

PALESTINIAN AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER

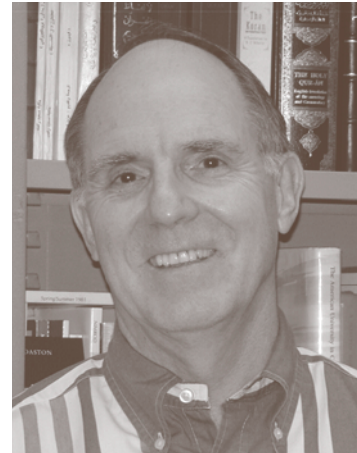
Acting U.S. Director's Report | BY CHARLES BUTTERWORTH

Despite a number of changes in the composition of the board and officers, plus a shifting of day-to-day responsibilities, PARC continues to function well. In the grouping of appointed board members, Ann Lesch agreed to replace Eugene Rogan who found it necessary to resign due to research commitments and distance; and Jennifer Olmsted indicated a willingness to replace Ellen Fleischmann who has now become PARC Secretary. Finally, Najwa al-Qattan will replace yours truly as an institutional board member now that I have become PARC Treasurer following Shaw Dallal's resignation in September, 2004. I will also take over the helm for a few months (December 1, 2004-April 30, 2005) as Acting Director to give Philip Mattar a well deserved respite.

On May 1, 2005, Denis Sullivan will assume the duties of PARC director. Professor of International Relations at Northeastern University in Boston, Ma., Denis is an active scholar who has written about NGOs in Egypt and Palestine. He has worked closely both with Iliya Harik and Sana Abed-Kotob on books and articles,

and been very active as a consultant to government agencies and to private organizations as well as in developing a thriving international relations program at Bentley College in Boston, Ma. We all look forward to working closely with Denis on developing PARC and making it into a more thriving research center.

Jennifer Olmsted has graciously agreed to serve as chair of the grants committee for this year's competition, and she is now selecting fellow committee members. Moreover, Sara Roy was willing to organize a PARC panel for next year's MESA meetings. We are very grateful to Sara for accepting this task and look forward to learning more about the panel, which will focus on the theme "Palestinian Economies."



PARC Welcomes Denis Sullivan as New U.S. Director



Denis Sullivan meeting in Bethlehem with Penny Johnson, PARC Palestine Director and Samah Atout, Development Coordinator Scientific Research Centers al-Najah National University.

Effective April 1, Dr. Denis Sullivan will become the director of PARC's U.S. office. Sullivan is a professor of political science at Northeastern University, where he is also the director of the International Affairs Center and director of the Middle East Center. He formerly served as executive director of the Cronin International Center, as chair of the International Studies Department at Bentley College, and as chair of the political science department at Northeastern University.

Since 1987, Sullivan has been an Affiliate in Research at Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Moreover, in 2002 and 2003, he was director of the Institute in Governance, Public Policy, and Civil Society in Toledo Spain.

Sullivan's credentials in Middle Eastern and Palestinian studies are extensive. He is the author of several books, most recently *The World Bank and the Palestinian NGO Project: From Service Delivery to Sustainable Development* (Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2001). He is a frequent consultant to the U.S. State Department on Islam and the Middle East, as well as to the World Bank on its Palestinian NGO project.

PARC is honored to have this distinguished scholar taking such an active role in its administration.

"New Perspectives on Mandate Palestine: A Thematic Conversation," MESA 2004

Designated participants: Martin Bunton (organizer), Salim Tamari, Ilana Feldman, Jamil Hilal, Sherene Seikaly, Mahmoud Yazbak.

At the 2004 MESA meetings in San Francisco, PARC sponsored a panel under the rubric of "thematic conversation." It focused on the exciting new perspectives being pursued with respect to the historiography of the Mandate period. Because of all the labor-related difficulties that plagued the larger conference setting, plus visa problems faced by some of the PARC panel participants, only Martin Bunton made it to San Francisco. He initiated discussion on the themes of the panel and the project that is at its core to an audience of about a dozen in a restaurant not far from the conference.

Interest was generally expressed in future projects reflecting the following concerns:

1. The opportunities and challenges presented by primary source material. It is widely agreed that more attention needs to be directed towards providing agency or voice to the colonized. The availability of historical records and access to them is also a major issue.
2. The need to be context-specific. Because colonialism can be very much an *ad hoc*, historically contingent exercise, there must be a focus on particular periods such as 1917-1921, 1936-1939, or World War II when Mandate policy had not yet gelled and local administration was in flux.
3. Care must be taken not to view colonial policies as monolithic; rather, attention must be paid to the extent to which they may be "negotiated" or even "contested."
4. The incorporation of comparative mandate studies so as to discern what insights might be gleaned from other colonial contexts. Palestine ought not be considered "sui generis," and metropolitan policies (e.g., health, land and gender) need to be better understood as points of comparison. Likewise, transitions and continuities from the Ottoman period need to be stressed.
5. It may be worth exploring how different colonialism is, conceptually, from other forms of control, such as state or bureaucratic control. How distinct, for example, is it from general patterns and processes often described as governance or modernization?
6. The legacy of the mandate period and the transition to the post-1947 period still need to be examined. Relevant to this discussion is the problem of "reading the history of the mandate period backwards." Often, historiography clings to nationalist narratives in various forms, and this must be better understood.

Laila Parsons and Malek Abisaab of McGill University are organizing the "thematic conversation" for MESA 2005. Anyone interested in participating should contact either Martin Burton or Laila Parsons. The topic currently being considered for that conversation is the opportunities and challenges presented by available primary sources in Arabic for the comparative study of mandates in the Middle East.

Finally, Sara Roy has organized a PARC panel for MESA 2005 on the theme of alternative economies.

Martin Bunton may be reached by e-mail at mbunton@uvic.ca.

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Dr. Jennifer Olmsted Joins Board of Directors

New to PARC's board is Dr. Jennifer Olmsted, a 2004 PARC fellow who is currently at Drew University while on leave from her position as associate professor of economics at Sonoma State University. Having grown up in Lebanon and lived or visited various other countries in the region, Olmsted has a long-held interest in Middle East economies and more broadly in feminist concerns related to globalization. She did field work in the Bethlehem area for her Ph.D. dissertation, which focused on differences in educational, employment and migration patterns by sex. Her present work on the Palestinian economy focuses both on

the political economy aspects of the current economic crisis and on the microeconomic implications of Israeli policies. In addition to researching the Palestinian economy for more than ten years, she has written on the Egyptian and US economies, and has also examined the role Orientalism plays in the way economic research is carried out. Her publications have appeared in journals such as *Feminist Economics and World Development*, as well as in numerous book volumes. Prior to serving on the PARC board, she served on the boards of the International Association for Feminist Economics and the Association for Middle East Women's Studies.

