

Index

- “children of the stones”, 1
 “free-rider problem”, 11
 1945 British Emergency Regulations, 58
 1967 War, 49–54, 68
 1973 War, 10
- Abu Leban, Nabil Mohammed, 88
 Abu^ʿAker, Nafim, 135
 Africa, 178, *see also* South Africa
 African National Congress, 184, 185
 Al Jazeera, 195
al-Fajr, 42–43, 74, 77, 96, 137, 160–162
 Al-Khairi, Khanom, 135
 Al-Najah University, 74
 Alwin, Duane, 31
 American civil rights movement, 3, 12, 15,
 167, 177, 178
 Anabta, 90, 92, 157
 Annan, Kofi, 28
 anti-regime movements, 5
 anti-regime resistance, *see* participation in
 resistance, *see* resistance
 anti-regime sentiment, 2, 34, 47, 60, 175,
 176, 187, 192, *see also* grievances
 apartheid, 35
 April 6 Youth Movement, 186
 Arab Spring and Arab uprisings, 4, 21, 193
 Arab states, 11, 63
 Arafat, Yasser, 53
 armed resistance, *see* resistance
 Arrabeh, 87
- Arroura, 165
Atlantic, The, 193
- Begin, Menachem, 68
 Beijing, 24
 Beinun, Joel, 179, 187, 190
 Beissinger, Mark, 11–12, 155, 179
 Beit Sahour, 158
 Bethlehem, 87, 88
 Bir Zeit University, 162
 black consciousness movement, 184, 185
 black power movement, 183
 Black September, 61
 bloc recruitment, 13, 91
Building a Palestinian State (Robinson),
 161
- Camp David Accords, 46, 47, 67–71
 Carter, Jimmy, 68
 Cederman, L. E., 8
 censorship, 20, 42, 54, 57–60
 China, 24
 Chinese prodemocracy movement, 24, 177,
 179
 civic networks, 153, 155–157, *see also* civil
 society organizations
 controlling for selection into, 169,
 167–170
 growth of, 160–162
 participation in resistance and, 171, 172,
 170–173

- protest coordination and, 163–166, 173
 Shabiba movement and, 157–160
 civil society organizations, 3, *see also* civic networks
 as legal or quasi-legal structures, 91, 153, 155, 157
 communication and coordination and, 154, 155, 163–166, 173
 controlling for selection into, 167–170
 development in response to protest activity and, 154
 educational institutions and, 91–93
 Egypt and, 189–190
 facilitation of resistance and, 153–154
 first intifadah and, 14–15, 76–80, 164–166
 growth of, 71–75, 153, 155–157, 160–162, 173
 horizontal ties and, 33
 in the 1970s, 6, 66
 Israeli occupation and, 65–67
 limits on freedom of association and, 51
 mosques as, 15–16
 non-democratic regimes and, 7
 participation in resistance and, 12–16, 32–34, 83, 154–155, 170–173
 prisoner families and, 136–138
 rural areas and, 15, 67
 Shabiba movement and, 157–160
 strong ties and, 154
 vertical ties and, 33, 155, 157, 158, 160, 173
 volunteer activities and, 152–153
 volunteerism and, 161
 weak ties and, 155
 collective action, *see* participation in resistance
 Collins, John, 93
 Communist Party, 157, 158, 160
 complementary mixed-method study, 35
 coup attempt of 1957 (Jordan), 52
 courts, *see* disciplinary institutions
 crowd collective action, 19, 99, *see also* participation in resistance
 Cunningham, Kathleen, 177

 Dakkak, Ibrahim, 69
 Daqa, Tahani Abu, 137
 Davenport, Christian, 31
daw'iyyat al-mutarada, 53
 Dayan, Moshe, 55

 DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 66
 disciplinary institutions, 28–30, *see also* imprisonment, *see also* participation in resistance, *see also* state institutions
 civil society organizations and, 136–138
 communication and coordination, 129
 communication and coordination and, 135, 151
 composition of prisoner population, 132
 effect on social networks and, 134–136, 148, 146–148
 grievances and, 130
 indirect integration of family and friends into, 129, 133
 informational advantages and, 129–130
 participation in resistance and, 129, 131, 142, 139–142, 145, 151
 prisoner demonstrations and, 128–129
 radicalization and, 150, 148–151
 visitation and, 133–134, 136
 Doudin, Mustafa, 74

 Earl, Jennifer, 166
 educational institutions, 25–27, *see also* disciplinary institutions, *see also* participation in resistance, *see also* state institutions
 civil society organizations and, 91–93
 closing of, 96
 communication and coordination and, 93–95
 curriculum and, 37, 59, 84
 curvilinear relationship between participation in resistance and, 83, 98, 97–98, 99, 107–112
 effect on social networks and, 89–91, 99–100, 117, 116–118
 effect on type of resistance and, 99, 119, 118–119
 extremism and, 84
 intermediate schools and, 27–28
 level of schooling and, 27–28, 36, 97
 national identity and, 121, 120–122, 122
 overcrowding and, 93, 182
 participation in resistance and, 108, 109
 political interest and, 122–124
 relative deprivation and, 124–125, 126
 resistance and, 82–88, 97–100
 risk of participation in resistance and, 95–97

