PALESTINIAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE: A LITERARY
ANALYSIS


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PALESTINIAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE: A LITERARY ANALYSIS


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# ABSTRACT

## PALESTINIAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE: A LITERARY ANALYSIS

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This thesis aims to demonstrate how West Bank originated writers' security perspectives are affected by Palestinian societal identity. In doing so, Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* and *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* and Raja Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* and *Palestinian Walks* novels are analyzed by using literary texture analysis. Israel's societal security dilemma and social identity theories are used for theoretical explanations. It is claimed that due to the Israel's societal security dilemma, Palestinians have been struggling with historically rooted traumas and limitations such as environmental problems and economic hardships. These historically rooted traumas, experiences and limitations affect Palestinian societal identity since they are repeated for years and create social identity factors in Palestinian society. Social identity factors are categorized under three headings: Historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as others and labelling Israeli soldier and police as cruel. The novels are analyzed in accordance with these factors to understand the impact of Palestinian societal identity on writers' security perspectives. The comparison of writers' security perspectives demonstrate that both Raja Shehadeh and Suad Amirys' security perspectives are affected by their societal identities since their novels include examples closely related to the chosen social identity factors.

Keywords: West Bank, Palestinian literature, security studies

# ÖZ

FİLİSTİN GÜVENLİK ALGISI: BİR YAZINSAL ANALİZ

Beşgül, Birce

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Bu tez, Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin Batı Şeria kökenli yazarların güvenlik algısını nasıl etkilediği sorusunu yapıt karşılaştırması aracılığıyla okuyucuya sunmaktadır. Suad Amiry'nin *Sharon and My Mother in Law*, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* ve Raja Shehadeh'in *Strangers in the House* ve *Palestinian Walks* yapıtları, edebi yapıt analizi metodu kullanımıyla analiz için seçilmiştir. Tezin teorik tartışma bölümünde, İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikilemi ve sosyal kimlik teorisi açıklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Filistinlilerin tarihsel olarak kökleşmiş travma, deneyim ve kısıtlamaları İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikileminin sonuçları olarak kabul edilmektedir. Buna ek olarak, bu kısıtlamalar, travmalar ve tekrar eden tarihsel deneyimler, Filistin toplumunun toplumsal kimlik faktörlerini oluşturmuştur. Sosyal kimlik teorisi kapsamında, bahsedilen kökleşmiş sosyal kimlik faktörleri; tarihsel deneyimler, İsraillileri ötekileştirme ve İsrailli asker ve polisleri zalim olarak benimseme olmak üzere üç kategoride toplanmıştır. Yapıtlar, Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin yazarların güvenlik algısı üzerindeki etkisini anlamak amacıyla bu üç kategoriye göre analiz edilmiştir. Yapıtlarda sosyal kimlik faktörlerinin örneklerle eşleştiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bu kapsamda, yazarların güvenlik algısının karşılaştırmalı analizi, Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin yazarların güvenlik algısına etkisini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı Şeria, Filistin literatürü, Güvenlik Çalışmaları

To Raja Shehadeh and Ozel Family

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Apart from daily usage in today's world, the meaning of security has been defined differently throughout history. Etymological dictionary reflects that humans struggle with the essence of security in both understanding and defining it dates back to mid-15c., with the word having its root in Latin *securitas*, and in *secures* meaning as "free from care."[1] It is paradoxical because *carefree* implies that if you are devoting serious attention to achieving security, then it means you do not have it.[2] In other words, humans start to realize the need of being secure only when they struggle with its absence. Security catches up all human beings in different moment ranging from scholarly analyses to entering a place where x-rays search the bags.

From conflict analyses in international relations to its various usages in different fields of academia, security has always been an important field for analysis. In this regard, security can be a critical tool in a broad sense in sociology, philosophy, international relations and other disciplines combining different perspectives of people. Security can be studied through traditional or new/ non-traditional approaches. The traditionalist approach of security represents a state centric focus. Since the seventeenth century, when the current system of states began to emerge, international security has been understood

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[1] Harper, Douglas. *Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2015.
http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=security&searchmode=none

[2] Davidoff, Sherri. *"Origins of Security"*, Jul 30th, 2008.
http://philosecurity.org/2008/07/30/origins-of-security

and practiced with reference to the needs and interests of states[3]. Although, in its early origins, the state was perceived as an instrument to provide security for its citizens, it became the subject of security with the establishment and retrenchment of the state-system[4]. Notwithstanding the alternative conceptions of security that have always existed, this state-based and external-directed conception of security has prevailed and shapes the practices of governments.[5] Critical voices calling for the importance of protecting human beings or the global environment aside, twentieth-century thinking and practices concerning security were characterized by this way of thinking.[6] With the new approaches such as critical security understanding, the protection of human beings is taken into focus instead of interests of states. This thesis adopts a critical approach and within the context of the security understanding debate, it aims to analyze how Palestinian societal identity affects Palestinians' security perspectives through analyses of novels. The novels that are analyzed are Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* and *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* and Raja Shehadeh's *Palestinian Walks* and *Strangers in the House*. This thesis aims to demonstrate how the comparison of writers' security perspectives would reflect the impact of deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors on these writers' security perspectives. In addition to its classical meaning, the usage of 'deep rooted' adjective for the Palestinian societal identity factors demonstrates Palestinians' similar security understandings and their reactions towards any

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[3] Bilgin, Pınar. *Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security*. International Studies Review, vol.5, 203-222, 2003.

[4] Bilgin, Pınar. *Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security*. International Studies Review, vol.5, 203-222, 2003.

[5] Bilgin, Pınar. *Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security*. International Studies Review, vol.5, 203-222, 2003.

[6] Bilgin, Pınar. *Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security*. International Studies Review, vol.5, 203-222, 2003.

event that triggers insecurity. It can be argued that this similarity has been developed through years in Palestinian society as a result of repetitive events such as being arrested at check points by the Israeli police.

To briefly introduce, Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel is composed of her diaries during the Israeli invasion of Ramallah in March 2002. In the novel, Amiry shares her insecurity and problems with her readers. She is forced to live with her mother in law and explains how she struggles with Israeli soldier while she is trying to take her from her house since her house is located at the other side of the town where entrance is not permitted. Amiry does not prefer to live with her; however, she is forced to wait for the end of the invasion. She shares the difficulties of this relationship with her reader. Amiry's problems that she has experienced at the check point are also demonstrated to the reader with a significant emphasis on her insecurity during these moments. The *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* is Amiry's another novel that is chosen for analysis in this thesis. In the novel, Amiry shows the difficulties that Palestinian workers face. At the beginning, she meets a 21 year old Palestinian worker, Murad, and listens to his story. Murad explains that it is not possible to find a job in his territory, therefore, he passes to the Israeli side illegally to find daily jobs for making money. After listening to Murad's words, Amiry decides to share these workers' experience. She changes her look and joins in Murad and his other worker friends. Amiry shares the detail of this day with her readers in order to demonstrate the struggle of Palestinians to find jobs. They pass from the forest while they are running away from Israeli soldiers' shootings. At the Israeli side, they change clothes to look like an Israeli since they have no IDs. In the end, Amiry shows how dangerous this journey is for Palestinians.

Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* novel represents his own experience from his childhood to his adult years. In the novel, he shares his special relationship with his father, his first love, intellectual experiences in college, world travels,

law career and human rights work and his struggle under Israeli occupation with his reader. Shehadeh was born in Jaffa after his family left Ramallah. Shehadeh has a special relationship with his father, Aziz, who claims publicly the necessity of two state solution for the Israel - Palestine conflict. Shehadeh goes first to Beirut and then London to study law. He questions himself when he feels insecure during the times that his desires, such as falling in love or going to India, are not approved by his father. He turns Ramallah as a lawyer. Despite his father's opposition, he defenses Palestinian human rights. The novel represents Shehadeh's self-analysis of being a Palestinian. The *Palestinian Walks* can be accepted as the continuation of the *Strangers in the House* novel. The novel composed of Shehadeh's walks on the land, his visit of his family's old house named as qasr and Shehadeh's pessimistic view about the environmental damage of the land as a result of the Israeli invasion.

This thesis will use two theories in order to analyze the impact of Palestinian societal identity on writers' security perspectives. Firstly, Israel's societal security dilemma is examined in order to comprehend how Israel's maneuvers have brought about insecure atmosphere to Palestine through years. By combining the concept of the security dilemma with that of societal security, it can be argued that a societal security dilemma exists when the actions of one society, in trying to increase its societal security (strengthen its own identity), causes a reaction in a second society, which, in the end, decreases the first society's own societal security (weakens its identity).[7] In the light of societal security dilemma definition, Israel can be accepted as an example to observe the impact of its actions on Palestine. In other words, Israel's effort to increase its societal security brings about problems for Palestine continuously. It can be claimed that the Palestinian societal identity factors related to Palestinians' security understandings have been developed as a result of repeated

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[7] Roe, Paul. *The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'?* <u>Journal of Peace Research</u>, vol 36, no.2, 1999, pp. 183–202, 1999.

experiences for years. These repeated experiences -such as being arrested at the check point- have created the insecurity in society. Apart from the insecure atmosphere, it can be argued that the limitations by Israel have decreased Palestinian living standards since its impact can be observed from environmental problems to economic hardships. These limitations bring about depression and hopeless perspective to the society since they cannot find jobs in order to continue their lives. Within the context of environmental problems, it can be mentioned that unequal distribution of water resources and the illegal extension of land by Israelis cause economic hardships since the fertile soil is used by Israel. In this regard, it can be stated that Israel's societal security dilemma explanation reflects the development process of deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors by demonstrating the 'reasons' behind the scene.

Secondly, after explaining the development process, the social identity theory will be used to determine the deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors. In the social identity theory, a person does not have one, "personal self", but rather several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership.[8] Different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on basis of his personal, family or national "level of self."[9] In this regard, individuals have various social identities apart from the level of self. Social identity is the individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups.[10] For the clarity of the thesis, three main societal identity factors

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[8] Carayannis, Elias G., Manlio Del Giudice, Maria Rosaria Della Peruta. *Cross-Cultural Knowledge Management: Fostering Innovation and Collaboration Inside the Multicultural Enterprise*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2011, pp.31.

[9] Henri Tajfel, Henri and Fraser, Colin. *Introducing Social Psychology*. Pelican, 1987.

[10] Hogg, M.A. & Vaughan. *Social Psychology* (3rd ed.) London: Prentice Hall, 2002.

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are chosen for analysis: Historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as 'others' and acceptance of Israeli soldiers and police as the portrait of cruelty. The novel analyses are done in accordance with these three Palestinian societal identity factors. At each writer's part, the novel analysis represents how these three societal identity factors affect writers' security perspectives.

Literary textual analysis is chosen as the methodology of the thesis. Literary textual analysis is a method to analyze these spoken, signed-based, or any other significant semiotic markers that provide meaning to the social world surrounding us.[11] It explores how the socially produced ideas and objects that populate the world were created and are held in place.[12] In this sense, literary textual analysis helps to see the pure reality through texts. Where other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, it tries to uncover the way that reality is produced.[13] Literary textual analysis is thus more than a method: it is a methodology based on two primary assumptions.[14] The first assumption is based on social reality understanding. Social reality is not something that we uncover, but something that we actively create through meaningful interaction.[15] Since the thesis represents novel

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[11] Mutlu, E. Can & Salter, Mark B. *The Discursive Turn*, chapter 4, Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introuction. Routledge, 2013. 114-119

[12] Hardy, Cynthia, Bill Harley, Nelson Phillips. *Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis: Two Solitudes?* Qualitative Methods, Spring 2004. http://dev.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/870__symposium.pdf

[13] Hardy, C. 2001. *Researching organizational Discourse*. International Studies in Management and Organization, 31(3): 25- 47

[14] Wood, L.A. and Kroger, R.O. 2000. *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

[15] Hardy, Cynthia, Bill Harley, Nelson Phillips. *Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis: Two Solitudes?* Qualitative Methods, Spring 2004. http://dev.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/870__symposium.pdf

analysis, literary textual analysis is chosen in order to "uncover the way that reality is produced".

The analysis of the impact of Palestinian societal identity on Palestinian writers' security perceptions would answer critical questions in the Middle Eastern studies and would open new doors for further research. The research question of this thesis will provide its readers to hear the security definitions of Palestinians. Unlike other works, this thesis illustrates how Palestinians perceive security understanding in accordance with events that they face. With Palestinian writers' security understanding, the research question would open the door of further comparison of security understandings in the Middle East Region. As part of the thesis contribution to the Middle Eastern studies, it focuses on possibility of hearing Palestinians' voices on security, understanding the impact of Palestinians' traumas and the economic hardships and lastly the environmental damage in the West Bank region. Moreover, different from other Palestinian studies and works, the thesis takes security understanding from a different angle by taking novels into account. Novel analysis provides readers with an opportunity to touch Palestinians' own words on security.

The novels under scrutiny are about West Bank is chosen with a significant purpose for analysis: Unlike main components of the Israel Palestine conflict such as history, border issue with Israel, foreign policy, women studies, it is not always easy to hear the authentic words of people who lived or still living on the rocky land of the West Bank. It is a critical fact that West Bank is included in many hotly debated issues with 'silence' of its people and with its unknown 'rocky' territory. In this regard, West Bank originated writers Raja Shehadeh and Suad Amiry open their 'homes' to readers not only for security perspective analysis but also for demonstrating Palestinians' lives.

Since it is difficult to visit each and every 'home', these novels are chosen because they are available in English and because writers' share their own experiences. Both Raja Shehadeh and Suad Amiry are West-Bank originated and although they were educated abroad, they chose to return to their 'homes'. In this regard, it can be argued that while being abroad has provided them with the chance of observing Palestine from others' lenses, their decision of turning back to their land and sharing their experiences through first hand writing provide a rare opportunity for critical analysis of their security perspectives. To touch briefly, Suad Amiry's *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* and *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novels represent how ordinary, daily human acts can be accepted as security issues. It is possible to observe the impact of deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors on Amiry's security perspective with her talks to her mother in law and chats with workers while she is waiting to pass Israeli land as a worker. In Raja Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* and *Palestinian Walks,* Shehadeh's security perspective can be clearly observed with his own words of the impact of deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors on his character. Apart from creating a visual Western Bank portrait in readers' eyes with his description of the land, Shehadeh points out the events that Palestinian societal identity affects his security perspective. With writers' novels, it is seen that security is not a term for Palestinians; rather, it is an essential element for their lives.

To clearly see the whole picture at the end, the thesis is contextualized in the following manner: The first part demonstrates the theoretical debate covering also Palestinian historiography and the Palestinian identity debate in order to provide the whole picture. In the theoretical debate part, security dilemma is defined and its conceptualization in terms of identity is represented. With the examination and definition of the types of societal security dilemma, Israel's societal security dilemma is accepted as regular societal security dilemma. The impact of Israel's security dilemma such as limitations for Palestinians is

discussed. Environmental limitations are chosen for a detailed analysis separate from others since it is the most significant issue that has brought about problems to Palestinians. The decrease in the quality of human life as a result of the environmental problems is presented in addition to the unequal usage of natural resources by one side. To understand the impact of Israel's security dilemma on Palestinians, better Palestinian historiography is presented to the reader. This part provides Palestinians' perspective and their national claims that can be categorized as religious, legal, demographic. Following these claims, the commonalities are analyzed in order to determine their impact on Palestinian societal identity.

After analyzing Palestinians' claims and their commonality, Palestinian identity part firstly demonstrates the traumas that Palestinians have experienced through the discussion of the impact of Israel's security dilemma and limitations. It is argued that the right to territory and the limitations that Palestinians have been facing with for a long time have caused repeated experiences: fear of death, fear of being monitored, fear of being exiled or arrested, and perceptions towards Israeli people- especially soldiers and police- by associating 'them' with cruelty. Palestinians who have experienced these traumas for years have been forced to accept what they had lived to continue their lives. This 'acception' brings about the rooted structure of these traumas. In this regard, Palestinian societal identity represents common traumas that can be accepted as rooted societal identity elements as a result of their experiences. The societal identity factors that will be used in the novel analysis are categorized as historical experiences, Israelis as others and Israeli soldiers and polices as the portrait of cruelty.

Within the light of the first part, second and third part represents Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadehs' security perspectives through their novels. At the beginning of each part, the summaries of novels are offered to the readers. Analyses are based on the three societal identity factors for clarity and

consistency. Examples from novels are explained theoretically to demonstrate how writers' security perspectives are affected by their societal identities.

The last part represents the comparison of writers' security perspectives. Firstly, each writer's security perspective analysis will be explained by taking their two novels into account. The comparison of writer's security perspective demonstrates that both writers are affected by their societal identity since the impact of three societal identity factors on them can be observed through their novels. Both writers' are affected by historical experiences and they accept Israelis as others. Moreover, they have the same societal stereotype that is accepting Israeli soldiers and police as cruel. The comparison of writer's security perspective is conducted by use of different categories for a detailed analysis. In this regard, their writing styles, their perspectives towards Palestinian society, the examples that they choose in their novels and the degree of their emphasis on insecurity are analyzed. After the comparison part, writer's own explanations on their security understanding are presented.

# CHAPTER 2

## THEORETICAL DEBATE

This chapter will first provide a theoretical framework for this thesis. Secondly, it will include background information on Palestinian historiography emphasizing the critical historical moments which have left their imprints on Palestinian psyche/ memory. Thirdly, it will illustrate how such historical events have created and become a part of Palestinian societal identity. Lastly, it will offer coverage of Palestinian literature introducing major works on Palestinian society, thus contextualizing the "Sharon and My Mother in Law", "Nothing to Lose but Your Life", "Strangers in the House" and "Palestinian Walks" within the general Palestinian literature.

The theoretical debate part constitutes the cornerstone of this thesis. Needless to say, other approaches could have been used in this thesis. However, within the light of the research question, it is necessary that the theory that will be used in this thesis should reflect the development process of the Palestinian societal identity. Thus, even though various approaches exist there, the theory of societal security dilemma is used as the theoretical basis. Although analysis of Israel's societal security dilemma focuses on the results of increased Israeli insecurity on the Israeli society, this thesis will cut the loop and only examine its impact on Palestinian society.

Before explaining the societal security dilemma, a brief definition of security dilemma is essential through understanding. The term 'security dilemma' was first used by John Herz in his 1951 book *Political Realism and Political*

*Idealism*.[16] The security dilemma refers to the situation by which a state takes action to increase its security, causing a reaction in another state that ultimately reduces the security of both.[17] Since military buildups can often be both defensive and offensive in nature, misperceptions about the intent of the first state can lead the second state to react to it as a threat, when this may not be the case.[18] In this regard, uncertainty can be accepted as the basic stone of security dilemma. Butterfield describes the uncertainty that decision makers can face in trying to determine others' intentions.[19] He says:

> "It is the peculiar characteristic of…Hobbesian fear…that you yourself may vividly feel the terrible fear that you have of the other party, but you cannot enter the other man's counter fear, or even understand why he should be particularly nervous. For you yourself know that you mean him no harm, and that you want nothing from him save guarantees for your own safety; and it is never possible to for you to realize or remember properly that since he cannot see the inside of your mind, he can never have the same assurances of your intentions that you have. As this operates on both sides…neither side sees the nature of the predicament that he is in, for each only imagines that the other party is being hostile and unreasonable."[20]

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[16] Herz, John. *Political Realism and Political Idealism*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1951.
[17] Jervis, Robert. Perception and Misperception in International Politics. New York, Princeton University Press, 1976.

[18] Olesker, Ronnie. *Israel's Societal Security Dilemma and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process*, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics,2011, 17:4, 382-401.

[19] Roe, Paul. *The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'?* Journal of Peace Research, vol 36, no.2, 1999, pp. 183–202, 1999.

[20] Butterfield, Herbert. *History and Human Relations*. London: Collins, pp.21, 1951.

In this regard, as a result of the uncertainty about the power and intensions of other side, security dilemma occurs between countries. Due to the fear and security needs, they increase their own power capabilities although they do not know the real power and intension of the other side.

The relationship between identity and the security of ethnic groups is laid out in Ole Wæver and Barry Buzan's work on the concept of societal security.[21] By combining the concept of the security dilemma with that of societal security, a societal security dilemma could be said to exist when the actions of one society, in trying to increase its societal security (strengthen its own identity), causes a reaction in a second society, which, in the end, decreases the first society's own societal security (weakens its identity).[22] In this way, Buzan and Wæver, along with two other Copenhagen School members, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, suggest that for threatened societies, one obvious line of defensive response is to strengthen societal identity. This can be done by using cultural means to reinforce societal cohesion and distinctiveness, and to ensure that society reproduces itself correctly.[23] In other words, to put it simply, 'if one's identity seems threatened…the answer is a strengthening of existing identities.'[24]

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[21] Buzan, Berry; Wæver, Ole; Wale, Jaap. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

[22] Roe, Paul. *The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'?* Journal of Peace Research, vol 36, no.2, 1999, pp. 183–202, 1999.

[23] Wæver, Ole; Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup & Pierre Lemaitre. Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe. London: Pinter, 1992. pp191.

[24] Wæver, Ole. *'Securitization and Desecuritization'*, in Ronny D. Lipschutz ed., On Security. New York: Columbia University Press (46–86), 1995.
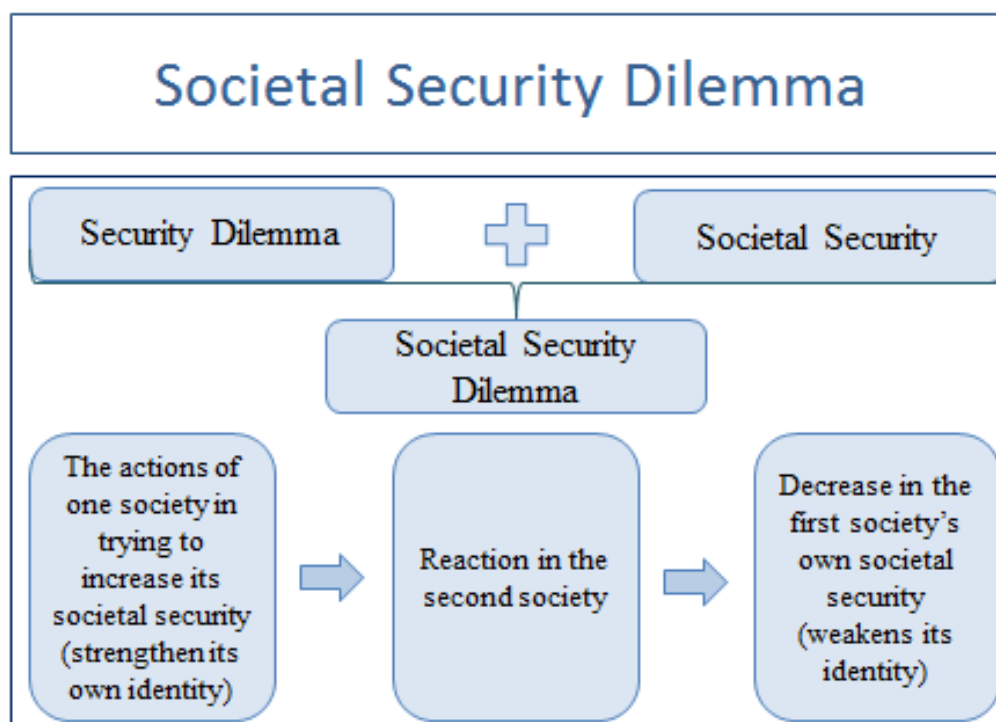
*Figure 1: Societal Security Dilemma*

With the examination of the post-Cold War Europe, the security dilemma is conceptualized in terms of identity by the Copenhagen School.[25] The main object of societal security dilemma, in this sense, is identity instead of state sovereignty. However, although identity is taken as the main object, this does not mean that military force is not in use for defending identity. To put it best, in other words, "identity is tied to the safeguarding of the historic homeland, [and] may well best be undertaken using military means."[26]

Paul Roe's identification of three types of security dilemma represents different dynamics within the context of conflict resolution. These three types of

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[25] Olesker, Ronnie. *Israel's Societal Security Dilemma and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process*, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 2011, 17:4, 382-401.

[26] Roe, Paul. *Ethnic Violence and the Societal Security Dilemma*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.157, 2005.

security dilemma represent the level of conflict in terms of finding resolution to them in accordance with their dynamics. Olesker explains these three types of security dilemma as:

> "A "tight" security dilemma refers to the classic situation in which parties perceive themselves to be insecure, while in reality the security needs of each party are compatible with one another. In this case misperceptions, rather than incompatibilities, drive the conflict. Roe therefore concludes that a "tight" security dilemma is resolvable by actions "short of war." Second, a "regular" security dilemma occurs when there are real incompatibilities between the security needs of each side. In this case, the "required insecurity" is difficult to resolve short of war. Finally, a "loose" security dilemma refers to a case in which power, rather than security, is at the forefront of state policies. In a loose security dilemma, the parties are power seekers rather than security seekers and the conflict is "irresolvable short of war," most likely requiring third party intervention. These distinctions not only provide a more "nuanced conceptual tool for the analysis of ethnic conflict" but are also of vital importance to the Israeli case study."[27]

Olesker's analysis of Israel's security dilemma examines Israel's psychology of insecurity, its ethnic relations and legislation for seating its security dilemma type. In this regard, Olesker provides examples and analysis for a relevant conclusion for his work. In other words, within the context of Israel's psychology of insecurity, it is argued that in Israel, security is not merely a

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[27] Roe, Paul. *Ethnic Violence and the Societal Security Dilemma*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

national objective, it is a value all of its own.[28] Olesker indicates that Israel's constant sense of insecurity has led to the development of a position that largely focuses on the military dimension of strategy to the exclusion of diplomatic or political ones.[29]

The ethnic relations in Israel also represents Israel's societal security dilemma by providing examples about education system in Israel. In this regard, the tight state control can be observed in different areas, mostly in education. Abu-Saad has carefully documented the extent to which the Israeli education system is designed to support the Jewish nation-building project and to promote the Jewish national narrative while relegating the minority to the "margins of society."[30] It is not difficult to predict that the security understanding would continue to be priority since Israeli education system promotes the precedence of Jewish nation- building project.

Israel's legislation demonstrates its societal security dilemma level as well. Citing the Israeli Supreme Court, Alan Dowty notes that the "Jewishness" of the state, at a minimum, consists of, inter alia, a "maintenance of a Jewish Majority."[31] Olesker argues that in this respect, maintaining the demographic

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[28] Olesker, Ronnie. Israel's Societal Security Dilemma and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics,2011, 17:4, 382-401.

[29] Olesker, Ronnie. *Israel's Societal Security Dilemma and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process*, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 2011, 17:4, 382-401.

[30] Abu-Saad, Ismael. *"State Education Policy and Curriculum: The Case of Palestinian Arabs in Israel,"* International Education Journal, 7(5): 709–20, 2006.

[31] Dowty, Alan. *"Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate,"* Israel Studies, 4(2): 1–15, 1999.

status quo between Arabs and Jews has become a matter of national security.[32] In this regard, Israel's legislation demonstrates the 'insecurity' surrounding another dimension of its state structure.

Olesker's analysis demonstrates that in Israel, the majority and minority are locked in a regular societal security dilemma.[33] The incompatibilities between the security needs of each side can be seen easily. Olesker's analysis opens a new door for analysis since Israel's societal security dilemma affects Palestine by causing limitations. In this regard, it can be argued that Israel's security dilemma has a critical impact on Palestinian societal identity by causing insecurity at the other side. Apart from insecurity, because of the limitations posed by Israel, Palestinians have been struggling with economic difficulties and living conditions that also affect their societal identity for years. As they have lived with economic hardships and limitations continuously, the hopelessness concerning the future has been the basis of Palestinian societal identity structure. In this regard, the examination of Israel's societal security dilemma is important for this thesis. As part of the limitations imposed by the Israeli state, environmental limitations are chosen to demonstrate impacts of Israel's societal security dilemma since environmental problems brings other difficulties for Palestinians' daily lives. These environmental difficulties are examined below.