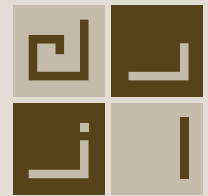
Rikaz Databank Available in English and Arabic

The Galilee Society announces free access to Rikaz, the Databank of the Palestinian Minority in Israel (www.rikaz.org). Available in English and Arabic, the databank provides comprehensive socio-economic

data on the Arab minority, as well as comparative information for the Jewish majority. Rikaz is a valuable tool for researchers, scholars and anyone interested in the status of Palestinian citizens of Israel.



The Galilee Society: The Arab National Society for Health Research and Services is a non-partisan NGO located in Shefa-Amr, Israel. In addition to maintaining Rikaz, the organization works on issues related to health, the environment, and the unrecognized villages of the Negev region. For more information, visit www.gal-soc.org.



Around (the) PARC

Congratulations to board members Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, whose book, *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, now in its second edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), was

selected by *Choice Magazine*, a key journal of reviews for libraries, as one of its Outstanding Academic Books for 2004.

DR. JENNIFER OLMSTED | The Palestinian Economy in Crisis

"Few studies have looked at the changes in the Palestinian economy in an evolutionary sense," observes Dr. Jennifer Olmsted, who is currently at Drew University while on leave from her position as associate professor of economics at Sonoma State University. Even fewer have looked at the impact that the economy has on individual Palestinians — the focus of Olmsted's research — which will study the dynamics of the Palestinian labor market to document how various community segments have been affected.

According to Olmsted, the Palestinian economy has suffered serious repercussions from the 1991 Gulf War, the second *Intifada*, and Israeli closure policies, which have led to increases in poverty, malnutrition, and overall a rather bleak economic picture for the

territories. These effects have been documented by the U.N. Office of the Special Coordinator of the Occupied Territories (UNSCO, 2002), the U.N. Commission on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2002), and the World Bank (2003). Olmsted will utilize these prior studies, as well as her earlier research on the gendering of the Palestinian labor market, a similar study conducted by Hammami (2001), and a study performed by the Norwegian organization, FAFO (1992), that analyzed the Palestinian economy during the early 1990s, to focus on the employment patterns, labor trends, and other economic changes post-1991 and their implications for Palestinian society.

MOHAMMED SAWALHA | Word Connotation in the Second Palestinian *Intifada*



Languages evolve, shift, grow and sometimes die. In Palestine, as elsewhere, word connotations have shifted to reflect the current cultural climate. Mohammed Sawalha, lecturer in Translation and Linguistics at al-Najah University, explores the shift in meaning of various words and terms in light of the Palestinian situation, particularly the current *Intifada*. Words such as *Intifada* or uprising, martyr, democracy, justice and freedom, as well as current terms to identify stone-throwers and tanks, fences and walls, among others,

will be looked at in terms of their positive, neutral or negative connotations and the evolution of their meanings.

The main words included in the study are *Jidar*, *Shahid*, *Jihad*, *'Usfur*, *Sakanat*, *Irhab*, *Amrika*, *Sulta*, *'Amaliyya Intihariyya*, and *Dimukratiyya*. Normally, these words have the meaning of wall, martyr, struggle, sparrow, dwellings (especially student dormitories), terrorism, America, authority, suicide operation, and democracy. But because of what has occurred in Palestinian society since the beginning of the current uprising, these words have taken on new meanings and new significance. Now, then, they have more poignant connotations. Thus *Jidar* stands for apartheid or racial discrimination, *Shahid* for honor or symbol, *Jihad* for liberation or weapon used against oppression, *'Usfur* for spy or betrayer, *Sakanat* for congestion or expression of suffering, *Irhab* for Western understanding of Islam or political goal, *Amrika* for Dracula, enemy, or corrupt suppression, *Sulta* for corruption or tyranny, *'Amaliyya Intihariyya* for resistance or martyr operation, and *Dimukratiyya* for tool of pressure or empty slogan. Sawalha believes that such shifts in word meanings will massively affect future Palestinian society and the Palestinian state.

In his research, Sawalha will analyze the shifts in Palestinian language usage for their social, political and psychological importance and will emphasize the particular events that have led to these linguistic changes. “There is no doubt that some words and their situational connotations have left and still leave a great impact on different sectors of the Palestinian society,” says Sawalha. “This study shall investigate this power over decision making and on decision makers, and the gap between official and popular word usages. In this respect, the study will shed light on how particular words have the power of change.”

Sawalha will perform his analysis using a questionnaire administered to a random sample of students at al-Najah

National University in Nablus. This group, Sawalha states, “is varied by education and other demographic characteristics and represents the whole Palestinian spectrum.” In addition, he notes, they have been highly affected by the current *Intifada* and are active participants in current events.

Through his research, words that are most commonly used by the people or the media will be examined for fluctuations in usage and understanding. Sawalha points out that previous studies have focused on word meaning by tracing their usage, researching their etymology and surveying their translations from ancient versions. Meanings have to take into account the context of the word usage. For example, Sawalha points to the word “shepherd,” with its etymological meaning “to herd sheep.” Through Biblical usage, however, the word acquires a secondary meaning associated with its ecclesiastical usage, i.e., “spiritual leader.”

In addition to this analysis, Sawalha will draw from semiotics and the works of Barthes, Eckardt, Schaffner and others regarding denotation and connotation – terms that describe the relationship between the signifier and the signified. According to Sawalha, “the connotations are typically related to the interpreter’s class, age, gender, ethnicity, and so on,” making them more open to interpretation. While theorists use the difference of denotation and connotation, Sawalha posits that “in practice, these meanings cannot be neatly separated.”

While word connotations are formed by individuals, he explains, word meanings are not totally subjective; rather, they are determined in part by cultural codes which provide a framework for their meaning. For example, as Sawalha points out, in Western culture, a car can connote virility or freedom — meanings that are widely recognized throughout society. Similarly, certain words reflect power dynamics within a culture that are not always obvious — “including even supposedly ‘objective’ scientific codes.” Through semiotics, Sawalha suggests, the tendency to accept these denotations as “literal, self-evident truth” can be overcome.

Word choices also reflect this emphasis on connotation, as do the use of metaphor. “A purely structuralist account also limits us to a synchronic perspective,” reflects Sawalha, “and yet both connotations and denotations are subject not only to socio-cultural variability, but also to historical factors: they change over time.”

