in Public International Law from Mohammed V University in 2018 with a dissertation titled "The Status of Illegal Combatants in International Humanitarian Law", having earned a master's degree in International Relations from the same university. His research interests comprise topics related to public international law, in particular various cases of the use of armed force, and the status of members of armed movements in international humanitarian law and in relation to international resolutions on "counter-terrorism". He is also interested in attempts to establish an international criminal system, in particular the Permanent International Criminal Court and the political and legal obstacles it faces.

Constraints on the Application of International Criminal Justice in Palestine

Following Palestine's accession to the Rome Statute (1998) and former prosecutor Fatou Bensouda's announcement of investigations into alleged international crimes, ICC investigations in the Palestinian territories have faced a series of obstacles. This study attempts to reveal these obstacles, the most important of which remains the Israeli side's adherence to the Oslo Accords and denial of the Court's jurisdiction to try alleged international crimes. Some difficulties are related to the nature of the Rome Statute, whose provisions, in principle, apply only to states parties to the Court. This allows Israel to refuse to cooperate with the Court and enables it to cling to the system of judicial integration, limiting the effectiveness and efficiency of the Court's investigations on the ground in both cases. On the other hand, the Rome Statute empowers the Security Council to intervene to suspend the Court's investigations and prosecutions. In addition, the Court faces political pressure from several states. The study concludes with a brief review of some of the risks and opportunities surrounding ICC investigations.



Mohammed Duraidi

Researcher in social and demographic studies. Duraidi holds a master's degree in population studies and demography. He has been working for the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics since 1996 as Director General of Population and Social Statistics. He has conducted extensive research on population and demography and participated in many relevant forums and conferences.

The Palestinian Population in the Palestinian Territories and the Palestinians within the Green Line: Demographic Status and Population Projections

The Palestinian territories are characterized by unique patterns of population components as a result of the political reality in which the Palestinians live, and the forced migrations that accompanied this context, creating more than 50% of its components outside Palestine. The demographic transition in the Palestinian territories is still behindhand and is slow compared to many Arab and Asian countries, because the fertility component is still high, which has led to high population growth rates despite the decline in fertility rates over the past two decades. However, the population in the Palestinian territories is expected to double, only about 32 years from now at a time when the population is increasing rapidly in the Palestinian territories, the area remains limited, in addition to the severe restrictions, as the grip of the Israeli occupation and the control of the Israeli settlements over large areas of the West Bank is getting worse, and the situation in Gaza Strip is not better. The Palestinian residents of the territories occupied in 1948 (within the Green Line), face major challenges and clear discrimination, despite holding Israeli citizenship. Their number is approaching two million, and they represent about 18% of the population of Israel. It is noticeable that although the Palestinians live in historical Palestine, each group (population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and residents within the Green Line) is characterized by different demographic patterns and composition, where the social, economic and political conditions might have their impact on them.



Mohammed Maraqtan

Palestinian archaeologist and historian who lives and works in Germany. He is a specialist on Semitic languages and civilisations of the ancient Near East, especially the languages and epigraphy of pre-Islamic Arabia. He currently works at the University of Munster. He earned his MA and, in 1987, his PhD in Semitic Languages and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Marburg in Germany. He has taught and researched at several German-language universities including the University of Marburg, Heidelberg University, and the University of Vienna (Austria). He has worked as coordinator of academic research at Qatar University; as a researcher at the Austrian Academy of the Sciences and at Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; and as a visiting language expert at the Doha Historical Dictionary of Arabic.

Towards Liberation from the Narrative of Biblical Archaeology in Writing the Ancient History of Palestine

The issue of liberation from colonial archaeology, including Biblical archaeology, is considered a very important issue in archaeological studies today. It is not possible to write the ancient history of Palestine scientifically without becoming free of the methodology and legacy of Biblical archaeology. The main objective of this research paper is to present some aspects of the praxis of colonial archaeology, including Biblical archaeology, whose concepts formed the main pillar of the Zionist narrative. This research focuses on several case studies of inscriptions and which reveal the misinterpretation and misuse of linguistic data, ancient inscriptions, and archaeological artifacts in the interpretation of historical and cultural events in ancient Palestine, such as the so-called "Israeli jar" and "Israeli house" from the Iron Age (beginning of the 1st millennium BC). In addition, this paper will discuss the unscientific practices of the Israel Antiquities Authority in archaeological excavations. It also presents a general concept for the deconstruction of the colonial system of Biblical archaeology. In conclusion, the study provides new scientific approaches to writing the ancient history of Palestine instead of the exclusive Biblical narrative, to contribute to the formulation of a Palestinian historical narrative capable of confronting the Zionist narrative.



Muna Awadallah

Researcher and editor documenting the Palestinian cause and PhD candidate in Philosophy from the University of Jordan. She has a number of research papers published in peer-reviewed journals and contributed the chapter "Forms and Methods of Resistance to Normalization with the Zionist Entity in Jordan: A Field Study," to *Boycott Strategy against the Israeli Occupation and the Apartheid Regime: Reality and Ambition* (Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies: 2018).

The Problem of Democracy in Colonial Entities according to John Rawls's Theory of Justice: The Zionist Entity as an Example

This study investigates the issue of democracy in colonial entities from the perspective of John Rawls' theory of justice as fairness, applying this to the current Israeli political regime as a settler-colonial entity, represented by its social and political institutions, and its policies on the ground targeting the entire population. Although colonial regimes contradict the principle of democracy, these regimes often present a façade of democracy, pushing the marriage of democracy and colonialism into the scope of this research. The Zionist settler colonial entity in Palestine promotes values entirely at odds with the reality of its condition. The analysis relies on Rawls' theory of justice because of its novelty within the framework of liberal theories and because it also corresponds to the theoretical definition of the meaning of democracy in Israeli democratic discourse.



Mustafa Sheta

Director of the Freedom Theatre and a member of the Board of Directors of the Palestinian Performing Arts Network (PPAN). He is a political activist and media researcher from Jenin, and a Media and Political Science graduate of Birzeit University. He completed his higher education in Conflict Resolution and Development at the Arab American University, then began working at the Muwatin Institute for Democracy and Human Rights. He then worked at the Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Centre (SHAML) before shifting to the "Our Future" project with Interpeace, in cooperation with the UN Office for Project Services (UNOPS), in the occupied Palestinian territories. He was also an editor for the Birzeit University's Arabic page "Despite the Limits" and worked with the Bisan Center for Research and Development as a researcher and coordinator of the campaign to protect the Marj Ibn Amir Valley.

Reconceptualization of Cultural Resistance in Palestine in the Context of National Theatre

This study is futurological in its theoretical and field dimensions as it seeks to relocate the concept of cultural resistance in the context of Palestinian national theatre, as an authentic part of the contemporary Palestinian national movement. It is connected intellectually to the construction of national identity given the inability to establish an independent sovereign state. Further, the concept of cultural resistance is among the instruments and strategies Palestinians today use to transform the conflict with Israel due to power imbalances and oppression in the field. Cultural resistance is considered a manifestation of national resistance, with organisational, social, and national implications linked to opportunities to transform the conflict with the occupying state on the ground in the context of complex political conditions. How can the role of the national theatre be re-read in the context of cultural resistance today, and how have these analytical, intellectual, and field readings been affected by the general national conditions? Is it possible to take advantage of international experiences and theoretical frameworks to re-describe the state of Palestinian national theatre as an all-encompassing epic national spirit? What impressions do activists and theatre experts have about the state, role, and functions of national theatre in a period of political impasse that has seen the retreat of the political elite and renewed confrontation with the occupying state in both peaceful, cultural and non-violent forms and, on the other hand, armed resistance.



Nadim N. Rouhana

Professor of International Affairs and Conflict Studies and Director of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. His research includes work on the dynamics of protracted social conflict, collective identity and democratic citizenship in multiethnic states and questions of decolonization and transitional justice in settler colonial regimes. His publications include *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (Yale University Press, 1997) and *Israel and its Palestinian Citizens: Ethnic Privileges in the Jewish State* (editor; Cambridge University Press, 2017). He has held various academic positions at Palestinian, and American universities including Harvard University, Boston College, MIT, and George Mason University. He was a co-founder of the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, where he co-chaired the Center's Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution from 1992-2001. He is the Founding Director (2000-2017) of Mada al-Carmel: The Arab Center for Applied Social Research in Haifa.

Landlords and Tenants in the Jewish State: Settler Colonial Citizenship, Homeland, and the Right to Belong

One of the marked outcomes of the surge of extreme right wing Zionist parties in the recent Israeli elections (November 2022) has been the surfacing of the concept of *ba'al habayit* (translated into English as "landlord," "master," or "boss") in the context of the relationship between Israel's Jewish and Palestinian citizens (and Palestinians in general) and their belonging to or even place in the land. This paper argues that while the Zionist project of establishing an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine has, since the establishment of Israel in 1948, embodied and presumed exclusive Jewish ownership of the homeland – as the landlords – the open articulation in the emergent political discourse contributes to the conceptual clarity of the nature of the settler colonial project in Palestine in terms of the relationship between Jews and native Palestinians, citizenship in a settler colonial context, and the question of the fundamental right to belong according to Zionism. In this regard, the paper differentiates between belonging to the state as a political structure and to the homeland as the site of individual and collective national emotional investment and seeks to explain why the recent ideological clarity highlighted by the dynamics of landlord and tenant contributes to sharpening the concept of settler colonial citizenship: that of the colonizer – the landlord – and the colonized – the tenant.



Nizar Ayoub

Co-Founder and Director of Al-Marsad – an Arab Human Rights Centre in the Golan Heights and a researcher and lawyer in the field of human rights. PhD in International Law and a master's degree in Conflict Management and Mediation. He has worked as a lawyer and legal researcher with various Palestinian NGOs in Jerusalem and Ramallah from 2000-2013, including Al-Haq. His research concerns the legal status of the occupied Arab territories, focusing on the legal status of Jerusalem and its Palestinian citizens and ethnic cleansing in Jerusalem. He has conducted studies on the conflict in Syria, including "Accountability for the Perpetrators of War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity"; "International Humanitarian Intervention in Syria and the Duty to Protect"; and "Transitional Justice in Syria: Transitional Justice or Transitional Politics?"

