Palestinian Youth:

Studies on Identity, Space and Community Participation

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Disclaimer: The views expressed in this document do not necessarily reflect those of the organizations involved in the project "Palestinian Youth Together for Change".

This survey and research was produced as part of the "Palestinian Youth Together for Change" project, a project which aimed to develop a safe space for Palestinian youth to overcome geographic separation, political, and social fragmentation, and develop together shared positions and actions on issues for major national importance and.

"Palestinian Youth Together for Change" project was implemented jointly by:

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Dear friends,

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC – known as Quaker organization) first arrived to Palestine at the end of 1948 when the UN requested its services to assist the Palestinian refugees arriving to the beaches of the Gaza Strip. With the conviction that this would be a temporary relief to the refugees, AFSC set up schools, clinics and provided support to thousands of Palestinian refugees in Gaza. When developments on the ground clearly showed that the return was not going to happen anytime soon, Clarence Pickett, the then Secretary General of AFSC, wrote to the UN to communicate AFSC's withdrawal from Gaza stating that "it is obvious that prolonged direct relief contributes to the moral degeneration of the refugees and that it may also, by its palliative effects, militate against a swift political settlement of the problem." UNRWA took over the relief for the refugees in May 1950. Today, sixty-eight years after, Palestinians are still facing geographical, social and political fragmentation due to the Israeli occupation.

In order to understand better how such fragmentation is manifested today, AFSC has partnered with the Center of Development Studies (CDS) of BirZeit University to shed light into how Palestinians in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza, lands of 48 and Lebanon live, understand and project their Palestinian identity. More importantly, the study provides insights on how the current fragmentation of the Palestinians is affecting their lives, aspirations, dreams and, in short, their future. The study is not an attempt to offer solutions on how to overcome their fragmentation. Rather, our ultimate objective is to contribute to the larger conversation on Palestinian fragmentation. AFSC's role is to provide the space and facilitate access to the necessary tools so that Palestinians are able to free themselves from oppression and occupation. It is for Palestinians themselves to decide how to address and overcome the current fragmentation that is threatening their identity. In this endeavor, we are grateful to the Center of Development Studies of BirZeit University for providing their expertise, analysis and strategic thinking.

AFSC will be a 100-year-old organization in 2017. For more than half of our history, the AFSC have been hosted by Palestinians. In appreciation of their partnership in response to the on-going challenges they have faced and unconditional hospitality, as guests in this land, we cannot but offer our services with a deep sense of gratitude, humility, genuine respect, loyalty and a deep commitment to social justice and peace.

Nur Abdi   Matilde Gomis-Perez
Palestine Program Manager   AFSC Country Representative

Introduction

One fundamental objective by Birzeit University is to expand its community outreach mission through reaching and connecting with the various sections of Palestinian society. Within this scope, the Center of Development Studies embarks on partnerships with a range of Palestinian institutions and organizations operating in refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan, and with the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territory. The aim is to build and in-depth understanding of common issues that concern the Palestinian communities. This research study comes as a response to the framing of these common issues, and was conducted in the form of an integrated publication with the contribution of a number of Palestinian researchers.

As for the question of identity; the research aims to highlight the transformations resulting from the ongoing process of fragmentation, and its impact on the political, economic, social, and cultural fields in Palestine. The research goes on to look at Palestine beyond the borders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and to include Palestinian actors from historic Palestine (which includes the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and territories occupied in 1948), and the refugee camps in Lebanon, while the inclusion of refugee camps in Jordan was prevented due to cerian circumstances.

Finally, we see with this production a start for a strategic partnership with the Quakers. We express our gratitude for the Quakers openness in discussing crucial issues that are of interest to the Palestinian communities. We would also like to express our gratitude for all who have contributed to the production of these papers throughout the research and publication process, and especially the different components of the Palestinian people, the research team, and the Center for Development Studies' team.

Dr. Asem Khalil
Vice President for Community Outreach

Preface

The study is an important reference paper on the impact of deterritoralization on identity under socioeconomic and political cross-generational contexts. It examines the national, regional, tribal and territorial dimensions of this identity. The analysis provides a criticism of the political, economic and social reality imposed by the colonization. Indeed, the study covers different Palestinian communities (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Palestinian areas occupied in 1948 and the Palestinian camps in Lebanon). The study provides a holistic reading of the crisis in the Palestinian national project under the colonial reality and its impacts on identity representations. It examines identity at generational, sociological and economic levels to provide a holistic picture of all these components. The study examined several parameters, focusing on the current political situation and the effects of colonization on this state. It further analyzes the perspective of political relations among different Palestinian communities. Moreover, it addressed the issue of communication among the Palestinians from the perspective of national relations and alternatives available to overcome the split imposed by the colonization and the current complex political situation. It then looks into the national and political relations and the strategies of national conflict. It then concentrates on political participation, public freedoms, and the current revolt to present a reading of the reality of fragmentation and how to exit this reality and return to the right track.

The methodology combined qualitative and quantitative analysis of different areas (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Area occupied in 1948 and the Palestinian camps in Lebanon). Thus, this study digs into our long experience on the ground to express our deep conviction that our research must include all developmental and life aspects of the Palestinian society. This stems from our past, present and future commitment at the Center for Development Studies – Birzeit toward developmental issues.

Finally, we would like to express deep gratitude to the contributors to this study, mainly the Palestinian men and women in different research areas. Thanks go also to our field team, who was the real pillar of this study. We wish also to thank our partners in different areas as well as the research and review teams whose names appear in the research methodology.

Reference Concept Paper for Studies on Palestinian Youth Identities:

Changing Identity Hierarchies in Segregated Communities

Reference Concept Paper for Studies on Palestinian Youth Identities: Changing Identity Hierarchies in Segregated Communities

Abaher Al-Sakka*

Synopsis

This project aims to provide a reading of the effects of the colonial partition, fragmentation, and the crisis of the current national project on the identity representations of Palestinian youth. It examines the generational and socioeconomic overlaps on the tribal, religious and national representations of groups of Palestinian youth from different places of residence.[1] It also examines the state of fragmentation, split, checkpoints, and lack of territorial contiguity, with the spread of factionalism and a crisis in the national project. Furthermore, it focuses on the marginalization of some Palestinian communities and their interiorizing of the settler colonialist culture. The paper examines the impact of this fragmentation on the identity representations of Palestinian youth in different areas of residence. The paper presents a comparison between the youth identity representations before and after the Oslo Accords and attempts to avoid the trap of nostalgically glorifying the First Intifada. It is rather an attempt to understand the impact of socioeconomic, political and legal changes on youth identities and their community participation in the current Palestinian context.

Methodologically, the project, which will be led by a number of researchers from different fields of expertise, will examine the different youth representations (although the survey is not exclusive to youth) inside Palestine and in the diaspora. It will scrutinize the identity hierarchy as presented by the youth regarding themselves and their places of residence, as well as their perceptions of youth in other areas. It will use sociological variables to study their representations of their sub-identities and the correlation these sub-identities have with the collective identity. Moreover, the paper will investigate the clan/territorial representations

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1   Translation note: for the purposes of this research, place of residency refers to region and not small town. It is either (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon or the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948)

in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, Palestine of 1948 and the diaspora, as well as some subdivisions of these places of residence (namely, the north and middle of the West Bank). It will study the colonial legal hierarchal differentiations (Israeli ID card, Jerusalem ID card, PA ID card, etc.) as well as the cultural/social differentiations (city, village, camp, returnee, resident) and the forms of recalling sub-traditional institutions (tribe and family). It also examines partisan/factional representations. The project focuses on the components of the identity itself, being Palestinian, Arab, religious, cosmopolite and universal, and its hierarchy for the youth in accordance with the sociological characteristics of the communities under investigation.

The study includes a component on community service – because the research team will partner with community youth organizations in different places of residence – therefore, the project will attempt to propose some identity policies that might consolidate the society's texture and social identity and its relation to the representations of the national and cultural identity, mainly among the youth. The project will also examine the relationship of this social identity with the collective national project – which united the Palestinians around the Palestine of the Palestinian National Charter before it was amended. The project applies a legitimate perception based on preserving variances in plurality in homogeneity rather than in similarity. It considers the youth Palestinian identity like any other Palestinian identity and other identities. The project also proposes that such identity must be understood through the dynamic dimension of the identity as it has internal and external, changing and alternating limitations.

Introduction

Identity, any identity whatsoever, is a source of intellectual debate in all societies. How do we define identity? Is identity definable to start with? Why do we define identity? What for, and what will we do if we succeed in giving it a definition? These questions are not a state of luxury but rather real concerns for any researcher in social and humanitarian sciences. So, how do we define identity, and whose identity, and what actors, and how do we interpret any representations thereof?

The research stems from a legitimate premise proposed by researchers on a society subjected to colonization, and asks the question about whether it needs

to examine the differences and fragmented parts or rather focus on a collective research vision. A collective vision means ignoring the identity hierarchies because they are universal and expressed in all societies. Other research questions include: What to do with the findings? Who will benefit from these results? These legitimate questions, which open to problems of knowledge, methodology and community, cross the minds of Palestinian researchers who wonder about the use of the diagnosis of our community and its different phenomena. Methodologically speaking, will we use ethnographic studies to support the existing colonial project that is dismembering the Palestinians to foster its own project? Will this approach produce research that can be classified as works of 'local anthropological collaborators', who serve the colonial hegemony of knowledge? All of these legitimate questions on the knowledge, power and authority of the produced discourse arise. Opposite such legitimate premises, appear other foundations that account for what we mentioned before. However, these other premises view that the study of any societal phenomenon requires understanding the phenomenon on the ground and suggesting comparisons therewith. This means developing an understanding of the mechanisms that shaped the phenomenon under question and its forms of expression. By doing so, the research approach seeks a rigorous epistemological commitment or community abidance. In other words, it provides policy visions about the phenomenon and/or initiates a community dialogue. Researchers must choose between a divisional approach and a study of sub-components that presents each part as a homogenous entity. Identity is like any other sociological determinant and is by definition a social construction. In other words, it is neither a normal nor a natural form of expression. We need to reiterate here that identity and its changing societal vision are not a natural outcome. This means we must be aware of the artificial trend of identity.

Thus, the research project will avoid the puritans' and idealists' approaches that think in dichotomies. The challenge here is 'how to create the homogenous out of the heterogeneous' and create the 'uniform diversity'. The matter does not relate to an absolute doubt about the identity and its constituting elements, but rather evolves around the necessity to subject it (this identity) to the common with the possibility of forming new elements. In other words, creating an identity that is open to evolving elements and that keeps up with the challenge of the different components of the collective Palestinian identity, which should take into account the particular Palestinian context without claiming it is exceptional.

The final premise is about what community/society we are researching. Are we researching the West Bank and Gaza Strip and thus shrinking the Palestinians from 12 million people to a mere 4.7 million as per the official Palestinian vision of reduced Palestine according to the two-state solution? Shall we call the Palestinian residents of the first colony of 1967 the 'Palestinian society', while we call the other Palestinian places of residence different Palestinian communities? The project certainly does not see this division and deals with the Palestinian components as part of a single cultural, ethnic, and linguistic component that is plural and homogenous, taking into account the particularities of every Palestinian group. Therefore, the project studies the youth in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, areas occupied in 1948 and parts of the diaspora – see the work methodology, actors and sample selection procedures. Researchers realize that sociologically, every social group needs an *Asabiyyah* (social solidarity) in the Ibn Khaldun sense of the term. In other words, it needs solidarity in a social body. The research presumes that the Palestinian identity is a social identity that focuses on homogeneity that is partly based on similarities, and whereby identity representations may contradict with each other. Therefore, it is necessary to find mechanisms that allow for uniting the Palestinians around a holistic national project, capable of bypassing their fragmentation and dispersal.

Theoretical Approach[2]

In Arabic, the term '*hawiyah* – identity' is defined as, "what the thing or the person is and what distinguishes the thing or the person from others".[3] In addition to this definition, there are new nation state uses of the term that are linked to modern civil registry systems. The registry grants an ID '*a hawiyah*' under a different meaning; it is an 'ID card'. When Palestinians of the Gaza Strip, West Bank and Jerusalem use the term, they usually refer to this latter meaning 'the card'. In other words, it refers to the classification of the Palestinians as holders of Palestinian ID cards, on the basis of which the Palestinian identity – in its administrative component – is reduced to ID card numbers established by the

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2   Parts of this approach were published in a paper by Saqqa, Abaher, The Palestinian Social Identity: its Fragmented Representations and Plural Overlapping, workpaper published in Conference Proceedings 2, Second Annual Conference, 2013, on 'Palestinian Communities and their Representations, and the Future of the Palestinian Question', Masarat, p. 35-64

3   Almu'jam Alwaseet, Arab Language Academy, Cairo, ed. 3, 1998

Israeli colonization authorities during the direct occupation of what it called the Civil Administration of West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. The PA preserved this classification, which is written on the Palestinian passport/travel document granted to the residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip alone.

In the Anglo-Saxon references, the Oxford dictionary defines identity as "a state of close similarity or affinity that is close to absolute matching or similarity". The French Robert dictionary defines identity as "the fixed characteristics of one's self". The social identity is then an alternative to belonging to a particular social group. Therefore, the symmetry of the identity is the individual's social coping within the group. However, there is also a process of 'differentiation', by which an individual differentiates him/herself from the others and acquires his/her own characteristics. Social identity is also the process through which an individual seeks to influence his/her social surrounds with his/her own projects.

The social identity thus does not appear as a simple reflection or synthesis of an individual's consciousness and belonging in his/her social roles. It is rather a dynamic whole where all elements interact in a complementary or conflicting manner, as they are the product of 'belonging strategies'. Individuals try, through these strategies, to defend their social presence and vision to integrate such presence in the united (common identity). At the same time, they appraise themselves and seek their own logical cohesion. The identity of the group is then a constructed social symbol and embodiment. It is more relevant to the imagined rather than the objective reality. It is the embodiment and a presentation through which a given group perceives its unity, as differentiated from the others, and forms a self-fulfilled symmetric category with its classifications and differentiations. All this takes place with its existence itself.[4]

The sense of identity is not a primary factor in the individual's consciousness, which shapes his/her relations with the other. It is rather the outcome of a continuous overlapping social mechanism, which is a social construction process *par excellence*. Every identity is built and identified as per its relation with other identities. This relation comprises absorption and acquiring moves (through which the individual or individual/society becomes similar to the other) and

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4   Edmond Marc Lipiansky, Identité et Communication, Broche, Paris, 2005. Translation by Shahris-
     tan, Marie, Tahawulat Review, Issue 6, 2005

differentiated moves (through which the individual asserts his/her specificities *vis-à-vis* the others).[5] These social groups are not isolated because they establish relations with other groups. Lévi-Strauss[6] believes that identity is a presumed premise that does not have an objective *per se*, but that we believe in it (the identity) and need to express it as actors who learn to live and interact with others. Therefore, the identity assertion process is not only a highlighting and reflection of the social homogeny of a certain group, but rather a means through which the group attempts to build its unit and construct social boundaries that separate it from other groups. The term 'boundary' here means that every human group demarcates its own boundaries (or that such boundaries are established for it), but not necessarily as geographic borders. Indeed, they are basically symbolic boundaries. When we say symbolic, this means they are boundaries in history and in relation to memory, language, work and mutual perceptions.[7] These boundaries are not constant, but rather expand, shrink, change and mutate with context.

Every group forms 'positive' or 'negative' social images of itself, either of the contradiction or opposition that is associated or linked to the formation of the group, which is expressed through the attribution of negative characteristics to the 'other' identity. In fact, identity is not defined only by a set of positive characteristics (which is proposed by the whole, as an example, but also through negative features, through which an individual learns beforehand what he/she should avoid or do). Thus, identity appears as a dual dynamic system.[8] In our analysis, we imagine identity as a dynamic rather than clashing interactive form. We take after Claude Dubar[9] and use the expression of "professional identities", which assumes the existence of multiple, changing and rapidly vanishing identities.[10]

Youth identities

The expression 'youth identities' is problematic because its meaning and specifications vary, starting with the state appellation that classifies youth under

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5   ibid
6   Levi-strauss.1977. Claude, Identité: seminaire de college de France. PUF: Qaudriage.
7   There must be positive discrimination toward black people in Arab communities, 2009, dialogue between Mohammad AlJuweili and Adel Alhaj Salem, Alwan Journal
8   ibid
9   Dubar, Claude. 2000. la crise des identités l'interprétation d'une mutation; le lien social. Paris: press universitaires de France.
10   Weber, Max. 1971. Economie et Société. Paris: Plon social. Paris: Press universitaires de France.

a different social category, based on its statistical and other social information. The state use of the term determines whether the given state is young or old, and consequently affects its socioeconomic policies to address they youth from age perspective and other pertinent confusion and ambiguity. This disposition may lead to the exclusion of large segments of youth who do not conform to state classifications that change with context and over time. This debate is central in modern sociology. Sociologists question what youth is. We will refer here to the famous Bourdieu's perception, "youth is only a word", (Bourdieu, *La Jeunesse n'est qu'un mot*, 1993:143-154). Therefore, from a knowledge perspective, questions are raised about whether youth means a social age group that is associated with the limitations of the generation, or whether it is an economic classification that is associated with recent employment, or if it is a classification of a cluster according to professional characteristics. It should be noted here that youth age classifications vary. Thus, researchers in this project must define what they mean by the use of the term "youth" and why they chose this age group. They need to present the socioeconomic features that differentiate this group from other cohorts. They should explain the justifications and classification mechanisms of the study, taking into account that it is not a homogenous mass nor a social class. It is rather an age group influenced by variant changes; it is a group that influences, and is influenced by other socioeconomic effects.

The youth group is a stratum the emerges from larger groups. Its known distinctive feature is that sociologically it is linked to the generation variable, which is a classification social variable.

Therefore, the research project attempts to answer the following questions:

- What perception/image do youth have of themselves?

- What are the changes that affected the social usages[11] - which of these usages do the youth use to present themselves in society?

- What are the different and similar pictures of youth compared to their counterparts in other communities?

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11 For instance, in the present public revolt, people classify the martyrs as children. This is different from what happened in the 1990s and the last uprising. Youth in the First and Second Intifadas were classified as youth. Their description as children resembles past expressions in other contexts such as the RBG children, stones children in Lebanon and during the First Intifada.)

- What is the effect of the Palestinian place of residence and its context on the formation of the Palestinian collective identity?

- What are the Palestinian youth perceptions of themselves, their social identity, different identity hierarchies, and their local, national, Arab, religious and humanitarian references?

- Is there a special social identity for Palestinian youth in different areas?

- Is there any identity stereotyping of the self and other compared to other Palestinian place of residence?

- Will the afore-stated questions help us understand the elements composing Palestinian youth's social, religious, local, political and cultural identity?

The Palestinian Identity

The Palestinian identity[12] remained a controversial issue as regards its formation mechanisms and forms of expressions. It appeared between the lines of historical formation associated with the birth of ethnicities in the Arab Levant, and later under colonization and emancipation with the formation of the modern state; between the struggle against the Zionist project that accelerated the development of a sense of 'Palestinization'. In other words, we oppose the opinion that associates the birth of the Palestinian identity with the Zionist project – and between the merging and hierarchy of the identity according to Gellner (Gellener, Nations and Nationalism, 1983), and the overlapping of local, national, (Arab) national, religious (Islamic and Christian) and universal identities. This identity preoccupation was reflected upon different Palestinian communities and their feeling as groups holding special identities that are differentiated from their larger communities.

This identity differentiation results from several factors, including the socio-geographic space and its impact on the formation of the Palestinian national identity, and the fragile national identity (like any other national identity), as well as the absence of any social project that abolishes family/clan/tribal opposition with the unprecedented crisis in the Palestinian National Project. Definition of identity results also from the stereotypes the other social groups hold about each other

12 A large part of these thoughts are published in Al-Saqqa, Abaher, The Palestinian Social Identity: Its Fragmented Representations and Plural Overlapping, workpaper published in Conference Proceedings 2, Second Annual Conference, 2013, on 'Palestinian Communities and their Representations, and the Future of the Palestinian Question', Masarat, p. 35-64

and the colonial legal differentiations (procedures used to divide the population in a manner that creates a different social engineering of the colonized Palestinians).

In the Palestinian case, identity has always been a debatable issue in terms of its formation mechanisms, types and forms of expression, for the following reasons:

a. The historical formation lines associated with the birth of ethnicities in the Arab Levant, and the later colonization and emancipation phases;

b. Influence from the mechanisms of transformation of the nation-state and the formation of modern states, as generalized around the globe, mainly since 1945 when this model was generalized as a state model of political entities worldwide

c. Palestinian nationalism is the product of a historical process that is linked to the Palestinian context and rise of post-Ottoman nationalisms, passing by the British colonization (Mandate) and the rise of Arab nationalism that had copied the model of Turkish nationalism, which was also an assimilation of the Young Italy (*Giovini Italia*) and Germany and other European movements.[13]

d. Struggle against the Zionist colonial project, which accelerated the growth of a sense of Palestinization. It should be noted that we oppose the argument that the birth of the Palestinian identity is linked to the Zionist project, but is rather a sum of all of the above mentioned factors.

It is believed that identity has two approaches: The <u>first</u> is based on the collective memory as the creator of the identity with other determining factors, i.e. common denominators (language, habits and tradition, common destiny in the 'national cause', etc.). The <u>second</u> approach sees identity as a whole based on differences between social groups on the basis of self-proclamation of individuals composing this identity and their belonging. Reference may be made here to Weber,[14] who sees "identity as a declared sense and feeling of belonging to a social group, compared to other social groups that are different or differentiated within the same social body, and which require its members to declare other social identities".

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13 Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. Nations and Nationalism since 1870. Myth. Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
14 Weber, Max, 1971. Economie et Société. Paris : Plon Social. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France

Overlapping of the Palestinian Identity

Representationally, identity and its hierarchies were merged in the sense seen by Gellner.[15] Identities overlapped through a historical process that merged the local with the national,[16] and the (Arab) nationalism with the religious (Islamic and Christian) and global (universal). Thus, identity means a group of hierarchies that change with context. However, this does not mean symmetry. Moreover, the 'specific' of the social identities does not annul the 'common'. Weber defines identity as a sense institutionalized on a self-perception of the social whole, which makes social existence itself based on clear differentiation. This accompanies the perception a group has of another according to the stereotypical mechanisms of individuals themselves into 'positive' images and 'negative' images. To Weber, identity is "a sense of common denominator" "like a social structure" and not a "natural state". This feeling of belonging is associated with special representations linked to (value systems, habits and ways of action) of what Bourdieu[17] calls "The Habitus" "generated rules". This means that a social actor does not feel or represent the identity unless he/she realizes his/her belonging to a specific social category that recalls specific interiorized elements and/or excludes others. These common denominators (habits and traditions) do not suffice alone to define the identity because identity is changing and mutating. Moreover, as with any other nationalism, it will be focused on as a comprehensive container in which unity is placed via diversity rather than symmetry. Morin,[18] for instance, believes that the birth of nationalism precedes the birth of the state. The forms of the pre-state social identity cohabitate with those of the post-state identity and do not contradict except for in the state representations, which consider that the national identity is based on similarity and symmetry. Thus, the local (belonging to the neighborhood, village, area or entity) overlapped with the national 'mandatory/ historical' (Palestine) and (Arab) nationalism, which cohabited with each other and with family/clan/sectarian belonging, more specifically as regards the management of the social sphere and impact on identity policies and individuals' representations and identities. However, it may affect the sense of citizenship,

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15 Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism, Oxford, Blackwell.

16   Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness, New York, Columbia University Press.

17 Bourdieu, Pierre. 1981. La Représentation Politique: Eléments pour une Théorie du Champ Politique, Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales, n° 36-37, Février-Mars

18   MORIN, Edgar. 1984. Sociologie, Paris, Fayard

which supersedes special affiliations in favor of public belonging. However, local identities re-emerge and assert themselves during the crisis of a state or a social project or a social system that discriminates in favor of specific social segments and excludes that other strata.

'Patriotization' of the Palestinian Identity

Palestinian loyalties changed with context. It is historically known that since the outset, identity declarations speculated across different considerations (Palestine as part of Greater Syria, southern Palestine...) passing through the 1930s (1936 revolution), which played a key role in rooting the nascent nationalism as social groups melted in the revolution, although not all segments were involved. However, it laid the foundation for a new nationalistic discourse based on the idea of resistance against a hostile Zionist colonial project. The nationalistic discourse started to adopt a national identity that merged Arabism with Islam, and a shy 'Palestinization' trend. As with other nationalistic discourses, they are artificial in nature.[19] It is known that under colonial conditions, as described by Fanon,[20] the adoption of a national identity introduces radical changes at the emotional, cognitive, psychological and personal levels. This feeling of identity is linked to changing social hierarchies. This hierarchical diversification provides individuals with the flexibility to exhibit loyalties to other trends. This shows that identity is not a static structure imposed on others through ideological or state attitudes but rather metaphors and assimilations that overlap to create these identity forms.

Noriel[21] says identity is fragmented when a certain discourse presents it as being under threat. In the Palestinian context, this is proven with the existence of another 'nationalist' identity, Zionism, with which the emerging Palestinian national identity competed. These new Palestinian identity policies fluctuate during the

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19 Eric J. Hobsbawm, Terence O. Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Traditions, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; GELLNER Ernest, Nations and Nationalism, Oxford, Blackwell, 1983; HOBSBAWM Eric, Nations and Nationalism since 1870. Program, Myth, Reality, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 14; Anthony Smith, The Ethnic Origin of Nations, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986; NORA Pierre (dir.), Les lieux de mémoire, 7 vol., Paris, Gallimard, 1984-1992. ANDERSON Benedict, L'imaginaire national. Réflexions sur l'origine et l'essor du nationalisme, Paris: La Découverte, 1996 (1ère édit., Imagined Communities, Londres, Verso, 1983).

20 Fanon, Frantz. 1968. Les damnés de la terre, Paris, Gallimard.

21 Noiriel, Gérard. 2001. Etat nation et immigration, vers une histoire du pouvoir, Paris, Belin.

Nakba, which was the founding event in the birth of Palestinian nationalism and in the identity and 'Palestinian national conscience'. This Palestinian nationalism did not fade away. It was enhanced by a second event, namely the defeat in June 1967. The next expression of this nationalism was the rise of the 'Palestinization' stream, which transformed the 'patriotization' of the Palestinian identity since the national imaginary requires usually 'patriotization of the social space'. This entails the processes of (national ideologization and institutionalization, the dichotomies of revival of legacy and traditions and references of the international law in a late stage). It also needs identity changes and activation of the collective memory about the places of memory, as represented by Nora,[22] where land became a core actor in the Palestinian collective memory, being a geographic, cultural, and a historical reference as well as a unit of socioeconomic measurement that represented the foundation of the Palestinian society, whose structure was destroyed with the Nakba.

The 'Palestinization' streams presented different imaginings of the self and of history. They were mainly associated with the contemporary national discourse led by the Fatah Movement, mainly the Arafat stream, with the making of a new identity, similar to other identities[23] in the world. This happened via a process of repossession of ancient history such as the history of the Canaanites and others, to assert historical continuity and ('extension of civilizations'). This was the case of modern state discourse in Egypt, Tunisia and Lebanon (as regards the narratives on the Phoenicians and the Pharos, etc.). Palestinian nationalism adopted a similar approach albeit with less powerful presence compared to Arab counterparts because of the absence of any state structure and the nature of the conflict with the 'Israeli' colonization, where resistance must be led at the pan-Arab level. This act was rooted in the idea of 'Arabism' itself, which has always been a central 'source of identity' despite official Arab and Palestinian attempts to marginalize it.

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22   Nora, Pierre. 1992.Les lieux de mémoire, Paris, Gallimard
23   Similar to other identities, imagined in some sense of common perception produced by central European culture, there are nations with deeply rooted identities and others not, especially in the post-independence era. There was an identity production that was inspired by the making of identifies produced by the generalization of the state-nation model. Modern studies consider that nations made identities that own history and old identities. See, Noriel, Andersen and others on the French and German cases

Religious identity

The sectarian identity is not officially represented in Palestinian society. The sectarian or religious identities do not appear fragmented and isolated, although some minor changes took place, as stated by Alkhatibi.[24] Indeed, certain social signs may legitimize the perception of growth of religious identities among different actors, with an impact on the individuals' perception of their social identities. Following the failure of the Arab Unity Project and manipulation of the national discourse by religious streams in Arab countries, with influence in Palestine, religious identities appeared strongly in the hierarchy of collective identities. Furthermore, it is not possible to think of a unifying Palestinian identity without introducing religion as part thereof. Actually, the identity discourse borrows religious expressions to promote its legitimacy. Recent events in the Arab world actually gave rise to the Salfi Taharani[25] religious discourse, in response to the crisis of the Arab national liberation social project. The fragile state structures were destabilized and some succumbed to alliances with religious groups either by granting them specific quotas or by applying positive discrimination. Consequently, the current sectarian conflicts in the region may affect the Palestinian youth perception of their identity and change the rank of religion in their identity hierarchies.

Family/Clan/Tribe

Regionalism and tribalism in the Palestinian society have historically been centered (in the sense of *taasub* (blind loyalty) with a certain region and identity identification with this region in the first place, as a primary source of identity). Life in Palestine has historically developed around core historical cities because of a number of socioeconomic conditions that allowed for relative socioeconomic stability and historical administrative structures (province, district, governorate, etc.). This led to the emergence of urban zones surrounded by numerous socioeconomic activities of large social groups from surrounding villages and towns within the periphery of this urban center. The activities were supported by

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24 Alkhatibi, Abdelkaber, The Wounded Arab Name (in Arabic), translation of Mohammed Banis, introduction by Roulan Bart, Beirut, Dar Alawda, 1980

25 Note of translator: Salfi or Salafi is a movement that calls for the return to the traditions of the prophet and his companions (salaf saleh – the good ancestors)

a social system that allowed families to enter into kin relations and joint ventures. This centralization produced similarities in the sociocultural stereotypes that interiorized in the inhabitants' social identities and 'differentiated' them from the others. There is thus a self-constructed identity stereotyping with stereotyping of the identity of the other, compared to other Palestinian zones. All inhabitants of a certain social space imagine they have their own identity in a way that the place produces an imagined collective identity shared by the individuals who compose this society. At the same time, the internal split between the two largest factions boosted family sensitivities because of the practices of the two factional authorities (Fatah and Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip). Divisional discourses rose with perceptions of 'victimization' and 'monopoly of suffering, heroism and resistance'. Moreover, a culture of 'quotaization' led by PLO-affiliated factions appeared. One of the elements of the social identity that Palestinian nationalism has lived with was the regional biasness and tribal pride alongside a network of family and regional relations that operate according to an imagined system of social considerations. This system acts, in the absence of identity policies, to merge everybody regardless of region. The isolation of different Palestinian communities into West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and Palestine of 1948 together with three major diasporas partially dismantled any centralized identity. This was particularly the case with the deepening split between the two territories of what remains of Palestine, with increased local stereotyping. In other words, this led to the development of identity localism. This scene is not only Palestinian, but can witnessed globally.

'Colonizational' identities

With the advent of the 'Israeli' colonial rule, regions were segregated from each other, particularly the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The colonizer established a colonial discriminatory system to create new social components (different identities with different privileges and practices and different car licensing numbers, with specific entry and exit zones for the inhabitants of each area). The Israelis designated Rafah Crossing Point to the inhabitants of Gaza and the Allenby Bridge to those of the West Bank and Jerusalem, assigning them special corridors within these crossing points. This applies to the checkpoints, which aim to divide different areas into special colonialist privileges. With these divisions, the colonized, unconsciously, reproduced the colonial discourse around them.

There is a feeling among West Bankers that they differ in privileges from those in the Gaza Strip. These illusionary imagined differentiations, in the manner that we will explain later, produced representations of sociocultural stereotypes that the inhabitants interiorized as social identities that 'differentiate' them from the others. Accordingly, some groups developed self-imagined identity stereotyping that different from the way they viewed the 'other'.

- Inhabitants of every social space imagine they have their own identity as the place produces an imagined collective identity shared by the members of this particular society. We find that inhabitants of the first colony (area occupied in 1948) consider their status different from that of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, while inhabitants of Jerusalem[26] perceive their status as better compared to those of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. With this colonialist logic, social hierarchies were formed and consequently produced imagined identities with privileges for certain socioeconomic classes, conforming to the colonialist stereotyping. A number of perceptions are generated in the public imaginaries of different social components. They are, for instance, shared among the inhabitants of different areas (especially for young generations). With Israeli measures of separation, checkpoints and mobility restrictions, an entire generation of four communities in historical Palestine (the Gaza Strip, West Bank, Jerusalem and the area occupied in 1948), have been deprived of communicating with each other. These differences are asserted on daily basis at the checkpoints and in the colonial classifications of areas into A, B and C. we find it too in the permits system and the type of permits granted to certain groups or age groups. These divisions and isolationisms alongside the colonial Bantustan system created stereotypes and imagined fears that may affect the common social identity of the Palestinians, mainly for the new generations this study focuses on.

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26 See article on Colonial Mindset, by Aghazorian, on the Palestinians of Jerusalem, Elize Aghazorian, the Jerusalemites and the fragmentation of identity, inspired by Franz Fanon, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, issue 82, 2010, p. 87-80

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Identity Survey – Methodology

Identity Survey – Methodology

Survey Background[1]

The study was implemented in four locations of Palestinian presence, being in Mandatory/historical Palestine (West Bank, Gaza Strip and the areas occupied in 1948) as well as in Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Reasons beyond CDS' control prevented the research team from extending the survey to Jordan.

Methodology:

Preparatory Phase:

1) Literature review and drafting of reference paper: different literature on the theme of the research was reviewed and a reference paper was drafted as a reference on identity concepts in the Palestinian case. The paper was the organizational skeleton and introductory point of the study. It was drafted by Dr. Abaher Al-Saqqa from the Department of Sociology and Behavioral Sciences (November 2015).