Using Barthes’ definition of “myth” as that which serves the ideological function of naturalization, i.e., “to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs seem entirely ‘natural,’ ‘normal,’ self-evident, timeless, obvious ‘common-sensical’ – and thus objective and ‘true’ reflections of ‘the way things are,’” Sawalha will deconstruct Palestinian language usage to discover the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

NADIA ABU-ZAHRA | Development and Conflict: Community-Based Development in War-Like Conditions

The use of geographic information for community-based development under a difficult political economy is the focus of Nadia Abu-Zahra's doctoral research. Abu-Zahra will use the case of Palestine to provide a perspective on "how contested resource exploitation is legitimized and resisted." She hopes to create a greater understanding of local communities' coping strategies under oppressive regimes (including military occupation). She aims also to discover "how local and international development planning affects, and is affected by, neo-colonization and its accompanying violence."

Key research objectives for Abu-Zahra include identifying the "ideological, legal and technical developments that enable resource expropriation" and examining attempts to prevent it. She therefore investigates the use of geographic information in expropriation and the resistance that often accompanies such measures. Planning initiatives in the West Bank, she explains, are typically employed within rigid constraints. She believes her research will contribute to theory and have practical implications that may result in recognition — by international NGOs and bilateral and multilateral aid organizations — of the need to support local communities contesting resource expropriation.

Overall, Abu-Zahra's analysis will "highlight a perspective of dispossession that emphasizes day-to-day strategies for coping," adding to current knowledge across a number of disciplines. Abu-Zahra will draw insights from a case study of four community planning initiatives, where she will conduct empirical research through semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observation in order "to identify perspectives on the motivation, challenges, contributions, requirements, and possible futures of the initiatives."

Abu-Zahra believes researchers need to review the role of development *during* social and political struggles for livelihood, not just before and after "conflict." Recognizing the political nature of development interventions, researchers can investigate appropriate

responses under difficult circumstances. "The lessons learned from the case study will be valuable to international research and development projects involving community-based development under oppressive regimes (including military occupation)," states Abu-Zahra.

In addition, while existing research on this subject concentrates on the role of external aid agencies, few studies focus on community-based initiatives. "Aid can either bolster the role of otherwise little-known community organizations or marginalize the efforts of popular movements," posits Abu-Zahra. The importance of understanding community-based development activities and evaluating the possible and actual effects of external aid are evident as they often determine where people live and work and, thus, what resources they control. "By contributing to global understanding on the role of community-based development in war-like conditions, this research will increase the ability to evaluate the appropriateness and impact of international aid policy," claims Abu-Zahra. She believes that her research will make solid contributions to urban and regional studies, as well as to international development, legal geography, community-based development, citizenship, and borderland studies.

Abu-Zahra received her bachelor's degree in international development and economics from the University of Toronto, where she also earned a master's degree in geography, environment, and health. She is currently a D.Phil. student in geography at the University of Oxford.

Nadia Abu-Zahra can be reached by e-mail at forp@look.ca.



MOHAMMED SAWALHA CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

"major culturally variable concepts underpinning a particular worldview." This analysis will "attempt to deconstruct the ways in which codes operate within particular popular texts or genres, with the goal of revealing how certain values, attitudes and beliefs are supported while others are suppressed."

Sawalha agrees that it can be difficult to deconstruct the language of one's own culture. He believes, however, that it is an important step toward understanding the values of the society and how they are transmitted both within and outside of the community.

Sawalha holds a master's degree in Translation and Linguistics (English-Arabic, Arabic-English) from Bath University in England. In addition to teaching at al-Najah National University, he serves as director of the Palestinian House of Friendship and has been an active member of the Palestinian Team for Peace Talks in the Middle East (Madrid Conference) and of the bilateral negotiations in the Washington Talks on the Middle East.

Mohammed Sawalha can be reached by e-mail at mohsawalha@yahoo.com.

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SHERENE SEIKALY | Palestine: An Archive in the Making

Editor's note: Sherene Seikaly received a 2003 PARC fellowship to perform doctoral research on Palestinian cultures of consumption in Israel.

To reclaim Palestinian history writ large is an arduous task for historians and scholars. Because there is no national Palestinian archive, records of events and processes are as fragmented as they are dispersed. The historian must painstakingly gather dispersed shards in an attempt to visit, analyze, and understand a highly contested and largely silenced history. These challenges are further heightened by the struggle to realize the very possibility of a Palestinian nation.

The difficulties of accessing the history of Palestine and Palestinians are further compounded when the aim is to move beyond the canon of “official” history defined by restricted notions of the “political.” Capturing the subaltern position in historical processes in any context requires interrogating and rethinking history itself. Scholars must thus balance rigorous attention to detail with commitment to narrating a coherent historical trajectory.

The search for Palestinian history is a difficult road, littered with roadblocks and small paths sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to access. Researching in Haifa and Jerusalem for this past year and a half has offered me a number of practical and theoretical lessons about research and history. On the most basic level, students of Palestinian history must be mobile, flexible, and imaginative. Given the destruction and/or dispersal of Palestinian papers, documents, contracts, collections, deeds, certificates, and manuscripts, the historian must search in unexpected places — even within archival institutions themselves.

The initial challenge is entry to, and working in, the Israeli archives. The archives, in their role as guardian of state history, are both a space for negating Palestinian history and one for holding the scattered evidence of its existence. In some cases, these archives are organized and relatively open to researchers — or at least those who have the appropriate citizenship to enter Israel itself. Beyond the ever present Zionist iconography of these institutions and the personal negotiations such symbols may require, one must also strive to look beneath and around the presentation and organization of historical documents. It is one thing to be trained in questioning the production of knowledge. It is quite another to observe such a process unfolding while one is in effect attempting to participate in the production of an alternative knowledge, an alternative trajectory.

For example, in researching on the emergence of a middle class culture and ideology in Mandatory Palestine, I have learned that one may be able to access the names, locations and details of Palestinian Arab businesses only in the most unlikely files. The British government's reliance on the Jewish Agency for business

statistics effectively eliminated Palestinian Arab initiatives and entrepreneurs from official records and reports. Over and over, one finds the narrative of British officials — based sometimes word for word on Jewish Agency economic publications — reiterating that Arabs were rural and agricultural while Jews were urban and industrial. Finding the exceptions to such over-determined categorizations can sometimes be a matter of chance. It was in a “Food Control” file in the Economic Adviser box that I learned of *The Golden Spindle*, a textile factory in Jaffa that employed 435 laborers — a significant number even by contemporary standards. *The Golden Spindle* didn't make it into any of the British government documents on the Palestinian economy, nor does it appear in what remains of Arab Chambers of Commerce correspondence and presentations. It was only because *The Golden Spindle* was applying for a food license to open a factory canteen that its records came to be placed in the Israeli State Archive.