Ethnic Cleansing as a Tool for Consolidating Settler Colonialism and Apartheid in Jerusalem

The paper studies the policy of systematic ethnic cleansing to strengthen the Israeli apartheid and settler colonial system to maintain a dominant Jewish majority in Palestine, particularly in Jerusalem. The paper adopts a theoretical approach to discuss and analyse relevant studies and an applied approach based on data from Palestinian and Israeli research institutions to reveal the occupier's policies that target the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem and the goals thereof. The paper comprises three sections: the first deals with the relationship between the Israeli settler colonial system, ethnic cleansing, and apartheid in Palestine, while the second section explores the ethnic cleansing policy of consolidating settler colonialism and apartheid in Jerusalem. The third section discusses Israeli law regulating the policy of ethnic cleansing and apartheid pursued by the settler colonial system in Jerusalem. The paper argues that ethnic cleansing is a crucial tool for Zionist policies seeking to rid Palestine of its indigenous people and replace them with Jewish settlers. Focusing on Jerusalem, the paper clearly shows that the established Israeli settler colonial regime in Palestine is associated with ethnic cleansing and apartheid, represents a gross violation of international human rights law, and amounts to a crime against humanity.



Nour Bader

PhD candidate at the University of Tunis, working on a thesis titled "Colonialism in its Daily Incarnation: The Sociology of Control in the Israeli Military Rule over Palestinian Bodies and Their Resistance". She is interested in the sociology of the daily life of Palestinians under Israeli colonialism, focusing on dismantling the oppression that targets Palestinian bodies through a slow process of extermination within the framework of their daily life. Her book, *The Engineering of Oppression: The Politics of Controlling Silent Bodies – Palestinian Women with Breast Cancer*, was published by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

Spatial and Temporal Sociology of Camp Identity: Al-Wehdat - New Amman as a Model

This study contributes to the spatial and temporal deconstruction of identity in Al-Wehdat Camp in Jordan. For this purpose, the researcher uses a methodological framework known as the sociology of everyday life, relying on the micro-level and its interaction with the 'broader' micro-level. The paper deconstructs the spatio-temporal identity of the camps in Al-Wehdat by relying on a theoretical framework based firstly on the fact that the place, the camp, is a performance act produced by the Palestinian Nakba, and secondly through temporality: that is, the temporality of the confluence of past, present, and future in a resistance project. This study found that camp identity is understood by relying on the spatial and temporal and showed how spatial identity is embodied through the supply card issued by the UNRWA during the Nakba, which was associated with artificial presence in the place. The temporality of identity is embodied through the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was associated with a resistance project and its transformations within a moment based on the "past" and the "future".



Nguh Nwei Asanga Fon

PhD candidate in International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU), Famagusta, North Cyprus. His main research interests include governance, development studies, conflict resolution, foreign policy, and African international relations. He has published research in peer reviewed journals, academic blogs and international conference presentations and serves as reviewer for two peer reviewed journals. Fon is a research fellow with the International Governance Institute (IGI) Cameroon, and a member of the International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS).

Complicated Partnership: The Evolving Trajectory of Israeli-African Relations

Israeli relations with Africa reached a milestone in June 2021 when the African Union (AU) granted observer status to Israel. However, this decision taken by AU Commission Chair Moussa Faki triggered backlash from some AU member states and internal controversy in the union. Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Mauritania, Djibouti, Comoros, and Tunisia tabled a verbal note to Faki to underscore their rejection of his attribution of observer status to Israel, noting it contradicted the AU's endorsement of the Palestinian cause, which exposed the complicated nature of Israeli relations with Africa. This paper probes the evolving relationship between Israel and Africa from 1950-2022 and the Palestinian response to this relationship, adopting realism as the theoretical framework to analyse Israeli African relations. The findings reveal that Israel's bilateral relations with African states were mostly cordial meanwhile its multilateral relations with African continental bodies were mostly hostile. Furthermore, African states tended to prioritize their national interests, which pushed them to either sever or maintain ties with Israel based on their best interest at the time.



Nur Arafeh

Fellow at the Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center in Washington, DC, where her work focuses on the political economy of the MENA region, business-state relations, peacebuilding strategies, the development-security nexus, and Palestinian affairs. She previously served as Al-Shabaka's Palestine Policy Fellow between 2015 and 2017, Associate Researcher at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS), and Visiting Lecturer of Economics at Al-Quds Bard College. Arafeh has also consulted for several Palestinian and international organizations on issues related to development policies, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and socio-economic policy analysis. She holds a doctorate in International Development as a Rhodes Scholar from the University of Oxford, a master's in Development Studies from the University of Cambridge, and a BA in Political Science and Economics from Sciences Po Paris and Columbia University.

Entrenching Privilege and Promoting Local Agency in Counter-Insurgency: A Case Study of Trade Facilitation Programmes in Hebron in the Occupied West Bank

From high hopes to lost illusions, the Palestinians have become thoroughly disenchanted since the Oslo Accords (1993). Yet, focusing on the many political, military, and diplomatic disappointments (e.g., Camp David, shifting borders, Jerusalem as capital of the Jewish state, the Knesset bill on the "Nation-State", etc.) is futile. In the long run, 'the people' are what matters. An overview of the Palestinian population in the world is a preliminary to this reflection. Today, there are 15 million Palestinians around the world: a modest underestimation, perhaps, given the extent of the diaspora. For Palestinians, for obvious political reasons, this figure is of strategic importance. As the earth gives way beneath their feet, one setback at a time, asserting themselves through the weight of their population gives Palestinians visibility. This research seeks to comprehensively examine the range of Palestinian presence in the world, tackling the problem of data (or lack thereof) head on. The paper identifies the Palestinian presence worldwide even in the most unexpected settings, from the State of Palestine and Historical Palestine to Chile, covering a total of some twenty countries in the Arab countries, Europe, and the Americas, uncovering data limitations and contradictions. The study concludes with suggestions to improve knowledge about the Palestinians worldwide.



Pietro Stefanini

PhD candidate in Politics at the University of Edinburgh. He has published a peer-reviewed article on anti-colonial resistance and contributed a chapter to the edited book *Open Gaza: Architectures of Hope* (2021). He is also the editor of *UNRWA at 70: Palestinian Refugees in Context* (2020).

COGAT and the Humanitarian Mode of Settler Colonialism

This paper examines the humanitarian mode of settler colonial governance – Israeli military-civilian structure, the Coordinator for Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT). It bridges the fields of settler colonial and humanitarian studies to explore a less researched aspect of Israel's regime of rule. From a methodological perspective this study combines a historically informed analysis with the use of ethnographic interviews. It situates COGAT within the longer genealogy of Zionist attempts to deal with the Indigenous 'problem' in the pre-Nakba period and reconstruct the evolution of this apparatus since 1967. Drawing from forty interviews with former Israeli military officials, settlers, and humanitarian NGO workers, along with materials found in Wikileaks files, the paper argues that COGAT's biopolitical control of Palestinians as a humanitarian problem reflects the settler state's territorial strategy to maintain natives' dispossession inside fragmented enclaves. The production of the Palestinian population as a humanitarian problem has also become a prominent form of disciplinary power in Israel's counter-insurgency operations. Studying this form of subjectivity in which the settler self is constituted as humanitarian towards the Palestinian Other is important for understanding the reproduction of settler colonial power.



Rabeh Morrar

Head of Research at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) and a research fellow for the Economic Research Forum (ERF), Arab Council for the Social Sciences (ACSS), and Middle East Economic Association (MEEA). He joined the Department of Economics at An-Najah National University, Palestine, as an assistant professor and in 2011 became head of the department until 2015. He received his PhD in Innovation Economics from Lille 1 University for Science and Technology in Lille, France in 2011 and finished a postdoctoral degree in Development Economics from Northumbria University, UK in 2019. His current research interests include the knowledge economy, innovation economy, labour economy, and development. He has published more than 20 articles in international peer-reviewed journals and many other reports and policy papers locally and internationally.

Promoting the Development of the Startup Ecosystem in Palestine, and its Potential Effects on Public Finance

Globally, startups are playing an increasingly prominent role in stimulating economic growth. In Palestine, there has been an increased interest in the role of governmental policies and procedures in the development of an ecosystem that would enable startups to thrive. This is reflected in a number of policies, practical measures, and legislative decrees adopted by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and other public institutions. The study thus aims to analyse the effectiveness of such policies in promoting the development of the startup ecosystem from the perspective of public finance. More specifically, the study seeks to identify effective regulatory frameworks and policy interventions that would provide a fertile environment for startups and create a positive impact, in the long-term, on public revenues and economic growth. The study relies on a set of semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted among various stakeholders in the startup ecosystem as well as a number of relevant public institutions, including startup entrepreneurs, accelerators, incubators, venture capital funds, universities, legal entities, and government agencies. It finds that there is a lack of a clear governmental strategy as relates to taxation regulations specific to the startup sector. In Palestine, startups suffer from a set of financial challenges resulting from high taxes and fees, reluctant foreign capital investments due to high risk, and an overall absence of tax and financial incentive strategies adopted by the government to enhance investments in startups.



Raja Khalidi

Director General of the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) since November 2019 and an Ex officio member of the Institute's Board of Trustees. He held the position of research coordinator at MAS from March 2016 to November 2019. He worked at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) from 1985-2013 and was the coordinator of its Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People from 2000-2006. Khalidi holds a master's degree in Economic Development from SOAS University of London in the UK and has published extensively on Palestinian economic development.