## 2.1 Environmental Limitations

Environmental limitations can be accepted as one of the results of Israel's regular societal security dilemma. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has negatively affected not only the psychology of each side but also the natural

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[32] Handel, Michael I. *"The Evolution of Israeli Strategy: The Psychology of Insecurity and the Quest for Absolute Security,"* in William Murray, Macgregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, eds., The Making of Strategy, Cambridge University Press, pp.545, 1994

[33] Olesker, Ronnie. *Israel's Societal Security Dilemma and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process*, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics,2011, 17:4, 382-401.

environment. It can be stated that the environmental problems in this area decreases the quality of human life because of the unequal distribution of the resources. Within this structure, Jad Isaac and Jane Hilal mention the impact of this unequal distribution caused by Israel's security concerns in the region. They argue that the status of the environment has a fundamental role in determining the viability of a future Palestinian state, since it provides the physical context in which society exists and it determines the extent to which society can be sustainable and in this regard, the restrictions on the available resources, poor management and unsustainable practices have resulted in the radical transformation of the Palestinian environment, degradation of its ecosystems, and depletion of its natural resources.[34]

Since the natural resources can be accepted as a significant element for the continuation of a society, the impact of these limitations can be observed with the examination of daily living of Palestinians. While most Palestinians struggle for survival and therefore rarely consider environmental protection as a personal priority, the environmental damages caused by the conflict will affect them in their lifetime by requiring much effort, time and money to reverse or mitigate the negative effects of a deteriorated environment.[35]

The allocation of water resources can be accepted as the most critical limitation since it is the resource that provides the continuation of any society. Moreover, there is no doubt that within any societal life scenario, water plays the first role of continuation of life such as its usage in agriculture. Thus, it can be argued that Israel's limitation of water distribution affects Palestinian societal structure negatively in different dimensions. Moreover, Israel's usage of water can be

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[34] Isaac, Jad & Jane Hilal. *Palestinian Landscape and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*. International Journal of Environmental Studies, 2011, 68:4, 413-429.

[35] Isaac, Jad & Jane Hilal. *Palestinian Landscape and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*. International Journal of Environmental Studies, 2011, 68:4, 413-429.

related to its societal security dilemma since it uses water for its own development and provision of its own security needs.

The Johnston Plan reflects one of these environmental resource limitations in terms of water distribution in the area. The Johnston Plan was the most favorable as far as the views of the technical committees of the riparian countries are concerned, as it reflected an equitable allocation of the Jordan River waters among the riparians including the Palestinians.[36] It called for the construction of a West Ghor Canal to provide the Palestinians with their share, estimated to be 250 MCM per year.[37] Table 1 demonstrates the allocation of the Jordan River waters according to the Johnston Plan. On the other hand, as Jad Isaac and Jane Hilal explain, the plan was never ratified and the current use of the Jordan River waters does not comply with it.[38] Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, Palestinians have been denied access to the Jordan River waters through the Israeli restrictions imposed on water resources and on the use of lands located along the river as they have been declared closed military areas.[39]

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[36] Isaac, Jad & Jane Hilal. *Palestinian Landscape and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*. International Journal of Environmental Studies, 2011, 68:4, 413-429.

[37] Isaac, J. and Safar, *A. Roots of Water Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem (ARIJ), Bethlehem, West Bank, 2005.

[38] Wolf, A. *Hydrostrategic Territory in the Jordan Basin: Water, War and Arab–Israeli Peace Negotiations.* Paper presented at conference: Water: A Trigger for Conflict/A Reason for Cooperation, Bloomington, 7–10 March 1996.

[39] Isaac, Jad & Jane Hilal. Palestinian Landscape and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. International Journal of Environmental Studies, 2011, 68:4, 413-429.

| Country | First Johnston Plan | Revised Johnston Plan | Present usage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Syria | 50 | 132 | 153 |
| Lebanon | - | 35 | 5-10 |
| Jordan | 829 | 720 | 480 |
| Israel | 426 | 375-475 | 647 |

The usage of water by Israel for the lands located along the river that have been declared as closed military areas can be accepted as a sign of Israel's security concerns. Apart from limiting the other side in terms of water distribution, Israel uses any resources for its own benefit with a special emphasis on its security needs. The examination of Israel's environmental limitations demonstrates that Palestine struggles with economic hardships as a result of lack of resources in addition to long last hope for changing the conditions. These factors have affected their societal condition for a long period. As it will be examined, these hardships also have an effect on shaping their societal identity since they cause traumas, economic difficulties and insecurity. In addition to the similar historical experiences, Palestinians tend to have this hopelessness as part of their lives. In this regard, causing the insecure atmosphere at the other side, Israel's societal security dilemma has also affected Palestinian societal identity.

## 2.2 Palestinian Historiography

The examination of the Palestinian historiography allows us to hear Palestinian claims on the issue. Since these claims may differ, several have been picked. Religious, legal, demographic claims are presented for coherence. Following these claims, the commonalities are analyzed in order to determine their impact on Palestinian societal identity.

As Deborah Gerner put it, Palestinian historiography represents "one land, two peoples"[40] as a problem. It can be argued that since 1948, with the creation of the state of Israel, successive Israeli governments have deepened their dominance over former Palestine with every war they have fought, every policy initiative they have enacted, every new house or road they have built and every old one they have demolished, and every 'settler' they have geographically placed in the land of Eretz Israel.[41] However, despite dismemberment of geographic Palestine, these events continued to affect their identity and their attachment to the land. In other words, at the core of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis has been a persistent negotiation of the identity of the other side. From the very beginning, both sides felt that the other side had no right to exist.[42]

Until the 1970s, Palestinian historiography reflects the rejection of the West and its culture with the denial of its right to impose its decisions. This early historiography addressed to Arab readers and hoped to instill in them the urgency for unity in the Arab world in order to stand firm against the West.[43] The beginning of the 1970s, however, brings internal and external changes to historical research area. On the internal level, with the defeat of 1967, Palestinian historiography separates its road from Pan-Arabist concept and takes national identity as basis. With the desire of obtaining national identity, on the academic level, historical perspective is formed with the advancement in

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[40] Gerner, Deborah. *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict over Palestine*, second edition, Boulder, CO: Wesview Press, 1994.

[41] Kamrava, Mehran, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, University of Californiya Press, 2013.

[42] Kamrava, Mehran, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, University of Californiya Press, 2013.

[43] Rachel Maissy-Noy. *Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine*, Middle Eastern Studies, 42:6, 889-905, 2006.

research tools. The main aim of Palestinian researchers demonstrates a defensive structure against Israel's claims on the territory since it presents justification of the 'Movement for the Liberation of Palestine' claims.[44] As it is mentioned, the claims reflect national identity and the relation between Palestinians and the land as basis.

The common feature of Palestinian historiography is to construct a Palestinian narrative to be presented to the world as a reassessment of historical judgement. The main claim of Palestinian historiography is that Zionist historiography demonstrates the justification of their right to the territory of Palestine by writing history in accordance with their views and constructing religious and cultural ties to the land.[45] It is argued that Israelis distorted the true history and ignored the Palestinian existence on the same territory. In light of this argument, Palestinian historians rewrite their history as a reply to these Israeli works.

Religious claims reflect the relation between Palestinians and their right to have the land on religious basis. It is seen that religious historians' argument is based on the rights of the Muslims to the Land of Israel since there is the link between their Prophet Muhammad and Palestine and his covenant with Allah as described in the Bani Israil Sura.[46] The Sura explains Muhammad's transportation by Allah from Mecca to Jerusalem and his being taken up to heaven by uniting the two episodes from the Quran. This explanation can be

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[44] Rachel Maissy-Noy. *Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine*, Middle Eastern Studies, 42:6, 889-905, 2006.

[45] Rachel Maissy-Noy. *Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine*, Middle Eastern Studies, 42:6, 889-905, 2006.

[46] Rachel Maissy-Noy. *Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine*, Middle Eastern Studies, 42:6, 889-905, 2006.

found out in Arab discourse and is represented as opening words in many Palestinian historical works. On the other hand, the legal claims made by Palestinians take self-determination right as basis for defense. Palestinian's legal claim on the right to the land is associated with the right to self-determination. According to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960, self- determination right is defined as "all peoples have the right to self-determination by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."[47] In light of this right, Palestinians defend that they are a group of people that have a common past, language and they live on a certain territory. In this regard, Palestine is accepted as a nation that has the right to self-determination and a state.

Palestinian demographic claims demonstrate their right to the country with the usage of demographic data from Ottoman, Israeli and British sources for justifying Arabs' existence in Palestine. Palestinian historians claim that from the beginning of the twentieth century, Palestinians have been subject to a continuous process of population exchange. It is argued that the native Palestinian population was removed from the land and Western immigrants replaced them. The replacement of Western immigrants was aimed by Great Powers since they had interest in the region. The replacement of Zionist immigrants is accepted as a process by the Palestinian historians. They claim that with the arrival of Zionist settlers at the end of the nineteenth century, they gained ownership of land with the intervention in Ottoman laws regarding land administration. With the creation of possible legal conditions for Zionists to purchase tracts of land, Jews gained opportunity to have land. The climax of this process occurred during the 1948 war when, as they assert, the Zionists

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[47] UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Resolution 1514, December 1960, http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml

carried out expulsion plans among which was Plan D that focused upon the conquest of the Galilee and the eviction of its Arab inhabitants.[48]

Although there are various claims, the examination of Palestinian historiography demonstrates one common feature, that is, defensive structure in terms of right to the territory. This common feature can even be accepted as the reason for the development of historiography of Palestinians since right to the territory has been hotly debated among them. Related to the right to the territory, Israel's security dilemma brings about limitations to the Palestinian side. These limitations turn into problems for living in terms of economic difficulties, insecurity concerning future and more. In this regard, Palestinian historiography reflects the development process of Palestinian societal identity by mentioning the core aim: defending their right to territory. This core aim can be accepted as one of the main components of Palestinian societal identity.

## 2.3 Palestinian Societal Identity

This part on the Palestinian societal identity represents the common elements that Palestinians have developed through years. It can be argued that these elements have been developed because of the impacts of different variables such as the impact of Israel's societal security dilemma on Palestinians. In this regard, the Palestinian societal identity part can be accepted as the reflection of "experiences of years". Since the chosen writers can be accepted as part of their society, the examination of Palestinian societal identity and determination of the common elements of it are essential for the analysis. In other words, to understand writers' security perspective, the rooted Palestinian societal factors must be taken into account for evaluation.

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[48] Rachel Maissy-Noy. *Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine,* Middle Eastern Studies, 42:6, 889-905, 2006.

From the Palestinian historiography part, it is seen that historical experiences and traumas that Palestinians have been struggling with for a long time have sharpened their perspectives not only in terms of concerning their securities but also considering their futures. These traumas and historical experiences mostly represent the association of right to the territory and the limitations that is imposed by Israel. Mehran Kamrava puts it best for understanding the impact of these traumas on Palestinians:

> "In addition to everything else that composed Palestinian identity, being Palestinian meant having your land confiscated, being at the mercy of an Israeli employer, experiencing prolonged water and electricity shutoffs, being harassed at local military checkpoints, being confined for weeks to the house or to specific areas as a result of frequent "closures" by Israeli authorities, being reminded daily of limited opportunities and inferior living standards as compared to those of Israeli settlers, struggling with bureaucracies to secure identity cards and other necessary documents, and enduring everything else that made daily life unbearably difficult."[49]

It can be argued that claims concerning the right to territory and the limitations that Palestinians have been facing with for a long time cause repeated experiences: fear of death, fear of being monitored, fear of being exiled or arrested, and perceptions of the Israeli people- especially soldiers and police- by associating 'them' with cruelty. Palestinians who have experienced these traumas for years have been forced to accept what they had lived to continue their lives. Acceptance brings about the rooted structure of these traumas. In this regard, Palestinian societal identity represents common traumas that can be accepted as rooted societal identity elements as a result of their experiences.

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[49] Kamrava, Mehran, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War,* University of Californiya Press, 2013.

This part represents the factors that cause these common societal identity elements and their roles in 'deep rooted' Palestinian societal identity within the light of the social identity theory. It can be mentioned that the novels and works from the Palestinian literature -in addition to Raja Shehadeh and Suad Amirys' novels- include these factors in terms of societal identity as an impact. Thus, it is significant to comprehend what is meant with Palestinian societal identity and the factors that constitute it.

The social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner represents the role of social and psychological processes in the creation of group identity.[50] The theory focuses on the "group in the individual" and assumes that one part of the self- concept is defined by our belonging to social groups.[51] According to Tajfel and Turner, people categorize themselves and others as belonging to different social groups and evaluate these categorizations.[52] Membership, alongside the value placed on it, is defined as the social identity.[53] Briefly presented, the theory includes three ideas that are social categorization, social identification and social comparison.

Societal categorization demonstrates the phenomenon that humans' tendencies to categorize themselves by taking their environment, families, friends, and the world in general terms. Those categories can be complex and comprehensive

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[50] Schaarschmidt, Sophie. *Emotional Barriers in the Interaction between Palestinian, Palestinian- Israeli and Jewish Israeli Youth: The Influence of Self- Conscious Emotions*. Hagen University, 2010. http://deposit.fernuni-hagen.de/2803/1/Dissertation_Sophie_Schaarschmidt.pdf

[51] Hogg, M.A and Abrahams, D. *Social Identifications: A Psychology of Inter-group Relations and Group Processes,* London: Routledge, 1988, pp.3

[52] Tajfel, H and Turner, J. *An Integrative Theory of Inter-group Conflict.* In J.A. Williams and S. Worchel (eds.), The Social Psychology of Inter-group Relations, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1979, pp 33-47.

[53] Trepte, Sabine. *Social Identity Theory, Psychology of Entertainment*, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2011, p.255

(like an ethnic, religious or gender group membership) or small and idiosyncratic (like a specific choir or school membership).[54] These categories, however, must be critically examined since people attach different values to them. In this regard, by having various values with different attachments, individuals construct their social world in accordance with their categories in mind. These categories, in this sense, can be accepted as a reflection of their social values. Tajfel and Turner summarize: "Social categorizations are conceived here as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable to individual to undertake many forms of social action. They create and define the individual's place in society."[55]

For Palestinians, it can be said that societal categorization includes both themselves and the acceptance of Israelis as 'others'. It can be argued that Palestinians label Israelis as 'others' in terms of both religious and national terms. For the analysis of the impact of this societal categorization, it can be argued that Palestinians not only label Israelis as others but also accept them as 'dangerous' for their own existence. In this regard, Israelis are associated with insecurity box in their minds including different adjectives invoking the same sense of "fear".

Tajfel further argues that if social categorizations are shared by all group members, they function as social stereotypes and help interpret, explain and even justify our behavior.[56] In other words, as a result of the common social

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[54] Schaarschmidt, Sophie. *Emotional Barriers in the Interaction between Palestinian, Palestinian- Israeli and Jewish Israeli Youth: The Influence of Self- Conscious Emotions.* Hagen University, 2010. http://deposit.fernuni-hagen.de/2803/1/Dissertation_Sophie_Schaarschmidt.pdf

[55] Tajfel, H and Turner, J. *An Integrative Theory of Inter-group Conflict.* In J.A. Williams and S. Worchel (eds.), The Social Psychology of Inter-group Relations, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1979, pp 40.

[56] Tajfel, H. *Human Groups and Social Categories.* Cambridge University Press.

categorizations in the society, people tend to behave similarly. The social stereotypes can be observed in Palestinian society as well. For instance, in the Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, it is seen that she socially categorizes Israeli soldiers as being cruel. During the conversation, Israeli soldier uses the word *hajjeh* which is accepted as an insult for Palestinian women historically and she reacts to him. With her explanation, readers understand that the word is a social stereotype in Palestinian society since its meaning has been shared by all Palestinians throughout their history.

Societal identification reflects peoples' tendencies to assign themselves to the groups in terms of taking basis of shared characteristics, aims, personal needs by ascribing significant values to these groups. Personal identity, in contrast to social identity, includes the sum of an individual's capabilities and characteristics. Personal and social identities cover the "self" of a person. In this regard, an interaction between two or more individuals can be viewed as taking place along a continuum: on one end the interaction may be determined by individual traits and relations on the interpersonal level while on the other end the interaction may be determined by people's affiliation to certain groups and relations on the inter-group level.[57] In this regard, it can be indicated that Palestinian societal identity covers uncertainty that is caused by historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as others and associating Israeli soldiers, police and security men with cruelty portrait as their societal categorization through years. These societal categorizations create their societal identities that affect not only their security perspectives but also their behaviors. These societal categorizations are explained below since writers' security perspective analyses will be presented by taking them into consideration in a critical manner.

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[57] Schaarschmidt, Sophie. *Emotional Barriers in the Interaction between Palestinian, Palestinian- Israeli and Jewish Israeli Youth: The Influence of Self- Conscious Emotions*. Hagen University, 2010. http://deposit.fernuni-hagen.de/2803/1/Dissertation_Sophie_Schaarschmidt.pdf

*Historical Experiences*

Palestinian historical experiences can be accepted as the basis of their creation of societal identity. These historical experiences, Israeli occupation, Oslo Accords and other important developments are reflected as insecurity images in Palestinians' creation of societal identities. Rashid Khalidi indicates that the context of conflict and longstanding military occupation uniquely position the lives and narratives of Palestinians in a place of existential uncertainty.[58] This uncertainty surrounds all Palestinians from different angles and demonstrates itself at significant points such as facing Israeli police or soldiers. The uncertainty, in this sense, must be taken into consideration in any analysis related to Palestinians.

Similar to Khalidi, Philip Hammack points out that Palestinians in the occupied territories engage with a tragic master narrative of history and identity, the thematic content of which centers on the experience of loss and dispossession, resistance to the occupation, existential insecurity, and the moral and ideological justness of the Palestinian cause.[59] With the combination of Hammack and Khalidis' words, it can be argued that uncertainty and historical experiences create the uncertainty as a back bone of Palestinian societal identity.

*Israelis as 'Others'*

Acceptance of Israelis as others can be accepted as the easiest factor that is found in Palestinian societal identity. Through years, both Palestinians and Israelis label each other as 'others' in addition to the borders created by

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[58]Khalidi, R. Palestinian identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

[59] Hammack, Philip L. *The Cultural Psychology of Palestinian Youth: A narrative Approac*h. Sage Journals, Culture & Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA, 16(4) 507–537, 2010.

politics. The acceptance of 'other' image can lead to hatred level due to the circumstances that both sides face with. Any historical word that reminds occupation year memoirs or even a glaze of a soldier can trigger the turning of other image into core hatred.

It must be said that hatred can surface because of more tragic reasons such as losing a family member. Despite various 'othering' studies, Douglas Abbott's phenomenological study aims to analyze how the unexpected and violent death of a civilian family member in Israel and Palestine affected family functioning 3–5 years after the incident. By focusing on how losing a family member affects feelings towards opposition from both sides, the study reflects that Palestinians indicate their hatred and difficulties that they have been facing through years. Abbott's study presents that Palestinians see themselves as victims of decades of aggression and oppression.[60] One of these Palestinian family member indicates that there is a long revenge between me and you [Israel], but today I haven't the capability to work against you; however, I don't forgive you. I hate you from here to the sea.[61]

*Israeli Soldiers and Polices as the Portrait of Cruelty*

The analysis of the factors that compose Palestinian societal identity is a gordian knot which is very difficult to snatch one factor from another. Thus, it must be indicated that any societal factor mentioned in this section is directly related to another in terms of its creation of Palestinian societal identity. Within this context, related to the historical experience factor, another factor that is an important part of Palestinian societal identity is the association of Israeli

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[60] Abbott, Douglas A. *Violent Death: A Qualitative Study of Israeli and Palestinian Families*, Journal of Loss and Trauma: International Perspectives on Stress & Coping, 14:2, 117-128, 2009.

[61] Abbott, Douglas A. *Violent Death: A Qualitative Study of Israeli and Palestinian Families*, Journal of Loss and Trauma: International Perspectives on Stress & Coping, 14:2, 117-128, 2009.

soldiers and police with cruelty adjective. Not only a simple adjective, 'cruelty' represents different meanings for Palestinians such as 'hatred', 'fear of arresting', 'being exiled' or even 'being killed'. It can be argued that these associations are directly related to Palestinian historical experiences and their 'uncertainty' feature.

Taking a further step within the framework of Israeli police and soldiers' association with cruelty, Gidi Rubinstein's work provides the chance of questioning whether Israeli soldiers and police demonstrate cruel behavior with numerical results. Rubinstein hypothesizes that border police officers are authoritarian warriors; that career soldiers choose a strict, tough, and hierarchical workplace but are not as involved in aggressive activities as much as border police officers; that airport security guards choose a job in which they have a great deal of power over the people whom they inspect, but their jobs are only temporary; and that the control participants are students who choose other employment during their studies[62]. The result of Rubinstein's work supports his hypothesis since border officers have the highest score in his work. Rubinstein indicates that the result is not surprising since their daily work— which involves aggressiveness, violence, and perpetual on-the-job confrontation with the frustrated and hostile Palestinian Arabs—and because of their role as aggressive and punitive warriors.[63] Within the light of Rubinstein's work, it can be argued that Palestinians' Israeli police and soldier portrayal is not an imagined one, rather, puts realities on the table through their history. Apart from Rubinstein's analysis, it is a significant fact that Palestinians feel insecure and fear of being arrested, being killed or being beaten up at check

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[62] Rubinstein, Gidi. *Authoritarianism Among Border Police Officers, Career Soldiers, and Airport Security Guards at the Israeli Border*, The Journal of Social Psychology, 146:6, 751-761, 2006

[63] Rubinstein, Gidi. *Authoritarianism Among Border Police Officers, Career Soldiers, and Airport Security Guards at the Israeli Border*, The Journal of Social Psychology, 146:6, 751-761, 2006

points. Even these fears come to the scene when they see any of them from a distance.

## 2.4 Palestinian Literature

This section aims to provide a general picture of the Palestinian literature which focuses on the state of Palestinian society. Palestinian literature is composed of exile memoirs, stories about the alienation from the world and poems that reflect their displacement. In other words, forming part of the broader genre of Arabic literature, contemporary Palestinian literature is often characterized by its heightened sense of irony and the exploration of existential themes and issues of identity.[64] It can be argued that Palestinian poems and stories are reflections of the difficulties that Palestinians have experienced. Since the thesis covers the impact of Palestinian societal identity on writers' security perspectives through novel analysis, Palestinian novels and stories are taken into account as literature review. In this sense, Palestinian stories and novels and their examinations are presented to the reader in this part.

Barbara Mckean Parmenter's *Giving Voice to Stones: Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature* provides the opportunity to examine novels and short stories in Palestinian literature before 1948. According to the book, the novels and short stories play a significant role in expressing relations between Palestinians and Zionists before 1948. It is seen that much of this writing dealt only with the new social challenges facing Arab society, specifically those involving urban upper classes.[65] Examples can be given to these novels such as an early novel by Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, written in 1946, portrays the

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[64] Muhawi, Ibrahim. *Literature and Nation in the Middle East*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

[65] Parmenter, Barbara M. *Giving Voice to Stones: Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature.* University of Texas Press, 1994, pp. 40

individual's alienation in a cold, anonymous city.[66] A 1947 novel by Iskandir Khuri al- Baytjalli, author of several nationalist anthems and fiery political poems, deals exclusively with marriage and sexual relations.[67] Apart from these novels, stories which deal with Zionism often focus on the corrupting influences of Jewish immigrants.[68] In one of her short stories, Najwa Qa'war portrays a struggle between the good and the evil, with Arab village girls representing the former and loose-living blond immigrant girls the latter.[69]

Rima Najjar Merriman who has worked on four Palestinian writers living in the occupied West Bank says that displacement, exile, and alienation from the world, but also endurance, ultimately, are at the heart of the Palestinian story.[70] Mahmoud Shukair is one of them who focus on short stories, creative nonfiction, TV dramas, folklore, and stories for children. Shukair's stories takes a different path; since his stories represents 'absurd' situations faced with Western culture names "juxtaposing the dreams of certain characters with the remote existence of the outside world and dramatizing the suffocating reality in

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[66] Peled, M. *Annals of Doom: Palestinian Literature 1917-1948, Arabica: Revue d'ctudes Arabes 29*, 1982, pp. 153-156.

[67] Peled, M. *Annals of Doom: Palestinian Literature 1917-1948," Arabica: Revue d'ctudes Arabes 29*, 1982, pp. 153-156.

[68] Parmenter, Barbara M. *Giving Voice to Stones: Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature*. University of Texas Press, 1994, pp. 40

[69] Yaghi, Abd al-Rahman. *Hayat al-Adah al-Filastini al-hadith*, pp.512-513

[70] Merriman, Rima Najjar. *No Ordinary Place: Writers and Writing in Occupied Palestine*. World Literature Today, May 2012. http://www.worldliteraturetoday.org/2012/may/no-ordinary-place-writers-and-writing-occupied-palestine-rima-najjar-merriman#.VUaQo46qqkr

which these characters live."[71] *Soorat Shakira (2003; Shakira's picture)* and *Ibnat Khalaty Condoleezza (2004; My cousin Condoleezza)* are some of his recent stories. Sahar Khalifa, having written ten novels, has been described as Virginia Woolf of Palestinian Literature[72] whose novels include characters that are unable to realize the reality behind what they are facing.

Rochelle Davis, an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Georgetown University, takes another step in Palestinian literature with *Palestinian Village Histories* with the aim of examining Palestinians' village stories in a written format. By examining the village histories compiled by individual Palestinians she argues that 'we can understand which subjects and events contemporary Palestinians want to include in their history and keep alive to define who they are.'[73] Her work can be accepted as a field combination of historiography, anthropology, ethnographic research and examination of local history. Interesting to note, Davis indicates that in total at least 112 books have been written detailing the history of individual Palestinian villages but three were published in the Arab world and all but three were written by men. The themes of Davis books represent similar themes such as right of return with the smell of olive trees in rural life.

The resistance and historical memories of the Holocaust, the Nakba, and other tragedies are also taken into consideration within the context of the Palestinian

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[71] Merriman, Rima Najjar. *No Ordinary Place: Writers and Writing in Occupied Palestine*. World Literature Today, May 2012. http://www.worldliteraturetoday.org/2012/may/no-ordinary-place-writers-and-writing-occupied-palestine-rima-najjar-merriman#.VUaQo46qqkr

[72] Merriman, Rima Najjar. *No Ordinary Place: Writers and Writing in Occupied Palestine*. World Literature Today, May 2012. http://www.worldliteraturetoday.org/2012/may/no-ordinary-place-writers-and-writing-occupied-palestine-rima-najjar-merriman#.VUaQo46qqkr

[73] Frantzman, Seth j. *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced*, Middle Eastern Studies, 47:4, 2011, 686-688,

literature. The analysis of these memoirs presents a study on fears of extinction on both sides in terms of considering both stereotyping and the relation of what is written and what has been discussed. Kanafani's study of *"Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine"* is the first application of the term "resistance" (maqdwamah) as a description of Palestinian literature in 1966.[74] In his study, Kanafani puts critical proposes with a distinction between "under occupation" (taht al-ihtildl) literature and "exile" (manfa) literature.[75] This distinction between under occupation and exile literature brings the assumption of a collective relationship based on three 'common': common land with a common identity and a common cause. In this way, it becomes possible to articulate the difference between the two modes of historical and political existence, between, that is, "occupation" and "exile."[76] In other words, literature is accepted as an implication of struggle.

Stuart Kaufman's argument puts Palestinian literature at the core of Palestinian- Israeli conflict by mentioning the significance of nationalist narratives for triggering national identity and existential fears of both sides.[77] He further indicates that both Palestinians and Israelis have powerful narratives defining one group as victim and one group as victimizer. In this regard, these and related narratives on each side foster the growth of stereotypes that the other is responsive only to force and violence. He categorizes Palestinian

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[74] Harlo, Barbara. *Return to Haifa: "Opening the Borders" in Palestinian Literature*, Social Text, No. 13/14, Winter - Spring, 1986, pp. 3-23

[75] Kanafani, Ghassan. *Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine: 1948-1966*. Beirut, Institute for Arab Research, 1982.