Another challenge in researching Palestinian history is being confronted with what you don't want to find. In focusing on consumption and consumers, I had a hope — however repressed — to find something of a “pure” Palestinian space. Looking at sources as diverse as the Palestinian nationalist press to Histadrut-sponsored Arabic language magazines in the first half of the twentieth century demonstrated how Palestinian constructions of modernity generally as well as more specific iterations of hygiene, beauty, and leisure were tied to a growing Jewish presence in Mandatory Palestine. The construction of such notions was in no sense a process of transparent mimesis. Indeed, Palestinians actively constructed themselves in opposition to the “Western” or “foreign” other at the same time that they created their own notions and relationships to modernity.

Perhaps the most rewarding challenge is the attempt to capture and represent the vitality of Palestinian history under the British Mandate. It is important, as noted above, to understand the cultural, social, and economic proliferation of links and exchanges between Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian and/or European Jews in the first half of the twentieth century. It is just as, if not more, important to move away from understanding Palestinian history always in comparison to its Jewish/Israeli counterpart — the failed, interrupted, buried remains upon which Israel established itself. It is necessary work to read and study Palestine as a place that existed on its own terms and not always in opposition to a threatening other. This necessity is not (or, to be more honest, not only) about proving that such a place and such a people existed — again in contradistinction to some idea of historical success or failure — but rather quite simply about imagining what might have been.

Sherene Seikaly can be reached by e-mail at sherene.seikaly@gte.net.

NAHDA SHEHADA | Islamic Family Law in Palestine: Debate and Practice



Nahda Shehada's research focuses on Islamic family law and its reform in the Gaza Strip. In it, she examines the differences between the implementation of family law in the *shari'a* courts and its "political conceptualization in the public sphere." Shehada's research builds on earlier research she performed in Gaza City, where she observed the conduct of religious judges, or qadis, to analyze their behavior toward women.

"Current approaches to reforming family law are based on the assumptions

that qadis merely implement laws designed to maintain the oppression of women and that women are mostly helpless unless there are changes in the law," notes Shehada, whose original research results indicated that these assumptions were false. Shehada returned to Gaza in 2004 to conduct additional field research on the topic. Her investigation requires direct observation, as no literature based on observation of the complex processes of the *shari'a* courts in Palestine currently exists.

Shehada's primary research objective involved determining whether the qadis behaved differently in different contexts. She visited the *shari'a* courts of Gaza villages, including Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoon, Beit Suhayla and the newly established court of Shigaeyya district, to provide a comparison of the qadis' behavior in those locations to their behavior in the *shari'a* courts of Gaza City itself. She points out that the qadis' membership in the community is an important tool of analysis to help "interpret their sense of responsibility in protecting weak individuals." Shehada's study enabled her to "observe how the dynamics of qadis' conformity with, and divergence from, the local customs are occurring in these villages and their effect with regard to protection of female litigants."

As part of her research, Shehada conducted two separate, yet parallel, comparative analyses. First, she examined the differences between the public discourse of the women's movement concerning Islamic family law reform and the day-to-day experiences of non-politicized "ordinary women" in the *shari'a* courts. Secondly, she analyzed the differences between the religious establishment's public discourse (concerning family law reform) and the actual practice of religious judges in the *shari'a* courts.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, Islamic family law reform was actively debated as part of the women's movement, resulting in a "shift from a strong national outlook to a more gender-specific agenda," said Shehada. However, through her interaction with women participating in the *shari'a* court, she discovered concerns and strategies different from those of the women's

movement. For example, the family law's *nafaqa*, or maintenance provision, was created to help define "gender relations between husbands and wives on the basis of maintenance versus obedience." In reality, women in the courts transformed this provision from "a tool for control to a means of empowerment." During her fieldwork, Shehada observed *nafaqa* "being used for diverse purposes that are far beyond the ideological reading of Islamic family law," describing examples of women using *nafaqa* to claim a separate house, demand sexual rights, and allow for divorce.

In contrast, the women's movement interprets *nafaqa* "as a tool for oppression, portraying women as economically less competent and thus eternally dependent on their husbands for their livelihood," declares Shehada.

Shehada's analysis also found that "when conceptualizing family law in the public sphere, religious judges present a monolithic view of Islamic family law, linking any attempt to reform it with a Western conspiracy against Islam." These same judges, however, also sometimes acted to protect women from harm that could be imposed on them if the law were interpreted too strictly, leading to her belief that the qadis use "codified law and uncoded norms to serve 'justice' as they perceive it."

Shehada argues that the current literature is ideological in nature and abstract in its analysis. Her fieldwork suggests that the examination of the "hegemonic role of state and the shifting functions of qadis and the *shari'a* court do not satisfactorily explain why the *shari'a* court in Gaza applies codified law differently from the presumed method." In her view, she continues, "family law is not applied in a vacuum; it is bound by the context in which the qadis' worldview, state structure, and people's agency all affect the perception and implementation of Islamic family law."

In order to understand the reasons behind their "double discourse," Shehada interviewed the qadis in the villages as well as interviewed women activists to probe the differences between their "views about the existing and proposed family law and the concrete experiences of women in the court." Shehada believes that "understanding the significance of the qadis' judicial rulings may bring about new insights, strategies, and visions related to the actual practices, needs, and interests of people, rather than [being based] on mere ideology."

Shehada received her M.A. in development studies from the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (Netherlands), where she is currently a Ph.D. candidate and teaching assistant in the fields of social science and reproductive rights.

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Yael Warschel | Childhood Constructions of Palestinian National Identity

Children have played a pivotal role in the Palestinian *Intifadas*. Yet, a gap exists in our understanding of how Palestinian children perceive their role in constructing the nation and what goals they hold with respect to state formation. Yael Warschel believes that the key to understanding that role is “to understand how they negotiate their national and civic identity, what goals they have with respect to ending occupation, and how they experience and perceive the conflict with both Israeli children and adults.” Her dissertation research will therefore explore childhood constructions of Palestinian nationalism as part of her larger study about the impact of Palestinian and Israeli versions of “Sesame Street” on building peace between Israeli and Palestinian children. Through it, she examines the gap that exists in understanding “how Palestinian children perceive their role in constructing the nation and what goals they hold with respect to state formation.”