Prospects for Palestinian Economic Cooperation and Complementarity across the Green Line

The study provides an in-depth examination of the nature of economic relations between the Palestinians, in both the Occupied Territories of 1967 and in Israel. It examines methods to strengthen and develop these economies, in order to achieve some form of cooperation, based on principles of economic integration between the two entities. The study illustrates that despite the expansion and diversity of economic relations between the Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line, particularly after the Oslo Accords, this expansion did not lead to further integration, coordination, or the division of responsibilities. Economic relations between the two entities are still hostage to Israeli policies, the security situation, and economic rent seeking, in addition to a host of other challenges. The latter is primarily linked to the weakness of Palestinian governmental policies in terms of strengthening economic relations with the Palestinians in Israel; the weakness of the investment environment in Palestine; and the prevalence of certain concerns related to the influx of Arab capital to the West Bank. Despite the ambiguity of both the existing situation and available data, this does not preclude a certain degree of confidence in the hope of strengthening this relationship and reaching a more advanced stage. This conclusion is evidenced by the positive results of the field survey and in-depth interviews, which were conducted in order to bridge existing gaps in available data. It confirms the existence of promising prospects to achieve greater cooperation in the next phase, allowing both parties to move ahead with strengthening current economic relations, while building on these to further develop future economic relations. The study shows that there are existing opportunities for interaction across a range of economic sectors, such as the manufacturing industry, ICT, and tourism.



Rami Rmeileh

Social and cultural psychologist who is currently a doctoral researcher and associate lecturer at the University of Exeter. His dissertation explores the concept of *sumud* as an analytic, tracing its appeal amongst Palestinians in Lebanon's refugee camps, and interrogating it within particular social formations and interlocking systems of oppression. Rmeileh has worked previously for various political and humanitarian organisations, most recently at the European Parliament. Alongside his studies, Rami is a co-organiser of Mutawasiloona and the Sumud Circles initiative, which creates Palestinian-centred conversational spaces for knowledge production, sharing, and storytelling based on experiences of joy, fear, aspirations, and struggle of Palestinians. Rmeileh's work bridges the divide between academia and activism and demonstrates commitment to decolonisation through epistemological resistance.

Trans-Territorial *Sumud*: Refugee Responses to Multiple Systems of Oppression in Bourj el-Barajneh Camp

This paper offers an alternative conceptual framework that animates and amplifies *sumud* as a Palestinian way of life including reflection and action, which together transform Palestinians' reality under oppression beyond Palestine's Occupied Territories. Foregrounding the praxis of *sumud* as an analytic bypasses conceptual limitation that confine Palestinians to unrepresentative Eurocentric and hegemonic models of resilience, resistance, and trauma. The paper takes *sumud* (steadfastness) as an entry point for the exploration of Palestinians' empirical knowledge of reality in Bourj el-Barajneh camp, a reality situated within wider power relations, mainly relating to settler colonialism and the Lebanese state. By exploring *sumud* as an analytical concept, tracing its appeal in specific space and time, and interrogating its work within particular social formations, this paper reaffirms that Palestinians' experiences are heterogeneous, as are their response(s) to oppression. Tracing *sumud*'s trajectory elucidates the frictions between *sumud* as a grassroots practice versus *sumud* as a strategy co-opted by the Palestinian leadership. The analysis relies on semi-structured interviews, field observations, and questionnaires conducted in Bourj el-Barajneh between 2019 and 2022. The findings suggest that reflective storytelling has the potential to capture how *sumud* is understood by Palestinians in Bourj el-Barajneh, and how it facilitates their actions and meaning making of their struggle. Substituting *sumud* with other words or conceptual models does not capture the diverse meanings of the Palestinian reality nor does it sanitize its liberatory premise.



Rand Jibril

Graduate student at the University of Oxford, completing an MSc in Evidence-Based Social Intervention and Policy Evaluation. She joined the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) as a research assistant in 2020. Jibril graduated with a BA in International Politics and Economics from Middlebury College in 2020. Her thesis, titled "Determined Despite Restrictions: The Effects of Mobility Restrictions on the Palestinian Labor Market", won the IP&E Thesis Prize Award in 2020. Her research focuses on labour, marginalized groups, political economy, market interventions, and the socioeconomic impacts of occupation and restrictions.

Promoting the Development of the Startup Ecosystem in Palestine, and its Potential Effects on Public Finance

Globally, startups are playing an increasingly prominent role in stimulating economic growth. In Palestine, there has been an increased interest in the role of governmental policies and procedures in the development of an ecosystem that would enable startups to thrive. This is reflected in a number of policies, practical measures, and legislative decrees adopted by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and other public institutions. The study thus aims to analyse the effectiveness of such policies in promoting the development of the startup ecosystem from the perspective of public finance. More specifically, the study seeks to identify effective regulatory frameworks and policy interventions that would provide a fertile environment for startups and create a positive impact, in the long-term, on public revenues and economic growth. The study relies on a set of semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted among various stakeholders in the startup ecosystem as well as a number of relevant public institutions, including startup entrepreneurs, accelerators, incubators, venture capital funds, universities, legal entities, and government agencies. It finds that there is a lack of a clear governmental strategy as relates to taxation regulations specific to the startup sector. In Palestine, startups suffer from a set of financial challenges resulting from high taxes and fees, reluctant foreign capital investments due to high risk, and an overall absence of tax and financial incentive strategies adopted by the government to enhance investments in startups.



Rawan Samamreh

Palestinian researcher concerned with issues related to Palestine, such as the implication of settler colonialism on the Palestinian environment, vegan washing, and Palestinian oral history. She holds a master's degree in Israeli Studies from Birzeit University.

Nature Reserves and National Parks: An Approach to Settlement Expansion and Control of Space

This study investigates Israel's settler-colonial exploitation of nature reserves and national parks as tools to manage and control the local Palestinian population and land. This study helps build an understanding of the interrelation between the re-imagining and making of the landscape (using the law and tourism, as Israeli colonial practices) and protected areas. The coloniser imbues the natural landscape with historical and biblical narratives to prove their claim over the land producing a space constructed on a colonial imaginary. Moreover, Israel uses the law as a tool to reshape awareness, reinforce entitlement to the land, and justify taking land for nature reserves or national parks. Furthermore, Israel demarcates land as nature reserves to protect archaeological sites in order to expand settlement under the guise of protecting nature. Furthermore, the study investigates the settlers' colonial power relations as they infiltrate tourism and identify pathways to disrupt and erase Indigenous cultures. The study concludes with a study of the effects of protected areas on the Palestinians' relationship to their land and its wildlife.



Reham Amro

PhD candidate in History at Istanbul Medeniyet University. Her study "The Transformations of Political Awareness in the Gulf Region (1938-1971)" reflects her interests in the political and social history of the Arab World, with a regional emphasis on the Arabian Peninsula. She holds a master's degree in History from the University of Jordan, where she served as a research assistant and lecturer in the Department of History for six years (2009–2015). She has worked as a researcher and research assistant on a variety of projects (2012–2022) and is currently a program coordinator at the Arab Political Science Network.

The Moment of the Nakba: The Erasure of the Palestinian People ... The Keys to Stolen Doors ... The Duality of the Intellectual and the Peasant

This paper seeks to trace the feelings of the Palestinians and capture the moment of land loss through extrapolation from the memoirs of intellectuals and the personal testimonies of peasants (*Fallaheen*). This moment appears in Edward Said's books *Out of Place: A Memoir* and *After the Last Sky* and in Hisham Sharabi's *Embers and Ashes: Memoirs of an Arab Intellectual*. This paper seeks to analyse the position of the Palestinians vis a vis the trauma of alienation from their homes by addressing the following questions: Was there a difference between the position of the intellectual and that of the '*Fallah*'? Can it be said that the experience of the Nakba affected the '*Fallah*' more than the intellectual, the latter of whom fled the land? Can this argument be confirmed by examining the oral histories of PalestineRemembered.com? Finally, is the third generation of '*Fallaheen*' and intellectuals still committed to their right to return to their ancestral homeland? Is the stolen door's key still in hiding, waiting for its owners to return?



Rola Sirhan

PhD candidate in the Social Sciences Programme at Birzeit University, where she earned a master's degree in International Studies. Her interests revolve around the sociology of media, communication, media policies, and their impact on the formation of nationalism and memory and on identity and culture. She is the Editor-in-Chief of the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Hadath*, which she founded in 2013.

Memory of Defeat and Palestinian Social and Political Imaginaries: Dominance without Hegemony

This study argues that Arab regimes manipulated the memory of the 1967 defeat to produce social and political imaginaries, whether at the Arab or Palestinian level. The memory of the defeat, as a historical event, has been utilised and transformed into an "imagined defeat" through the construction of culturally charged social and political imaginaries which contribute to its longevity. Yet this "imagined defeat", despite having succeeded in exerting its dominance in the Arab and Palestinian contexts, has been unable to establish its hegemony; thus, it has not become an essential, accepted component of the Arab-Palestinian consciousness.



Saif Yousef

Human Rights Officer with the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Baghdad. He holds a bachelor's degree in Law from Jordan and master's degree in Human Rights and Democratization from the Faculty of Law and Political Science at Saint Joseph University of Beirut. His research interests are international law, international human rights law, and refugee studies.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Right of Return as Enshrined in United Nations Resolution No. 194

The right of return is considered a basic human right that should be respected without discrimination or bias. In the context of the Palestinian refugee crisis, this right only exists as a dream, without any certainty of being realized, especially when the reasons behind the crisis still exist. Despite efforts to find solutions for refugees worldwide, the United Nations still faces many challenges, in particular with continued clashes in the area, marking the Palestinian refugee crisis as one of the most protracted in the world. This study focuses on the right of return of Article 11 of UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) of 1948 and argues that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)'s durable solutions can put the Palestinian right of return at risk, discussing the implications for those it is meant to protect.



Saja Torman

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editorial Secretary for the journal *Hikama*, published by the ACRPS and the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She previously worked as a research and teaching assistant at Birzeit University, where she earned a BA in Public Administration and an MA in International Studies at the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies. She also holds an MA in Public Policy and International Cooperation from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies.