[76] Harlo, Barbara. *Return to Haifa: "Opening the Borders" in Palestinian Literature*, Social Text, No. 13/14, Winter - Spring, 1986, pp. 3-23

[77] Kaufman, *Stuart J. Societal Identity and the Roots of Future Conflict. University of Kentucky*, October 2003,
http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cia/nic2020/kaufman_panel2_nov6.pdf

narratives as "Charter" narrative, "Declaration" narrative, and "Islamist" narrative. At the Charter narrative part, he supports his arguments about nationalistic stereotypes taking PLO Charter into consideration. Declaration narrative part covers the analysis of Palestinian Declaration of Independence and lastly, Islamist narrative part represents Hamas Charter by associating the land with religious explanations. In addition to analyzing these nationalist stereotypes, Kaufman argues that in order to have peace at the end between Palestinians and Israelis, these nationalistic narratives must change their perspective in a peaceful manner to stabilize both sides.[78]

The beginning of Nuha N. Khoury's analysis starts with a critical question that is easy to ask but hard to answer within the framework of Palestinian Literature: "Where are you from?" Khoury argues that since Palestinian literature narratives focusing on self and 'being' and it is not possible to place the origin of people on a single map, it is not easy to answer this question clearly. However, Khoury indicates that "but to go into the details of the experiences that constitute our being, that speak of the temporal depth of the map as opposed to its two-dimensional reality, that present us as at a point in the narrative journeys of our lives, is more than the incidental moment can bear and certainly more than the tourist of identities is willing to hear."[79] In this regard, the question 'Where are you from?' must be replied by considering different dimensions on fixity with the assumption of "cannot exist without" rather than a single word.

Ali Hakim's work on how historical narratives frustrate Israeli- Palestinian peace represents that Palestinian narrative very differently takes the issue from

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[78] Kaufman, *Stuart J. Societal Identity and the Roots of Future Conflict. University of Kentucky*, October 2003,
http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/cia/nic2020/kaufman_panel2_nov6.pdf

[79] Khoury, Nuha N. *Where Are You From? Writing Home in Palestinian Children's Literature*, Third Text, 2010, 24:6, 697-718.

Israelis. In this regard, Hakim indicates that several factors have a direct impact on the both sides of narratives concerning expansion on settlements such as societal identity, religious difference and who came to the land first question. He combines his views tightly with historical experiences, or in a clear manner, traumas, that have been faced with through years. With regard to the expansion of settlements, Halim demonstrates the significant difference of narratives between Israelis and Palestinians since both sides' focus differs from one another. Hakim demonstrates that Palestinians accept the expansion of settlement simply as further Israeli encroachment upon their land. By taking Palestinians' views, he indicates that to many Palestinians, it is a violation of the very spirit of the Oslo Accords, a series of agreements signed by Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, specifying that facts on the ground should not be changed unilaterally without prior talks.[80] In this regard, Ali Hakim's works demonstrate how security perspective can change in accordance with the point that the scholar or any reader stands on.

To conclude this part, by taking these works into account, it can be argued that Palestinian literature demonstrates Palestinians' resentment, their insecurity both for present and future lives, their fears in terms of being exiled, arrested and beaten up. In this regard, there is a direct relation between Palestinian historiography and Palestinian literature parts since their experiences are reflected in the novels, stories and poems. In other words, it is seen that these experiences have created and become a part of Palestinian societal identity.

To sum up the works that are presented in this part, Rima Najjar Merriman, Rochelle Davis and Nuha N. Khourys' works provide to see the common themes of Palestinian novels and poems which can be summarized as displacement, exile, alienation from the world and endurance. Apart from this,

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[80] Hakim, Ali. *Writer's Block: How Historical Narratives Frustrate Israeli-Palestinian Peace*, Harvard Political Review, Middle East, April 19, 2015.
http://harvardpolitics.com/world/writers-block/

the reflection of historical memories of the Holocaust, the Nakba on novels are represented in Kanafani's study of *"Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine"*. The impact of historical experiences on Palestinians is also represented with Barbara Mckean Parmenter's Giving Voice to Stones: Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature book which provides readers the opportunity to examine novels and short stories in Palestinian literature before 1948. Ali Hakim's work takes the issue from another point of view by examining how historical narratives affect Israeli- Palestinian peace. Lastly, Stuart Kaufman's argument demonstrates the impact of nationalist narratives on Palestinians and Israelis since they trigger the national identity and fears.

The works that are presented in this part can be accepted as a basis for understanding the common themes and their examinations. The chosen novels in this thesis also reflect the same nature in terms of demonstrating the impact of historical experiences and societal identity on writers' security perspectives.

# CHAPTER 3

## SUAD AMIRY: SHARON & MY MOTHER IN LAW AND NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR LIFE

Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* and *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novels presents Palestinians' daily life in Ramallah with a critical focus on the difficulties that they experience. In the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, readers have the opportunity to read Amiry's dairy that reflects her feelings and problems as result of the occupation. With the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel, Amiry shares experiences to be a Palestinian worker who tries to pass the Israeli side illegally to find a job. The summaries of two novels are presented below.

*Summaries of the Novels*

Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel presents writer's experiences during Israeli invasion of Ramallah in March 2002. The novel begins with the explanation of Amiry's feelings at check point while she is talking to an Israeli soldier. With Amiry's internal replies to the Israeli soldier, readers find the opportunity to understand the difficulties that Palestinians experience during their travel. Since the novel is a diary, Amiry shares her daily experiences by adding her feelings in it. In the novel, as a result of the occupation, Amiry describes how she takes her mother in law from the other side of the town and mentions her act as 'the adventure' since her mother in law's home is located in a place where entrance is not permitted. Amiry explains with a fluent description how difficult to live with her mother in law since she asks too many questions to her. The novel also presents Amiry's feelings towards Israeli soldiers and officers. Since Amiry is getting waited for

taking necessary documents to let her travel, she decides to ask it and goes to the Israeli office. She describes her furious attitude towards the Israeli officer since she opens the door without permission and asks her document by shouting at him. At the end, Amiry takes the document and she shares her feelings in addition to her analysis of Israeli officer's behavior towards her. Amiry also goes to an event by Israeli authorities upon invitation where they are handed over their documents related to their right to travel. At that place, she analyzes Palestinians' insecure behavior and compares them to Palestinian children who freely act next to the Israeli soldiers. All in all, Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* lightens Palestinians' daily difficulties. Readers can imagine the atmosphere of Ramallah thanks to Amiry's description and experiences.

Amiry's other novel, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* explains her 18 hour journey with Murad who is a 21 year old Palestinian laborer. At the beginning of the novel, Amiry listens to Murad's story that is composed of economic hardships and daily difficulties. Murad tells her that he cannot find jobs in his own land and since he must gain money, he passes to the Israeli side illegally to find daily jobs. With the conversation between them, readers understand that although Palestinians do not prefer this illegal act, they have no other choice. Following the conversation between them, Amiry decides to join Murad and his friends to experience the 18 hour journey of finding jobs. She changes her look and becomes a Palestinian worker.

Amiry meets with other workers and they go to the forest in order to pass to the Israeli side. To escape from being shot by Israeli soldiers, they wait the night. During this period, Amiry shares other worker's experiences. She draws readers' attention to a child who also waits with them to pass to the Israeli side in order to find a daily job. With her description, readers realize the economic problems of Palestinians since a Palestinian child is forced to gain money.

Amiry's description of passing the Israeli side reflects the danger that Palestinians experience. They run fast and have no time to wait for the other workers. After passing to the Israeli side, Amiry meets with the workers who have also successfully ran away from Israeli soldiers. Murad explains Amiry that they have to take the bus to go to the place where they will meet with Israeli employers. They change their poor looking clothes in order not to be spotted by Israeli soldiers at the bus since they have no IDs. At this point, Murat says that Israeli soldiers do not usually check the IDs, however, if they suspect from any person, they force him to show it. Luckily, Israeli soldier does not ask their ID. Amiry describes her feelings and anxiety to her reader in detail. Through the novel, Amiry explains that some workers can find daily jobs whereas some of them cannot. After turning back to their land, Amiry ends the novel by mentioning how hard to be a Palestinian worker who takes the risk of being killed to find a daily job.

In this regard, Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* and *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novels represent how Palestinians are always concerned with their security since they are surrounded with security images by the Israelis. In other words, Palestinians meet with security troubles in their daily lives as a result of Israel's attempt to suppress them. In this regard, apart from analyzing a West Bank originated Palestinian writer's security perspective, it can be said that for any Palestinian, security is not an ordinary term to be used or analyzed; instead, security is the basic stone of their lives. With the impact of their historical experiences and their deep rooted societal identity, they feel insecure, anxious and they daily struggle with security related difficulties such as check point, being arrested or being killed. In this regard, Amiry's security perspective reflects all these realities to her readers with a warm and simple explanation.

In this chapter, social identity theory will be used in order to explain the impact societal identity on Amiry's security perspective through novel analysis. Tajfel

states that due to reduced capacities in processing information, we define categories and schemes to encode and decode messages.[81] In this sense, Tajfel mentions the categorization of people into groups for simplification of social interaction understanding. Tajfel and Turner summarize: "social categorizations are conceived here as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action…They create and define the individual's place in society.[82] To take a further step, Tajfel demonstrates that social stereotypes can be occurred in case of sharing social categorizations at group level. In other words, if social categorizations are shared by all group members, they function as "social stereotypes" and help interpret, explain, and even justify our behavior.[83]

Amiry's two novels of analyses demonstrate social categorizations and social stereotypes in Palestinian societal identity. As mentioned at the theoretical debate part, the social categorizations are determined as Israeli soldiers and police as the portrait of cruelty, historical experiences and Israelis as others. The examples and social stereotypes that are chosen for the analysis are contextualized in a manner that any reader of this work can realize both associations of societal identity factors and the points that reflect the writer's security perspective.

At the end of each novel, examples that demonstrate writer's security understanding are taken to underline how the writer frees herself from the

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[81] Tajfel, H. *Individuals and Groups in Social Psychology*. British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 1979, 18, pp. 183-190.

[82] Tajfel, H and Turner, J. *An Integrative Theory of Inter-group Conflict*. In J.A Williams and S. Worchel (Eds.), The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1979, pp 33-47

[83] Tajfel, H. *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.

impact of societal identity and takes an outer look not only for examining her security perspective but also for showing the impact of societal identity on Palestinian people. At this point, the concept of transformative security must be utilized for a clear comprehension. The transformative security perspective reflects the points how the writer's security perspective changes. Although it is a significant fact that chosen writers are also Palestinian and their novels also include the impact of societal identity, writer's some explanations reflect critical analysis of their own societal identity. These explanations are made by taking an outside look to their situation and are resulted in freeing their security perspective from the impact of the factors that Palestinian identity brings to them. In this regard, transformative security part demonstrates these moments where the writer takes an outer look and analyzes her own security perspective critically.

To put the words together for introduction, both two novel analyses represent how Amiry's security perspective is affected by the societal identity. Only in some situations, she takes a stepback, provides an outsider's perspective and criticizes herself. In this regard, Amiry's security perspective is under the impact of societal identity despite these several critical moments.

**3.1 Sharon & My Mother in Law**

The *Sharon and My Mother-in-Law* that is written by Suad Amiry is created from her diary and sent e-mails to her friends in order to share her experiences during Israeli invasion of Ramallah in March 2002. Interestingly, Amiry mentions that she has not aimed to write a novel, rather, she has wanted to share her experiences and feelings during these chaotic days. Despite her warnings to her friends about the secrecy of her mails, Amiry's experiences created the *Sharon and My Mother- in- Law* novel that is published and translated into many languages. In her words, Amiry says "I started writing emails for my friends and my relatives and my niece and I said 'Please don't

share it with anybody.' Little I knew I would be in Australia, Washington and everywhere discussing this with you." [84]

In the novel, the life in Ramallah is presented to her readers with the description of daily difficulties. The beginning of the novel reflects the problematic relations between Israelis and Palestinians with Amiry's talking to the Israeli police at the check point. The questions of Israeli police and Amiry's effort to explain the reason of her travel in detail demonstrates the security problem between two sides. From then on, Amiry has frequently faced a passage problem. It is seen that Amiry struggles with permission for her travel and this struggle can be observed effectively while Amiry is waiting for the necessary documentation for allowing passage to the other side. Since she kept waiting for a long time for permission, Amiry goes to the Israeli office and argues with the Israeli officer to get the document. Only then she gets it.

In the novel, it is observed that Amiry's problems are not only about the permission. The novel takes the readers into Amiry's home where the Israeli army is just nearly located. Amiry's description demonstrates that the reader is welcomed to a home where even making a cup of coffee can be labeled as a 'dangerous' movement since the Israeli officers can get nervous and shoot at her. Amiry introduces her family as well, especially her mother in law who lives alone at the other side of the town near to Arafat's headquarters. The difficulties that Amiry has been facing during the occupation and the 'adventure' that she must take her mother in law from the other side of the town during the occupation is explained with a fluent description and daily language instead of formality. Because of the Israeli occupation of Ramallah and other Palestinian territories, Amiry has to live with her 92-year-old mother-in-law after her adventure of taking her from the other side. Readers realize

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[84] Amiry, Suad. *Talk on Nothing to Lose but Your Life at The Jerusalem Fund for Education and Community Development,* June 29,2010.
http://thejerusalemfund.org/ht/display/ContentDetails/i/14118

Amiry's patience towards her mother in law since she talks much and asks questions to her at each moment.

The dog image that is located at the center of the cover represents Amiry's dog, Nura in order to draw readers' attention to the writer's critical memory. Tragically, Nura is not an ordinary dog in Palestine and he is luckier than most Palestinians since it has ID to enter Jerusalem. Amiry's experience with Nura tells more than the whole novel to analyze how Amiry's security perspective is created. By using her dog's passport, she is let by the Israeli soldier to pass Jerusalem since she explains that Nura is not able to drive but she can. The novel represents realities, unfortunately, that Palestinians -including Suad Amiry- face daily. In this regard, the security perspective analysis demonstrates the land where fear is mixed with social identities. The cover of the novel can be seen at figure 1.
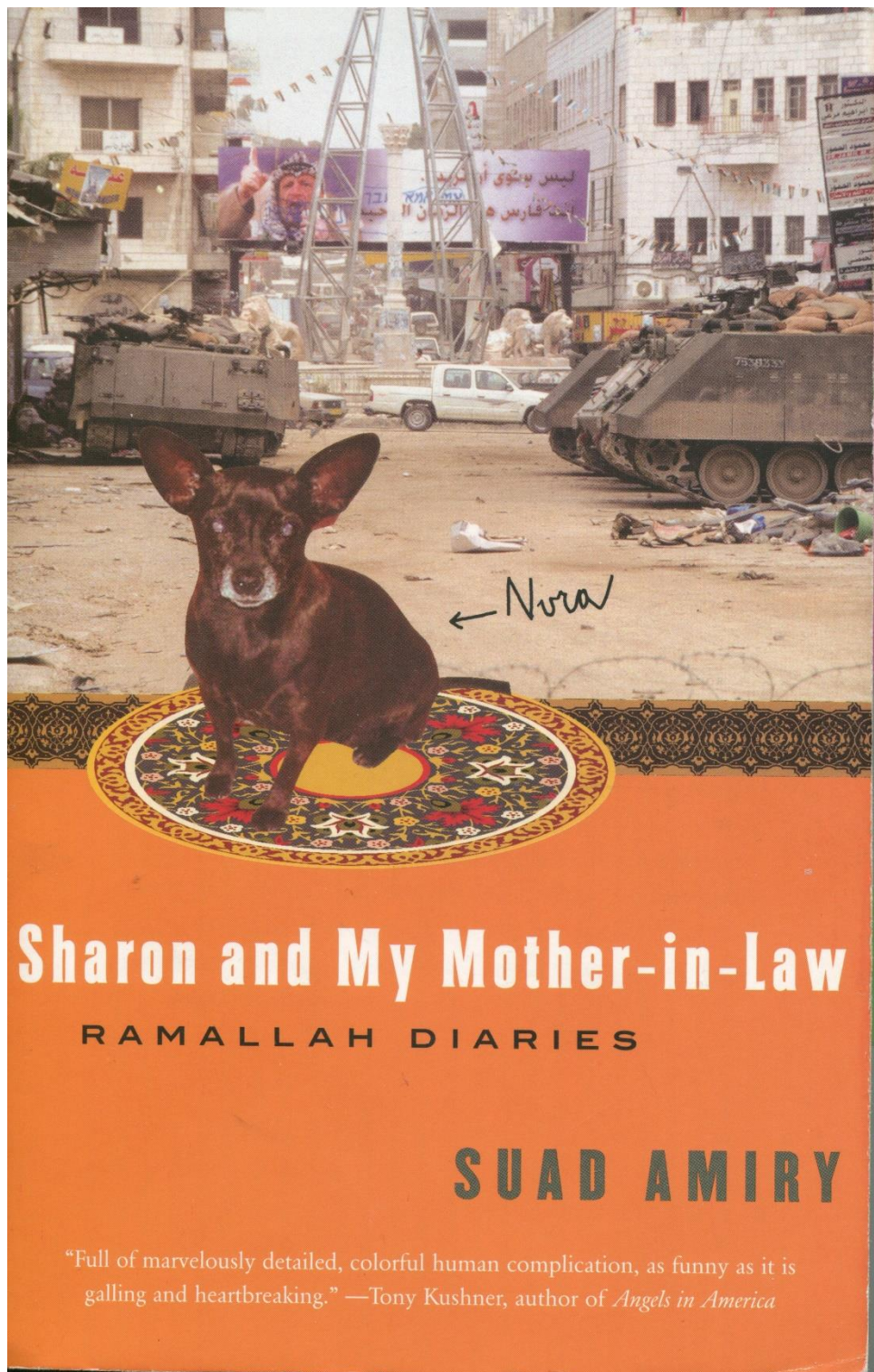
*Figure 2: The Cover of the Sharon and My Mother in Law Novel*

The factors that create deep rooted Palestinian societal identity can also be observed in Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel. With her fluent descriptions, it can be comprehended that uncertainty, feeling insecure towards Israeli soldiers, police and officers at the check points and anxiety of being arrested, killed or beaten up by them are the similar significant societal identity impacts on Amiry's security perspective.

In addition to these similar societal identity impacts, it can be argued that deep rooted anxiety and insecurity can also be observed with different shapes in Amiry's novel in accordance with the situation she has faced with. One of them demonstrates itself as anxiety over been photographed at an ordinary Israeli meeting. In this regard, Amiry shows the same reaction of other Palestinians at the meeting, feeling insecure and does not want to show her face up to cameras since she thinks that these photographs can be used as evidence. Another example covers the usage of historically rooted words, for instance, hajjeh by an Israeli soldier to her. This word reminds Amiry of Palestinian occupation years and she feels totally insecure towards the soldier. In this regard, usage of historical words is another impact of societal identity on Amiry's security perspective.

The significant points demonstrate where and when Amiry's security perspective frees itself from the impact of the Palestinian societal identity and becomes "transformative" can be comprehended with the help of two examples from the novel. One of these occurs when Amiry takes a Jew to her car who has had a heart attack. With the dialogue between the Jewish man and Amiry, it can be understood that Amiry relaxes herself about the rightness of taking a man to a nearest hospital regardless of being Palestinian or Jewish one. She realizes how societal identity affects her in such a way that she even thinks what would happen if the Jewish man dies at her car. She analyzes the results of this possibility not only for herself – being arrested or exiled since his dead body would be found at her car-but also for Palestinian doctors if the man

would die in a Palestinian hospital. At the end, after she faces with herself and realizes the impact of deep rooted societal identity on her in addition to her experiences. The second point that shows how Amiry's security perspective transforms itself comes into the scene during an Israeli meeting where many Palestinians and also Suad Amiry are invited. Suad Amiry realizes that Palestinians try to hide their faces towards cameras. She catches these movements and internally analyzes how Palestinians feel insecure as a result of historical experiences and create their societal identities within the light of these traumatic experiences. While she is talking to herself internally, she explains this situation to her readers and reflects the impact of Palestinian societal identity in terms of feeling insecure and being uncertain on them. With her questioning, it can be mentioned that Amiry's security perspective frees itself these impacts and becomes transformative within the light of her critical analysis.

The analysis of *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel is categorized into three parts according to the societal identity factors. At the "Israeli soldiers and police as the portrait of cruelty part", Amiry's experiences at check points with Israeli soldiers are analyzed in terms of the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her security perspective. It is argued that Palestinians' experiences at check points reflect similarities in terms of feeling insecure and having anxiety of not being permitted to pass. In this regard, check point is accepted as one of the social stereotype in Palestinian societal identity that affects writer's security perspective as well. At the "Israelis as 'others'" part, Israeli soldiers and citizens' behaviors to Amiry are examined with examples. The fear of being arrested or killed by Israeli soldiers – similar to all Palestinians- can be observed through Amiry's writing. The social categorization here can be seen with the Amiry's description of Israelis such as explaining Israeli soldiers look with 'huge' adjective to mention the power that he has against Palestinians. At the "historical experiences" part, Amiry's association of historical traumas with

her current problems is represented. From the analysis of the usage of the historical words that are accepted as insult by her to Amiry's memories, historical experiences part reflects the impact of Palestinian societal identity on Amiry's security perspective. Lastly, "transformative security" part demonstrates Amiry's realization of the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her security perspective. This part represents Amiry's self - realization of societal categories and social stereotypes.

*Israeli Soldiers and Police as the Portrait of Cruelty*

The description of Israeli soldiers and police as cruel is one of the societal identity factors that affect Amiry's security perspective. In the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, Amiry explains her memories about the difficulties that her father and relatives have experienced at check points. In this regard, while she is talking to an Israeli soldier, she shares her anxiety with her readers in detail. Check points can be accepted as one of the social stereotypes that demonstrate Palestinians' anxiety since they are forced to explain the reason for their travel to Israeli soldiers. With the knowledge about the tension at the check points, Amiry also feels insecure before talking to the Israeli soldiers. The novel begins with the description of check point where Amiry is at. The anxious atmosphere that Amiry describes to readers implies the tension of her experiences. In this regard, check points and talking to Israeli officers can be accepted as a part of her societal identity. In her words, she says:

> "My anxiety and irritation increased as the young woman at passport control slipped a pink tag into my Palestinian passport. I, of course, have no problems either with pink or with being Palestinian. But at that very moment, all I wanted was a white tag. As I had experienced many

times before, pink automatically meant at least an extra hour with security officers at the airport." [85]

As it can be seen from Amiry's words, even colors can be associated with security concerns. Having an extra hour with Israeli officers increases Amiry's anxiety and the reader starts to think what would happen during that one extra hour. Amiry writes her conversation with Israeli officers by not using quotations; instead, she shares whole conversation to create the insecure environment that she is surrounded with. In addition to conversations, it is also observed that Amiry shares her feelings through her internal talks, not as replies to the Israeli soldiers. In this respect, it can be mentioned that she feels insecure with them and her actual thoughts are shared with reader instead of her replies.

Amiry's internal talks, in this sense, represent her true feelings and essence of her security perspective. The reply that she only shares with her readers points out her internal debate in terms of both historical experiences that she has faced with and the factors that affect her security understanding. Amiry says: "I was not in the mood to tell him that Damascus is not, as he seemed to think, just one huge military base filled with SAM-1 and SAM-2 missiles, but rather a vibrant city, especially our neighborhood in the old town where my grandfather's house still stands."[86] Amiry's words underline the shape of her security perspective; she thinks that the city must be associated with meanings, not only with "security concerns" such as military base.

Her second internal talk tells more about the difficulties that Palestinians experience during their travel. Amiry exemplifies her own situation to the reader to emphasize how security is taken as a basis which only concerns

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[85] Amiry, Suad. Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries. Anchor Books, 2004, p.3.

[86] Amiry, Suad. Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries. Anchor Books, 2004, p.7.

Israelis, not Palestinians at all. Her internal talks can be accepted as a rebellion which is not heard by Israeli officers but are listened to by her readers. She shares the road that she would take and the check points to explain the difficulties created by "security concern": "I wondered if the officers knew that I, like many other Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories, needed many types of permits to move about: a permit to enter Jerusalem, another to go out to Jordan, a third to enter Israel, a forth to work in Israel, an impossible one to enter Gaza, and a four-hour permit to use the airport, which gives you just enough time to get there with no flat tires, *lasamahallah* (God forbid)."[87] In this regard, it is a significant fact that Amiry feels insecure while she is close to Israeli soldiers but she shares her own feelings with her readers to explain her real "security understanding". By providing her road with a mention of check points, Amiry creates a clear vision of difficulties that Palestinians' experience in her readers' eyes.

Amiry's experiences at check points reflect significant points for analyzing the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her security perspective. The anxiety that she feels while she is waiting for talking to Israeli soldier demonstrates that she is aware of the difficulty that she will encounter. Amiry's explanation about the pink tag that is slipped into her Palestinian passport can also be accepted as a supportive example for this argument. In addition to her experience, she associates this pink tag with having an extra hour at the airport since she is Palestinian. In this regard, by taking Amiry's anxiety of talking to Israeli soldiers and evaluation of the checking process internally into account, it can be mentioned that Amiry's security perspective is affected by her societal identity.

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[87] Amiry, Suad. Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries. Anchor Books, 2004, p.10.

*Israelis as 'Others'*

Similar to the acceptance of Israeli soldiers and police as cruel, labelling Israelis as 'others' can also be accepted as another societal identity factor that affect Amiry's security perspective. Suad Amiry's portrayal of Israeli officers, police and soldier can also be observed in the same manner in her other novel, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life*. It is seen that Amiry reflects her anxiety and the impact of Israeli officers on her security perspective. During the novel, this impact can be observed with various examples, but one of the best is taken as an instance to demonstrate the direct relation of Israeli office 'label' as arresting, beating up or killing. The Israeli office in the novel is presented as the place where Palestinians are taken to answer Israeli soldiers and officers' questions about the reason of their travel. While Amiry is at one of the check places to continue her travel, she is forced to answer the questions of Israeli officers anxiously. Both mixed feelings of hatred, suppression and anxiety, the conversation between her and the officers represents how facing Israeli officers -the powerful- affects Amiry and Palestinians- the powerless against them.

> "As a tall and hugely built male officer (obviously her superior) entered the interrogation room, I was more certain than ever that one should never take the risk of mixing friendship with security issues, especially if it concerns the security of Israel. As the two officers exchanged a few words in Hebrew, my anxiety increased. "What were you doing in London?" asked the male officer, extremely aggressively, while looking me straight in the eye. "Dancing" I insisted. "You know that failing to cooperate with us on security matters will result in your arrest?" [88]

Amiry's portrayal of Israeli officer as tall and hugely built reflects the power that Israeli officer has against her. By reading between the lines, it can be said that Amiry labels Israeli officers, police and soldiers as "hugely built", a

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[88] Amiry, Suad. <u>Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries</u>. Anchor Books, 2004, p.9.

description that can be used for explaining a structure instead of describing a human in words. In this regard, it can be argued that Amiry associates Israeli officers, police and soldiers with "Israeli power" instead of accepting them as ordinary people. This assumption can also be supported with the "dark" adjective used in her other novel, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* for the portrayal of them. Moreover, Israeli officer's indication of "arresting" as a threat against her affects Amiry in terms of her security perspective. As a social categorization, Palestinians feel the risk of being arrested or killed by an Israeli soldier as a result of their historical experiences. In addition to this, similarly, since Israeli officers are associated with harassment, cruelty and mostly "danger", Amiry feels being threatened as a result of her societal identity and reflects the same perspective towards them.

Amiry's description of Israeli soldiers at check points also underlines the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her. It can be said that the difficulties that have been facing through their lives, Amiry remembers the inequality between them. In her novel, it is seen that Amiry shares historical examples with her readers to clarify that their society must explain their reason of travel and other private information to the Israeli soldiers in order to pass through check points. These examples vary according to the situation; some of them are about her relatives' experiences whereas others include historical information and her relatives' memories. In this regard, it can be argued that her societal identity affects her security perspective and angers her during the conversation. Her insistent reply of 'dancing' to Israeli soldier can be accepted as a simple 'rebel' in Palestinian language since it shows resistance. In this regard, with the impact of her societal identity, she reacts to the Israeli soldier and analyzes both herself and other Palestinians' experiences internally. On the other hand, these internal questions are only shared with readers, not with the Israeli soldier. This can be accepted as a significant indication of feeling insecure despite her 'resistance.'