Warschel will examine how Palestinian children, both in Palestine and Israel, “negotiate these identities in relation to one another and in relation to Jewish-Israeli adults and children.” She will also investigate how their perceptions of Jewish-Israelis influence the construction of their national identities and whether these perceptions are “influenced by mediated representations” of Palestinians, Palestinian-Israelis, and Jewish-Israelis.

Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli children play different roles in constructing their nation’s identity, and each society views the conflict from different perspectives—Palestinians as members of a stateless nation, Jewish-Israelis as members of a state-bearing nation, and Palestinian-Israelis as members of a state minority. As a result, each society views peace as achieving different goals: justice, security, and equality, respectively. Warschel hypothesizes the “different goals and experiences with the conflict that have constructed these vantage points influence how each group responds to, and, in turn, is affected by the TV programs.”

According to Warschel, other studies of people-to-people programming like Israeli and Palestinian “Sesame Street” have left numerous questions unanswered. Those studies employed the use of survey-based measures rather than “reception analysis” measures, making it difficult to “accurately assess the intervening influences of childhood nationalisms and their relationship to the conflict upon these children’s reactions to the TV programs.” The reception analysis method pursued by her, emphasizes “meaning-making,” which allows children participating in a study to provide their own definitions of nationalistic categories. In contrast, survey-based measures pre-define these categories, thereby affecting the study’s outcome.

Warschel’s study builds upon research conducted in 2001, when she interviewed children who watched “Rehov Sumsum/Shari’ Simsim,” during the first season of the Israeli version of “Sesame Street.” In that study, she discovered that the majority of Jewish-

Israeli children perceived the category of “Arab” as distinct from “Palestinian.” The children defined the category “Palestinian” as their partner in conflict and expressed more negative attitudes towards that category. In addition, in cases where children separated Palestinian-Israelis from Palestinians, they often referred to Palestinian-Israelis as “Arab-Jews.” “Without the use of open-ended interview techniques, it would have been impossible to verify that by ‘Arab-Jew’ the children were referring to Palestinians in Israel,” explains Warschel. Her intent is to “explore in greater detail the meanings of constructed categories like these” and what impact they have on altering the potential influence of “Sesame Street” on reducing conflict between and among Palestinian and Israeli audiences.

Warschel will use her PARC fellowship to perform additional fieldwork and pursue questions raised during her initial research. Her study will include 90 Palestinian-Israeli, Jewish-Israeli, and Palestinian children, ages five to nine, who watch the “Sesame Street” programs. She plans to use a gameboard-like questionnaire to “ascertain how the children construct their own and the other groups’ national and civic identities, how they themselves perceive their experiences with the conflict, and how they define their goals with respect to it.” To obtain demographic information, she will also conduct a survey of parents. She will also conduct quasi-ethnographic research about families and communities to situate the children’s responses in relation to their environment. Finally, Warschel will seek to determine how the results or findings of her study relate, rather than attempt to make a direct comparison between the three categories of stateless nation, state-bearing nation, and national minority.

Warschel’s research will provide valuable data to help chronicle the development of Palestinian national identity from various perspectives, including from Gazan and Palestinian-Israeli children. In addition, her research will aid in understanding how Jewish-Israeli children perceive Palestinians as well as provide beneficial information about the effectiveness of people-to-people programs designed to ease conflict between Palestinians and Israelis.

Warschel received an award from the International Communication Association for her preliminary research in 2001 that was supported by a Dorot Grant. She holds a master’s degree in communication from the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in communication at the University of California, San Diego. She is a past recipient of the John Gardner Fellowship for Public Service through the Universities of California, Berkeley, and Stanford, where she worked for the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Jerusalem.

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USAMAH SHAHWAN AND ROMELL SOUDAH | Public-Private Partnership as a Strategy for Economic Development in Palestine



Usamah Shahwan

In a collaborative project, Usamah Shahwan and Romell Soudah will examine the existing relationship between the Palestinian government machinery and the business community in Palestine to see to what extent their relationship has impacted the economic development in the Palestinian territories. Shahwan and Soudah suggest that the public-private partnership model has implications for the delivery of public goods and services and may eliminate the “administrative reform approach” that traditionally focused on fixing the bureaucracy and which has not been particularly successful in other developing countries. In Palestine, they suggest, “the adoption of a market-economy entails a restructuring of the existing government institutions making them more adaptable to the requirements of a free market system.” The process is complicated by the existing relationships between the government and the private sector, including public policies that dictate strategies for job creation and how services and commodities will be produced.

According to Shahwan and Soudah, little attention has been focused on the relationship between the public and private sectors and its role in the current economic crisis and increasing levels of poverty. Since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994, they point out, no studies have been conducted to study the relationship between the public and private sectors. This research is important as part of a current assessment of the Palestinian economy and for the future development of the Palestinian Authority in identifying the problems and providing possible solutions.

In order to raise the quality of services and the level of consumer satisfaction, earlier studies looked at a division of labor between the public and private sectors. “The movement was prompted by fiscal restraints and public criticism of governments in the U.S. and Europe for bureaucratic inefficiencies and corruption that created problems of inequality and social injustice.” The result has led to “privatization policies that swept the globe since the mid-eighties” and strengthened the trend toward public-private partnerships in many developing and industrialized countries.

That said, however, Shahwan and Soudah maintain that the free market mechanisms have been limited and not without problems. “No matter how well the market system works,” they assert, “it cannot provide all needed vital services to the business community or to the society as a whole.” Changes in

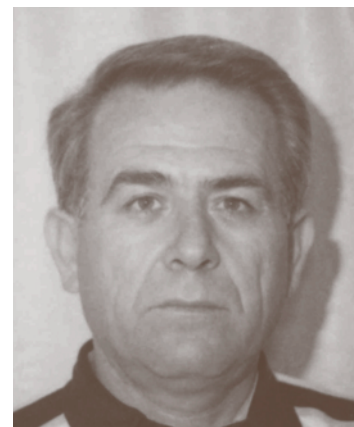
thought about economic policy have recognized the important role of government in stabilizing the economy and how “promoting economic growth and stability has become one of the key responsibilities of government.”

Shahwan and Soudah believe a study of this type in Palestine is essential for understanding the Palestinian economy and its prospects for the future. According to the researchers, there are four major forces at work within the Palestinian economy: The Palestinian National Authority, Israel, Palestinian private business, and the world economy. Their study will focus only on two — the Palestinian government and Palestinian private businesses — and will look carefully at how the “increasing levels of involvement” by the government and the imposition of regulations, taxation, and monopolies on certain products and services influence the business community and ultimately the overall economy.