Public Policy Research in Palestine Under Colonisation: A Contribution to the Discussion of the Intellectual and Societal Commitment of Researchers

This article addresses the problems of social research and focuses specifically on Public Policy as a newly emerging field, especially since it has become an area of engagement for many non-governmental organisations. There have been some modest cases of non-governmental organisations being able to overcome this effect by refocusing the impact of colonialism on the lived social experience of Palestinians and deconstructing its effect on the colonised. Meanwhile, there is a prevailing trend that still employs the discourse of development, institution-building, democracy, and other "state-building" concepts. This discourse represents an extension of the legitimisation of the Palestinian Authority and an implicit justification for its existence. It also represents a normalization of the Palestinian public consciousness's having accepted the stage the Palestinian cause entered after the Oslo Accords, essentially constituting a continuous, deliberate denial of the peace process's failure to build a Palestinian state. The paper concludes that assessment of the knowledge produced by government organisations based on and limited to the structure of the aid and financing system in accordance with the funder's agenda is a matter of oversimplification and generalization.



Sami Mahajna

Senior researcher at Mada al-Carmel: the Arab Center for Applied Social Research. One of his current research projects focuses on the relationship between family environment and school environment variables and their impact on the career choices made by young Palestinian live in Israel.

Split in Two Parts: The Dynamics of the Commercial Relationship between the Palestinians from within the Green Line and Jenin

Palestinians from the West Bank meet Palestinians from the other side of the Green Line almost daily in different social, economic, and political contexts. However, while emphasis is placed on the political relations between the two sides, relations of a social and economic nature have not received the attention of political actors, nor researchers. This paper analyses the commercial interactions between Palestinians from both sides of the Green Line to understand the impact of the daily economic interactions on the Palestinian society, its social fabric, and thus on its political unity. It seeks to grasp the unwritten understandings that have resulted in such a reality. When do these understandings reflect solidarity between a divided people, and when do they manifest in relationships of exploitation? How can this relationship affect the political positions of the two communities? Do they contribute to creating an inclusive Palestinian identity, or do they serve to imbed social and cultural differences created by complex political reality? This paper approaches these relationships from the consumers' point of view. The paper uses a mixed methodology combining quantitative and qualitative methods to study Jenin as an area frequented by consumers.



Saul J. Takahashi

Professor of Human Rights and Peace Studies at Osaka Jogakuin University in Japan. He is an international human rights and humanitarian lawyer, and his main fields of expertise include human rights in Palestine (including the rights of '48 Palestinians), global Islamophobia, and business and human rights. Saul has held positions in Amnesty International and in several UN organisations and was Deputy Head of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Occupied Palestine from March 2009 through May 2014. He is the author of several books in English and Japanese. Saul's work can be found on his page on [researchmap](#) (a site hosted by the Japanese government to facilitate academic exchange).

Linguistic Rights of '48 Palestinians

The right of '48 Palestinians (Palestinians with Israeli citizenship) to speak Arabic in their dealings with the state of Israel (i.e., in administrative, judicial, and other official procedures), should be recognized. Language rights are fundamental to the identity of any nation, and to the realization of their right to self-determination: recognised as fundamental to the protection of all human rights. Nevertheless, protection of language rights in international human rights law is not as strong as might be expected. It is proposed that these international human rights standards do not offer sufficient protection for the linguistic rights of '48 Palestinians. Not only are the provisions themselves not sufficiently broad in terms of the areas they cover, their categorization of communities as 'minorities' or 'indigenous peoples' does not sufficiently capture the situation of '48 Palestinians, who are an indigenous people in an ethnocratic, settler-colonial state. This paper shall address issues of the linguistic rights of '48 Palestinians, in particular with regard to access to judicial proceedings. The landmark Israeli Supreme Court case on road signs shall also be examined, with textual analysis supplemented by interviews with lawyers and activists.



Suhad Daher-Nashif

Medical anthropologist dedicated the study of intersectionality between science, society, politics, and bureaucracy within healthcare practices in the MENA. She has an MSc in Health Sciences, and a PhD Sociology and Anthropology Her main research fields are medical education, forensic medicine, and mental health. She has worked at several academic and research institutions in the Middle East, most notably in the College of Medicine at Qatar University, and currently works as Lecturer in Sociology of Health in the School of Medicine at Keele University in the UK. Daher-Nashif has established and developed multiple behavioural sciences courses and curricula in health professions education programs including medicine, dentistry, and public health. She is an active author and reviewer for many Q1 journals and a member of several academic committees for international health and health education conferences.

The Lived Experience of Married Palestinian Women from the Palestinian Territories Occupied in 1967 Residing within the "Green Line"

Several studies have been done on the different aspects of the lives of Palestinian women in several occupied Palestinian regions. The focus has usually been on social or political aspects, or on the interactive relationship between them in a given field. Few studies have delved into the holistic daily lives of Palestinian women, especially those from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, who are married and live inside the Israeli state. This study sheds light on the lives of these women, especially those residing in the "Triangle", most of whom do not hold citizenship or a residency permit, in an attempt to understand how they survive when they are deprived of any civil rights and live under a colonial regime, social patriarchy, and socio-cultural attitudes and stereotypes toward Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, creating a sense of exclusion and alienation. The study uses a qualitative, phenomenological approach using semi-structured interviews. The interview analysis concludes with five themes: reasons for and modes of marriage; challenges that women face; their effect on women; coping and confrontation strategies; and facilitating factors to survive. The study found that women find moral and material support from their spouses and families and are often first and only wives. At the same time, they face political difficulties that deny them basic rights to health and education and societal difficulties that intensify their feelings of alienation, and thus develop various coping strategies.



Tareq Radi

PhD candidate in American Studies in the Department of Social and Cultural Analysis at New York University. He is currently preparing a dissertation that examines the financialization of housing in the West Bank as a process of financial and social reengineering rooted within a settler-colonial history of US real estate development and empire building in Palestine. Radi's research interests include racial capitalism, critical Indigenous theory, Black feminist thought, Palestinian studies, abolitionist geographies, and the financialization of housing. He holds a MSc in Globalization and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and a BSc in Finance from George Mason University. Radi is a co-producer of the pedagogical film *Gaza in Context* and co-edited *Gaza in Context: War and Settler Colonialism* with Rutgers University Professor Noura Erakat. His published work can be found in *the Journal of Palestine Studies*.

"No Face, No Case": A Financial Account of Indigenous Insurgence and Imperial Insecurity

This paper makes the fellahin's acts of sabotage during the Great Revolt of 1936-39 legible through an economic register to argue that their insurgency struck at the core processes which enabled the Mandate Government to reproduce itself. While much of the literature at best describes the Revolt as a failure of the national bourgeoisie and at worst views the fellahin's actions as sporadic, disorganized, and destructive banditry, this paper uses the British Mandate of Palestine's accounting practices and financial data between 1929 to 1947 to provide an alternative reading of the fellahin's insurrection through the very processes and ledgers that sought to erase them. With Palestine Railways at the centre of the analysis, the paper demonstrates how such acts of infrastructural sabotage obstructed not only the circulation of capital, information, and people, but also the flow of British imperial sovereignty and its ability to impose relations of colonial dependence.



Thayer Hastings

PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the CUNY Graduate Center in New York City. His dissertation project, provisionally titled "Governing the 'Center of Life' in Jerusalem," focuses on Palestinian Jerusalemites, their required maintenance of permanent residency status, and the politics people make within the draconian policy. The research investigates how crises of and within colonialism shape and take shape in everyday life, and the cracks revealed by attending to spaces of intimacy, relationships, and the home. The project is at the intersection of the anthropology of governance and bureaucracy, studies of colonialism including settler colonialism, and the history of the sciences, particularly demography.

On the Crisis of Demographic Balance and Majority in Jerusalem

The crisis of demography is best understood as an expression of settler colonial anxiety over the slight majority of indigenous Palestinians under Israeli rule. Demographic knowledge and institutional capacity to enact social engineering are central to the capacity of a settler state's viability and enactment of sovereignty through replacement. Knowing what populations exist, their rates of biological reproduction, and managing their presence within key strategic or ideological spaces like Jerusalem are all features of demographic governance. Importantly, the attempt to produce a demographic Jewish-Israeli majority over Palestinians in Jerusalem is failing. However, Jerusalem permanent residency status places the onus on individual Palestinians to negotiate their location within that 'crisis' throughout their lives. Although Israel has not managed to allay the oft-cited 'demographic crisis' of a declining Jewish majority, it has shifted the 'crisis' into the intimate spaces of the home and everyday life of the Palestinian residents of the city. This paper proposes to identify demography as an institutional location from which to examine the conditions and contradictions of a colonial form of biopolitics imbedded within a political economy of governmental techniques.



Yasmin Qadan

PhD candidate in Social Sciences at Birzeit University. She holds a master's degree in Sociology from Birzeit University. Qadan is currently a researcher on Tawfiq Kanaan's collection at the Birzeit University Museum and writing her PhD dissertation in the field of Political Ecology.

Environment Meanings from the Language of Local Knowledge for the Movement of Palestinian Peasants

This paper studies the environment in the temporality of Palestinian peasants by tracing movement patterns in Palestinian villages through the local names of the surrounding land, giving them a relationality with multiple, contradictory meanings under colonial rule. Hence, the paper offers a reading of political ecology through what the ethnographical movement gives us in Palestinian villages and insight as to how local knowledge and practise undermine the hegemony of capitalist and colonial discourses based on decoupling land from those who inhabit it.



Yousef Munayyer

Non-Resident Senior Fellow at Arab Center Washington DC (ACW). He also serves as a member of the Editorial Committee of the Journal of Palestine Studies and was previously Executive Director of the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights. Some of his published articles can be found in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Nation*, *Boston Globe*, *Foreign Policy*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *Middle East Policy*, and others. Munayyer holds a PhD in International Relations and Comparative Politics from the University of Maryland.