In the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, Amiry remembers her relatives and memories about her old house. She shares her longing with her readers and provides details to describe the atmosphere of their house. In the novel, it is seen that after Amiry is permitted to visit the area, she finds their old house to revive her memories. She looks at it from outside and desires to enter in. However, she hesitates to knock the door since a Jewish family might be living in the house. Despite her anxiety, she knocks the door and explains her situation to the Jewish woman who opens the door. The woman closes the door harshly to Amiry after learning that she is a Palestinian and does not permit her to enter in.

Amiry's self-preparation for getting the "no" answer from Jewish people who live in the house reflects the impact of societal identity on her security perspective. According to the social categorization of Palestinians, Jewish people are accepted as others and they are afraid of Palestinians. In this regard, with the impact of her societal identity, Amiry predicts that Jewish family would not open the door. This prediction associates with the Palestinian societal identity factor of accepting the "Israelis as others". Amiry's description of this event reflects how Palestinians and Jewish people separate themselves from each other in accordance with their own security perspective.

> "I was extremely hurt, angry, frustrated, mad, what else can I say, when the Jewish family living in the house did not allow me in. They got so frightened when they saw me on the doorstep of our/their house. They simply shut the door and retreated. They would not respond to my desperate knockings. I was hoping they would open the door, once more so I could explain to them that I simply wanted to visit the house, to try to refresh my memories of how things looked. I was curious to see whether any of the furniture was still there… During the month before the visit, I had trained myself to restrain my emotions and more

important, my reactions. No normal emotions or reactions were allowed. Everything had to be under extreme control." [89]

Two critical assumptions can be made from Amiry's quotation. The very first one is the association of 'othering' image in Palestinian societal identity as an impact on Amiry's security perspective. As it is mentioned, the image is placed in her brain since she has prepared herself psychologically for the scenario of the impossibility to enter into the house. Since Amiry is affected by her societal identity and categorizes Israelis as others, she thinks that her reactions would matter at the end instead of her feelings. It can be argued that the othering image is here is demonstrated with the significance of reactions since Amiry does not concern to explain her real desire to enter the house. Within the absence of 'othering' factor, Amiry could explain her reason of visiting the house rather than thinking the results of knocking the door. From the same point of view, if the Jewish woman is not affected by her societal identity and does not have societal category of 'othering' Palestinians, she could understand that Amiry is not a 'threat'. Secondly, Amiry's usage of the necessity of extreme control also connects her experiences to Palestinian historical experiences by emphasizing indirectly the suppression of Palestinians with the reason of controlling by Israeli soldiers during occupation times. Amiry's sharing of historical memories with the special emphasis of Israelis' extreme control over Palestinians can be seen throughout novel. Amiry mentions that during the occupation times, Palestinians are only permitted to go outside for getting food and other needs during a short period of time that is determined by soldiers. Since time is limited, Palestinians do not have chance to visit their friends and families. Moreover, Israeli soldiers have right to ask any questions to them and in case of not being answered, they can arrest any Palestinian without mentioning any special reason. By remembering these memories,

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[89] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.22.

Amiry socially categorizes Israelis as agents of suppression vis a vis Palestinians.

*Historical Experiences*

As mentioned in the Palestinian historiography part, Palestinian history represents traumas and difficulties. The three Palestinian claims – religious, legal and demographic- that are represented within the context of Palestinian historiography demonstrate that Palestinians focus on their right to territory instead of other explanations. In this regard, it can be argued that their historical struggle to live in this territory can be accepted as a societal identity factor. Apart from this, the traumas they have experience such as suppression by Israelis, being arrested or killed bring about different social stereotypes to them in their daily lives. In this regard, even a word usage can be accepted as a social stereotype since it reminds an historical trauma. As an example, Amiry's reaction to the usage of some words that have historically rooted meanings can be mentioned as a social stereotype. As the usage of them represents historically rooted continuation and creates an atmosphere of binding the past to present via its usage, it can be argued that Amiry's security perspective is affected by this social stereotype. She remembers her societal history with the usage of hajjeh word by an Israeli soldier. Hajjeh meaning old woman in Arabic language is one of these words that reminds Amiry of her past experiences in Palestine. This word - within the light of Amiry's explanation - is used as an insult to Palestinian women by Israelis. The usage of hajjeh by an Israeli soldier to Amiry increases her anger towards him. In this regard, it is seen that the impact of societal identity can be seen on Amiry in terms of accepting Israeli as "others" concerning her security perspective.

> "I don't know what happened to me at that moment. The word hajjeh,
> the immaturity in the shrieking voice of the boyish soldier, the haziness
> and darkness, all stirred in me the frustrations of weeks of curfews, the

aggravation of months' preparations for the Gulf War, the anger and resentment caused by the twenty-four-year-long occupation, the decades of unfulfilled aspirations, the eternal yearning for normality." [90]

The yearning for normality can be accepted as a description for the comprehension of a secure environment for Amiry. In this regard, by taking her resentment and her past experiences on the one hand, it can be evaluated that Amiry feels the same insecurity that Palestinians have been feeling through their experiences as a result of the same events, with the same reasons and also with the same results that create security factors in Palestinian societal identity. In this regard, the word 'hajjeh' can be accepted as a social stereotype that affects Amiry's security perspective since it is used by an Israeli soldier.

Security perspective can even be associated with making cappuccino under occupation times. In the novel, it is seen that Amiry feels extremely anxious and insecure since they are not permitted to go outside except for the periods that Israeli soldiers decide. However, this is not the only difficulty that they experience since Israeli soldiers have right to enter each and every home at any time. Thus, Palestinians feels threatened and they try not to annoy Israeli soldiers. Within this atmosphere, the lines that Amiry shares her experiences during occupation reflect the essence of naming risky actions, sleepless nights with anxiety and an insecure environment even in their home. The conversation between Amiry and Salim at home during occupation days, in this sense, is a reflection of these fears: "All of a sudden I remembered the last time the Israeli soldiers were right outside our kitchen windows. So I rushed to the kitchen and told Salim to be careful, as the cappuccino machine makes too much noise and hence may be extremely risky."[91] Despite Amiry remembers her own memory, it can be claimed that she has the same occupation trauma that her society has.

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[90] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.72.

[91] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.87.

Amiry explains the difficulties during occupation time in detail and shares information about how her society is limited and forced to live the way that Israelis want. Since she associates Israeli soldiers with 'threat' and 'fear' as a social stereotype, although it might not be heard, she warns Salim to be careful about making noise.

Amiry demonstrates how Palestinians live their lives with limits that had been put for a long time ago. Amiry visits her friend, Johni when Palestinians are permitted to go outside to provide their needs in a limited period of time. During a short conversation while they are experiencing curfew, even an ordinary talk points out the place of historical experiences in Palestinians' lives. Amiry represents this conversation to her readers in order to mention how Palestinians live the life that they are forced to live instead of the life that they choose. She surprises at the foods that Johni puts on the table since it is difficult to find them during the curfew days. This surprise demonstrates Palestinians' limitations that they experience as a result of Israel's security understanding. She gives quotation to this conversation in order to emphasize how simple to talk about this tragedy but how hard to live it:

> "Once the middle coffee table was filled, he started placing things on the three smaller side tables. "Wow, Johni! It's as if there isn't a war!" said Vera appreciatively. "Our life is a series of wars," replied Johni." [92]

Apart from the difficulties that Palestinians experience during curfew days, Johni's describing Palestinians' lives as a series of war demonstrates the impact of historical experiences on their security understanding. Although they know that the curfew days will pass and they will return to their normal living conditions, it is seen that they lose their hope for their future since they experience similar events continuously. In this regard, it can be argued that

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[92] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.70.

historical experiences of Palestinians affect their security understanding since they feel insecure and are afraid of experiencing similar events in their future.

The impact of historical experiences on Suad Amiry can be observed through different examples. It can be argued that Suad Amiry remembers historical experiences of her society when she feels insecure. Israeli soldiers' using the word 'hajjeh' can be accepted as one of the examples for this argument. It can be mentioned that the hajjeh word is a societal stereotype for Palestinians that reminds them of their traumas. In this regard, Suad Amiry's reaction to the Israeli soldier for using the word stems from her historical memories. This demonstrates the impact of her societal identity on her security perspective. Moreover, the same situation can also be observed when Amiry feels insecure as a result of the noise of cappuccino machine since she remembers that Israeli soldiers were disturbed from it. Amiry's association of current security events with historical experiences demonstrates the relation of her insecure feelings with her societal identity. In this regard, historical experiences as a societal identity factor can be accepted as a part of Suad Amiry's life that she remembers whenever she feels insecure.

*Transformative Security*

Suad Amiry's security perspective transformation on the other hand, can be observed with her questioning herself. In this respect, she talks to herself in the novel and analyzes how Palestinian societal identity affects her thoughts and behavior. With four critical moments where Amiry takes herself away from the place, she realizes the impact of the Palestinian societal identity on her. It can be said that Amiry realizes this impact when she tries to calm herself under a stressful condition.

The anxiety of being photographed at an invitation can be the first example of her security perspective transformation. At the Israeli invitation related to giving IDs to Palestinians, Palestinians are anxious and react to the people who

try to take their photos. At this point, it can be argued that this reaction stems from the security concern since Palestinians think that these photos can be used as evidence in any case that would be resulted in their arrest, killing or beating up by Israeli people, mostly police, soldiers and officers during the checking. Amiry's attitude towards taking photos demonstrates that her security perspective reflects similarities to her societal identity at the very first moment. In her words, "for a second I suspected that many were deliberately hiding from the TV cameras. Perhaps that's what I should have done." [93]

Amiry's examination of other Palestinians reflects that she takes herself from the atmosphere where she is in. Despite other Palestinians, she does not hide her face, but it is understood that she is not comfortable by doing this. In this regard, by analyzing the usage of words and their meanings, she takes a different seat by not hiding from cameras when she realizes how Palestinians feel insecure. Amiry's reaction – not hiding from cameras- reflects her realization of the impact of her societal identity on her security perspective. At first, she needs to hide similar to the others. With her internal talks, readers understand that Amiry analyzes her first reaction and reasons behind it. The reader understands that Amiry realizes how Palestinians feel powerless and anxious at the place where they are close to Israelis. As a result of feeling insecure, they need to hide their faces. Since Amiry finds the reason of their action and analyzes her first unconscious act, she prefers the opposing action. In this regard, Amiry's self-analysis reflects her transformative security perspective since she takes an outer lens and shares this experience with us. She says:

> "The happy 'illegal' children, who had accompanied their (so far) illegal mothers, were playing freely on the grounds of the military compound. Watching how unintimidated and free these children were,

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[93] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.38.

in the most awkward situation, gave me great hope for Palestine. Occasionally, in passing, the anxious mothers would ask their children to be quiet: "Khalas yamma, hala' el-jundi bi tukhna (Stop it, otherwise, the Israeli soldier will shoot us.)" [94]

From Amiry's description, several evaluations can be made both for her transformative security perspective and examination of the impact of Palestinian societal identity on people. Beginning with the impact of Palestinian societal identity on people, Amiry's description of children as "free" reflects that societal identity creates peoples' behaviors. Amiry observes that each Palestinian feels insecure and forgets their freedom when there are Israeli soldiers around. Her observation relates to their anxious behavior. In this regard, with the impact of their societal identity, Palestinians including Suad Amiry do not behave normal. Related to her analysis, Amiry realizes that children who are not aware where they are, reacts 'normal' and 'free' without thinking about Israelis. In this regard, it can be argued that since children have not socially categorized Israelis yet, they behave 'freely'. At that point, Amiry puts their mother into the scene who makes their children fear from Israeli soldiers. In this regard, the mother image represents Palestinian societal identity that associates Israeli soldiers with shooting at Palestinians.

Amiry's feeling great hope for the future of the Palestinians while she is watching children who are playing freely in the place must be analyzed separately in terms of her transformative security perspective. It can be mentioned that her association of children with freedom results in hoping that one day Palestinians would not fear from Israeli soldiers. Instead, they would take their 'freedom' and would be accepted as equal. By combining Amiry's hope and examination of Palestinians in terms of determining the impact of

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[94] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.38.

Palestinian societal identity on children, it is clear that her security perspective transforms from being socially constructed to be self-generated.

Amiry's taking an Israeli to the Palestinian hospital while he is having a heart attack shows the acceptance of the 'other' image of both sides in addition to her realization of the impact of societal identity on her security perspective. In her novel, Amiry writes that she and her nephew finds a man who is having a heart attack. Amiry takes him at her car to take a hospital. Until now, what has been told is a simple and expected reaction of each and every human living in the world. However, at the car, the man asks Amiry the name of hospital that she takes him for help. Amiry finds this question as 'absurd' and mentions the Palestinian hospital name which is the closest to their location. The man understands that both Amiry and her nephew are Palestinians. This question and answer period brings about Amiry's insecure feelings on the scene. She starts to think the possible scenarios and their results not for herself and her nephew but also for the Palestinian doctors that would be responsible for the Israeli man. Reading and analyzing Amiry's words at this part of the novel demonstrates that how security is a knife that can cut each and every person's finger at any time.

> "All of a sudden the absurdity of the situation dawned on me. What if he had a fatal heart attack in the backseat of my car? Would the Israeli police ever believe I was just trying to help? It had happened without my giving it any thought. I simply meant to take him to hospital. Oh, God, what a mess. What would the Israeli army do once they found his abandoned car? There would definitely be a countrywide alert any minute now. I didn't want to think about how many young Palestinian

men would be arrested as suspects, due to my irresponsible, thoughtless act." [95]

Although Amiry analyzes possible scenarios for her and Palestinian doctors, it is seen that by using the word 'absurdity' for the situation with which she has been facing reflects that she does not put the man into 'other' people category and regardless of his nationality, she tries to help him. With her continuous explanation, it is understood that Amiry realizes how deep rooted 'other' image has been developed between Palestinians and Israelis.

For the *Sharon and My Mother in Law novel*, it can be analyzed that Amiry's security perspective is mostly affected and shaped by the impact of Palestinian societal identity since only at some critical moments she analyzes herself and takes look from outside for the examination. In this regard, novel mostly represents the factors that create Palestinian societal identity and its impact on writer's security perspective. It can be argued that the impact of historical experiences, hatred from Israelis, feeling insecure at check points are directly associated with Amiry's security perspective in the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel. Amiry only examines the impact of societal identity on her own security perspective at several moments such as helping Jewish people or examining Palestinians who are hiding their faces from cameras.

To conclude the analysis of the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, it can be argued that Suad Amiry's security perspective must be analyzed within the light of societal identity factors. The development of these societal identity factors represents Palestinians' repeated historical traumas as a result of Israeli limitations. Amiry's social categorizations can be observed with her insecure feelings towards Israelis at check points and her visit to her old house. Amiry's internal talks, in this sense, demonstrate the othering of Israelis as well.

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[95] Amiry, Suad. *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries*. Anchor Books, 2004, p.124.

Moreover, social stereotypes such as usage of words illustrate how Palestinians including Suad Amiry associates her historical experiences with current events. In this regard, My Mother in Law novel can be accepted as the first step to analyze the impact of societal identity on Amiry's security perspective.

## 3.2 Nothing to Lose but Your Life

Suad Amiry's *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel provides the opportunity of observing the difficulties of being a Palestinian worker to its readers. In her novel, Suad Amiry, after listening to the tragic life story of them, experiences the same struggle with an ordinary jobless Palestinian worker who tries to pass secretly from the border to get work in Israel. With Murad, 21 year-old Palestinian laborer, Mohammad and Murad's brother who try to pass to the Israeli side illegally to find daily jobs, Amiry joins to their life in order to experience the difficulty they have been facing.

At the very beginning, Amiry introduces many stories based on Palestinians by referring Murad's explanation to her; what it means for him and his colleagues to get to Israel that day, after the building of the wall, to find a job.[96] The more stories Amiry listened to, the more enthusiastic to join Murad and the other workers on their trip to find a job in Israel. She takes all men clothes and turns into Saud instead of Suad in order to experience a Palestinian worker's adventure to find job. With Mohammad and his friends, Amiry also experiences passing Israel illegally to find jobs.

The novel is composed of two parts and at the middle one can find Amiry's experience while facing with the Wall. She says in one of her speeches that the West Bank part of the wall represents the harassment of Palestinians. In other words, she mentions that the ordinary meaning of going across the wall differs

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[96] The Jerusalem Fund for Education and Community Development, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life with Ms. Suad Amiry,* Tuesday, June 29, 2010.
http://thejerusalemfund.org/ht/display/ContentDetails/i/14118

for Palestinians since it seperates two sides from each other unequally.[97] In this regard, Amiry's security perspective is also evaluated based on which side she is on. While Amiry is on "their" land, the only thing that triggers her anxiety is to meet an Israeli soldier since she thinks that this 'meeting' may result in being arrested, beaten up or killed. In this regard, it can be said that the portrayal of Israeli soldier and check point police represent similar anxieties of her society that has impact on Amiry's security perspective. While she is on the "other" side, it can be argued that she is more insecure since she has frequently been checked by Israeli officers during their venture. The wall part represents her sorrow that is written with deep senses by putting aside her security concern.

Both social identity theory and Israel's societal security dilemma can be used to analyze Amiry's security perspective analysis on theoretical explanation. Since the novel represents the difficulties of Israeli workers, the impact of limitations that can be accepted as a result of its societal security dilemma is observed in Palestinian societal structure. Palestinians cannot find jobs and feel insecure for their future in their own land because of economic hardships. In the novel, the high degree of economic hardships can be observed significantly since Palestinian workers even takes the risk of being shot by Israeli soldiers while they are trying to pass to the Israeli side illegally in the forest. Apart from this, within the context of social identity theory, workers and Amirys' societal categorizations are represented to the reader with the explanations of the examples from the novel. The impact of historical experiences on Amiry triggers her security perspective to accept all Israelis as others. Moreover, societal stereotypes are also presented within the light of her description of the events in the novel.

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[97] The Jerusalem Fund for Education and Community Development, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life with Ms. Suad Amiry,* Tuesday, June 29, 2010.
http://thejerusalemfund.org/ht/display/ContentDetails/i/14118

The analysis of the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel represents examples and their critical evaluation from each part that Suad Amiry mentions in order to have a clear comprehension of how her security perspective is shaped by her societal identity. With the same contextualization, the analysis of the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel represents both associations with deep rooted societal identity factors. These associations are presented with the same titles, used in the first novel analysis. This novel also represents critical movements that can be placed under the title of transformative security. On the other hand, similar to the first novel, the impact of societal identity on writer's security perspective is more clearly represented. In this sense, the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel also demonstrates that Suad Amiry's security perspective is shaped with the impact of Palestinian societal identity.

*Israeli Soldiers and Police as the Portrait of Cruelty*

Similar to the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, showing ID to Israeli police at check point can be accepted as one of the markers for the analysis of security perspectives. To put it more clearly, it can be mentioned that facing with Israeli soldiers or police at check points and showing them ID turns into a security syndrome for Palestinians. By socially categorizing Israelis, Palestinians feel insecure and anxious at check points while they are talking to Israeli soldiers since previously they have experienced traumas as a result of these kinds of conversations with them. In this regard, acceptance of Israeli soldiers and police can be determined as a societal stereotype. With the Israeli soldier and police portrayal described in the Amiry's *Nothing to Lose but your Life* novel, it can be mentioned that Amiry's security perspective is not self-generated; rather, it has developed through experiences harmonized with Palestinian social identity. As one of the examples from check-point moments, Amiry's description of showing their ID cards with Mohammad reflects that as another Palestinian, Mohammad has also the same anxiety when they meet Israeli police. Although they have right to pass without any problem since they

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have ID's, they still feel insecure as they expect to have a problematic conversation with them.

> "It was past eleven at night when I took my ID out of my pocket in the preparation for the Israeli soldiers at 'Atara check-point, one of the three hundred and sixty check points separating from Palestine to Palestine. This particular one separated Ramallah from other Palestinian towns and villages located in the northern district of Nablus. Mohammad did the same. He got his ID out of his pocket and prepared himself psychologically to be checked. He combed back his long black hair with his fingers. 'We are going to visit your family… right?' I wanted to make sure that Mohammad and I gave exactly the same responses to the Israeli soldiers when asked where we were heading at this late hour. 'Right' was Mohammad's brief reply. Once more, Mohammad and I were quiet, this time in anticipation of our first check-point encounter." [98]

Suad Amiry's mention of "preparation of psychologically for checking" is a clear indication of this anxious atmosphere. In addition to questioning the borders that separates Palestine from Palestine, it is seen that Suad Amiry's explanation of where to go for what aim reflects its socially constructed security perspective. Since Amiry is aware that they will be kept waiting for long hours in case of wrong replies, she answers Israeli soldier's questions with the same replies as Mohammad. Amiry remembers the results of Palestinians' 'wrong' conversations with Israelis and warns Mohammad by gazing to him. In this regard, it can be argued that Amiry's analysis of any given conversation to Israeli soldiers by remembering her societal traumas reflects the impact of her societal identity on her security perspective. Moreover, it is also seen that giving the "right" answers to Israeli police is a critical point for analysis. From

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[98] Amiry, Suad. <u>Nothing to Lose but Your Life</u>. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.8.

Amiry's brief reply of "visiting family" to the Israeli soldiers as an aim of her travel and Mohammad's brief reply of 'yes', it can be observed that meeting with Israeli police and talking to them take a part of Amiry's creation of security perspective. In this regard, it can be said that Amiry's security perspective rebels against the checker- who have the power- and checked- who is powerless than others.

In the novel, it is seen that although Amiry and Mohammad have right to pass at the check point, they continue their road from illegal ways. They meet with other workers who are friends of Mohammad at the special places to hide from Israeli soldiers. After they meet with them, they turn their way to the forest where they will pass secretly to Israel to find daily jobs. Amiry explains that Mohammad and friends know the places of Israeli soldiers who control the forest to prevent illegal passing. In this regard, they have to control Israeli soldiers and wait for the evening to hide from them. On the other hand, how many hours that they will wait are unknown since Israeli soldiers may realize them.

The moments while Suad Amiry and Mohammad are trying to hide from Israeli soldiers in the forest in order to pass to the other side of the border, Amiry's description of workers and the environment that surrounding them demonstrates both difficulties and fear. Amiry mentions that she has understood why workers must be fit since they must be athletic for running away in case of escaping from Israeli soldiers. In this sense, the *Nothing to Lose but Your life* novel takes security not as a term, rather, an ordinary life situation that all Palestinians are experiencing during each and every minute of their lives from different angles. The very first angle represents the economic hardship that families have to struggle with. In order to find work for money, Palestinians ignore the risk of being shot by an Israeli soldier to pass the border since they could not find job in 'their land'.

*The Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel also allows Israel's security dilemma to be used as a theoretical analysis. It can be argued that since Israel limits Palestinians from different angles because of its own security concerns such as illegal usage of territory for its own benefits, Palestinians struggle with economic hardships in terms of agricultural work. Apart from agricultural work, Amiry explains that workers prefer the illegal passing to Israel since they can gain more money in Israeli side and cannot find jobs in their own land. In this sense, the Israel's limitations affect Palestinian living standards cruelly.

The second angle represents a critical point similar to the portrayal of Israeli soldier example in Amiry's description. While workers and Amiry are trying to hide from these soldiers, they label themselves as 'insecure' identities and Israelis as 'powerful'. In this sense, again, it can be argued that in addition to Amiry's experience of this 'trip', her security perspective has been affected not only by workers but also by historical memoirs that she had known. The social categorization of Israeli soldiers can be seen from Amiry's description in addition to the workers' explanations. It is seen that especially workers force themselves to accept the situation by explaining that it is Palestinians' destiny to experience these hardships since their brothers and fathers experienced the same problems. The moments that Amiry is trying to escape from soldiers with workers represent how insecure she feels:

> "With the mysteriousness and darkness and the growing level of noise, I was becoming increasingly apprehensive that some cat-eyed soldier might spot us and shoot at us (meaning, shoot me), beat us up (meaning beat me up), or arrest us (meaning arrest me). While I was contemplating which one I would be subjected to tonight, my three-

option hallucinations of a shooting, a beating and an arrest came to an end as I heard someone swear out load, 'Oh no..'" [99]

With Amiry's three options, it can be said that she codes in her mind that meeting with an Israeli soldier at night might be resulted in being arrested, shot, or beaten. The possibilities that she thinks reflects the impact of historical experiences on her since she even does not consider talking to an Israeli soldier as a solution. In this regard, it is a significant fact that Amiry observes Israeli soldiers as 'others' with the impact of the environment she is in and workers' condition.

Amiry's description of a child worker demonstrates the 'danger' she feels during the trip since she thinks internally that he needs a father for protection. The critical usage of the word 'protection' tells more than the whole sentence within the framework of security perspective analysis. Amiry questions the process of passing the border secretly and its reasons. She labels this process as 'dangerous' with feeling insecure not only for her but also for a young boy who has to find a job by himself under these conditions: "I somehow felt he needed a protective father on this trip, and he must have felt he needed a protective mother, too." [100]

Amiry's analysis on the reasons of this illegal passing can be evaluated with Israel's societal security dilemma theory. The conditions that Palestinians and Suad Amiry experiences reflect that even children must find work at young ages in order to live in their territory. The limitations by Israel affects Palestinian living standards and they have no other choice to continue their lives except for passing the other side to find jobs. In this regard, this chaotic

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[99] Amiry, Suad. <u>Nothing to Lose but Your Life</u>. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.64.

[100] Amiry, Suad. <u>Nothing to Lose but Your Life</u>. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.77.

environment in Palestine brings about insecure feelings to society. In other words, as a result of these limitations that continue through their history, Palestinians tend to feel insecure next to Israelis and create social categorizations that affect their security perspective. This process can also be accepted for Suad Amiry by analyzing her novels.

*Historical Experiences*

Amiry's novel reflects that even taking a photograph while both Amiry and workers are sitting on the forest waiting the night to come can be evaluated as an 'insecure' movement. At the forest, Amiry sits with workers and listens to their life stories. During conversations, one of the workers wants to take a photograph of another worker as a joke. Amiry watches them carefully at that moment. The photographed worker becomes anxious about the photo and yells at the other. In this regard, Mohammad's taking picture of the scenery and his friends on the forest turns into a problem between workers since they accept these photographs as evidence in their mind for taking an illegal step. On the other hand, they do not even think that these photographs can be taken carelessly by anyone in the morning and there is nothing illegal for this act. Amiry describes these moments as:

> "Mohammad was still playing around with his phone-camera when two workers approached to him, and one furiously said, 'Hey, you don't take my photo… Do you understand? I tell you, don't take my photo,' he repeated." [101]

Amiry's writing this memory in her novel reflects that taking photograph is also coded as dangerous since these photographs can be used as evidence for their future. Similar to the Palestinians' reaction at the invitation in the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, it can be argued that even taking photographs is

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[101] Amiry, Suad. <u>Nothing to Lose but Your Life</u>. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.78.

also a societal stereotype in Palestinian society. With the social categorization of accepting Israelis as others and powerful, Palestinian workers do not want to take photographs since they can be used as evidence by Israelis one day. In this regard, these social categorizations and the societal stereotype of taking photograph can be accepted as a societal impact on Palestinians.

During the "photo crisis", Amiry's questioning of safety for workers reflects her security perspective. She says that "I was still thinking of the guy and the paradox of sneaking into Israel for safety. It was safer for some of them in Israel than in their own villages in the West Bank." [102] In analysis of security perspective portrait, it can be argued that Amiry feels secure at her own land, West Bank, if she does not meet any Israeli police and soldiers. However, when an "Israeli" not as a man, but as a created fear image, is added to the picture, she feels deeply anxious and her three choices come into the scene for future. Amiry's analysis on safety of workers can be evaluated with both Israel's societal security dilemma and social identity theories. Firstly, the reason of workers' feeling secure at Israel demonstrates that they feel being suppressed in their own land. The difficulties and traumas that they experience cause them to feel insecure. These limitations and difficulties can be accepted as the result of Israel's societal security dilemma because as Israelis feel insecure, they take measures which would create various hardships for Palestinians. Secondly, in accordance with the social identity theory, it can be said that Amiry and other workers' behaviors demonstrate the impact of societal identity factors since they perceive each Israeli as a threat to their lives. It is seen that with the impact of societal historical experiences, they associate their current condition with their history of society. As seen, the impact of the societal identity on Amiry's security perspective can be analyzed with two theories.

