


Exit, Voice, Loyalty ... or Deliberate Obstruction? Non-Collective Everyday Resistance under Oppression.

Stephanie Dornschneider

In highly oppressive environments, collective resistance is very costly. Non-collective resistance constitutes a less risky alternative. Focusing on a particular oppressed setting, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, I identify everyday forms of non-collective resistance: signaling, persevering, eschewing, and coping. Characterized by low visibility and targeting political goals indirectly, these activities have not yet been recognized as forms of resistance. However, they constitute important resistance efforts that deliberately obstruct oppressive regimes. These efforts show that individuals who are not visibly resisting their rulers cannot be assumed to be loyal or to suffer from a barrier of fear, as often suggested by theories in politics. They also offer an important addition to theories that identify violence as a common response to oppression, suggesting that peaceful non-collective activities constitute an everyday alternative.

A large body of literature is dedicated to the study of collective forms of resistance (Gurr 1970; Sharp 1973; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Tilly 2003; van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008; Chenowetz and Stephan 2011). In oppressive environments, however, collective resistance is highly risky and not usually the preferred channel of political opposition (Scott 1985, 1990; Bayat 2000). Instead, dissidents in such settings are known to engage in non-collective resistance, which targets regimes indirectly and are therefore less visible to the authorities. Limiting possibilities of government retaliation, this type of resistance has had long-term effects on the preservation of oppressed groups and the promotion of their political aims (Scott 1985, 1987).

A list of permanent links to Supplemental Materials provided by the authors precedes the References section.

Stephanie Dornschneider  is Assistant Professor in the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin (stephanie.dornschneider@ucd.ie). Her research combines qualitative and computational methods to explore violent and nonviolent resistance in the Middle East, focusing on the cognitive processes underlying this behavior. She is the author of *Whether to Kill: The Cognitive Maps of Violent and Nonviolent Individuals* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016) and *Hot Contention, Cool Abstention: Positive Emotions and Protest Behavior During the Arab Spring* (Oxford University Press, 2021). Her research has appeared in journals including the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* and *Cognitive Science*.

doi:10.1017/S1537592720004818

© The Author(s), 2021. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of the American Political Science Association

56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110

1 and coping. These efforts add to known transgressive
2 practices of individuals under oppression (Wedeen 1999;
3 Scott 1990; Siegman 2020).

4 Signaling obstructs regimes by communicating infor-
5 mation that challenges “hegemonic narratives” reprodu-
6 cing existing power relations (Ewick and Silbey 1995).
7 Signaling targets other oppressed individuals and outsiders
8 not involved in the oppression. It can support the devel-
9 opment of collective resistance by strengthening the iden-
10 tity of the oppressed (Simon and Klandermans 2001) or
11 creating solidarity with the victims among outsiders
12 (Dornschneider 2019a). Signaling is a form of communi-
13 cation that is well known in the study of international
14 relations (Fearon 1994; Morrow 1999; Hollyer and
15 Rosendorff 2011; Weiss 2013; McManus 2018), but
16 not yet recognized as a form of non-collective resistance.

17 Persevering in their livelihoods in spite of severe oppres-
18 sion, individuals moreover obstruct regime efforts to expel
19 them. Persevering includes mundane activities, such as
20 going to work, as well as life-changing behavior, such as
21 having a baby. In the psychology literature, perseverance
22 is known to be an important contributor to individual
23 achievement in open societies (Duckworth et al. 2007;
24 Williams and DeSteno 2008). I show that perseverance
25 may also constitute a form of non-collective resistance in
26 oppressed societies, consistent with existing research on
27 women in Palestine (Richter-Devroe 2018).

28 While persevering in activities considered to be safe,
29 individuals eschew other activities considered more risky,
30 such as confronting state authorities. Eschewing obstructs
31 regimes by making it harder to recognize and punish non-
32 collective resistance efforts. The combined use of persever-
33 ing and eschewing shows that individuals carefully calcu-
34 late the costs and benefits of their behavior (cf. Popkin
35 1979). While activists engaging in collective resistance are
36 known for such calculations (Lohmann 1993; Kalyvas
37 2006; Chenowetz and Stephan 2011), I show that this
38 deliberation also occurs in non-collective forms of resist-
39 ance, building on existing work on the rationale of non-
40 collective behavior in rural societies (Popkin 1979).

41 To resist the distress inflicted on them through oppres-
42 sion, individuals apply coping, a well-known concept from
43 psychology (Lazarus and Folkman 1984; Roth and Cohen
44 1986; Skinner et al. 2003; Carver and Connor-Smith
45 2010). Their coping efforts consist of self-soothing activi-
46 ties, such as sports or the arts, which are known to reduce
47 distress, and strengthen individuals to stay calm or find
48 meaning in stressful situations (Carver and Connor-Smith
49 2010; Lazarus 2006). Coping obstructs regimes by limit-
50 ing the effect of the oppression, and, by extension, regime
51 control over the individual. Research often suggests that
52 high levels of distress are connected to frustration and
53 violence (Dollard et al. 1939; Berkowitz 1989), particu-
54 larly in oppressive environments (Gurr 1970; Khashan
55 2003), including Palestine (Barber 2001; Bloom 2004;

Jaeger and Paserman, 2006; Hirsch-Hoefler et al. 2016).
By contrast, I identify peaceful coping activities.

The proposed classification is obtained from ethno-
graphic interviews with Palestinians from Bethlehem,
Hebron, Ramallah, and East Jerusalem (refer to the online
appendix). While the methodological steps adopted by the
interview analysis have been published elsewhere
(Dornschneider 2019b), I focus on the substantial find-
ings through identifying the different forms of non-
collective everyday resistance.

The Logic of Non-Collective Resistance Under Oppression

Non-collective resistance is performed individually rather
than in groups.¹ A large body of literature is dedicated to its
study, with an emphasis on resistance targeting “horizontal
oppression” in day-to-day interactions with fellow citizens
(e.g. Popkin 1979; Scott 1985, 1990; Abu-Lughod 1990)
as opposed to “vertical oppression” exercised by political
regimes and their representatives or followers (e.g., Wed-
deen 1999, 2019; Siegman 2020).² This literature has
identified numerous non-collective resistance efforts,
including feigned ignorance, evasion, or sabotage (“weap-
ons of the weak,” see Scott 1985), or the illegal acquisition
of basic life necessities, such as land for shelter, informal
jobs, or public space (“quiet encroachment”, see Bayat
2000). These efforts often consist of everyday activities,
which are integrated into social life³ and focus on
“unspoken” rather than “formal” gains (Vinthagen and
Johansson 2013; cf Scott 1985, 33).⁴

Individuals in environments characterized by vertical
oppression are often associated with non-resisting behav-
iors like false compliance or dissimulated loyalty (Kuran
1991; Wedeen 1999). However, research has shown that
they do engage in resistance, including non-collective
efforts. Humor and playful antagonism are known every-
day examples of such behavior (e.g., Siegman 2020).
Associated with amusement, this type of resistance is often
tolerated and poses lowered risks for the individuals who
engage in it (Wedeen 1999; Sorensen 2008). Another
example is individualized non-compliance, such as feigned
illness or ignoring demands, which may seem “innocuous”
(Szalontai and Choi 2014, 67), but nevertheless create
high risks (cf. Malseed 2009). Defection has also been
considered an example, which is however not an everyday
behavior (cf. Fahy 2015).

Although known to be exercised individually, these
behaviors are also performed in groups, and their collective
performances have often received special attention (e.g.,
Wedeen 1999; Sorensen 2008; Malseed 2009; Hirschman
1993). Collective forms of resistance tend to receive more
attention in the literature,⁵ because they are widely
believed to be more effective than their non-collective
counterparts, in part due to cascading effects when a critical
mass has been reached (Granovetter 1978; Kuran 1991).

1 In highly oppressive settings, non-collective resistance
2 may nevertheless be the only available option (Scott 1985,
3 1987). The main advantage of non-collective resistance in
4 these settings is its comparatively low visibility, which may
5 limit governmental retaliation and preserve a platform to
6 exercise dissent on a small scale. By contrast, collective
7 resistance is known to limit retaliation by creating risks for
8 the government, such as shifting loyalties inside the regime
9 or international condemnation (Chenowetz and Stephan
10 2011, 11). However, to impose these risks on a govern-
11 ment, a resistance movement needs to pose a visible and
12 credible challenge to the regime. This condition is typic-
13 ally not achieved in highly oppressive settings, where
14 regimes prevent the growth of large-scale movements by
15 systematically persecuting and severely punishing political
16 opponents (cf. Pearlman 2016; Dornschneider 2019a).

17 Although performed individually, non-collective
18 resistance benefits both individuals and collectives
19 (Popkin 1979). Associated with changes that “help bring
20 the system down” (Scott 1987, 452), it is performed
21 widely (Rowbotham 1998; Sullivan 2003; Alawattage
22 and Wickramasinghe 2009; Rao and Dutta 2012;
23 Gillespie 2017; Lilja et al. 2017; Asgari and Sarikakis
24 2019; Tsai and Lin 2019). In the Occupied Palestinian
25 Territories, non-collective resistance is understudied due
26 to extensive collective resistance. However, given the lack
27 of success of collective resistance and its associated high
28 risks, many Palestinians choose non-collective resistance
29 instead.

30 **Exit, Voice, Loyalty ... or Obstruction?**

31 In the political science literature, individuals under
32 oppressive regimes tend to be categorised as either sup-
33 porting (Hellmeier and Weidmann 2019) or justifying
34 Q3 (Jost, Banaji and Nosek 2004) the regime; co-opted into
35 the regime (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 1999; Yom and Gaus
36 2012; Gerschewski 2013); publicly opposing the regime
37 (Chenoweth and Stepan 2011); or quietly enduring the
38 regime. The literature has made several assumptions about
39 individuals in the last category.