Transnational Repression: The Israel Repression Network

How do states extend their repressive reach beyond their borders? The answers to this question can and have varied, but in this case there is the calculated effort by the state of Israel to partner with non-governmental organizations for the purpose of exacting repressive outcomes, thus constituting a repression network. This paper traces the origins of this approach in Israeli government policy, then explains how it operated and how the network continues to seek repressive outcomes in developing countries around the globe targeting dissent against Israeli government policy.



Youssef Courbage

International consultant in the Arab region (Palestine and Morocco) and abroad (Laos and South Africa). Graduate of economics, sociology, demography, and urban planning from universities in Beirut and Paris. He joined the United Nations (UNFPA) and has worked in Beirut, Cairo, Yaounde, and Port-au Prince, before becoming Research Director in Demography at the National Institute of Demographic Studies in Paris and heading the Division of Contemporary Studies of the Institute of Contemporary Studies (IPO) in Beirut. He has published about 500 books, book chapters, articles, and reports, many of which have been translated into several languages.

Demography of the Palestinians

From high hopes to lost illusions, the Palestinians, since the Oslo Accords (1993) have become thoroughly disenchanted. Yet, focusing on the many political, military, and diplomatic disappointments: Camp David, shifting borders, Jerusalem as capital of the Jewish state, the Knesset bill on the "Nation-State", etc., is futile. In the long run, 'the people' are what matter. An overview of the Palestinian population in the world is a preliminary to this reflection. Today, there are 15 million Palestinians around the world — perhaps a modest underestimation given the extent of the diaspora. For Palestinians, for obvious political reasons, this figure is of strategic importance. As the earth gives way from under their feet, one setback at a time, asserting themselves through the weight of their population gives Palestinians visibility. This research seeks to comprehensively examine the range of Palestinian presence in the world, tackling the problem of data (or lack thereof) head on. The paper identifies the Palestinian presence worldwide even in the most unexpected settings, from the State of Palestine and historical Palestine to Chile, covering a total of some twenty countries in the Arab region, Europe and the US, uncovering data limitations and contradictions. The study concludes with suggestions to improve knowledge about the Palestinian population worldwide.



Zahraa Shabana

Researcher on development economics. She holds a master's degree in Development Economics from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She has participated in many research projects related to development economics.

Settler Colonialism and the Birth of New Prisoners: Migration from the Gaza Strip (2007-2022)

This study investigates whether Israel has applied policies that have caused a population decline in the Gaza Strip since 1967, and whether one of the main purposes of the blockade of the Strip since 2007 was to stimulate a mass migration leading to this depopulation. The study traces the official Zionist discourse and government policies and argues that one of the main objectives of the blockade and the continuous (slow, seasonal, and systematic) violence practiced by Israel against Gazans is to create a state of gradual emigration that disrupts the demographic composition and lowers fertility rates in the Gaza Strip. The study also argues that the effectiveness of some political actors (e.g., the Hamas government, the Palestinian Authority, and Egypt) in Gaza's conditions with regard to the issues of emigration and borders is limited, even predetermined, by the structure of Israeli settler colonialism. For this reason, the study employs the concepts of annihilation and elimination of the indigenous population by the settler-colonial structure, reviews the historical relationship between the Gaza Strip and Israel since the June 1967 war, and analyses the political and social conditions of the Strip. It also studies the factors of attraction and expulsion related to emigration from the Gaza Strip between 2007 and 2022, based on official statistics in addition to 75 individual interviews and focus group discussions.



Zeina Jallad

First female JSD graduate at Columbia Law School from the Arab region and the first graduate to earn the Highest Distinction. Jallad is a legal consultant, researcher, and educator with an intersectional focus on the law. Her body of work reflects her wide-ranging experience in the fields of international law, human rights, social justice, rule of law, and gender justice. Recognised as the youngest law graduate by the University of Jordan (2004), Jallad also holds an LLM from Columbia University (2008). She is a member of both the Palestinian Bar Association (2004) and the New York City Bar (2012) and a recipient of the Palestinian Presidential Gold Medal (2021).

Identity Annexation: Israel's Non-Territorial and Psychic Annexation of the West Bank Samaritans in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

This article examines a form of non-territorial annexation of a minority population that extends to selfhood and identity. It analyses Israel's granting of citizenship to the Samaritans, who number just under 500 and live in the occupied territory of Nablus, based on the controversial Law of Return. The granting of Oleh-immigrant status to a people who are neither Jewish nor returnees created a moment of opportunity for Israel to advance the civic rights of the otherwise vulnerable segment of the Palestinian society and to further solidify its grip on the psychic lives of Palestinian subjects. This dual psychic-territorial de facto annexation, or complex annexation, as an outcome of the settler colonial approach to state building is played out through generations of Samaritans negotiating their unstable legal status within Israeli law, eventually culminating in the group's successfully petitioning the nation's supreme court. As Israel continues to utilize the law to suppress its minorities, its treatment of the Samaritans provides a valuable case study on the vulnerability and contradictions of such practices and the resulting psychic damage, which demand the attention of the international community.

Participants

Workshops

Palestine in Opinion Polls



Mohammad AlMasri

Associate Researcher and Executive Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He earned a doctorate in Political Science from the University of Durham, UK. He directs the Arab Opinion Index at the ACRPS.



Shibley Telhami

Distinguished Scholar, Professor of Government and Politics, and Director of the University of Maryland's Critical Issues Poll. Among his many books and articles are the forthcoming *The One State Reality: What Is Israel/Palestine* (Cornell University Press, co-edited) and *Peace Derailed: Obama, Trump, Biden, and The Decline of Diplomacy on Israel/Palestine, 2011-2022* (co-authored).

Palestinian Division and Reconciliation Prospects



Lourdes Habash

Associate Professor of Political Science at Birzeit University and Director of the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies. At Birzeit, she has served as Vice President for Community Affairs and Chair of the Department of Political Science. She earned her PhD in Political Science from Cairo University and has published many studies in peer-reviewed academic journals.



Mohammed Abu Nimer

Professor at the School of International Service at American University. He served as Director of the Peacebuilding and Development Institute (1999-2013). He is the co-founder and co-editor of the *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* (JPD). As a scholar, he has published numerous books and hundreds of articles. As a practitioner, he has conducted seminars and trainings on reconciliation and forgiveness, interreligious peacebuilding, and interfaith dialogue in conflict areas around the world including the Arab region, Chad, Niger, Iraq (Kurdistan), Philippines (Mindanao), Sri Lanka, Palestine, Israel, United States, etc. He also founded the Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, an organization that focuses on capacity building, civic education, and interreligious peacebuilding.



Tamer Qarmout

Assistant Professor in Public Policy and the Program Head of Public Administration Graduate Programs at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Qarmout previously worked for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in several management positions. His research focuses on public policy analysis and evaluation, institutional reform, foreign aid, and conflict resolution. He also has significant program management experience dealing with stakeholders in planning and implementing large programs aimed at building institutional and governance capacities of public and nonprofit organizations, and post conflict early recovery and reconstruction schemes. He sits on the Programme and Research Advisory Committee (PRAC) for the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS), and he chairs its working group on "Public Administration in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Situations".

Solidarity with Palestine in the Western Context: Reality, Changes, and Challenges



Ahmad Abuznaid

Florida-based attorney, director of the upcoming documentary film *Shukran: 10 Days in Palestine*, and Executive Director of the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights. Prior to joining the USCPR, Abuznaid co-founded Dream Defenders, serving as its legal and policy director and Chief operating Officer during his time there. He then went on to serve as Executive Director of the National Network for Arab American Communities from 2017 to 2019.



Majed Abusalama

A prominent political activist, scholar, and co-founder of Palestine Speaks in Germany and other anti-racist/anti-colonial collectives in different European countries. Abusalama is a refugee from the besieged Gaza Strip who has been politically, culturally, and socially active and worked continuously for the Palestinian cause. When he left Gaza, he continued to work tirelessly with the Palestinian movement in Europe and organized and campaigned globally for over 15 years. He has been awarded different prestigious journalism awards. Recently, he received the Copenhagen Courage Award with two Jewish activists (#Humboldt3) in 2019 for taking the Israeli regime to court in Germany and revealing its apartheid-like nature and systematic violations of international law.



Malia Bouattia

Opinion Editor for *The New Arab*. She was the first Muslim woman of colour to be elected as President of the National Union of Students (NUS) in 2016 and led the union to pass its first BDS policy. She also co-authored a handbook on building BDS efforts on UK campuses and contributed to the anthology *For the Many: Preparing Labour for Power*, in which she discussed the link between the war on terror, repression of Palestine solidarity, and the rolling back of civil liberties across the board. She has headlined at national demonstrations in solidarity with Palestine in the UK and has organized events at universities across Britain, particularly focused on Palestine solidarity on campuses and opposing the repression of activists in the West.



Osama Abuirshaid

Executive Director and board member of Americans for Justice in Palestine (AJP Action). He is a non-resident scholar at the ACRPS. He lectures frequently on Middle Eastern and US politics. He is a regular commentator on Palestinian and Middle Eastern affairs as well as on US domestic and foreign policy for various TV channels. He has authored or co-authored several books in Arabic and published dozens of studies and articles in Arabic and English on issues relevant to the Middle East and its political climate. Abuirshaid completed his PhD in Political Science at Loughborough University in the United Kingdom.

Palestine in Western and Arab Media Discourse



Alain Gresh

Born in Cairo in 1948, Gresh earned a master's degree in Mathematics (Université Paris VII) in 1971 and wrote his doctoral dissertation on the PLO at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in 1983. He has been journalist since 1993. He was editor in chief of *Le Monde diplomatique* (1995-2005) and has been director of the online newspaper *Orient XXI*, published in French and Arabic, since 2013. He specialises in Palestine and the question of Islam in Europe and France. He has written various books: *The PLO: The Struggle Within* (Zed Books, London, 1986); *L'Islam, la République et le monde* (Fayard, 2004; Hachette, 2006), translated into Arabic by Saqi Books (2016); and *De quoi la Palestine est-elle le nom?* (Les liens qui libèrent, 2011) with an Arabic edition published by the ACRPS.