2) Preparatory workshops and meetings: six preparatory workshop were held to develop the survey indicators. Workshops were organized in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948 as well as in Palestinian camps in Lebanon. The themes and indicators of the study were discussed with a number of sociologists, political scientists and humanities specialists in Birzeit University (namely: Dr. Eileen Kuttab from the Institute for Women Studies, Rami Salama from the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, Dr. Abdelrahman Ibrahim from the Department of Political Sciences, Hassan Ladadwa from the Department of sociology and Behavioral Sciences, Dima Yasser and Yazid Rifai from the]Department of Architecture, Ahmad Al-Sheikh from Rikaz Institute in the area occupied in 1948 and Ayman Abdelmajeed from the Center for Development Studies as well as Nur Abdi from AFSC.

3) Development of survey indicators: the reference paper, literature reviews and workshops produced the study themes that guided the field survey.

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1   For more information on CDS field methodology, please visit our page: sites.brize.edu/CDS

Field survey phase:

1) Preparation of preliminary questionnaire based on the themes defined in the preparatory phase. (December 2015)

2) Meetings with a number of experts from the area to review the questionnaire and finalize it. (December 20150-January 2016)

3) Testing of questionnaire to ensure smooth language and proper time management. (First week of February 2016)

4) Development of fieldwork methodology so as to ensure meeting of same family members from different generations (aged 18-55 years). (first and second weeks of February 2016).

5) Meeting with 4019 respondents distributed over 2682 Palestinian households in four areas. Two members of one-third of the households targeted in the survey were interviewed. (March 2016)

Survey implemented in four areas, covering the following sample:

West Bank: 1334 respondents

Gaza Strip: 705 respondents

Palestinians in areas occupied in 1948: 995 respondents.

Palestinians in Lebanon: 905 respondents

Findings of the survey were weighed based on age groups, area of residency, gender and survey places of residency[2] so that they can be empirical and representative.

Analysis Phase:

1) Analysis workshops and a national meeting were organized with 120 young people from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the area occupied in 1948 to discuss and interpret the findings of the survey and consult their views. The meeting lasted for two days. Analysis workshops were also held in different areas. Three meetings were organized in the Gaza Strip, with a region-wide meeting in Khanyounis. Another meeting was held in the area occupied in 1948, and two meetings in Lebanon and a meeting in the West Bank. (April and May 2016).

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2 Note: place of residency refers only to a whole region (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Palestinian areas occupied in 1948 and/ or Lebanon, but not to smaller localities)

2) Development of terms of reference: axes of the six research papers and their terms of reference were established for the production of a book (last week of May 2016).

Writing and Analysis Phase3:

1) Form research team to write papers on the analysis of the survey findings; organize focus groups meetings; for a research team from different areas to search and write analysis papers around the themes discussed and developed in the survey and analysis groups. (June 2016)

2) Appoint a book editor to develop the final conclusions of the study and comments on findings (June 2016).

Socio-demographic Background of Research:

Samples distributed per region and age group. The following is some background information about male and female participants before weighting:

Sample Regional Distribution:

West Bank: 33.2%

Gaza Strip: 19.5%

Palestine of 1948: 24.8%

Palestinians of Lebanon: 22.5%

Distribution of Sample as per Type of Residence:

Urban: 47.9%

Rural: 24.3%

Camps: 27.8%

Gender Distribution of sample:

Male: 49%

Female: 51%

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3   More details on research team can be found in the end of the paper.

Age Distribution of Sample:

18-34: 53.1%

35-55: 46.9%

Sample Distribution according to Household Size:

1-3: 11.7%

4-6: 57%

7-10: 28.1%

+ 10: 3.2%

Sample Distribution according to Marital Status

Single: 27.5%

Engaged: 7.2%

Married: 62.1%

Divorced or separated: 1.2%

Widow (er): 2.1%

Distribution according to Refugee/ Displaced Status

Refugee or Displaced; 47.6%

Not Refugee or Not Displaced: 52.6%

Distribution according to Type of residence:

Apartment: 34.1%

Independent house: 64%

Barracks, tent: 2.0%

Distribution according to Academic Attainment:

Illiterate/ literate: 5.1%

Basic education: 33%

Secondary education: 34.3%

Intermediate diploma: 12.1%

BA or higher: 15.4%

Distribution according to Employment Status:

Full-time employee: 32.5%

Part-time employee: 13.3%

Full-time student: 10.7%

Full-time stay-home spouse: 29.3% (mostly women)

Unemployed and does not seek work: 3.3%

Other: (retired, unable to work…): 2%

Research Team:

Team Coordinator: Ayman Abdelmajeed

Partners:

American Friends Service Committee (Quakers)

Matilde Gomis-Perez

Nur Abdi

Partners in Survey Implementation:

Ahmad Al-Sheikh (Palestine of 1948)

Qassem Sabbah (Musawa – Lebanon)

Rawya Mousa (Musawa – Lebanon).

Center for Development Studies

Ghassan Abu Hattab (CDS – Gaza)

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Advisory team and questionnaire reviewers:

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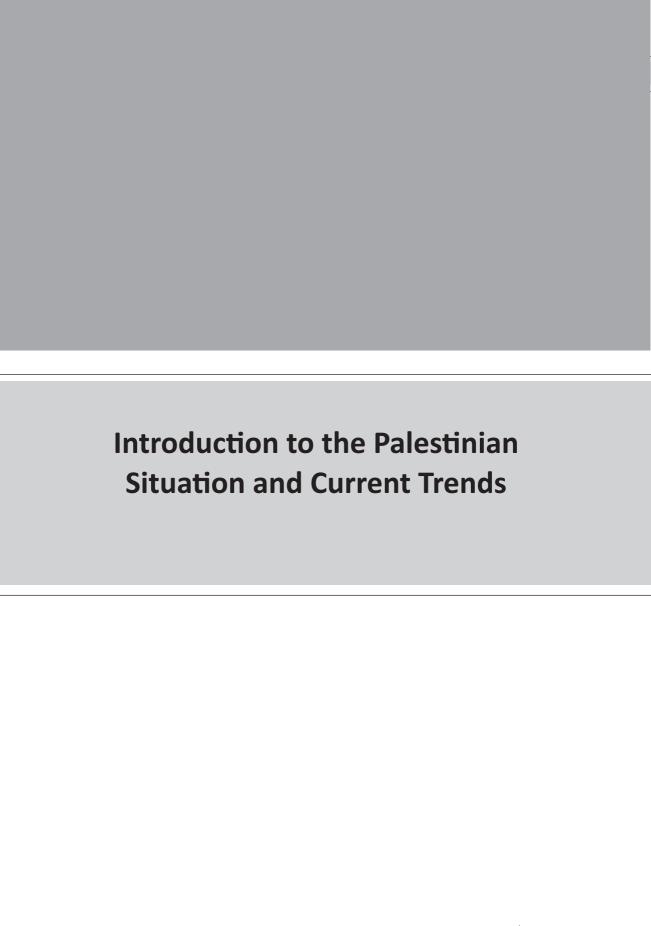
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Introduction to the Palestinian Situation and Current Trends

Introduction to the Palestinian Situation and Current Trends

Ayman AbdulMajeed*

The paper provides an analysis of the current political situation and the impact of the Israeli occupation on relations between Palestinian communities residing in different locations.[1] It presents a generational comparison of socioeconomic issues, explicating their impact on these communities' sense of security and vision for the future. It also examines how the communities in question cope with their situation and elaborates on their obsession with immigration.

Introduction to the Palestinian situation

The Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and political regime endured a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional crisis following the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accords. This crisis was attributed to a failing in the PNM vision and objective, namely in setting a new reality for the Palestinian people. As a result of this crisis, direct and indirect Palestinian representation weakened. Consequently, Palestinian political action regressed and shifted from united action across Palestinians in different places of residence (inside Palestine and in the diaspora) into amputated and limited action in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Simultaneously, the Palestinian political decision-makers remained captive of the Oslo Political Accord of 1993 (the Declaration of Principles (DoP) signed between the PLO and the occupying state).

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was created as an outcome of a new chapter of Palestinian political action that conformed, in spirit and content, with the new situation produced by the Oslo Accord.

Since the advent of the PA, Palestinian political action has mainly focused on negotiation strategy, restricting the PA to a mere service provider. Furthermore, the PLO leadership after Oslo became preoccupied with reaching agreements and understandings with the occupier to sustain the new entity, i.e. the Palestinian Authority.

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1   Translation note: for the purposes of this research, place of residency refers to region and not small town. It is either (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon or the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948)

Throughout this period, the PLO pledged its structures and political representation to the PA's requirements. Indeed, its core activity focused on enhancing and preserving this entity at the expense of the purpose for which the PLO was formed as sole representative of the Palestinian people in all of their places of residence – to liberate the land and achieve self-determination and return.

This approach weakened the PLO, including its political departments and other structures such as labour unions and grassroots organizations. This situation produced different Palestinian statuses at all social and identity levels. These newly created structural differences are explained below.

The dismembering and fragmentation produced by the state of colonization over many decades forcibly transformed the population composition and imposed radical changes on their places of residence. The changes affected these communities' ethnic, religious and socioeconomic composition, furthering the dismembering and fragmentation of Palestinian society. These measures reshaped the physical space geographically, economically and institutionally. Moreover, they impacted moral, ideological and identity dimensions by forcing a reality of enclaves, Bantustans and communities inside and outside Mandatory (historical) Palestine.

Fractured political representation

The track adopted by the PLO after Oslo, namely phasing the core issues (borders, sovereignty and refugees) and therefore delaying any settlement on the final status negotiations, submerged it into topical details. It consequently missed the opportunity to settle central issues, mainly the question of the refugees, basic rights including sovereignty, the right to return and self-determination, borders, and control over resources. In an attempt to extend its political and economic sovereignty, the PLO shrank the national liberation agenda into mere security issues to serve the establishment and enforce the structures of the "Authority" as per the Oslo policies.

Regression of Palestinian political and representative action

The regression of the Palestinian representation jeopardized many social strata. The prime victims were the Palestinian refugees both inside the occupied Palestinian territory (land occupied in 1948 and 1967) and in the diaspora. With these developments, Palestinian political action lost the compass of political and rights representation, as evidenced by the fact that the Palestinian people are questioning the representative duty and nature of the PLO.

PA approach and international funding

The PA "cohabited" with international funding together with the Palestinian fragmentation imposed by Israeli colonial measures. Consequently, PA work was restricted to the narrow boundaries defined by the Oslo Accords, namely the restrictions determined by geographic areas in the West Bank classified as "A", "B" and "C". The PA grew its entity by oversizing its civil and security governmental body. It adopted economic policies that deepened class gaps and encouraged bribery, corruption, nepotism, abuse of power and legitimized extravagance.

The outcome was a ferocious consumer trend among Palestinian citizens, with financial and banking dependency that fostered consumption and weakened economic production. This new trend undermined the ethics that had prospered under Palestinian national, partisan and civil action, such as solidarity, volunteering, unity, national belonging and resistance. This coincided with a regression in the structure of Palestinian civil society, which was co-opted by Oslo; this formerly revolutionary sector began adopting a professionalism-private sector approach in efforts to secure international funding. Simultaneously, the economic and living conditions of Palestinians collapsed with increased rates of poverty and unemployment and a deterioration of core productive sectors such as agriculture and industry.

Attitude of the Palestinian youth vis-à-vis the current situation

The young Palestinian survey respondents said Palestinian life is currently associated with illusionary economic changes and developments. They explained in the focus groups that these changes were associated with the loss of land and homeland, and increased colonial control over the different communities. These

changes resulted from liberal economic policies that facilitated the monopoly of political and economic powers in the hands of certain groups (the Oslo elites). The situation worsened further with the decade-long Palestinian political inter-killing, mainly between the two poles of the Authority (Fatah and Hamas) whether in Lebanon or the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Under this reality, the core values that had promoted Palestinian resistance and steadfastness in the 1970s and 1980s faded away under the pressure of an amputated post-Oslo regime that operated in the Israeli-carved enclaves in the West Bank and the Palestinian territory occupied in 1948 as well as in the camps in Palestinian refugees' host countries such as Lebanon. It further created a disconnected enclave in the Gaza Strip,[2] with which there was no communication.

Young participants in the Jericho focus group spoke of illusion and hope. They spoke of the illusion that official PA institutions promote, compared with hope that can spring from a momentary event or reaction. They saw hope with the latest Palestinian revolt in 2015, and in the illusions marketed by official PA institutions – referring specifically to the Arab Idol singing contest in which the Palestinian Mohammad Assaf won,[3] as well as to a political illusion associated with Palestine's accession to the UN and other international institutions, and the related PA campaign State 194. Between illusion and hope, a mosaic is formed primarily from pieces of pessimism and frustration about the extent of exclusion and isolation of the community at all levels. However, some shades of hope appear in the gloomy Palestinian picture.[4] This study focuses on the temporality of this situation and its multi-dimensional deterioration, as shown by the results discussed hereinafter.

Current political mood

The majority of Palestinians (58%) residing in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, the Palestinian territory occupied in 1948 and Lebanon believe the current situation is bad for all generations and sexes. They agree that the national project has

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2   Summary of attitudes of Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and area occupied in 1948 (workshop in Jericho, April 2016)
3   Arab Idol is a musical show where the Palestinian singer Mohammad Assaf won first prize. His victory was promoted by the economic and political institutions, focusing all their efforts to publicize his work for several months.
4   idem

collapsed under internal political relations. Consequently, the situation is now more ambiguous than ever before, as expressed by 32% of respondents. The majority of the Gaza Strip respondents (66%) view the situation as gloomy – more than any other community. This view certainly stems from the implications of the siege imposed upon the Gaza Strip and the conflict between the two Palestinian political poles, Fatah and Hamas.

Table (1): In general, how do you assess the current political situation in the occupied Palestinian territory?					
	West Bank	**Gaza Strip**	**Palestine 48**	**Palestinians in Lebanon**	**Total**
Good	8.30%	3.20%	15.20%	6.90%	8.30%
Unclear	31.70%	29.70%	33.10%	35.40%	31.70%
Bad	58.40%	66.40%	45.40%	55.30%	57.50%
I do not know	1.60%	0.70%	6.40%	2.40%	2.40%

Comparison of the current political situation with two historical and future contexts

Male and female Palestinians (63%) view the Palestinian political situation in the past as better than the current situation. Indeed, 48% view the life of their parents as better than theirs; 33% think the situation has not changed, Moreover, 54% of survey respondents expected the situation to worsen further, while 16% expected it would remain unchanged.

Palestinians of both genders believe the Palestinian political situation is deteriorating due to the crisis in the political regime created by the Oslo Accords; 67% of respondents expressed concern about the current political situation and described it as a shame to their history (similar to the defeat of 1967). This evidences the gloomy picture Palestinians have of the situation, and is particularly salient among residents of Lebanon and the Gaza Strip.

The picture becomes even gloomier with the weakening of the PLO, which waived its role as the umbrella of the Palestinian national movement that united all Palestinians. This increased the fragmentation of the Palestinians.

Lost compass

Half of survey respondents do not believe that Palestinian society is moving in the right direction. This was particularly the case for residents of Gaza and Lebanon. This feeling is deepened by the political isolation imposed upon these two groups, mainly in Lebanon. Moreover, Gaza has been living under siege for one-and-a-half decades, during which it has witnessed three wars launched by the occupation – wars that exhausted the population and caused widespread devastation. Refugees in Lebanon live in isolation and suffocation in camps, especially following the PLO withdrawal from Beirut in 1983 and subsequent siege. Moreover, they witnessed the destruction and siege of Nahr el-Bared camp in May 2007, where around 38,000 Palestinians residing in this camp were displaced.

Table (2): In general, do you think that the Palestinian society is heading towards the right direction?					
Gaza strip	Gaza strip	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Yes	16.40%	6.20%	13.60%	7.20%	12.40%
To a certain extent	31.30%	36.80%	38.50%	32.20%	34.30%
No	49.90%	56.50%	39.60%	58.30%	50.10%
I don't know	2.40%	0.50%	8.30%	2.30%	3.10%

Youth respondents from the different communities were unanimous in stating that the socioeconomic situation was dreadful and that life in Palestine was harsher than ever before. Youth also considered this situation a threat to Palestinians at all political, national, economic and social levels. Youth repeatedly used the following terms in the discussions:

"Very difficult conditions…"

"Pessimistic vision of the future…"

"As a Palestinian woman, I am not identified in my ID cards…political and economic impasse…"

"The problem is that the PA or the occupation may arrest you at any moment…"

"They made us live in an economic illusion…"

"People keep living with hope, but until when?"

"The situation makes us even more pessimistic…"

*"The lives of our grandfathers had hope, and the lives of our fathers had
less hope, but in our lives hope is fading away. How will the lives of our
children and their children be? They will certainly be lives without hope."*

The above excerpts appeared in the responses of young men and women in
Gaza, Khan Younis, Rafah, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Qalqilya, the Galilee, Muthalth
and camps in Lebanon. They attempted to explain the picture they live in, and to
justify – metaphorically – the pessimistic view and despair they live in.

Feeling safe and secure

Despite the Palestinians' dire conditions and pessimistic views, the majority of the
communities still feel safe and secure about the future of the next generations.
The exception is residents in Lebanon. The ambiguity about their future in
Lebanon means hope of any future for the next generations vanishes. The other
communities have same feelings as the Palestinians in Lebanon, but to a lesser
extent, as shown in the next figure. The Palestinians in the land occupied in 1948
were the most secure about the safety of their future generations.

Table (3): Do you feel secure about the future of next generations?					
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Yes	11.10%	11.80%	16.40%	6.90%	12.10%
So and so	28.90%	25.50%	37.10%	23.00%	29.30%
No	58.90%	62.00%	41.50%	69.10%	56.80%
No opinion	1.10%	0.60%	5.00%	1.00%	1.80%

The majority in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the land occupied in 1948 feel safe in
their respective places of residence (see table below). Indeed, 60% expressed this
feeling, compared to 60% of Palestinians living in Lebanon who reported feeling
insecure regarding the future. This is the story of the Palestinian living in his/
her homeland, even as a refugee, compared to Palestinian refugees still living the

calamity of displacement after almost 70 years. The refugee status passes from one generation to another, and the majority of Palestinians in Lebanon assert that their memory remains symbolically and morally connected to the right of return and to the homeland.

Table (4): In general, do you feel safe and secure in the place of your current residence?				
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Yes	59.60%	61.00%	59.90%	40.30%	58.60%
No	40.40%	39.00%	40.10%	59.70%	41.40%

The feeling of insecurity, whether regarding the current situation or the situation for future generations, was further enhanced for Palestinians living in Lebanon as 70% faced ethnic discrimination. Discrimination was clear among the Palestinians living in the areas occupied in 1948, as 40% said they were discriminated against for being Palestinian. The same applies to 35% of the inhabitants of the West Bank and 27% of residents of the Gaza Strip.

Responses from young people in different groups showed the feeling of security and hope is fragile due to local and regional challenges. Still, different initiatives by young people – although small – set the ground for hope.

Youth views on feeling safe and secure and the challenges facing Palestinians at present, as expressed in the focus groups:

How will citizens feel secure in the homeland or in the diaspora?

Palestinians face violations of their rights from different sources. In the Gaza Strip, they were exposed to a series of devastating wars that destroyed everything and everybody. Add to this the conflict between the two political parties. The prime victims of this conflict are the citizens. In the West Bank, there are checkpoints and political arrests by the PA and the Israeli occupation. Consequently, citizens live under permanent threat. At any moment, another war could start in Gaza, while any person could be arrested in the West Bank by the Israeli occupation without any prior notice. This situation made citizens feel insecure about their lives.

"The people are not taking the track that serves their interest" (Jericho, April 2016 workshop). This is obvious in the daily reality. However, in order not to paint a totally gloomy picture, we should admit there are many youth initiatives notwithstanding the difficult situation. These initiatives appear to assert that there has been no surrender to the circumstances imposed on the Palestinian people. This alone invites optimism.

The feeling safe and secure is not promising, but still sparks some hope amidst the harsh conditions and consecutive crises. The most affected are the Palestinians of Lebanon. They are the "left behind" without even the minimum basic services.

The feeling of security is fragile and momentary. Youth in Lebanon are the most worried, especially with "what is taking place in Syria".

- *"This is the expected outcome since the lack of security coincides with a deteriorating economic situation. Had the crossing point been open, people would leave. The situation is very bad and a large percentage of the people consider immigrating".*
- *"As a young woman, I think about immigration, but my mother does not. The economic situation is the reason. If we go outside this country, we expect to find work and security. We do not know how life is outside this country, but even if we leave, we would always feel connected to our land and people."*
- *"It is a set thing." Immigration is a state of despair and disability and a search for any escape.*
- *The political split and the loss of hope in the Palestinian parties and their inability to change the reality.*
- *Escalation of Islamic movements that adopt the idea of "the Islamic state" while actively suppressing liberties, mainly in Gaza after the Hamas takeover. Immigration of Christians, for instance.*

Economic conditions

Pessimism is highest among the Palestinians living in Lebanon because of their frustrating economic conditions - 44% described their living condition as poor or very poor. Their economic situation is close to that of residents of the Gaza Strip, where 43% qualified their living conditions as poor or very poor, compared to 20% in the West Bank. The living conditions of residents of the areas occupied in 1948 were the least poor. Only 11% described their living conditions as poor.

When comparing the economic conditions of different generations and in different areas, the majority of Gaza Strip residents (81%) believe that the living conditions of their grandparents were better than theirs, compared to 71% of the Palestinians in Lebanon. More than half of the inhabitants of the West Bank and the land occupied in 1948 reported that their grandparents' lives was better than theirs.

When comparing current living conditions with those of their parents, the people of Gaza had the same perception, with 88% saying their parents had a better life. This percentage was lower for the Palestinians living in Lebanon as 53% reported that the living conditions of the Palestinians in 1970s was better when the PLO had a seat in Lebanon. This perception stemmed as well from the "pre-Nakba memory" about the life their grandparents had in Palestine. The same applies to senior generations who still think that their parents' lives were better.

Looking towards the future, 63% of Palestinians in Lebanon believe their living conditions will become much worse, compared to 57% of the people of the Gaza Strip who think the same. In the West Bank, 42% said the situation would improve compared to 44% who said it would worsen; while in the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948, 37% thought it would be better compared to 41% who expected things to worsen.

Table (5): Compare the economic and living situation with the reality of the future.					
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Better	42.10%	31.30%	37.10%	20.00%	36.50%
Similar	13.50%	12.00%	22.40%	17.00%	15.20%
Worse	44.30%	56.70%	40.60%	63.00%	48.20%

Between forced displacement and voluntary immigration

Respondents were asked if their families had changed their place of residence in the past three years. Fourteen per cent said a family member had moved from his/her original place of residence. These were mostly in the Gaza Strip (21% of respondents), because of the recent war and the occupation. In the Palestinian area occupied in 1948, 15% reported the same. It was previously mentioned that 67% of the people of Gaza changed their place of residence following the war and assaults on the Gaza Strip. The main reasons for changing the place of residence in the areas occupied in 1948 were social factors such as marriage, or economic needs and job seeking. The main reason for changing the place of residence in Lebanon was to improve the quality of life at social, housing and other levels. West Bankers provided similar answers to those in the area occupied in 1948 (social relations, job seeking).

From a gender perspective, women changed their place of residence more than men since they moved after marriage to live with their husbands. Following wars, the reason for moving was similar for men and women. At the age group level, the main reason for changing place of residence for the younger generations was to look for a job, economic needs or following wars.

The dire economic situation in Palestine due to colonization, isolation and exclusion means about one-third of respondents (31%) said they were seriously considering immigration. Results in the next figure show that most Palestinians in Lebanon (69%) consider immigration. They see no future or hope in the current circumstances, and with how the State of Lebanon treats them. The next highest consideration of immigration was among the citizens of the Gaza Strip, where 41% considered leaving. The lowest rate considering immigration was among the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948.

From a gender perspective, males thought more of immigration than females (38% compared to 26%, being a gap of 12%). Among age groups, the younger

Table (6): Imigration					
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Yes	27.80%	40.90%	13.60%	68.60%	31.30%
No	70.50%	56.80%	78.30%	30.70%	65.50%
I don't know	1.80%	2.30%	8.10%	0.80%	3.20%

generations thought more about immigrating (40% among the age group 18-29 years). The older the group, the less they considered immigrating. The percentage dropped to 27% among the age group 30-44, and to 19% for the age group 45-55. Young people in different areas cited several reasons to consider immigration, including lack of opportunities in their areas of residence, and seeking greater security, especially for their children. This is a human need that young people always try to fulfil.

Youth views as expressed in workshops and the survey relating to the current political situation and its repercussions on social living conditions and immigration:

- *The current political situation and circumstances push people to immigrate and seek a more decent life. This does not mean they abandon their homeland.*
- *It is difficult to live in the camps of Lebanon, which forces people to consider immigration.*
- *People's focus is no longer limited to improving their living conditions, but rather to pursue their life (I want to immigrate to move on with my life and secure a future for my kids).*
- *The desire for a better future and a decent life.*
- *Closed economic horizons for young people. As for the older married ones, they tend more to stay where they are. The percentages regarding the desire to immigrate varied.*
- *We know how our parents have been living all they life. They work in the Gulf countries where they find a good job. Therefore, our knowledge of working abroad is based on our parents' experience.*
- *Check points and travel arrangements, as well as deteriorated economic conditions in Gaza influenced youth opinion of immigration.*
- *In Lebanon, the economic situation for the Palestinians is difficult since they do not live in their homeland. A large percentage of them are convinced they should immigrate.*
- *Living conditions shape our life and force us to make harsh decisions to secure the future of our children and not be forced to give up everything.*
- *Young people who think of immigrating are qualified graduates; they are supposed to have awareness of the question of national rights, but they do not realize the disaster that will result after immigration.*
- *It is not about giving up my homeland, but rather about improving my life skills and getting proper education.*
- *As a Palestinian, I find it difficult to accommodate to the life in the Gulf, or European countries. Therefore, I choose to study and seek political or humanitarian asylum.*
- *I see the future as gloomy and it is logical to think of immigrating.*
- *To seek opportunities for self-improvement and seek a job. I need to find another country that fulfils my ambitions.*

Relations between the Palestinians worsens

Palestinians in different places of residence are frustrated with the political, economic and living situation. Moreover, they believe that relations between Palestinians are worsening, as reported by 73% of survey respondents.

Residents of Lebanon and Gaza are most likely to believe that relations among Palestinians will worsen. This is clearly the impact of internal conflict in these two communities. These conflicts harm them at all living, economic and socio-political levels.

In this situation of despair, most Palestinians do not believe that anyone is representing them. They have abandoned the political parties, with 68% not affiliated to any party. The PLO turned from a representative of all Palestinians to a representative of less than one-fifth of the Palestinian people. The majority live in the political representation gap (46%), mostly in Lebanon where 60% of residents do not consider anybody to be representing them. Young people attribute many reasons to the lack of confidence in partisan entities and the subsequent impact on relations among the Palestinians. Reasons include economic difficulties, accumulated economic difficulties, accumulated concerns and problems with individualism, tribal radicalism and clan identities, in addition to killings among Palestinians and the sharp split between the two political streams – the Islamic Hamas and the moderate Fatah. The two parties have grown into two power structures, each within is area of control. This affects community grassroots relations whether in terms of isolation and exclusion or entering into a vicious circle of conflict in favour of personal interest.

> **Youth views, as expressed in the workshops and the survey, relating to the political relations and alignments and their repercussions on individualist and collective relations:**
>
> The largest impact on people's relations and regression in social relations resulted from the dire economic situation and accumulation of internal and external problems that affect individuals and groups. This is a systematic policy against the Palestinian people so that everybody will be ego-centred and deviate from group spirit and thinking in the national interest. This explains the fabricated crises citizens in the Gaza Strip suffer from, such as electricity and gas, or the crises of the checkpoints.
>
> ITC-supported communication is widespread nowadays; however, in Gaza, one may be accused of establishing contact with the Government of Ramallah if he/she communicates with a resident of the West Bank. This ripped the relations among the Palestinians apart, with Gaza citizens afraid to talk to any person in the West Bank lest he/she be an Israeli occupation collaborator impersonating a West Bank resident.
>
> One of the reasons behind worsened relations among Palestinians is the split that divided the Palestinian people into fighting parties.

Conclusion

Jamil Hilal defines the post-Oslo era as the emergence of a new political field with governing organization, parties, opposition and different balances of powers and players. However, this field inherited a political culture that values partisan and ideological pluralism. Hilal concludes that the political field was quickly transformed after Oslo in a manner that turned the democratic character of elections into a tool to preserve a political field that had led in 2007, following the elections of the current legislative council in 2006, to fragmentation and a sickly atmosphere under the control of the two competing factions (still subject to the control of the colonizing state).[5]

According to Hilal, the transformations of the Palestinian political field post-Oslo led to a "state of inaction" among the Palestinian national institutions as

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5   Hilal, Jamil, Palestinian Political System Post Oslo, Muwatin and Institute of Palestine Studies, 2006; see Jamil Hilal article on "Dismantling of the Palestinian Political Field.", Journal of Palestine Studies, issue 107, summer 2016

the role of national factions regressed in the absence of any critical review or assessment of the needs of different Palestinian communities. Moreover, the young generations have been ignored for over one-and-a-half decades, while the leadership of political parties has grown old and calcified.

This new situation affects the attitudes of Palestinians in different places of residence with a dramatic regression in Palestinians' socioeconomic and political situations. Respondents to this study reported that the situation has never been this bad before. Palestinians believe that the lives of their parents and grandparents saw better economic, living and political situations than today. They predict the future will be even gloomier than the present.

In this ambiguous situation, Palestinians expressed confused views about certain issues. While the majority consider the current political situation to be bad and ambiguous, a minority (9%) believe it is good. While the majority do not see that the Palestinian reality is moving in the right track, a minority (13%) see otherwise. While the majority feel secure in their place of residence (with the exception of Palestinians in Lebanon), 41% still feel unsafe. The answers varied according to the place of residence, such as in city centres or in areas of armed clashes with the occupation forces, or areas of wars and regional conflicts.

When speaking of economic conditions, participants described clear class and living gaps, with a small minority describing economic conditions as excellent (5%), while 29% said they were good. However, the majority described economic conditions as moderate, while 27% said they were living in poverty or dire poverty.

According to the Palestinian public, relations among Palestinians in their different places of residence are worsening. This has particular impact on younger generations, who are considering immigrating. The majority of young people still do not consider immigrating. However, the percentage of young people aged 18-29 years who seriously consider immigrating sits at 40%. In addition, it should be noted that 31% of people aged 18-55 years consider immigrating as a way to achieve safety and security for their children and provide them with a decent and dignified standard of living.

Reality, as analysed, leaves room for political participation and action for men and women, with some gender differences. Moreover, this situation led to the

growth of political Islam movements and subsequent repercussions on the social situation. Consequently, public participation became weak and limited, relying on reactions to momentary issues.

Some consider that a breakthrough in the gloomy picture of the Palestinian situation requires investment in youth capital. This was clearly referenced in discussions with Palestinian people in different locations. A youth breakthrough would revive hope, notwithstanding how small youth movements and initiatives of the past five years have been. The public considers these initiatives to spread hope regarding the Palestinian situation, especially when boosting the youth role in politics, for example through youth initiatives to create popular committees to substitute those in Palestinian camps in Lebanon. It could be through youth movements inside "urfud sha'buka ya7meek" in Palestinian camps in Lebanon or youth movements in the area occupied in 1948 that set up alternative grassroots committees under the split in the PA.

Efforts also include initiatives where young people attempt to make breakthroughs in social status including the "Qawareb – Boats" campaign, "Young People for Jordan Valley" and "Mobile", in addition to trans-boundary youth conferences with Palestinians from different areas. All these youth initiatives attempt to restore Palestinian relations.

In many cases, young people attempted to restore and boost the community values of the 1980s and First Intifada. They created committees for protection against attacks from the Israeli army and settlers, and others to redeem the bodies of the martyrs, not to mention various economic, political and social boycotts of the occupation. All these initiatives brought hope that the Palestinian situation will improve and that these campaigns can act as its corner stone, gathering young Palestinian men and women from different places.

Moreover, serious endeavours by Palestinian academic establishments and a number of civil society organizations to launch youth debate on the Palestinian identity, involving young people from inside Palestine and the diaspora, stem from their conviction of the role youth can play in leading, changing and combatting the deterioration of the Palestinian situation. Youth can also enhance the value of intellectual, ideological and physical resistance against colonization.

However, facing this is the need to revive political parties and the PLO as political and ideological entities that express the Palestinian identity, which struggles for liberation. Reviving political parties requires genuine youth penetration of partisan and grassroots entities to form a community base capable of making the change.

Relations and Communication among the Palestinians

Relations and Communication among the Palestinians

Mohammad Zeidan* Hedaya Shamoun**

Communication and relations among Palestinians are essential components of the Palestinian identity, which was removed of its territory following population displacement and land occupation. Israeli occupation's measures violate Palestinians' moral and human rights because the conflict stems from the negation and exclusion of 'the other' and from the effacement of this other's identity.

In this regard, it becomes necessary to examine how Palestinians communicate with each other within the fragmentation the occupation has imposed and intensified (including through the 1948 and 1967 wars, siege, separation wall and other impediments to territorial contiguity). It is important to understand the nature of inter-Palestinian relations and whether they have shrunk to mere circles of family relations or are rather a tool to preserve national cohesion. It is, therefore, essential to study the structure of social relations and opportunities for alternative communication, as a way to challenge the checkpoints and other obstacles imposed by the Israeli occupation in its efforts to dismantle territorial and sociopolitical unity. This assessment will be assisted by research conducted by the Center for Development Studies (CDS) – Birzeit University.

Current situation

Most respondents (57.5%) to the CDS survey thought the current political situation was bad; the highest rate for this response by place of residency was in the Gaza Strip, followed by the West Bank, then the Palestinians of Lebanon. The findings revealed respondents' dissatisfaction with the current situation of the Palestinian people. This coincided with a feeling of unrest among over half of them.