40 Some authors assume these individuals to dislike their
41 regimes but suffer from a “barrier of fear” (Hinnebusch
42 2012, 104; Weyland 2012, 926; also see Makiya 1998).
43 Research in psychology has shown that fear is an emotion
44 that pushes individuals to make pessimistic risk estimates
45 together with risk averse decisions (Lerner and Keltner
46 2001). In the protest literature, fear is treated as an
47 emotion that prevents individuals from participating in
48 resistance, and that needs to be overcome for the pursuit
49 of political goals (Sharp and Safieh 1987, 20; Kuran
50 1991; Jasper 1998; van Troost, van Steckelenburg, and
51 Klandermans 2013; Pearlman 2016). Accordingly, indi-
52 viduals who are not visibly opposing or supporting their
53 regimes are viewed as passive victims of their oppressive
54 surroundings.

56 Other authors assume that individuals in the last cat-
57 egory display a certain degree of loyalty to their oppressive
58 rulers (Hirschman 1993; Pfaff and Kim 2003). The
59 underlying theory of this literature was originally devel-
60 oped to understand consumer behavior in market situ-
61 ations (Hirschman 1970): When encountering a product
62 of poor quality, consumers were assumed to have three
63 options: asking for a better product—“voice”—opting out
64 and embracing alternatives—“exit”—or tolerating the
65 situation while waiting for improvement—“loyalty.”
66 Numerous later applications of the theory have focused
67 on the subject of political resistance (Hirschman 1993;
68 Sverke and Hellgren 2001; Pfaff and Kim 2003; Dowding
69 et al. 2000; Colomer 2000; Lagerkvist 2015; Montanaro
70 2019). In this literature, “voice” is typically associated with
71 protest, although it includes other forms of opposition that
72 are performed in public and that visibly target regimes. By
73 contrast, “exit” is typically associated with emigration,
74 which drains the state of its human capital. Individuals
75 who are not exercising “voice” or “exit” are treated as loyal
76 to the regime. The following analysis shows that individ-
77 uals who do not exercise “voice” or “exit” may deliberately
78 obstruct their regimes instead of actively tolerating or
79 passively enduring them. As opposed to “voice,” signaling,
80 persevering, eschewing, and coping target oppressive
81 regimes indirectly and less visibly.

82 **The Setting**

83 Characterized by a long history of oppression, the Occu-
84 pied Palestinian Territories are a well-known setting of
85 collective resistance (e.g., Darweish and Rigby 2015).
86 However, not even mass uprisings with unprecedented
87 numbers of participants or peace treaties backed by foreign
88 players have translated into long-term improvement of
89 Palestinian life on the ground. Today, the Occupied
90 Territories remain a highly oppressed setting under Israeli
91 military occupation (Human Rights Watch 2019; Free-
92 dom House 2020).⁶ Walled off from Israel by a barrier that
93 spans more than 700 km, 60% of the Occupied Territories
94 are under full Israeli control, including roads connecting
95 Palestinian towns (Human Rights Watch 2019).

96 Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are moreover
97 subject to Israeli settler colonialism (Veracini 2013). In
98 2019, there were 642,867 Jewish settlers (Human Rights
99 Watch 2019), and their number continues to rise. In
100 2017, the annual growth number of settlers was almost
101 twice that of Israel (Btselem 2019). During the first nine
102 months of 2019, Israel approved 5,995 housing units in
103 the West Bank (an increase of 6.7% from 2018; Human
104 Rights Watch 2019). Simultaneously, an increasing num-
105 ber of Palestinian homes was demolished in areas of the
106 West Bank under Israeli control as well as East Jerusalem
107 (Human Rights Watch 2019).

108 In East Jerusalem, only 16.5% of the construction
109 permits issued between 1991 and 2019 were designated
110

to Palestinian structures, while 45% of permits issued for Israeli constructions were in areas that were annexed by Israel in 1967 (Peace Now 2019). Consistent with Trump’s “Peace Plan,” which recognizes Jerusalem as Israel’s undivided capital (White House 2020), approval of Israeli housing units in East Jerusalem has increased by 58% since Trump’s election (Peace Now 2019). Israel furthermore revoked the residency status of at least 14,595 Palestinians who lived in Jerusalem between 1967 and 2016 (Human Rights Watch 2017).

The Palestinian economy remains highly dependent on Israel (Farsakh 2016; El Zein 2017; also see Haddad 2016). Checkpoints and closure policies have severely limited competitiveness. Production has been shrinking and absorbing a growing labour force is a major challenge (World Bank 2019b). In 2019, 24% of the population lived below 5.5 USD per day (World Bank 2019a). Public opinion polls show that views about the Palestinian economic situation are generally negative, with 76% considering it bad or very bad (Arab Barometer 2019).

Palestinians have often engaged in collective resistance to confront Israeli oppression. Although exercised by a tiny minority, violent resistance has received extensive attention in academic research (Barber 2001; Khashan 2003; Bloom 2004; Jaeger and Paserman 2006; Hirsch-Hoefler et al. 2016), media coverage (e.g., *Economist* 2018; *New York Times* 2020; BBC 2020), and public opinion polls (Pew Research Centre 2014; Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey Research 2015). In particular, Hamas’ armed wing has often received attention, although research has shed a more nuanced light on variations in the movement’s resistance strategies (Abu-Amr 1993; Hroub 2006; Mishal and Sela 2006; Gunning 2007; Milton-Edwards and Farrell 2010; Baconi 2018).

By contrast, public opinion polls have shown that Palestinians oppose violence when diplomacy is considered effective (Shikaki 2006). Numerous studies dedicated to nonviolent forms of collective resistance emphasize this view (Awad 1984; Sharp and Safieh 1987; Bakan and Abu-Laban 2009; Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Qumsiyeh 2011; Darweish and Rigby 2015; see Pearlman 2011 for a comparison of violent and nonviolent resistance). In contrast to their large-scale mobilization during the intifadas, Palestinians have however refrained from similar mass uprisings over the last decade. Even during the Arab Spring, when neighboring countries were swept by revolutionary protests, the Occupied Territories were among the quietest settings (Yom and Gause 2012). This was the case although an extensive protest infrastructure was available, which is known to support mobilization in other contexts (cf. McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Goldstone 2004; Chenoweth and Ulfelder 2017).

The following analysis shows that Palestinians consider collective resistance to be highly costly and to carry low

chances of success. Non-collective resistance offers an alternative channel, which nevertheless remains largely unexplored (exceptions are Richter-Devroe 2018; Rick 2006; Siegman 2020).

Methodology

This study has implications beyond the location of its field research. The unit of analysis is the individual under oppression, the main actor in non-collective resistance. The study focuses on a particular oppressive environment to ensure the establishment of analytically comparable units (Gerring 2004). The main data collection method is ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979), which are subsequently coded to identify common trends of non-collective resistance. On the basis of this coding, new forms of nonviolent, non-collective resistance are identified—beyond exit, voice, and loyalty. While the context of this study is idiosyncratic and the sample of respondents nonrandom, the newly identified types of resistance can inspire new hypotheses for further research in other contexts of oppression, allowing for generalization.

A highly risky setting for collective resistance, the Occupied Palestinian Territories could be considered a “least-likely” environment to study resistance (Levy 2008). However, the literature also suggests that resistance follows political opportunities (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001, 14-18; Chenoweth and Ulfelder 2017), and oppressive settings still leave opportunity structures for non-collective behavior as a channel of resistance. The Occupied Palestinian Territories represent such a setting.

Fieldwork for this study was conducted from June to August 2017. More than one hundred Palestinians were approached for interviews, and thirty-two agreed to participate.⁷ This is a common sample size for ethnographic studies and an above-average response rate given the sensitive nature of this research.⁸ The participants constitute a diverse group of Palestinians. They come from three cities in the West Bank, namely Bethlehem (20), Ramallah (5), and Hebron (2), as well as East Jerusalem (5). They include fourteen women and eighteen men in their twenties (14), thirties (7), forties (4), fifties (3), sixties (2), and seventies (2). Fifteen interviewees worked as employees in hotels, copy shops, tourist shops, wood factories, banks, at universities, and the UN. Three interviewees were doctoral students, one was a post-doctoral researcher, one was a university professor, and two were teachers. Four were directors of NGOs and a cultural institute, three owned shops and a hotel, one was a manager in a hair salon, one was a start-up founder, and one was a priest.

The interview analysis applied coding procedures based on grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Accordingly, each interview was examined line by line in an iterative process. In the first stage, interviews were coded for experiences of oppression. In later stages, segments of text that contained descriptions of oppression were coded

56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110

for responses to the oppression.⁹ These responses were classified as non-collective resistance effort based on the individuals' own vocabulary (examples follow). Sub-classifications of signaling, persevering, eschewing and coping were adopted by linking the subjects' description of their actions to the literature. A majority of interviews contained descriptions of several non-collective resistance efforts.¹⁰ In total, thirteen individuals described signaling, twenty-five elaborated on persevering, twenty-three discussed eschewing, and sixteen described coping.

Signaling

Signaling is a concept applied widely in international relations, including studies on cooperation, crises, and war (Lohmann 1993; Fearon 1994; Wolford 2014; McManus 2018). In these contexts, signals are either formal and highly visible, such as the formation of an alliance (Hollyer and Rosendorff 2011), or informal and less visible, such as military aid (McManus and Yarhi-Milo 2017).

This article connects signaling to oppressed individuals at the intra-state level. In this context, signaling is a speech act conveying information about the oppressed. As opposed to Hirschman's "voice," signaling excludes direct communication with the regime and does not aim at voicing dissent. Rather, its targets are members of the in-group (the oppressed community) as well as outsiders not involved in the oppression, and its aim is to spread knowledge about the perpetrators and the victims that contrasts the regime's narrative perpetuating the oppression. This knowledge may subsequently support feelings of sympathy (cf. Ewick and Silbey 1995), compassion (Schulte-Rüther et al. 2007; Saarela et al. 2007), and solidarity (Koudenburg, Postmes, and Gordijn 2013; Droogendyk et al. 2016, 318) among the recipients of the signal. Some of these emotions have the potential of being translated into collective action or increased non-collective resistance.