Ben White

Writer, analyst, and Founder and Executive Director of the Britain Palestine Media Centre. He is the author of four books: *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide*, *Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy*, *The Gaza 2014 War: 21 Questions & Answers*, and *Cracks in the Wall: Beyond Apartheid in Palestine/Israel*. Ben has written hundreds of articles for a variety of international publications, including *The Guardian*, *Al Jazeera*, *The Independent*, *Foreign Policy*, and *the Journal of Palestine Studies*, among others. He is currently finishing a PhD in Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter.



Khaled Hroub

Palestinian academic and author. He is Professor of Middle Eastern Studies and Arab Media at Northwestern University in Qatar and a former research fellow at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cambridge. He has published many books and articles on Palestinian, Arab, and international affairs in Arabic and English, some of which have been translated into other languages. He holds a master's in International Relations Theory from the University of Kent and a doctorate in International Relations from the University of Cambridge, where he lectured on Middle Eastern history and politics and political Islam at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies until 2012. He also founded and directed the Cambridge Arab Media Project from 2003 to 2012.



Yousef Munayyer

Non-Resident Senior Fellow at Arab Center Washington DC (ACW). He also serves as a member of the Editorial Committee of the *Journal of Palestine Studies* and was previously Executive Director of the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights. Some of his published articles can be found in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Nation*, *Boston Globe*, *Foreign Policy*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *Middle East Policy*, and others. Munayyer holds a PhD in International Relations and Comparative Politics from the University of Maryland.

Participants

Ostour Symposium



Adel Manna

Historian specialising in Palestine during the Ottoman period and the Palestinians in the 20th century. Since the early 1980s, he has served as a professor of history at several universities, and he has published ten books and dozens of academic articles in his fields of specialty. The Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut published three of his books on Palestine during the Ottoman rule, followed by *Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956* in 2016. The book was recently published in English translation (2022) by the University of California Press. About a year ago, Manna concluded writing his manuscript, *Biography of the Palestinian leader Ahmad Helmi Pasha, 1882-1963*.

Roots of the Palestinians' Erasure from their History during the Ottoman Period

This paper highlights the role of Arabist and Islamist historical narratives in obscuring Palestinian history during the Ottoman period, as well as the process of erasure in Orientalist and Zionist scholarship. Despite discrepancies and even contradictions in these narratives, there are commonalities between them due to ideology and the encroachment of political views onto the description of the past, in a way that serves political interests and obscures actual history.



Beshara Doumani

President of Birzeit University and Mahmoud Darwish Professor of Palestinian Studies at Brown University in the US. His research focuses on groups, places, and time periods marginalized by mainstream scholarship on the early modern and contemporary Middle East. He is also a public intellectual who writes on the topics of displacement, academic freedom, politics of knowledge production, and the Palestinian condition. He was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, at Harvard University's Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, and at Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Study. He is the founding director of the Palestinian Museum, the *New Directions in Palestinian Studies* open-access book series, and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Brown University.

"Look to the Stones!": Towards a Modern History of the Palestinians

This concept paper explores the history of stones as a tool to document the modern history of Palestinians. Rich in symbolic capital (in terms of authenticity and agency), central in material culture (the relationship to land and the urban environment), and essential in political economy (labour and capital in the sectors of extraction, construction, and export), stones shed light on the diverse archive of Palestinians' daily struggle that is obscured by political narratives. For example, the limestone in the hills, the sandstone on the coasts, and the concrete buildings in the refugee camps all testify to what it means to be Palestinian. These stones, whether cut, thrown, sold, displayed, or even used as a metaphor, tell stories, and embody a political future that is neither subject to the national structures of the past, nor wholly captured by the structural grip of a settler-colonial paradigm.



Bilal Shalash

Researcher in the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, PhD candidate in Social Sciences, Birzeit University. His current research interests concentrate on the history of Palestinian military action in the long term, especially during the 1947-1949 war and from 1967-1970. He has published two books on this topic: *Yāfā: Dam'alā Hajar: The Jaffa Garrison and its Military Action; Study and Documents*, in two volumes (2019); *Dākhil al-Sūr al-Qadīm: A Study of Qassim Al-Rimawi's Texts on Holy Jihad* (2020), in addition to the forthcoming: *Shay' 'ābir: Hamdi Taher Kanaan's Papers on the Occupation of Nablus (June 1967 - March 1969) - Memoirs and Documents*.

Our Plundered Archives: Prospects and Limitations

As the Palestinians gradually lost their country to the Zionist colonial project over decades of protracted conflict, with it they lost a major part of their archival heritage, which documented their history and preserved their voices. The biggest losses occurred during looting of Palestinian documents during the 1947-1949 wars and the June 1967 war. In the wake of this extended looting, the stolen documents and heritage would be taken hostage by multiple archives, but the Zionist colonial authorities would eventually open access to numerous looted documents. This newfound access has set off, and will continue, a wave of new historical writing based on formerly silenced voices, emerging from a local narrative that can contribute to historical writing based on unknown primary sources, which reconsiders the history of contemporary Palestine and its people. The restoration of our looted archives, albeit hypothetically, opens up different prospects for historical writing, which this article explores. But there are also limitations to this access, which the paper also lays out, some related to the Zionist archives' policies, and the colonial archives specifically, which necessitate the demarcation of certain caveats when embarking on this kind of historic research.



Faiha Abdulhadi

Author, poet, research consultant, social and feminist activist, lecturer, and Founder and General Director of Al Rowat for Studies and Research. She is a member of the Palestinian National Council and the Palestinian Central Council, Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Palestinian Centre for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (Masarat), and Regional Coordinator of the feminist organisation Women for Peace. She earned a PhD in Arabic Literature from Cairo University in 1990. Her research interests concentrate on oral history, critical literary studies, women's issues, and political writing. She has published 14 books and dozens of studies and articles in Arabic and English on literature, politics, history, and women's issues. Her most notable publications include *Rose of the Soul (Wardat al-Ruh)* a book of poetry; *Living Memory*; *Mirror of Memory*; and a book series on the roles of Palestinian women from the 1930s to the 1980s.

The Political Contribution of Palestinian Women: Missing History

This paper lays out the obscured political roles of Palestinian women in historiography, relying on feminist oral history, which overlaps with the intersectional feminist method. It builds on pioneering feminist scholarship on women's roles to explore the results of a 1998-1999 study on Palestine and the diaspora, titled "Roles of [...] Palestinian Women". The paper begins with the 1930s – the political era that saw a scarcity in the documentation of Palestinian women's political participation, which lacks the political roles taken up by rural Palestinian women, especially their active participation in the 1936 Great Arab Revolt. Again, in the 1940s there was a lack of documentation as to the distinctive role of Palestinian women during the 1948 Nakba. The study illustrates the various roles actively played by Palestinian women at the political, social, economic, cultural, and military levels during this extended historical period. Further, the paper explores the case of the Al Rowat Institute, which is involved in the documentation of Palestinian social history via the feminist oral history method with focus on a central project to preserve and revive Palestinian memory, documenting the testimonies of men and women who were expelled in 1948 and 1967. Based on the Institute's experience, the paper discusses the importance of using archives and their limitless potential to produce non-fiction, literature, and various works of art (e.g., theatre, cinema, art exhibitions, and storytelling events).



Hani Hourani

Researcher, photographer, and artist. He founded and directed the journal *Al-Urdun Al-Jadid* (1974-1991) and the Al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center (1993-2012). He has many publications on socio-economic history, civil society, and the Jordanian and Palestinian labour movement. Since 2012, he has devoted himself to painting, photography, and writing on the visual arts. His research in this area includes "Jerusalem in Early Photography", a research paper presented at an ACRPS conference (forthcoming); *From Balfour to the Nakba* (1916-1948), a book on Palestinian visual history (forthcoming); and *Jordan in 100 Years: An Illustrated History (1921-2021)*.

Palestinians and Historiography through Photos: A Preliminary Reading

Palestinian history is still largely reliant on written documents. The historical narrative remains overwhelmingly textual, regarding the photograph as simply a means of confirming facts that have previously been reached through written evidence. The early signs of the use of photography as a parallel source to the written text and even a primary tool for the historical narrative emerged in the 1930s as the Palestinian national struggle against British colonialism and Zionism intensified. Several books have been published that use photographs to depict the Arab protests and uprisings, as well as the forms of Zionist colonial violence used against the Palestinian people. This study traces the development of the use of photographs and other visual resources in the historiography of the Palestinian issue from its beginnings in the 1930s through recent decades. Through descriptive historical analysis of graphic narratives and products, the study investigates the extent to which these products are able to offer a systematic, illustrated account of the history of the Palestinian issue, while also exploring the possibility of shifting from "illustrated historiography" to "visual historiography", which involves more complex methodological tools in the examination of photographs and other visual materials.



Himmat Zoubi

Postdoctoral fellow in the "Europe in the Middle East – The Middle East in Europe" (EUME) programme at the Forum Transregionale Studien in Germany. From 2021-2022, she received a postdoctoral fellowship with the International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counter-Strategies (IRGAC), a joint project between the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, the Centre for Middle Eastern and North African Studies at Freie Universität Berlin, and EUME. She earned her PhD in Sociology from Ben Gurion University in 2019. Her latest research concerns the "Palestinian creative class" in Palestine and Europe.