Shahwan and Soudah will base their study on the following hypotheses:

- The relationship between the public and private sectors has been weak and “even antagonistic.”
- There are no significant differences among private enterprises in their attitude towards the authority based on size, location, or nature of work.
- Palestinian economic policies have negatively affected the private sector’s development.
- Some legal and administrative measures will be necessary to create an appropriate public-private partnership.

Their research methodology will be based on dual focus groups that include members from both sectors, in-depth interviews with key members of both sectors, and a review of relevant studies and statistics. In addition, they will conduct a large-scale survey of the business community using a questionnaire distributed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.



Romell Soudah

Manufacturing, retail, food, pharmaceutical, construction, insurance, restaurant, and tourism businesses will be included in the survey. Analysis of the survey will use a stratified sampling technique. Shahwan and Soudah believe this data will reflect general trends, attitudes, and perceptions of businesses on economic revitalization issues.

In her current research, Olmsted will use both secondary data and interviews to document how various segments of the society have been affected by the economic crisis, looking at factors such as age, class, gender, and refugee status. In addition to earlier studies, the creation of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) has made more extensive labor force survey information available that will enable Olmsted to examine employment patterns, such as where individuals are working (location and occupation), and the characteristics of both workers and the unemployed.

Olmsted's methodology will include multi-variate regression analysis and various statistics, including the Duncan Index of Dissimilarity, to measure various types of labor segregation. For a closer examination of the way in which families and households are being affected by the current economic climate, Olmsted will perform field interviews and participant observation in a number of locations. She also plans to meet with other scholars and policy makers while in the region. "I am particularly interested in returning to the households I interviewed previously to ask about the current situation and to find out how these families have coped in the last 10-plus years." The case studies and interviews will serve to "provide a more nuanced portrayal of household economic survival."

The increasing immobility imposed by the Israelis, says Olmsted, "has had a devastating effect on the Palestinian economy and led to a severe decline in the per capita GDP and a rapid rise in the unemployment rate, which in turn was linked to a rapid rise in poverty (to over 60%)." She adds that the data suggest that the effects go even farther, contributing to a rise in malnutrition and an overall depressing economic picture for the society. Other studies, Olmsted reports, have focused on how the changes in labor flows into Israel and returning Palestinians influence labor markets.

Olmsted plans to use her research to author two papers about the labor market changes over the past 10 years, including an historical study of the shifts and their social impacts as well as an examination of segregation and unemployment patterns, the types of jobs held, and who holds them relative to gender and age cohorts. Her more detailed examination will analyze how shifting employment patterns have affected various groups of Palestinians and how, in turn, those shifts have affected individuals' access to income and economic vulnerability, with particular attention on occupational segregation patterns in unemployment over the last 10 years.


While Olmsted began her research in 1991, and her data collection efforts have been ongoing. "Because the data I collected during the early 1990s were extremely rich and contained data unavailable elsewhere, I have continued to work on these data for the past 10 years. But as the economic situation in Palestine has continued to deteriorate in recent years, I have come to the realization that in order to continue to understand the economic dynamics I need not only to obtain more recent data sets, but I also need to return to the region to observe the current situation."

Olmsted received her Ph.D. in economics with a specialization in Palestinian economy and gender issues from the University of California, Davis, and has taught economics and women's studies at a number of universities since 1993. She has been on the faculty at Sonoma State University since 2003.

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The increasing immobility imposed by the Israelis, says Olmsted, "has had a devastating effect on the Palestinian economy and led to a severe decline in the per capita GDP and a rapid rise in the unemployment rate..."



Once they have performed their analysis of the current situation, Shahwan and Soudah will examine the possibility of "forging an alliance between governmental agencies and their counterparts in the private sector for the purpose of revitalizing the stagnant economy and enhancing the capacity of public service delivery systems." Their analysis will include identifying what obstacles may impede success and proposing strategies for overcoming them.

Shahwan received his Ph.D. in public administration from the University of Southern California and is currently an associate

professor in business administration at Bethlehem University. Soudah received his master's degree and performed doctoral studies (ABD) in economics at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He is currently a lecturer in economics and business administration at Bethlehem University.

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DR. JULIE PETEET | An Ethnography of Israeli Closure of Palestinian Areas



In her research project, Dr. Julie Peteet, chair of the department of anthropology at the University of Louisville, explores the effects of continued closures and the construction of the wall around the West Bank on Palestinians. Beginning her analysis from “a time/space framework imposed by a settler colonialist occupation,” Peteet examines the way in which closures “shatter trust in the predictability of everyday life.” “Closure forges separation, casting Palestinians as outside time and space and denies a

mutuality of time and space to Israelis and Palestinians.” In contemporary Palestine, she views the current imposition of closure as a source of social suffering that spawns new ways of constructing meaning from the individual to the societal level.

Peteet considers the wall and its immobilizing affects on Palestinians to be a “violent fragmentation” that she will analyze as a “colonial strategy, which in its daily application contains a seemingly high element of capriciousness.” She posits that, “Palestinians have been corralled in spatio-temporal zones where conflict and chaos have become the norm. Although closure and related tactics of occupation are attempts to routinize control and subdue resistance, they are equally about rule through the imposition of chaos.” Such tactics, she states, make life unpredictable and anxiety ridden and may also serve to stimulate geographic relocation and reduce resistance.

Closures, she urges, are part of “a long pattern of fragmentation and appropriation of Palestinian space beginning with the partition plan of 1947. Once geographically contiguous, Palestine has progressively been reduced to a series of non-contiguous, violently maintained, enclosed sectors. Thus, closure is a technique in a historically drawn-out colonial project, confining Palestinians into multiple, non-contiguous spatio-temporal worlds ranging across the Arab world and beyond.”

While the spatial implications of closure may be more self-evident, Peteet’s analysis examines the temporal impact of the closures on Palestinian society: “Time is bounded up in novel but oppressive ways; it stops and starts up arbitrarily. Social commitments are difficult to make and keep. Loss of control over daily life means that social relations can become strained.” Examples of closure’s impact on everyday life include the ability to attend weddings, funerals, and graduations that mark important cultural events and serve to build and maintain relationships.

Gender roles, traditionally marked by levels of mobility, are also affected. As a society in which men have traditionally had greater mobility, “the autonomy so closely associated with their gender identity is circumscribed.” Consequently, one must ask if the goal of closure is to “domesticate and emasculate men through spatial confinement.”