Studies on collective resistance have often highlighted the importance of solidarity (e.g., Stewart et al. 2016; Wilson and Brown 2008).¹¹ On the one hand, solidarity has been found to motivate out-group members to act on behalf of disadvantaged or oppressed groups (Droogendyk et al. 2016; Dornschnieder 2019a). Such actions have been connected to large-scale movements that have made a lasting impact, such as economic damage (e.g., the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement; see Bakan and Abu-Laban 2009), constitutional change, or governmental resignation (e.g., in the Arab Spring, see Dornschnieder 2019a). On the other hand, solidarity has been found to strengthen the commitment to action among members of the same group (Reicher et al. 2006, 52). In oppressive environments characterized by high levels of insecurity, in-group solidarity is known to be especially high (Inglehart, Moaddel, and Tessler 2006; cf. Gourlay

2008), even when levels of collective action are low. Signaling provides a mechanism for solidarity to emerge or spread in these environments.

At the in-group level, signaling can also bolster the political identity of the oppressed, which is a crucial ingredient of political resistance (van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008). Communication between in-group members can create an awareness of shared grievances and adversarial attributions, which can generate self-consciousness where individuals see themselves as part of a struggle on behalf of their group (Simon and Klandermans 2001).

Finally, signaling may be "health-inducing" for the individual victims of oppression by enabling them to feel stronger and abler to respond to their grievances (Wade 1997). By extension, the group of victims as a whole can be strengthened, if a sufficient number of its members engage in signaling.

Descriptions of Signaling

The interview analysis identified signaling in conversations, interactions, the arts, work, writing, and translating.¹² Typically, these efforts were described as the preferred alternative to collective forms of resistance. The signals' contents addressed the Israeli oppression, related personal grievances, as well as Palestinian identity and interests.

Out-Group Signaling

The director of an NGO started the interview by communicating a personal grievance. Presenting a map dating back to the time of the Ottomans, he asked: "Do you see this land? This is our land, and this is the wall. So all the land is behind the wall." He said his family had used the land to plant barley, but Israel annexed it when building the wall sealing off the West Bank. The land was now divided by a road, and there were plans of building a settlement on it. "For the Israelis, I don't exist. I am an absentee, I have no access." He said reclaiming his land in court was not an option due to Israeli jurisdiction: "They will say: 'This land is annexed. It is part of Jerusalem. You have no right to be there.' If you go to court and lose the case, you lose your right to appeal later. It's a political issue. You lose your land as well." Instead, he started talking to outsiders, including journalists, diplomats, or academics, and engaged in resistance by making them aware of the loss of his land: "Every time I am invited to speak about settlement, I bring this issue."

Other interviewees said they engaged in signaling by informing foreigners about the occupation:

I do not participate in direct confrontation with the occupier because I do not live in a refugee camp or in Gaza. I use other ways to resist the occupation, writing and research. I believe in the importance of research on what is happening in Palestine,

1 especially in English, so that we can show the world the Pales-
2 tinian voice. I concentrate my efforts on writing political articles
3 and op-eds in English, so that the people in America, in the UK,
4 and in Germany see what is happening from the Palestinian point
5 of view.

6 Referring to the impact of her effort, she said:

7 Israel dominates the media and has a huge propaganda machin-
8 ery. My work makes my life more meaningful in the sense that I
9 feel I am actively doing something that is meaningful to me and
10 that challenges the occupation in the long run.

11 Another interviewee sent signals to foreigners by trans-
12 lating Arabic news into English: "I love my people. I love
13 helping them. So if I get a press release in Arabic, I have no
14 problem translating that. But I do not want to be directly
15 engaged [in politics], as the authorities do not care about
16 the people."

17 Interviewees working in the tourism industry said they
18 sent signals through interacting with their clients. Their
19 signals often contained information challenging negative
20 views of Palestinians. The owner of a hotel in Bethlehem
21 said: "This is my work. My job is to show the world who the
22 Palestinian people are and how they live here in this hotel. I
23 do this job to give a positive image of the Palestinians."

24 An employee who sold souvenirs in a shop downtown
25 explained:

26 The problem is that we work in tourism as you can see. The
27 people who visit think Bethlehem is Israel! Even Arabs talk to us
28 in Hebrew and tell us we are terrorists: "You are Palestinians, so
29 you are of course trained to fight." That is a different image. The
30 news paint an image of us as if we were the devil.

31 He said he confronted this image in daily interactions
32 with his customers, exclaiming: "We are welcoming the
33 people!"

34 *In-Group Signaling*

35 At the in-group level, signals were given in daily inter-
36 actions with community members, including family,
37 friends, colleagues, and strangers. A mother from Bethle-
38 hem said she communicated information about Palestin-
39 ian interests to her children:

40 I prefer staying far away from politics. I choose another way. I
41 love my land, and I raise my children so that they love their land. I
42 support them and teach them how to support their land without
43 getting involved in politics ... This is my means. They will serve
44 their country and protect it. You do not have to become a
45 politician to serve your country.

46 A start-up founder reminded other Palestinians of their
47 identity, and questioned compliance with Israeli interests:

48 We need an education of the Palestinian people of their own
49 history, but I only engage in it in a non-systematic fashion. If I
50 walk into a shop and they are selling three different options of
51 Israeli dairy, I ask the owner: "Why on earth are you selling Israeli
52 dairy? Why are you facilitating [them]?" It's minimal interactions
53 like that, not active participation in a program.

54 Other interviewees sent signals through the arts that
55 spoke to identity issues. The director of a cultural center in
56 Jerusalem said: "In politics, you take a long time and
57 contribute no solution." At the time of the interview,
58 she was preparing a new exhibition space. She said: "You
59 have to work on expanding Palestinian culture and edu-
60 cation. You need to teach them how to think. This is much
61 more important for the Palestinian people than all of the
62 international aid combined." A priest who created art
63 projects said:

64 There are many forms of resistance. The arts are also a kind of
65 resistance—images, painting, movies, dancing and drama ... The
66 arts cannot overcome the occupation, but they can provide the
67 Palestinians with a new means to express themselves.

68 An employee in a copy shop had written a political
69 movie. "To live peacefully, I talk about the Israelis," he
70 said. "I am only one person, I concentrate on my culture
71 and on my nationality, but in a peaceful way to avoid
72 confrontation." His movie conveys the message that Pal-
73 estinians have to confront their suffering through respect-
74 ful negotiation:

75 There is no respect anywhere. Not every Israeli is bad, there are
76 good and bad people. But the nature of the relation between us is
77 that there is occupation. If someone comes and occupies your
78 house with five friends, I don't feel respect, I feel put against the
79 wall. How should I try to get from here to there? With respect. If I
80 shout "I want to go there!", they will put me in a corner.

81 *Persevering*

82 Perseverance is a well-known concept in psychology refer-
83 ring to a sustained effort to overcome challenges in spite of
84 failures and setbacks (Rothermund 2003; Duckworth
85 et al. 2007; Williams and DeSteno 2008; Datu, Valdez,
86 and King 2016). Perseverance is considered crucial to the
87 achievements of individuals, such as long-term goals like
88 completing an education, performing well at work, or
89 reaching a certain career level (Markman, Baron, and
90 Balkin 2005; Duckworth et al. 2007; Lamont, Kennelly,
91 and Moyle 2014), as well as short-term goals, such as
92 completing a repetitive task (White et al. 2017).

93 The following analysis connects perseverance to resist-
94 ance rather than achievement. In this context, the chal-
95 lenge that needs to be overcome is an oppressive regime.
96 Facing this challenge is risky, and failure and setbacks can
97 mean death or imprisonment. Consequently, perseverance
98 under oppression is related to activities that are carefully
99 selected, and less visible than activities typically associated
100 with achievement. Seemingly mundane and unimportant
101 behaviors, such as living in a certain place or going to work,
102 may constitute examples of persevering by which individ-
103 uals obstruct regime efforts of exercising control over
104 them. In the Palestinian context, where Israel is trying to
105 expel the oppressed community through settler colonial-
106 ism, individuals contrast perseverance with emigration,
107
108
109
110

1 which is considered a means of giving in. This under-
2 standing departs from existing accounts of “exit,” which
3 treat emigration as a form of resistance.

4 A few studies on resistance have applied the concept of
5 perseverance to address the survival of endangered com-
6 munities that face severe disadvantages and existential
7 threats, such as poor black women living in slums
8 (Hossein 2013) or clerics under the Nazi regime
9 (Jantzen 2001). Rather than addressing perseverance in
10 particular activities that are conducted by individuals,
11 these studies understand perseverance as a collective
12 achievement. In the context of Palestinian resistance,
13 perseverance can also be conceptualized as resilience,
14 which is achieved through the collective creation of family
15 and community networks, stimulated by shared trauma
16 (Atallah 2017).

17 In the Palestinian context, perseverance has also been
18 addressed by the concept of “sumūd,” which translates
19 into “steadfastness” (Johansson and Vinthagen 2015; also
20 see Farsakh 2016, 59). Introduced by the PLO as a
21 political term, *sumūd* has been applied referring to the
22 Palestinians’ strength to survive and resist in a hostile
23 environment (Farsakh 2016). Subsequent research has
24 struggled to conceptualize *sumūd*, referring to it via atti-
25 tudes, traits, mental stance, and activities as widely as
26 education, laughing, or developing inner peace
27 (Johansson and Vinthagen 2015). The concept of perse-
28 verance presented in the following analysis shows similar-
29 ities to Richter-Devroe’s (2011) study of Palestinian
30 women in Israeli prisons, which perceives of *sumūd* as a
31 daily struggle to maintain a normal life in spite of the
32 occupation.¹³

33 Descriptions of Persevering

34 The interview analysis identified persevering related to
35 living in Palestine, maintaining daily life, and protecting
36 private space.¹⁴ Numerous interviewees said they perse-
37 vered by refusing to emigrate and staying in their home-
38 towns in spite of Israeli efforts to expel them. In the words
39 of a shopkeeper from Jerusalem: “The goal of the Israelis is
40 to push us out of Jerusalem. All of this pressure that they
41 are making has the goal of driving us out. And in spite of all
42 of this pressure that they are producing, the resistance
43 becomes visible by us staying.”