Digging into the Coloniser's Archive: Writing the History of Those who Remained in Palestinian Coastal Cities

Historiography is an academic field that clearly reflects power relations between the coloniser and the colonised. Critical studies on the history of the oppressed, marginalised, and uneducated scrutinise historiography's exclusive reliance on documents and archives, claiming that archives, like history, chronicle the victor's narrative. But this critique at times overlooks the anti-colonial role of actors and undervalues the act of critically reading documents present in the coloniser's archive as emancipatory action. This paper thus argues that a critical reading of the coloniser's archive constitutes an important additional intellectual resource to understand the daily lives of Palestinians in Palestine. These sources increase in importance for those who remained in Palestine, especially in the cities; the expulsion of most residents of Palestinian cities and the dearth of research compiling oral testimonies to document the early years of the occupation present a major challenge to the historiography of Palestinian cities and those who stayed there after the Nakba. This paper sheds light on the lives of those who remained in Haifa immediately after its occupation, relying on documents from Israeli archives and newspapers. These documents represent an indispensable resource when writing an important chapter in the history of the Palestinian people.



Issam Nassar

Professor of History at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He earned his PhD from Illinois State University. He recently published the book *Camera Palæstina: Photography and Displaced Histories of Palestine*, co-authored with Stephen Sheehi and Salim Tamari.

The History of Palestine or the History of Palestinians?

Many researchers have looked at Palestine from a religious perspective, whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, overlooking the history of Palestinians themselves on the assumption that the land is independent of those who live on it. This study examines the obstacles to writing a history of the relationship between Palestinians and their country, laying out the methods by which most Palestinian and Arab historians have dealt with this relationship in creating a coherent, non-reductive narrative of Palestinian history.



Leena Dallasheh

Associate Professor of History at Cal Poly Humboldt in California. She earned her PhD in History and Middle Eastern Studies from New York University in 2012 and has worked at several American universities. She is currently working to publish her book on the history of Nazareth during the transition from the British Mandate to Israeli rule. She has published several articles in Arab and international academic journals and books.

Towards the Writing of Palestinians who Remained in Palestinian Historiography: Nazareth as an Example

In recent decades, Palestinians have become more integrated in the writing of their history. Historians are increasingly focusing on Palestinians' experiences and strategies instead of the way they are treated as subjects of colonial regimes and the state. However, the social and cultural history of Palestinians in Israel is still neglected; while Israeli authorities have sought to confine them to a new identity, "Arab Israelis", to disconnect them from Palestinian history and deprive them of their right to the land, the Palestinians who remained have been marginalised in Palestinian narratives, mainly due to separation and later a degree of acceptance of the term "Arab-Israeli". The paper explores continuity in post-1948 Palestinian politics and society, adopting Nazareth as a case study of the Palestinians who remained in their homeland. By studying the history of those who remained in Nazareth, the paper stresses the continuity of Palestinian history and affirms the persistence of strategies, visions, and politics despite the Nakba and profound structural changes. It critiques the idea of nationalism centred on the dominant elite proposal by exploring the actions and statements of people in a context in which survival is a central concern for Palestinians under constant fear of expulsion. The paper illustrates the experience of Palestinians in the historical contexts they lived through and their political assessments of the restrictions on and possibilities for action, rather than glorifying or disparaging Palestinian activists against the backdrop of perceived heroism or betrayal.



Mahmoud Yazbak

Professor of Middle Eastern Studies. He has many publications, including *Jaffa, City of Oranges: Civilisation and Society, 1700-1840* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018); *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914: A Muslim Town in Transition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); and "The Politics of Trade and Power: Dahir al-'Umar and the Making of Early Modern Palestine," in the *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* (2013).

Reclaiming the Hidden History of Jaffa: The Cultural Scene in the Late Ottoman Period

The writings of Western explorers in the 19th century are an important resource for historical research on Palestine, especially on Palestinian cities. Most of these sources feature consecutive descriptions of places, imagined Biblical imagery, and a near-total omission of the people of the land. Due to their religious significance for European explorers, Jerusalem and Bethlehem received greater attention, but as most explorers reached the Holy Land via its Port, so did Jaffa, which evolves in their writings from a generally negative description of the land and its inhabitants to positive depictions of the people and the fragrant orange groves along the way to Lod, Ramla, and Gaza. Since the 1980s, Israeli academics have based many studies on Jaffa during the Ottoman period on the writings of European explorers and Zionist sources. Much time passed before Palestinian scholars (Beshara Doumani, Rashid Khalidi, Mahmoud Yazbak, etc.) rediscovered the history of Palestine and Jaffa in particular through local and Ottoman sources, their works becoming an important resource for studies challenging Zionist academic efforts to appropriate and obscure Palestinian history. This paper helps reclaim hidden history through Palestinian historical writing from the late Ottoman period, based on local documents from the late Ottoman period obtained from the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and the Palestinian press in Jaffa. These documents, presented for the first time here, put the writing of Jaffa's history back in the hands of its people.



Mjriam Abu Samra

Palestinian-Italian researcher based in Amman. She earned her PhD in Politics and International Relations from the University of Oxford and a master's degree in Middle Eastern Politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies in the United Kingdom. Her research focuses on transnational Palestinian student and youth movements and solidarity movements between Third World states. In the past eight years, she has taught the history of colonisation and international relations in the Middle East at education programmes such as the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) and Amideast in Jordan. She has published several articles in peer-reviewed academic journals.

Palestine on the World Map: Written and Visual Production of the General Union of Palestinian Students in the 1960s and 70s

Cultural and political production has been a core component of the Palestinian struggle. Historically, liberation strategy has been based on the continuous publication of printed and illustrated materials. In this context, the General Union of Palestinian Students has played a central role in the production and publication of analyses, data, reports, studies, and posters through which to display, narrate, and formulate the struggle. This paper focuses on the Union's written and visual production in the 1960s and 70s, foundational decades for the formation of the structures of the Palestinian revolution, in addition to speeches, accounts, and political visions. The paper argues that students' writings have been essential to the anti-colonial reading of the Palestinian issue, placing them at the heart of anti-imperial discourse and solidarity practises in the Third World. The cultural production of the General Union of Palestinian Students has been the foundation of international support and practises pivotal to the mobilisation strategies of the Palestinian movement.



Munir Fakher Eldin

Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Birzeit University and former Director of the MA Program in Israel Studies. He was Editor-in-Chief of *The General Survey of Israel 2020* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2021) and Co-Editor of *The Untold Story of the Golan Heights: Occupation, Colonization and Jawlani Resistance* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2022).

The History of Land Records and the Struggle for Palestine: Taboo, Society, and State (1858-1948)

This paper explores the concept of archive history as a critical research field. The paper begins from the dichotomy of the "living archive", or "core archive" (those records produced as an instrument to manage reality bureaucratically, such as property and transfer records, registers of persons, etc.), and the "dead" archive, or all those registers that document the inception and work of practical registers and form what can be described metaphorically as the "shell of the core". The analysis proposes a new narrative on archival work within the system of governance, drawing it into the conflict over land: from the struggle over crops and agricultural output to the struggle for exclusive ownership and replacing the indigenous agricultural mode of production with a capitalist, settler-colonial mode. Deconstructing the archive system by comparing and contrasting core and shell helps broaden the Palestinian narrative to include forms of violence, oppression, injustice, and eradication that traditional methods of archive historiography overlook. The production of property records is in itself a tool for power relations and the struggle for Palestine. To transform them into a resource for the people's history requires theoretical and conceptual construction, for which this paper lays the groundwork. The research investigates bureaucratic and colonial registers and Palestinian written sources such as newspapers, memoirs, letters, and petitions focusing on land acquisition in Beisan, which began in 1921. It also addresses Palestinian history between the Ottoman land law and the 1948 Nakba.



Musa Sroor

Associate Professor at Birzeit University, and Associate Researcher at the Institute of Research and Study on the Arab and Islamic Worlds (IREMAM) in France. He holds a PhD in Modern and Contemporary History from Aix-Marseille University, France and two master's degrees from Birzeit University and Aix-Marseille University. He was Head of the Department of History and Archaeology and Director of the MA Program on Arab and Islamic History at Birzeit University. He is specialized in Ottoman history, specifically Ottoman Jerusalem, and his research interests focus on the issue of waqf, real estate ownership, and the legal, economic, and social history of Ottoman Jerusalem. He has published many research papers in Arabic, English and French, including: "Fondations pieuses en mouvement. De la transformation des statuts de propriété des biens waqfs à Jérusalem 1858-1917" (Damas, Institut Français du Proche-Orient, Syrie / Aix-en-Provence, IREMAM, 2010).

West Jerusalem: The Forgotten and the Untold in Palestinian Historical Writing

Since its occupation in 1967, Jerusalem has received intensive scholarly attention from Arabs and Orientalists alike, with much research devoted to the Zionist settlement of the city and the issue of Judaization. These writings raise many questions: Does the historian aim to reveal the truth and objectively uncover what is hidden, or to select what facts to show according to political trends and ideologies? Does the historian write to condemn one political regime while exonerating another? Why focus on East Jerusalem and not talk about the west of the city? Why focus on post-1967 Jerusalem and not go further back? Why do researchers focus on results and ignore the causes and roots of problems? Has the historian become the "Sultan's historian", or were the two sides of Jerusalem not subjected to settlement and Judaization until after the 1967 occupation? Do we not consider the activities in West Jerusalem to be settlement and Judaization? Or is this due to the absence of information and documents that reveal the roots of this settlement and Judaization? This study utilizes local archival documents to uncover the forgotten and unspoken about the roots of Judaization and settlement in all of Jerusalem, in particular the western part, explaining how it was formed in the 65 years preceding the Balfour Declaration. It lays out quantitative data that evidences the measures taken to Judaize Jerusalem since the second half of the nineteenth century, especially since 1852, and the historical and legal context.



Nazmi Al-Jubeh

Professor of History at Birzeit University. He holds a master's and doctorate from the University of Tübingen, Germany and a bachelor's from Birzeit University. He has been Director of the Islamic Museum, Director of Birzeit Museum, Associate Director of the RIWAQ Centre for Architectural Conservation, and since 2010 a member of the Presidential Committee for the Restoration of the Church of the Nativity. His latest books are *Lifta, Register of a People: The History, Cultural Heritage, and Struggle* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2020); *The Jewish and Moroccan Quarters in Old Jerusalem: History and Destiny, between Destruction and Judaization* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2019); and *Jerusalem in Israeli Historiography* (Bayt Mal Al Qods Acharif Publications, 2019).