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[102] Amiry, Suad. Nothing to Lose but Your Life. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.79.

*Israelis as 'Others'*

The acceptance of Israelis as others can be observed in the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel while Amiry is at the bus in the Israeli side. After the long hours of waiting at the forest, Amiry and other workers pass through the Israeli side successfully by running fast from Israeli soldiers. Amiry describes these moments in detail in order to create the same atmosphere to the reader. She mentions that Mohammad and Amiry runs faster than others and they escape from shootings. When the Amiry asks Mohammad to wait for others, Mohammad rejects it and says that each of them is responsible for himself for passing. In this regard, illegally passing from the other side can be seen as survival for them. After passing to the other side, they meet the other workers who also survive. After this meeting, they change their clothes one by one in order to be seen as 'Israeli citizens'. Amiry surprises at this moment and cannot understand the reason behind this act. Mohammad explains that they will take the bus in order to reach the city center to find jobs. Since they illegally passed to the Israeli side and ID checking might be made at the bus if the Israeli soldier becomes suspicious from anything, they have to change their 'poor' looking clothes. Amiry also changes her clothes and they start to wait the arrival of the bus to go to the city center. In order not to be caught by Israeli soldiers, Mohammad and Amiry go together while others are waiting for the other bus.

A significant 'othering' example that supports that Suad Amiry's security perspective is shaped by the same labels of her societal identity can be provided with explanation of her fear when she realized that she is in a place where Murad warned her that they may be arrested. Each and every word Amiry uses for description smells fear, anxiety and 'powerful' Israeli soldier image against a 'powerless' Palestinian woman. She explains that:

"Having complete confidence in Murad and his sharp sense of danger, I was truly worried. In no time the bus stopped, and in less time a dark-looking security man got on the bus. I didn't have time to judge if it was better to wake Mohammad up or leave him asleep. The security man was staring in every passenger's face. Not spotting Arab-looking faces, he moved swiftly and efficiently until he reached our know. I looked away from him and prayed he didn't have the necessary training or skills to spot a middle-aged, sexless Arab woman or a sleeping young Arab or a sleeping terrorist." [103]

The usage of the "dark looking" adjective in describing an Israeli security man says more about Amiry's security perspective. In this sense, the security man is described as being cruel, having power on the bus driver and passengers, having right to stop people continuing their road. The Israeli security man description must be evaluated critically to find its impact on Amiry's security perspective. At very beginning, since Amiry shares this experience to her readers by explaining her feelings as 'senses of danger', it can be understood that Amiry has already labelled the security man with social categorization of 'other'. In addition to this, it is also seen that Israeli security man is associated with 'cruel' image since dark looking adjective is used for description. By combining the factors that shape Palestinian societal identity, it can be observed that acceptance of Israelis as the other and feeling insecure vis a vis from Israeli soldiers, police and security men demonstrate the impact of Palestinian societal identity on Amiry's security perspective.

*Transformative Security*

In the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel, with Amiry's descriptions, it can be argued that her security perspective is freed from the impact of Palestinian

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[103] Amiry, Suad. Nothing to Lose but Your Life. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.153

societal identity and she realizes how social categorizations affect her at some critical points. The first significant moment that reflects Amiry's comprehension of the impact of Palestinian societal identity not only on herself but also on the Palestinian workers takes place at the bus while they are trying to pass to Israel without working permission. At the bus, Amiry surprises when she sees the workers who have changed their clothes in order not to be identified by Israeli soldiers at the border control. Amiry realizes that these workers seem more confident and safer with their 'Israeli-fashioned' look instead of the working clothes they wear in Palestine. In this regard, Amiry critically tries to find out why these workers feel safe when they are similar to Israeli citizens. During her analysis, paradoxically, she mentions that although these workers have changed their clothes, with their Palestinian behavior and 'poverty-stricken class' image, they could easily be differentiated from Israeli citizens. The description of Amiry's analysis reflects that she realizes the impact of societal identity on these workers and evaluates their condition at the bus:

> "All of a sudden, I felt that the bus station was changing from a scene out of Paradise Now to a scene from the video clip Chic Point: Fashion for Israeli checkpoints by the Palestinian artist Sharif Waked. All was in place. Except for Mohammad and me, the three could pass for Israelis at least in appearance…Muneer, Murad and Saed felt safer and more confident with their new looks. I watched them carefully and realized that the one reality they couldn't change was the poverty-stricken class to which they belonged."[104]

Amiry's words reflect how security is a 'necessity' for Palestinians in their lives. Amiry's observation of Palestinian workers change and her analysis about them reflect that she takes an outside look for critical examination of

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[104] Amiry, Suad. Nothing to Lose but Your Life. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.124.

their condition at the bus. Her emphasis on 'poverty-stricken class' reflects that her security perspective frees itself from the Palestinian societal identity and takes a self -position for analysis.

Amiry's last words at the end of the novel reflect a clear analysis of her security perspective. While she is looking at the mirror, Amiry starts to analyze the whole trip and its impact on her by taking all these experiences into account. She says "I stepped into our bedroom and stood in front of the long mirror: I twisted my body left…right…and centre. I seemed sexless. I could no longer feel the innocence of the little girl in me…"[105] From her words, two critical points can be pinpointed for her security perspective analysis. The first one is directly related to the usage of 'sexless' word. Amiry mentions that there is no difference between Palestinian men and women in terms of feeling insecure and facing with difficulties to find a job. The second point represents the impact of this experience on her. It can be said that meeting with Israelis and being a Palestinian worker 'man' provide Amiry with another perspective about both Palestinians workers' and Israelis' behavior towards them. She realized that Palestinians have felt more secure in Israel and they even have tried to look similar to them in order to find jobs. These memoirs might trigger Amiry's belief in loss of territory and her depression.

To conclude Amiry's security perspective analysis by analyzing her novels the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* and *Nothing to Lose but Your Life,* how Palestinian societal identity factors affect her must be explained within the context of  social identity theory and Israel's societal security dilemma. Since novel analysis is used in this thesis, the concluding remarks of this part firstly represent Amiry's usage of language.

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[105] Amiry, Suad. <u>Nothing to Lose but Your Life</u>. Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010, p.157.

Amiry's descriptions represent an informal, daily language usage. In this regard, Amiry creates a theme for her novels that takes the readers into a world where they can also fear from making cappuccino or biting their nails when they are at the bus to go to Israel without working permission. Her selection of using informal language opens the doors of her novels to any audience type. In this regard, Amiry provides to share Palestinians' difficult experiences and make their unheard voices be heard in the world. It can be argued that Amiry assumes Palestinians as 'powerless' and try to give voices to them with her novels with the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her security perspective.

The impact of Israeli societal security dilemma on Palestinians can be observed in Amiry's *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel. It can be argued that the Israel's limitations for providing its own security needs affect Palestinians. These impacts on Palestinians vary from economic hardships to feeling insecure in their own land. Since these limitations represent continuity for a long time, it can be argued that Palestinians lose their hope for future and they accept their insecure image. This acceptance brings about the societal identity factors into their lives. In the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel, with Amiry's explanation of her experience to be a Palestinian worker, the results of economic hardships for society is described with detail. In this regard, how Israel's societal security dilemma affects Palestinian societal identity can be seen from this novel. Workers' attempt to pass illegally to Israeli side to find jobs by taking the risk of being shot can be accepted as one of the significant examples to observe the impacts of this limitation. In addition to this, in the novel, it is seen that the limitations affect Palestinian societal identity since workers mention that they feel more secure at the Israeli side compared to their own land. In this regard, the development of the Palestinians' insecure image can be associated with the limitations. Amiry's security perspective is also affected at the end of her experience of being a Palestinian worker. She

mentions that Palestinians have no choice to pass illegally to the Israeli side since they could not find jobs in their land. Her explanations demonstrate that after observing the impact of limitations, Amiry also is affected by her societal identity and accepts the necessity of this illegal act.

Social identity theory can also be used for explaining how Amiry's security perspective is affected by the Palestinian societal identity factors. Writer's both novels are analyzed in the light of mentioned societal identity factors, such as acceptance of Israeli soldiers and police as cruel, historical experiences and acceptance of Israelis as others. As a result of their traumas, these societal identity factors have been developed in society. In this regard, social categorizations and societal stereotypes become part of Palestinian societal identity. These social categorizations can be observed in Amiry's both novels with the examples of accepting Israelis as others and with her description of Israeli soldiers at check points. Social stereotypes are mostly observed at historical experiences parts of novels while Amiry associates the history of her society with current difficulties. The usage of historical words, in this sense, triggers Amiry's security perspective since its meaning is historically rooted and reminds her the traumas that have been experienced by the Palestinians.

Despite the impact of her societal identity on her, it can also be argued that for several times, she takes outside look and critically analyzes Palestinians' condition and the impact of their historical experiences on them. Her analyses also include the parts that she watches the events from the other side of the novel. For these moments, it can be argued that her security perspective frees itself from the impact of Palestinian societal identity and becomes self-originated. On the other hand, these moments are limited when all of her novels are taken into account. Amiry's acceptance of children as 'free' can be accepted as one of the examples to this part. Amiry observes how Palestinian societal identity affects her security perspective since she realizes that she feels insecure compared to the children who are not aware of the presence of Israeli

soldiers. In this regard, Amiry understands that children have no social categorization unlike her and behaves in the way that they want. After this realization, Amiry describes how she and her society are affected by the Palestinian societal factors.

To conclude, Amiry's novels make its readers to observe the difficulties that Palestinians have been struggling with. Although Amiry does not aim to share her experiences in the *Sharon and My Mother in Law* novel, she realizes that she can draw attention to these difficulties through writing. With this realization, Amiry meets her readers with the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life* novel that represents a fluent description of Palestinian workers' life. It is seen that Palestinian historical traumas affect her security perspective at the moments that she feels insecure.

# CHAPTER 4

## RAJA SHEHADEH: STRANGERS IN THE HOUSE & PALESTINIAN WALKS

Raja Shehadeh meets any person- regardless of his/her nationality, religious perspective, or any other societal category- with the beauty of West bank nature and London's rainy days from a Palestinian's window towards life. Thanks to the novels that use fluent description and visual symbolization as writing techniques, readers can travel to Palestine without having passports to go to a sarha in the *Palestinian Walks* and gain the opportunity of talking to a Palestinian boy who has concerns for his future in the *Strangers in the House* novel. It can be argued that both novels complete one another to examine how a Palestinian man's security perspective is affected from his societal identity through years.

*Summaries of the Novels*

Raja Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* novel represents his experiences from his childhood to his adult years. Shehadeh was born into a prominent family after his family was driven from Jaffa in 1948. In the novel, Shehadeh's describes his special relationship with his father, his first love, intellectual experiences in college, world travels, law career and human rights work, his struggles under Israeli occupation.[106]

The novel begins with Shehadeh's comparison of Ramallah to Jaffa. Shehadeh, as a child, dreams about their home in Jaffa and desires to turn back there. Shehadeh describes his maternal grandmother, Julia, the family matriarch who

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[106] Shehadeh, Raja. *Strangers in the House.* Penguin Books, 2003.
http://www.publishersweekly.com/978-1-58642-032-1

looked down on his attorney father as an outsider, as he was not from Jaffa, where her father had owned the splendid Nassar Hotel.[107] Apart from his grandmother, he has a special relationship with his father, Aziz, who is a prominent attorney and publicly defenses the two state solution for Israeli and Palestinian conflict. In the novel, it is seen that Shehadeh accepts his father's every decision without questioning its reason during his teenage years. His studying law at London is one of these decisions. Throughout the novel, however, when he is abroad for his university education, he starts to analyze his father's role in his life and the impact of his views on his thoughts. By sending letters to each other, Shehadeh communicates with his father when he is abroad. Since these letters are shared with reader, it is possible to analyze the relationship between them. In addition to questioning the impact of his father on him, Shehadeh also realizes the impact of Palestinian societal identity on him when he is abroad studying law. He mentions that he has difficulty in talking in front of audience during lectures and cannot make friends. At these moments, Shehadeh questions himself and he associates his insecurity with being a Palestinian.

After completing his university degree, Shehadeh turns back to his home in Ramallah. Despite his father, Shehadeh struggles for Palestinian human rights. Ironically, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Israel and Jordan suspected him of carrying out subversive political actions against each of them.[108] Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* novel, unfortunately represents a tragic end with the murder of his father by an attacker.

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[107] Twair, Pat M. *Strangers in the House: Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine.* Steerforth Press, 2002, http://www.wrmea.org/2002-september-october/book-review-strangers-in-the-house-coming-of-age-in-occupied-palestine.html

[108] Twair, Pat M. *Strangers in the House: Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine.* Steerforth Press, 2002, http://www.wrmea.org/2002-september-october/book-review-strangers-in-the-house-coming-of-age-in-occupied-palestine.html

The *Palestinian Walks* presents Shehadeh's love of walking the hills with an emphasis of the impact of Israeli settlements on the land. In 1978, when the Palestinian lawyer Rajah Shehadeh returned to his native Ramallah in the West Bank after studying in London, he found solace in walking the hills, admiring the stone walls and wild flowers - and trying not to think about the Israeli settlements sprouting like mushrooms after spring rain.[109] Shehadeh demonstrates how the look of the hills is changed with a fluent description by explaining the atmosphere of the land before and after the expansion of the Israeli settlements.

The novel is composed of Shehadeh's memoirs of walking the land. Shehadeh names these walks as taking a "sahra", which has a historical meaning for Palestinians that is explained at the novel analysis part in detail. During these walks, Shahedeh visits the qasr of his family and dreams about their lives. The qasr is represented as the home of his family which has stone walls and is away from the center of the town.

In the novel, Shehadeh's hopeless feelings can be observed. As a lawyer he is bitter that his belief in legality proved no defense to what seems the irreversible loss of so much of his land, his personal struggle a dismal failure.[110] The end of the novel gives a clear message to the reader. At his final walk close to Ramallah, Shehadeh writes about his meeting with a young, armed Israeli settler who sits on the land and loves the same hills as him. At first, Shehadeh argues with him about the right to have the land, however, then, they realize their common love towards the land and they decide to sit together by ignoring the problems between the two sides. Shehadeh mentions that the significance

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[109] Black, Ian. *Palestinian Territories: Lost Landscape*. Review of Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape by Raja Shehadeh, published by Profile books, 2007. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/23/israel.politicsphilosophyandsociety

[110] Black, Ian. Palestinian Territories: Lost Landscape. Review of Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape by Raja Shehadeh, published by Profile books, 2007. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/23/israel.politicsphilosophyandsociety

of the common land love instead of the having on argument about the right to have the lands.

With a detailed examination, it can be argued that the *Palestinian Walks* is the novel that demonstrates Shehadeh's development of security perspective. In this regard, it can be argued that Shehadeh shows how his security perspective is formed initially with the *Strangers in the House* novel and has developed by the *Palestinian Walks*: In the *Strangers in the House* novel, reader finds a chance to comprehend how Palestinian societal identity can affect a Palestinian child, and how a boy takes an outside look to his societal problems during his education abroad. In other words, Shehadeh presents his childhood and teenage year memories in the *Strangers in the House* novel. In the *Palestinian Walks*, however, readers meet with Shehadeh who is an adult. Since Shehadeh's self-criticism about the impact of societal identity on himself is clear for comprehension, reader meets a Shehadeh who tries to create his own security perspective while he is struggling with his internal feelings. The *Palestinian Walks*, in this sense, can be accepted as a continuation for the analysis of Shehadeh's security perspective. We see a 28 years old man who is aware of the fact that Palestinian societal identity affects peoples' thinking styles. On the other hand, this self-realization brings about depression and a hopeless perspective to Shehadeh since he points out that there are limited steps to take to save Palestinian lands and their societal future.

**4.1 Strangers in the House**

The *Strangers in the House* novel represents Shehadeh's life story and experiences from his childhood by the time he becomes an adult. Shehadeh was born in Ramallah after his family was driven from Jaffa in 1948. In his childhood, Shehadeh dreams about their old house in Ramallah and listens to his father's experiences. His father who was a prominent lawyer and political activist represents a significant character on his personal views. Apart from

their relationship, readers understand that Shehadeh's father, Aziz, was one of the the first Palestinians who advocated the peaceful resolution to Israel – Palestinian conflict. He thought that Palestinians would lose their territory day by day if the peace was not secured between the two sides. After having been threatened as a result of his view, Aziz Shehadeh was murdered in 1985.

The novel represents Shehadeh's self- analyses about his life and his society. With his father's decision, Shehadeh goes to the university first in Beirut and then in London. During this period, Shehadeh shares his feelings by analyzing how he is affected by his societal identity. His realization of feeling insecure, depressed and the impact of Palestinian history on his view are demonstrated to the reader through his self-analyses.

For the analysis of the *Strangers in the House* novel, both Israel's societal security dilemma and social identity theory are utilized. Invasion of Ramallah which can be accepted as a result of Israel's societal security dilemma affects Shehadeh and his family in the novel. It is seen that Shehadeh who is a child labels Israelis as others and accepts them as being cruel since he and his family could be killed during the invasion. Moreover, examples are provided to demonstrate how Shehadeh's security perspective is affected by societal identity factors. For clarity, three parts are devoted to each societal identity factor: Historical experiences, Israelis as others and the portrayal of Israeli soldiers and police as cruel.

*Historical experiences*

The impact of Palestinian traumatic history can be observed in Raja Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* novel. At the beginning of the novel, readers meet with Shehadeh who is a child. He shares his feelings and the atmosphere of Ramallah from a child's perspective and dreams about their old house in Jaffa. Since he was born in Ramallah, he only knows their old house from his father and families' descriptions. By looking at the other side where

Jaffa is, he compares Ramallah to it. It is seen that Shehadeh wants to turn back their old house and live there instead of Ramallah. While he is describing his feelings, he also informs reader about their house in Ramallah where his family lives with his grandmother. His grandmother, similar to his family, misses her old days in Jaffa. Shehadeh shares a conversation between his father and grandmother about the furniture in their old house. His grandmother accuses his father of leaving their all furniture there except a Buddha statue. She thinks that there will be no chance to return Jaffa and everything that they have will be lost to the Israelis. During this conversation, the importance of father image for Shehadeh can be seen since he defenses his father internally. In this regard, Raja Shehadeh's evaluation of his father's feeling while they have to stay in their grandmother's house in order to be safe against Israeli soldiers reflects the significant points of his security understanding. During the conversation, he questions his father's situation, a man who has to guard his family against danger and take furniture from his house which he built with hopes of a happy future. Shehadeh finds meaningful of his father's taking the Buddha statute since it reminds the whole family their past and creates a home atmosphere although they do not turn their own house. He puts himself in his father's position and dreams his father's thinking at the moment when he was looking for what to take from his house:

> "What should I take with me? He asked himself. Nothing. Nothing at all. He was resolute: I want it to stay as is, covered and preserved during our short absence so that when we return we will undrape the furniture, air the space, and resume our happy life. At this point, his eye rested on the porcelain statute of Buddha. It was the only object that had been left uncovered. It stood on a wooden ledge in one corner, presiding benevolently over the scene below. He came close and saw the calm squinting eyes, the mocking smile, the fat round belly with the aquamarine belly button. It confronted him to look at it. Perhaps, this

would be the best thing to take, he thought. He placed it under his arm and walked out. This porcelain statute of Buddha has remained in my family's house ever since. We have taken it to every house we have moved to and kept it prominently displayed."[111]

When Shehadeh's words are taken into account, it can be clearly observed that there is no home image for Palestinians. The home image is a significant factor for the creation of security perspective since it represents the place where families relax and are protected from the environment. In this regard, home image can be accepted as a societal stereotype for Palestinians. Since the quotation reflects Raja Shehadeh's thoughts about his father's behavior at their old house, it can be argued that he also has this societal stereotype. Having the Buddha statute at their homes, it is seen that Palestinians – including Raja Shehadeh and his family- struggle with their changing lives as a result of the suppression by Israelis side. In this sense, the impact of Israel's societal security dilemma can also be observed with this example. As a result of Israel's actions, Palestinians have no choice instead of being driven from their cities and becoming refugees. The creation of home image as a societal stereotype can be accepted as a result of Israel's societal security dilemma.

From Raja Shehadeh's childhood memories, the novel continues to demonstrate his teenage years. Shehadeh firstly goes to Beirut and then to London for his education with his father's effect on him. Shehadeh's father can be accepted as a role model for him in the novel and it is observed that he behaves in accordance with his father's desire and plans his life by taking his approval. He explains that his relationship to his father is developed by sending letters to each other when he is abroad. With father's letters, it is seen that Shehadeh finds chance to analyze his father's thoughts and advises. While Shehadeh is in London for his education, however, it is seen that Shehadeh

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[111] Shehadeh, Raja. Strangers in the House. Penguin Books, 2003, p.15

realizes the impact of his father on him. With this realization, he thinks that he has no aim of his own; instead, he lives the life that his father plans for him. During Shehadeh's analysis of the impact of his father, readers understand that Shehadeh feels insecure and lonely in London since he has no friends. Raja Shehadeh's questioning himself about his reality in his life clearly demonstrates the impact of societal identity on Palestinians' security perspectives. He analyzes that since Palestinians has their own world based on their realities that are rooted through historical experiences; it is difficult to create reality for any Palestinian in Ramallah. In this regard, Shehadeh thinks that his life is actually his father's plan and was created in Ramallah. He says:

> "Because the dream was stronger than the reality and because all my knowledge of it derived from the elders, I had no reality of my own. My own life could not be validated unless confirmed by their gaze. I was hostage to a world too imperiled to be taken for granted. My insecurity arose from the apprehension that this dream world would be lost if I closed my ears. Life here in Ramallah was lived day to day but it was not inspiring. There was no conviction or pride in it. This was the temporary abode, and you do not dig in and create roots in what is temporary. It will do for now but it just for now."[112]

At this point, it can be argued that Shehadeh realizes the impact of historical experiences both on his security perspective and on Palestinians, including his father, as well. Since he tends to have advice from his father for his each action that he wants to take, he realizes that he feels insecure while he is doing anything without permission. Moreover, when his father's sending him to a university abroad also reflects the impact of historical experiences on his security perspective. Thinking about the traumas that he and his society have experienced, his father decides to send him abroad to find jobs in Ramallah

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[112] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Strangers in the House</u>. Penguin Books, 2003, p.32.

when he returns. He is also aware of the fact that if his son stays in Ramallah, he would be in danger because of the chaotic atmosphere. In this sense, his father's decision also demonstrates the impact of the historical experiences on his security perspective. From both examples examined above, it can be argued that both theories included in the thesis can be used to explain how historical experiences as a Palestinian societal identity factor affects Raja Shehadeh's security perspective.

*Israeli Soldiers and Polices as the Portrait of Cruelty*

Shehadeh's association of Israeli soldiers with cruelty occurs through his childhood. During Israeli invasion of Ramallah, Shehadeh's father refuses to go to Amman by mentioning his desire of not leaving his house again. Despite his father's friend warnings, Shehadeh's father takes the risk of himself and his family and they go to a family's home which is described as a more secure place compared to their house. With the noises coming from outside, Raja Shehadeh describes his anxiety and fear. However, it is seen that since he is a child, he cannot predict what would happen in case of Israeli soldiers find them. When Israeli soldiers are surrounding the place that they are in, Shehadeh's description of the moment reflects the first fear from Israelis and his association of them with being cruel. As a child, Shehadeh writes these horror moments and mentions how he felt in a clear and affective manner. In Shehadeh's writing, he says "they might not wait. They might break the door open with their guns. Once inside they would point me out along with my father and take us to the wall and shoot us…Would I be separated as a child? Or would I be considered as a man?"[113]

Shehadeh's description demonstrates that the difficulty of answering some questions depends on the situation that is faced. In other words, "being separated as a child from being killed or being considered as a man to be death

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[113] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Strangers in the House</u>. Penguin Books, 2003, p.46.

similar to the others" quotation represents that Palestinians experience the most difficult questions of security understanding. Considering a child living under these conditions and the constant possibility of being killed, Palestinians neither have a permanent house nor have the guarantee of living. In this sense, Shehadeh is one of them, feeling insecure though he is with his family.

The quotation that reflects Shehadeh's feelings must be analyzed theoretically. It can be argued that Israel's invasion of Ramallah can be associated with its societal security dilemma. As a result of this invasion, Palestinians struggle with Israeli soldiers. Their leaving their houses for security reasons are described in the *Strangers in the House* novel from a child's point of view. In this regard, Israel's invasion of Ramallah to provide its own security affects Palestinians, even children, by bringing about difficulties to them. Raja Shehadeh as a child demonstrates the impact of this invasion by mentioning his fear and the possibility of being killed.

Within the context of social identity theory, in the novel, it is observed that Shehadeh who is a child and does not have any social categorization is affected from his family's view about Israelis. Since each one in the room except for his father talks about the difficulties that they have been struggled with while they are listening to the noises coming from outside, Shehadeh starts to analyze Israelis' role in their life. At this moment, it is seen that he obtains the social categorization of his family and labels Israeli soldiers as cruel who may kill him and his family without considering its results. Shehadeh's thoughts on Israelis after this experience can also be observed in the following pages. Throughout novel, it is seen that Shehadeh understands the impact of his societal identity on him in terms of accepting Israelis as others. The analysis of his explanation is offered below.

*Israelis as others*

As explained above, Shehadeh's creation of the social categorization about the Israelis occurs during the invasion of Ramallah. Throughout the novel, within the light of Shehadeh's self- analyses, readers understand that Shehadeh finds a chance to observe the impact of his society on his security perspective when he is abroad. After Shehadeh's leaving home for university in Beirut and then London, Shehadeh compares the atmosphere of these cities to his homeland. It is seen that these analyses and comparison are mostly about the limited resources and difficulties that they experience back at home. On the other hand, on an ordinary day, while Shehadeh talks to his lecturer, he realizes that he is affected by his father's position towards Israelis. Shehadeh's father thinks that as a political activist, there must be peace between Israel and Palestinians on equal basis. Different from his father's thoughts, Shehadeh confesses himself his hatred towards Israelis. In this regard, it can be clearly mentioned that Shehadeh puts the clothes of his father out instead of wearing them for his future life. In his own words, he indicates:

> "I went back in my mind to the beginning of the Israeli occupation of my country and tried to understand its effect on me and on my relationship with my father. I realized that I had suppressed my true feelings for the Israelis because of my father's position which I now began to realize it was not necessarily on my own."[114]

From Shehadeh's words, it is seen that Palestinian historical experiences affect even the relationship between a father and son. Shehadeh realizes that he accepts his father's opinion without analyzing it. This demonstrates the significant role of his father on his life. Apart from this, from Shehadeh's confession of his hatred, it can be argued that his security perspective is affected from the historical experiences of his society since he associates his thoughts on Israelis with his memories about the beginning of the Israeli

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[114] Shehadeh, Raja. Strangers in the House. Penguin Books, 2003, p.102.

occupation of his country. In this regard, he accepts Israelis as others in accordance with the Palestinian societal categorization. Apart from examples about acceptance of Israelis as others, by reading Shehadeh's self-analyses, readers also realize that Shehadeh discovers the reason of his insecurity. These analyzes are represented in the following section.

*Transformative Security*

Shehadeh's security perspective represents a continuous and transforming path through his experiences such as living abroad, falling in love and turning back to his land again. These experiences differ from one another but have the same impact on Shehadeh: Taking a critical view internally and analyzing his security perspective by writing. In this regard, Shehadeh's transforming security perspective can be observed by analyzing his internal talks in the *Strangers in the House* novel.