44 Some interviewees persevered in their livelihoods even
45 after Israel took their land. A souvenir vendor said: “We
46 have land, but they built the wall, and our land was gone.
47 Imagine! We are talking about 10 *dunum* [unit of area
48 equivalent to English acre] of land.” The family neverthe-
49 less decided against emigration: “The idea is to support our
50 land by living here.”

51 Others persevered in their lives in spite of violence
52 threatening their family: “We are living with the Israeli
53 army. Maybe there is a martyr in your life or in your
54 district. Maybe they killed your uncle or your brother. Or

55 maybe there is a bomb. This situation is normal for us. We
56 still go out and live our lives.”

57 Various interviewees described persevering in spite of
58 economic hardship. One interviewee said: “I am con-
59 stantly trying to develop, but not much is happening
60 because life is very difficult . . . I work five days a week, I
61 do every job I can get to make ends meet.”

62 Other interviewees described persevering in spite of
63 challenges at work. A university employee said he con-
64 tinued organizing international events although invitees
65 were frequently denied entry to the West Bank:

66 Yesterday we had a workshop and we met people from Kenya,
67 we met people from Italy. All of that is engaging. All of that is
68 considered a normal life. Of course, there were difficulties. For
69 example, we were also expecting people from Nepal. They were
70 not given visas. Israel did not issue visas. So we face these issues.
71 But these issues will not stop us from moving and from
72 going on.

73 A minority of interviewees¹⁵ described persevering by
74 protecting private space. One individual recalled an inci-
75 dent at her house:

76 The army came into our house and my siblings started to cry. I
77 got very angry. So I went to the soldiers and told them: “Get out!
78 This is private property, this is my house.” One of the soldiers
79 told me: “Go inside, or I will kill you.” I got very angry and told
80 him: “Kill me! You are a soldier and I am a very small person.” My
81 siblings were very afraid and hid under the table. But I did not
82 want to give him the power and disappear. So I stayed. He
83 continued to say: “Go inside or I will shoot and kill you.” I kept
84 repeating: “I will not move.” So he shot me, but the bullet only
85 graced my face.

86 Many interviewees yearned to escape their environment
87 but chose to persevere instead. “There is no doubt that I
88 want to leave and work abroad, but there is a feeling deep
89 inside my body that this is my homeland,” one interviewee
90 said. Others turned down opportunities to emigrate: “I am
91 not obliged to live here, I live here to support my land. I
92 would have better opportunities if I emigrated and lived
93 abroad, but I reject that primarily because my land is here.”
94 Some had lived abroad but returned: “I studied abroad. I
95 always wanted to return. It is very important that every
96 individual serves the Palestinian community in their own
97 way.”

98 Persevering was often described as an effort that was
99 necessary to resist expulsion and ensure the continuation
100 of Palestinian life. In the words of a student:

101 If we don’t go to school, we won’t learn anything. If we don’t
102 work, we won’t have money to live. If we don’t get married, we
103 won’t have children and will vanish from this place. So we get
104 married and have children. This is a natural behavior. We have
105 to live.

106 Another interviewee said: “If I leave, my brothers and
107 sisters will leave, and the neighbors. And then the land will
108 go to the occupier. That is what lets us endure here and live
109 under these difficult conditions.”

Eschewing

Eschewing is a well-known concept in politics and economics (Weaver 1986; Brett et al. 1998; Parnell 2010; Gnedina and Sleptsova 2012; Dam and Scholtens 2015). It is typically understood as a strategy applied to avoid losses, adopted in deliberations about the costs and benefits of certain behavior, including collective forms of nonviolent resistance, where violent means may be avoided based on ethical principles and low chances of success (Chenowetz and Stephan 2011). In deliberations regarding collective forms of violence, hard targets may be avoided because they are especially difficult to destroy (Enders and Sandler 2011).

Non-collective resistance often eschews high visibility, which decreases the potential for governmental retaliation (Scott 1987). Similarly, the following analysis shows that individuals avoid direct confrontation with the regime as well as mundane interactions that make them visible to Israeli authorities. Interviewees consider this avoidance a resistance effort because it enables them to persevere in their daily lives.¹⁶ In the words of an interviewee from Jerusalem:

There is no possibility to resist the Israelis because of their incredible strength and toughness. So if the police give me a fine for no reason, there is no way to reject it and I accept this punishment. That is a kind of resistance here in Jerusalem. It is a peaceful resistance. People are trying to live their daily lives. You must live your daily life.

Descriptions of Eschewing

The interview analysis identified numerous eschewing efforts related to direct confrontation (both collective and non-collective) and interactions with Israelis.¹⁷ The abovementioned interviewee from Jerusalem said avoiding direct confrontation with Israeli authorities was part of his daily life. He said: “In every minute of your life, there are a lot of experiences of the occupation.” His most frequent experience was the payment of fines and public services that were never delivered, to which he referred as “the occupation tax.” He said: “In America they say ‘no taxation, no representation.’ Here, the taxes are like the Egyptian *baltagiya* [thugs hired to attack regime targets]. You just pay them to avoid someone attack you, you just pay for the gangster to avoid trouble.” By avoiding direct confrontation in this way, he said, Palestinians could contain Israeli punishment and stay out of prison:

The most important part of living here is to stay calm. The people here must stay calm. Emotions are not a good thing because the frictions with the Israelis will get very rough and end in prison. So you do nothing. You must stay cool.

Another interviewee, who lived behind the wall, said his most frequent experience of the occupation was being prevented from traveling to Jerusalem and abroad.

Avoiding confrontation was key to dealing with these experiences: “What can I do? To whom can I complain? At the end of the day, they are the occupier and they are the ones who set the rules.” He said challenging the denial of travel visas would only worsen his situation: “It would not help me. Probably it becomes a black point in my record.” Instead, he focused his efforts on “moving on:”

I have to accept the reality. I have to accept it [being denied a travel permit] could happen any moment, so that it does not upset me when it happens. It bothers me probably for a short while and then life goes on. This is the reality of life.... Either I get frustrated and stop moving because of this incident, or I consider this as one incident in life. That’s usually what I do, I accept and move on. I think that most Palestinians are doing the same.

Other interviewees said they avoided interacting with Israelis. An interviewee living in the C area in the West Bank said she saw Israeli soldiers every day but never spoke with them. She said: “I try to avoid that and to stay away from them.”

Others avoided confronting Israelis through protest. “That will never work in this reality,” an interviewee said. “They believe we are terrorists, even though we are peaceful. They are attacking us without a reason. I believe being peaceful is better. We do not like dead or wounded people.” Another interviewee, who had been imprisoned, said:

There is no solution. If you open your mouth, the army will come and get you. They enter your house and put you in prison. They will enter your house and take away your family. If I do anything against them, they will come and kill my sister.

A Palestinian who boycotted Israeli goods said:

I do not believe in throwing stones at the wall because this kind of resistance does not bring any result. If we want there to be a result, we can engage in peaceful resistance. This does not involve martyrs and nobody dies, and we protect our youths.

Coping

Coping is a response to threat or harm and its resulting distress (Carver and Connor-Smith 2010). It can address both chronic stressors that continue over a long period of time and acute stressors that pose extreme threats at certain moments (Day and Livingstone 2001). Coping can be an active and deliberate behavior, employed with the goal of preventing or minimizing distress and its associated threat (Carver and Connor-Smith 2010; Lazarus and Folkman 1984).

The following analysis shows that individuals apply coping to resist the distress inflicted on them by the oppression. Their coping efforts consist of self-soothing activities, such as travelling or exercising, which reduce their distress and enable them to stay calm in the face of both chronic (e.g., checkpoints) and acute (e.g., armed attacks) stressors. This behavior and its associated benefits

1 obstruct oppressive regimes by limiting the effect of the
2 oppression and, by extension, regime control over indi-
3 viduals.

4 Self-soothing activities are a kind of emotion-focused
5 coping, which is less risky than other forms of coping
6 because it targets the distress imposed by a stressor, rather
7 than the stressor itself (Carver and Connor-Smith 2010).
8 Emotion-focused coping is known for its capacity of
9 reducing negative distress and making careful deliberation
10 about a problem possible (Lazarus, 2006).

11 Self-soothing activities also constitute a form of
12 engagement coping, which is contrasted with disengage-
13 ment coping that creates a distance to the stressor, such
14 as denial or wishful thinking (Skinner et al. 2003).
15 Engagement coping is considered more effective to cope
16 with stress in the long-term because it acknowledges the
17 stressor rather than denying its existence. It can offer
18 individuals a sense of control and help them accommo-
19 date and find meaning in stressful situations (Carver and
20 Connor-Smith 2010).

21 Engagement coping is not usually connected to indi-
22 viduals under oppression, who experience extreme expos-
23 ure to stressors. Typically, individuals in stressful
24 environments are considered to suffer from mental ill-
25 nesses (Day and Livingstone 2001; Qouta, Punamäki, and
26 El Sarr 2003), which severely impact mental health and
27 weaken their ability to resist, or to resort to violence,
28 especially in the Palestinian context (Hirsch-Hoefler
29 et al. 2016; Jaeger and Paserman, 2006; Ricks 2006;
30 Barber 2001). In contrast, the following analysis shows
31 that rather than passively suffering from their stressful
32 environment, individuals under oppression take concrete
33 steps to stay calm.