Focus group discussions revealed that the feeling of insecurity was a direct outcome of occupation practices – assaults on Gaza – in addition to internal factors, such as social violence, and absence of the rule of law together with oppressive Palestinian Authority (PA) policies. Participants in focus groups also

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explained that the *de facto* authority of Gaza applies oppressive policing policies that jeopardize their feeling of security.

Some internal factors, including religious extremism and political Islam, enhance thoughts of immigration – mainly for groups who lost their sociopolitical stability due to religious splits and categorization and lack of national unity to confront the occupation and its products.[1] Moreover, the largest refugees communities – in Lebanon and Gaza – who live under the harshest conditions, expressed the highest willingness to immigrate, especially among young people who wish to exit the deteriorating situation and insecurity, not to mention increasing internal conflict among Palestinian factions. Respondents reported that this internal Palestinian conflict increases the feeling of a lack of security. The rates of those who considered immigration because of difficult or very difficult economic conditions were very close.

Relations among the Palestinians

The majority of respondents (72.7%) reported that inter-Palestinian relations were worsening, with the highest rate in Lebanon, followed by the Gaza Strip, then the West Bank and the areas occupied in 1948, being 81%, 79.4%, 71.1% and 64.9% respectively. A total of 19.7% thought inter-Palestinian relations were improving, with the highest rate in the West Bank (22.7%), and the lowest in Lebanon (14.4%). There are no significant differences in the opinions of males and females as regards the negative trend in relations among the Palestinians.

Respondents' positions toward 'relations among the Palestinians' relates to the fragmentation imposed by the occupation through checkpoints, the Wall, the siege on Gaza and restrictions imposed on mobility and communication channels available to the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. The situation regresses further with internal factors such as the Palestinian split, which, in the best case scenario, is deemed as a fertile environment for increased fragmentation and lack of communication, if not a cause there of.

Communication with relatives

A total of 56.9% of male and female respondents said they did not have relatives who lived outside Palestine or their country of residence, while 43.1% said they

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1   Study Days Report – Group 1, p. 1

did and that they were unable to communicate directly with them. The highest rate was among the Palestinians of Lebanon, followed by the Gaza Strip (this is probably because these communities are mostly refugees). This was followed by the West Bank, then the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. The rates were 62.3%, 50.3%, 45.9% and 21.4% respectively. It is not clear what the rates indicate because they link two variables (having relatives outside the place of residency[2] and ability to communicate with them).

Of the (43.1%) who said they had relatives outside their residential area, 83% said they communicated with them from time to time, using different media. The majority of Palestinians, and at similar rates (Palestinians of Lebanon, West Bank, and of the areas occupied in 1948) agreed, while 17% said they could not communicate with their relatives. It is clear that the rate of respondents who maintain communication is high in all areas because this communication is an important part of their lives and compensates for the deprivation from actual meeting with relatives due to borders, checkpoints and the siege imposed by the occupation.

A total of 70.5% of respondents said they used the internet to communicate with their relatives, with the highest rate in the Gaza Strip, followed by the West Bank, then Palestinians of Lebanon, and lowest among the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 – 76.2%, 72%, 62.2% and 57% respectively. Why was the rate lowest for the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, as regards use of the internet? The question was not posed regarding the reason for using a particular means. However, we can deduce that they have other means of communication – such as the phone. The media used next for communicating with relatives was the phone for 27.4% of respondents, being highest for the Palestinians in the areas occupied in 1948 and followed by Palestinians in Lebanon, then the West Bank and finally Gaza.

Survey findings, and discussions and focus groups, reiterated the importance of normal social communication for all peoples. For the communities studied, communication, as a need and right (sometimes as a duty), especially with family members and friends, takes place through individual initiatives, with the least costly communication technology available to the majority of respondents, since this technology is not under direct visible control of the occupation.[3]

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2   Place of residence refers here to the region (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon or the area occupied in 1948) and not to cities, towns or villages within each region.

3   Study Days Report, Group 1 – on Identity

Deprivation from meeting relatives

Half of the respondents (50.1%) have not seen some of their relatives living outside their area of residence during the past three years. The highest rate was in the Gaza Strip (75.3%). This is definitely due to the prolonged closure and siege imposed upon the Gaza Strip and ongoing restrictions on citizens' mobility and movement across borders. A huge difference appeared for the Palestinians in the areas occupied in 1948, as regards meeting with relatives during the past three years (48.6%). Most of this group's relatives dwell in refugee camps in Lebanon and they are prohibited from traveling to this country because of Israeli law. Moreover, as holders of Israeli passports, they cannot go to Gaza. For the West Bank, the rate was 41.5%. The Palestinians of Lebanon reported the lowest rate (27.2%).

A total of 32.2% of respondents met with their relatives at least once during the past three years, while 17.7% met with them more than once in the past three years. Chances of meeting with relatives were clearly better for the inhabitants of Lebanon and the areas occupied in in 1948, compared to residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Focus group participants reiterated the importance of face-to-face communication as a human right and a boost to unity among people. They viewed this right as a means to resist surrendering to the systematic fragmentation programmes. They stressed this right through phone and internet communication, but did not consider this as an alternative to actual meetings – the basic right of Palestinians to meet their family. They demanded immediate exercise of this right and did not accept that the prolonged Israeli occupation has prevented them from enjoying it.

Relations across different areas

Regarding communication among the Palestinians in areas other than their country of residence,[4] 65.7% said they did not have such relations. It is striking to note that responses were similar across the four areas of residence, but revealed differences according to gender, as females reported higher rates (70.8%), compared to males (60.2%). This probably relates to the patriarchal society that considers females as dependents, limiting their relations with people outside their families

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4   Translation note: country of residence refers either to historical Palestine or refugee host countries, (Lebanon in the case of this survey).

and direct neighborhoods. The reason behind this high percentage could be the coping strategies used by the Palestinians under territorial discontiguity, which made it next to impossible to communicate with Palestinians outside their places of residency. Mobility across regions is a complicated, if not impossible, process. They view these restrictions as the main reason behind escalating fragmentation.

The percentage of those who said they had such relations was 34.3%. In most areas covered by the survey, respondents said they took personal initiative to maintain such relations through social media only. This indicates that communication is possible due to individual or nuclear family initiatives only,[5] without any organized and/or institutional support or help. Moreover, this indicates an absence of any official or organized efforts to connect all geographic areas. Respondents viewed this as a weak institutional performance from governmental and nongovernmental institutions in the surveyed area. Most respondents said communication does not represent a core issue or programme for these institutions.[6]

Issues discussed during communication

Palestinians communicated mostly about general issues and social matters (63.3% of respondents); the second topic of discussion with a huge difference (18.5%) was youth and community issues through governmental and nongovernmental organizations. This indicates a fading of national issue prioritization in their social agenda. This also confirms that communication merely occurs on personal initiative, without any institutional framework.

Focus group discussions showed young people's ignorance of many issues; they gave loose definitions of public issues with erroneous or exaggerated generalizations about identity or perception of the situation of Palestinians in areas other than their place of residency, such as the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. This is quite a logical outcome of the forced isolation and fragmentation imposed by Israeli occupation measures and the restrictions on Palestinians' mobility inside their own country.

Regarding communication, focus groups confirmed that institution-initiated communication was regressing to just modest initiatives by some civil society organi-

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5   Study Days Report, Group 1, on identity
6   Study Days Report, Group 1, on identity

zations. Even worse, these same organizations were unable to access the sectors they do not serve in their activities. Checkpoints also appeared as a major obstacle to individual and institutional communication. The focus groups also mentioned that the initiatives proposed by such organizations usually limited communication to a predetermined issue. They did not allow youth to talk or work on issues they were actually interested in. The initiatives usually took place in an environment that "does not suit the objective they are launched for" and therefore did not happen in the context of normal life and did not actually express participants' needs and desires. Moreover, participants were usually pre-selected.

Regarding use of youth communication media, the focus groups expressed fear of social media censorship by the occupation. Therefore, they refrained from using this medium. Moreover, it restricted their freedom to fully speak about their most important issues.

Changing place of residence

A total of 85.9% of respondents said they had not changed residence, or had any member of their family move to another place of residence in the past three years; 14.1% said they or some family members had moved to another place of residence in the past three years. The highest rate was in the Gaza Strip, which can be attributed to recurrent Israeli aggressions, which targeted residential zones, forcing inhabitants to change their place of residence several times. Inhabitants of destroyed houses had to move to other places within the Gaza Strip (21.2%). The next greatest movement was among Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 (15.2%).

Respondents who said they were forcibly displaced reported the following reasons: war and avoiding border areas, mainly in Gaza, social relations such as marriage, mainly in the West Bank and areas occupied in 1948, followed by economic needs and job seeking and to improve the quality of social and residential life.

Focus groups said they usually stayed in their original cities or villages and that any change of residence would take place forcibly.[7] The reasons included war and destruction of neighborhoods in Gaza, or moving to live with a spouse (mainly for women). Respondents seldom changed place of residence for other reasons. It is important to note that the change of residence takes place within the same

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7   Study Days Report – Third Group, p. 1

limited geographic zone or the geographic enclave isolated from other areas. This is due to severe mobility restrictions in all surveyed areas.

Social relations and fragmentation

A total of 37.6% of male and female respondents said they established social relations with other areas without exceptions. On the other hand, 32.4% said they had social relations focused in one place (small neighborhoods) or local area; 30% said they had social relations with the larger surrounding area (national level of their country of residence).[8]

Marriage relations at the local level

On another note, 47.9% of respondents preferred marrying their children to people in the larger surrounding area. Inhabitants of the Gaza Strip supported this trend more than others, while the least support was among the Palestinians of Lebanon. The percentage of those who preferred to wed their children within their small neighborhood or residential zone was 26.2%, with the lowest rate in the Gaza Strip and Lebanon. This indicates respondents' openness toward communicating with the larger surrounding area and not restricting themselves to zones forcibly segregated by borders and checkpoints. They opted for more normal communication and life.

Marriage in the larger surrounding area

A total of 83% of respondents preferred marrying their children (or themselves) to an Arab person of the same religion, with females scoring higher than males in this regard (85% and 80.6% respectively). The rates came in the following order according to place of residence: Gaza Strip, West Bank, Palestinians of Lebanon and Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948.

Findings from different places of residence relating to social relations showed that half of the respondents preferred staying and forming social relations – marriage and friendships – within their geographic zones. Notwithstanding the objective

8   Country of residence refers either to historical Palestine (West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, area occupied in 1948) or refugee host countries

reasons and restrictions on mobility in these zones, this remains a form of 'coping or surrendering' to the fragmentation imposed in practice regardless of preliminary claims or desires. Add to this the effect of Israeli laws, which prevent marriages between residents of different areas through control and mobility restrictions. Moreover, Israel recently introduced amendments to the Citizenship Laws that restrict communication and actually prohibit Palestinian residents of the area occupied in 1948 from marrying residents of the other surveyed areas.[9]

Results showed that 82% of respondents in all zones refused mixed faith marriages. This shows the clear role of habits and traditions, as well as some legal systems in these communities, which only recognize religious marriage contracts. Moreover, personal status laws regulate only religious marriages[10] (in Lebanon, Palestinians are prohibited from integrating in the private and public life of the country).

Social relations at international level

A total of 46.9% of respondents said they preferred establishing social relations with their compatriots, with the West Bank recording the highest rate, followed by the Gaza Strip and then the Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948, and finally the Palestinians of Lebanon. The female respondents' rate was higher at 53.6%, compared to male respondents at 39.8%. Still, 23% preferred establishing broader global social relations regardless of religion. Male respondents supported this view more than females (29.2% compared to 16.5%). On the other hand, 17% preferred establishing relations with their Arab and Islamic surrounds.

Building gender-based friendships

As regards building gender-based friendships, 62.6% preferred establishing friendships with people of the same gender, with the highest rate in the West Bank (67.9%), then Gaza (64.1%), followed by the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 (55.7%) and finally the Palestinians of Lebanon (45.3%). Males recorded a higher rate than females in this regard (72.6% and 52% respectively); 33% said they preferred to have friendships with both genders, although male respondents supported this trend twice as often as females (43.4% compared to

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9   Study Days Report, Group 1, p. 2
10   Study Days Report, Group 2, p. 9

23.5%). This is an indicator of the hegemony of control of habits and traditions, and of a society that remains largely conservative. Still, there is a clear change in the awareness of young women and men that the society comprises males and females. There is probably a need for awareness programmes on this matter because of its importance for young generations, and the role this awareness can play in preserving a stronger society that supports both genders.

Political identity

When asked about their political identity, 78.5% of respondents said they considered Palestine as the historical Palestine with its full borders, with the highest rate in Lebanon, followed by Gaza and the West Bank. The largest percentage of respondents (90.2%) said that the Palestinian people are "all of the Palestinians from historical Palestine". The study, however, revealed different answers among the Palestinians of the areas occupied in 1948 as regards their definition of the borders of Palestine. Only 50% defined Palestine as historical Palestine with full borders; however, the definition of a Palestinian as all of the Palestinians from historical Palestine was shared by 78%. It is important to interpret the significance of these rates regarding the definition of Palestine and the Palestinian people. Rates from other surveyed communities on these issues were close.

A total of 46.3% of respondents believed nobody represented them. They do not consider the PA, PLO or Islamic movements as their representatives. The largest rate was in Lebanon with 59.4%, followed with close rates in the West Bank and areas occupied in 1948 (48%), dropping to 37.4% in the Gaza Strip.

Focus groups confirmed this percentage as regards respondents' opinions regarding representation. The groups said it was "a positive thing that the people started to become aware of the issue of representation and who represents them". They considered this rate as an affirmation of the "short falls of the PA on the ground", in addition to being linked to "lack of clarity and agreement in the vision of the PA and the PLO".[11] Respondents attribute this to maladroit political forces, mainly the PA.[12] They believe they do not represent the youth and changes on the ground,

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11   Study Day Report – Group 2
12   Study Day Report – Group 1

which "made them lose public – mainly youth – trust".[13] They mentioned also the lousy performance of the Fatah and Hamas governments.[14]

Grand identity and self-expression

First affiliation: A total of 49.5% of respondents considered that the larger identity that expresses who they are is their being Palestinian, while 31.8% identified themselves as Muslims, Christians, Druze (religious) and 13.7% viewed their identity as Arab.

Second affiliation: Detailing respondents' definition of their larger identity, we note that 35.3% considered themselves as Palestinians, 33.4% as Muslims, Christians or Druze (religious) and 22.6% as Arab. Moreover 7% identified themselves as humans.

Classification of first and second affiliation (sub-identities)

A total of 73% considered their primary belonging to be to their families, while others considered this as their second affiliation (22.2%); 20% viewed their primary belonging to be to Palestine, while for the largest percentage, affiliation to Palestine came second (47%).

The focus groups indicated that this plurality of belonging resulted from the fragmentation in the identification of identity. They explained the difference in findings in different areas by a number of factors. A low rate (29%) saw themselves as Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, and respondents explained this as a result of the "Israelization" and education curricula. The total of those who said they were Arab or Palestinians among the Palestinians of the areas occupied in 1948 was over 71%. We believe this stems from Palestinians' affirmation of their Arab identity as a primary component of their identity opposing the 'Jewish nature of the state', which is also a reason for discrimination against them in in many aspects of civil rights.

Focus group discussions revealed that 'tribal identity' has started to precede partisan or national identity. They attributed this to the absence of influence of po-

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13   Workshop 4
14   Study Day Report – Group 3

litical forces and structures.[15] Some said the strength of the family identity in the Palestinian context has to do with defence mechanisms, where family, for most Palestinians, is the source and incubator of defence. This was also clear in the survey findings, as the first identity respondents defined themselves with was "family or tribal belonging", with close rates among all age groups. This led to a regression in the political and governmental role.[16] Some groups reiterated their religious identity, referring to the impact of religious parties in public awareness. Some claimed there was no contradiction between both identities. Others underlined that this resulted from lack of trust in political parties, which no longer respond to citizens' needs and aspirations.[17] It seems these factors were the reasons behind the findings.

Exposure to negative discrimination

A total of 37% of respondents said they had been victims of negative discrimination for being Palestinian, with the highest rate in Lebanon, due to the sectarian composition of the country and its institutions. They were followed by the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, who are discriminated against in their civil, social and economic rights, compared to Jews, who are considered by the state of occupation to be first-degree citizens. Next came the citizens of the West Bank.

The great majority of Palestinians (95.6%) expressed their pride in being Palestinian. Moreover, 94.9% said they were proud of being global (humans) while 89% expressed their pride in being Arab; 11% said they were not proud. Furthermore, 91.5% expressed their pride in being religious; 8.5% said they were not.

A total of 81.5% of respondents feel prouder about being Palestinian than before, while 18.5% were not proud of Palestine now. Rates were close for the Palestinians in all four surveyed areas, without any gender differences. This is also associated with an assessment of the political situation and performance of the PA and parties – and its repercussions – as well as the internal split, and how these issues combined affect identity and the feeling of pride regarding such identity.

Respondents who prioritize establishing relations with other Palestinian refugee

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15   Group 3
16   Group 4
17   Group 2

communities represented 68% of the sample. They desired to establish relations with Palestinian refugee communities more than with any other Palestinian community; 32% disagreed with this. This indicates that the question of refugees is still a top priority for most Palestinians, who still consider it important to preserve communication with this part of the Palestinian people.

About 59% of respondents said they wished to establish relations with the community in the Gaza Strip more than any other community; 41% disagreed with this. It is important to understand through this rate the nature of relations between Palestinian refugee camps. It is clear that a certain type of relations is fostered in each area. Most respondents prefer primarily to communicate with residents of their areas, and expressed their wish to communicate with other areas. However, it is striking to note that most respondents in the West Bank (over 41%) do not place a priority on communicating with the Palestinians in Gaza. This could be the outcome of the split and ongoing siege of Gaza. The results seem to instill the administrative split status quo and prevention of visits or change of residence. The findings are the expression of the prevention of normal communication between the West Bank and Gaza, in addition to incitement by some official and media organizations on both sides. The same applies to the high rates among the Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948 and Lebanon, as the comprehensive isolation and siege exited Gaza from the circle of "wishing to communicate with Palestinians in this area". The situation may worsen in the absence of any official programmes to counter this trend, which threatens the unity of the Palestinian people at a sociopolitical level. It is also a serious indicator of the political clumsiness and void PA role.

About 62% of respondents would prefer to establish relations with the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, rather than any other Palestinian community. This is linked to the proposed political solution and the role such communication may play in reaching strategic solutions, including increased talk about a one-state political solution as an exit to the crisis of negotiations and the two-state solution.

A total of 78% said they would establish relations in the city, village, camp or Palestinian area they live in ahead of any other Palestinian community. This is attributed to the state of isolation and enclaves that the Palestinian people live in. It is also a sign of regression in the leading role of the national political leadership

with the emergence of narrow local and family affiliations in people's daily life and practices. This, however, does not undermine their pride in their Palestinian identity in the public sphere.

A total of 62% said they would rather build relations with the West Bank community rather than any other area. It is striking to note the highest rate of respondents who did not express such a desire was among the Palestinians of Lebanon (78% disagreed). This seems to relate to the fact that most refugees in Lebanon are originally from the areas occupied in 1948, mainly coastal cities and the Galilee.

Conclusions

- Considering the assessment of the Palestinian situation as regards relations among the Palestinians today, respondents consider these relations to be bad, with the highest rate in Lebanon, followed by the Gaza Strip, then the West Bank and finally the area occupied in 1948. Respondents' attitude toward 'relations among the Palestinians' is associated with the reality of fragmentation imposed by the occupation through checkpoints, the siege on Gaza and restrictions on the mobility of Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. There are additionally internal factors, namely the Palestinian split, which is a fertile environment for further fragmentation and disconnection, if not a cause thereof.

- Most respondents with relatives outside Palestine make an effort to communicate with them, using different modern technologies to overcome the barriers and Israeli violation of Palestinians' right to freedom of movement. Respondents said they used the internet and social media to overcome the fragmentation of their extended families. They attempt to stay in touch with new generations who are born to different cultures, ideologies and social realities, yet are still part of their kinship.

- Notwithstanding the importance of social media as a rapid alternative to direct communication, youth view such media as intercepted and controlled by the occupation. They do not feel safe communicating freely over social media.

- Half of the respondents do not meet with their relatives outside the borders of Palestine because of the Israeli siege and control of crossing points into and out of Palestinian areas. Actual direct communication is a human right as it boosts people's unity and resists the imposed fragmentation. Human interaction is a basic right that Palestinians claim in order to meet with their family,

relatives and friends. Light must be shed on this right, which should not be left unmet under prolonged Israeli occupation.

- Topics Palestinians discuss in their communications include general issues and social matters in addition to topics of importance to the youth and the community.

- The forced fragmentation imposed upon Palestinians in their different places of residence seriously undermines youth knowledge of other areas and their perception of each other. Many erroneous perceptions emerge and may extend to identity and belonging. The imposed fragmentation created several Palestinian identities and deepened their division.

- Restrictions imposed on mobility outside their area of residence means Palestinians confined their social interaction to their direct local surrounds. They feel they know their direct surrounds and therefore feel secure in this level of interaction. This restricted circle is also juxtaposed on marriage, building relations, work, cohabitation and acceptance. This is a defence mechanism applied by the Palestinians to avoid any crises that may result from relations with a larger circle that is under ferocious occupation control. Restrictions on movement, mobility and housing increase suffering and frustration. This is compounded with the obligation to succumb to the rules of their area of residence and attempt to build social relations therein.

- The majority of respondents expressed their identity as being part of historical Palestine with its full border. To them, this is the static and unchangeable fact. However, almost half of respondents do not consider that anybody represents them. They actually spoke of the illusion of the PA, PLO and Islamic movements. They do not consider any of these political entities as their representative. They lost confidence in political institutions due to their miserable reality and jeopardized national project.

- In defining themselves, the Palestinians said they considered themselves as Palestinians first. In the second degree, they defined themselves per family affiliations.

Representations of the
Palestinian Identity

Representations of the Palestinian Identity

Jamal Daher*

Identity

Identity is the fact of being or what a thing or a person is; a change and/or perma-
nency of identity is a change and/or permanency of what a thing is.[1] Thus, talking
about identity is talking about particularities, i.e. the characteristics that make
an individual what he/she is. These characteristics include his/her educational
attainment, profession and wealth/poverty. The same also applies to the family
and other social groups whose members interrelate with each other because they
share common characteristics that make them who they are. When talking about
a national identity, the common socio-political characteristics isolate a group of
people to make them who they are on the one hand, and make them feel they
belong to each other - and consequently form a single unit - on the other hand.
These characteristics include culture, political regime and geographic areas.[2]
Today, unlike the past, "we believe that nations are constructed around certain
people realizing that they carry similar features. In this sense, the nation becomes
assimilated to the civilization because of certain features that make it possible".
The result is the desire to unite under the same political body. (We also believe
that in the process of creation of this ideal conscience, the memory of a common
past becomes the prevailing factor, while language and religion – in most but not
in all cases – play a key role in the process). Recalling the same historical destiny
develops into a strong tie that unites people together and urges them to belong
to each other."[3]

It should be noted that it is not necessary for all group members to be in the
same geographic areas. A population dispersal, as in the Palestinian case, does

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1 Burke, Peter J. 2006. "Identity Change" Social Psychology Quarterly, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Mar., 2006),
 pp. 81-96

2 Thomas Philipp, Language, History, and Arab National Consciousness in the Thought of Jurji
 Zaidan (1861 – 1914), International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 3 – 22

3 Robert Redslob, The Problem of Nationalities, Transactions of the Grotius Society, Vol. 17, Prob-
 lems of Peace and War, Papers Read before the Society in the Year 1931, pp. 21 - 34

not contradict with the definition of nationalism. Second, it is possible to establish a state without any particular culture common to its citizens.[4] For instance, there is no common culture among the Jews, or even among those who live in the area occupied in 1948. Therefore, they make relentless efforts to find a common cultural denominator, because without it, it will be impossible to create any socio-national collective entity. Indeed, national belonging is not innate, but rather a socio-political characteristic. People use different ways to attempt to enhance this belonging; they consciously establish all types of governmental and nongovernmental organizations to create it. They use art and literature to create symbols such as the flag and national anthem, which they use to express this national belonging. Therefore, we find that Palestinian art and literature bear ample meanings that motivate the feeling of national belonging. Thus, we can consider the advertisement in the Palestine Paper *Jaridat Falastin* in Jaffa on 20 October 1929, soliciting proposals for a Palestinian flag and national anthem, as a means to create these symbols of the modern state and consolidate the feeling of unity and belonging. In the Palestinian case, the advertisement at that time regarding the need for a flag and a national anthem is a declaration of the presence of a people and its claim for recognition and right to independence and sovereignty. Considering the symbolism of the flag and anthem, it is a declaration that this people represent a single unit with the right to sovereignty.

The Palestinian people, since the occupation of 1948, live in a state of diaspora, not only geographically, but also cognitively, politically and psychologically. Reference is made here to all of the Palestinian people, not only those displaced from their homeland.[5] The common use of the term **diaspora** to refer only to the Palestinians who live outside historical Palestine following their displacement is incomplete and erroneous. The *Nakba* affected all Palestinians and henceforth the [act of] diaspora harmed them all. Moreover, the Arabic term *shatat*, of the

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4   The shared in a given culture, as agreed by most researchers based on Edward Tylor's definition of culture, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society.

5   We developed this concept in earlier research (the Palestinian Cultural Scene, Institute for Palestine Studies, under publication) since we consider that restricting the concept of diaspora to the Palestinians who live outside historical Palestine after their displacement undermines what the Nakba actually is. It is impossible to understand the meaning of Nakba and its impact on the Palestinian people since it will not be possible to understand the sociopolitical situation of the Palestinians who live in the area occupied in 1948 since Nakba to date.

root verb *shata*, means to separate and segregate. When used for a people, it means that this people has been dispersed. The semantic field of the term also includes *Ashatta*, which means to be differentiated in opinion; s*hata* also means separated.[6]

Thus, the term *shatat* in Arabic has two meanings. It means the dispersal and separation; one meaning does not exist without the other for one is the outcome of the other. It is the separated group or part of a whole and the parts dispersed pursuant this separation.[7] '*Shatat*-diaspora' is henceforth reference to the dispersed group and not to one part of this group without the other. Moreover, separation refers to different paths, which means that each part took a different path.

Thus, since *shatat* means dispersal of the whole/group, it is the state of those dispersed; i.e. it is the state of both those who stay and those who leave. Consequently, it is not limited to those displaced from their homeland. It also covers those whose villages were destroyed and those whose people were dispersed to live in a place that is a few minutes away from their villages. It includes the inhabitant of a city who stayed while other residents left. '*Shatat*-diaspora' is also the cognitive state of the Palestinians. As such, Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 live in a different environment from the residents of the area occupied in 1967. Even within the area occupied in 1967, the state of residents of the West Bank is different from that of residents of Gaza. It is also different for those who live in refugee camps in different host countries. Thus as Palestinians, they speak of their state and return to this state and of other relevant components such as identity and symbols, this will naturally apply to many other things, which we will detail below. It should be enough to clarify here that the state of those who live in the area occupied in 1948 is not return and that the state of residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is not steadfastness and preservation of the Palestinian cultural heritage.

The Palestinians live in a state of '*shatat*-diaspora' not only because of the act of occupation in 1948 and 1967, but also because of the outcome of the Oslo Accords and the internal split that resulted from conflict over power between Fatah and Hamas. The Oslo Accords created a state of distress among the Palestinians living in the area occupied in 1948. They were segregated from the rest of

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6   Ibn Manzour, Lisan AlArab (Arabic Dictionary), Beirut, Sader Publishers, letter «sh» in Arabic.

7   ibid

the Palestinians. Being Israeli citizens, were handed to a state that does not acknowledge their existence. The Accords also led to a state of schizophrenia among the Palestinians in the West Bank and until recently among the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. This schizophrenia is expressed in a pseudo-state with an illusion of independence and sovereignty. They live this in their struggle to achieve normalcy with support from PA institutions that place culture and other aspects in a planned context that aims to normalize life, as if the occupation had been terminated and the barriers removed. Palestinians work, study, shop, go to cafes, watch concerts and plays and make films, but at the same time, they remain prisoners of the limits of the Separation Wall and are humiliated at the checkpoints that separate one village from another and one neighbourhood from another.

The conflict over power and subsequent division fragmented the Palestinian conscience (the feeling that makes a citizen lose him/herself in the mass/community)).[8] The Palestinians, in addition to their '*shatat*-diaspora', live in a state of dismemberment. It is as if they are individual pieces in conflict, with each piece having its own path and desire as well as its own sense of belonging and symbols. Moreover, the remaining Palestinians, already small in number, were partitioned into the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the extent that they effectively became two states and two peoples.

Without consideration of the state of fragmentation and dispersal lived by the Palestinians, and its causes, it is impossible to understand their confusion about life. The repercussions of this confusion were observed in this research. We, henceforth, do not speak of stalled Palestinian policies, but rather the vision of the Palestinian person and how he/she deals with him/herself, and with his/her identity and reality.

Nakba and the Diaspora

Dealing with the Palestinian case requires first that we see it in a different manner compared to any other case. For instance, symbols are not shared; a sense of belonging is not shared; facts are not common; concerns are not the same. Indeed, the different Palestinian communities do not even share the same cul-

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8   Fragmentation "Sharzama" is the group of people or piece of a thing (Aljawhari, Ismail Ben Hamed, Alsahah Taj Allugha and Sahah Alarabia Dictionary, 1990, Chapters on letters Sh, R, dh, M).

tural features. Palestinian sociocultural structures were destroyed entirely with the dispersal/diaspora. Moreover, social structures, land and sovereignty were lost in public and private lives. They lost their ties with each other and with Arab countries. Political connections with other Arab states were replaced by relations of suppression and exclusion. Every Palestinian community lived under different socioeconomic circumstances that generated needs and concerns specific to that community. The displaced Palestinians lived under suppressive measures that varied from one Arab state to another. Those who remained in historical Palestine were subject to three different political regimes. One part was entirely isolated from Arab countries and other Palestinians – namely, the Palestinians who re-mained in the land occupied in 1948. The rest of historical Palestine was divided into two regions: the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Palestinians in each re-gion lived under specific conditions, totally segregated from each other until 1967. The Gaza Strip was placed under Egyptian administration where Palestinians were isolated due to restrictions on their mobility. The second region (Jenin, Tulkarem, Qalqilya, the eastern mountains of Palestine, Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron and the Jordan Valley) was annexed to Jordan. Inhabitants of this region called King Abdal-lah of Jordan their king. Thus, Palestine disappeared from the map, but stayed in the mind of some people. Palestinian communities – each under its specific condi-tions – were mobilized in different ways. Consequently, differences appeared and were deepened to the extent that the priorities of each community differed from the other communities.

We can expect striking differences in the political positions and opinions of Pal-estinians, whether in the area occupied in 1948, the territory occupied in 1967 (West Bank and Gaza Strip), or refugee camps. For instance, we do not find any consensus regarding the borders of Palestine.[9] Also, the majority confirmed that the common denominator of all Palestinians is the land and homeland, but not the (political, social and economic) history or a collective sense of identity.[10] It

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9 While 83.8% of respondents from the West Bank and 88.7% in the Gaza Strip and 92.9% of Pal-estinians in Lebanon view Palestine as historical Palestine, only 49.7% of the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 view the same.

10 The percentage of those who consider land and homeland as the uniting factor was 45.1%-63.8%. The percentage of respondents who thought that history united the Palestinians ranged from 98% to 14.8% while 13.7%-24% viewed identity as the uniting factor (15.7% in the West Bank, 13.7% in the Gaza Strip, 13.7% for the Palestinians in the areas occupied in 1948 and 24.0% for the Palestinians in Lebanon.)

should be noted that their consensus does not mean they give the same definition for the land or homeland. This homeland for the Palestinians in camps in Lebanon is the land they were displaced from and cannot return to. In this sense, land and homeland merged to represent one and the same to them. But the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 view the homeland as sovereignty over the land they live in.

Looking at the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, for instance, we notice that the state of loss that accompanied the diaspora was total and general for them; it still controls most of their public and private political and social life. Loss to them, like other Palestinians, affected land, home, rights, independence and sovereignty, but also extended to cover everything including their symbols, habits, family ties, social structure, sense of belonging and the continuation of their history. About 150,000 Arab Palestinians stayed within the armistice border of 1949. They stayed for different reasons that varied with the time and place of occupation of Arab villages and cities in 1948 war. We can say with some certainty that the remaining shreds could not form a coherent entity; they were dispersed residential communities while the rest of the Palestinian population was dispersed to the four corners of the globe. The remaining villages and towns were small and economically weak, cut off from their people and nation. They remained preoccupied with their survival and were politically and culturally unable to comprehend the major existentialist transformations that swept over them. The political leadership was alienated as the traditional and non-traditional Palestinian leadership moved to exile. The Palestine within the armistice boundaries did not have any civil, middle or upper bourgeoisie or major landowners. What remained was fractured agricultural countryside that could not communicate with the Arab market or economy in the absence of telecommunication technology. It was furthermore constrained with the obstacles laid by military governors at local, regional and national levels.[11]

People were at first busy managing their lives as they began living in a land that was no longer theirs. They had to manage life under extremely suppressive measures, exerting all efforts to protect themselves from injustice from the Israeli authorities. They tried by all means to show that they did not pose any danger to

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11 Bishara, Azmi, Do the Arabs of Israel Represent a Political Case? Palestine Journal, Website, December 2010.

the new state and that all they wanted was to live in peace as citizens of the new state. They, for instance, had to show the ruling authorities that they conceded to the laws of the state, including for instance raising the flag of the entity that destroyed their very existence. In every event, they expressed their loyalty and raised the flags. This act is a sign of the state of self-alienation they began living in as part of their effort to merge – as individuals/citizens – with the new [Jewish] entity. In other words, they expressed their willingness to give up a homeland that was theirs, disengage from their history and relinquish claims as indigenous people. They were forced to surrender to the status of an ethnicity in the new state in exchange for living in security.[12]

We can thus claim that the transformation in their political attitude since the occupation of 1948 does not extent beyond their attempts to live in a homeland that was no longer theirs under exclusionary circumstances and an authority whose only concern was to fragment what remained of them. This included the transformation expressed on Land Day in 1976 and their attitude as a collective self with its particularities and specificities. This includes the positions they express toward events in the Arab world, and demonstrations and other forms of moral and financial support for Palestinians in other places of residency[13]. These efforts express – among other things – that they are part of a larger people or, in other words, they are not shreds or fractured groups but rather part of a genuine group with common origins.[14] This also includes their acceptance of the solution of two states for two peoples, i.e. giving up the idea of historical Palestine and considering Palestine as the West Bank and Gaza Strip.[15] Any counter position will

12   Palestinian Cultural Landscape, ibid.

13   The Palestinians inside Israel were faster in their response than the PLO; only a few weeks after the eruption of the First Intifada, they declared a day as 'Peace Day' to organize strikes and demonstrations – this was the first occasion of coordinated political moves between the Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line. The first demonstration took place in Nazareth in January 1988. It was followed by collecting food and other basic needs to send to the Palestinians besieged in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It became then a custom to send such assistance on monthly basis. (Eylan Baba, the Forgotten Palestinians – History of the Palestinians of 1948 areas, Beirut, Printing and Distribution Publishers, 13, 2:268)

14 92.8% of the participants live in the West Bank, 94.6% in the Gaza Strip and 77.8% in the area occupied in 1948 and 93.9% of the Palestinians living in Lebanon identify the Palestinians as the Palestinians in historical Palestine.