Shehadeh's realization of his feeling insecure as a result of frustrations in his life occurs when he falls in love with Carol. He meets Carol when he is in Beirut for his university education. With Carol, Shehadeh finds a chance to share his ideas and thoughts with a different person who is not his relative. He decides to share his feelings about Carol in his letter to his father. His father, however, reminds him the reason for their sending him to the university instead of supporting their relationship. After receiving his father's letter, he analyzes his relationship with his father. Shehadeh realizes that although he talks to his father through sending letters, he feels the necessity of accepting what his father wants without any consideration. At this point, he comprehends the impact of his family on his thoughts about life and his security perspective. This comprehension separates Shehadeh's path from other Palestinians since he understands how his security perspective is affected by his societal identity. He labels this transformation as 'being a rebel' in his own words. In his writings, Shehadeh indicates how he has changed after he met with Carol: "The

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security that this relationship gave me enabled me to look back at my past with new eyes. I began to realize how confining and frustrating my life had been, and I promised myself that I would never again allow myself to be captured by my family in the same way."[115]

Shehadeh's changing perspective towards his past demonstrates his analysis about the societal categorizations that he has developed throughout this time. He realizes that his life has been affected by the historical traumas and he has not been happy as a result of the difficulties that he and his family have struggled with. In this regard, he finds a chance to see how societal identity factors affect his perspective.

The pages about Shehadeh's education period in London represent the transformation of his security perspective since he realizes that he feels insecure to explain his thoughts to others. At this point, Shehadeh starts to question himself when he realizes that he is afraid to talk in front of audience during lectures. He starts to question of his behavior and tries to find the reason for it. This self-realization demonstrates itself with Shehadeh's own comparison of himself to others to find what is different between them. What he found is his insecurity. He describes this process as: "Something was wrong and I did not know what it was. In my encounters with colleagues, I would mutter aloud my introspective monologue and would puzzle and embarrass my listeners."[116]

## 4.2 Palestinian Walks

In the novel *Palestinian Walks*, Raja Shehadeh takes his readers for a walk on Palestinian lands, hills around Ramallah, by sharing his 28 years memoirs based on his diaries. With his well-description of the land, the *Palestinian*

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[115] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Strangers in the House</u>. Penguin Books, 2003, p.90.

[116] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Strangers in the House</u>. Penguin Books, 2003, p.99.

*Walks* mentions that each and every stone on the land has different meanings and historical roots that open a different door for the ones who desire to touch olive trees. At the very beginning of the novel, Shehadeh explains what sarha means by pointing out its verbal and noun usage for Palestinians. In his terms, sarha means to roam freely, at will without restraint. The verb form of the word means to let the cattle out to pasture early in the morning, leaving to them wonder and graze at liberty.[117] In this regard, going on a sarha draws the portrait of freedom for Palestinians since it provides them with liberty of walking on the land they lived throughout their history. While a man going on a sarha, the time stops for him; only the voice of olive trees and the scene are taken into consideration with memoirs. All in all, as Shehadeh indicates, going on a sarha implies letting go. It is a drug free high, Palestinian- style.[118]

Lindsey Moore represents a critical argument on the usage of sarha word in Shehadeh's novel in terms of writer's emphasis on resistance by playing with words and their meanings. According to Moore, the usage of sarha word can be accepted as a resistance in the text which is one of chrono- topic modes.[119] Moore argues that the author explains at the outset that to go on a sarha, a dialectal corruption of a classical Arabic verb, (saraha: to release herds to pasture) is 'to roam freely, at will, without restraint' or destination: to ramble.[120] Apart from the definition, the practice of sarha, as it is represented in the novel, is specifically accepted as Palestinian habit that is experienced by

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[117] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.2.

[118] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.2.

[119] Moore, Lindsey. *Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadeh*, <u>Postcolonial Studies</u>, 16:1, 28-45, 2013.

[120] Moore, Lindsey. *Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadeh*, <u>Postcolonial Studies</u>, 16:1, 28-45, 2013.

males mostly. The significant disposition represents that saraha also means to 'let go', dispel one's worries, let one's eyes wander and is construed by the author as a vicariously shared experience: 'each sarha is in the form of a walk that I invite the reader to take with me.'[121]

Within this framework, it can be argued that Shehadeh makes his reader question the meaning of taking a simple walk on their lands. Despite its simplicity, Shehadeh contextualizes taking a walk on the land as a paradoxical argument since this habit can even be associated with luxury for Palestinians. He mentions that simply taking a walk on a land is accepted generally as a relaxation. On the other hand, Shehadeh implies that taking a walk on this land can be accepted as a luxury since he begins to question his societal history and political problems that they have been facing for a long time. The paradox of the simplicity of taking a walk and its 'debatable' nature show reader similar themes of insecurity that Palestinians have encountered. Moreover, Shehadeh's fear of losing lands can also be accepted as a similar point within the framework of Palestinian societal identity categorization. In other words, his indications represent the similar Palestinian writing themes such as fear of losing, anger, insecurity and political arguments in accordance with land sharing. Shehadeh summarizes his thoughts as below:

> "How unaware many trekkers around the world are of what a luxury is to be able to walk in the land they love without anger, fear or insecurity, just to be able to walk without political arguments running obsessively through their heads, without the fear of losing what they have come to love, without the anxiety that they will be deprived of the right to enjoy

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[121] Moore, Lindsey. *Ruins, rifts and the remainder: Palestinian memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadeh*, Postcolonial Studies, 16:1, 28-45, 2013.

it. Simply to walk and savor what nature has to offer, as I was once able to do."[122]

In this regard, Shehadeh's words on taking a simple walk on the land he loves and he belongs to represent a clear fact to his readers for analysis: Although he can take walks, in his words, to go sarha, his head is full of political thoughts combined with the fear of losing his habit. The reader can clearly observe that Shehadeh cannot experience the enjoy he desires; rather, he takes a pessimistic view since he struggles with his anxiety of losing his 'right' for upcoming years.

Shehadeh's security perspective in the *Palestinian Walks* is analyzed with both theories used in this thesis. The impact of Israel's societal security dilemma can be observed throughout the novel such as Shehadeh's fear of drought in land. It is seen that the limitations that are brought about by Israel's societal security dilemma affects Palestinians lives by triggering their perception of insecurity. Shehadeh feels relax with the noise of rain and when he questions its reason, he finds out that there would be no drought in land. Since Israel uses water resources illegally for its own benefits, Palestinians have limited water for agricultural work. Related to this, without rain, Palestinians would struggle with difficulties. Shehadeh realizes this thinking process and he understands the impact of Israeli security dilemma on Palestinians.

Social identity theory is also used for analyzing how Shehadeh's security perspective is affected by societal identity factors. The same three societal identity factors are taken into account for evaluation. Different from Suad Amiry's analysis, in the *Palestinian Walks*, Shehadeh's realization of his societal impact on his security perspective is explained to the reader by

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[122] Shehadeh, Raja. Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.33.

himself. In this regard, each societal identity part represents the explanation of Shehadeh's security perspective analysis with examples.

*Israeli Soldiers and Polices as the Portrait of Cruelty*

In the *Palestinian Walks* novel, even the meanings of the used maps can reflect writer's security perspective. In this regard, with Shehadeh's usage of his own map in addition to a normal one can be analyzed in terms of his drawing of Israeli images. At the very beginning of the novel, Shehadeh offers to his reader two maps to follow him on the land while taking a sarha. The first map represents Northern and Central West Bank, similar to the maps that can be found easily from internet or history books. However, the second map that demonstrates Ramallah and Surrounding Countryside must be taken into account critically in terms of analyzing Raja Shehadeh's portrayal of West Bank. In this regard, the second map can be accepted as a drawing of Shehadeh's book, the *Palestinian Walks*, in the simplest form. Shehadeh labels the points according to his memoirs that he wants his readers to put special emphasis while reading, or in other words, while taking the sarha with him. The evaluation of these points can be accepted as a part of his security perspective description. In this sense, analysis of these drawings is a necessity for a clear comprehension of Shehadeh's security perspective.

At the borders on the map, Shehadeh mentions Israeli settlers' power against Palestinians with two indications. One of them is a portrayal of an Israeli woman settler with her gun. The portrayal of the Israeli woman is similar to the other Israeli portrayals in Palestinian literature since the woman who holds a gun has a 'cruel' face. In this regard, Shehadeh also represents Israeli settlers as 'other' by associating them with cruelty and power. The drawing of Israeli woman -by associating her with power- represents societal categorization. It is seen that Shehadeh's drawing represents the impact of Palestinian societal categorization on him.

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Another point is also labelled on the continuous border as 'where Penny and Raja came under fire". With this mention, Shehadeh summarizes his experience with his reader since Penny who is a friend of him and Shehadeh came under fire while they are at sarha. This indication combined with the Israeli woman settler portrayal shows that 'borders' are not simple lines for him separating one place from another. The borders, in this sense, separate the powerful – Israelis – from the powerless- from the Palestinians. In this regard, borders have their places in the creation of Shehadeh's security perspective.
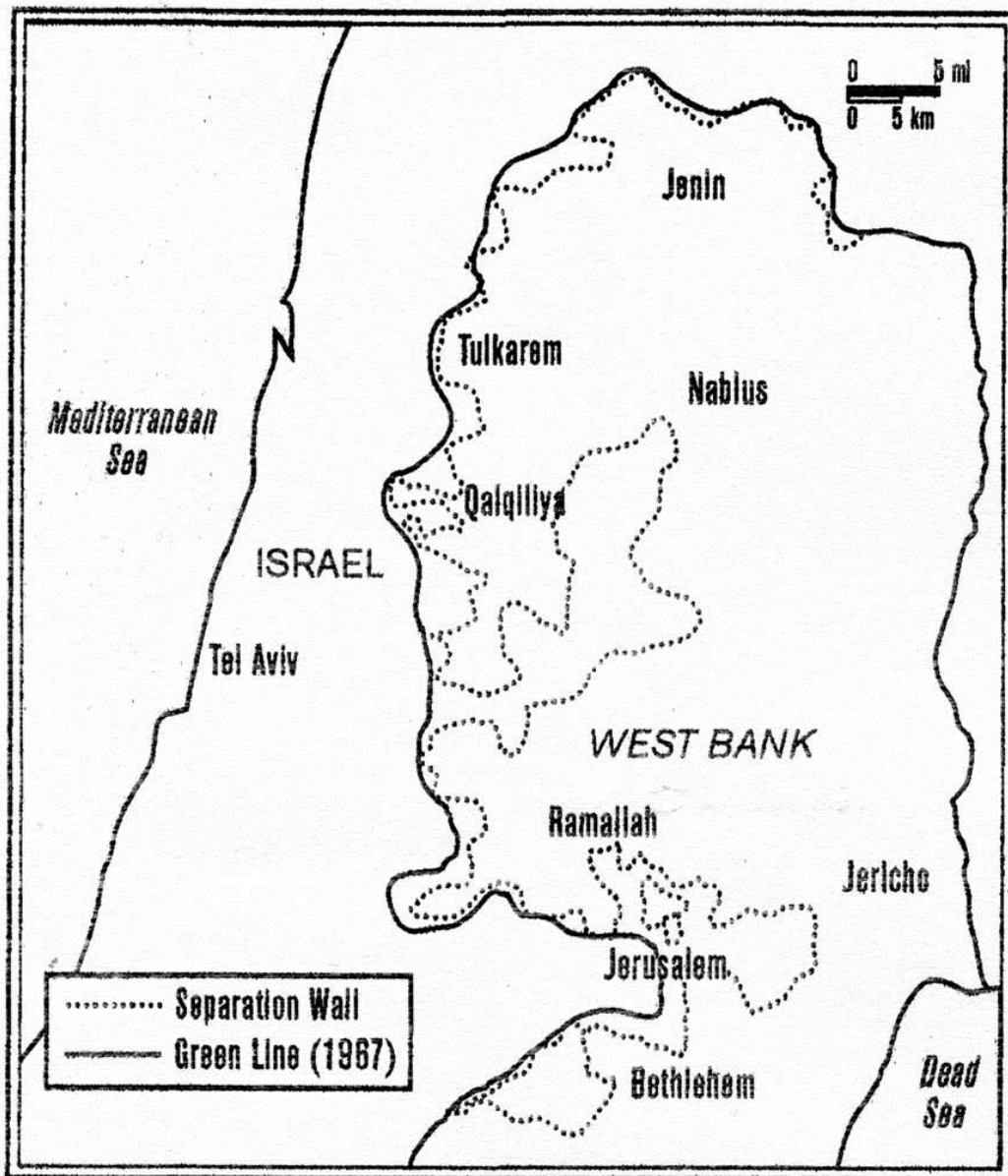
**Northern and Central West Bank**

*Figure 3: Northern and Central West Bank Map[123] in the Palestinian Walks Novel*

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[123] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008
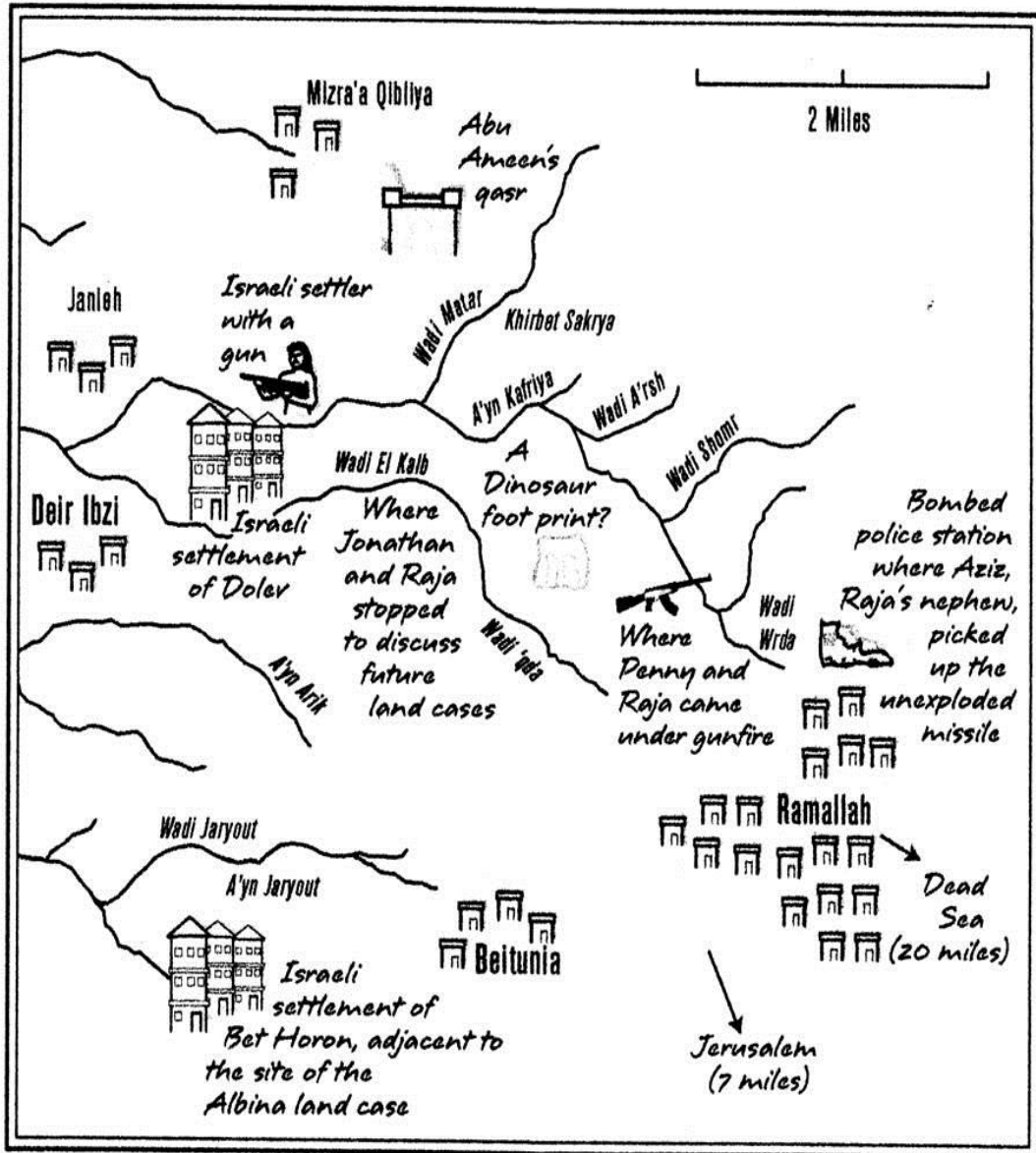
Ramallah and Surrounding Countryside

*Figure 4: Drawn Map by Raja Shehadeh in the Palestinian Walks[124]*

[124] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008

With his own map, Shehadeh also labels the places where he takes his readers to share his own memoirs. By following these points, the reader can easily determine where s/he is at with echoes of Shehadeh voice throughout the novel. It is seen that Shehadeh labels his family's own historical qasr where he dreams and remembers his old family. The qasr is described in the novel to the reader as an historical home that Shehadeh's old family members have lived. The second point represents the place where Aziz, Shehadeh's nephew picked up an unexploded missile. In this regard, it can be indicated that as a Palestinian, Shehadeh also feels the impact of historical experiences and societal impacts on his shoulders. From Shehadeh's map, only the points that are related to the security events can be seen. In this regard, it can be argued that Shehadeh associates Israelis with security terms. This association represents the societal stereotype of accepting Israelis as cruel.

*Historical Experiences*

The *Palestinian Walks* can be accepted as a novel which reader can smell olive trees, walk on mountainous land and hear rain drops on the top of Shehadeh's home. Even the falling of rain tells significant relations about the direct link between Palestinian societal identity and its impact on peoples' security perspective. Shehadeh explains an interesting point that he has discovered about the falling of rain. He associates his relaxation during the rain with the historically rooted fear of drought. This analysis is interesting in terms of Shehadeh's discovery of the impact of societal identity on himself. Moreover, after realizing this association, Shehadeh takes the magnifier at his hand to go beyond for examination by questioning whether there are more fears that he cannot realize. By taking Shehadeh's own words into consideration, Shehadeh's realization of the impact of historical experiences on him can be

examined: "What other hidden fears do I have, fears I am forever trying to discover so that I can free myself from them?"[125]

Raja Shehadeh's association of rain with his fear of the drought in the land area can be analyzed by using two theories utilized in this thesis. Firstly, as argued in the theoretical part, environmental problems in the land area can be accepted as one of the most critical results of Israel's societal security dilemma. Since Israel uses water resources for its own benefits illegally, Palestinians have limited water for agricultural work. In this regard, it can be claimed that the reason for the fear of drought have been developed in Palestinian society as a result of Israel's societal security dilemma. From Shehadeh's explanation, it is understood that he has the same fear with his society.

Moreover, Shehadeh's words on his fears reflect that he accepts the impact of his societal identity on his security perspective. After realizing his association of his fear of drought with falling of the rain, he starts to think the relation between his security perspective and his societal identity. At this point, Shehadeh questions his other fears to examine the commonality of them with his societal identity.

Raja Shehadeh's novel also represents symbols such as olive trees not only for creating visual image in readers' eyes but also for emphasizing the association of the symbol with its usage in Palestinian historical literature. Shehadeh shares a talk with a Palestinian, Adel, during a walk on the hills. The talk demonstrates how environmental condition of the land is affected badly from the occupation and how Israelis tend to erase the historical memoirs of Palestinians on the land. The talk that Shehadeh shares with his readers must be examined critically in order to understand how Shehadeh benefits from symbols for his narrative:

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[125] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.43.

"Adel, who lived in the village and had to commute daily to Ramallah, where he worked, pointed to the road, which we could see below, and said: 'Look at this graphic example of discrimination.' He told me that his family owned olive groves on the other side of the road but could not pick the olives because of the danger of crossing a busy highway without a pedestrian crossway."[126]

Shehadeh's talk with Adel during the walk seems to be a simple chat. On the other hand, with critical lenses, the talk represents Shehadeh's perspective, what he wants to say to his reader in a clear manner such as daily difficulties created by Israelis for Palestinians, the 'discriminated' image as a part of Palestinian societal identity, inequality between Palestinians and Israelis in terms of development by associating Palestinians with agriculture and Israelis with making busy highways and even the environmental damage that is brought about by Israelis since they change the 'structure' of the hills in accordance with their lives. By taking these solutions into account, it can be argued that Shehadeh's security perspective does not only include 'individual' security of his own. Instead, his security perspective demonstrates several dimensions of the same portrait that Shehadeh colors it with his narrative.

Shehadeh uses different techniques such as symbols in his writings for creating visual images in readers' eyes and for associating his and Palestinians presence with the land. Nasser Abufarha indicates that in the West Bank and Gaza the olive tree was already emerging as a symbol of nationalism and attachment to the land.[127] From Abufarha's study, it can be mentioned that olive trees are accepted as the prominent feature of the mountainous region of the landscape in the West Bank, in contrast with orange trees that are

[126] Shehadeh, Raja. Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.84.

[127] Abufarha, Nasser. *Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine*, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 15:3, 343-368, 2008.

prominent in the coastal areas from which the majority of exiled Palestinians came.[128] Palestinians associates olive trees with their nationhood by concerning their dominance in the land with the combination of its history of ancient presence in Palestine. Aburfarha indicates that the old age of the tree itself, which exemplifies the old Palestinian existence in Palestine and connects Palestinians to the lives of past generations in their family tree as the olive trees are passed on through the generations…"[129] In this regard, Shehadeh tells his readers how Palestinian 'nationhood' is limited by Israelis on the land.

The novel presents Shehadeh's pessimism that is similar to other Palestinians. During one of his walks, while he is climbing on the hills, he realizes that he does not have any further mission in his life since Palestinians have lost most of their lands. In his words, his belief of justice and purpose of resistance towards Israelis have been shaken. At this point, he feels alone not only at the top of the hills but also at the top of his feelings. He explains these moments as following: "The emotions were not too difficult to work out. The first was the old and persistent one of wanting a father or and elder brother, to protect me. To catch me if I fell."[130] His words continue his questioning of the meaning of his life by taking his past, present and future worries. From Shehadeh's explanation, it can be argued that since he could not find any solutions to change Palestinian's situation vis a vis Israel, he feel hopeless for Palestinian future. Moreover, his mention of his need of a father and elder brother to protect him demonstrates that he feels insecure as well. It can be claimed that he associates his societal experiences and traumas-which is a societal identity

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[128] Abufarha, Nasser. *Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine*, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 15:3, 343-368, 2008.

[129] Abufarha, Nasser. *Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine*, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 15:3, 343-368, 2008.

[130] Shehadeh, Raja. Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.128.

factor- with current difficulties of Palestine and he loses his faith in changing of this inequality between two sides. Shehadeh's acceptance of Israelis as others also demonstrates how his security perspective is affected by his societal identity as well.

*Israelis as 'Others'*

The acceptance of Israelis as others can also be analyzed as a societal identity factor that affects Shehadeh's security perspective. Shehadeh goes to the Israeli side with his friend to observe how the land has been changed by Israelis. They sit near a group of people which is described as Israelis. After a while, it is mentioned that the group start to look at them. Shehadeh describes the tense atmosphere when they meet Israeli people at Israeli side. He assumes that Israelis see them as 'potentially dangerous' people since they look Shehadeh's group at several times. These glazes are resulted with a simple talk when an Israeli asks to them where they are from. Rema, Shehadeh's friend, kindly replies this question with a critical answer: 'From here."[131] Shehadeh mentions to his readers that this reply is a straightforward and a correct one. From Shehadeh's approval to Rema's answer, it can be clearly seen that Shehadeh supports simple and passive 'rebellions' towards Israelis. As the quotation from the novel demonstrates, the acceptance of the 'other' image and 'insecurity' of both sides towards each other are presented to the reader:

> "They must have seen us as trespassers, potentially dangerous but perhaps, by the way we looked sitting there, drinking coffee and eating our salads, not quite people on a military mission. One of the girls from the group approached Rema and asked her: "Where are you from?"

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[131] Shehadeh, Raja. <u>Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape</u>. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.140.

Rema's answer was both straightforward and correct. She simply said: "From here."[132]

The quotation represents significant critical points for analysis. To start with Shehadeh's observations and his insecure feelings, it can be argued that Shehadeh's assumption on being perceived as 'potentially dangerous' by Israeli people demonstrates how Palestinian societal identity affects his thoughts with the deep rooted idea that Palestinians are accepted as potential danger by the Israeli side. In other words, Shehadeh's assumption about the acceptance of Palestinians as dangerous people demonstrates the societal categorization of him. This social categorization is acceptance of othering. In addition to this, it is observed that Shehadeh does not answer the question; instead, he takes a silent position against Israelis. However, he writes that he finds Rema's answer as correct. At this point, preference of silence but his approval of the correctness of the reply also emphasizes the impact of Palestinian societal identity on Shehadeh's creation of security perspective. This impact can be understood with Shehadeh's silence that is caused by his insecurity. With the fear of being arrested, he prefers to remain silence.

*Transformative Security*

The end of the novel gives a message to its readers by offering a talk between Shehadeh and an Israeli man. While Shehadeh is taking a walk on the land at Israeli side, he realizes that an Israeli man- he assumes from his looks that he is an Israeli- is also sitting on the rocks. Shehadeh feels insecure since the Israeli man has legal right to shoot at him and he continues his walk without any reaction. On the other hand, the portrait of tense silence suddenly becomes upside down and the reader starts to watch a debate between Shehadeh and the man about land sharing and assumptions towards each other. This talk can be

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[132] Shehadeh, Raja. Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.140.

accepted as the most critical part for examining not only the acceptance of the 'other' image between Palestinians and Israelis but also for Shehadeh's security perspective. Paradoxically, the talk exemplifies how Palestinians and Israelis treat each other with the impact of deep rooted ideas of their societal identities. Both Shehadeh and the Israeli man realize this impact while they are accusing of each other. After this 'debate', Shehadeh questions himself and change his decision of continuing his walk. He accepts Israeli man's invitation and they watch the land scene together. Shehadeh's last analysis at the end of the novel must be critically analyzed to evaluate his security perspective:

> "I was fully aware of the looming tragedy and war that lay ahead for both of us, Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jew. But for now, he and I could sit together for a respite, for a smoke, joined temporarily by our mutual love of the land. Shots could be heard in the distance, which made us both shiver. "Yours or ours?" I asked. But how could we tell? We agreed to disregard them for now and for a while the only sound that we could hear was the comforting gurgle of the nergila and the soft murmur of the precious water trickling between the rocks."[133]

It can be argued that Shehadeh gives a clear message at the end of the novel: Without the effort to solve a historical issue and put societal identities aside, an Israeli and a Palestinian can sit together for watching the scenery. In this regard, Shehadeh implies the role of societal categorization in labelling people. Apart from this, it is also seen that both Israelis and Palestinians feel insecure since Shehadeh and the Israeli man shivers at the same time when they hear the shots. Shehadeh chooses the voices of shots as theme for this talking in order to emphasize the othering between two sides. However, he changes this theme with nergila voices to underline that the importance of the love of the land instead of labelling. Shehadeh's last words, all in all, demonstrate that his

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[133] Shehadeh, Raja. Palestinian Walks: Forays into A Vanishing Landscape. Scribner Publishing, 2008, p.188.

security perspective frees itself from the impact of the societal identity since he chooses to sit next to an Israeli man without focusing on deep rooted societal identities.

The conclusion of Raja Shehadeh's two novels reflects how Shehadeh's security perspective is affected by Palestinian societal identity factors. Similar to the Suad Amiry's novel analysis part, historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as others and association of Israeli soldiers and police with cruelty are taken as societal identity factors that affect Shehadeh's security perspective. The novel analyses are explained with Israel's societal security dilemma and social identity theory.

Within the framework of historical experiences parts, it is seen that Shehadeh's security perspective is affected by societal categorizations and stereotypes. For *the Strangers in the House* novel, it is observed that Palestinians have no chance to develop a home image during their lives. The home image can be accepted as an important element for the creation of security perspective since it represents the place where families relax and are protected from the environment. In this regard, home image can be accepted as a societal stereotype for Palestinians. Since the quotation reflects Raja Shehadeh's thoughts about his father's behavior at their old house, it can be argued that he also has this societal stereotype. In the *Palestinian Walks*, the impact of historical experiences on Shehadeh's security perspective is also observed. Shehadeh's examples regarding the olive trees symbolize the history of Palestinians on the land. Moreover, he realizes the impact of his societal identity on him while he feels comfortable during rain. In this regard, Shehadeh thinks that there would be no drought and water scarcity. He realizes that his relaxation is related to his fear of water scarcity that can also be accepted as the fear of his own society.