34 Descriptions of Coping

35 Interviewees described coping related to the arts, travel,
36 sports, family, study, and work.¹⁸

37 Acknowledging stressors instead of denying their exist-
38 ence, these efforts reduced their distress and helped
39 them stay calm or find meaning in stressful situations.
40 Some stressors described by individuals were Israeli vio-
41 lence, checkpoints, or continuous thinking about the
42 occupation.

43 “There are many unnatural limitations,” one inter-
44 viewee said. “The most important one is the restriction
45 of thought. What they allow you to think.” To cope with
46 the resulting distress, interviewees engaged in the arts,
47 which helped them feel empowered and hopeful. “Some of
48 us are dying on the inside. The arts can provide the self
49 with a new source of power, to express yourself and to
50 express the hope of the Palestinians in a creative way,” one
51 interviewee said.

52 Others coped through traveling, which helped them
53 reduce their distress and gain strength. An interviewee
54 from Jerusalem said: “I travel. Traveling helps me relax. I

55 am not relaxed normally because of the occupation. 56
57 Maybe someone dies or is stabbed. I work in the Old 58
59 City, where there are a lot of tensions. Maybe a little 60
61 child dies.” Another interviewee said: “At the end of the 62
63 day I am just feeling tired. Exhausted from this lifestyle. 64
65 The hope is gone. We need hope.” Traveling gave her 66
67 strength: “I went to Jordan last year. Traveling renews 68
69 your life.” 70

71 Others reduced their distress through sports. An inter-
72 viewee from Ramallah said: “I go to the gym five times a 73
74 week. Sports is the best means for me to get rid of stress. IfI 75
76 stand on the treadmill for 30 minutes, I get rid of 77
78 everything.” She said she needed “to feel comfortable” to 79
80 confront the negative emotions she experienced at work, 81
82 for which she often visited Gaza: 83

84 All my emotions are at the border [to Gaza]. I hate everything. I
85 don’t like anything. Not because of myself but because of the
86 victimization at the border. I have to see old women and disabled
87 people being treated very badly. This type of wickedness influ-
88 ences your thoughts tremendously and I arrive at work and do
89 not want to work. 90

91 Another interviewee said: “I do yoga to reduce my
92 stress.” She said: “The main experience in my daily life is
93 restricted movement. Movement is very difficult, and your
94 brain is always preoccupied with it. Maybe I want to walk
95 to the Damascus gate, but I am surprised to find a lot of
96 problems on my way that force me to turn around. You
97 can never do what you planned.” 98

99 Another interviewee coped by spending time with his
100 family. He mentioned an incident the night before the
101 interview, when the Israeli army entered the house of his
102 neighbour, and Palestinian boys threw stones that
103 smashed a window and damaged his car. He com-
104 mented: 105

106 Maybe I have thoughts about the occupation, but I cannot talk
107 about them. Maybe I can control myself, but maybe others
108 experience such strong pressure on the inside that they explode.
109 I am a very normal person, and I have a consciousness. That’s
110 why I spare myself from these experiences. If I have a bad idea, I
111 turn to something else, and that is my family. Whenever there is
112 pressure, I go to my family. 113

114 Other interviewees said their work constituted an
115 important coping effort. “I am working in
116 development,” one interviewee said. “When I go to a
117 Bedouin in the heart of the desert and, for the first time,
118 they have light and can watch TV, this is a very rewarding
119 experience for me. I sleep very well that night.” Another
120 interviewee volunteered in the field of mental health. She
121 said: “We have to work on our mentalities. We have
122 become used to being the victims, and we like this role,
123 although it is destroying us.” She believed: “We have
124 mental issues and have to work on ourselves to confront
125 the Israeli power, because they are very smart and use
126 everything against us. We may fight against the occupation
127 when we adopt a healthy lifestyle.” 128

Conclusion

Previous work in political science often assumed that individuals in highly oppressive settings quietly tolerate or fearfully endure their rulers. Some research has considered violence as a major resistance effort in these settings. By contrast, I have identified peaceful forms of non-collective resistance by which individuals deliberately obstruct oppressive rulers. Based on research in the highly oppressive context of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, I show that even in this environment, individuals resist rather than passively endure their suffering.

The analysis has shown that individuals resist their rulers through signaling, persevering, eschewing, and coping. These non-collective efforts were identified from interview transcripts containing detailed descriptions of individual responses to their experiences of the oppression. Responses were classified as resistance efforts based on the interviewees’ own vocabulary, and subsequently grouped into separate categories by referring to well-known concepts from the literature of psychology and international relations. The resulting classification complements existing accounts of transgressive practices of individuals under oppression.

Interviewees reported feeling empowered by their resistance efforts, both regarding their community and their personal conditions. Through signaling, they communicate information challenging the regime narrative, which can strengthen their community and lead to collective action on their behalf. Through persevering in mundane activities and eschewing activities that put them at risk, they ensure the continuation of their daily lives and obstruct regime efforts to expel them. Through coping, they limit the effect of the oppression on their mental health and resist regime control.

While echoing theories in social science and especially in psychology, these strategies of resistance have only rarely been connected to resistance under oppressive regimes. Taken together, they appear to have a genuine impact, but in-depth future research into each is necessary to fully assess their effectiveness. Some interviewees were optimistic that their efforts would succeed. “When the wall [barrier to Israel] comes down, we will return home,” one interviewee said. “Look at what happened to the Berlin wall.”

Acknowledgement

Dornschnieder is very grateful to her interviewees and to those who helped her set up interviews, especially Gigi and Riccardo Bocco. She received many valuable comments that have greatly improved this article. She is particularly grateful to the four anonymous reviewers. She also wishes to thank her colleagues at University College Dublin, Kirssa Cline Ryckman and the participants of the panel

“Social Movements, Protests, and Resistance” at the 2018 annual meeting of the International Studies Association, as well as Tereza Capelos, Jolanda van der Noll and the participants of the panel “The Psychology of Grievances and Political Activism,” convened by the Political Psychology Standing Group during the 2019 annual meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research. She is grateful for financial support from the College of Social Sciences and Law (grant number SF1598) and the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin.

Notes

- 1 Note that it may be performed independently by large numbers of people; cf. Scott 1985.
- 2 Environments characterized by vertical oppression may be more difficult to access. Studies of non-collective resistance have often focused on disadvantaged groups, such as peasants, women, or the poor (e.g., Scott 1987; Gillespie 2017; Asgari and Sarikakis 2019) in comparatively more open or transforming societies. Critical theorists have emphasized the importance of the intersectionality of these identities and their related resistance efforts, e.g., Vinthagen and Johansson 2013.
- 3 Also see Wedeen’s terminology of “hidden in plain sight” (2019, 24). Note, however, that she applies the concept to “neoliberal lifeways” and power maintenance by the Syrian regime, rather than resistance.
- 4 Note that research has recognized additional types of hidden resistance, namely direct resistance by hidden resisters, hidden transcripts or discourse, and subcultures, which target material, status, and cultural domination, respectively; Vinthagen and Johansson 2013.
- 5 See, for example, Goldstone 1991; Bermeo 2003; Wood 2003; Schock 2005; and Nepstad 2011.
- 6 The Occupied Territories have among the highest ratios of security personnel to civilians in the world. In addition to the Israeli military, there are 83,000 Palestinian security personnel at present in Gaza and the Occupied Territories combined; European Council on Foreign Relations 2020.
- 7 Refer to the online appendix for interview recruitment and conduct, as well as an anonymized list of the interviewees.
- 8 By comparison, a study of 560 doctoral theses showed that the mean sample size for qualitative interviews was thirty-one; Mason 2010. Other studies of populations that are difficult to access include similar sample sizes; Linden and Klandermans 2007; Dornschnieder and Henderson 2016. According to Becker, even a single interview can be “quite sufficient” to show that something is possible (in Baker and Edwards 2012).

56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110

- 9 For a detailed description of the coding of the interview transcripts of this study see Dornschneider 2019b.
- 10 Four individuals engaged in one type of non-collective resistance, fifteen engaged in two types of resistance, nine in three types of resistance, and four in four types of resistance.
- 11 This includes the context of Palestine, e.g., Sharoni 1995, 2.
- 12 Six individuals referred to conversations, two to work, two to writing, two to the arts, and one to translation. Participation in this study could be considered a type of signaling to the out-group, although only one interviewee made this explicit.
- 13 In Richter-Devroe 2011, *sumūd* includes a broader range, including material (income generation), cultural (singing and dancing), and social and ideational (keeping up hope) activities.
- 14 Eight individuals referred to staying in Palestine, five to their return to Palestine, ten to the maintenance of daily life (six to work and four to raising children), and two to securing a particular location.
- 15 Two of thirty-two individuals. This type of persevering is exceptional because it includes direct interactions with Israelis, which was typically avoided.
- 16 As such, eschewing is the absence of behavior, typically employed in combination with persevering, and, in this combination, understood as a form of obstruction of the oppressive regime.
- 17 Fifteen individuals commented on avoiding collective resistance, four on non-collective confrontation, and four on direct interactions.
- 18 Four described traveling, three mentioned the arts, two referred to sports, and one to family life. Five described coping through studying and four through working. Regarding travel, note that this study focuses on Palestinians in the West Bank who can apply for travel visas. Nevertheless, as described in the previous sections, they are often denied such visas and risk being denied re-entry on their return. Travelling is not an option available to Palestinians in Gaza.

Supplemental Materials

Interview Recruitment

Interview Conduct

Interview Analysis

List of Interviewees

To view supplementary material for this article, please visit <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720004818>.

References

- Abu-Amr, Ziad. 1993. " Hamas: A Historical and Political Background." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22(4): 5–19.