15 We do not intend to say here that there are no differences/ variances among the Palestinians living in the area occupied in 1948, nor that they represent a single human body. We rather mean that this is the common denominator most of them share notwithstanding their political differences/ variances.

place them in confrontation with the Israeli authorities and bring about a disastrous outcome or another *Nakba.*

By contrast, the community of Palestinians living in Lebanon defined Palestine by its full historical borders, due to their living conditions in refugee camps. Lebanese government policies towards refugees have always been suppressive and make the camps in Lebanon the worst of all camps. Most Palestinian refugees in Lebanon live in dire situations that fall far short of the minimum requirements for a decent life. The majority of their homes are not fit for living; they look like mobile residential caravans despite the residents having held refugee status for almost 70 years. Some of their houses do not have internal bathrooms. Most refugees suffer respiratory and skin diseases. Therefore, as expected, the highest rate of Palestinians who wished to immigrate to another country was in Lebanon; 27.8% of respondents in the West Bank, 40.9% in the Gaza Strip and 13.6% in the area occupied in 1948 expressed a desire to immigrate, compared to 68.6% of the Palestinians in Lebanon.

Under such circumstances, it would be expected that Palestinians in Lebanon aspire to return to the land they were exiled from to end their current conditions, which are even more exclusionary and suppressive than those lived by the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. They are also expected to be the community that most wishes to immigrate since they cannot return to their homeland (historical Palestine) and face severe humiliation and discrimination in Lebanon.

The difference in opinion about the borders of Palestine between the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 and those living outside historical Palestine is a source of disappointment for those living outside the area occupied in 1948. Some even interpret this difference as a deformation/ revocation of the identity:

-   Young woman from the West Bank, commenting on the Palestinians of 1948, "*I started to have doubts about our identity; people started to introduce themselves as Arabs not Palestinians.*"

-   Young man from Gaza: "*I find it shocking about the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, as their responses imply a sense of cohabitation and that some of them accept the Israeli identity and that they are convinced this is a source of protection for them.*"

- Young man from Gaza: *"National mobilization by the institutions that are supposed to work on this is weak. There is regression in the national mobilization."*

- *Young man from Gaza: "Gaza, West Bank and Lebanon; to the Palestinians it is linked to the dream and liberation while for the Palestinian Arabs of the area occupied in 1948, they see developed state institutions unlike the Arab areas. It is natural they drift in their direction and this is the case of many Arab young people, who started to consider themselves as Israeli."*

Such interpretations [of the findings] show they realize their dispersal and differences and that they lack any common identity characteristics that would unite them, differentiate them from other peoples, and make them a 'single' people. They even express the opposite of any such unity or unifying factors:.[16]

- *Female student: There is a different culture*

- *Male student: No, of course, there are differences and even racism.*

- *Female student: But this racism is created by the colonization.*

- *Female student: For instance, the Jerusalemites are more open* and free and they take a lot after the Jews.

Such statements mean that symbols, sense of belonging and concerns are not the same, and different communities developed different characteristics. Even more, they show that the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 and those outside Palestine live a state of cultural conflict that is characterized by racism. Or, this is how they express and perceive their relations. All such statements, taken individually or collectively, show that the common factor among the Palestinians is the land and homeland, but not history and identity. Thus, we need to reiterate that their consensus does not mean that they are unanimous about the definition of land and homeland, but rather have different opinions about it.

If we take the definition of the people (stated here above), history – as represented by memory – is one of its components. Difference and variation are key

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16 Opinions expressed by students from Birzeit University from different West Bank cities and villages.

reasons for the formation of national identity[17] and they explain why people engage in a particular activity or have a particular state of mind,[18] and vice-versa. Negation of history and identity as uniting factors, which includes the denial of what would make them a single unit with shared features, and which probably involves negating the existence of what would generate a common state of mind, leaves only the land and homeland as uniting factors for Palestinians. Palestinians are left with nothing else with which to identify themselves except for being part of the Palestinians of historical Palestine, the Palestine whose people were dispersed around the globe and where the very presence of the Palestinians was erased. In other words, what remains to the Palestinians is the memory of an afflicted land they identify themselves with.

Nonetheless, despite the apparent contradiction as regards the Palestinians not identifying themselves as Palestinians in the first place, we do not see this as an unexpected coincidence. We find that many, if not the majority, of Palestinians do not identify themselves as Palestinian first. We do not think it is accidental that they identify themselves with other sub-identities, such as religion and/or family. This is not the case for one community, but rather for all communities regardless of their place of residence.[19]

However, in order for the Palestinian to identify him/herself with a nationality other than his/her own, and to substitute this identity with that of religion or family (in a way that would fragment him/her, while he/she is already fragmented by the state of diaspora), he/she must have lost faith in being saved from drowning as a Palestinian. He/she must have lost his/her pride in being Palestinian. We make this statement although the majority reiterated their pride in being Palestinian (85.7% - 97.9%). However, they were also equally proud to be Arab (84.7% - 92%). They were also proud of being religious (81.3% - 97.7%) and being citizens of the

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17 Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory" Political Psychology, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), pp. 127-156
18 Stets, Jan E & Cast, Alicia D. 2007. «Resources and Identity Verification from an Identity Theory Perspective» Sociological Perspectives, Vol.50, No. 4 (Winter 2007), pp. 517-543
19 66.5% of the participants in the West Bank and 34% of respondents from the Gaza Strip, and 29.6% of participants in the area occupied in 1948 and 56.6% of the Palestinians living in Lebanon identify themselves as Palestinians first.

world (90.6% - 94.5%).[20] This robs their pride in being Palestinian and any other identity of its meaning. These are belongings – to family, party and nationality – in which differences may lead to conflict and clashes. In some cases, they may even lead to one side negating the other. If your first belonging is Islam, for instance, this means you are loyal to Sharia and to those with the same affiliation. This means your symbols are other than nationalist symbols, as they derive from the religious legacy. If your first belonging is nationalistic, this means you define yourself as a nationalist, and your life, vision and ways of expression and sacrifice have this nationalist framework.[21] If you define yourself an Arab nationalist, this may lead to a contradiction in vision with Palestinian and religious identities alike.[22] This is how a female student from Birzeit University defined herself, "she is *Issawiyah* (from Issawiya – a city near Jerusalem), Jerusalemite, Palestinian, Arab, universal", in this order. This does not leave anything for universal or Arab, and barely leaves anything for being Palestinian.[23] This means she does not have room to exercise her identity as a Palestinian in her life, compared to other identities such as Issawiyah or Jerusalemite. It also indicates that it is a feeble and unsustainable feeling that cannot impose itself on her daily routine. Moreover, this shows a state of fracture and fragmentation in her mind, which is a state that hinders any thought of being universal; so how can she be proud of being a world citizen?

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20 97.9% of participants in the West Bank, 98.8% of participants in the Gaza Strip, 85.7% of participants in the areas occupied in 1948 and 98.4% of the Palestinians in Lebanon are proud of being Palestinian. They are also proud of being Arab (89.2% of the participants from the West Bank, 92.5% of participants from the Gaza Strip, 87.2% of participants in the area occupied in 1948 and 84.7% of the Palestinians in Lebanon are proud of being Arab). But they are also proud of being religious (92.6% for participants from the West Bank, 97.7% for the Gaza Strip, 81.3% for the Palestinians in 1948 areas and 92.7% for the Palestinians in Lebanon. As regards pride of being a world citizen (95.0% West Bank, 97.3% Gaza Strip, 90.6% for 1948 areas and 97.7% for the Palestinians in Lebanon.

21 This statement refers mainly to the Palestinians in the areas occupied in 1948, "I started to have doubt about our identity; people started to identify themselves as Arabs and not as Palestinians" as if they were saying that when people define themselves as Arabs, they actually deny their Palestinian identity.

22   The idea of Arab nationalism, in its contemporary definition, which was embodied in ideologies such as Nasserism and Baathism, is to believe that the Arab people are a single people with common culture, language, history and geography and that a single Arab state will rise to unite all of the Arab countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf. This means there is not room for other nations.

23 Had the order been different, this would have meant something else.

When examining the pride different communities express in being Palestinians, we could not find any sign of such feeling. Indeed, many respondents in all places of residence did not identify themselves as Palestinian first. This regression of their Palestinian identity was not the product of the 1948 war and subsequent diaspora, but rather of the circumstances surrounding this *Nakba*. It deepened with the Oslo Accords and the conflict over power between Fatah and Hamas. Furthermore, many viewed PA relations with the Israeli authorities as consent for the attacks against Gaza and against the Palestinians in the refugee camps of Syria.

Before addressing this side of Palestinians lives, we must clarify that even if we had no information about the split or any other PA political moves or other matters, it would still be possible to predict how the Palestinians are living and their frustration over internal factors. Reasons include the negation of identity as a unifying factor. We can predict this only when we know that half of Palestinians do not consider that any entity or person represents them.[24] We can also deduce this from noticing the gap in how they define themselves with identities other than being a Palestinian; while at the same time they define the Palestinians as all the Palestinians from historical Palestine.

There is no need for detailed interpretation of the findings to conclude that Palestinians live in a state of frustration due to internal reasons when we know that half of the Palestinians consider that they don't have any representative. It is thus evident that Palestinians live this internal frustration because of lack of harmony between their definition of themselves and identities other than being Palestinian, and with their identity as Palestinians at the same time, and considering that the Palestinians are all Palestinians from historical Palestine. The only possible interpretation of the fact that half of Palestinians do not view any person or entity as their representative is that they live in a state of political vacuum. In other words, they are frustrated with all political frameworks/movements/representative entities because they do not respond to even the minimum of Palestinians' aspirations. This also explains the incoherence in how Palestinians view that the

24 48.9% of participants in the West Bank, 37.4% of respondents from the Gaza Strip, 47% of respondents from the area occupied in 1948 and 59.4% of the Palestinians in Lebanon do not see any representative thereof. 25.8% of the respondents from the West Bank, 26.4% from the Gaza Strip, 12.7% for the Palestinians in 1948 areas and 10.5% of the Palestinians in Lebanon consider the PA as their representative.

Palestinians are all of the Palestinians from historical Palestine.[25] This means that when they identify themselves with identities other than their national belonging, this is not due to an unclear vision or to the fact that they do not see themselves as Palestinians. This stems from other reasons pertinent to external effects. The national identity, as in the case of other social identities, generates positive feelings for individuals such as the feeling of pride. If a person is proud of being Palestinian, he/she will define him/herself as a Palestinian first and vice-versa.

The Palestinians

We can start by asserting that the fact that many Palestinians do not identify themselves as Palestinians in the first place is not the result of the occupation of 1948 and subsequent diaspora. This attitude did not result from the circumstances the Palestinians experienced after the *Nakba*. This situation in fact resulted from the PLO/PA moves and subsequent Oslo Accords together with the conflict between Fatah and Hamas over power. We can confirm that these factors alone produced this situation. The Palestinians would not have experienced the conflict over power had the Oslo Accords been different. This means that the official political moves, practices and declarations affected the survey findings.

Let us compare the time before the PA, and efforts to establish it, and the period between the PLO establishment and exit from Lebanon. These are two critical moments in the life of the Palestinian people. The first is a turning point in the Palestinian mind as it shifted from the state of oppression and self-denial to self-declaration, self-assertion and unity. The second is the beginning of regression, evidenced by a first sign, the Declaration of Independence in 1988[26] and the subsequent Oslo Accords until the advent of the PA. It appeared to be a return to square one with the state of diaspora and fragmentation. After a period when Palestinian artists chose "to relinquish their national identity in the formation era (1955-1965), with, for instance, Juliana Sarovim considered as a Lebanese Artist, Ahmed Naawash Jordanian and Abdullah AlQarra Israeli". A period of discovery (1965-1985) was characterized with an abundance of amateurs, with many stating

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25 Which indicates that the Palestinians want their Palestinian nationalism. We will address this further later.

26 The DoI accepted the two-state solution for two peoples and revoked the Palestinians living in the area occupied in 1948 while giving up armed resistance; see idem – the Palestinian Cultural Scene.

publicly that they displayed their production in the name of Palatine. However, even with unequal talents in these group exhibitions, artists competed over the same displaying wall. The supporting audience was content with the mere declaration of a common identity, and the ongoing artistic production in the name of Palestine wherever the people of Palestine were present". [27] The same applies to the themes addressed by Palestinian artists during this period, which focused on Palestine and steadfastness '*sumoud*'. They included for instance works by Kamel AlMoghani, "The 'Toothed Wheels', Connected Chains, Flying Pigeon, Side Faces, Military Bowels, Chained Arms, Targeted Canons."[28] The works of Mahmoud Taha focused on Palestinian revolutionary themes.[29] The same applies to other forms of cultural expression such as literature and music, and to political mobilization in the two territories of Palestine (the area occupied in 1948 and the West Bank and Gaza Strip).[30] Palestinians outside Palestine lived a similar experience with minimal differences until the Oslo Accords and the advent of the PA.

Consequently, the establishment of the PLO transformed the Palestinian mindset from a state of oppression and collective self-fracture to self-reunification and outspoken identity in every place of existence. Nevertheless, today, after the advent of the PA, we notice that only 29.6%-66.5% of respondents see themselves as Palestinians first. Moreover, 37.4%-59.4% of Palestinians do not think they have any representative whether in the PA, PLO or political, religious or secular movements. Moreover, 45.5% consider the current Palestinian political situation bad,[31] while only 6.2%-16.4% consider that the Palestinian people are moving in the right track.[32] Furthermore, 41.5%-69.1% do not feel safe about the future of the next Palestinian generations.[33]

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27 Balata, Kamal, Palestinian Encyclopedia, Idem, 889-890

28 Balata, Kamal, Palestinian Encyclopedia, Idem, 893

29 Al-Manasra Ezz Eddien, Palestinian Plastic Arts (1927- 1975), PLO, Falastin AlThawra Publicaitons, 1975:67-74

30 For more on the Palestinian Self and its Cultural and other Expressions in this Period, see the Palestinian Landscape, idem.

31 58.4% of participants in the West Bank, 66.4% of the Gaza Strip, 45.4% of those in the areas occupied in 1948, and 55.3% of those in Lebanon assess the current Palestinian political situation as bad.

32 16.2% of participants in the West Bank, 6.2% in the Gaza Strip, 13.6% in the area of 1948, 7.2% of participants from Lebanon consider the Palestinian society moving on the right track.

33 58.6% of West Bank, 62% of the Gaza Strip, 41.5% of the area of 1948 and 69.1% of Lebanon do not feel secure about the future of next generations.

These findings represent the position of the Palestinians toward the PA and the Palestinian political situation. They reflect the inner feelings of Palestinians including, without being limited to, how they view themselves and their identity. This was revealed in the answers to questions such as

'Do you support any of the political movements in your area? What in your opinion are the reasons behind the Palestinian fragmentation? What are the reasons for the rise in the status of tribal or family identity?' Answers to the first questions were: *"No, for unfortunately the activities performed by them [the parties] inseminate fracture and extremism in the minds of young generations. Each one strives to raise a generation whose only loyalty is to the party itself while hating the other." "Because the political interactions in the country enhance the split and hatred among the people. For instance, at a martyr funeral, you see the flags of the party rather than those of Palestine."* Answers to the second question on the reasons of fragmentation included: *"When they are obsessed with power rather than the national question, they split", "selfishness" "personal rather than public interests"*. Answers to the third question on tribalism included: *"For protection in the absence of a state that provides human security." "They have recourse to the family to provide them with protection against other families." "Absence of rights and citizenship with lack of confidence in the political parties made people drift toward tribal and blood relations." "Weak state role as a power capable of imposing order gave precedence to large families. Even when people have recourse to political parties, this is because of a political tribalism"*

It should be noted that these statements do not exclude the impact of living conditions that resulted from the act of occupation and Arab and Lebanese policies.

This is the only possible interpretation for the difference in results from one group to another. These findings represent the position and opinion of Palestinians regarding Palestinian political moves. The findings, at the same time, added to what we discussed above, show that the Palestinian barely sees anything that makes him/her uphold his/her Palestinian identity. They reveal that efforts to nourish this identity did not make Palestinians feel there is anything left of this identity.[34] When the definition of the Palestinian, for the Palestinian, is every Palestinian from historical Palestine, this means – as explained above – that the Palestinians realize that every community wandered a different historical track and developed different positions. This also means they try to bypass this through practices such as demonstrations, financial and moral support and by upholding the common factor among them all, i.e. the distressed land as a single unit.

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34 We intend by this their political mobilization to support each other in all of their places of residence.

Palestinian Deterritorialized Identity and Its Hierarchy in Different Palestinian Communities

Palestinian Deterritorialized Identity and Its Hierarchy in Different Palestinian Communities

Dr. Abaher Al-Sakka*

Introduction

The paper discusses the factors surrounding the fragmentation and division of the Palestinian people and their identity in an attempt to present a vision to bring the Palestinians back on track. It examines the structural factors that deepen the fragmentation and division of the Palestinians and the repercussions of the fate of the 'National Project'. It also presents a suggested means to exit the status quo and redress the Palestinian track.

In this paper, the researcher presents a reading of the survey findings and an analysis of implicit meanings, taking into account two methodological notes: 1) Any survey, no matter how large a sample it covers, remains limited as a tool for holistic research analysis because the answers are influenced by the information-gathering method and types and order of questions. This was observed in the contradictory statements made by respondents in their replies to questions rephrased in different ways. This did not result from ineffective field research, but rather from limited quantitative techniques for collecting information. Even though the interviews attempted to compensate for this lacuna, the data gathering remained limited and insufficient for the formulation of in-depth analysis and results. The researcher is also aware that surveys and questionnaires are limited in their production of sociological research and that survey techniques, as well as the classification, choice and order of questions, together with the context in which the survey is conducted, have major impacts on results. Still, it is possible to use the survey findings as indicators that are neither generalizable nor affirmative, but which provide reliable indicators for our sample – the surveyed community. 2) The researcher attempts to provide an assessment of how to exit the current deadlock.

the current deadlock. As a result, the researcher proposes alternative visions to attempt to escape the comprehensive structural crisis lived by the entire Palestinian

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society. The researcher does not claim that such visions suffice to build strategies/ plans because he believes that community dialogue about the survey findings must be followed by holistic community dialogue with youth to examine their identity representations. The researcher in this paper merely presents a humble interpretation of the survey findings.

The research analyzes the findings of a survey conducted by the Center for Development Studies (CDS) at Birzeit University, in cooperation with partner community-based organizations (CBO) in four areas of Palestinian residence,[1] namely some Palestinian camps in Lebanon, the area colonized in 1948, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The project included focus groups held with young men and women from the Gaza Strip, West Bank and the area occupied in 1948. Focus group discussions centered around the fragmentation and division imposed by the occupation on Palestinians for several decades. Focus groups also discussed the crisis of the Palestinian national project that ensued from this fragmentation. The paper also examines the effect of this situation on identity representations, especially among youth, who were the centre of interest for the researchers. The interacting socioeconomic factors and a cross-generational comparison were examined in an attempt to understand the impact of the place of residence and social context on the answers and opinions of respondents. Moreover, the research examines the correlation between the national and religious space and representations, which are mostly embodied in the form of isolation, fragmentation and division. It further scrutinizes the repercussions of the political split and the absence of any hope to restore Palestinian territorial contiguity.

An analysis of the findings reveals the following conclusions:

1. Young People Feel Escalating Factionalism

Respondents revealed a feeling of distress regarding the escalation of factionalism, mostly expressed in faction-specific events as the sole forums for expression in public spaces. It appeared that Palestinian youth knowledge of the national cause is blurred and biased toward the history of their political party or faction. Indeed, these young people know more about their factions than about the Palestinian question or its history as a whole, as evidenced by the results of youth focus groups and workshop discussions.

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1   Area of residence, where used, refers to the region (West Bank, Gaza Strip, area occupied in 1948 and Lebanon), but not to small towns, villages or camps

2. Youth Assessment of the Political Situation According to their Place of Residence

As regards respondents' assessment of the current Palestinian political situation, clear variances with a strong negative tone appeared, mainly among young people – although among other age groups as well. The highest negative assessment was in the Gaza Strip, followed by the West Bank, then the Palestinians of the diaspora, then the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. This is an indicator of living conditions and the impact of the split on the people of the Gaza Strip, which increase distress and despair among young groups. A similar trend was observed in the West Bank, which could be explained by the common factors it shares with the Gaza Strip. Regarding the diaspora, the Palestinians provided a negative assessment of the situation due to the dramatic living conditions of these groups, mainly in Lebanon. For the Palestinians inside the area occupied in 1948, their assessment of the situation was less negative, which could be attributed to increasing 'Palestinization' trends in these areas, with community movements similar to the Movement Against Displacement of Inhabitants of Negev and the Return to Displaced Villages Muqul Aqrat and Kufur Baraam, etc. Furthermore, we witness daily identity clashes lived by the Palestinians of 1948 against the colonizers and their subjection to increasingly discriminatory policies by the Jewish society, with a historical turn in the Second Intifada in October 2000, when 13 martyrs fell in these areas. This was a key milestone in rise of Palestinization trends in this community.

3. Isolated and Segregated Communities

Results showed that respondents viewed future relations among the Palestinians of all areas as gloomy. All four residential areas agree on this sentiment at varied rates, the highest being in Lebanon, followed by the Gaza Strip, then the West Bank and finally the area occupied in 1948. This is a clear indicator that youth from different areas feel isolated and disconnected. This is particularly true for the Palestinians of Lebanon, who feel doubly marginalized, by the PA on the one hand and their host community on the other. Palestinians from the area occupied in 1948 reported the same. Responses suggest that the Oslo framework reduced the Palestinians to those living in the areas under PA administration. This feeling is common between the Palestinians of Lebanon and those living in the area occupied in 1948; indeed, the latter are usually called 'the Palestinians inside the Green Line' or 'Arabs of Israel'. This is a clear expression of the interiorized colonialist categorizations [of the Palestinians] and of the imposition of the visions of the PA, which reduced the Palestinian people to residents under its administration in the

West Bank and Gaza Strip. Such administration extends actually to some of these residents as per the infamous Oslo classifications of the West Bank into Areas A, B and C. Moreover, the PA has limited authority and incomplete sovereignty, but still produced new Palestinian social strata/classes under various legal systems. Furthermore, the segregation of the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip from their compatriots in the West Bank triggered a feeling of isolation and marginalization among the Gazans, but less so among the West Bankers.

4. Family Rather than National Connection

Regarding communication with relatives outside Palestine or the host community, the lowest rate was among residents of Palestine occupied in 1948, while this social communication was highest for the Palestinians of Lebanon, followed by the Gazans, then the West Bankers. This means that family immigration factors in these areas constitute fertile land for increased immigration as a result of the aforementioned factors. On another level, family communication was high for the different groups, which is common because relations with family abroad remain strong. It was less strong in the Gaza Strip, which is the outcome of the siege and continuing power cuts that hinder use of communication devices. The internet is mentioned as a communication tool by the youth because of its availability, relatively cheap cost and democratic nature. Responses showed that the isolation of the Gaza Strip is largely responsible for preventing these young people from meeting their relatives. They are followed by the Palestinians of Lebanon. Family relations consume most of the time that Palestinians find it difficult to dedicate time to other relations. This means that family relations represent the core platform of communication for these communities. This is an indicator that Palestinians do not communicate with each other; response rates from different places of residence were close on this issue. Results also showed that young people use personal rather than institutional channels to communicate with other Palestinians. This is probably the outcome of the factional and ideological split, not to mention youth's disinterest in conventional politics. The young people, unlike their ascendants, do not wish to be involved in political parties. It is striking to note that the young people of the area occupied in 1948 are the most active in communicating with youth organizations, compared to their counterparts in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Lebanon. In examining the topics these communications address, we notice the same. This means that the youth institutions of Lebanon (29%), followed by the youth groups in the area occupied in 1948 are the most active compared to other areas.

5. Social Migration in Different Zones

Regarding young people's migration when their families move, it is noted that the West Bankers enjoy a higher mobility rate compared to the Gazans following the three wars launched against the Gaza Strip. The outcome of the wars was the transformation of some areas in the Strip into appealing or repulsive areas. The same applies to Lebanon, which is linked to the subsequent wars launched against it and the immigration of many Palestinians from Syria into Lebanon following the civil war in Syria. Some of the survey respondents may be Palestinians who moved into Lebanon from Syria following this war. In the West Bank, urban policies and sprawl in metropolitan cities rather than other areas could explain the high mobility of young people in this area, especially from the north to central areas, mainly Ramallah. See Helal, Jamil and Saqqa Abaher on New Urban Formations in the Palestinian Society, 2015.

6. Social Relations Confined to Local Contacts

The findings showed that youth communicated mainly in their local areas. It appears that in-marriage is still the most widespread pattern as a result of the segregation between different communities. Added to this, marriage remains within the same religious sect. It is noted that young people still reproduce their parents' perspectives of marriage preference within the same milieu. The survey showed that marrying in the same community was the preferred choice for 89% of responses from the Gaza Strip, followed by the West Bank with 82%. It was relatively low in the area occupied in 1948, although still remains a preferred option. The Gaza Strip had the highest rate of preference for this option. This could be attributed to the siege, which prevents young people from meeting spouses from outside their areas. It is worth noting that many Palestinian universities in the north of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are local universities. Unlike the generation that lived in the 1980s and could move between universities and establish social and kinship relations, a whole generation of Palestinian youth is not exposed to the other Palestinian areas and their residents. It should also be noted that respondents gave contradictory answers when asked about their preference in establishing social relations outside their local area. We also find contradictory results because the rates rise when linked to religion in the Gaza Strip, while differ when the phrase "regardless of religion" is added to the question.

7. Palestine is Defined by its Historical Borders

Youth respondents consider Palestine as historical Palestine, especially among the Palestinians of the diaspora (92%), followed by the Gaza Strip (88%), then the West Bank (83%). This rate is low among young people in the area occupied in 1948 (33%). This means that Palestine with its historical borders still represents a single unit to the majority of respondents. This also means that Palestine, as a collective idea and identity, bypasses the fragmentation and the project that shrinks its borders to the mere West Bank and Gaza Strip. It should be noted here that the lowest rate for this answer was among respondents from the area occupied in 1948. It is striking to see similar visions in the perception of the Palestinian people as a single unit. Over 90% of respondents from different groups viewed the Palestinian people as a single entity.

8. Political Representation Crisis

Almost one quarter of respondents did not consider the PA to be their representative. The same applies to the PLO, noting that this rate is particularly low among Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. This indicates a clear crisis as regards the legitimacy of these institutions for young people. This delegitimization extends to political parties, as respondents do not consider the PA, PLO or political parties to represent them.

9. Changing Identity Hierarchies according to Residency Area

An examination of the identity hierarchies of respondents shows that the Palestinian identity is rated first for many of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Moreover, individual affiliations, in the narrow sense of the term, change according to place of residence. It appears that the youth identity hierarchy places the Palestinian identity on top. This was the expected result for several reasons, including: 1) Considering the Palestinian identity as an affirmative confrontational identity against the alternative colonizer's identity. 2) It is an introspection of the contemporary Palestinian national discourse led by the Palestinian parties, mainly Fatah, in the 1970s, which has, for reasons that cannot be explained here, produced the discourse of the so-called 'Independent Palestinian National Decision'. This is a conjectural political discourse pertinent to a certain era of the Palestinian national movement history led by Fatah to confront its differences with the regime of Hafez al-Assad. At the same time, the political parties and factions of the national

movement have never devised independent policies because they led different coalition arrangements with Arab regimes depending on context, movement and party. Context and party or faction logic determined what the term would mean. It was also linked to a discourse that blamed the Arab regimes for the Palestinian defeat and categorized the Arab national discourse as obsolete. 3) The youth groups were isolated from their Arab surrounds (does not apply to Lebanon). When examining the variances in these hierarchies per area of residence, it is noted that the Arab identity is highly appreciated by young people from the area occupied in 1948 because of the clash of this identity with the identity of the colonizer, who categorized this indigenous group as Arabs opposing an imagined Jewish group. This group presents Judaism as an ethnic identity and calls the Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948 the Arabs of 'Israel'. This identity of the youth, based on their pride in their Arab ethnicity as a linguistic and cultural identity, lives in daily conflict with the colonizer. Moreover, the rate for this answer is high among the Palestinians of Lebanon because the policies of their host country classify the Palestinians as another component, considering their presence temporary and unwanted. They are blamed for the eruption of the Lebanese civil war, which is deemed as 'the war of the others on the land of Lebanon'. As such, the Palestinians are blamed for presumed implication in the internal Lebanese war, as seen by some commentators. Certainly, the (isolationist) tendencies of some Lebanese parties and the claims of 'Phoenician' – rather than Arab – origins among others, in addition to discrimination in labour policies, and marginalization, push these young people to uphold their Palestinian identity. This identity represents to many Palestinians in Lebanon an identity that is associated with suffering and resistance and with the history of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

As for the sense of identity, the findings showed that sub-identities are based on youth preferences to establish personal and family relations in the first instance. The findings show how deep the crisis has become as the national identity is ceding place to local/ regional and/or family identities. Consequently, these communities witness the rise of 'social quotas' based on these sub-identities with widespread nepotism and corruption. As a result, young people uphold the traditional social institutions to provide themselves with necessary support after having lost confidence in public and national institutions that make them feel excluded and marginalized. Probably, family and personal relations are the means available and suitable to overcome the nepotism and clientelism of the Palestinian institutional practices. This forces the youth to prefer their sub-identities to the national identity.

It should be noted that the religious identity hierarchy prevails for youth in the Gaza Strip. This is probably associated with the escalating religious discourse influenced by the multiple Islamization processes lived by the Gaza Strip since the creation of the Islamic League and Islamic Association in 1980s. These entities endeavored to Islamize society by force. They grew in power with the escalation of the force of Hamas and its control over mosques, religious institutions and the public space, while adopting policies of restrictions on freedoms. This movement also stigmatized different institutions as intruders and unauthentic. They changed the slogans of confrontation against the Israeli colonization, shifting the struggle into mainly a religious clash. Moreover, they imposed values of prohibition, illicit acts and religious fundamentalism. This included imposition of veil/headscarf on women of the city and Islamization of curricula. These factors differentiate this group from their counterparts in the West Bank. This does not mean the religious component is absent in the identity hierarchies of youth in other Palestinian areas of residence. Indeed, parts of the West Bank and the area colonized in 1948 witness increasing religious affiliation, similar to all Arab communities. However, it is more salient among the youth of the Gaza Strip, compared to other youth groups.

When respondents were asked about their feeling regarding their identity, the Palestinians of Lebanon expressed the strongest attachment to their identity; this was followed by youth in the West Bank. The Gaza Strip scored lowest. Questions were also asked about their feeling of pride in national identity – although the question is linked to a growing phenomenon in the Arab world ('Emirati and proud', 'Jordan First', 'hold your head up, you are a Palestinian, etc', which may affect the feelings of respondents and consequently their answers). The answers revealed a sense of pride and an obligation to exhibit this belonging. Youth groups expressed high rates of pride of their Palestinian belonging. When asked in another affirmative way about the order of the Palestinian identity in the hierarchy of other identities, the youth groups of Gaza still scored highest. Therefore, it would be useful to reexamine the questions and check results; although, sociologically speaking, it is believed that identity changes according to context and is not static. Moreover, the Arab identity is still a source of pride for the Palestinians.

10. Different Generational Imaginaries

A generational comparison showed that younger generations believed they were more politically aware compared to their ancestors. This probably stems from the discourse of the national movement about upholding the Palestinian national identity and being rooted in the land. The same discourse mediatizes that this

political reality is better with the institutional presence of the PLO in the past and the PA at present, which according to respondents, has rooted the Palestinian identity and presented through these institutions a certain image of the post-Nakba generations. The post-Nakba generation was viewed as more rigorous and more politically mature. This was the propaganda broadcasted with the escalation of armed struggle and the generational conflict between the PLO elites and traditional leaderships, which were blamed for defeat in the combat against colonization and for failure to constitute a clear Palestinian national identity, compared to their grandparents. When linking the answers to respondents' assessment of the current political situation, which the youth groups described as the worst, the answer may be attributed to an imaginary view of the situation before their parents – unlike their grandparents – started their struggle. Thus, the youth believe that their situation was better and that they (the youth) live in a much worse situation with the regression in the political project, the crisis in the national movement and shrinking participation in the national movements. Indeed, the different groups of youth have a gloomy vision of their daily lives.