At the acceptance of Israelis as others part, Shehadeh confesses his hatred towards Israelis by remembering history of his society. In this regard, the impact of historical experiences on his view is seen. Moreover, he socially categorizes Israelis as others. In the *Palestinian Walks*, the acceptance of Israelis as others is demonstrated with the conversation between Raja Shehadeh's friends and an Israeli group. With Shehadeh's description, it is understood that both sides feel uncomfortable of being examined. Shehadeh's friend's answer 'from here' to the question of 'where are you from' demonstrates the acceptance of othering as a societal categorization.

The association of Israeli soldiers and police with cruelty is also represented in both novels. In the *Strangers in the House* novel, Shehadeh's experience of the invasion of Ramallah with his family brings about his fear of being killed by Israeli soldiers. Through the conversations among the family, it can be argued that he obtains the societal categorization of accepting Israeli soldiers as being cruel. In the *Palestinian Walks*, the creation of this societal categorization can be observed with the map that Shehadeh labels the places where his security perspective is triggered by Israelis. One of the examples from this drawing can be provided with the portrayal of Israeli woman at the border with a gun which represents the cruelty image to the reader.

To conclude, Shehadeh's novels demonstrate the impact of historical traumas and social stereotypes on his security perspective. Shehadeh shares his own views and experiences with his reader in order to draw their attention to the inequality between Palestinians and Israelis. By analyzing the *Strangers in the House* novel, since Shehadeh explains his childhood memoirs, readers can observe how social identity factors affect the development process of a child's security perspective. Similar to the *Strangers in the House* novel, the *Palestinian Walks* novel presents Shehadeh's adulthood years and his pessimistic views about defending Palestinians' right to the territory illustrating how his security understanding has been shaped by aforementioned factors.

# CHAPTER 5


## CONCLUSION

The conclusion part tries to answer the question of how Palestinian writers' security perspective is affected by their societal identity through comparison of their novels. The preference of West Bank region reflects a special aim. Since West Bank is mostly used in the works related to conflict analysis, this region may be chosen for analysis from a different perspective. In this regard, as the writers can also be accepted as a part of their society. It provides a different perspective compared to other studies to listen to their experiences. It is critical to listen to the voices of people on the land in order to understand what security really means. In this context, Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadehs' novels – *Sharon and My Mother in Law, Nothing to Lose but Your Life, Strangers in the House and Palestinian Walks*- are chosen for analysis.

Societal security dilemma and social identity theory is used for the theoretical explanation. Israel's societal security dilemma is explained in detail to understand how its actions related to its security needs create the insecure atmosphere to Palestine through years and eventually for Israelis themselves. It is mentioned that Israel's effort to increase its societal security brings about problems for Palestine constantly. Related to these problems, Palestinian societal identity factors appear as a result of repeated experiences for years. These repeated experiences -such as being arrested at the check point- have created insecurity in society. In addition to insecurity, the limitations by Israel that have hampered Palestinian living standards are taken into account since its impact can be observed from environmental problems to economic hardships. It is argued that these limitations cause depression and hopelessness among the Palestinians. Environmental problems are presented to the reader in a separate

part since the damage of the land affects daily lives of people. It can be mentioned that unequal distribution of water resources and the illegal extension of land by Israelis generate economic hardships since the fertile soil is used by Israel. In this regard, it can be stated that Israel's societal security dilemma explanation demonstrates the development process of deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors by highlighting the 'reasons' behind the scene.

The content of this work is aimed to provide a clear presentation for both readers and researchers. In this regard, starting from introducing Israel's societal dilemma theory, the thesis touches on Palestinian historiography, Palestinian literature review and the explanation of Palestinian societal identity by defining the core elements of it. Following this part, novel analyses of writers are presented to the reader by choosing literary texture analysis as methodology.

Social identity theory is used to explain the deep rooted Palestinian societal identity factors. The theory argues that a person is affected by his society within the framework of group membership desire. In accordance with the different social contexts, a person's perspective may be triggered to think, feel and act at his personal, family or national "level of self." For the clarity of the thesis, three main societal identity factors are chosen for analysis: Historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as 'others' and acceptance of Israeli soldiers and polices as the portrait of cruelty. The novel analyses are done in accordance with these three Palestinian societal identity factors. At each writer's part, the novel analysis represents how these three societal identity factors affect writers' security perspectives. The deep rooted societal identities are demonstrated as part of their relation to the analysis of writers' security perspectives. These deep rooted ideas can be broadened in accordance to the chosen research question. Only some of them are presented to the reader because of their clear relation to the writers' security perspectives.

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The Palestinian literature part provides other works to welcome the reader into a different world. Other works related to the thesis question are mentioned in order to draw a similar picture of chosen themes in the Palestinian Literature. Palestinian historiography part demonstrates Palestinians' view on the right to the territory. Religious, legal and demographic claims are also explained.

The comparison of writers' security perspective is presented within the light of these explanations since the development of Palestinian societal identity includes the impact of Israel's limitations and historical traumas. In this regard, the comparison of writers' security perspectives must be accepted as the end of a process. The differences and similarities observed in writers' security perspectives can be categorized as follows: their writing styles in terms of sharing experiences, their analyses of the society and related experiences, the examples that they have chosen and even the degree of reference to societal identity in their novels.

*Writing Styles*

Writing styles can be seen as foot prints on the snow. The examples that they use, the usage of symbols, explaining an event to a reader with the representation of a conversation can be put under the title of the writing style of any writer. Similarly, Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadehs' writing styles can be evaluated by concerning these factors in order to understand their security perspectives. In addition to these factors that are directly related to the explanations in the following categories, both writers' style of sharing experience related to the event that triggers their security perspectives must be taken into account.

Sharing experiences through novels is one of the most effective ways that writers use in order to draw attention to the theme of the novel. Readers understand writers' realities through these experiences and find chance to put themselves into their shoes. In this regard, sharing experiences not only reflects

writers' comprehension of the event but also demonstrates their perspectives and feelings towards the issue that they write. In this regard, within the context of the research question of this work, it is quite helpful to focus on the way how writers share experiences through their novels are one of the most critical ways to examine their security perspectives.

It is seen that both writers – Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadeh – share their daily life experiences. These experiences help reader to understand the environment that surrounds them and create a similar atmosphere for reader to observe how they feel. Sharing experiences, in this sense, can be accepted as one of the ways to analyze the significant points that reflect Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadehs' feelings and reactions.

The very similar point in terms of sharing experience for both writers' can be seen at the moments when they analyze themselves from the perspective of Palestinian societal identity. It is seen that when writers turn back to themselves internally, they relate their experiences to their Palestinian historical roots. In this regard, the analysis demonstrates that both writers have tendency to associate their experiences with feeling insecure as a result of the historical traumas of their own society. Moreover, in addition to this association, both writers can also distance themselves from the environment that they feel insecure when they realize how Palestinian societal identity affects their perspectives. Suad Amiry's watching children and their mothers' behavior truly puts her distant standing point from the place where she is at. Taking a distant position can also be seen in Raja Shehadeh's novels. Compared to Suad Amiry, Raja Shehadeh realizes the impact of the societal identity more frequently. Thus, taking a distant position towards the environment is mostly seen in his novels with various examples.

The style of sharing experiences through writing differs from Suad Amiry to Raja Shehadeh. It is seen that Suad Amiry represents her experiences by using

daily language to her readers and her internal talks are less in number compared to Raja Shehadeh. This implies that Suad Amiry mostly associates her experiences with Palestinian societal identity. In this regard, readers have also the chance to learn the deep rooted factors in Palestinian societal identity not only personal feelings of Suad Amiry. On the other hand, it must also be indicated that Suad Amiry shares her feelings with readers at the critical points that reflect the suppression, hatred and anger towards Israeli officers and police since she could not response to them in the way she wants. In this regard, it is easy to comprehend that Suad Amiry's security perspective is shaped mostly by the impact of Palestinian societal identity.

Raja Shehadeh differs from Suad Amiry in terms of sharing his experiences with his readers. It is observed that Raja Shehadeh can take a critical standing point towards the impact of Palestinian societal identity. In this regard, by realizing this impact, he analyzes his internal feelings and thoughts mostly not only to find a solution but also to observe himself while he is dealing with this problem. Readers can enter into Shehadeh world where they can meet a writer who struggles with finding solutions, feeling upset and depressed and tries to comprehend the ties that connect with him to the Palestinian roots. In this regard, Shehadeh shares experiences by making an internal analysis. Moreover, Shehadeh also uses symbols to emphasize his standing point towards the problems that Palestinians have been facing. Usage of olive trees, talking to an Israeli at the end of the *Palestinian Walks* novel, and other examples imply that Shehadeh uses experience sharing as a technique to emphasize his internal talks and to convey his standing point about the issue to the reader.

*Analysis of Palestinian Society*

Writers' observations on Palestinian societal identity can be accepted as a significant tool for answering the research question of this work. It can be indicated that the more they are aware of their societal identity the more they

realize its impact on their security perspectives. In this regard, their observations must be taken into account in a detailed manner to reach a clear conclusion at the end.

The first question that must be answered to analyze writers' own observations of their societies is at which points they feel the necessity of describing their society to their readers. Although it is a known fact that the atmosphere must be shared with readers to draw attention, for Raja Shehadeh and Suad Amirys' novels, this is not a necessity, rather, is a 'must' to provide the fluency of their novels. It is seen that Suad Amiry provides information about her society frequently in her novels. In this sense, there is no point that can be put into criticality box to differentiate her from her own society. The examples and experiences that Suad Amiry shares with her readers are strictly bounded with the society that she is part of. Mostly, Suad Amiry puts her society on the very front scene and shares her experience in relation to the developments around her. Raja Shehadeh, on the other hand, totally draws a different portrait from Suad Amiry in terms of describing his society to his reader. It is observed that Raja Shehadeh mostly shares his own views to his readers and provides information about his society in order to comprehend his standing point on the lands. In this regard, he prefers to give information at critical points where he observes similarities and also differences between him and his society.

It is clear that writers' observation of Palestinian society is directly related to their security perspectives. It can be argued that when they analyze their society and the deep rooted factors that have been developed for years within the framework of Palestinian societal identity, they realize the impact of it on themselves. With this realization, they start to analyze their own security position within the environment surrounds them. In this regard, it is seen that Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadeh differs from one another in terms of observing their society and its impact on them. It is seen that Suad Amiry analyzes the impact of societal identity on herself at the critical points that she feels

insecure. This feeling brings her the necessity to observe others whether to see they also feel insecure. After this stage, she realizes the impact of Palestinian societal identity on her security perspective. On the other hand, this realization can be seen rarely compared to Raja Shehadeh.

Raja Shehadeh's observation of Palestinian society can be observed through his writings. By describing his father's thoughts, the expectations from him, the perspectives of others, Shehadeh positions his security perspective far away from the environment he lives in. In this regard, readers have chance to see an objective debate between Shehadeh and Palestinians. This debate mostly turns into a struggle for Shehadeh since he is also a part of this society with different thoughts from others. In this regard, compared to Suad Amiry, Raja Shehadeh's security perspective reflects difference since his realization of the impact of Palestinian societal identity can be clearly observed. He provides a detailed explanation of his own society by explaining their thoughts, their predictions and their limited imaginations and then turns back to himself internally and shares his standing point with his readers.

*Chosen Examples*

Writers' choosing examples in order to provide the context of their novels can be accepted as evidences of their writing style and security perspectives. The examples that are provided to readers can be accepted as supportive arguments for clarification of the picture. In this sense, these examples must also be taken into consideration for analyzing security perspectives of the writers. Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadeh represent similarities and differences at this point.

Suad Amiry's examples can be accepted as supportive arguments in order to describe Palestinians' deep rooted insecurity. In this regard, it is observed that Suad Amiry provides examples from the people around her to describe how they all feel insecure because of the events that they have been facing with. She provides talks between her and her mother in law in order to represent the

difference between them in terms of analyzing the events. In this regard, Amiry demonstrates the difference between old Palestinians' perspectives and new generations' thoughts concerning the tension of the environment. It is also seen that Amiry uses conversations between Palestinians in her other novel, the *Nothing to Lose but Your Life*, to demonstrate how Palestinians feel insecure and struggle with difficulties. By looking her novel portrait above, it can be argued that these examples reflect depression and difficulties that all Palestinians have been struggling with through years.

Raja Shehadeh does not provide many examples compared to Suad Amiry. It is observed that Shehadeh mostly puts his own analysis instead of providing examples from his environment. However, this does not mean that there is no example for readers to read. The examples that Shehadeh shares with his readers demonstrate critical points, different from Suad Amiry's novels. In this regard, Shehadeh provides speeches and other Palestinians' experiences as a basis to explain the juncture of his society. He even uses symbols such as the usage of olive trees to mention the necessity of rejecting the idea of being powerless against the Israelis.

Similar points can also be found in terms of choosing examples for readers by Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadeh. These examples represent the deep rooted factors in Palestinian societal identity such as feeling insecure and angry at check offices or while talking to an Israeli. On the other hand, it must also be underlined that the explanations of these examples to the reader are shaped differently by these writers. Although both of them turn back into themselves internally and share their feelings with their reader, Suad Amiry represents her anger and suppression. Raja Shehadeh, differently, analyzes the reasons and results of these examples and tries to find the reason of such conversations by trying to find the root causes of the issue.

*Degree of Mentioning the Impact of Societal Identity*

The frequency of writers' mention of the impact of societal identity can also be accepted as a category for analysis of writers' security perspectives. Since the realization of the impact of societal identity is a critical step, the degree of referencing to Palestinian society and the moments of these references can tell more about their perspectives towards the issue.

Since the moments that writers' starting point of analyzing the Palestinian societal identity is explained, it is also important to take into account the degree of mention of it in their novels. Starting with Suad Amiry, it can be argued that she mostly gives references to and descriptions of Palestinian societal identity in her both novels. In this regard, she frequently mentions society. On the other hand, the degree of mentioning the impact of it on people and on her can be rarely seen only with critical examples that trigger her insecurity. In this regard, although Suad Amiry describes Palestinian society deeply in her lines, she rarely mentions its impact on her.

Raja Shehadeh differs from Suad Amiry in terms of how frequently he mentions societal identity in his novels. Palestinian societal identity can be clearly seen by in references to his letters sent to his father, examples of talks between him and his friends on Israeli lands and more. In this regard, by illustrating societal identities and its impact on him and others clearly, reader can find a chance to comprehend Palestinians' general perspectives towards different events. Related to this argument, compared to Suad Amiry, Raja Shehadeh's degree of mentioning societal identity in his novels is higher.

For a clear and objective analysis, any work which aim to provide a comparison of novels in order to comprehend West Bank originated writers' security perspective must give voices to the writers that are chosen. In this regard, in addition to the analysis, Suad Amiry's speeches on security and Raja Shehadeh's own words that define his security perspective must also be

presented. Since it was not possible to contact Suad Amiry directly, quotations will be provided from her seminars to further clarify her approach towards the issue. With special thanks to Raja Shehadeh, his own words about his security perspective will be provided as it was possible to contact him through e-mail.

Suad Amiry's answer to the question whether the books can be accepted as light-hearted look at the occupation are necessary demonstrates that her security understanding is directly related to her societal identity. She accepts that it is necessary to share with the reader the daily life of Palestinians in order to reflect their insecurity, anxiety and difficulties by using experiences in a different manner that would draw readers' attention to the topic. In this sense, she presents her society combined with her experiences with an informal manner and enjoyable style to draw worlds' attention to her society. In her words she explains this thought:

> "I think we Palestinians have made a big mistake by only talking about politics and repeating the same five sentences: Jerusalem, the refugees, the right of return, etc, and I think people got tired of us. I think the power of culture is much stronger than the power of politics, and culture reaches everybody. We have only been addressing politicians and the people who read newspapers. That's why it was a surprise for me that my book was translated into 19 languages in no time and successful, and when I reflected on it, I think people saw the Palestinians as normal human beings: I talked about my mother-in-law, the traitors and collaborator, I talk about my dog. People relate to us on a human level."[134]

In this regard, it can be argued that Suad Amiry draws peoples' attention to the 'culture' of her society by combining her experiences. The difficulties,

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[134] Abdulla, Danah and Sultan, Karim. *Suad Amiry: A Conversation*. <u>Kalimat,</u> Issue 03, Autumn 2011.

insecurities, anxieties and other problems are reflected to the reader in a simplest and enjoyable way to make audience realize that Palestinians are 'here'.

Raja Shehadeh's words on security demonstrate that he is aware of the impact of Palestinian societal identity on his security perspective. He says that after realizing this impact, he tries to prevent it. In this regard, he writes that:

> "I have always been a rebel and a non-conformist in not accepting to comply with the dictates of others and of society and finding security through the normal channels. I have had to forge my own way and my writing has contributed to this and perhaps in many ways made it possible. I have also sought to live my life on my own terms and finding fulfillment, satisfaction and hence security in being true to myself and attempting to realize my full potential. I have not considered that going the way of others and conforming to the dictates of society would provide me with a sense of security. This used to worry my father who wanted to see me get married and raise a family which at the time he was alive I was not ready to do. He thought this would be the only way for me to be secure. When one takes an individual path, whatever form this takes, one is always taking a risk. But I believe that if one is true to oneself and puts all that he or she has to make it work one is ultimately rewarded by finding satisfaction and security on much firmer grounds than if one followed in the path of others."[135]

Based on his own words, it can be argued that Shehadeh realizes the impact of Palestinian societal identity on his security perspective. However, with this realization, he tries not to permit it to affect his attitude. With his father's

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[135] Reference can be reached by contacting with Raja Shehadeh through his mail, raja@shehadehlaw.com

expectation to keep him secure, it is understood that the core element of Palestinian societal identity is insecurity.

Despite its content and aim, similar to each study, this thesis can also be developed with further additions. At the initial stage of choosing writers for analysis, two criteria are considered: being West bank originated and sharing real experiences with readers. In this regard, Suad Amiry and Raja Shehadehs' novels are taken into account. By broadening the content, Israeli writers' security perspectives can also be analyzed for comparison. In addition to this, the basic difficulty for this thesis work is to find novels that are translated in English. In this regard, this study can also be made in Arabic and would provide a clearer portrait for writers' security perspectives. Another solution is to translate these Arabic novels to English so that they can be used for additional comparison.

To conclude, this thesis aims to analyze how Palestinian societal identity affects Palestinians' security perspectives through novel analyses. It is observed that Palestinians' are affected from repetitive historical traumas and limitations which can be seen as a result of Israel's societal security dilemma. Social identity factors have been developed in Palestinian society such as historical experiences, acceptance of Israelis as others and Israeli soldier and polices as the portrait of cruelty. These social identity factors have important roles in shaping in Palestinians' security perspectives. Similarly, this thesis demonstrates how writers' security perspectives are also affected from these social identity factors.

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# APPENDINCIES

## 1. TURKISH SUMMARY

Güvenlik kavramı, gerek terimsel kullanımı gerekse gündelik hayatta edindiği konumu itibariyle her bireyin yokluğunda fark ettiği en temel unsurlardan birini oluşturmaktadır. İş yerlerindeki güvenlik kameralarından, yabancılarla konuşan bir çocuğun annesinin endişe duymasına kadar uzanan bu kavram, birçok bilimsel araştırmanın değişik alanlarda konu olmasını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Güvenlik kavramının birçok açıdan tanımlamasının yapılması mümkündür. Ancak, sosyal bilimler alanında güvenlik kavramı adına yapılan her tanımlama, konu gözetmeksizin toplumsal etkileşimler, değişen faktörler ve geçmişin topluma beraberinde getirdiği kökleşmiş deneyimlerin etkisi altında ele alınmalıdır. Güvenlik kavramının bireysel tanımlarının toplumla ilişkilendirilmesi kapsamında, bu çalışma, Batı Şeria kökenli yazarların güvenlik algısı yaratımlarının Filistin toplumsal kimliğinden nasıl etkilendiği sorusunun cevabını yapıt karşılaştırması analizi ile aramaktadır. Tezin yaratımında içerik analizi tekniği tercih kullanılmış olup; Suad Amiry ve Raja Shehadeh, Batı Şeria kökenli yazarlar arasından deneyimlerini birincil ağız anlatımı tercih ettiği için seçilmiştir. Çalışma, Suad Amiry'nin *Sharon and My Mother in Law* ve *Nothing to Loose but Your Life* yapıtlarını ve Raja Shehadeh'in *Strangers in the House* ve *Palestinian Walks* eserlerini yapıt incelemesi kapsamında ele almaktadır.

Çalışma alanı olarak, Batı Şeria özel olarak seçilmiştir. Bilindiği üzere, Batı Şeria bölgesi, güvenlik çalışmalarında İsrail ile toprak paylaşımı ve süre gelen sorunlarla sıklıkla anılmaktadır. Batı Şeria hakkındaki çoğu çalışma, bu problemleri analiz etmekte ve olası çözümleri okuyucuyla buluşturmayı hedeflemektedir. Her ne kadar bu problemin çözümünün gerekliliği tartışılmaz olsa da, Batı Şeria'nın güvenlik kapsamında başka alanlarda da çalışılabilecek

bir bölge olarak seçimi mümkündür. Bu çerçevede, çalışma, Batı Şeria halkının güvenlikle ilgili yaşadığı sıkıntıları, halktan olan yazarların birincil anlatımıyla okuyucu ile buluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda, seçilen yazarların yapıtlarını okuyucular tarafından ziyaret edilen evler olarak adlandırmak yanlış olmayacaktır.

Tezde kullanılan yapıtları kısaca özetlemek gerekirse, Suad Amiry'nin *Sharon and My Mother in Law* yapıtı, yazarın İsrail'in Ramallah'ı işgal ettiği 2002 yılında tuttuğu günlüklerden oluşmaktadır. Yazar, güvenlik kapsamında yer alan problemlerini, günlük sıkıntılarını ve kayınvalidesi ile olan sorunlu ilişkisini okuyucu ile paylaşmaktadır. Yapıtın ilk sayfaları, yazarın seyahatine devam edebilmesi için gerekli olan güvenlik kontrolü sırasında yaşadığı sıkıntıları açıklamaktadır. Amiry, bir Filistinli olduğu için İsrailli askere seyahat nedenini detaylı bir şekilde açıklamaya zorlanmış ve bu esnada hissettiği güvensizliği ve öfkeyi okuyucusu ile paylaşmıştır. Yapıtın ilerleyen bölümlerinde de Amiry'nin İsrailli asker ve polislerle olan diyalogları hissedilen güvensizlik ortamı vurgusuyla okuyucuya sunulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, *Sharon and My Mother in Law*, okuyucuya bir Filistinlinin deneyimlerini paylaşma fırsatı sunmaktadır.

Yazarın incelemeye alınan diğer yapıtı, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life*, Filistinli genç bireylerin yaşadığı işsizlik problemini yansıtmaktadır. Yapıtın ilk bölümünde, yazarın 21 yaşındaki Murad ile olan diyaloğu okuyucu ile paylaşılır. Murad, kendi topraklarında yaşadığı işsizlik sorununu yazara detaylı olarak anlatır. İş bulamayan Filistinli gençler, günlük işlerden para kazanmak için öldürülmeyi göze alarak İsrail'e kaçak olarak geçmektedirler. Yazar, Murad ve arkadaşlarının hikâyesini dinledikten sonra, bir günlüğüne onların yaşadıklarını deneyimlemek adına, Filistinli erkek bir işçi kılığına bürünüp Murad ve arkadaşlarının arasına katılır. Yapıtta; yazar, Murad ve arkadaşları öncelikle İsrail sınırında yer alan ormana giderler. Ormanda, İsrailli askerlerden saklanmak ve onlar tarafından vurulmamak adına karanlığın

çökmesini beklerler. Amiry, bu bekleme süresinde Murad'ın arkadaşlarının hikayelerini ve sorunlarını dinler. Akşam olduğunda, Amiry ve Murad, İsrailli askerlerden kaçmayı başararak sınırdan geçerler. Sınırdan onlar gibi başarıyla geçmiş olan diğer gençlerle buluştuktan sonra, Murad Amiry'e otobüsle şehrin öbür tarafına geçmek zorunda olduklarını açıklar. Otobüste yapılan güvenlik kontrolünde Amiry, Murad ve arkadaşlarının kimlikleri olmadığı için İsrailli askerler tarafından yakalanmamaları gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, hepsi 'fakir' görünümlü kıyafetlerini değiştirip, İsraillilere benzer 'zengin' görünümlü kıyafetler giyerler. Amiry, bu noktada, okuyucuya Filistinli gençlerin İsrailli görünümlerinde kendilerini daha güvenli hissettiğini 'trajik' tanımlamasıyla anlatır. Yapıtın ilerleyen bölümlerinde, Amiry, Murad ve arkadaşlarının yakalanmadan iş arama çabaları anlatılır. Yazar, evine döndüğünde bir günlük deneyimin bile onu ne kadar yıprattığını açıklar. Bu bağlamda, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life*, Amiry'nin Filistinli gençlerin yaşadığı sıkıntıları yansıttığı yapıtlarından biri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Raja Shehadeh'in yapıtları da ele alınan diğer yapıtlarla benzer temaları okuyucuya yansıtmaktadır. Shehadeh'in *Strangers in the House* yapıtı, yazarın çocukluğundan yetişkinliğine kadar yaşadığı deneyimleri okuyucuya detaylı olarak sunmaktadır. Yapıt, Sheahdeh'in üniversite yıllarındaki yalnızlığını ve iç hesaplaşmalarını, dünya gezilerini, hukuk kariyerini ve Filistin halkı adına başlattığı insan hakları çalışmalarını içermektedir. Shehadeh'in ailesi, Ramallah'ın İsrail tarafından işgali sırasında evlerinden güvenliklerini sağlamak amacıyla ayrılmış, Jaffa'da yeni bir yaşama başlamışlardır. Ramallah'taki evlerini görme fırsatı olmayan ve Jaffa'da dünyaya gelen Shehahdeh, yapıtın başlarında Ramallah ile Jaffa'yı kıyaslamakta ve Ramallah'ta bulunan evlerini ve yaşamlarının hayalini kurmaktadır. Yazarın, babası Aziz ile özel bir ilişkisi olduğu, eser boyunca kopmayan bağlarından ve aralarındaki diyaloglarından anlaşılmaktadır. Shehadeh'in babası Aziz, Filistin ve İsrail arasındaki problemin ortak çözüm yolu bulunmasıyla son bulacağına

inanan ve bu düşüncesini toplumda belirten ünlü bir avukattır. Shehadeh, üniversitede hukuk eğitimi almak için önce Beyrut'a daha sonra ise Londra'ya babasının isteği üzerine gönderilir. Üniversite yıllarında, Shehadeh, arkadaş bulamayışını, yalnızlığını, derslerde konuşulan konu hakkında bilgisi olmasına karşın tedirginliği nedeniyle söz alamayışını sorgular. Yazar, Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin kendi güvenlik algısını nasıl etkilediğini bu iç hesaplaşma süreçleri boyunca okuyucu ile paylaşır. Shehadeh, yaşadığı tüm zorluklara karşın, üniversiteden mezun olur ve Ramallah'a geri döner. Babasının karşı çıkmasına rağmen, yazar kendini Filistin toplumunun yaşadığı problemleri insan hakları çerçevesinde hukuksal olarak savunmaya adar. Yapıtta, Shehadeh'in anlatımıyla, İsrail'in hukuku kendi yararına çevirerek Filistinlilerin haklarını nasıl ihlal ettiği okuyucu ile paylaşılmaktadır.