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1990. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women." *American Ethnologist* 17(1): 41–55.
- Alawattage, Chandana, and Danture Wickramasinghe. 2009. "Weapons of the Weak: Subalterns' Emancipatory Accounting in Ceylon Tea." *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 22(3): 379–404.
- Arab Barometer V. 2019 "Palestine Country Report." Retrieved April 1, 2020 (<https://www.arabbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/palestine-report-public-opinion-2019.pdf>).
- Asgari, Helia, and Katharine Sarikakis. 2019. "Beyond the 'Online': Iranian Women's Non-Movement of Resistance." *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 12(2): 235–252.
- Atallah, Devin G. 2017. "A Community-Based Qualitative Study of Intergenerational Resilience with Palestinian Refugee Families Facing Structural Violence and Historical Trauma." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 54(3): 357–83.
- Awad, Mubarak E. 1984. "Non-Violent Resistance: A Strategy for the Occupied Territories." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13(4): 22–36.
- Baconi, Tareq. 2018. *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bakan, Abigail B., and Yasmeen Abu-Laban. 2009. "Palestinian Resistance and International Solidarity: The BDS Campaign." *Race & Class* 51(1): 29–54.
- Baker, Sarah Elsie, and Rosalind Edwards, eds. 2012. "How Many Qualitative Interviews Is Enough." National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper. Retrieved March 15, 2020 (http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf).
- Barber, Brian K. 2001. "Political Violence, Social Integration, and Youth Functioning: Palestinian Youth from the Intifada." *Journal of Community Psychology* 29(3): 259–80.
- Bayat, Asef. 2000. "From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South." *International Sociology* 15(3): 533–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F026858000015003005>
- BBC. 2020. "Israeli-Palestinian Violence Flares Up." Retrieved April 1, 2020 (<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-51397355>).
- Berkowitz, Leonard. 1989. "Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis: Examination and Reformulation." *Psychological Bulletin* 106(1): 59–73.
- Bermeo, Nancy G. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1): 61–88.

- 1 Brett, Jeanne M., Wendi Adair, Alain Lempereur,
2 Tetsushi Okumura, Peter Shikhirev, Catherine Tinsley,
3 and Anne Lytle. 1998. "Culture and Joint Gains in
4 Negotiation." *Negotiation Journal* 14(1): 61–86.
- 5 Btselem. 2019. "Statistics on Settlements and Settler
6 Population." Retrieved April 1, 2020 ([https://
7 www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics](https://www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics)).
- 8 Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow,
9 Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999.
10 "Policy Failure and Political Survival: The
11 Contribution of Political Institutions." *Journal of
12 Conflict Resolution* 43(2): 147–61.
- 13 Carver, Charles S., and Jennifer Connor-Smith. 2010.
14 "Personality and Coping." *Annual Review of Psychology*
15 61:679–704.
- 16 Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil
17 Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent
18 Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 19 Chenoweth, Erica, and Jay Ulfelder. 2017. "Can
20 Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent
21 Uprisings?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(2):
22 298–324.
- 23 Colomer, Josep M. 2000. "Exit, Voice, and Hostility
24 in Cuba." *International Migration Review* 34(2):
25 423–42.
- 26 Dam, Lammertjan, and Bert Scholtens. 2015. "Toward a
27 Theory of Responsible Investing: On the Economic
28 Foundations of Corporate Social Responsibility."
29 *Resource and Energy Economics* 41:103–21.
- 30 Darweish, Marwan, and Andrew Rigby. 2015. *Popular
31 Protest in Palestine. The Uncertain Future of Unarmed
32 Resistance*. London: Pluto Press.
- 33 Datu, Jesus Alfonso D., Jana Patricia M. Valdez, and
34 Ronnel B. King. 2016. "Perseverance Counts but
35 Consistency Does Not! Validating the Short Grit Scale
36 in a Collectivist Setting." *Current Psychology* 5(1):
37 121–30.
- 38 Day, Arla L., and Holly A. Livingstone. 2001. "Chronic
39 and Acute Stressors among Military Personnel: Do
40 Coping Styles Buffer Their Negative Impact on
41 Health?" *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 6(4):
42 348–60.
- 43 Dollard, John, Neal E. Miller, Leonard W. Doob,
44 Orval Hobart Mowrer, and Robert R. Sears. 1939.
45 *Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale
46 University Press.
- 47 Dornschneider, Stephanie. 2019a. "High-Stakes
48 Decision-Making within Complex Social
49 Environments: A Computational Model of Belief
50 Systems in the Arab Spring." *Cognitive Science* 43(7):
51 e12762.
- 52 ——. 2019b "Analyzing Ethnographic Interviews: Three
53 Studies on Terrorism and Nonviolent Resistance."
54 *International Political Science Review*.
55 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512119884091>.
- Dornschneider, Stephanie, and Nick Henderson. 2016. 56
"A Computational Model of Cognitive Maps:
57 Analyzing Violent and Nonviolent Activity in Egypt
58 and Germany." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(2):
59 368–99. 60
- Dowding, Keith, Peter John, Thanos Mergoupis, and 61
Mark Van Vugt. 2000. "Exit, Voice and Loyalty:
62 Analytic and Empirical Developments." *European
63 Journal of Political Research* 37(4): 469–95. 64
- Droogendyk, Lisa, Stephen C. Wright, Micah Lubensky,
65 and Winnifred R. Louis. 2016. "Acting in Solidarity:
66 Cross-Group Contact Between Disadvantaged Group
67 Members and Advantaged Group Allies." *Journal of
68 Social Issues* 72(2): 315–34. 69
- Duckworth, Angela L., Christopher Peterson, Michael D.
70 Matthews, and Dennis R. Kelly. 2007. "Grit:
71 Perseverance and Passion for Long-Term Goals." *Journal
72 of Personality and Social Psychology* 92(6): 1087–101. 73
- Economist*. 2018. "How to End the Endless Conflict
74 between Israel and the Palestinians." Retrieved April
75 1, 2020 ([https://www.economist.com/
76 leaders/2018/05/17/how-to-end-the-endless-conflict-
77 between-israel-and-the-palestinians](https://www.economist.com/leaders/2018/05/17/how-to-end-the-endless-conflict-between-israel-and-the-palestinians)). 78
- El Zein, Rayya. 2017. "Developing a Palestinian
79 Resistance Economy through Agricultural Labor."
80 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 46(3): 7–26. 81
- Enders, Walter, and Todd Sandler. 2011. *The Political
82 Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge
83 University Press. 84
- European Council on Foreign Relations. 2020. "Mapping
85 Palestinian Politics." Retrieved 28, August 2020.
86 ([https://www.ecfr.eu/mapping_palestinian_politics/
87 detail/introduction_security_forces](https://www.ecfr.eu/mapping_palestinian_politics/detail/introduction_security_forces)). 88
- Ewick, Patricia, and Susan S. Silbey. 1995. "Subversive
89 Stories and Hegemonic Tales: Toward a Sociology of
90 Narrative." *Law and Society Review* 29(2): 197–226. 91
- Fahy, Sandra. 2015. *Marching through Suffering: Loss and
92 Survival in North Korea*. New York: Columbia
93 University Press. 94
- Farsakh, Leila. 2016. "Palestinian Economic
95 Development: Paradigm Shifts since the First Intifada."
96 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 45(2): 55–71. 97
- Fearon, James D. 1994. "Signaling versus the Balance of
98 Power and Interests: An Empirical Test of a Crisis
99 Bargaining Model." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38(2):
100 236269. 101
- Foucault, Michel. 1966. *Les mots et les choses. Une
102 archéologie des sciences humaines* (The Order of Things:
103 An Archeology of the Human Sciences). Paris: Éditions
104 Gallimard. 105
- . 1982. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* 8
106 (4): 777–95. 107
- Freedom House. 2020. "Freedom in the World."
108 Retrieved 1, April 2020 ([https://freedomhouse.org/
109 country/west-bank/freedom-world/2020](https://freedomhouse.org/country/west-bank/freedom-world/2020)). 110