Universally, sociologists observe similar scenes as contemporary generations usually expect their reality to be better than in the past because time is necessarily a change factor and social freedoms and life improve over time. This is understood as a result of the change in social stereotypes and the competition between the state institution and the family institution, with increasing levels of education and regression of traditional patriarchal authority. In simple terms, this generation is the product of a contemporary reality that differs from the practices of older generations. Therefore, comparing the status of women at family level, youth groups consider the women's situation worse. We believe this is linked to an attempt to hold comparisons with the generations of 1960s and 1970s, when the Arab socio-national project broadcasted values of "modernity" and modernization, and the values of public freedoms, and women getting out of their homes. Consequently, the picture drawn of these generations is a dreamy image of a better past reality while the youth today live in a reality of decreased freedom for women, which is seemingly restricted to clothing. Indeed, when comparing the level of education, being a social improvement of the status of women, it is observed that the status of women now – although still bad – is better than their status in the past. Once again, the contradictory questions led to clearly contradictory answers among the youth groups. See the findings of the survey annexed to the core study.

When it comes to social relations, younger generations viewed their situation as

better than their parents' because of the afore-stated reasons. When they compare their life to that of their grandparents, they conclude that patriarchal authority and social restrictions have regressed. Still, speaking of their parents, they believe their situation was worse than what they experience now. This was reported by different groups regarding changes to mobility, and how it was restricted in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, compared to past generations, traveling universally – not only for the Palestinians – has become easier than before.

11. How to Exit the Crisis According to Respondents

When asked about resistance and the way out, responses showed that armed resistance remains, for a large group, the best way out. Answers in the Gaza Strip differed from those in Lebanon, which – in our opinion – stems from the armed resistance experience and redeployment of 'Israeli' forces out of the Gaza Strip. To these young people, this was a successful and inspiring experience. The same applies to the Lebanese case with the withdrawal of Israeli colonization forces from Lebanon following armed resistance. The fathers of young respondents have experienced armed resistance individually and collectively. The negotiation approach [adopted by the Palestinian Authority] was supported by a limited percentage of youth, relatively higher among those in the area occupied in 1948. Actually, the context in different places of residence influences youth evaluation and views of the situation. The findings show that young people do not like the other approaches. Boycott was not widely supported, nor was popular and peaceful resistance. In the local context, it is associated with the institutionalization and containment by the PA, which confined it to institutional non-violence (See, Saqqa, Abaher, Violence and Non-Violence in the Palestinian Society, Mada-Alkarmel, 2015).

Moving to non-mobilization – youth are not involved in the socio-national mobilization taking place now because a large number of respondents see the activists in the current revolts as young people who are not led by political parties. They are aware that the revolt is not an intifada because intifada to them is a general popular uprising, while the current revolt consists mainly of individual acts. Their answers contradicted on the classification of the revolt as something similar to an intifada. Some youth consider these acts as an opposition to the negotiation approach and the outcome of the Oslo Accords. This rate is lower for the youth from the area occupied in 1948 and in the Gaza Strip. The noticeable thing here is that the rate of rejection of the Oslo Accords is lowest in the Gaza Strip. This may be attributable to an apprehension of Hamas among the young people of Gaza. It could also be because the direct occupation is not present

in daily life in the Gaza Strip. This gives the impression that the Gaza Strip is a liberated area. Hence, they do not perceive a negative effect of Oslo on their lives. For the Palestinians inside the Green Line, they are not aware of the reality lived by Palestinians outside their area or of the effect of Oslo Accords. In another context, answers from respondents regarding the mechanisms to exit the crisis showed that youth consider reconciliation between the two administrations – Fatah and Hamas – a priority. They see the election of representatives as a second exit mechanism, followed by community reconciliation. The youth do not consider the dissolution of the PA useful; they are also concerned with the reconstruction and reform of the PLO. Moreover, they support the statement that eradicating corruption and nepotism is a means to exit the crisis since corruption, in their opinion, is widespread in Palestinian society.

12. Youth Far from Sectarian Polarization in the Arab World

A view of youth groups' assessment of sectarian conflicts, or the so-called Sunni-Shiite conflict, shows that youth consider this conflict the product of a conspiracy agenda, which they accuse the West of producing. It is clear that the youth group does not consider actors in this conflict as supporters of Iranian religious ideologies or Saudi streams, or as arms of Gulf countries. We can read in this trend an expression of increasing tendency to accuse others and describe the Arab players as tools. This can be explained first by the fact that young people see their fate, and the fate of their Arab brothers, as captive of external intervention. In their description of the conflict, they do not mention the role of religious cleansing groups and their impact in broadcasting a sectarian discourse. This probably makes us believe that the Palestinian youth are not aware of the Arab affairs and that their position stems from their moral stance to reject this conflict as a fabricated one. Moreover, the Palestinian society does not have any other Islamic minorities that can have an influence. Consequently, they are not exposed to this conflict even if Fatah had used it at times to defame Hamas as a Shiite group, as was the case in Jerusalem and the West Bank, mainly in An-Najah University in Nablus. Still, this remains with minimal effect. This rejection may explain youth refusal of the official Palestinian position to join a coalition with Saudi Arabia, since it does not express the aspirations of young people. This reflects their persuasion of the feasibility of engaging in the conflict and handling it as one that serves the interests of the enemies of Arab and Muslim nations and which jeopardizes the Palestinian question.

13. Latent Political Participation

Survey findings showed that youth respondents were not interested in joining demonstrations and other activities supporting their national cause. This can be explained by many reasons, including distrust in the political institutions and parties, and absence of any political programme or mobilization leadership. Second, they are not convinced of the value of participation for two reasons: 1) In the West Bank, participation is restricted to institutionalized and contained popular resistance, while in the Gaza Strip, Hamas contained mobilizations and monopolized all forms of expression in public space for its party. As such, youth are dissuaded and inactive. Moreover, these are not zones of clashes with the colonization soldiers, while the demarcation of points of confrontations according to Hamas's vision impedes access to the border area. This stems from the logic of conflict management in these areas and the commitment to the armistice and non-escalation of conflict unless it serves its political agenda. Moreover, it does not consider the others as partners, while other factions are unable to recruit young people and persuade them to participate in demonstrations. Add to this that youth are not convinced of the value of participation. The findings show that youth are frustrated because of their inactivity in political events and parties. In our opinion, this magnified the gap regarding PA political projects, starting with the failure of negotiators and its restriction to mere symbolic projects related to international recognition of 'Palestine' at the UN and its affiliated organizations such as UNESCO. Otherwise, the PA did not succeed in any other projects to convince young people to change their political reality.

This converges with Lisa Taraki's article, 'In colonial Shoes: Material Afterlife in Post-Oslo Palestine', 2014. She writes on the "new social formations" in Palestine after the Oslo Accords, in which she describes the socioeconomic reality and reformation of contemporary awareness toward resistance within the limits of the Oslo logic. We can say that the PA establishment set the ground for what we may call 'social normalization', which involves the legitimization of hierarchical social statuses and privileges. This growing awareness of the hierarchical social statuses coincided with the rejection of the culture of resistance, as drafted in the 1970s and 1980s within the framework of the national movement, mainly by young people who had primarily studied in local universities. Thus, Taraki sees non-participation in resistance, and what she called the social normalization process, as the product of a social and state discourse that tries to put its policy in the service of the 'state' – state-building and its political discourse. The individual and partisan attempts to create a state of resistance within the Palestinian context

can be dismantled with this discourse that keeps reproducing itself via individuals who represent the official institution.

This situation is associated with what the author calls "colonial deformation", which represents the Palestinian situation in the absence of socioeconomic policies that aim to boost forces to combat colonization. This makes the acts of 'peaceful' resistance in the zones of clashes, such as the combatting the Wall in Bal'in, Na'lin and Alma'asara, a form of symbolic resistance, which represents the systematic institutionalized approach of the PA.

These frustrations are accompanied by the disappointments lived by large groups of youth due to the outcome of the sacrifices made by past generations and their endurance of loss, martyrdom, injury, home-demolitions, arrest, disability, travel bans, etc. These youth groups see that such horrendous sacrifices did not lead to a political project and that they (the youth) and their counterparts are victims thereof, because they are used in an investment that preserves the status quo. Moreover, there is a great gap in the Palestinian official institution discourse, which tried to convince them that its political project may lead to a political solution, while settlements expanded three-fold and 'Israeli' oppression multiplied with increased 'Israeli' wars and scores of Palestinian victims. Moreover, partition and fragmentation of Palestinian communities intensified, isolating youth from each other. Such processes are partly passed through Palestinian institutions. They, for instance, organize activities particular to every area of residence and rarely organize activities that gather youth from different areas.

The youth view most political policies, classified as forms of sociopolitical resistance, as mere ceremonies that are coopted as either institutionalization or containment under the official channels that define the rules of 'clashes'. Their outcome is predetermined because the security forces in the West Bank prevent youth from travelling far or reaching the zones of clashes. It allows only for specific cases as a way of debriefing. Moreover, the PA security organs arrest and prosecute activists. Similarly, the rules of ceasefire management by Hamas in Gaza entail the party's political action monopoly. The activities accepted by Hamas dissuade many groups of youth from participating.

We can also deduce that such outcomes reflect youth distrust in political parties and their programmes and work mechanisms in the absence of internal democratic practices. The split plays a clear role in youth increasingly feeling that politics is factional practices that serve the interests of the party rather than the national cause. Youth are paying the price of the split with the maintaining of fragmentation, division and geographic separation, not to mention the partition created by the

colonization. Moreover, the oppressive practices of the PA institutions and Hamas in both areas, with the prosecution of certain groups, make youth feel they are under double suppression. On the one hand, there is the colonial suppression, and on the other the PA suppression in the West Bank and Hamas's suppression, which monopolizes any protests for its members. Furthermore, bureaucracy spreads in the absence of any elections within the political parties. The youth blame the factions for disseminating factional rather than national culture. Most of the protests are usually an opportunity to raise the slogans and flags of the factions.

14. Absence of Voluntary Work

Findings from the survey and meetings showed decreasing youth participation in community-based organizations or even in their service to their society. This is probably the result of a global trend, with the dissemination of liberal and neoliberal discourses combined with an employment crisis and growing individualism. It is also the outcome of PA social policies that boost consumerism and the growth of the private sector at the expense of the public sector, together with lending policies and the mediatized new standards and illusion of a normal life under occupation. Community participation and volunteer work were replaced with entrepreneurship and economic excellence in an absence of liberation projects and community service. This is also linked to funding policies. Indeed, collective youth efforts to adhere to volunteer committees such as Shabiba and Work Front, and other political parties in the 1970s to establish civil institutions and associations were replaced with a new approach based on securing a job that is funded. Consequently, the goal of the formation of such organizations is to obtain external funding. Through this, the values of sacrifice, volunteering and community service are replaced with community jobs with funding that drafts agendas and policies consistent with the discourse of donor countries and local and international partner organizations. All these factors led to a regression in volunteer values and spread the alternative discourse of begging and waiting for the help of others while living in a state of victimization. Most such organizations that employ young people indeed lay the foundation for generalized social dependency, which makes young people feel that such community organizations are designed to fit certain persons.

15. Youth Perceptions of Mobility and Traveling

The worst perception of mobility was in the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, youth from the area occupied in 1948 consider that it has improved for them with the end of the military administration to which their parents were subjected. In the

period between 1948 and 1967 until the 1970s, mobility was very difficult, while it was revitalized for the areas occupied in 1948. The views of these young men and women are contemporary and view objectively people's ability to travel easier compared to their grandparents.

16. Regressed Role of National Movement and Weakened PLO Increase the Fragmentation

Youth are divided about the exit to the crisis, as some see liberation and emancipation as remote dreams. Half believe the situation will escalate further, while others foresee a breakthrough. Their answers depended largely on their place of residence.

17. Internal Arab Conflicts Increase the Regression of the Palestinian Question

Youth groups think the eruption of conflicts in the Arab area removed the Palestinian question from its place as the Arabs' central cause. Conflicts in the Arab area and people's submergence in their local issues swayed them away of the Palestinian question. Youth also blame donor countries and their policies for increased division. This explains the belief that donor countries intervene to accept some factions rather than others, as evidenced by their rejection of the outcome of the democratic elections in 2006, not to mention that they limit their interaction to dealing with Palestinian official institutions based on their vision of the two-state solution.

An outlook on the effect of fragmentation and exit mechanisms with an attempt to redress the Palestinian track

A review of the findings from the research and meetings revealed that the crisis of the national project and failure of the 'two-state' solution, combined with the failure of political and socioeconomic policies and increased split and fragmentation between Palestinian communities, with increased distance between the youth, and their isolation and limitation to local projects and different contexts, produced varied visions and perceptions for different groups. To exit this impasse, the Palestinians (as a whole, elites, institutions and parties) need to review the political strategies and management of the sociopolitical scene. They need to reassess the experience of the national movement, scrutinize the factional culture and establish party relations with the youth, their culture

and situation. This requires critical thinking regarding the institutional structure and fragile Palestinian situations. Youth should not be addressed as seasonal matters because of the structural gap that resulted from segregation, exclusion and marginalization.

1. Rebuild National Unity

Rebuilding national unity requires termination of the split and prosecution of those who prolong it. This cannot happen by blaming the parties to the split, but by forming lobbies with community engagement to end the split and prosecute perpetrators. It is necessary to mobilize the street against the split and organize campaigns embraced by the colonized community as an alternative to the fruitless dialogue between the leadership of factions, which still adopt a logic of quotas.

2. Restitution of the Unity of the Palestinian People

It is necessary to restitute the Palestinian people as a single unit, taking into account the circumstances in different communities and avoiding falling into the trap of shrinking the Palestinian people to the residents of the West Bank and Gaza, and the parachuting of the Oslo logic and systems. This requires the creation of an inclusive institution either by reviving and reforming the PLO to transform it from a void and illegitimate organ into an institution that treats the Palestinian people as a single unit. Should this not be possible, youth groups – the key potential for the Palestinian society – should create an inclusive institution that unites all the Palestinians in a cross-border unit that links the Palestinian to each other and to a joint fate. This can be done via the organization of conferences and agreement on the mechanisms to be adopted. The recent wars against Gaza and timid mobilization of the Palestinians outside the Gaza Strip with sheer emotional activism and solidarity in the social media without any acts on the ground remained as mere local/spatial reactions. Thus, solidarity among the Palestinians must be motivated to exit the borders of localism and expand beyond the place of residence, so that each area does not remain an isolated target for colonial violence. This means we need to avoid the spread of the culture of 'we are alone in this tunnel', as in the times of war and suffering in the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, Lebanon, Libya, Iraq and Syria. Any attack against a Palestinian person is an attack against all Palestinians and requires full mobilization.

3. Challenge the Colonial Deformation

It is necessary to view the reality with different lenses and stop blaming all on the occupation without taking action; it is necessary to stop repeating phrases like 'living under occupation' or 'living in a state under occupation' in order to redefine the living conditions of the Palestinian communities in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the areas occupied in 1948.These conditions must be seen as colonial terms to which the colonial status must apply. They cannot be shrunk to a state of occupation, which is part of a comprehensive settler colonization institutionalization process. Going back to dealing with the Palestinian situation as a colonial state may undermine the official Palestinian visions, which view that the problem lies in dealing with the problem as an 'internationalizable' matter. This approach has proven to be a failure and allowed the 'Israeli' occupation to implement its project and deal with the Palestinians as subjects of a discriminatory policy that makes residents of such areas feel the differences and even reproduce them since they are deemed subjects that are treated in a different manner depending on their community.

4. Voluntary Work

It is necessary to devise mechanisms to boost the value of volunteer work and community participation, with youth involvement in decision-making and leadership positions under a logic of genuine, rather than fake, participation. It is necessary to disseminate a different type of culture that restitutes the role of youth, students and young generations to mobilize for their causes and the causes of their community. This requires first that we exit the culture of dependency on conditional funding and that we stop implementing agendas that serve predefined, imported and imposed programmes. Such new practices may halt the spread of parasite organizations that are established to secure jobs without generating any influence on the ground. It is known that millions of dollars were spent on illusionary projects that relate to transparency, governance, training and women's empowerment, as well as putting a smile on children's faces, while many youth groups live under extremely harsh conditions in the Gaza strip, Lebanon, the diaspora and the West Bank. It is necessary to address the reasons that push young people to migrate to certain cities, like what happened to Ramallah and Gaza, in a way that marginalized other Palestinian cities and villages, turning them into expulsion zones. If this situation continues, the gap between youth in these areas and their counterparts in other areas will increase and grow the feeling of discrimination, exclusion and marginalization.

5. Review the Components of the Palestinian Identity

A review of the components of the Palestinian identity, with the objective to restitute an inclusive identity, requires focus on its pillars and restriction of factional trends that teach generations about the factions rather than the national cause. Such factionalism distorts youth reality under a colonial condition. It is also necessary to establish community projects that foster the unity of the Palestinians in all their places of residence under the principle of plurality rather than assimilation. This principle should take into account the circumstance of each group and exit the regional preference by which each community enters the race of presenting itself in a state of victimization. The findings showed that local focus and living conditions in each area affect their representation and imagination of themselves as different communities. As a result, the perception that people live under the same conditions and use the same schools and cultural environment increases. In Lebanon, the restrictions imposed on the mobility of the Palestinians and checkpoints at the entrance of camps, together with other socioeconomic restrictions, limit Palestinians' mobility similarly to the Gaza Strip, and to a lesser extent in the West Bank. This local situation was clear in the responses of Palestinian youth, which showed the absence of a holistic national project that is void of any inclusive identity. Therefore, answers were affected by the residential area. This requires bridging the gaps and isolation among different communities and the creation of common projects that bypass the crisis of geographic segregation and reduce the stereotypes about each community.

6. Rereading the History of the Palestinian National Movement

To exit the current crisis, it is necessary to conduct a reassessment of the Palestinian national movement and examine the role of factionalism to inform young generations of the Palestinian history. It is clear that many youth groups do not know much about their history or the geography of Palestine, as reflected in respondents' answers. Therefore, it is necessary to revisit the educational curricula and programmes of political factions together with the forms of mobilization of these generations. It appears clearly that factionalism has dissuaded the youth from taking part in social mobilization except on a limited scale. Consequently, they are transformed into viewers rather than holders of initiatives, which is limited to members of the factions. This means we need to redeem the public space as a space of expression and protest; we also need to limit violations of public freedoms, stop political arrests and release prisoners of opinion in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

7. Restore Arabism

Palestinian youth feel isolated from their Arab counterparts. They feel they are left alone to combat the Israeli occupation. This situation must end, to reunite Arab youth through Arab initiatives beyond the official Arabic stance. We need to mobilize Arab youth around the issue of Palestine as the prime concern of the Arab people and establish relations and lobbies against normalization. The boycott of Israel must expand into Arab countries. Answers of respondents showed that young people were isolated from their Arab surrounds, which pushes them into the 'Palestinization' shell.

8. Expand Participation of Youth in Marginalized Areas

To expand youth participation, it is necessary to build projects outside metropolitan cities and disseminate values of pluralism and diversity as a source of richness rather than differences. This cannot happen without the creation of a serious community project involving all community forces, who must exit the comfort of their closed rooms and go to remote and marginalize areas to plant youth in their areas as social actors.

9. Initiate a Cross-Generational Dialogue

The creation of cross-generational dialogue that presents the experiences of past generations for discussion and accountability will allow young generations to learn lessons from the strengths and weaknesses of older generations' practices and experiences.

10. End the Isolation of Palestinian Communities

The identity crisis revealed in the research requires that we put an end to the segregation of Palestinian communities in a manner that does not leave the young people of the Gaza Strip, diaspora, Jerusalem and the area occupied in 1948 separated from each other. It is necessary to initiate institutions and projects in all of these areas and establish a coalition of all these components.

11. Planning a National Project to Unite the Palestinians

A national Palestinian project needs to be drafted to reunite all Palestinians. This may require passing through the PLO to reconstruct the bridges between different

Palestinian generations. Still, this path may represent an impediment for reason of the regression of the PLO role and it becoming an obsolete, ineffective institution that lost its legitimacy. It may be necessary to devise a creative project to unite Palestinians. This project may be on cyberspace to involve all Palestinian groups, after comprehensive community dialogue in all Palestinian places of residence. The dialogue will aim to redeem the inalienable Palestinian positions as per the first Palestinian National Charter and will help draw strategies and policies to be adopted. Moreover, the dialogue will assess past experiences and examine possible options to bridge the gaps between the different components.

Youth, Participation, Public Freedoms and the Current Revolt

Youth, Participation, Public Freedoms and the Current Revolt

Hassan Ladadwa*

This paper addresses the participation of Palestinian youth in community volunteer work and in internal and national issues. It also examines their attitudes *vis-à-vis* public freedoms as relates to women's rights, and the youth position toward the current revolt in the Palestinian Territory. The paper synthesizes the three issues relating to youth community action and their role in their local communities as well as their position toward key community issues. Women's liberation is a major indicator of the position relating to public freedoms because it reveals the sociocultural attitudes in the society. The paper then proceeds to diagnose the social action of the current revolt and sheds light on young people's political culture.

The paper depends mainly on the results of a survey conducted by the Center for development Studies – Birzeit University, which included 4,019 respondents from four Palestinian places of residency[1]: Palestinian camps in Lebanon, Palestinian areas colonized in 1948 (Palestine inside the Green Line or Palestine of 1948), the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The research included focus groups and workshops in the locations studied. A major workshop was held in Jericho for two days with dozens of young women and men from the Gaza Strip, West Bank and Palestine of 1948 to discuss the survey findings.

Limited Participation in Social Action:

The survey found limited participation of Palestinian youth in social activities, especially in activities organized by community organizations. This is evidenced by indicators such as membership in civil society organizations, participation in community volunteer work and participation in marches, in addition to youth self-assessment of their actions in their local communities.

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1   The place of residency for the purpose of this research refers to the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Palestinian areas occupied in 1948 and Palestinian residential zones/camps in Lebanon as whole entities and does not refer to the sub-divisions of these four zones.

Unwillingness to join civil society organizations

A total of 22.4% of respondents said they were members of charitable and civil society organizations. This low rate shows clear reluctance to join organizational action including institutions in local communities (neighborhoods, villages and camps). Willingness to participate in these organizations varied according to the place of residence. It ranged from 29.2% in the camps in Lebanon to 19.5% in the West Bank (Table 5.1). Males were more inclined to join charitable and civil society organizations than females (27.7% for males and 17.4% for females). The survey found minor differences in the rate of membership in such institutions among different age groups. For 45-55 years, the rate stood at 22.2%, compared to 22% for the age group 18-29 years and 21.1% for the age group 30-55 years. I.e. there are no tangible difference in the membership rates of young people, compared to other age groups.

Table 1: Membership of respondents in charitable and civil society organizations, per place of residence

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total
Yes	19.5%	22.1%	26.3%	29.2%	22.4%
No	80.0%	77.3%	70.1%	70.2%	76.4%
I don't know	0.5%	0.6%	3.5%	0.7%	1.2%

The workshop and focus group participants explained their attitude toward membership in civil society and charitable organizations, and their interpretation of the survey findings, as a lessening in respect for such organizations compared to the past (the Palestinian First Intifada and before). In fact, the interpretations they gave were closer to a justification for regression in membership of these organizations. They linked this regression to the presence of Palestinian Authority organs, "which play the role of the state, consequently creating less need for the activities of these organizations", a young man in the focus groups explained. On the other hand, they attributed low participation to the composition of these organizations and the extent of the opportunities made available to youth.

Participation in volunteer activities

Local community service volunteering is an important indicator of the level of social activism and respondents' impact on their local community. It is an indicator of commitment to public issues. The rate of volunteering among respondents outweighed their membership in civil society and charitable organizations. This is logical because it is possible to participate in volunteer work outside the framework of local organizations. This indicates that community-based organizations are no longer the key channels of youth social activism. One-third of respondents said they have volunteered for local community service, with tangible differences across different places of residence. The highest rate was in Lebanon, while the lowest was in the Gaza Strip (Table 5.2).

It should be noted that many youth respondents said they participated in volunteer work as part of university or school requirements to fulfill a certain number of hours of community service. For instance, students in grade 12 must complete 100 hours of community service, according to respondents in the Palestinian areas occupied in 1948. Organizations in this area benefited from the decision in spite of resistance by Palestinian students against the decision of the Israeli government to extend community service law to the Palestinians, who were not supportive of this extension. In other areas. many universities prescribe that students complete 120 hours of volunteer work as a perquisite of graduation (Birzeit University imposes at least 120 hours of community service). This partially explains the different rates of volunteering/community service activities among different age groups. The age group 18-29 years reported the highest participation rate at 37.4%, compared to the age groups 30-44 years and 45-55 years with 30.3% and 30.1% respectively.

Table 2: Respondents' participation in volunteer activities, per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	33.3%	30.1%	37.5%	43.8%	34.1%
No	65.7%	69.5%	59.3%	55.5%	64.6%
I don't know	1.0%	0.4%	3.1%	0.7%	1.3%

Respondents associated widespread unemployment with volunteer work. Some viewed volunteer activities as a means to secure a job, and considered that a reason for youth unwillingness to enroll in volunteer work was nepotism in civil society organizations, and the absence of laws to protect volunteers, including their right to employment in the institutions should a job opportunity appear. Moreover, there are no laws to provide volunteers with proper appreciation and credit for their work. This explains why some respondents considered that some organizations are exploiting volunteers who come to these organizations because of their need for work. A young man said, "European countries do not allow for volunteer activity unless the person has a job. Most Palestinian youth are preoccupied seeking jobs and consequently they are unwilling to join volunteer work."

Some young people attributed their non-participation in volunteer work to what they named "the Police State", and their fear of potential harm or prejudice if they participate in these types of activities, including being held accountable to the governing authority, mainly in the Gaza Strip. "Volunteer work is not restricted to licensed organizations. Some volunteer activities are performed through youth gatherings, which is allowed by the law. However, in Gaza with the policing policy adopted by the Executive Power, many young people avoid volunteer work since such community service may lead to arrest or punishment by the de facto authorities.

Before the PA takeover following the Oslo Accords, community service was a form of resistance and source of steadfastness. Young people recalled the times when volunteer work was a source of pride and struggle against oppressive occupation measures. The question is thus raised about the relationship of political suppression to the spread of volunteer work. Under what conditions would political suppression lead to a regression in volunteer work? The decreasing appreciation for volunteer work in the conscience of Palestinian people after the PA takeover probably coincided with the spread of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which succumbed to the priorities of external funders. There is, on the other hand, the role vested in the PA institutions to provide services. Consequently, volunteer work in the West Bank and Gaza Strip regressed. For the Palestinians in Lebanon, volunteer work and community service remain an important coping mechanism for resilience in confronting the policies of isolation, siege and exclusion they are subject to. The same applies to the Palestinians in the areas occupied in 1948, where volunteer work is still used as a struggle tool. This is evident in volunteer work camps organized by political factions on certain occasions. This partially explains the higher participation in volunteer work in these two areas compared to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Participation in demonstrations and marches

Participation in marches and demonstrations on matters related to the Palestinian question was used an indicator of respondents' political activism in their local communities. The survey found low levels of participation in these activities, with great variance across the four places of residency. Most respondents in Lebanon took part in political events (56.7%), compared to low participation levels in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (24.6% and 17.1% respectively) (Table 5.3). Male participation outweighed female participation (34.2% for males, compared to 18.8% for females). The survey found minor differences across age groups, with the participation rate in demonstrations and marches on the Palestinian question higher among those aged 18-29 years than among other groups (34.2%, compared to 24.2% for 45-55 years and 22% for 30-44 years.

Table 3: Respondents' participation in demonstrations (marches) for protest or support of issues related to the Palestinian question, per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	24.6%	17.1%	30.1%	56.7%	26.3%
No	73.8%	82.3%	65.3%	42.8%	71.9%
I don't know	1.6%	0.5%	4.5%	0.6%	1.8%

Impact on the local community

A total of 40.7% of respondents said they had an influence in their local community. This percentage was higher than the rate of membership in charitable and civil society organizations and greater than participation in volunteer work or in political activities held in solidarity with the national cause. It is difficult to understand the influence an individual has on the local community without consideration of the mechanisms and channels of exercising such influence (membership in institutions, participation in volunteer work and community service, and political activism). There could be other mechanisms that were not covered in the survey, such as membership in political organizations or other organizations that respondents do not deem as organized mechanisms or voluntary action, such as family ties (important in some areas) and subsequent activities. The rates do not necessarily reflect the real impact youth have on their local community because they are not based on objective criteria that assess the level of an individual's activism in the local community. They rely on a subjective assessment of an individual of his/her influence as per his/her own criteria. The individual considering him/herself influential does not mean he/she is satisfied with his/her performance and role in the local community.

The tone was different in focus groups and workshops. Some participants stressed that institutional membership and participation in sociopolitical activities are not sufficient indicators of activism. A young man said, "we, the youth, could actually

be participating in community service and volunteer work, but we have no impact on decisions. At municipal levels, they have youth councils that do not have any effect on devising public policies, although youth, in their debates, claim their right to play a more important role in the community."

It could be that the structure of NGOs does not allow for unleashing youth potential, or restricts their chances to influence decisions. The structure is rather patriarchal, which is accepted by the youth. This idea was raised in a workshop as some young people confirmed they usually accept to be "implementing agents".

Table 4: Influence of respondents on their local community from their perspective, per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	38.6%	41.0%	41.4%	50.2%	40.7%
No	56.7%	56.4%	40.0%	40.6%	51.8%
I don't know	4.8%	2.6%	18.6%	9.3%	7.5%

In the same context, the survey findings revealed differences between residential areas in respondents' perception of their influence in the local community. Respondents in Lebanon said they were the most influential in their local community (50.2%); the percentage was lowest for the West Bank (38.6%) (Table 5.4). The youth role in their local community coincides with absence of state institutions to care for these communities, or their involvement in conflicts with institutions that counter and marginalize them.

The survey found that males perceived they had more influence on their local communities than females did (48.1% and 33.7% respectively). These percentages are striking because although a gender gap is expected in a patriarchal society, discovering that one out of every three women does not see herself as influential in her local community is a huge percentage. The same applies to males and their views of their impact (one out of two consider themselves influential). This

requires that we check the content of the impact process. The data derived from the current survey does not allow for this analysis (objective indicators of activism). Still, when a respondent confirms he/she is active, this is a sign of his/her satisfaction with his/her role in the local community. The focus groups revealed different pictures because respondents focused on the obstacles hindering youth from playing a role in society. The discussion was probably closer to retrieving stereotypes enhanced by organizations working in this area than confirming the actual situation. Some respondents said, "the rates reflect human development courses organized by NGOs". This means that due to human development courses that reiterate the role of youth in the society, survey participants were merely responding to the researcher's expectation about their being active and influential.

(Young people who attend human development courses are taught about means to be influential and their responses in the survey reflected what they learned in these courses, rather than what they actually do to be influential.

When divided by age groups, the rates of those who presented themselves as influential in their local community was close – slightly in favor of the more senior (43.5%), followed by the younger (41.5%). As for the mid-age (30-44 years), the percentage who considered themselves influential was 37.9%[2] The older age group increased its influence due to increased social experience and participation, while the young group, which includes university students, it is the group relatively 'relieved' of family commitments, which grants them more freedom to participate in different activities.

Attitude toward public freedoms as relates to women's rights

Attitude toward public freedoms as relates to women in the value system is interiorized by individuals. The freedom of women may be an indicator of individual or collective value systems. In this regard, 40.1% of respondents said they supported the idea that freedom and democracy was associated with women's freedom, although most respondents did not see a connection between the two issues. Still, 40.1% is a good percentage and shows that women's issues are present in the conscience of many young people in Palestinian society. (and shows that women's

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2   (the variance across groups was not significant enough to give a definite judgment?!)

issues are one of the preoccupations of young people in the Palestinian society.) In the same context, those who denied the connection between the two issues do not necessarily oppose women's freedom. Based on their experience, they do not see a connection between the two issues, "Democracy is one thing and women's liberation is another," said a girl from Gaza in her interpretation of the survey findings.

The findings indicate the cultural polarization in the society. Trends of cultural change among the Palestinians take several – sometimes contradictory – directions. As the conservative attitude of certain groups in specific areas deepens, there is simultaneously an underscoring of modernist liberal culture and values stemming from a discourse of human rights and social justice. Focus group discussions affirm this conclusion as they showed clear variance in the concept of freedom, democracy and women's liberation. Some respondents said, "Some people value the freedom of women in clothes and going out of their homes, but women's freedom goes far beyond this. Women are the core nucleus of the family and must enjoy their independent personalities and decisions." Another young man said we "deal with women's freedom as if women were aliens and we claim freedom for all groups and minorities (the respondent considered women as a minority), and that they achieve their freedom. I do support that a woman becomes head of state, but in talking of women's issues, women's voice is low", i.e. women do not effectively advocate for their cause.

Respondents' life experiences affected their positions *vis-à-vis* democracy and freedom as relates to women's liberation. There were more supporters of this statement in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, compared to the West Bank and Palestine of 1948 (Table 5.5). Increased women's participation in public life (enrollment in the labour market and education, and participation in political activities, etc.) in the West Bank and Palestine of 1948 did not coincide with improved democratic practices in the community or regression of sociopolitical suppression. On the other hand, this attitude toward women's right is linked to individual definition of these rights "the definition of human rights varies according to the place of residence. In Gaza, it can be only women going out to work as their right, but in Palestine of 1948, it could mean political participation, in which case their work is taken for granted," a young man said. Focus group discussions showed gaps in the understanding of women's freedom and it relates to democracy and freedom.

Some see the space of behavior allowed to women, as per their understanding of Islamic Sharia Law, as a realization of their freedom. Consequently, focus is given to granting women the right to education, participation in the labor market or membership of public institutions, while still being subject to social controls. Other groups understand women's freedom as based on gender concepts and equality. Their discussion revealed their own experience, with frequent use of phrases similar to the respondent from Gaza but in different words, "The Gaza identity is a religious one, but the Palestinians of 1948 lived liberation (relative liberation of women) based on their experience. They have lived this role, but in Gaza, liberation is alienated." Notwithstanding improvements in women's participation and freedom, as seen by some respondents, it was clear from their discussions that the prevailing position of respondents is continuing hegemony of the "tribal, male and patriarchal environment". "There is a type of freedom, but tribalism restricts women and the patriarchal society imposes itself," said a respondent. Other participants in the focus groups accepted this position.