Shehadeh'in *Palestinian Walks* yapıtı, yazarın *Strangers in the House* yapıtının devamı olarak kabul edilebilmektedir. Shehadeh'in, Ramallah'a dönüşünden sonra Filistin toplumunu hukuksal bağlamda savunuşu ve yaşadığı sıkıntılar bu yapıtta da gözlemlenmektedir. Eserin ilk sayfalarında, Shehadeh, kendi topraklarında gezintiye çıkmak anlamına gelen ve Filistin toplumunda tarihsel anlamı bulunan 'sahra' kelimesini okuyucuya açıklar. Sahra, Filistinliler için doğada yürüyüş yaparak özgürleşmek anlamı taşımaktadır. *Palestinian Walks*, Shehadeh'in birbirinden farklı 7 doğa gezintisini ve bu süre zarfındaki hislerini okuyucuya sunmaktadır. Shehadeh'in ilk gezintisi, aile büyüklerinin uzun bir süre yaşadığı kasır olarak tabir edilen – şehirden uzak, bahçe içindeki taş eve- gidişini içermektedir. Shehadeh, yürüyüşü sırasında, Filistin tarafındaki toprakların ve çevrenin tasvirini o bölgeye özgü yetişen bitkilerin detaylı anlatımıyla okuyucuya sunmaktadır. Shehadeh'in anlatımı sırasında, kendine has güzelliklere sahip olan bu toprakların İsrail tarafından gerçekleştirilen toprak genişletme politikaları nedeniyle gördüğü zarar yapıtta belirtilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, *Palestinian Walks*, Filistin – İsrail arasında yaşanan problemlerin çevresel zararlarını göz önüne sermektedir. Yapıtın sonunda,

okuyucuya Shehadeh bir mesaj vermektedir: toprağın kimin hakkı olduğundan ziyade, ona karşı duyulan ortak sevgi ön plana çıkarılmalıdır.

Tezin ilk bölümü, teorik inceleme, Filistin tarih yazımı, Filistin kimliği ve Filistin literatürü açıklamalarından oluşmaktadır. Teorik inceleme kapsamında, İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikilemi okuyucuya sunulmaktadır. Güvenlik ikilemi konseptinin toplumsal güvenlik kavramı çerçevesinde ele alınmasıyla, toplumsal güvenlik ikileminin tanımlanması mümkündür. Kendi güvenliğini – diğer bir deyişle kendi toplumsal kimliğini- arttırmaya çalışan bir toplum, amacı doğrultusunda aldığı güvenlik önlemleriyle diğer toplumu etkilemektedir. Bu etkileşim sonucunda, güvenliğini arttırmayı hedefleyen toplumun, hedefinin aksine, toplumsal güvenliğinde azalma gözlenir. İsrail ve Filistin arasında yıllar boyu süren toprak paylaşımı temelli problem, İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikilemi kapsamında değerlendirilebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, İsrail'in devam eden şekilde güvenlik önlemlerini Filistinlilere karşı arttırması, İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikileminin bir sonucudur. Sürekli arttırılan güvenlik önlemleri ise Filistinlilere çeşitli alanlarda kısıtlamalar ve ekonomik zorluklar olarak yansımaktadır. Filistinlilerin hayatlarının her alanını etkileyen kısıtlama ise çevresel alandakilerdir. Özellikle su paylaşımındaki eşitsizlik, Filistinlerin temel geçim kaynaklarından biri olan tarımı olumsuz yönde etkilemekte ve toplumdaki işsizlik oranını arttırmaktadır. Bu kısıtlamaların ve ekonomik zorlukların uzun yıllar artarak devam ettiği göz önüne alındığında, Filistin toplumsal yapısındaki güvensizlik olgusunun ve geleceğe karşı olumsuz düşüncelerin bireyler arasında hüküm sürmesinin nedenlerini İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikilemiyle değerlendirmek olasıdır.

Filistin tarih yazımı bölümü, teorik incelemeyi takiben okuyucuya sunulmaktadır. İsrail'in toplumsal güvenlik ikileminin analizinden sonra, Filistin tarih yazımı, Filistinlilerin toprak haklarını savunmasını göstermektedir. 1970'e kadar olan süreçte, Filistin tarihsel yazımının ortak özelliği, Batı ve kültürüne karşı olan karşıtlıktır. 1970'den sonra ise,

Filistinlilerin tarih yazımları, dini, hukuksal ve demografik olmak üzere üç kategoride toprak haklarını savunma yönünde eserleri içermektedir.

Filistin Literatürü bölümünde, okuyucuya toplum hakkındaki araştırmalar ve benzer yapıtlarla ilgili bilgi sunulmaktadır. Filistin Edebiyatında karşılaşılan yapıt ve araştırmaların genel olarak hangi temel unsurları içerdiği ve çoğunlukla bu çalışmaların hangi temayı okuyucuya sundukları belirtilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Filistin Edebiyatı'nda çoğunlukla karşılaşılan ve yapıtların 'teması' olarak kabul edebileceğimiz özellikler, bireylerin karşılaşılan olaylar doğrultusunda hissettikleri güvensizlik, hapsedilme korkusu, aşağılanmak ve İsraillileri karşıt grup olarak görme eğilimi olarak yer almaktadır.

Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin yazarların güvenlik algısını nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlamak adına atılacak ilk adım, Filistin toplumsal kimliğini oluşturan etmenlerin ve toplum yapısının bu etmenler karşısında nasıl şekillendiğini değerlendirmeyi içermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Filistin toplumsal yapısındaki kökleşmiş sosyal kimlik faktörlerinin tespiti ve analizi sosyal kimlik teorisi kullanımıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Sosyal kimlik teorisi, bireylerin algılarında, kendi görüşlerine ek olarak birden fazla toplumsal görüşün de etkili olduğunu göstermektedir. Birçok farklı sosyal yapı ile etkileşimde bulanan bireyler, grup aidiyeti hissetmek adına, toplumsal, etnik, veya milliyetçi olarak nitelendirilebilecek sosyal kimlik faktörlerinden etkilenmektedirler. Filistin toplumsal kimliği hakkında bilgi sağlayan araştırmalar ve çalışmalar ışığında, seçilen yapıtlar da göz önüne alınarak, bireylerin güvenlik algısı gelişiminde toplumsal kimlik etkisi bulunan üç temel etmen yapıt analizlerinden önce detaylı olarak okuyucuya sunulmuştur. Bu etmenler, sırasıyla, tarihsel deneyimler, İsraillileri karşıt grup olarak kabul etmek ve Israil polis ve askerlerini zalim olarak görmek olarak isimlendirilmiştir. Filistin'in tarihsel süreci göz önüne alındığında, toplumsal kimliğin yaşanan zorlu deneyimlerin gölgesinde geliştiği aşikardır. Bu bağlamda, bireylerin İsraillilere karşı

duyduğu korku, öfke ve güvensizliğin toplumdaki tarih boyu kemikleşmiş olgulardan biri olduğu gerçeği yadsınamamaktadır. Tarihsel deneyimlerle aynı satırda yer alabilecek olan ikinci etmen, Filistinlilerin İsraillileri karşıt grup olarak kabul etmeleridir. Yapılan analizler sayesinde istatiksel olarak da ispatlanan bu durum, tarihsel olaylarla doğrudan eşleştirilebilmektedir. İsrail polis ve askerlerinin zalim olarak kabul edilişleri ise yine hem seçilen yapıtlarda hem de bu çalışmada yer almasa da konu kapsamındaki birçok çalışmada görülebilecek olan diğer bir etmendir. Seçilen yapıtlardan yola çıkıldığında, yazarların güvenlik ve sınır kontrol bölgelerinde İsrailli asker ve polislerin tavrından rahatsız oldukları ve kendilerini son derece güvensiz hissettikleri net bir biçimde alıntılarla gözlemlenmektedir. Belirtilen bu üç etmeni bir arada değerlendirmek gerekirse, Filistin toplumsal yapısında, tarihsel deneyimler, İsraillileri karşıt grup olarak görme ve Filistinli asker ve polislerin zalim olarak kabul edilişi kemikleşmiş unsurlar olup, yazarların güvenlik algısının şekillenmesinde etkin rol oynamaktadırlar.

Suad Amiry ve Raja Shehadeh'in seçilen yapıtları, yazarların güvenlik algısı analizi kapsamında Filistin toplumsal kimlik yaratımında bulunan bu üç temel unsur gözetilerek gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çalışmanın okuyuculara açık ve net bir karşılaştırma analizi sunması hedeflenerek, her yazar için ayrı bir bölüm oluşturulmuş ve bu bölümlerde yapıtlardan alıntı yapılarak yazarların güvenlik algılarının toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinden nasıl etkilendikleri yapıtlardan sağlanan alıntıların analizi ile tespit edilmiştir.

Suad Amiry'nin *Sharon and My Mother in Law* yapıtında, bir sosyal faktör olarak alınan tarihsel deneyimlerin yazarın güvenlik algısını etkileyişi, üç örnekle analiz edilmiştir. Bu örneklerden ilkini, Filistinliler için tarihi bir sövgü olarak kullanılan 'hajjeh' kelimesinin Amiry'e İsrailli bir asker tarafından kullanılması oluşturmaktadır. İsrailli askerin Amiry ile konuşması sırasında 'hajjeh' kelimesini kullanması, Amiry'nin güvenlik algısını olumsuz yönde tetiklemiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, yazar, toplumunun tarihsel geçmişinde maruz

kaldığı aşağılanmayı kendi yaşadığı durum ile eşleştirmiştir. Bu bağlamda, 'hajjeh' kelimesi, analiz kapsamında sosyal kalıp yargısı olarak belirtilmiştir. Yazarın, kahve makinasının sesinin İsrailli askerleri rahatsız etme ihtimalini geçmişte yaşanan işgal günlerindeki günlük sıkıntılarla eşleştirmesi de, Amiry'nin güvenlik algısının tarihsel deneyimlerden etkilenişini göstermektedir. Amiry'nin kahve makinasının sesini duyduğunda, evinin İsrailli askerler tarafından basıldığını hatırlaması ve işgal günlerine geri dönmesi detaylı bir şekilde anlatılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Amiry'nin güvenlik algısının geçmiş deneyimlerle bağlantılı olduğu açıktır. Tarihsel deneyimler kapsamında incelenen son örnek, Amiry'nin arkadaşının, Filistinlilerin hayatlarını savaş serisi olarak nitelendirmesini içermektedir. Kullanılan savaş serisi açıklaması, Filistinlilerin, şu anki ve gelecekteki hayatlarını bir bütün olarak kabul ettiklerini ve devam eden güvensizlik duygularını göstermektedir.

Amiry'nin *Sharon and My Mother in Law* yapıt analizinde, İsraillilerin öteki grup olarak kabul edilmesini destekleyen örneklerin analizi de okuyucuya sunulmaktadır. Amiry'nin İsrailli askerleri tasvir ederken kullandığı sıfatlar; korku, güvensizlik ve üstünlük algılarıyla eşleşmektedir. Diğer bir anlatımla, Amiry, binalar için kullanılan heybetli, karanlık ve ürkütücü imajlarını İsrailli askerler için kullanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Amiry tarafından İsrailli askerler ötekileştirilmektedir. Benzer olarak, Amiry'nin İsrailli askerleri zalim olarak kabul ettiği de yazarın içsel konuşmalarıyla okuyucuya anlatılmaktadır.

Amiry'nin güvenlik algısının toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinden etkilemişini fark ettiği anlar da, *Sharon and My Mother in Law* yapıt analizi kapsamında son bölüm olarak açıklanmaktadır. Amiry, kimliğini almak üzere katıldığı davette, Filistinlilerin –hatta ilk dakikalarda kendisinin- ilerde delil olarak kullanılabileceği düşüncesiyle fotoğraf çektirmekten rahatsız olduklarını gözlemler. Bu noktada, yazar, Filistinlilerin, tarihsel travmalardan etkilenişlerini fark eder ve kendi güvenlik algısını analiz etmeye başlar. Analizine Filistinli çocukların davranışlarını inceleyerek devam eden Amiry,

onların olup bitenden haberleri olmadığı için ne kadar özgür olduklarını düşünür. Bu bağlamda, Filistin toplumsal yapısının henüz etkisinde kalmamış olan çocukların davranışlarının rahatlığı, yazarın dikkatini çekmiştir. Amiry'nin çocukların rahat davranışlarıyla kendi ve diğer Filistinlilerin gerginliğini, Filistin toplumsal kimliğinin etkisi kapsamında değerlendirdiği gözlemlenir.

Suad Amiry'nin diğer yapıtı, *Nothing to Lose but Your Life*'ın analizi de belirtilen üç sosyal kimlik faktörü göz önüne alınarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yapıtta, Amiry'nin, işçilerin fotoğraf çektirmesine karşı verdikleri tepkiyi tarihsel deneyimler kapsamında analiz ettiği gözlemlenir. Yazarın bu analizi, Filistin tarihsel geçmişinin ve yaşanan travmaların bireyleri nasıl güvensizleştirdiğini okuyucuya vurgulamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, yazarın iki yapıtında da, fotoğraf çektirmek, bir sosyal kalıp yargısı olarak, ilerde delil olarak kullanılabileceği korkusuyla eşleştirilmektedir. Amiry'nin bu yapıtında da, İsrailli askerleri benzer sıfatlar kullanarak tasvir ettiği gözlemlenir. Otobüste kimlik kartı kontrolü yapan askerin görünüşünün, Amiry tarafından açıklandığı satırlar, diğer yapıttaki asker açıklamalarıyla eşleşmektedir. İsrailli asker ve polislerin bir sosyal kimlik faktörü olarak zalim olarak kabul edilmesi bölümünde ise, Amiry'in güvenlik algısında kontrol noktalarının önemli rolü olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Güvenlik noktalarında kendini güvensiz ve gergin hisseden Amiry'nin bu durumu, onun İsrailli askerler tarafından öldürülebileceği veya gözaltına alınabileceği korkusundan kaynaklanmaktadır. Yazarın, toplumsal kimlik faktörünün güvenlik algısını etkilediğini fark edişi, bu yapıtta da gözlemlenmektedir. Filistinli işçilerin, İsraillilere benzemek amacıyla kıyafetlerini değiştirmesi ve yeni kıyafetleriyle kendilerini daha güvenli hissedişleri, Amiry tarafından okuyucuya aktarılmaktadır. Amiry, bu esnada, işçilerin davranışlarındaki değişimi, toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinin ortadan kalkmasına bağlar.

Raja Shehadeh'in *Strangers in the House* yapıtı, belirtilen sosyal kimlik faktörleri göz önüne alınarak incelenmiştir. Filistin toplumundaki ev kavramı eksikliği, tarihsel deneyimlerin güvenlik algısına etkisi kapsamında toplumda yer edinmiş en belirgin unsurlardan biri olarak gözlemlenmektedir. Toplumda tanıklık edilen zorlu yaşam koşulları ve işgaller nedeniyle, bireylerin evlerini güvenliklerini sağlamak amacıyla terk edişleri, ev unsurunu güvenlik unsuru ile eşleştirmektedir. Shehadeh'in *Strangers in the House* yapıtında da, babasının ayrıldıkları evden sadece buda heykelini alarak ayrılması, tarihsel deneyimlerin yazarın güvenlik algısına etkisi çerçevesinde okuyucuya aktarılmıştır. Yazarın, ailesiyle birlikte İsrail işgalinden saklandığı sırada, bulundukları evin kuşatıldığını anlaması ve öldürülme ihtimalini hesaplaması, Shehadeh'in İsrailli askerleri zalim olarak görmeye başlamasını açıklayan satırlar olarak kabul edilebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Shehadeh, bir çocuk olarak, ailesinin ve kendisinin öldürülme ihtimalini düşünerek, çevresinde anlatılan geçmiş anıları da dinleyerek, İsrailli askerleri zalim olarak görmeye başlamıştır. Shehadeh'in üniversite yıllarında, İsraillilere karşı hissettiği karşıtlığı kendine itiraf etmesi, bu sosyal kimlik faktörünün yaratımını doğrulamaktadır. Shehadeh, iç hesaplaşması sırasında, İsrailliler hakkında babasından farklı düşündüğünü fark etmekte ve İsraillilerden nefret ettiğini kendisine itiraf etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Shehadeh'in iç hesaplaşması, bir sosyal kimlik faktörü olarak kabul edilen İsraillilerin ötekileştirilmesi bölümünde ele alınmaktadır. Amiry'nin yapıtlarıyla karşılaştırıldığında, Shehadeh'in toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinin güvenlik algısına olan etkisini fark edişi, yazarın iki eserinde de daha fazla gözlemlenmektedir. Shehadeh'in toplum içinde konuşmaktan korkması ve derslerinde soruları bilmesine rağmen cevapları sessizce mırıldanması, yazar tarafından Filistinlilerin güvenlik kaygılarıyla eşleştirilmiş ve okuyucuya açıklanmıştır.

Shehadeh'in incelemeye alınan diğer yapıtı *Palestinian Walks*'dur. Shehadeh, bu yapıtında, okuyucuya kendi topraklarının pastoral güzelliğini tanıtmakta ve

doğanın Israil ile yaşanan sınır problemi ve toprak işgali nedeniyle aldığı zararlardan söz etmektedir. Shehadeh'in yapıt boyunca kullandığı 'sahra' ya gitmek eylemi, bulunan çevreden uzaklaşma ve doğaya dönerek özgürleşmek anlamı taşımaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Shehadeh'in kullandığı kelimeler ve semboller, yazarın güvenlik algısı analizinde önemli yer tutmaktadır. Sahraya gitmek bir anlamda yazarın kendi topraklarında hissettiği özgürlük anlayışını, geliştirdiği güvenlik algısı ile okuyucuya sunmaktadır. Yapıtta, İsraillilerle Shehadeh ve çevresinin karşı karşıya geldiklerinde hissettikleri gerginlik, İsraillilerin karşıt gruba dahil edilişlerini açıkça göstermekte ve iki ülke arasında yaşanan sorunun toplumsal kimlik yaratımındaki önemini öne çıkartmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, Shehadeh, anlatımında çeşitli semboller kullanarak okuyucuya iç hesaplaşmasına tanıklık etmesinin ötesinde fırsat tanımaktadır. Kullanılan sembollerden en çok öne çıkan ise zeytin ağaçlarının yol yapımı nedeniyle İsrail tarafından katledilmesi ve Filistinlilerin tarım uğraşlarının engellenmesidir. Zeytin ağaçlarının Batı Şeria'daki anlamı, gerek tarımda önemli bir rol oynamaları gerekse Filistin tarihine tanıklık etmeleri nedeniyle dikkat çekmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Shehadeh, güvenlik algısı yaratımında okuyucuya ekonomik ve toplumsal faktörleri göz önüne çıkararak birden fazla değerlendirme alanı açmaktadır.

Shehadeh'in yapıtın en başında okuyucuya sunduğu haritalar da yazarın güvenlik algısı analizinde önemli yer tutmaktadır. Yapıtta yer alan iki haritan ilki, her yerde bulunabilecek Kuzey ve Batı Şeria haritasını okuyucuya sunarken; ikincisi, yazarın güvenlik algısını haritaya koyduğu görsel açıklamalarla ortaya çıkarmaktadır. İkinci haritada, Shehadeh, gerek arkadaşlarıyla gerekse bireysel olarak karşılaştığı güvenlik problemlerini bulunduğu bölgelerde harita üzerine işaretlemiştir. Haritada gözlemlenen elinde silah tutan İsrailli kadın figürü, Shehadeh ve arkadaşının vurulma tehlikesi yaşadığı nokta ve diğer işaretlemeler, Shehahdeh'in güvenlik algısı analizinde önemli yer tutmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Suad Amiry'nin yapıtlarının

aksine, Raja Shehadeh'in yapıt analizi bölümünde sembol ve harita analizlerine toplumsal kimlik etmenlerine ek olarak ayrıca açıklama içeren bir bölüm eklenmiştir.

Shehadeh, *Palestinian Walks* adlı yapıtını, okuyucuya verdiği kritik bir mesajla sonlandırmaktadır. Yapıtın son sayfalarında, Shehadeh, İsrail bölgesinde yer alan topraklarda sahraya gitmektedir. Yürüyüşü sırasında bir İsraillinin de bulunduğu bölgede oturduğunu görmekte olmasına karşın kişi ile sorun yaşamamak adına hiçbir şey söylemeden yoluna devam etmeye karar vermektedir. İsrailli adamın Shehadeh'e neden bu bölgede gezdiğini sorması ile başlayan diyalog, bir süre sonra okuyucuya toplumsal kimliğin her iki tarafın da güvenlik algısı yaratımında ne denli etkili olduğunu göstermektedir. Yapıtın sonunda, Shehdadeh, İsrailli ile tartışmasına karşın, onun nazik teklifini reddetmekle kabalık ettiğini düşünerek onun yanına dönmekte ve İsrailli adam ile yazar yan yana oturarak, iki ülke arasındaki güvenlik ve toprak paylaşımı problemlerini göz ardı ederek konuşmaya başlamaktadır. Shehadeh'in yapıtın sonunda okuyucuya verdiği mesaj açıktır: Toprak paylaşımı ve yaşanılan problemler, toplumsal kimlik algısını her iki tarafta da şekillendirmektedir. Oysa bütün bu etmenler bir kenara konduğunda, bir İsrailli ve Filistinli aynı oranda sevdikleri doğaya nazır keyifle sohbet etme şansına her zaman sahip olacaklardır.

Çalışmanın sonuç bölümü, okuyucuya tez sorusunun cevabını karşılaştırmalı analiz ile sunmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu kapsamda, yapıt karşılaştırmaları birçok açıdan ele alınmakta ve yazarların güvenlik algılarının benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları okuyucuya sistematik olarak sunulmaktadır. Yazarların yazım stilleri, Filistin toplumuna bakış açıları ve yapıtlarında okuyucu için yer verdikleri örnekler, karşılaştırmalı analiz çerçevesinde göz önüne alınmaktadır.

Yazarların yapıtlarda kullandığı yazım stili karşılaştırma kapsamında göz önüne alındığında, Suad Amiry'nin yapıtlarında toplumsal kimliğinin etkisinde

kaldığı açıkça gözlemlenmektedir. Amiry, yazım stili olarak çoğunlukla toplumdan örnek vermekte ve kendini güvensiz hissettiği anları ve koşulları toplumsal kimlik öğeleri ile eşleştirerek okuyucusuna sunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Amiry'nin bireysel güvenlik algısı yerine toplumsal kimlikle eşleşen bir güvenlik algısının olduğu söylenebilmektedir. Raja Shehadeh'in yapıtlarında ise, Amiry'den farklı olarak, yazarın güvenlik algısı gelişimindeki iç hesaplaşmaları, babasının satırlarını okurken gözlenmektedir. Shehadeh'in yazım stilinde, okuyucu, çoğunlukla yazarın kendini analiz edişine tanıklık etmekte ve bu toplumsal kimlik öğelerinin yazarın güvenlik anlayışı ile karşılaştırılmasını açıkça gözlemleme fırsatı bulmaktadır. Bu unsurlara ek olarak, Shehadeh'in gerek haritadaki işaretlemeleri gerekse yapıtlarındaki sembol kullanımları Amiry'nin yapıtlarından farklılık göstermekte ve okuyucuya yazarın bireysel güvenlik algısı gelişimini açıkça gözlemleme fırsatı sunmaktadır.

Her iki yazarda da Filistin toplumuna dair yapılan açıklamalar güvenlik algısı kapsamında belirgin benzerlikler göstermektedir. Toplumun yaşadığı sıkıntılar her iki yazarın yapıtlarında da gözlemlenmektedir. Güvenlik algısı karşılaştırması kapsamında topluma dair yapılan açıklamalar, Suad Amiry'nin yapıtlarında daha fazla okuyucu ile buluşmakta, yazarın güvenlik algısının toplumun bir parçası olarak geliştiğini göstermektedir.

Filistin toplumuna dair yapılan açıklamaların aksine, yapıtlarda seçilen örnekler yazarlara göre farklılık göstermektedir. Güvenlik algısı değerlendirmesi kapsamında, Raja Shehadeh'in seçtiği örnekler, yazarın bireysel güvenlik algısının toplumdan hangi nedenlerden ötürü farklılık gösterdiğini vurgulamaktadır. Shehadeh'den farklı olarak, Suad Amiry'nin yapıtları göz önüne alındığında, yazarın güvenlik algısının toplumsal güvenlik algısıyla örtüştüğü gözlemlenmektedir. Bu eşleşme, Amiry'nin daha çok bulunduğu toplumdan örnekleme yapmasını da beraberinde getirmiştir.

Çalışmanın yazarların güvenlik hakkındaki düşüncelerini içerdiği bölüm ise, yazarların güvenlik algısının toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinden etkilendiğini göstermektedir. Çalışmanın tutarlılığını sağlamak amacıyla, Raja Shehadeh ile bağlantı kurulmuş ve Shehadeh, hem kendi hem de yapıtlarında söz ettiği babası ile ilgili güvenlik algısı sorularına içtenlikle cevap vermiştir. Alınan cevaplar ışığında, Shehadeh, güvenlik algısının toplumsal kimlikten etkilendiğini fark ettiğini ve bu etkiyi ortadan kaldırmak adına güvenlik algısını kendisinin şekillendirmeye çalıştığını belirtmiştir. Suad Amiry ile bağlantı kurulamadığı için, çalışmayı desteklemek amacıyla yazarın güvenlik hakkında cevapladığı soruların yer aldığı konferans notlarından yararlanılmıştır. Amiry, güvenlik algısı ile ilgili sorulara verdiği cevaplarla bulunduğu toplumsal kimliğin güvenlik algısı ile olan bağlantısını kabul etmiş ve Filistin'in İsrail ile ilgili olan sorunları haricinde, başka konularla dünyaya tanıtılması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Bu bağlamda, yazarların güvenlik algıları ile ilgili yapılan karşılaştırmalı analiz ve analiz sonucunda Filistin toplumsal kimlik faktörlerinin yazarların güvenlik algılarını etkilediği gözlemlenmiştir. Filistinlilerin tekrar eden tarihsel deneyimleri, İsrail'in güvenliğini sağlamak adına topluma getirdiği kısıtlamalar, ve toplumun geneline hakim olan sosyal travmalar, yazarların güvenlik algılarının şekillenmesinde rol oynamaktadır.

Güvenlik kelimesinin gerek terimsel gerekse gündelik hayattaki kullanımın yer aldığı herhangi bir konuşma veya bilimsel çalışma için "sonuç olarak" kalıbını kullanmak doğru olmayacaktır. Güvenlik algısı, bu çalışmada da görüldüğü üzere yokluğunda insanların fark ettikleri en temel unsurlardan biridir. Batı Şeria kökenli yazarlar olan Suad Amiry ve Raja Shehadeh'in güvenlik algısı karşılaştırması, bu güvenlik algılarından sadece ikisini okuyucu ile buluşturmaktadır. Çalışma sırasında karşılaşılan en büyük güçlük, bulunan yapıtların İngilizce çevirilerinin olmamasından kaynaklanmıştır. Yapılan her çalışmanın alan gözetmeksizin geliştirilmesi gerektiği gerçektir. Batı Şeria kökenli yazarlar olan Suad Amiry ve Raja Shehadeh'in yapıt karşılaştırmaları

yoluyla güvenlik algısı analizlerini okuyucuya sunan bu çalışma, Arapça yazılan ancak İngilizceye çevrilmeyen diğer yazarların yapıtlarının analizlerin yapılması ile geliştirilebilecektir. Buna ek olarak, İsrail kökenli yazarların yapıtlarının incelenmesiyle, çalışma, yine güvenlik olgusu analizi kapsamında zenginleştirilebilir. İsrail kökenli yazarların güvenlik olgusu analizini sağlayacak olan yapıt analizleri çalışmanın içeriğini daha geniş bir perspektifte gözlemlemeyi sağlayacaktır. Güvenlik ile ilgili söylenecek her söz, hangi zaman dilimi içerisinde değerlendirilirse değerlendirilsin çeşitlilik içerecek ve tartışmaya açık olacaktır. Gerek yapıt analizlerinde gerekse herhangi bir bireyin güvenlik tanımında yer alan sözcükler, dünyadaki insan sayısı kadar farklılık gösterecektir. Bu bağlamda, güvenlik alanında yer alan her çalışma geliştirilmeye açık olacaktır.

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