Peteet’s research will also examine how Palestinians speak about the wall, closure, and the effects they have on daily living. Her investigation will include the manner of narration, the transmission of information between generations, the impact on political socialization, and how it is manifested in cultural representations. In addition she will investigate how closure affects social units within the society (families, clans, villages, etc.) and decisions to migrate.

Her research raises the question of how efficient closure is as a policy purportedly designed to reduce violent resistance. Historically, she says, closure contributed to the “nativization of settlers, on the one hand and indigenous invisibility on the other.” With the inherent dilemma posed by two opposing entities claiming the same space, Peteet sees closure as the “slow and gradual displacement [of Palestinians] through structural and physical violence, effected through measures that make daily socio-economic and political life onerous and punishing — from taxation to arbitrary detention to closure.” In other words, she asserts, over time the policies have led to “an emptying landscape. Indigeneity continues but in reduced form, marked by invisibility and, it is anticipated, a gradual demographic decline through out-migration.”

Peteet plans to conduct her research using participant-observation techniques at various sites in Palestine as the military situation allows. In addition, she will conduct semi-structured interviews with Palestinians.

Peteet is the author of numerous journal articles and two books on Palestinian issues: *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (2005; University of Pennsylvania Press), and *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement* (1991; Columbia University Press). She received her Ph.D. in anthropology from Wayne State University and has taught anthropology at the University of Louisville since 1991. An active researcher, her interests include space and identity, diaspora/refugee studies, violence and conflict, gender studies, the Middle East, and legal anthropology.

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ABIGAIL JACOBSON | From Empire to Empire: Continuity and Change in Jerusalem in the Transition between the Ottoman and British Rules, 1912-1920.

Abigail Jacobson's dissertation research examines the shift from the Ottoman Empire to the British Mandate period. Jacobson points out that historians have typically broken Palestinian historiography into two segments — the Ottoman period and the Mandatory period — while generally viewing World War I as an historically separate event. According to Jacobson, “the shift from one empire to the other . . . has never been discussed as such.” Jacobson's research focuses on the period 1912-1920 in Jerusalem, “a multi-ethnic and multi-national urban setting,” and explores the connections between the two periods, treating the war as part of the process, rather than a separate historical event.

Among her research questions are:

- How did people who had lived their entire lives under Ottoman, Muslim rule understand the transition to colonial, Christian rule?
- How did the shift from one empire to the next affect Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the city?
- Was there a difference in the way these groups dealt with the changes?
- How did indigenous Jews and Arabs loyal to the Ottoman Empire prior to, and even during, the war cope with the disappearance of its institutions?
- Did changes of geographic boundaries affect local identities?
- How did the urban environment in Jerusalem change following the transition?

“By looking at the way the communities residing in the city interacted with one another, and by examining the changes the British wrought in the urban environment, I hope to gain insights about changes that took place in the nature of inter-communal relations and life in the city during this period of transformation.”

In examining the events in this way, Jacobson seeks to write a “holistic history of Palestine, and specifically Jerusalem, while integrating Jews and Arabs into one historical analysis, without separating between the two communities and their experiences.” With her emphasis on the transition period and integration of the war experience there, she hopes to provide a more meaningful history of the city by examining its multiple functions as a major religious, cultural, administrative, and intellectual center. Thus she will “bridge both social groups and period and create a more complex and multi-layered analysis of Jerusalem in a period of transition and change.” Her focus will be on the interaction between

Jews and Arabs and on questions of identity formation, administrative, and urban/spatial changes. In each of these areas she will examine transitory roles of government administrators and intermediaries and their shifting roles in the community. Moreover, she will distinguish between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews as well as between Christian and Muslim Arabs in seeking to determine the effect the war had on Jews and Arabs generally.

“Municipalities are a good site [for investigation] because of their growing importance in the provincial administration during the last phases of the Ottoman rule in Palestine.” She points out that since Jews and Arabs regularly interacted in the municipality, “it can serve as a good place to look into questions regarding inter-communal relations in the city.”

Jacobson will utilize a relational history model, focusing on Jerusalem as a “vibrant and complex center” composed of heterogeneous structures of social activity. She will use new methodologies that look at cities as “dynamic sites for political, cultural, and social activity, while also exploring the role of urban space in constructing identities and defining the relationship between colonial forces and the local population.”

Jacobson's PARC-funded field research involved several months in Israel, where she conducted archival research at the Jerusalem Municipal Archive. The archive contains the Ottoman records of the Municipal Council of Jerusalem and the minutes of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, among other key documents. Other archives where she worked were the Zionist Archive and the Israel State Archive, both located in Jerusalem. Her review included Hebrew and Arabic newspapers, plus memoirs in Arabic, Hebrew, English, and Turkish. Additional archival research was conducted in Istanbul, Turkey and in England, where extensive collections of Ottoman, British, Zionist, and Arab reports are housed.

Jacobson is a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Chicago. She completed her B.A. and M.A. in Middle Eastern studies at the School of History, Tel Aviv University in Israel and has worked as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Middle Eastern studies there and with the Israeli NGO Physicians for Human Rights.

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“The shift from one empire to the other...has never been discussed as such,” says Jacobson.



ABDUL ARRAR | The Role of Rural Areas Surrounding Nablus in the 1936 - 1939 Uprising



Mohammad Saleh, Faris al-Azzouni, Fatima Khaskia, and Hafiz and Mahfouz Ali Ahmed.

According to Arrar, it is not hard to understand why the Jewish settlement activities during this period resulted in rebellion by those living in the Nablus region. “The settlements represented a serious threat to villagers’ land; therefore the uprising against the English and the Zionists was intensified in the area that extends between Nablus, Jenin, and Toulkarem,” known by the British as the “Triangle of Terror.” The area is also known as the “Mountain of Fire,” based on the fierce reputation of its people and their long history of defending their territory from the Ottoman rulers through Napoleon. With its mountainous terrain, wooded areas, and unpaved roads, this region geographically favored such a rebellion, he adds.

Arrar’s research will include an historical overview of the region that extends to the Ottoman period and its citizen revolts. It will also examine the period following 1882, when Jewish settlement first began, to document and examine the motivations that led to the uprising in this region. He will examine not only the role of Zionist settlement activities, but also the role of the peasants in encouraging and supporting the rebellion, including that of Izz al-Din al-Qassam and his followers in the April 1936 uprising near Nur Shams.