Table 5: Respondents' position regarding the consideration of democracy and freedom as connected to women's liberation, per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	37.0%	47.9%	33.6%	49.8%	40.1%
No	32.4%	24.0%	40.7%	35.8%	32.2%
I don't know	30.6%	28.0%	25.8%	14.4%	27.7%

The percentage of women who agree that democracy and freedom are connected to women's liberation (46.2%) outnumbered that of males (33.6%). The percentage of respondents supporting this phrase according to age group was close, as 41.4% of respondents in the age group 18-29 years said they consented to this phrase, compared to 38.5% for the age group 30-45 years and 38% for the age group 45-55 years. Focus group participants attributed this attitude partly to NGO activities that focus on this issue. This means that NGO activities have had a positive effect on respondents' viewpoints.

In the same context, most respondents consider that the political situation in which the Palestinians live (fragmentation, split, internal and external suppression) has a negative effect on women's mobility and freedom, compared to men (about three-quarters of respondents). There is a huge difference between the percentage of those who consent to this phrase, with the percentage high in the Gaza Strip, compared to Palestine of 1948 and Lebanon. However, if we add the number of supporters to partial supporters, the percentages are close in all areas (Table 5.6). This is expected due to the feeling of insecurity, political suppression and political split in the Palestinian society. All these factors have a negative effect on women's freedom and mobility in particular, although they negatively affect the mobility of male and female Palestinians like. However, the feeling of insecurity has a larger impact on the more marginalized groups in society.

Table 6: Respondents' position toward the statement 'the Palestinian political reality has a more negative impact on the freedom and mobility of women, compared to men', per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	41.1%	58.6%	28.2%	35.8%	42.5%
No	33.2%	24.3%	48.9%	41.2%	34.8%
I don't know	25.7%	17.1%	22.9%	22.9%	22.6%

The survey found that women felt the negative impact of the political situation greater than men; 47.5% of female respondents said that the Palestinian political reality had a negative impact on their mobility and freedom, compared to 37.3% of male respondents who reported the same. There are insignificant differences according to the age group. The age group 18-29 years was more vocal about the negative effect of the political situation on women's issues. Indeed, 44.7% of respondents in this group reported as such, compared to 40.8% of the age group 30-44 years and 40.7% for the age group 45-55 years.

An important indicator of a positive attitude toward women's issues was that most respondents supported women holding political positions and participating in the

decision-making process in Palestinian society; 53.4% of respondents supported women holding political positions, plus 27.8% to a certain extent (i.e. 81.2% are in favor). Lebanon scored highest in this area, while the West Bank was the least supportive of women in political positions (Table 5.7), despite many women holding key political positions in the PA (PLC members, ministers, etc.).

Table 7: Respondents' support of women accessing political decision-making positions in Palestinian society

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Yes	49.0%	59.2%	51.2%	65.4%	53.4%
No	30.6%	17.9%	36.8%	20.6%	27.8%
I don't know	20.4%	22.9%	12.0%	13.9%	18.8%

Women are more in favor of women holding political position than men. Variance according to age group was minimal. The survey found strong Palestinian support of women holding political positions (Table 5.8).

The positive attitude toward women's political roles in the survey contrasted with a negative assessment of their effectiveness in the workshop and focus group discussions. A large number of young men participating in the discussion pointed out obstacles that hinder women's political roles and the positive effect of a women's quota for political positions. Some said that the quota was the main reason for the victory of some female candidates in the elections. They reiterated the gap between claims and actual practices. Although they welcomed women holding political positions, they did not elect women to such positions (such as in the PLC). Respondents said the role of tribalism and patriarchal values continues.

Table 8. Respondents' support for women holding political decision-making positions in Palestinian society according to gender and age

	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	44.9%	61.4%	53.4%	53.7%	52.9%
Agree to a certain extent	31.3%	24.6%	28.1%	26.0%	30.3%
Disagree	23.8%	14.0%	18.5%	20.3%	16.8%

Regarding respondents' assessment of changing trends in family relations, the overwhelming majority said that domestic relations in Palestinian families have become fairer for women (the total of 'agree' and 'agree to a certain extent') (Table 5.9). Consequently, they expressed satisfaction with the trend of change in family relations. This position appeared in all residential areas. The percentage of respondents from the Gaza Strip who expressed their satisfaction in the transformation of family relations in a way that is becoming fairer to women was higher than other areas.

Table 9: Respondents' position toward the statement 'Domestic relations within Palestinian families are fairer toward women nowadays', per residential area

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Agree	55.9%	71.4%	45.9%	52.0%	57.5%
Agree to a certain extent	34.1%	17.6%	40.4%	38.3%	31.4%
Disagree	10.0%	11.0%	13.8%	9.7%	11.0%

There were minimal differences between males and females as regards their positive impression of the transformation in family relations in a way that is becoming fairer to women. The same applies to the variance among age groups (Table 10.5).

Table 10. Position of respondents toward the statement, 'relations within Palestinian families have become fairer to women, according to gender and age

	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	54.4%	60.5%	59.4%	56.4%	55.1%
Agree to a certain extent	33.7%	29.3%	29.9%	32.0%	34.0%
Disagree	11.9%	10.3%	10.7%	11.6%	10.9%

Focus group discussions about the survey findings revealed variance in the criteria used to assess changing trends in family relations and fairness to women. Some associated this with religious practice, i.e. they considered that an increased trend towards religiousness means more justice for women. Others associated this with women's participation in education and labour, while a third group associated this with earning an income, which affects a woman's role and status within the family. Regardless of the actual progress made to achieve justice for women in Palestinian families, some respondents viewed these changes positively and consequently expressed their satisfaction with the track of this change.

On another note, this assessment may echo the picture promoted by the media and NGOs about the impact of the interventions made by the PA and NGOs to improve women's status. For instance, "people do not talk about abuse of women. Nobody speaks publicly about beating his sisters at home, this issue became embarrassing." "There are laws that ban beating women and grant women the right to file a complaint against their husbands of they beat them. People started to be afraid." Similar statements were made by other respondents.

Attitude toward the status and role of women in the family is a challenge and is key to assessing a person's values and cultural norms. These convictions conform to his/her religious beliefs, respond to changes in society due to multiple internal and external factors, and represent an indicator of his/her ambitions. Therefore, we may find differences in the positions expressed by respondents about different issues related to the role and status of women. He/she may support the candidacy of women for political positions, but would have reservations about men's guardianship over women because of religious fatwas that support this guardianship.

Attitudes toward the present revolt

The third part of this paper comments on the attitude of respondents toward the current revolt. This attitude can be viewed as an indicator of the political culture of respondents, especially as relates to their position *vis-à-vis* the role of political parties and factions, or of their understanding of the motives behind the revolt.

Survey findings on the reasons behind the current revolt bore a clear message to the Palestinian political forces. While respondents expressed their conviction that the revolt is resistance against the occupation, they reiterated their contempt with the policies and practices of Palestinian parties and factions. A large majority expressed their rejection of the negotiation track, and considered the revolt a refusal of this option (Table 5.11). Respondents were uncomfortable or even angry with the management of Palestinian society and conflict with the colonizers. (This was clear in the focus group discussions).

It is striking to see the positions of Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip regarding this issue. It appeared as if they practice 'tit-for-tat' with the authority in their respective areas. Indeed, while 65.1% of respondents in the West Bank view the current revolt as an expression of rejection of the Oslo Accords and the negotiations, 55.9% of respondents in the Gaza Strip believe the same. The survey also found that they see the revolt as an expression of anger toward the Palestinian partisan policy.

Table 11: Reasons behind the current revolt, as seen by respondents according to residential area

Statement	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Rejection of the Oslo Accords and negotiations	65.1%	55.9%	64.1%	54.4%	61.6%
Anger toward Palestinian political and partisan forces	80.1%	71.8%	84.4%	75.7%	78.5%
Resistance against the occupation	94.9%	97.9%	87.6%	97.6%	94.3%

When asked about the main reason behind the revolt, the majority said it was resistance against the occupation (94.3%). The second reason reported was anger toward the Palestinian political and partisan party, with great variance between the two reasons (15.8% difference). A smaller percentage of respondents attributed the revolt to a rejection of the Oslo Accords. These findings have clear significance. Palestinians consider resistance against the occupation as the core act of political action. This is a clear message to the Palestinian political forces that their legitimacy is tied to their effective resistance against the occupation. Resistance is the compass the large majority of the Palestinians use to formulate their positions toward the political forces.

A large percentage of respondents in the West Bank (more than any other residential areas) attributed the revolt to anger against the Palestinian political and partisan forces (Table 5.12). The West Bank is the centre of the current revolt, which means this is a clear message to the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah from the Palestinians. Their frustration is not limited to the way the PA manages its conflict with the colonizer, and their rejection of the negotiations track, but also reveals reservations regarding its administration of internal Palestinian affairs. This may be a useful way to interpret the low percentage of respondents who consider the revolt as an expression of anger against the political forces in other residential areas compared to the West Bank.

Table 12: Main Reason behind the Current Revolt, as Seen by Respondents according to Area

Reason	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Rejection of the Oslo Accords and negotiations	9%	6%	10%	22%	9%
Anger toward Palestinian political and partisan forces	23%	12%	18%	14%	18%
Resistance against the occupation	63%	79%	48%	64%	64%
Other	6%	3%	24%	0%	8%

A small percentage of respondents thought the main reason behind the youth revolt was a rejection of Oslo Accords. Although the Accords are still a source of division between the Palestinians – dividing them into supporters and opponents – it appeared that respondents also view it as a reason behind recent political developments. The Accords created a new reality that affected the perceptions and effectiveness of social actors in Palestinian society. For instance, how can one understand the effect of the Palestinian political system, the government's administration of economic issues or the manner in which it handles corruption, on the transformation of values among the youth? In other terms, the Accords *per se* have become ambiguous for the youth in terms of the effect on understanding the different transformations in Palestinian society. Lebanon is an exception, with 22% of respondents naming rejection of the Oslo Accords as the main reason behind the current revolt. This is because they are the communities most negatively affected by the Accords. The PLO, which used to monitor the situation in the refugee camps in Lebanon, was marginalized; moreover, the Accords jeopardized the right to return, which was a red line for most Palestinians.

No tangible differences were observed regarding the determination of the main reason behind the present revolt according to gender or age group. The male respondents were angrier at the political forces and their policies than female respondents were. Young respondents were less angry at the political forces compared to other age groups (Table 5.13).

Table 13: The main reason for the current revolt, as seen by respondents, according to gender and age

Reason	Male	Female	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Rejection of the Oslo Accords and negotiations	9.6%	9.3%	9.6%	9.3%	9.0%	9.8%	9.9%
Anger toward Palestinian political and partisan forces	19.1%	17.4%	19.1%	17.4%	17.9%	18.2%	19.1%
Resistance against the occupation	63.4%	65.0%	63.4%	65.0%	65.0%	65.1%	60.9%
Other	8.0%	8.2%	8.0%	8.2%	8.1%	6.9%	10.0%

As regards respondents' analysis of the current revolt, the majority said it was led by the youth (62.2%), the largest percentage being in the West Bank. Only a small minority thought political parties played a role in the revolt (8.2%). It is noted as well that the smallest percentage of respondents who thought the revolt was led by political parties was in the West Bank (Table 5.14), which is the area where the revolt is taking place. Within the same context, Palestinians in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip viewed the current revolt similar to the First Intifada (44.7 in Lebanon and 34% in the Gaza Strip). This is closer to wishful thinking from these respondents or an aspiration that the current revolt will reproduce the scenario of the First Palestinian Intifada. At the same time, it is closer to the stereotypical perception of resistance against the occupation. Consequently, these respondents reenacted the typical images of the First Intifada in their diagnosis of the current revolt.

Table 14. Respondents' description of the current revolt according to residential area

Reason	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine of 1948	Palestinians of Lebanon	Total
Revolt led by young people	71.0%	56.6%	59.2%	38.6%	62.2%
Revolt led by political parties	5.1%	8.8%	11.4%	15.0%	8.2%
Popular uprising (such as the First Intifada)	22.5%	34.4%	22.1%	44.7%	27.2%
Other	1.4%	0.3%	7.3%	1.6%	2.4%

This is a clear message to the political forces. If resisting the colonization is the compass that orients the actions of the Palestinians, or most of them, diagnosing the current revolt in a manner that marginalizes the political forces means an implicit (if not explicit) accusation towards these forces. On another note, there is no variance in the description of the current revolt among male and female or age groups (Table 5.15).

Table 15: Respondents' description of the present revolt according to age and gender

	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
A revolt led by the youth	62.6%	61.9%	63.7%	61.1%	60.7%
A revolt led by political parties	7.9%	8.4%	7.6%	8.7%	8.6%
A popular revolt (similar to the First Intifada)	26.8%	27.6%	26.6%	27.5%	28.1%
Other	2.7%	2.1%	2.1%	2.6%	2.6%

Respondents' interventions in the workshop discussing the survey findings showed criticism of Palestinian leadership approaches. "The leadership trapped the Palestinian people in the Oslo mud." "Its negotiation performance is disastrous," the respondents said. This stems from the understanding that colonial control must be resisted.

Some respondents said that profaning the holy sites was the reason behind the eruption of the present revolt. A number of participants in the focus groups said, "I do not know if this has something to do with Oslo or the PA, but rather with Jewish invasion of Al-Aqsa Mosque, since the Mosque has great value for the Palestinians." Another young man said, "A popular revolt did not break out because of the negotiations or the Oslo Accord; it's a matter of citizens' lack of confidence in political parties and the national leadership that has proven incapable of exiting the crisis the Palestinian people has been suffering for years."

The current revolt is probably viewed as a struggle mainly against the colonization, but it also represents a scathing warning to the Palestinian leadership and political forces, as stated by respondents.

Discussion of Findings

The paper focused on three aspects: Youth participation in sociopolitical activities and their impact on local communities; attitudes toward public freedoms, and its relation to women's liberation; and the understanding of the current revolt. We can consider the attitude toward women's liberation as an indicator of general cultural trends and value systems on which community activism is built, and the perception of critical political developments lived by the Palestinian people.

The paper addressed these three issues according to respondents' residential areas, gender and age group. Generally speaking, these factors affect respondents' community activism, while gender and age do not affect the perceptions of women's liberation and its relation to democracy and freedom. The findings confirmed a huge variance among different residential areas as relates to community activism and social attitudes.

Community Activism: How can we understand weak community activism in the light of social division and narrow local affiliations such as family and region? How

could we expect such local affiliations to increase a person's activism in his/her local community when this person is involved in different groups? This requires that such person take part in specific activities in all of these groups (family, clan, residential area, party, popular or syndic framework, NGO, etc.)

The situation in which young people live had an effect on the prioritization of activities related to opening future opportunities, mainly in employment. Therefore, we notice harsh criticism from respondents against the mechanisms of civil society organizations and conditions of volunteer work, with accusations of nepotism and a lack of appreciation of volunteers' efforts, i.e. not giving them priority in recruitment when jobs are available. Consequently, in this case, volunteerism is seen more as training, with the objective to gain experience and facilitate access to jobs. The feeling of social, political and economic insecurity, together with widespread unemployment, and accusations against different governmental and nongovernmental organizations regarding corruption probably represent a strong incentive to seek individual options and become involved in activities that promote individualism. Thus, increased local social affiliations coincided with a change in values and prioritization of the individual over the collective and the pragmatic (utilitarian) over the principled.

Women's Liberation: The survey revealed positive attitude $vis\text{-}\grave{a}\text{-}vis$ women's issues, which conceal huge variance across different groups. This was expressed in the focus groups. This issue needs to be examined further to clarify the different concepts and stereotypes about women's issues and roles.

On the other hand, women's freedom and mobility should be protected and nourished by social institutions on the basis of positive discrimination as vulnerable groups in society are more affected by suppression and the feeling of insecurity. Therefore, positive discrimination becomes part of the trend towards supporting women's issues and freedom.

Politicization: How can we understand the relationship of young people to political parties and forces? On the one hand, there is harsh criticism of political factions and forces, but on the other, we observed signs of a high level of politicization in the Palestinian street, mainly among the youth. Student Council elections, as well as the 2006 legislative and presidential elections, are an example of this observation. Their attitude is political in general. The groups criticizing political

forces and factions couldn't achieve any serious breakthrough. On the one hand, they criticize the party, but on the other, they are affiliated with it. To understand this contradiction, we must note that although youth criticize their political parties, they still form utilitarian relations with them. Such dual relations explains party despotism that coexists with widespread outspoken criticism. Still, it would be difficult to conceive a form of resistance against the prolonged colonization outside partisan frameworks. We may speculate that overwhelming criticism of current parties will lead to the formation of new parties or at least major reform of existing ones. In the struggle against colonization, it is important to have such frameworks whose core objective is liberation of the land as a whole, and not only small battles against some phenomena of such colonization.

On another level, this situation results from personal conviction that parties are important, with dissatisfaction with their performance in different places of residence. The survey found that criticism of parties' role was higher than the conviction of the importance of their role. This should ring an alarm to these parties if they plan to regain people's trust and loyalty.

Reflections on Identity and Youth in Historical Palestine and the Diaspora

Reflections on Identity and Youth in Historical Palestine and the Diaspora

Jamil Hilal*

Introduction

The findings of the survey, which the Center for Development Studies – Birzeit University supervised and implemented in the last week of February 2016 on the attitudes of Palestinians four residency areas (three in historical Palestine and the fourth in Lebanon) vis-à-vis different issues related to youth[1] and older age groups and to national identity, is important for several reasons:

The survey was not limited to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as is the case in many other researches, surveys and opinion polls that, consciously or unconsciously, with or without local or foreign funding, downsize Palestine to the borders of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (in conformity with the Oslo Accords). Indeed, this survey covered, in addition to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Palestinians of the areas occupied in 1948 and Palestinians of Lebanon. It had also endeavored to include the Palestinians in Jordan, but did not succeed.

The Survey did not limit itself to the youth (identified for this survey as those aged between 18-29), but also included other age groups (30 to 44 years and 45-55 years). This allows researchers to compare the views of different age groups based on actual responses rather than mere assumptions (it would have been possible to seek deeper findings should the age group of the above 55 have been included). The survey also differentiated attitudes according to gender showing variances in the positions of males and females. Consequently, a gender-based comparison of opinions and attitudes became possible.

The research tackled important political and nonpolitical issues that Palestinian

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1   It will be useful to refer to the following publications on Palestinian youth: PCBS Survey (2015) and an earlier survey by the Institute for Women Studies – Birzeit University (2013) as well as surveys by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center (JMCC – 2016), and of the Arab World Center for Research and Development (2015) together with a review of the experience of Palestinian youth movements (2013); see also Hilal, Jamil (Supervision and Introduction), a Prospective Critical Vision, Palestinian Youth Movements, The Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies – MASARAT, Ramallah, October 2013)

surveys do not usually address (although it missed important questions that I will come to later). It also allowed for the opportunity to discuss the findings in focus groups with groups of young people from different locations. During these meetings, youth were provided with the opportunity to express their opinion and enrich the research with their views and direct voices.

The paper at hand discusses the concepts of youth and identity by raising the following questions, based on the findings of the survey in the four Palestinian residency areas.

Has the youth group differed from the non-youth? In what areas, and if possible, why?

What are the points of convergence and divergence in opinions and attitudes according to gender?

What are the points of convergence and divergence according to Palestinian residential areas in terms of sociopolitical vision, and why?

The aim is to conclude final remarks through this review and based on reading of the minutes of the focus groups discussions.

Youth and Identity

I believe it is necessary to be aware of the problematic raised by the concepts of youth and identity. The widespread focus on the question of youth in recent years is not totally innocent, especially with the intensive opinion polls, surveys and researches (including this research). Moreover, we find many opinion articles (in newspapers and mass media) on youth, including Palestinian youth. The question of youth raises three issues: 1) most researches (if not all of them), including Palestinian opinion polls are funded through external resources and abide in their inquiries to the concerns of funding agencies. Therefore, we should place the question of "youth" in its local, regional and international sociopolitical context. It is being raised in a context of hegemony of neoliberal policies globally and in the region as well as in a context of increasing role of *salafi and jihadist* radical religious movements, which target the recruitment of youth above all. Such movements exploit the cultural-ideological vacuum of large segments of youth that endure high unemployment rates, suppression, exclusion and the hegemony of a public discourse that excludes the state from terrorist practice and confines it to "non-state' actors. It restricts the sociopolitical change to the fabrication

of measures with ambiguous content, like "governance" and "democratization" (understood as periodic elections) and "combating corruption" (which exempts the private sector and most components of the so-called civil society), as well as "empowerment", embodied in the maximization of the individual's ability to compete in the savage capitalist system. 2) the second issue relates to the concept of youth itself, since there is no agreed-upon designation of when this phase begins and when it ends as the literature provides multiple designations thereof. The Center for Development Studies defined the "youth phase" as the age group 18-29 years, which is a definition that does not enjoy unanimity. 3) youth, as a precise phase, is a socially-constructed concept that points to the period when the individual's rights and responsibilities are defined legally by the state (or by the central authority); this period is also subject to a social definition that stems from the customs, norms and values of a given society to which the individual belongs. The youth phase usually begins at the age, defined on the one hand as the minimum age at marriage and on the other as being legally able to participate in public elections and enter the labor market or pursue higher studies. The phase ends according to different perspectives engendered by interests, orientations, and considerations that vary according to the agency or body concerned. These include; political parties, businesses (clothes, electronics, songs, cosmetics…) and the state (to devise youth policies including recruitment and security policies), statistics and research centers among others. One must be careful not to impose a certain identity to the youth that conceals political, ideological, social, and occupational differences.

Interest in the Palestinian youth (and in youth in general) is not free of two contradictory considerations. 1) Associating a special role for youth in the Arab uprisings (the Arab Spring). Youth appeared as the militants who brought down authoritarian and corrupt regimes, raising slogans that call for freedom, equality, social justice, and national dignity; 2) the second consideration relates to the fact that young people form the largest constituency of *salafi,* fundamentalist, *jihadist,* racist organizations, fascist and terrorist movements (i.e. killing for the purpose of killing and terrorizing) in the area and abroad.

At the Palestinian level, youth held an advanced position in the Palestinian resistance movement and in political, grassroots and professional organizations, specifically in 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. Palestinian youth safeguarded a strong presence in the course of the Palestinian national struggle since the emergence of the Palestinian resistance and its control of the PLO in the late 1960s. Young

people did not lose this visible presence, except – probably – after the Palestinian political movement shifted from being a liberation movement to self-governing administrative authority over areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, youth remained strongly present every time clashes against the colonizing occupation intensified, as was the case in the first and second Intifadas (al-Qassam brigades, Saraya a-lQuds, al-Aqsa Martyrs and others). They reminded us of their high patriotic readiness in the latest youth confrontations with Israeli soldiers and colonial settlers in the West Bank.

It is necessary to avoid falling in the trap of placing "youth" in one basket as if they were a uniform social stratum with similar interests, concerns and visions in contrast t to the reality of their belonging to heterogeneous groups and affiliations in terms of (financial) economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. One of the flaws of the survey under investigation here is the fact that it had not taken these variances into account. It consequently, most probably unwittingly, contributed to viewing youth as a homogenous group neglecting the fact that they have different concerns, visions and interests that converge and diverge with the interests, visions and aspirations of other strata in their communities. They include high school students, university students, and workers, employees (of the public or private sector or of community-based or international organizations). They also include unemployed, job or immigration seekers. They include males and females, married and single. Some live in villages, other in cities and others in camps. They live in locations under different political, economic, social, security and legal settings. They belong to different political parties and movements while a non-negligible part of them is not affiliated to any particular political party. This does not mean that some segments of these youth do not face common concerns and problems or that they do not share similar aspirations. However, they do not have equal life chances, similar to the societies they belong to. The (educational, employment, health and housing) life chances available to the youth (and non-youth) are not and have never been equal. They are subject to limitations mainly of social class, educational attainment, gender, political affiliation, place of residence (city, village or camp and area or region). They are also subject to differing individual interests, skills and experiences.

A last note on the tendency to deal with youth as an annex to the society or a category that is external or strange to the society or as an accidental rather than organic part thereof (as youth in the West Bank and Gaza represent one-third of the total population). Alternatively, a super "messianic" power is juxtaposed

on youth which is supposed to qualify them to lead the Palestinian people out of their complex impasse. Therefore, some view youth as a group in need of special care and attention from the "society" while others see them as holders of the magical powers that can evict the Palestinian political movement out of its current crisis.

The concepts of youth and identity are both social constructions that may be geared for multiple purposes by different (political, economic, social, partisan and religious) agencies to serve the interests and visions of these agencies. The present research focuses, rightly, on collective rather than individual identities, which (i.e, individual) are defined according to specific objective features like the date and place of birth, name of father, mother or family, height, color of eyes, thumb fingerprint, eye print, gender, etc. Identity, as a social construction, means it is a multi-dimensional compound without any fixed substantive definition. It is a pluralist compound that changes with the sociopolitical, economic and cultural conditions.[2] A particular dimension of the identity is highlighted at the expense of other dimensions to support what is desired to be said or confirmed or claimed. Thus, identity has no significance unless it is the expression of belonging or unless it contains claims or assertions over certain rights (consequently the relationship to another or others). It has no meaning unless it bears a political, social or historical content or all of that. This will be clarified in the discussion of relevant survey data.

Nevertheless, the concepts of identity and youth may be, and were, used to conceal the reality of inequality and the mechanisms of their production and re-production and to distract attention from the differences that exist between the people in wealth, power, knowledge and life chances based on (ethnicity, social class, region and national belonging or gender) or between societies and states.

The paper will look, in very brief and condensed form, at attitudes of young people (as designated by the survey) as compared to the attitudes of other age groups and in different Palestinian locations. The positions of males and females (gender) will also be looked at as well as those of those of the four communities.

Prior to reviewing the findings of the survey, it is useful to introduce here the concept of the political field, as a scope of action of political forces that commit themselves to political rules and practices (or negotiate over these or fight to change them). It is the field governed by inclusive national (multi-functional)

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2   On the evolution of the Palestinians' definition of themselves in the past decades, see Mi'yari, Mahmoud, "Evolution of the Identity of the Palestinians on both sides of the "Green Line", Journal of Palestine Studies, Volume 19, issue 74-5 (spring/ summer 2008.

institutions, which form a nation-state or a national liberation movement, as was the case of the PLO. This political field must be differentiated from the cultural field (in the largest sense of culture) whereby a culture (with "high culture" and popular culture) debate and dialogue about the structure, values, history, future of the society. National identity is constructed and reconstructed and debated through the cultural field, which narrates a people's history and its interpretation of this history.

The proposed hypothesis here is that the (political and cultural) fields act in relative autonomy from each other. In the early 1990's (following the Oslo accords), the Palestinian political field[3] was deconstructed as a national field into local or quasi-local fields while the Palestinian cultural field retained an ability and commitment to preserve and enrich the Palestinian historical narrative. Hence, the Palestinian political culture preserved basic principles despite the dismantlement of the political field and the ongoing impact of the sociopolitical, security and legal conditions to which different Palestinian communities in the West Bank, Gaza, Palestine of 1948 and Lebanon are subjected. This note is important for I argue in this paper that what was fragmented and shuttered is not the Palestinian national identity, as claimed by some,[4] but rather the national political field. This happened following the fading of the PLO, and its professional, and grassroots organizations and continued further following the splitting of the Palestinian Authority into two entities (one in the West Bank and another in Gaza Strip), and both subject to the control of the colonizing occupation. Add to all this the restrictions imposed by the geopolitical situation on the physical mobility between the various Palestinian communities.

Notes on the Findings of the Survey and Youth Focus Groups

The following preliminary observations on the findings of the survey conducted by CDS-Birzeit University in the four geographic Palestinian areas and the youth focus groups/ workshops that followed the surveys in these areas.

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3   On the dismantling of the political field, see, Hilal, Jamil, "Dismantling of the Palestinian Political Field", Journal of Palestine Studies, issue 107, summer 2016.

4   Here is an example; "There is noticeable amputation, fuzziness and ambiguity around Palestinians' perception of themselves and the others, which paved its way into the political culture and its impact thereon to the extent that it weakens its ability to enhance democratization" (p 50), see, Zubeidi, Bassem, the Palestinian Political Culture, Muwatin, Palestinian Institute for Democracy Studies, 2002, Ramallah, Palestine. This does not converge with the reading this article presents on the findings of the survey conducted by the Center for Development Studies-Birzeit University.

1) **The First observation:** I suggest that the Center should provide systematic documentation of the proceedings of the focus groups and to reflect on the opinions regarding different issues, as expressed by diversified groups of young men and women. The discussions were held using spoken language, which is closer to the daily concerns of life and preoccupations of youth and communities in the four areas. The proceedings also reveal diversified visions, experiences and aspirations. They can present youth as individuals that belong to families and local community with diversified religious radicalism or tolerance, and different political stances regarding issues of national struggle, women rights and their relation to the place of residence (cities, villages and camps), as well as to the virtual and real worlds and to the labor market and to the issue of immigration. This is necessary to compensate, at least relatively, for the lacuna of the questionnaires in exploring "respondents" as subjectivities that face in every Palestinian location hundreds of questions, challenges, concerns on a daily basis. These challenges include: the suffocating siege of Gaza Strip, racist colonial occupation that expels the indigenous people, inhumane discrimination, wrapped in Biblical mythology. Add to all this the multiple forms of confiscation of individual and collective freedoms, poverty, unemployment, lack of social care, restricting obstacles and walls together with the deprivation of many social segments (including women, children, youth, the poor and marginalized) of the least forms of equal opportunities.

2) **The second observation:** The survey discarded the phenomena of inequality in distribution of wealth, power, knowledge, access to public (health, educational, social care, cultural, sportive, …) services inside each community and between the community and its surrounding. It would have been possible to discard many low significance questions (including those related to comparing the current situation to that of grandparents, parents and future generations) and substitute them with questions on people's views of the phenomenon and forms of inequalities under the neoliberal regime. A regime that structurally transforms many people into surpluses as it places them outside the labor market and social care system. This step would have been necessary since many studies, research and approaches use the concepts of youth and identity to obscure the reality of inequality and its production and reproduction as well as its existence at local, regional and international levels.

3) **The third observation:** this concerns the concept of the national political

field formed by a nation-state or a national liberation movement through the political forces and institutions active therein. The national identity is mainly formed through the interactions of the national cultural field and what it narrates of the historical national narrative. What happened in Palestine was the dismantling of the national political field into local geographically-split fields after the marginalization and effacement of the inclusive national institutions (leaving behind only their old names). In other terms, the Palestinian people no longer have an active national liberation movement (after the vanishing of the PLO and its professional and grassroots organizations); and they have not be allowed to build their nation-state since the project of a "two-state" solution has failed. Moreover, the Palestinian National Authority formed in 1994 has split into two competing entities, geographically separated. Thus, the survey showed that a small minority in the four Palestinian communities considered the Palestinian Authority or the PLO or Islamic movements as their representative. What matters is to highlight the dismantlement of the Palestinian political field into its geo-political components. This, however, does not mean that the national identity has disappeared or fallen apart or weakened. This can be read in the findings of the survey and discussions proceedings. This is similar to what happened in the Nakba of 1948 when the national political field was destroyed but the national identity (through the cultural field) found a way to rejuvenate itself and set the ground to rebuild a new national political field.

4) **The fourth observation:** This relates to the question of Palestinian identity as a national identity with a patriotic militant dimension. The findings of the survey show this point clearly. The review and interpretation, where possible, of the findings of the survey clearly showed the strong presence of the national identity in all four communities. However, it appears as multiple collective identities and such plurality is used to serve the national struggle and reiterate their historic rights. The survey also showed that the Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948 stressed their (Arab) national identity alongside their (Palestinian) national identity in confronting the Zionist state and ideology, which endeavored to efface the Arab identity (expressed in the form of the Arab culture). It was also revealed that in Lebanon, the Palestinian identity was loudly stressed (notwithstanding the discrimination against the Palestinians). This is an assertion of the historic rights of the Palestinian people, mainly the right to return. I alluded in this

part to important indicators of the presence of the Palestinian identity not as an essentialist concept but rather as a historical, cultural and political concept, which remains not isolated of other identities.

As mentioned in the previous section, the percentage of those who identified themselves, first and foremost, as Palestinians exceeded any other identifications in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Being a Palestinian came second in rank after being an Arab in the Palestinian territory occupied in 1948 (63% Palestinians, and 68% Arabs). This does not appear in other communities. Only in Gaza the percentage of those who identify themselves as Palestinians was the highest and came second the identification as per the religious identity (87% as Palestinian, and 81% as per the religious identity). In Lebanon (94% identified themselves as Palestinians while 62% chose the religious identity). In the West Bank (92% as Palestinian and 63% as per the religious identity). The Palestinian identity is present as part of a complex identity (Palestinian, Arab, religious, universal (humanitarian).This complex suffices for several identities including local ones. In the four communities, the family/clan was considered as the "primary" identity at very high rates (West Bank 67%, Gaza 78%, land occupied in 1948 around 79% and in Lebanon 70%).

Pride of a multidimensional identity was expressed at high rates, whereby an individual is simultaneously a Palestinian, an Arab, with a religious identity and a universal (humanitarian) belonging. The definition of identity as "Palestinian" ranked highest as a combined first and second level of identification of oneself in the four communities. In the same time, identification as per family affiliation scored high rates as well. It should be noted that the components of the identity are not hierarchical, but rather the dimension required at a certain moment or place is highlighted depending on who one talks addresses (Mahmoud Darwish refused to recite his poem "*Sajjil Ana Arabi* – Write it down I am an Arab" in the Arab capitals since it would be void of its meaning as it was as meant as a challenge the Israeli colonial occupation). In other terms, it is not the national identity that was dismantled, but rather the political field.