- Gerring, John. 2004. "What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for?" *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 341–54.
- Gerschewski, Johannes. 2013. "The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-Optation in Autocratic Regimes." *Democratization* 20(1): 13–38.
- Gillespie, Tom. 2017. "From Quiet to Bold Encroachment: Contesting Dispossession in Accra's Informal Sector." *Urban Geography* 38(7): 974–92.
- Goldstone, Jack A. 1991. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Q6** Gourlay, William. 2018. "Oppression, Solidarity, Resistance: The Forging of Kurdish Identity in Turkey." *Ethnopolitics* 17(2): 130–46.
- Gnedina, Elena. and Evghenia Sleptsova. 2012. "Eschewing Choice: Ukraine's Strategy on Russia and the EU." Centre for European Policy Working Paper 360, 1–21. (<https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/eschewing-choice-ukraines-strategy-russia-and-eu/>).
- Granovetter Mark. 1978. "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior." *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (6): 1420–43.
- Gunning, Jeroen. 2007. *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, and Violence*. London: Hurst Publishers.
- Gurr, Ted R. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Haddad, Toufic. 2016. *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Q7** Hellmeier, Sebastian, and Nils B. Weidmann. 2020. "Pulling the Strings? The Strategic Use of Pro-Government Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(1): 71–108.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2012. "Syria: From 'Authoritarian Upgrading' to Revolution?" *International Affairs* 88(1): 95–113.
- Hirsch-Hoefler, Sivan, Daphna Canetti, Carmit Rapaport, and Stevan E. Hobfoll. 2016. "Conflict Will Harden Your Heart: Exposure to Violence, Psychological Distress, and Peace Barriers in Israel and Palestine." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 845–59.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1993. "Exit, Voice, and the Fate of the German Democratic Republic: An Essay in Conceptual History." *World Politics* 45(2): 173–202.
- Hollyer, James R., and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2011. "Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Sign the Convention Against Torture? Signaling, Domestic Politics and Non-Compliance." Available at SSRN (<https://ssrn.com/abstract=1876843>) or (<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1876843>).
- Hosseini, Caroline Shenaz. 2013. "The Black Social Economy: Perseverance of Banker Ladies in the Slums." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 84(4): 423–42.
- Hroub, Khaled. 2006. "A 'New Hamas' through Its New Documents." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35(4): 6–27.
- Human Rights Watch. 2017. "Israel: Jerusalem Palestinians Stripped of Status." Retrieved April 1, 2020 (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/08/israel-jerusalem-palestinians-stripped-status>).
- . 2019. "Israel and Palestine." Retrieved April 1, 2020 (<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/israel/palestine>).
- Inglehart, Ronald, Mansoor Moaddel, and Mark Tessler. 2006. "Xenophobia and In-Group Solidarity in Iraq: A Natural Experiment on the Impact of Insecurity." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(3): 495–505.
- Jaeger, David A., and M. Daniele Paserman. 2006. "Israel, the Palestinian Factions, and the Cycle of Violence." *American Economic Review* 96(2): 45–49.
- Jantzen, Kyle. 2001. "Totalitarianism: Propaganda, Perseverance, and Protest: Strategies for Clerical Survival Amid the German Church Struggle." *Church History* 70(2): 295–327.
- Jasper, James M. 1998. "The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements." *Sociological Forum* 13(3): 397–424.
- Johansson, Anna, and Stellan Vinthagen. 2015. "Dimensions of Everyday Resistance: The Palestinian Sumūd." *Journal of Political Power* 8(1): 109–39.
- Jost, John T., Mahzarin R. Banaji, and Brian A. Nosek. 2004. "A Decade of System Justification Theory: Accumulated Evidence of Conscious and Unconscious Bolstering of the Status Quo." *Political Psychology* 25(6): 881–919.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khashan, Hilal. 2003. "Collective Palestinian Frustration and Suicide Bombings." *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1049–67.
- Koudenburg, Namkje, Tom Postmes, and Ernestine H. Gordijn. 2013. "Conversational Flow Promotes Solidarity." *PloS One* 8(11): e78363.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1): 7–48.
- Lagerkvist, Johan. 2015. "The Unknown Terrain of Social Protests in China: 'Exit,' 'Voice,' 'Loyalty,' and 'Shadow.'" *Journal of Civil Society* 11(2): 137–53.
- Lamont, Matthew, Millicent Kennelly, and Brent Moyle. 2014. "Costs and Perseverance in Serious Leisure Careers." *Leisure Sciences* 36(2): 144–60.
- Lazarus, Richard S. 2006. "Emotions and Interpersonal Relationships: Toward a Person-Centered

- 1 Conceptualization of Emotions and Coping.” *Journal of*
 2 *Personality* 74(1): 9–46.
- 3 Lazarus, Richard S., and Susan Folkman. 1984. *Stress,*
 4 *Appraisal, and Coping*. New York: Springer Publishing
 5 Company.
- 6 Lerner, Jennifer S., and Dacher Keltner. 2001. “Fear,
 7 Anger, and Risk.” *Journal of Personality and Social*
 8 *Psychology* 81(1): 146–59.
- 9 Levy, Jack S. 2008. “Case Studies: Types, Designs, and
 10 Logics of Inference.” *Conflict Management and Peace*
 11 *Science* 25(1): 1–18.
- 12 Lilja, Mona, Mikael Baaz, Michael Schulz, and Stellan
 13 Vinthagen. 2017. “How Resistance Encourages
 14 Resistance: Theorizing the Nexus Between Power,
 15 ‘Organised Resistance’ and ‘Everyday Resistance.’”
 16 *Journal of Political Power* 10(1): 40–54.
- 17 Linden, Annette, and Bert Klandermans. 2007.
 18 “Revolutionaries, Wanderers, Converts, and
 19 Compliant: Life Histories of Extreme Right Activists.”
 20 *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36(2): 184–201.
- 21 Lohmann, Susanne. 1993. “A Signaling Model of
 22 Informative and Manipulative Political Action.”
 23 *American Political Science Review* 87(2): 319–33.
- 24 Mahmood, Saba. 2011. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic*
 25 *Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, NJ:
 26 Princeton University Press.
- 27 Makiya, Kanan. 1998. *Republic of Fear: The Politics of*
 28 *Modern Iraq*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 29 Malseed, Kevin. 2009. “Networks of Noncompliance:
 30 Grassroots Resistance and Sovereignty in Militarised
 31 Burma.” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(2): 365–91.
- 32 Markman, Gideon D., Robert A. Baron, and David B.
 33 Balkin. 2005. “Are Perseverance and Self-Efficacy
 34 Costless? Assessing Entrepreneurs’ Regretful
 35 Thinking.” *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 26(1):
 36 1–19.
- 37 Mason, Mark. 2010. “Sample Size and Saturation in PhD
 38 Studies Using Qualitative Interviews.” *Forum*
 39 *Qualitative Social Research* 11(3): Article 8.
- 40 McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001.
 41 *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge
 42 University Press.
- 43 McManus, Roseanne W. 2018. “Making It Personal: The
 44 Role of Leader-Specific Signals in Extended
 45 Deterrence.” *Journal of Politics* 80(3): 982–95.
- 46 McManus, Roseanne W., and Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2017.
 47 “The Logic of ‘Offstage’ Signaling: Domestic Politics,
 48 Regime Type, and Major Power-Protégé Relations.”
 49 *International Organization* 71(4): 701–33.
- 50 Milton-Edwards, Beverley, and Stephen Farrell. 2010.
 51 *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*. Cambridge:
 52 Polity.
- 53 Mishal, Shaul, and Avraham Sela. 2006. *The Palestinian*
 54 *Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*. New York:
 55 Columbia University Press.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1990. “Everyday Metaphors of
 Power.” *Theory and Society* 19(5): 545–77.
- Montanaro, Laura. 2019. “Discursive Exit.” *American*
Journal of Political Science 63(4): 875–87.
- Morrow, James D. 1999. “The Strategic Setting of
 Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in
 International Politics.” In *Strategic Choice and*
International Relations, ed. David A. Lake and Robert
 Powell, 77–115. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University
 Press.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2011. *Nonviolent Revolutions:*
Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century. New York:
 Oxford University Press.
- New York Times. 2020. “Violence Surges in the Wake of
 Trump’s Mideast Plan.” Retrieved April 1, 2020
 ([https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/world/](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/world/middleeast/israel-violence-trump-mideast-plan.html)
[middleeast/israel-violence-trump-mideast-plan.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/world/middleeast/israel-violence-trump-mideast-plan.html)).
- Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey. 2015.
 “Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No-58.” Retrieved
 April 2, 2020. (<http://www.pcpsr.org/en/node/625>).
- Parnell, John A. 2010. “Strategic Clarity, Business
 Strategy and Performance.” *Journal of Strategy and*
Management 3(4): 304–24.
- Peace Now. 2019. “Jerusalem Municipal Data Reveals
 Stark Israeli-Palestinian Discrepancy in Construction
 Permits in Jerusalem.” Retrieved April 1, 2020 ([https://](https://peacenow.org.il/en/jerusalem-municipal-data-reveals-stark-israeli-palestinian-discrepancy-in-construction-permits-in-jerusalem)
[peacenow.org.il/en/jerusalem-municipal-data-reveals-](https://peacenow.org.il/en/jerusalem-municipal-data-reveals-stark-israeli-palestinian-discrepancy-in-construction-permits-in-jerusalem)
[stark-israeli-palestinian-discrepancy-in-construction-](https://peacenow.org.il/en/jerusalem-municipal-data-reveals-stark-israeli-palestinian-discrepancy-in-construction-permits-in-jerusalem)
[permits-in-jerusalem](https://peacenow.org.il/en/jerusalem-municipal-data-reveals-stark-israeli-palestinian-discrepancy-in-construction-permits-in-jerusalem)).
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2011. *Violence, Nonviolence and the*
Palestinian National Movement. New York: Cambridge
 University Press.
- . 2016. “Narratives of Fear in Syria.” *Perspectives on*
Politics 14(1): 21–37.
- Pew Research Centre. 2014 “Concerns about Islamic
 extremism on the rise in the Middle East.” Retrieved
 April 2, 2020 ([http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/01/](http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/01/concerns-about-islamic-extremism-on-the-rise-in-middle-east/pg-2014-07-01-islamic-extremism-08/)
[concerns-about-islamic-extremism-on-the-rise-in-](http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/01/concerns-about-islamic-extremism-on-the-rise-in-middle-east/pg-2014-07-01-islamic-extremism-08/)
[middle-east/pg-2014-07-01-islamic-extremism-08/](http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/07/01/concerns-about-islamic-extremism-on-the-rise-in-middle-east/pg-2014-07-01-islamic-extremism-08/)).
- Pfaff, Steven, and Hyojoung Kim. 2003. “Exit-Voice
 Dynamics in Collective Action: An Analysis of
 Emigration and Protest in the East German
 Revolution.” *American Journal of Sociology* 109(2):
 401–44.
- Popkin, Samuel L. (1979). *The Rational Peasant: The*
Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam. Berkeley:
 University of California Press.
- Qouta, Samir, Raija-Leena Punamäki, and Eyad El Sarraj.
 2003. “Prevalence and Determinants of PTSD
 among Palestinian Children Exposed to Military
 Violence.” *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*
 12(6): 265–72.
- Qumsiyeh, Mazin B. 2011. *Popular Resistance in Palestine:*
A History of Hope and Emowerment. London: Pluto
 Press.