Beyond historical documentation, Arrar’s research will explore the relationship between rebel leaders and the citizens and the impact of the rebellion on daily life. According to Arrar, that impact was significant, as rebel leaders “imposed a number of rules and customs, like wearing the Kaffiyeh; they held public courts and ordered several assassinations and executions that created a lot of debate and led many people to abandon the revolution.”

“The research that already exists either approaches the subject in an emotional manner that compliments and glorifies their accomplishment without deeply studying their biographies,” says Arrar, or it lacks political awareness or critical analysis of the approach. Zionist historians, Arrar asserts, have approached the subject with similarly skewed analysis from opposite ideological angles. Too much of that previous research fails to analyze the political opinions and goals of the leading figures and the way they interacted with the public, as well as the extent to which they were in accord with the general rebel line. These historians were content to speak about “the events that took place at the time.”

Due to the complications imposed by Israeli closures, Arrar plans to focus on oral histories and interviews of people who were closest to those actually involved in the uprising. For example, Arrar has met with Faisal Aref Abdul Raziq, the son of an important Palestinian leader who spent five decades documenting his father’s life and relationship with the uprising. “The importance of his research lies in the resources he uses,” claims Arrar. Faisal’s oral histories include interviews with now-dead leaders such as Hamad Zawata, Abdul Manan al-Jabaly, and others. Faisal also had access to Israeli resources at Israeli research centers and Jewish witnesses to the events that are no longer easily accessible.

Arrar believes the interviews he has already conducted have revealed many details never before documented. “Nevertheless, a gap still exists because a lot of people who were involved died.” He also recognizes that information provided by oral histories is often conflicting or inaccurate. Other sources he will use include newspaper reports, secondary sources, and private papers, particularly those written by national leaders who accompanied fighters into their mountain hideouts. To complete his research, Arrar hopes to travel to London, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo to study archival materials not readily available through other sources or the Internet.

Arrar’s formal education was interrupted on several occasions, including prior to graduating from high school when he was imprisoned by the Israelis for three years on suspicion of political activism. He spent another six months in the Negev Prison in 1989 and was subsequently restrained for three years from leaving the country or from entering the 1948 Territories. Despite the repeated interruptions, Arrar completed his undergraduate studies at Birzeit University and received a master’s degree in history from al-Najah National University. He worked as a social studies teacher for the Palestinian Authority’s Ministry of Education and currently serves the Ministry as an educational supervisor in history for the Qalqilya District.

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WENDY PEARLMAN | Public Opinion, Political Fragmentation, and Capabilities in the Second Intifada: Analysis of Palestinian Use of Force

In her dissertation, Wendy Pearlman investigates the processes underlying asymmetric protracted conflict through a case study of the second Palestinian *Intifada*. She notes that when the *Intifada* began, “few observers predicted that it would last as long as it has or become as destructive as it did.” Why did the second *Intifada* become more violent and less broadly participatory than the first *Intifada*, yet more widespread and unrelenting than the flare-ups that occurred during the Oslo peace process? The seven years of negotiations were marked by incendiary developments, collective protests, and turbulent episodes. But none of these triggered the protracted conflagrations and violent confrontations that characterize the present *Intifada*. What made the violence that began in September 2000 different? Why have hostilities continued, in spite of their enormous toll in human suffering and material loss?

In exploring these puzzles, Pearlman seeks to challenge the dominant approach to the study of conflict, which conceptualizes escalation as the product of the strategic interaction of two adversaries whose rational choices are inferred from a straightforward specification of interests and constraints. In cases of asymmetric conflict, she asserts, “this strategic interaction often takes the form of a back-and-forth between insurgency and counterinsurgency or between protest and repression. The extensive body of research on the actual effects of state countermeasures upon resistance, however, remains inconclusive.”

In an effort to shed new light on the use of force on the part of non-state parties to conflict, Pearlman analyzes three variables she believes are often overlooked: public opinion, the capabilities of militant groups, and political fragmentation. The first, pointing to the role of societal goals and grievances in shaping conflict behavior, sets a lower limit on the use of force. The second, referring to the availability of the material and nonmaterial resources requisite for such force, marks its upper limit. The third variable, highlighting the extent of institutionalized cohesion in political decision-making, emphasizes how the structures of domestic politics affect variation in the motives for, timing and forms of armed activity over time.

Upon reviewing current literature on conflict, Pearlman suggests that the novelty of her contribution comes from her integrating the concept of fragmentation into a comprehensive model of conflict processes. Her research of fragmentation is structured around five sub-divisions: institutional, the strength and scope of the authority of the national political structures that order the polity as a whole; systemic, the competitive or coordinated character of relations between distinct political groups; organizational, the degree of splintering within political groups; spatial, the extent to which territory is integrated or divided into separate geograph-

ical units; and social, the robustness of civil society, civic engagement, and social trust.

Pearlman writes, “references to fragmentation pepper media and informal discourse on conflict, as hinted in commentary about the degree to which ‘leaders control their people’ or ‘chaos reigns’ in an insurgents’ camp. As a clearly specified causal relationship, however, the impact of the multiplication of power centers upon the use of force has been neglected in a conflict literature that takes a binary cleavage between two warring parties largely for granted.”

Given this theoretical framework, Pearlman’s empirical research seeks to answer two questions. First, what are the *sources* of shifts in the three posited explanatory variables? Pearlman’s hypotheses focus on susceptibilities in the Palestinian political system that took root during the Oslo years and their aggravation by Israeli countermeasures enacted since the outbreak of the second *Intifada*. In her research, she traces the effects of four countermeasures: policies resulting in civilian casualties and property loss, closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, policies targeting Palestinian Authority infrastructure and functioning, and extrajudicial killings.

Second, what is the *effect* of shifts in these three variables upon Palestinians’ use of force in the second *Intifada*? Pearlman suggests that changes in public opinion, fragmentation, and capabilities give rise both to new impetuses for political violence and a new context in which it is carried out. In other words, they effectively change the rules of the two-level games by which political groups use force in interaction with each other and their shared external adversary.

In order to evaluate her hypotheses, Pearlman taps a variety of sources, including newspapers, interviews, official statements, and quantitative events-count data. She began field research in June 2004 and is currently based in Jerusalem.

Pearlman received a B.A. in history from Brown University and an M.A. in government from Georgetown University. She is a Ph.D. candidate in government and a Karl W. Deutsch Fellow at Harvard University. She is also the author of *Occupied Voices: Stories of Everyday Life from the Second Intifada* (Nation Books, 2003).

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