Western Europe in Jerusalem in the Second Half of the 19th Century and Early 20th Century: Visual Control over the Identity of the City

Before the Egyptian campaign in Palestine ended in 1840, the European struggle for Jerusalem had begun. Western European states sought to acquire and plant their flags in a portion of the holy city. In this regard, political regimes were in harmony with the evangelical missions, and among the first to enter Jerusalem were those churches that saw the establishment of the Jewish state in the land of Palestine as a necessity (or prophecy) for the return of the Messiah. It was difficult to distinguish between the religious and the political in light of the fierce battle over Jerusalem. The Anglican church was the first Western institution to visually articulate this proclivity by constructing Christ Church opposite the Citadel, which may be said to be the first Protestant church in the East. Afterward, Western institutions were successively constructed in Old Jerusalem until no more space remained, then began expanding outward in all directions, surrounding the Old City with buildings bearing the national symbols of their owners as well as European architectural elements to indicate their deep historical connection to the holy city. By the end of the 19th century, dozens of Western buildings had been constructed in Jerusalem, causing a rift in its identity. Hence, the paper examines the identity of the European buildings and seeks to understand the symbols they carry and their impact, not only on the identity of the city but also how this relates to the Zionist project.



Salim Tamari

Researcher and former Director of the Institute of Palestinian Studies, Editor of the *Jerusalem Quarterly* and *Hawliyyat al Quds* journals, and Sociology Professor at Birzeit University. He has authored several works on urban culture, political sociology, biography and social history, and the social history of the Eastern Mediterranean. His publications include *Year of the Locust: Palestine and Syria during WWI* (UC Press, 2010), *Mountain against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture*, (UC Press 2008); and *Jerusalem Properties and Endowments: A Study of the Old City Estates in the Twentieth Century* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018).

The *Maqam* of Simeon the Just: Popular Religiosity and the Zionization of an Arab-Jewish *Mawsim* in Jerusalem

This paper discusses a series of syncretic religious practices that were common in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. These practices allowed for shared veneration of saints rooted in multiple religious communities. Along with Jews, both Muslims and Christians celebrated the *mawsim* (festival) of the popular Jewish scribe, Simeon the Just, which became synonymous with the spring rites of the people of North Jerusalem. This moment of communal celebration was captured in the ethnographic account of Wasif Jawhariyyeh in what he termed *Shat'hat al Yahudiyyeh* (the Jewish picnic), and later in the mid-1920s by Maynard Owen Williams who described a moment of unique intermingling of dress codes and genders, not common in traditional festivals, such as the *mawsim* of Nabi Musa. These joint celebrations should not however blur the communal boundaries which separated the various religious communities in urban neighborhoods. Although religious quarters were never insular in habitat, social visitations, nor ritual, they were nevertheless demarcated by distancing mechanisms that were rooted in the language of difference. Festivals were often clearly identified as Christian (Sabt an-Nur, Good Friday, Epiphany), Muslim (Lailat al-Qadr), or Jewish (Lag Ba'omer, Purim), even when co-religionists participated in the gathering of the other.



Walid AlAreed

Professor of Ottoman, Modern, and Contemporary History at Yarmouk University, Jordan. He holds a PhD in Ottoman and Modern History from Istanbul University in 1992. He has published numerous studies in peer-reviewed journals, and the book, *History of the Ottoman Empire: Political and Administrative History and Historical Studies* (Dar Al-Fikr, 2012).

Historical Writing in Palestine in the Documents of the Ottoman Archives

This paper highlights the most prominent Ottoman sources for Palestinian Studies, which come in three groups: the Ottoman archives of Istanbul; the Ottoman era Shari'a court records (from Jerusalem, Nablus, etc.); and Palestinian studies related to administrative, political, social, and economic matters. The paper first introduces the Ottoman archives and the most important Palestinian documents therein, before going on to discuss the most important studies based on Ottoman sources, both Arab and foreign, and providing case studies of research that cite the Ottoman archives. The research demonstrates the historical Arabism of Palestine, especially during the Ottoman era.

Speakers and Chairs



Abdelwahab Elaffendi

Provost and President of Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Previously, Professor of Politics and Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities (SOSH) at the Institute (2017-2020, Head of Politics and IR Program at SOSH (2015-2017). Before that, he worked at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster (1997-2015). He was also a visiting fellow/ professor at the Christian Michelsen Institute (Bergen, Norway, 1995, and 2003), and the Universities of Oxford (1990), Northwestern (Chicago, 2002) and Cambridge (2010-2012), as well as the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (Malaysia, 2008). His most recent publications include *Genocidal Nightmares: Narratives of Insecurity and the Logic of Mass Atrocities*, Bloomsbury (2015), and *After the Arab Revolutions: Decentring Democratic Transition Theory* (Edinburgh University Pres), 2021), co-edited with Khalil Al Anani.



Abderrahim Benhadda

Professor at the Doha Institute, and Editor-in-Chief of the *Ostour* journal of historical studies. His research interests focus on historical and travel productions in the Ottoman state and Morocco, and to issues pertaining to Ottoman archives. His books include *Paradise of the Infidels: An Ottoman Ambassador in Paris in 1721* (2018) and *Ottoman Historiographies 1860-1973* (2022).



Adel Manna

Historian specializing in Palestine during the Ottoman period and the Palestinians in the 20th century. Since the early 1980s, he has served as a professor of history at several universities, and he has published ten books and dozens of academic articles in his fields of specialty. The Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut published three of his books on Palestine during the Ottoman rule, followed by *Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956* in 2016. The book was recently published in English translation (2022) by the University of California Press. About a year ago, Manna concluded writing his manuscript, *Biography of the Palestinian leader Ahmad Helmi Pasha, 1882-1963*.



Amal Arab

Algerian journalist. She graduated from the Faculty of Law and Humanities at Oran University in Algeria and maintains great interest in studying humanities and international conflicts. She now presents several major intellectual and political programs on Alaraby TV and has covered countless global events, including the US and Iranian elections. She was present in the field during the early days of the Arab revolutions and popular movements in several countries and has interviewed many decision makers, government officials, and intellectuals in the Arab region and Europe.



Amal Ghazal

Professor of History, Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Almuntaqa*. She was formerly Professor of History and Director of the Centre for Comparative Muslim Studies at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. She is the author of *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s* (2010) and a co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African History* (2016).



Ayah Randall

Assistant Professor in the Human Rights MA Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Dr Randall holds a master's degree from Georgetown University in Washington, DC and a PhD from the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia.



Ayat Hamdan

ACRPS Researcher and Editorial Manager of the *Ostour* journal of historical studies. She holds a PhD from the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter and worked as a teaching assistant in the Political Science Department of the same university. She was awarded a Visiting Research Fellowship at the Center for Refugee Studies at the University of Oxford. She holds a BA in History and Political Science, and a master's degree in Arab and Islamic History from Birzeit University.



Ayhab Saad

Assistant Professor at the Development Economics Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. In 2014 and 2015, he was an assistant professor at Birzeit University. He received his doctorate in Economics and Political Science from the University of Michigan in 2014. His recent research focuses on trade liberalisation and local institutions, the impact of economic liberalisation on corporate innovation and productivity, and the impact of intra-firm trade and the productivity of multinational corporations, as well as economic integration in the Middle East and North Africa.



Azmi Bishara

General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI), Bishara is a leading Arab researcher and intellectual with numerous books and publications on political thought, social theory and philosophy. He was named by *Le Nouveau Magazine Littéraire* as one of the world's most influential thinkers. His publications in Arabic include *Civil Society: A Critical Study* (1996); *The Arabs in Israel: A Vision from Within* (2000); *Intifada and Israeli Society* (2002); *Prophecies About the Disabled Renaissance* (2003); *From the Jewishness of the State to Sharon* (2004); *On The Arab Question: An Introduction to an Arab Democratic Manifesto* (2007); *To Be an Arab in Our Times* (2009); *On Revolution and Susceptibility to Revolution* (2012); *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context* (in 3 vols., 2013, 2015); *The Army and Political Power in the Arab Context: Theoretical Problems* (2017); *The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Daesh): A General Framework and Critical Contribution to Understanding the Phenomenon* (2018); *What is Populism?* (2019) and *Democratic Transition and its Problems: Theoretical Lessons from Arab Experiences* (2020). Some of these works have become key references within their respective field.

Bishara's English publications include *Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice* (Hurst, 2022); *On Salafism: Concepts and Contexts* (Stanford University Press, 2022); *Sectarianism without Sects* (Oxford University Press, 2021), among other writings. His trilogy on the Arab revolutions, published by I.B. Tauris, consists of *Understanding Revolutions: Opening Acts in Tunisia* (2021); *Egypt: Revolution, Failed Transition and Counter-Revolution* (2022); and *Syria 2011-2013: Revolution and Tyranny before the Mayhem* (2023), in which he provides a theoretical analysis in addition to a rich, comprehensive and lucid assessment of the revolutions in three Arab countries: Tunisia, Egypt and Syria.



Ferdoos Al-Issa

Assistant Professor at Doha Institute for Graduate Studies in Qatar. She holds a PhD in Mental Health and counselling and two master's degrees in Community Mental Health and Disability Counselling, in addition to her BA in Social Work from Bethlehem University. She served as Chair of the Social Science department at Bethlehem university. She has recently contributed to the articles "Feminist Except for Palestine: Where Are Feminist Social Workers on Palestine?" (2022); "Criminal Justice for Juvenile Delinquents, the Structural Map of Children Who Are in Conflict with the Law in the City of Bethlehem," and "Sexual Violence as a War Weapon in Conflict Zones: Palestinian Women's Experience Visiting Loved Ones in Prisons and Jails"(2021).



Ghassan Elkahlout

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Haider Saeed

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