5) **The fifth observation:** Findings of the survey and discussion groups revealed the presence of a national political culture, represented in broad consensus in opinions in all four communities as regards the identification of the geography and demography of the Palestinian people and as regards the diagnosis of the Palestinian political reality. Consensus also appeared in the

consideration of means to exit the national impasse. The highest percentage of the Palestinians in all four communities defined Palestine with its historical borders. True that the lowest rate of respondents who identified Palestine with its historical borders and defined the people as those who belong to historical Palestine was among the Palestinians of the area occupied in 1948. Still, the majority there (50%) defined Palestine according to its historical border, while 33% of them defined as the West Bank and Gaza Strip while 17% approved the definition of the UN Partition Plan 181. Scoring the lowest of the four communities studied can be explained by the impact of two factors on Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 (Israel): 1) the "Israelization" exercised upon these Palestinians; and 2) the effect of the Oslo Accords, which identified the borders of the future Palestinian state to those of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Consequently, the Palestinian there community believed, rightly, that the "Palestinian Authority" was not concerned with them or their fate.

The majority of youth and other age groups in the four communities, of both genders, did not consider the PLO, the PA or Islamic movements as their representative. This evidences the dismantling of the national political field into local fields after it lost the inclusive representative body recognized by the people. It is an assertion of the absence of an umbrella representative national institution.

Age and gender groups in all four communities agreed at high rates that the following contributed to the "state of fragmentation of the Palestinians":

1) decline of the role of the Palestinian national movements;

2) weakening of the PLO;

3) signature of the Oslo Accords;

4) the spread of the politicization of religion;

5) harsh economic conditions;

6) widespread nepotism and favoritism;

7) international donors' policies.

We also find high consensus among the communities and across age groups and between males and females on the fact that "the conflict between the Palestinian parties and movements led to the state of fragmentation among the Palestinians." Moreover, "polarization within the current state of conflict in the Arab countries"

triggered the state of fragmentation among the Palestinians. This high consensus across the three age groups in all four communities is an indication of the presence of a solid Palestinian political culture and an act of understandings that became hegemonic across the components of the Palestinian people. These were the outcome of long decades of struggle against displacement, usurpation, discrimination and ongoing historical injustice.

The latest bloody confrontation between young people and the Israeli occupation forces were seen, by a high percentage of all age groups (94%) in the four communities, as the representation of rejection and resistance against the colonial occupation and its confiscation of land and the killing and displacement of the Palestinians. This was the opinion of a very high percentage of the three ages groups (exceeding 94%) and of the four communities (the lowest was 88%) and among females (94.5%) and males (94%). This is another indicator of the solid and vitality of the Palestinian political culture notwithstanding the dismantled political field.

In the same context, when comparing the current situation with that of their grandparents and parents, the majority in all four communities rejected their political present. The rejection was an expression of a refusal of the developments of the Palestinian situation under the leadership of political elites that undermined the Palestinian political movement's role as a national liberation movement to install instead a limited self-rule with chronic split, while its attempts to build a sovereign nation-state on part of historic Palestine failed. In the same time, we find in the research (survey and discussions) several indicators of an attraction to a militant position and strategies of resistance with plural dimensions.

It should be diagnosed that the highest rate of respondents diagnosed the latest events (youth confrontations of the occupation forces) as an expression of "rejection and resistance against the occupation, land expropriation and displacement of the Palestinians". This diagnosis was shared by all three age groups (94%, 94% and 95% for the three age groups starting from the younger to the older age group) and in all Palestinian communities (88%, being the lowest rate in the land occupied in 1948 and 98%, being the highest in Lebanon); the rates were also high for both sexes (female 94.5% and male 94%). This is another indicator of the existence of lively and entrenched Palestinian political culture, which is highlighted as the majority of all communities, of both genders and across the three age groups (67%, 69% and 67.5% for the three age groups starting from the younger to the older age group) refused to support "the statement made by the Palestinian president Abbas about Palestine's support to the Saudi – led

coalition to combat the so-called terrorism."

The strategy of political reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas recorded high consensus (86% in the land occupied in 1948, which is the lowest rate, 97% in Gaza, the highest rate, and 90% in Lebanon and the West Bank). These rates are close to the rates scored for support of the strategy of "making community conciliation among all of the components of the Palestinians". The same applies to "the strategy of combating corruption, nepotism and favoritism". (the lowest percentage (86%) was among Palestinians in 1948 occupied territory and the highest in Gaza and Lebanon (97%) while it stood at 93% in the West Bank).

The vitality of the national political culture appeared in the hierarchy of the choices regarding what unites the Palestinian people. The order came as follows (according to age groups starting from the younger to the older age group): "land and homeland" scored the highest rate across the three age groups. "Religion" came second with large gap between it and "land and homeland", while the "collective feeling" came third and "history" ranked last.

The fact that "land and homeland" scored the highest rate regarding what unites the Palestinian people was not arbitrary or uninformed but rather as a probably spontaneous understanding that the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist movement and Israel has always been a struggle to regain Palestine (as land and homeland), which is the project of national liberation for the Palestinian people.

6) **The sixth observation:** Location, gender and age group play in role in the explanation of social behavior. This was observed in the differences across age groups regarding consideration of immigration abroad. The percentage of those who thought of immigrating declines with the age group. It reaches 40% among the youth (18-29 years) and falls to 28% for the middle age group (30-44) while it drops to 18.5% for the older age group (45-55). This variation regarding the consideration of immigration according to the age group is matched with a wide difference among the different communities. The Palestinian community in Lebanon scored the highest percentage (69%) of respondents who consider immigrating; the reason behind this high rate is easy to gauge considering the harsh living conditions of the Palestinians in Lebanon and the restrictions and discrimination they face. Lebanon was followed by the Gaza Strip with 41% of respondents considering immigrating abroad. The siege imposed upon the Gaza Strip and series of devastating wars and the impact of the political split led to a state of internal tension and frustration. We note that 28% of respondents from the West Bank

considered immigration. The lowest rate was among the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948, which stood at 14%. Male respondents were more inclined to immigration compared to female respondents (37.5% for males compared to 25.5% for females). The restrictions on the mobility of male respondents are less than those imposed on female respondents although the rate of female respondents who consider immigrating is not low.

When asked about the reason behind the change of place of residence in the four communities (in the three years before the survey), the impact of the political and socioeconomic situation was clear (especially in the case of Gaza and Lebanon) in explaining some of the actions of members of the Palestinian community. Gender is also a key factor in shaping behavior. Female respondents attributed the reason of moving to social relations (moving with the husband or because of marriage) at a higher rate compared to male respondents (30.5% for females and less than 18% for males.). This was followed by wars and moving away from border areas (29% for females and 32% for males). The young age group recorder higher rates in terms of moving to another place of residence during the same period but no specific reason appeared for youth geographic mobility compared to the older age groups.

There are many examples of the impact of gender on social behavior. The percentage of females who expressed their social affiliation to their neighborhood was higher than males. The percentage of males who mentioned they had balanced relations between their neighborhood and the wider community was higher than females. This is a reflection of the restrictions imposed on the mobility of females in the public sphere compared to males. At the level of the four communities, the Palestinians of Lebanon scored highest rate (43.5%) of social affiliation to the neighborhood compared to other localities (31% for the West Bank, 33% for the Gaza Strip and 30% the 1948 occupied territories). This reflects the concentration of social life of the Palestinians of Lebanon in the camps.

Findings of the survey showed that youth preferred less marrying from the same neighborhood, compared to other age groups at a minimal difference. Female respondents tended more to prefer marrying in the same neighborhood compared to males although the gender difference in marriage preference with the larger surrounding is not significant. For the four communities, the Palestinians of the Gaza Strip scored highest as regard marriage preference with the larger community. Lebanon had the largest rate of marriage preference within the same neighborhood while the Palestinians of 1948 and the West Bank ranked in the middle between Gaza and Lebanon.

A higher rate of youth, compared to other age groups, prefer to establish social relations with their global surrounding regardless of religion. Support of the political left also varied as well as the (relatively) low support of religious political movements. Youth showed higher rates compared to other groups in terms of trust in left political parties. This seems to indicate a decline in the impact of *salfi* or political Islam on young people, and maybe on the larger. Youth registered the lowest rate as regards preference of social relations with compatriots. A clear variance appears between males and females with a higher rate of males who prefer social relations with the global surrounding regardless of religion. Females scored higher in terms of preferring social relations with compatriots.

Male respondents showed more confidence in political parties compared to females (30% compared to 21%) and in support of left parties (25% of males compared to 20% of females). Female respondents scored higher as regards support of religious parties (44% compared to 37% of males). Both genders scored equal rates in terms of support of moderate secular Palestinian parties. The youth group defines itself at higher rates (although limited) compared to other age groups as not religious (13% (for the age group of 18-29), 8% (for the age group 30-44), 5% (for the age group of 45-55)). It was also the highest in defining itself as moderately religious (53% (for the younger age group), 47% (for the middle age group), and 38% (for the older age group)), and the lowest in defining itself as religious (34%, 45% and 56% from the younger to the older age group). This is probably another indicator of the decline in the impact of political Islam on the young generation. Females identified themselves more as religious compared to males (48% compared to 37% for males) and less as moderately religious (46% compared to 51%) and lower as regards not religious (13% for males compared to 7% for females).

There are other indicators of more liberal social views among the youth compared to older age group. The percentage of those who prefer to establish friendships with both genders was noticeably higher among the youth (41% compared to 28% for the middle age group and 23% for the older age group). This shows a transformation, although relative, in social understanding among the youth, mainly males. The percentage of males (43%) was higher compared to the females (23.5%) for respondents who preferred establishing friendships with both sexes.

The widest difference between males and females concerned the position regarding the statement; "democracy and freedom are linked to the level of liberation of women." A noticeably higher rate of female respondents than males agreed with the statement. A higher percentage of females supported the

statement; "the Palestinian political situation has a bigger negative impact on the mobility of women compared to men," and significantly less males than females supported "women having more access to political decision-making in Palestine". However, a higher rate of females agreed with the statement that "relations within the Palestinian families is fairer to women at present." It is not clear why a higher rate of women feel that family relations have become fairer to women compared to the past.

7) **The seventh observation:** Young people varied in their social attitudes in a manner that is not parallel to the differences in their political stances. The percentage of youth (78%) who identified Palestine with its historical (Mandatory) borders was higher for the older age group compared to the younger age group (78% for the middle age group and 81% for the older age group). The percentage of youth who downsized Palestine to the West Bank and Gaza Strip is not different from the middle age group. The highest (although at narrow differences) defined Palestine as per its borders in the Partition Plan (9%, 8%, 7% according to age group from younger to older). Moreover, no differences were observed between young group and the two other age groups in their definition of the Palestinian people, being those who had resided in historical Palestine and those who still reside in Palestine today. The young group defined the Palestinian people as those living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip at similar rates as those of the older age groups.

The youth group expressed a slightly different opinion from that expressed by the two older age groups in terms of considering that no entity was representing them (48%, compared to 45% and 43% respectively). No significant differences by age group appeared as to viewing the PLO as their representative (the minimum was 21.5%, and the highest was 23%). Some of the differences in the political positions of youth can be partially explained by the fact that it is the group that has – compared to other groups – directly witnessed and felt the dismantling of the national political field (regression of the PLO institutions and unions – split of the PA into two authorities) and its impact on their national and living conditions.

No differences between youth and other age groups appeared as regards pride for being a Palestinian (about 95% of the three groups). No significant differences appeared as regards pride of being an Arab (ranged between 88% to 91.5%) or for being religious (91.5% for the three groups) or world citizen (93% and above).

The survey did not reveal any significant differences between the youth and other

age groups regarding the "appropriate strategy of national liberation and state-building" except for a slightly higher support (probably not significant) compared to other groups for armed resistance (39%, 36% and 37% arranged by age groups). A lower rate of support rate was given to negotiations as a strategy at (18%, 20% and 19% organized by age groups). The very close agreement in opinions between the youth and other age groups was the salient feature in identification of "the most effective factors in correcting the course of political action". Differences between males and females did not go beyond these variances regarding any of the rubrics set here above. It ranged at 5% less or was equal in several issues.

Data provided by the survey showed first the importance of the vision expressed by the youth, as an integral component of the society rather than as an external body. Data show very clearly that the stances and opinions of young people do not differ significantly from other age groups. This is also an indicator of the vitality Palestinian political culture since the variances in opinions and political stances among different communities and according to sex and age group is what is expected in a context of plurality of opinions expressed within and across the components of the Palestinian people.

8) **The eighth observation:** Saying that there is a national political culture does not undermine the specificities of every community and their repercussions. This specificity is highlighted when comparing these communities views or attitudes over specific issues.

Support of different strategies diversified differed according to the specificities and experiences of every community. The highest rate of support of armed resistance came from Lebanon, followed by the Gaza Strip, then the West Bank. The lowest support rate was among the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948. They are the group that most supported the strategy of negotiations. They and the Palestinians in the West Bank scored the highest rate of support of full boycott of Israel (i.e., support for BDS or the boycott of Israeli goods and services).

The highest rate of trust in political parties (which does not necessarily mean membership in the party) was among Palestinians in 1948 occupied territory, while the lowest was in the West Bank (20.%% in West Bank; 21% in Gaza Strip; 42% among Palestinians in 1948 occupied areas; and 25% in Lebanon). Probably the low level of trust in political parties in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was triggered by the split that has been lasting for ten years and the conflict between the two major parties despite the fact that both of them are under occupation and siege.

At community level, in Gaza we find the highest percentage of respondents who described themselves as religious, while the lowest rate was in Lebanon and the area occupied in 1948 and the West Bank scored close percentages. However, the highest percentage of respondents who described themselves as non-religious was in the area occupied in 1948 (23%), followed by Lebanon (11%) then the West Bank (6%) and finally the Gaza Strip (4%). Lebanon scored the highest rate of those who classified themselves as moderately religious (66%), followed by the West Bank (45%) and then the Gaza Strip (45%) while the area occupied in 1948 scored (41%). The relationship between the Palestinian communities and religiosity needs further examination.

The four communities chose the same order (though at variant rates) whereby the choice of "land and homeland" scored the highest rank. However, "religion" did not come second as a choice for the Palestinians in the area occupied in 1948 as the "collective feeling" (identity) came second. The third rank was given to "history" while "religion" came last. Religion did not come on second place for the Palestinians of Lebanon. The "collective feeling" came second and "religion" came third and was followed by "history". This hierarchy raises a question why "religion" came second (although at with a wide gap from "land and homeland") in the West Bank and Gaza Strip? This was not the same among the Palestinians in the territory occupied in 1948 or in Lebanon. Does this have to do with the curriculum in the PA schools, which gave religion a salient position in textbooks? Or does this have to do with the influence of the Muslim Brothers in the West Bank (since the Jordanian administration) or the Gaza Strip (Egypt's Muslim Brothers' Movement). This requires further research and investigation but the survey raises the question.

On the positions of the four Palestinian communities toward women's freedom and equality, the findings were striking. The largest percentage that approved of the statement that "democracy and freedom are associated with the liberation of women" came from Palestinians in Lebanon, followed immediately by the Gaza Strip. The lowest percentage was recorded by Palestinians in 1948 occupied territories and in the West Bank (although slightly higher in the later). Are we supposed to read the high percentage in the Gaza Strip and Lebanon, of support women's rights, politically, i.e. in the context of strong political presence of religious and political movements in both cases? Or should we read it as a reaction to this strong presence? Is the experience in both communities the cause of this conclusion as a trend and not as a description of the current situation? The survey cannot give answers to questions that need historical, sociological and probably type of research, but raising the question is important.

Annex1

Detailed Results

1. In general, how do you assess the current political situation in the occupied Palestinian territory?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Good	8.3%	3.2%	15.2%	6.9%	8.3%	8.7%	8.0%	8.0%	9.0%	7.8%
Unclear	31.7%	29.7%	33.1%	35.4%	31.7%	31.2%	32.3%	32.9%	31.3%	29.7%
Bad	58.4%	66.4%	45.4%	55.3%	57.5%	58.8%	56.3%	56.4%	57.6%	59.8%
I do not know	1.6%	0.7%	6.4%	2.4%	2.4%	1.4%	3.4%	2.6%	2.1%	2.7%

2. In general, do you think that the Palestinian society is heading towards the right direction?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	16.4%	6.2%	13.6%	7.2%	12.4%	11.2%	13.6%	11.6%	12.9%	13.6%
To a certain extent	31.3%	36.8%	38.5%	32.2%	34.3%	33.7%	34.9%	34.8%	35.0%	32.1%
No	49.9%	56.5%	39.6%	58.3%	50.1%	52.9%	47.4%	50.3%	49.2%	51.1%
I don't know	2.4%	0.5%	8.3%	2.3%	3.1%	2.2%	4.0%	3.3%	2.9%	3.2%

3. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Optimistic	11.1%	11.8%	16.4%	6.9%	12.1%	12.6%	11.6%	11.2%	12.1%	14.1%
So and so	28.9%	25.5%	37.1%	23.0%	29.3%	27.5%	31.1%	30.3%	28.5%	28.6%
Pessimistic	58.9%	62.0%	41.5%	69.1%	56.8%	58.2%	55.4%	56.4%	57.9%	55.7%
No opinion	1.1%	0.6%	5.0%	1.0%	1.8%	1.6%	2.0%	2.2%	1.5%	1.5%

4. In general, how do you evaluate the Palestinian situation in terms of relations between all Palestinians at this stage?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	22.7%	15.5%	20.1%	14.4%	19.7%	19.3%	20.0%	19.5%	20.3%	19.0%
Somewhat	71.1%	79.4%	64.9%	81.0%	72.7%	73.4%	72.1%	72.1%	72.4%	74.7%
No opinion	6.2%	5.1%	15.0%	4.7%	7.6%	7.3%	7.9%	8.4%	7.3%	6.3%

5. Under the current living conditions, do you consider migrating (outside Palestine or outside the country your family sought refuge to and currently lives in?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	27.8%	40.9%	13.6%	68.6%	31.3%	37.5%	25.5%	39.7%	27.1%	18.5%
No	70.5%	56.8%	78.3%	30.7%	65.5%	59.4%	71.3%	57.1%	69.9%	78.1%
I don't know	1.8%	2.3%	8.1%	0.8%	3.2%	3.1%	3.2%	3.2%	2.9%	3.4%

6. How do you assess the (living) economic conditions of your family?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Very good	5.6%	2.1%	10.3%	2.1%	5.4%	5.3%	5.5%	5.7%	6.2%	3.3%
Good	30.3%	19.4%	42.6%	10.8%	28.6%	28.0%	29.1%	29.4%	28.3%	27.0%
Intermediate	43.3%	36.0%	35.3%	43.3%	39.7%	40.3%	39.1%	41.1%	38.9%	37.5%
hard/ poor	17.6%	26.5%	9.4%	29.1%	19.1%	19.2%	18.9%	18.1%	18.0%	23.2%
very hard/ very poor	3.3%	16.1%	2.4%	14.7%	7.3%	7.3%	7.3%	5.6%	8.7%	8.9%

7. Do your relatives live outside of Palestine or your state of residency and are not capable of communicating directly with you?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	45.9%	50.3%	21.4%	62.3%	43.1%	43.3%	43.0%	44.5%	42.6%	40.6%
No	54.1%	49.7%	78.6%	37.7%	56.9%	56.7%	57.0%	55.5%	57.4%	59.4%

8. If yes, do you use certain methods to communicate with your relatives at times and use other methods at other times?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	85.6%	77.2%	81.6%	89.6%	83.0%	84.1%	82.0%	84.2%	81.4%	83.0%
No	14.4%	22.8%	18.4%	10.4%	17.0%	15.9%	18.0%	15.8%	18.6%	17.0%

9. If yes, how do you communicate?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
By phone	26.2%	20.9%	39.4%	37.8%	27.4%	26.7%	28.1%	20.2%	29.9%	42.0%
Via the Internet	72.0%	76.2%	57.0%	62.2%	70.5%	70.9%	70.2%	77.5%	68.9%	55.4%
Regular mail	0.8%	0.2%	1.8%		0.6%	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%	0.4%	0.8%
Other (specify....)	1.0%	2.6%	1.8%		1.4%	1.6%	1.2%	1.7%	0.8%	1.9%

10. Have you or any of your family members met your relatives?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
No	41.5%	75.3%	48.6%	27.2%	50.1%	48.8%	51.4%	50.0%	51.9%	47.4%
Yes, once	35.6%	23.3%	36.3%	35.9%	32.2%	32.9%	31.5%	32.9%	33.2%	28.5%
Several times	23.0%	1.4%	15.1%	36.9%	17.7%	18.3%	17.1%	17.0%	14.9%	24.2%

11. Do you have any relations with young Palestinian people living in areas other than your country of residence?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	38.0%	31.6%	30.8%	31.2%	34.3%	39.8%	29.2%	37.7%	32.2%	29.9%
No	62.0%	68.4%	69.2%	68.8%	65.7%	60.2%	70.8%	62.3%	67.8%	70.1%

12. If yes, have these relations been through:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Foundation (youth, and community)	3.8%	7.9%	13.2%	11.3%	7.0%	7.7%	6.2%	8.4%	6.3%	4.5%
Through activities and global conferences	2.8%	4.4%	4.8%	2.5%	3.5%	2.7%	4.6%	3.0%	4.9%	2.7%
Personal way	54.0%	44.7%	49.9%	46.2%	50.5%	51.6%	49.1%	39.8%	57.9%	68.6%
Through university studies	9.4%	11.5%	5.4%	3.2%	8.7%	8.5%	8.9%	13.0%	5.0%	3.0%
Through social media	27.0%	30.4%	23.7%	36.8%	27.9%	27.2%	28.8%	33.8%	23.8%	17.9%
Other	3.0%	1.1%	3.0%		2.3%	2.3%	2.4%	2.1%	2.1%	3.4%

13. In your opinion, what is the main reason you communicate with these young people?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Palestinian affairs	13.1%	18.6%	30.8%	24.0%	18.5%	20.1%	16.5%	18.2%	17.6%	21.1%
General issues and a variety of subjects	69.7%	59.2%	53.1%	58.6%	63.3%	60.4%	67.0%	58.0%	67.2%	72.0%
Global Issues	2.7%	2.0%	7.4%	5.3%	3.6%	4.0%	3.0%	3.4%	4.1%	3.2%
Youth issues	10.4%	18.4%	6.4%	12.1%	11.7%	13.5%	9.5%	17.7%	7.6%	1.1%
Other (specify)	4.0%	1.8%	2.4%		2.9%	2.0%	4.0%	2.7%	3.5%	2.5%

14. Do you have family or any members who moved to live in another area in the last three years?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	10.4%	21.2%	15.2%	8.1%	14.1%	12.2%	15.8%	16.9%	10.3%	13.8%
No	89.6%	78.8%	84.8%	91.9%	85.9%	87.8%	84.2%	83.1%	89.7%	86.2%

15. If yes: What was the main motivation for having moved?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Economic need and search for work.	22.3%	4.8%	22.3%	17.8%	15.2%	18.6%	12.7%	15.6%	20.1%	7.7%
Wars and avoidance of «border zones»	3.5%	66.5%	7.2%	23.2%	30.1%	32.2%	28.6%	31.5%	30.6%	25.3%
Restrictions on movement as Palestinians	5.8%	2.4%	6.6%	13.7%	5.0%	5.2%	4.9%	4.0%	6.4%	6.0%
Transition for education	9.6%		19.8%	10.9%	8.2%	9.3%	7.5%	9.3%	4.2%	10.2%
Social links (such as marriage, for example)	37.1%	11.9%	34.9%	2.8%	25.1%	17.7%	30.5%	26.1%	19.8%	29.1%
Improvement of the quality of life (social housing)	18.8%	8.2%	5.3%	30.1%	12.0%	12.7%	11.4%	8.9%	14.9%	17.1%
Other (specify)	2.9%	6.3%	3.9%	1.4%	4.4%	4.4%	4.4%	4.6%	3.9%	4.5%

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16. In general, do you feel safe and secure in the place of your current residence?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	59.6%	61.0%	59.9%	40.3%	58.6%	55.5%	61.4%	58.6%	58.1%	59.1%
No	40.4%	39.0%	40.1%	59.7%	41.4%	44.5%	38.6%	41.4%	41.9%	40.9%

17. Among the following statements, which applies to you the most (linked to your social ties in the area of residence)

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
1) My social ties are in the small neighbourhoods.	31.3%	32.9%	30.2%	43.5%	32.4%	24.6%	39.7%	30.9%	33.0%	34.8%
2) My social ties are in the larger neighbourhoods.	32.1%	22.3%	36.1%	27.7%	30.0%	31.0%	29.2%	28.8%	31.5%	30.4%
3) My social ties are almost equally distributed	36.7%	44.8%	33.8%	28.8%	37.6%	44.4%	31.1%	40.2%	35.5%	34.8%

18. Among the following statements, which applies to you the most (linked to marital relations on a local level).

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
I prefer to marry someone from the smaller neighborhood	26.2%	21.8%	27.6%	37.0%	26.2%	22.5%	29.7%	24.4%	27.2%	28.7%
I prefer to marry someone from the larger neighborhoods	45.2%	61.9%	43.1%	29.7%	47.9%	48.7%	47.2%	46.9%	49.1%	48.4%
I prefer to marry someone from abroad (foreigner)	17.1%	12.2%	14.6%	26.2%	16.0%	18.6%	13.6%	18.0%	15.0%	13.0%
Not applicable	11.5%	4.1%	14.7%	7.0%	9.9%	10.2%	9.6%	10.7%	8.8%	9.9%

19. Among the following statements, which applies to you the most (linked to marital relations on a broader level).

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
I prefer to marry an Arab from the same religion	82.9%	89.6%	74.8%	82.2%	82.8%	80.6%	85.0%	81.3%	84.7%	83.3%
I prefer to marry an Arab with no importance to religion	4.8%	3.4%	9.8%	4.9%	5.5%	6.4%	4.6%	5.5%	5.8%	5.1%
I prefer to marry a person from a foreign country	1.7%	3.2%	4.9%	5.9%	3.1%	4.4%	1.9%	3.6%	2.6%	2.9%
Not applicable	10.6%	3.8%	10.5%	7.0%	8.6%	8.7%	8.5%	9.7%	6.9%	8.7%

20. Among the following statements, which applies to you the most (linked to social relations on a global level).

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
I prefer to build social relations with people from my country	51.9%	49.6%	37.4%	35.7%	46.9%	39.8%	53.6%	42.9%	48.6%	53.5%
I prefer to build social relations with people from the Arab region	18.1%	9.4%	27.4%	11.7%	17.3%	17.4%	17.3%	17.6%	18.0%	15.6%
I prefer to build social relations with people from the Islamic countries	11.2%	17.0%	10.4%	17.6%	13.1%	13.6%	12.5%	13.3%	12.3%	13.7%
I like to build social relations no matter the country or religion	18.9%	24.0%	24.7%	35.0%	22.7%	29.2%	16.5%	26.2%	21.1%	17.1%

21. Among the following statements, which applies to you the most (at the level of building relationships by gender)

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
I prefer to build relationships with people from the same gender	67.9%	64.1%	55.7%	45.3%	62.6%	52.0%	72.6%	54.2%	68.3%	72.8%
I prefer to build relationships with people from the opposite gender	4.5%	2.0%	7.1%	2.9%	4.3%	4.6%	4.0%	4.5%	3.9%	4.3%
I prefer to build relationships with both genders	27.5%	33.9%	37.3%	51.8%	33.1%	43.4%	23.5%	41.3%	27.8%	22.9%

22. Which of the following statements indicate your political point of view:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
1) Palestine is the West Bank and Gaza Strip	9.4%	6.7%	33.3%	3.6%	13.3%	11.8%	14.8%	13.4%	14.1%	11.9%
2) Palestine is defined according to the United Nations partition plan No. 181, which talk about two states «Israeli and Palestinian.»	6.9%	4.7%	17.0%	3.5%	8.2%	8.8%	7.6%	8.8%	8.2%	6.7%
3) Palestine is historic Palestine with all its borders and landmarks.	83.8%	88.7%	49.7%	92.9%	78.5%	79.3%	77.6%	77.8%	77.6%	81.4%

23. Which of the following statements indicate your point of view of the Palestinian people :

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
1) The Palestinian people are all the Palestinians in historic Palestine (the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem, 48 and the Diaspora)	92.8%	94.6%	77.8%	93.9%	90.2%	89.7%	90.6%	89.6%	89.9%	92.0%
2) The Palestinian people are those who reside in the West Bank and Gaza Strip only	7.2%	5.4%	22.2%	6.1%	9.8%	10.3%	9.4%	10.4%	10.1%	8.0%

24. Which of the following statements indicate your representation (regardless of wherever you live in):

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
The PA represents me	25.8%	26.4%	12.7%	10.5%	22.0%	21.4%	22.5%	21.5%	22.9%	21.7%
Islamic movements represent me	13.4%	23.9%	8.1%	22.0%	15.7%	18.5%	13.0%	15.0%	16.5%	15.9%
The PLO represents me	9.9%	11.8%	17.8%	7.8%	11.9%	12.7%	11.2%	11.1%	11.2%	15.1%
No one represents me	48.9%	37.4%	47.0%	59.4%	46.3%	42.8%	49.5%	48.3%	45.4%	43.0%
Other (Specify	2.0%	0.5%	14.4%	0.3%	4.1%	4.5%	3.8%	4.1%	4.0%	4.4%

25. How would you classify your immediate identity (first and second) through which you express yourself?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Palestinians.	66.5%	34.0%	29.6%	58.6%	49.5%	51.0%	48.2%	49.7%	50.0%	48.1%
Arabic.	8.1%	3.4%	41.7%	3.2%	13.7%	13.8%	13.6%	14.1%	13.4%	13.1%
religion (Muslim / Christian / Druze).	22.9%	55.6%	22.1%	29.9%	31.8%	30.3%	33.2%	30.5%	31.3%	35.8%
International (as a human being)	2.3%	7.0%	3.2%	8.2%	4.2%	3.9%	4.4%	4.4%	4.9%	2.2%
Other	0.1%		3.0%	0.1%	0.7%	1.0%	0.4%	1.0%	0.3%	0.6%
Do not know.	0.1%		0.4%		0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%		0.1%

26. How would you classify your larger identity (first and second) through which you express yourself?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Palestinian	25.6%	53.3%	33.5%	35.7%	35.3%	33.7%	36.8%	34.9%	35.2%	36.5%
Arab	24.9%	14.6%	26.6%	25.3%	22.6%	23.8%	21.4%	22.2%	23.1%	22.7%
My religion (Muslim / Christian /Druze).	39.9%	24.9%	30.6%	31.8%	33.4%	33.7%	33.1%	33.4%	33.3%	33.6%
International (as a human being)	7.8%	6.8%	6.1%	7.0%	7.1%	6.9%	7.3%	8.2%	6.2%	6.1%
Other	1.6%	0.4%	2.8%	0.2%	1.4%	1.7%	1.2%	1.2%	2.0%	0.9%
Do not know.	0.2%		0.5%		0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%

27. How do you rate your sub-identity in relations to your two main identities: your affiliation is:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
To my family	66.9%	78.3%	78.8%	70.4%	72.7%	69.3%	75.8%	71.8%	73.8%	72.7%
To my village, camp or town	4.4%	0.9%	7.1%	0.8%	3.8%	4.2%	3.4%	3.3%	4.0%	4.5%
To my place of abode (West Bank / Gaza / 48 / any other state).	3.1%	1.2%	5.1%	0.4%	2.8%	3.4%	2.3%	3.0%	2.4%	3.1%
To the political party I belong to / or sympathize with	0.4%	0.9%	1.2%	0.6%	0.7%	1.1%	0.4%	0.7%	0.8%	0.7%
To Palestine.	24.5%	18.8%	7.3%	27.8%	19.6%	21.7%	17.6%	20.6%	18.7%	18.7%
Other	0.4%				0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%
Do not know	0.3%		0.5%		0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%	

28. How do you classify your sub-identity after identifying the first and second ones?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
To my family and my family.	22.8%	19.1%	13.4%	23.7%	19.9%	22.2%	17.7%	20.4%	19.6%	19.2%
to the villages / camps / town	18.0%	6.9%	38.6%	11.0%	18.9%	18.0%	19.8%	17.6%	19.6%	21.0%
For the area of my stay (West / Gaza / 48 / foreign country).	7.5%	6.4%	23.7%	2.4%	10.3%	9.5%	11.0%	9.8%	11.2%	9.8%
political party I belong / or sympathize with	3.4%	2.4%	3.5%	3.2%	3.1%	4.8%	1.6%	3.8%	2.2%	3.2%
for Palestine.	47.2%	65.3%	19.5%	59.6%	47.0%	44.6%	49.3%	47.4%	46.7%	46.6%
Other	0.5%		0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Do not know	0.5%		0.9%		0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.4%	

29. Have you ever encountered any negative discrimination for being a Palestinian?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	34.7%	27.4%	40.0%	76.0%	37.1%	43.8%	30.8%	35.2%	36.9%	42.1%
No	65.3%	72.6%	60.0%	24.0%	62.9%	56.2%	69.2%	64.8%	63.1%	57.9%

30. I am proud to be a Palestinian.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	97.9%	98.8%	85.7%	98.4%	95.6%	95.4%	95.7%	95.4%	96.0%	95.2%
No	2.1%	1.2%	14.3%	1.6%	4.4%	4.6%	4.3%	4.6%	4.0%	4.8%

31. I am proud to be an Arab.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	89.2%	92.5%	87.2%	84.7%	89.3%	87.8%	90.7%	87.6%	91.5%	89.6%
No	10.8%	7.5%	12.8%	15.3%	10.7%	12.2%	9.3%	12.4%	8.5%	10.4%

32. I am proud of being devout.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	92.6%	97.7%	81.3%	92.7%	91.5%	89.7%	93.3%	91.8%	91.5%	90.9%
No	7.4%	2.3%	18.7%	7.3%	8.5%	10.3%	6.7%	8.2%	8.5%	9.1%

33. I am proud of being an international citizen (a human being).

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	95.0%	97.3%	90.6%	97.7%	94.9%	94.3%	95.4%	95.3%	95.2%	93.3%
No	5.0%	2.7%	9.4%	2.3%	5.1%	5.7%	4.6%	4.7%	4.8%	6.7%