- 1 Rao, Hayagreeva, and Sunasir Dutta. 2012. "Free Spaces
2 as Organizational Weapons of the Weak: Religious
3 Festivals and Regimental Mutinies in the 1857 Bengal
4 Native Army." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 57(4):
5 625–68.
- 6 Reicher, Stephen, Clare Cassidy, Ingrid Wolpert, Nick
7 Hopkins, and Mark Levine. 2006. "Saving Bulgaria's
8 Jews: An Analysis of Social Identity and the
9 Mobilisation of Social Solidarity." *European Journal of
10 Social Psychology* 36(1): 49–72.
- 11 Richter-Devroe, Sophie. 2011. "Palestinian Women's
12 Everyday Resistance: Between Normality and
13 Normalisation." *Journal of International Women's
14 Studies* 12(2): 32–46
- 15 ——. 2018. *Women's Political Activism in Palestine:
16 Peacebuilding, Resistance, and Survival*. Champaign:
17 University of Illinois Press.
- 18 Ricks, Thomas M. 2006. "In Their Own Voices: Palestinian
19 High School Girls and Their Memories of the Intifadas
20 and Nonviolent Resistance to Israeli Occupation, 1987
21 to 2004." *NWSA Journal* 18(3): 88–103.
- 22 Roth, Susan, and Lawrence J. Cohen. 1986. "Approach,
23 Avoidance, and Coping with Stress." *American
24 Psychologist* 41(7): 813–19.
- 25 Rothermund, Klaus. 2003. "Automatic Vigilance for
26 Task-Related Information: Perseverance after Failure
27 and Inhibition after Success." *Memory & Cognition* 31
28 (3): 343–52.
- 29 Rowbotham, Sheila. 1998. "Weapons of the Weak.
30 Homeworkers' Networking in Europe." *European
31 Journal of Women's Studies* 5(3-4): 453–63.
- 32 Saarela, Miiamaaria V., Yevhen Hlushchuk, Amanda
33 C. de C. Williams, Martin Schürmann, Eija Kalso, and
34 Riitta Hari. 2007. "The Compassionate Brain: Humans
35 Detect Intensity of Pain from Another's Face." *Cerebral
36 Cortex* 17(1): 230–37.
- 37 Schock, Kurt. 2005. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power
38 Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis: University
39 of Minnesota Press.
- 40 Schulte-Rüther, Martin, Hans J. Markowitsch, Gereon R.
41 Fink, and Martina Piefke. 2007. "Mirror Neuron and
42 Theory of Mind Mechanisms Involved in Face-to-Face
43 Interactions: A Functional Magnetic Resonance
44 Imaging Approach to Empathy." *Journal of Cognitive
45 Neuroscience* 19(8): 1354–72.
- 46 Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday
47 Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale
48 University Press.
- 49 ——. 1987. "Resistance Without Protest and Without
50 Organization: Peasant Opposition to the Islamic Zakat
51 and the Christian Tithe." *Comparative Studies in Society
52 and History* 29(3): 417–52.
- 53 ——. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden
54 Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- 55 Sharoni, Simona. 1995. *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian
Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance*. Syracuse,
NY: Syracuse University Press.
- 56 Sharp, Gene. 1973. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.
57 Boston: P. Sargent Publisher.
- 58 Sharp, Gene, and Afif Safieh. 1987. "Gene Sharp:
59 Nonviolent Struggle." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17(1):
60 37–55.
- 61 Shikaki, Khali. 2006. "Willing to Compromise:
62 Palestinian Public Opinion and the Peace Process"
63 United States Institute of Peace, Research Report.
64 Retrieved April 2, 2020 ([https://www.usip.org/
65 publications/2006/01/willing-compromise-
66 palestinian-public-opinion-and-peace-process](https://www.usip.org/publications/2006/01/willing-compromise-palestinian-public-opinion-and-peace-process)).
- 67 Siegman, Jeremy A. 2020. "Playing with Antagonists: The
68 Politics of Humor in Israeli-Palestinian Market
69 Encounters." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 43
70 (1): 103–19.
- 71 Simon, Bernd, and Bert Klandermans. 2001. "Politicized
72 Collective Identity: A Social Psychological Analysis."
73 *American Psychologist* 56(4): 319–31.
- 74 Skinner Ellen A., Kathleen Edge, Jeffrey Altman, and
75 Sherwood Hayley Sherwood. 2003. "Searching for the
76 Structure of Coping: A Review and Critique of
77 Category Systems for Classifying Ways of Coping."
78 *Psychological Bulletin* 129(2): 216–69
- 79 Sorensen, Majken Jul. 2008. "Humour as a Serious
80 Strategy of Nonviolent Resistance to Oppression."
81 *Peace & Change* 33(2): 167–90.
- 82 Spradley, James P. 1979. *The Ethnographic Interview*.
83 Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- 84 Stewart, Andrew L., Felicia Pratto, Fouad Bou Zeineddine,
85 Joseph Sweetman, Véronique Eicher, Laurent Licata,
86 Davide Morselli, Rim Saab, Antonio Aiello,
87 Xenia Chrysochoou, and Alecksandra Cichocka.
88 2016. "International Support for the Arab Uprisings:
89 Understanding Sympathetic Collective Action Using
90 Theories of Social Dominance and Social Identity."
91 *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 19(1): 6–26.
- 92 Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. 1990. *Basics of
93 Qualitative Research*. New York: Sage.
- 94 Sullivan, Sian. 2003. "Dissent or Libel in Resistance to a
95 Conservancy in North-West Namibia." In
96 *Ethnographies of Conservation: Environmentalism and
97 the Distribution of Privilege*, ed. David G. Anderson and
98 Eeva Berglund, 69–86. Oxford: Berghahn.
- 99 Sverke, Magnus, and Johnny Hellgren. 2001. "Exit, Voice
100 and Loyalty Reactions to Job Insecurity in Sweden: Do
101 Unionized and Non-Unionized Employees Differ?"
102 *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 39(2): 167–82.
- 103 Szalontai, Balázs, and Changyong Choi. 2014. "Immunity
104 to Resistance? State-Society Relations and Political
105 Stability in North Korea in a Comparative Perspective."
106 *North Korean Review* 10(1): 55–70.

1 Tilly, Charles. 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*.
 2 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 56
 3 Tsai, Wen-Hsuan, and Zheng-Wei Lin. 2019. "Social
 4 Constructionism and the Significance of Political
 5 Rumors in Contemporary China: Weapons of the
 6 Weak." *Asian Survey* 59(5): 870–88. 57
 7 Van Troost, Dunya, Jacquelin Van Stekelenburg, and
 8 Bert Klandermans. 2013. "Emotions of Protest." In
 9 *Emotions in Politics*, ed. Nicolas Demertzis, 186–203.
 10 London: Palgrave Macmillan. 58
 11 Van Zomeren, Martijn, Tom Postmes, and Russell Spears.
 12 2008. "Toward an Integrative Social Identity Model of
 13 Collective Action: A Quantitative Research Synthesis of
 14 Three Socio-Psychological Perspectives." *Psychological*
 15 *Bulletin* 134(4): 504–35. 59
 16 Veracini, Lorenzo. 2013. "The Other Shift: Settler
 17 Colonialism, Israel, and the Occupation." *Journal of*
 18 *Palestine Studies* 42(2): 26–42. 60
 19 Vinthagen, Stellan, and Anna Johansson. 2013. "Everyday
 20 Resistance: Exploration of a Concept and Its Theories."
 21 *Resistance Studies Magazine* 1(1): 1–46. 61
 22 Wade, Allan. 1997. "Small Acts of Living: Everyday
 23 Resistance to Violence and Other Forms of
 24 Oppression." *Contemporary Family Therapy* 19(1):
 25 23–39. 62
 26 Weaver, R. Kent. 1986. "The Politics of Blame
 27 Avoidance." *Journal of Public Policy* 6(4):
 28 371–98. 63
 29 Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics,*
 30 *Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago:
 31 University of Chicago Press. 64
 32 ———. 2019. *Authoritarian Apprehensions*. Chicago:
 33 University of Chicago Press. 65
 34 Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass
 35 Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China."
 36 *International Organization* 67(1): 1–35. 66
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 Weyland, Kurt. 2012. "The Arab Spring: Why the
 Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of
 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4): 917–34. 57
 White, Rachel E., Emily O. Prager, Catherine Schaefer,
 Ethan Kross, Angela L. Duckworth, and Stephanie M.
 Carlson. 2017. "The 'Batman Effect': Improving
 Perseverance in Young Children." *Child Development*
 88(5): 1563–71. 62
 White House. 2020. "Peace to Prosperity." Retrieved
 April 1, 2020 ([https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-
 content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-
 0120.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-0120.pdf)). 64
 Williams, Lisa A., and David DeSteno. 2008. "Pride and
 Perseverance: The Motivational Role of Pride." *Journal*
of Personality and Social Psychology 94(6): 1007–17. 66
 Wilson, Richard Ashby, and Richard D. Brown, eds.
 2008. *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The*
Mobilization of Empathy. Cambridge: Cambridge
 University Press. 67
 Wolford, Scott. 2014. "Showing Restraint, Signaling
 Resolve: Coalitions, Cooperation, and Crisis Bargaining."
American Journal of Political Science 58(1): 144–56. 68
 Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and*
Civil War in El Salvador. Cambridge: Cambridge
 University Press. 69
 World Bank. 2019a. "Palestine's Economic Update—
 October 2019." Retrieved April 1, 2020 ([https://
 www.worldbank.org/en/country/westbankandgaza/
 publication/economic-update-october-2019](https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/westbankandgaza/publication/economic-update-october-2019)). 70
 ———. 2019b. "Palestinian Territories." Retrieved April
 1, 2020. ([http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/
 en/250361570664056483/EN-MPO-OCT19-
 Palestine.pdf](http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/250361570664056483/EN-MPO-OCT19-Palestine.pdf)). 71
 Yom, Sean L., and F. Gregory Gause III. 2012. "Resilient
 Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On." *Journal of*
Democracy 23(4): 74–88. 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100
 101
 102
 103
 104
 105
 106
 107
 108
 109
 110