34. I am proud of Palestine, now more than ever.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	86.6%	80.2%	69.8%	88.3%	81.5%	79.6%	83.3%	79.8%	81.8%	84.8%
No	13.4%	19.8%	30.2%	11.7%	18.5%	20.4%	16.7%	20.2%	18.2%	15.2%

35. I have a feeling closer to building ties with the Palestine refugee community more than ever.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	69.5%	81.5%	47.7%	66.3%	67.7%	69.0%	66.5%	69.7%	66.4%	65.4%
No	30.5%	18.5%	52.3%	33.7%	32.3%	31.0%	33.5%	30.3%	33.6%	34.6%

36. I have a feeling closer to building ties with the Gaza Strip community more than ever.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	58.8%	88.9%	34.9%	25.2%	59.0%	59.5%	58.5%	61.4%	56.3%	57.9%
No	41.2%	11.1%	65.1%	74.8%	41.0%	40.5%	41.5%	38.6%	43.7%	42.1%

37. I have closer feelings to build relationship with the community of Palestinians living in Historic Palestine, more than any other:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	60.3%	64.7%	71.2%	34.3%	61.8%	64.1%	59.7%	62.0%	61.1%	62.5%
No	39.7%	35.3%	28.8%	65.7%	38.2%	35.9%	40.3%	38.0%	38.9%	37.5%

38. My closest feeling to building relationships in my place of abode (camp, village, town) is closer than any other:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	85.3%	87.1%	57.7%	62.6%	78.1%	77.0%	79.1%	79.7%	76.7%	76.9%
No	14.7%	12.9%	42.3%	37.4%	21.9%	23.0%	20.9%	20.3%	23.3%	23.1%

39. I feel closer to build ties with the community of the West Bank, more than any other.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	79.8%	67.5%	31.1%	21.9%	61.8%	62.0%	61.6%	63.3%	60.3%	60.8%
No	20.2%	32.5%	68.9%	78.1%	38.2%	38.0%	38.4%	36.7%	39.7%	39.2%

40. Do you consider yourself religious?										
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	38.8%	54.5%	41.6%	22.8%	42.3%	36.7%	47.6%	34.3%	45.1%	56.4%
No	54.8%	41.4%	35.3%	65.9%	48.1%	50.6%	45.7%	53.0%	47.0%	38.3%
	6.4%	4.1%	23.2%	11.3%	9.6%	12.8%	6.6%	12.7%	7.9%	5.3%
41. Compare the Palestinian political reality now with that of the past.										
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Religious	57.0%	76.0%	55.0%	77.5%	63.1%	62.4%	63.8%	64.2%	61.1%	64.2%
Moderately religious	14.9%	8.3%	8.9%	5.4%	11.2%	11.5%	10.9%	10.4%	12.2%	11.1%
Non religious	28.1%	15.8%	36.1%	17.1%	25.7%	26.1%	25.3%	25.4%	26.7%	24.7%
42. Compare the Palestinian political reality now with that of parents.										
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	42.0%	76.1%	26.4%	45.2%	47.9%	47.2%	48.5%	47.6%	47.3%	49.4%
Similar	34.1%	12.7%	54.9%	32.2%	32.7%	33.0%	32.5%	32.0%	32.6%	34.7%
Worse	23.9%	11.2%	18.8%	22.7%	19.4%	19.8%	19.0%	20.4%	20.1%	16.0%
43. Compare the Palestinian political reality now with the current reality.										
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	13.0%	8.6%	17.4%	15.4%	13.0%	12.6%	13.3%	12.8%	13.9%	11.6%
Similar	22.6%	9.0%	30.7%	19.8%	20.5%	20.8%	20.3%	20.8%	20.7%	19.8%
Worse	64.4%	82.4%	51.8%	64.8%	66.5%	66.6%	66.4%	66.4%	65.4%	68.6%
44. Compare the Palestinian political reality now with that of future generations.										
	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	32.6%	30.8%	24.2%	23.7%	29.7%	28.7%	30.6%	30.3%	28.8%	29.7%
Similar	15.8%	12.0%	22.4%	16.4%	16.3%	16.6%	15.9%	16.8%	16.2%	15.1%
Worse	51.6%	57.1%	53.4%	59.9%	54.1%	54.7%	53.5%	52.9%	55.1%	55.2%

45. Compare life and social liberties today with that of grandparents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	47.7%	63.6%	53.1%	43.8%	52.7%	53.6%	51.9%	51.8%	52.1%	55.9%
Similar	14.0%	5.9%	9.2%	8.9%	10.5%	9.6%	11.3%	10.0%	11.9%	9.2%
Worse	38.2%	30.6%	37.7%	47.3%	36.8%	36.8%	36.8%	38.2%	36.0%	34.9%

46. Compare life and social liberties with that of parents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	42.0%	64.8%	29.1%	33.5%	44.6%	44.9%	44.4%	45.3%	42.8%	46.0%
Similar	30.7%	13.9%	52.6%	41.9%	31.8%	31.7%	31.8%	30.3%	33.5%	32.1%
Worse	27.3%	21.3%	18.3%	24.7%	23.6%	23.4%	23.8%	24.4%	23.7%	21.9%

47. Compare life and social liberties with the current reality.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	37.8%	33.9%	29.6%	44.7%	35.6%	33.5%	37.5%	37.0%	35.9%	31.8%
Similar	20.8%	11.2%	31.0%	18.2%	20.2%	21.2%	19.3%	19.8%	21.2%	19.3%
Worse	41.4%	54.9%	39.4%	37.2%	44.2%	45.3%	43.1%	43.2%	42.9%	48.9%

48. Compare life and social liberties with that of the future.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	50.4%	49.0%	38.3%	48.9%	47.3%	45.2%	49.3%	49.1%	46.2%	45.2%
Similar	14.3%	11.0%	20.9%	13.8%	14.8%	15.9%	13.8%	15.8%	14.4%	13.1%
Worse	35.3%	40.1%	40.8%	37.3%	37.9%	38.9%	36.9%	35.1%	39.5%	41.7%

49. Compare women's liberation with the reality of ancestors.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	16.5%	23.1%	21.6%	24.2%	19.9%	21.1%	18.8%	19.2%	18.8%	23.4%
Similar	7.1%	4.2%	7.4%	3.5%	6.1%	7.0%	5.3%	5.3%	6.5%	7.5%
Worse	76.4%	72.7%	71.0%	72.3%	74.0%	71.9%	75.9%	75.5%	74.7%	69.1%

50. Compare women's liberation with the reality of parents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	22.1%	35.6%	23.1%	25.6%	26.1%	26.5%	25.8%	26.4%	24.6%	28.2%
Similar	23.1%	14.6%	46.9%	40.3%	27.2%	27.1%	27.3%	27.2%	26.1%	29.1%
Worse	54.8%	49.8%	30.0%	34.2%	46.6%	46.4%	46.9%	46.3%	49.4%	42.7%

51. Compare women's liberation with the current reality.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	68.0%	68.1%	64.0%	70.4%	67.4%	65.7%	69.0%	68.7%	67.8%	63.5%
Similar	14.8%	9.1%	19.9%	9.0%	13.9%	14.2%	13.6%	13.0%	15.1%	13.9%
Worse	17.2%	22.9%	16.1%	20.6%	18.7%	20.1%	17.4%	18.3%	17.1%	22.6%

52. Compare women's liberation with the reality of their children.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	74.7%	73.9%	59.8%	68.9%	70.9%	69.3%	72.5%	72.9%	71.0%	66.1%
Similar	9.8%	7.0%	19.3%	8.3%	10.9%	11.3%	10.6%	10.7%	10.1%	13.0%
Worse	15.5%	19.1%	20.9%	22.8%	18.1%	19.5%	16.9%	16.4%	19.0%	20.9%

53. Compare the economic and living situation with the reality of ancestors.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	53.3%	81.2%	47.3%	75.8%	61.1%	61.0%	61.1%	62.2%	59.9%	60.3%
Similar	11.4%	3.7%	7.4%	5.9%	8.1%	7.6%	8.6%	6.8%	9.4%	9.1%
Worse	35.3%	15.1%	45.3%	18.3%	30.8%	31.4%	30.3%	31.0%	30.7%	30.5%

54. Compare the economic and living situation with the reality of parents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	50.0%	88.1%	33.1%	53.4%	56.7%	56.9%	56.5%	57.6%	57.1%	54.0%
Similar	26.4%	6.0%	47.8%	29.0%	25.8%	24.8%	26.6%	24.8%	26.0%	27.7%
Worse	23.6%	5.9%	19.1%	17.6%	17.5%	18.2%	16.9%	17.6%	17.0%	18.4%

55. Compared the economic and living situation with the current reality.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	28.6%	8.8%	38.1%	13.5%	24.3%	24.3%	24.3%	23.9%	24.4%	24.9%
Similar	19.2%	8.0%	26.4%	17.8%	17.7%	17.3%	18.0%	17.4%	18.3%	17.3%
Worse	52.1%	83.2%	35.5%	68.7%	58.1%	58.4%	57.7%	58.7%	57.3%	57.8%

56. Compare the economic and living situation with the reality of the future.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	42.1%	31.3%	37.1%	20.0%	36.5%	35.5%	37.5%	38.4%	33.6%	37.2%
Similar	13.5%	12.0%	22.4%	17.0%	15.2%	15.9%	14.6%	14.1%	15.9%	16.8%
Worse	44.3%	56.7%	40.6%	63.0%	48.2%	48.6%	47.9%	47.5%	50.5%	46.0%

57. Compare the family situation and family ties with the reality of ancestors.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	85.2%	94.3%	86.2%	92.2%	88.4%	88.2%	88.5%	87.8%	88.4%	89.7%
Similar	6.0%	2.7%	5.3%	4.1%	4.8%	4.8%	4.9%	4.9%	4.8%	4.7%
Worse	8.8%	3.0%	8.5%	3.8%	6.8%	7.0%	6.6%	7.3%	6.8%	5.7%

58. Compare the family situation, and family ties with the reality of parents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	73.8%	89.9%	55.9%	62.2%	73.4%	73.2%	73.5%	72.1%	74.2%	74.9%
Similar	17.3%	6.8%	34.1%	32.0%	19.2%	18.7%	19.7%	20.1%	18.7%	18.2%
Worse	8.8%	3.3%	10.0%	5.8%	7.4%	8.1%	6.8%	7.9%	7.1%	6.9%

59. Compare the family situation, and family ties with the current reality.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	18.2%	20.7%	11.7%	10.0%	16.9%	17.2%	16.5%	17.8%	16.0%	16.1%
Similar	16.5%	11.3%	26.9%	21.8%	17.7%	18.0%	17.5%	18.6%	18.1%	15.0%
Worse	65.3%	68.0%	61.4%	68.3%	65.4%	64.8%	66.0%	63.6%	65.9%	68.9%

60. Compare the family situation, and family ties with the reality of the future.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	26.9%	35.2%	20.8%	13.7%	26.8%	26.1%	27.4%	28.1%	24.1%	28.2%
Similar	10.4%	10.7%	17.0%	17.2%	12.4%	13.8%	11.1%	14.2%	10.4%	11.7%
Worse	62.7%	54.1%	62.2%	69.0%	60.8%	60.1%	61.5%	57.7%	65.6%	60.1%

61. Compare the freedom of movement and travel with the reality of ancestors.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	40.2%	85.4%	43.7%	61.6%	54.5%	55.1%	53.8%	55.9%	51.1%	56.8%
Similar	9.3%	2.1%	10.7%	7.6%	7.6%	8.1%	7.1%	7.1%	8.0%	7.9%
Worse	50.5%	12.4%	45.6%	30.8%	38.0%	36.8%	39.1%	37.0%	40.9%	35.3%

62. Compare the freedom of movement and travel with the reality of parents.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	40.6%	85.9%	26.8%	36.4%	49.3%	49.6%	49.0%	49.5%	48.5%	50.1%
Similar	23.8%	4.2%	47.4%	30.0%	24.1%	23.7%	24.5%	23.3%	24.3%	25.8%
Worse	35.5%	9.9%	25.8%	33.5%	26.6%	26.7%	26.6%	27.2%	27.2%	24.2%

63. Compare the freedom of movement and travel with the current reality.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	48.0%	5.4%	51.0%	26.2%	35.8%	34.6%	36.9%	36.2%	36.6%	33.4%
Similar	16.4%	3.3%	24.0%	15.7%	14.5%	14.9%	14.1%	13.5%	15.9%	14.4%
Worse	35.6%	91.3%	25.0%	58.1%	49.7%	50.4%	49.0%	50.3%	47.5%	52.2%

64. Compare the freedom of movement and travel with the reality of future generations.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Better	60.6%	23.8%	52.1%	29.0%	46.7%	45.9%	47.4%	46.7%	47.4%	45.4%
Similar	11.4%	8.8%	17.1%	13.6%	12.1%	12.9%	11.4%	11.9%	12.7%	11.5%
Worse	28.0%	67.4%	30.8%	57.4%	41.2%	41.2%	41.2%	41.4%	39.8%	43.1%

65. Do you trust any of the Palestinian parties and political movements or parties in your area.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	20.5%	21.2%	41.8%	25.0%	25.5%	29.9%	21.5%	26.9%	23.8%	25.3%
No	79.5%	78.8%	58.2%	75.0%	74.5%	70.1%	78.5%	73.1%	76.2%	74.7%

66. If yes, which Palestinian parties do you support?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Leftist Palestinian movements	20.3%	15.8%	30.1%	19.8%	22.7%	24.6%	20.2%	26.5%	17.7%	21.4%
Religious Palestinian movements	48.0%	43.5%	31.2%	33.9%	40.2%	37.0%	44.2%	37.2%	42.6%	43.5%
Secular- moderate Palestinian movements	26.8%	40.6%	28.3%	42.3%	31.5%	31.3%	31.8%	30.2%	35.4%	28.5%
Other (specify)	4.8%		10.3%	4.1%	5.6%	7.0%	3.8%	6.1%	4.3%	6.6%

67. Do you support any of the non-Palestinian parties in your area?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	29.0%	30.1%	33.5%	46.5%	32.1%	34.2%	29.4%	31.2%	36.3%	27.8%
No	71.0%	69.9%	66.5%	53.5%	67.9%	65.8%	70.6%	68.8%	63.7%	72.2%

68. Among the suggested Palestinian strategies to manage the national struggle against Israeli occupation, which one do you find appropriate to achieve national freedom and establishment of a state?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Armed struggle	39.8%	47.3%	15.7%	52.0%	37.6%	43.4%	32.1%	38.6%	36.4%	37.3%
Negotiations	13.4%	19.2%	32.1%	11.2%	18.7%	16.9%	20.4%	18.0%	19.6%	18.9%
Complete boycott of the occupation (economic, cultural, academic etc,)	17.3%	5.1%	17.1%	8.4%	13.4%	11.9%	14.7%	13.2%	14.3%	12.1%
Popular resistance	13.0%	11.0%	12.4%	16.5%	12.6%	12.2%	13.0%	13.3%	12.6%	11.1%
Peaceful resistance	11.1%	14.2%	14.7%	7.1%	12.4%	11.2%	13.5%	11.7%	11.8%	14.9%
Other	1.9%	2.0%	1.9%	1.5%	1.9%	1.8%	2.0%	1.6%	1.9%	2.5%
I do not know	3.5%	1.2%	6.2%	3.3%	3.5%	2.6%	4.3%	3.6%	3.4%	3.2%

69. At the current stage, do you think that liberation from occupation has become:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Closer than ever	47.4%	45.3%	32.6%	39.0%	43.1%	43.6%	42.6%	44.8%	40.9%	42.5%
Farther than ever	42.3%	48.6%	45.5%	55.9%	45.7%	45.7%	45.6%	44.3%	47.1%	46.5%
I do not know	10.3%	6.2%	22.0%	5.1%	11.3%	10.7%	11.9%	10.9%	12.0%	11.0%

70. The decline of the Palestinian national movement contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	82.0%	83.9%	66.6%	83.3%	79.3%	82.2%	76.6%	79.5%	78.7%	79.7%
Incorrect	14.4%	13.1%	13.7%	8.9%	13.5%	12.5%	14.5%	13.6%	13.8%	12.8%
I do not know	3.6%	3.0%	19.7%	7.7%	7.2%	5.4%	8.9%	6.9%	7.4%	7.5%

71. The weakness of the PLO contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	78.3%	84.0%	73.6%	81.4%	79.0%	81.7%	76.5%	77.8%	79.3%	81.4%
Incorrect	17.9%	13.6%	9.4%	12.5%	14.6%	13.5%	15.5%	15.7%	14.5%	12.0%
I do not know	3.8%	2.4%	17.0%	6.1%	6.4%	4.8%	8.0%	6.5%	6.2%	6.6%

72. The signing of the Oslo agreement contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	76.5%	74.4%	63.5%	74.2%	73.0%	74.9%	71.2%	73.7%	70.7%	75.4%
Incorrect	17.3%	21.1%	14.8%	13.3%	17.5%	17.9%	17.1%	17.3%	18.5%	16.1%
I do not know	6.2%	4.5%	21.7%	12.5%	9.6%	7.3%	11.7%	9.1%	10.8%	8.5%

73. The growing phenomenon of religious politics contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	70.0%	84.2%	62.5%	68.7%	72.0%	72.5%	71.6%	73.1%	70.6%	71.7%
Incorrect	22.4%	13.3%	21.9%	22.6%	19.9%	20.9%	19.0%	19.1%	20.1%	21.5%
I do not know	7.6%	2.6%	15.6%	8.7%	8.1%	6.6%	9.5%	7.8%	9.3%	6.8%

74. The difficult economic conditions contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	86.2%	91.6%	72.0%	79.9%	84.1%	83.7%	84.5%	83.4%	84.8%	84.5%
Incorrect	13.0%	8.0%	20.9%	18.1%	13.7%	14.5%	13.0%	14.5%	12.7%	13.6%
I do not know	0.8%	0.4%	7.2%	2.0%	2.2%	1.8%	2.5%	2.1%	2.4%	1.8%

75. The continued Israeli occupation contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	92.5%	96.6%	78.7%	90.6%	90.5%	90.4%	90.5%	89.1%	92.1%	90.9%
Incorrect	6.9%	3.2%	14.2%	8.9%	7.6%	8.0%	7.3%	8.7%	6.2%	7.8%
I do not know	0.6%	0.2%	7.0%	0.6%	1.9%	1.6%	2.2%	2.2%	1.7%	1.3%

76. The spread of nepotism and favouritism contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	92.4%	95.0%	75.9%	90.5%	89.4%	89.1%	89.7%	89.8%	89.3%	88.6%
Incorrect	6.8%	4.2%	11.4%	7.2%	7.1%	7.9%	6.4%	7.1%	6.5%	8.3%
I do not know	0.8%	0.8%	12.8%	2.3%	3.5%	3.0%	3.9%	3.1%	4.1%	3.2%

77. The policies of international donors contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	73.2%	81.6%	66.8%	80.2%	74.6%	75.2%	74.1%	75.4%	74.1%	73.4%
Incorrect	20.1%	15.5%	16.0%	12.8%	17.5%	18.1%	16.9%	17.0%	17.5%	18.6%
I do not know	6.7%	2.8%	17.2%	7.0%	7.9%	6.7%	9.0%	7.6%	8.4%	7.9%

78. The conflict between Palestinian factions contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	92.6%	98.4%	86.4%	95.1%	93.0%	93.8%	92.2%	92.7%	93.2%	93.3%
Incorrect	5.3%	1.2%	5.6%	4.0%	4.2%	4.3%	4.2%	4.3%	3.6%	5.1%
I do not know	2.0%	0.4%	8.1%	0.9%	2.8%	1.9%	3.6%	3.0%	3.2%	1.6%

79. Polarization within the conflict of the current Arab situation contributed to the state of fragmentation among Palestinians.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Correct	78.5%	87.8%	69.7%	82.2%	79.3%	79.7%	79.0%	79.6%	79.3%	78.8%
Incorrect	14.5%	8.5%	14.5%	9.3%	12.5%	13.0%	12.1%	12.2%	12.1%	14.2%
I do not know	7.0%	3.7%	15.8%	8.5%	8.1%	7.3%	8.9%	8.2%	8.6%	7.1%

80. Among the previous factors, which one is considered the root cause of fragmentation?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
1. Decline in the role of the Palestinian national movement	3.4%	2.1%	2.1%	1.9%	2.7%	2.6%	2.7%	2.8%	2.8%	2.0%
2. Weakness of the PLO	2.8%	2.7%	1.4%	2.8%	2.5%	2.9%	2.1%	2.3%	2.7%	2.6%
3. Signing of the Oslo Agreement	3.8%	2.0%	1.2%	2.9%	2.7%	3.4%	2.1%	2.3%	3.2%	3.1%
4. Growing phenomenon of political Islam	3.1%	2.5%	3.0%	1.3%	2.8%	3.2%	2.4%	2.4%	3.0%	3.4%
5. Difficult economic situation	8.0%	5.2%	8.6%	5.9%	7.2%	7.6%	6.9%	7.5%	7.0%	6.8%
6. Continuation of the Israeli occupation	29.2%	26.0%	32.1%	25.9%	28.7%	28.0%	29.4%	29.0%	29.2%	26.8%
7. Spread of favouritism and nepotism	13.6%	3.7%	10.4%	15.5%	10.5%	10.1%	10.8%	10.2%	10.5%	11.0%
8. International donor policies	3.8%	1.6%	8.6%	3.2%	4.2%	4.9%	3.5%	4.2%	3.9%	4.6%
9. Struggle between political factions	29.3%	53.0%	28.2%	35.7%	35.9%	34.4%	37.3%	36.1%	35.1%	36.9%
10. Polarization within the conflict situation in the Arab world	2.9%	1.2%	4.3%	5.0%	2.9%	2.9%	2.9%	3.2%	2.6%	2.8%

81. Rebuilding and activating the PLO is the most effective to get back on the right track.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	77.9%	91.4%	59.7%	84.3%	78.0%	80.5%	75.7%	77.2%	78.2%	79.8%
No	19.6%	7.3%	17.5%	10.8%	15.3%	14.9%	15.6%	15.6%	15.5%	14.2%
I don't know	2.5%	1.3%	22.8%	5.0%	6.7%	4.5%	8.7%	7.2%	6.3%	6.0%

82. Dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and its security apparatuses is the most effective to get back on the right track.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	45.8%	34.7%	57.9%	64.4%	46.9%	48.7%	45.2%	48.3%	44.0%	48.5%
No	49.5%	62.8%	17.6%	28.7%	44.6%	44.6%	44.6%	42.6%	48.1%	43.4%
I don't know	4.7%	2.4%	24.5%	6.8%	8.5%	6.7%	10.2%	9.1%	7.9%	8.1%

83. Re-election of representatives of the Palestinian people in all areas of Palestinian presence is the most effective to get back on the right track.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	85.1%	92.3%	71.8%	89.4%	84.5%	86.8%	82.3%	84.8%	84.2%	84.2%
No	12.8%	6.5%	9.2%	6.8%	9.9%	9.1%	10.7%	9.3%	10.7%	10.0%
I don't know	2.1%	1.2%	19.1%	3.9%	5.6%	4.1%	7.0%	5.9%	5.1%	5.9%

84. A Palestinian political reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas is the most effective to get back on the right track.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	90.0%	97.0%	86.4%	89.9%	91.1%	91.4%	90.7%	90.5%	91.1%	92.4%
No	7.8%	2.8%	6.6%	8.9%	6.3%	6.7%	6.0%	6.6%	6.3%	5.7%
I don't know	2.2%	0.2%	7.0%	1.2%	2.6%	1.9%	3.3%	2.9%	2.6%	1.9%

85. A reconciliation among all the layers of the Palestinian community is the most effective to get back on the right track.	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	93.4%	98.3%	86.6%	95.2%	93.4%	94.2%	92.6%	92.7%	93.2%	95.2%
No	5.6%	1.5%	5.5%	3.5%	4.3%	4.1%	4.5%	5.0%	4.1%	2.9%
I don't know	1.0%	0.3%	8.0%	1.2%	2.3%	1.7%	2.9%	2.3%	2.6%	1.9%
86. The elimination of corruption, nepotism and favouritism is the most effective to get back on the right track.	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	93.2%	97.1%	85.7%	97.1%	93.0%	92.8%	93.1%	93.0%	92.5%	93.6%
No	5.9%	2.3%	5.7%	1.8%	4.6%	4.9%	4.3%	4.8%	4.6%	4.1%
I don't know	0.9%	0.5%	8.6%	1.1%	2.5%	2.3%	2.6%	2.2%	3.0%	2.3%
87. Which is the most effective to get back on the right track?	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
The re-activation re-building the PLO	11.6%	9.6%	7.5%	10.7%	10.1%	10.5%	9.8%	9.9%	10.9%	9.3%
The dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and its security apparatuses	15.4%	3.4%	11.3%	6.8%	10.7%	11.3%	10.1%	9.9%	11.2%	11.4%
The re-election of representatives for the Palestinian people, in all places of presence.	12.4%	15.0%	17.0%	16.8%	14.4%	14.7%	14.1%	14.5%	15.0%	13.2%
A Palestinian political reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas.	32.0%	53.1%	29.8%	25.2%	36.7%	34.9%	38.5%	36.9%	35.7%	38.2%
Conduct community reconciliation for all the layers of the Palestinian people.	10.0%	13.6%	20.2%	22.2%	14.0%	14.2%	13.8%	13.8%	14.2%	14.2%
Elimination of corruption and nepotism and favouritism.	16.9%	5.1%	6.1%	16.4%	11.5%	11.8%	11.2%	12.0%	11.4%	10.3%
Other.	1.7%	0.2%	8.2%	2.0%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	3.1%	1.6%	3.3%

88. That what unites us as Palestinians is:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
History (politically, socially and economically)	14.8%	9.8%	13.6%	10.4%	12.9%	13.3%	12.5%	13.0%	12.6%	13.1%
Religion	22.3%	23.7%	13.3%	11.2%	19.9%	19.1%	20.7%	19.9%	18.6%	22.1%
Land and homeland	45.1%	50.9%	45.4%	63.8%	48.1%	48.6%	47.6%	47.1%	49.4%	48.4%
Palestinian sense of iden-tity	15.7%	13.7%	24.0%	14.1%	16.8%	16.5%	17.1%	18.1%	17.0%	13.4%
Other	2.2%	1.9%	3.8%	0.6%	2.3%	2.5%	2.2%	2.0%	2.4%	3.0%

89. I am a member of a charity association or non-government organization:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	19.5%	22.1%	26.3%	29.2%	22.4%	27.7%	17.4%	23.0%	21.1%	23.2%
No	80.0%	77.3%	70.1%	70.2%	76.4%	71.0%	81.5%	75.8%	77.8%	75.6%
I don't know	0.5%	0.6%	3.5%	0.7%	1.2%	1.3%	1.1%	1.3%	1.1%	1.2%

90. I participate in voluntary work for the community.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	33.3%	30.1%	37.5%	43.8%	34.1%	41.2%	27.5%	37.4%	30.3%	33.1%
No	65.7%	69.5%	59.3%	55.5%	64.6%	57.7%	71.1%	61.3%	68.7%	65.3%
I don't know	1.0%	0.4%	3.1%	0.7%	1.3%	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%	1.1%	1.6%

91. I participate in protests to support or disagree on Palestinian issues.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine v 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	24.6%	17.1%	30.1%	56.7%	26.3%	34.2%	18.8%	30.4%	22.0%	24.1%
No	73.8%	82.3%	65.3%	42.8%	71.9%	64.1%	79.2%	67.8%	76.2%	74.0%
I don't know	1.6%	0.5%	4.5%	0.6%	1.8%	1.7%	2.0%	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%

92. I consider myself an influential person in my community (village, town, refugee camp).

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Yes	38.6%	41.0%	41.4%	50.2%	40.7%	48.1%	33.7%	41.5%	37.9%	43.5%
No	56.7%	56.4%	40.0%	40.6%	51.8%	44.1%	59.1%	49.7%	55.8%	49.9%
I don't know	4.8%	2.6%	18.6%	9.3%	7.5%	7.8%	7.2%	8.7%	6.2%	6.6%

93. Democracy and freedom are linked to the degree of women's liberation (emancipation):

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	37.0%	47.9%	33.6%	49.8%	40.1%	33.6%	46.2%	41.4%	39.5%	38.0%
Agree to a certain extent	32.4%	24.0%	40.7%	35.8%	32.2%	32.2%	32.3%	31.9%	32.8%	32.0%
Disagree	30.6%	28.0%	25.8%	14.4%	27.7%	34.2%	21.5%	26.7%	27.7%	30.0%

94. The Palestinian political reality has a greater negative impact on the freedom of movement for women compared to men.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	41.1%	58.6%	28.2%	35.8%	42.5%	37.3%	47.5%	44.6%	40.8%	40.6%
Agree to a certain extent	33.2%	24.3%	48.9%	41.2%	34.8%	35.9%	33.8%	33.6%	35.8%	36.0%
Disagree	25.7%	17.1%	22.9%	22.9%	22.6%	26.8%	18.7%	21.8%	23.4%	23.4%

95. I support women's access to all positions in the Palestinian political decision-making process.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	49.0%	59.2%	51.2%	65.4%	53.4%	44.9%	61.4%	53.4%	53.7%	52.9%
Agree to a certain extent	30.6%	17.9%	36.8%	20.6%	27.8%	31.3%	24.6%	28.1%	26.0%	30.3%
Disagree	20.4%	22.9%	12.0%	13.9%	18.8%	23.8%	14.0%	18.5%	20.3%	16.8%

96. Currently, relations within the Palestinian family have become more equitable for women.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Agree	55.9%	71.4%	45.9%	52.0%	57.5%	54.4%	60.5%	59.4%	56.4%	55.1%
Agree to a certain extent	34.1%	17.6%	40.4%	38.3%	31.4%	33.7%	29.3%	29.9%	32.0%	34.0%
Disagree	10.0%	11.0%	13.8%	9.7%	11.0%	11.9%	10.3%	10.7%	11.6%	10.9%

97. The current trend of rejecting the Oslo agreement and negotiations is…

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Right	65.1%	55.9%	64.1%	54.4%	61.6%	64.4%	59.1%	63.7%	57.6%	63.7%
Incorrect	29.4%	39.7%	16.5%	31.2%	29.5%	28.8%	30.1%	27.3%	32.9%	28.6%
I do not know	5.6%	4.5%	19.4%	14.4%	8.9%	6.9%	10.8%	8.9%	9.5%	7.8%

98. The reaction of popular anger against the political and partisan Palestinian leaders.

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Right	80.1%	71.8%	84.4%	75.7%	78.5%	80.1%	77.1%	79.1%	76.3%	80.9%
incorrect	17.5%	26.6%	6.6%	19.6%	17.7%	17.3%	18.1%	17.6%	19.2%	15.6%
I do not know	2.4%	1.5%	9.0%	4.8%	3.8%	2.6%	4.8%	3.3%	4.6%	3.5%

99. The current trend of rejecting and resisting the oppression practiced by the occupation forces, when they confiscate land, kill, or displace Palestinian, is…:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Right	94.9%	97.9%	87.6%	97.6%	94.3%	94.1%	94.5%	94.3%	94.1%	94.9%
incorrect	3.9%	1.6%	5.2%	2.3%	3.5%	3.7%	3.2%	3.3%	3.9%	3.1%
I do not know	1.2%	0.5%	7.3%	0.1%	2.2%	2.1%	2.3%	2.4%	2.0%	2.0%

100. Among the reasons stated above, what is the main reason for the current resistance:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Refusal of the Oslo Accords	8.8%	6.1%	10.2%	22.1%	9.4%	9.6%	9.3%	9.0%	9.8%	9.9%
Normal angry reaction against the political leadership and parties	22.9%	12.0%	17.9%	13.8%	18.2%	19.1%	17.4%	17.9%	18.2%	19.1%
Resisting oppression practised by the occupation forces	62.6%	79.3%	48.2%	63.9%	64.2%	63.4%	65.0%	65.0%	65.1%	60.9%
Other	5.7%	2.6%	23.7%	0.3%	8.1%	8.0%	8.2%	8.1%	6.9%	10.0%

101. Do you see that the current resistance as:

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
Led by youth	71.0%	56.6%	59.2%	38.6%	62.2%	62.6%	61.9%	63.7%	61.1%	60.7%
Led by political parties	5.1%	8.8%	11.4%	15.0%	8.2%	7.9%	8.4%	7.6%	8.7%	8.6%
Popular (as in the first intifada)	22.5%	34.4%	22.1%	44.7%	27.2%	26.8%	27.6%	26.6%	27.5%	28.1%
Other	1.4%	0.3%	7.3%	1.6%	2.4%	2.7%	2.1%	2.1%	2.6%	2.6%

102. Do you support Palestinian President Abbas' declaration to support and join the alliance led by Saudi Arabia to fight against so-called terrorism?

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
I agree	25.3%	42.5%	39.7%	18.5%	32.3%	32.9%	31.7%	32.9%	31.3%	32.5%
I do not agree.	74.7%	57.5%	60.3%	81.5%	67.7%	67.1%	68.3%	67.1%	68.7%	67.5%

103.   The current conflict between Sunni and Shiite is....

	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Palestine 48	Palestinians in Lebanon	Total	Male	Female	18-29	30-44	45-55
A conflict over representing Islam	15.1%	5.7%	26.5%	12.8%	14.9%	14.8%	15.0%	15.0%	15.0%	14.6%
A conflict over the interpretation of the Sunnah and the Koran (holy book and scriptures).	11.7%	9.1%	12.2%	5.9%	10.7%	10.5%	10.9%	11.3%	10.7%	9.4%
A sectarian conflict created by the west	63.9%	80.7%	39.9%	69.2%	63.6%	65.4%	61.9%	61.7%	64.7%	66.3%
I do not know	9.2%	4.5%	21.4%	12.1%	10.8%	9.2%	12.3%	12.0%	9.7%	9.7%