- South Africa and, 181–185
 student demonstrations and, 85–88
 textbook banning and, 59
- Egypt, 35, 49, 51, 53, 54, 59
 April 6 Youth Movement and, 186
 attack on the Sinai Peninsula and, 62
 Camp David Accords and, 67–71
 civil society organizations and, 189–190
 Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF) and, 189
 Ghazl al-Mahalla industrial strike, 186–189
 industrialization and, 192
 informational advantages of workers and, 190
 resistance against the Mubarak regime and, 185–192
 revolution and, 179
 social media use in resistance and, 194, 195
 social networks and, 191
 tax collectors strike and, 188–189
- Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), 188
- El Salvador, 31, 167
- external validity, *see* Egypt, *see* South Africa
- Facebook, 193, 194, *see also* social media
- FACTS Information Committee, 87, 165
- Fatah, 33, 50, 53, 54, 61, *see also* Shabiba committees, *see also* Shabiba movement
 military resistance and, 66, 71
 Shabiba movement and, 70, 157–160
 use of civic networks and, 163–164
- Freeman, Jo, 32
- From Protest to Parties* (LeBas), 178
- Gaza Strip, *see also* Jerusalem, *see also* Palestinian Territories, *see also* West Bank
 armed resistance in, 53
 Camp David Accords and, 68
 civil society organizations and, 51
 classroom sizes in, 94
 economy of, 52
 first intifadah and, 76
 Israel's military rule of the, 4
 mosques and, 15
 opposition to Israeli rule in, 47
- protests in, 164
 social fragmentation and, 51
 trade unions and, 65
- General Federation for the Youth
 Committees of Social Work, 71, 152, 158, *see also* Fatah, *see also* Shabiba movement
- generalizability, *see* Egypt, *see* South Africa
- Geneva Convention, 80
- Ghazl al-Mahalla, 186–189
- Gleditsch, K. S., 8
- Golan Heights, 62
- Granovetter, Mark, 99
- Green Line, 55, 62
- grievances, 8, *see also* anti-regime sentiment
 disciplinary institutions and, 130, 130
 economic, 8–10, 37
 educational institutions and, 44, 81, 85, 99, 120, 124
 Egypt and, 189, 192
 imprisonment of a relative and, 130, 149
 media consumption habits and, 149
 mitigation of by Israel, 55
 national identity and, 120–122
 nationalist, 6, 10–11, 37, 60–66, 143
 repression and, 28, 29, 131, 148
- Habib, Attar, 187
- Habib, Sayyid, 187, 188
- Hague Convention, 55
- Halhoul, 72
- Hamirshe, Ibrahim, 138
- Harb, Talaat, 186
- Hebron, 57, 72
- Hiltermann, Joost, 1, 14, 165
- Hodgson, Geoffrey, 17
- Idhna, 152
- impressionable years hypothesis, 31, 83
- imprisonment, 18, 28, 140, 142, 145, 148, 150, *see also* disciplinary institutions
 as a tactic, 56, 79
 of a family member or friend, 29–30, 133–142
 political activity and, 95, 143
 rates of, 131, 144
 risk factors and imprisonment of a family member, 142–146
- incarceration, *see* imprisonment
- information availability, 20–22, 24–25

- information on numbers, 21, 24–26, 43, 59, 99
 information on tactics, 21, 26, 43
 information technology, 193–195
 integrative mixed-method study, 35
 internal organizational strength, *see also*
 civic networks, *see also* civil society
 organizations, *see also* state
 institutions
 anti-regime groups and, 174, 175
 emergence of resistance without, 47, 179, 180
 integration into state institutions and, 34, 192
 necessity for protest and, 2, 3, 12, 20, 83
 Palestinian Territories and, 16, 65, 67, 154, 173
 social movement theories and, 177
 intifadah, first, 1, 5, 76–80
 arrest and imprisonment during, 133
 civil society organizations and, 14, 155, 164–166
 individual participation and, 96
 mosques and, 15
 participation levels and, 1, 10
 sources of, 8–10
 start of, 76
 stone throwing and, 19
 students and, 87
 Iran, 193, 194
 Iranian Revolution, 16
 Islamic movement, 15
 Israel
 economic policies and, 9–10
 Likud government and, 72–73
 military attacks against, 62
 occupation of the Palestinian Territories
 and, 4, 5, 46, 46–81, 81
 open border with the Palestinian
 Territories and, 55
 Palestinian educational curriculum and,
 37
 Israeli occupation, 48, 46–49, 81
 1967 War and, 49–54
 Camp David Accords and, 67–71
 censorship and, 54–60, 77–78, 82, 121
 civil society organizations and, 65–67
 Civilian Administration and, 72
 deportations and, 80
 first intifadah and, 76–80
 institution-building and, 71–75
 mass imprisonment and, 54–60,
 132–133
 military administration and, 54–60, 72,
 95
 military order 50, 58
 Palestinian nationalism and, 60–65
 protests against, 60, 74, 64–76, 76,
 85–88, 164
 repression and, 70–75
 repression of protest and, 79
 roles of Palestinians in the, 56–57
 spring uprising of 1982 and, 74–75
 two-state solution and, 68
 Village Leagues and, 73
 Israeli settlements and settlers, 5, 64, 72,
 82, 86, 90, 139, 170
 Israeli–Palestinian conflict, 4–7, 47, 48, *see*
 also Israeli occupation
 Jabaliya, 76, 77
 Jamal, Amal, 158, 159, 179
 Jenin, 87
 Jerusalem, 4, 49, 53, 68, 152, *see also*
 Gaza Strip, *see also* Palestinian
 Territories, *see also* West Bank
 Jordan, 46, 49, 51, 53, 54, 59, 61
 Camp David Accords and, 67–71
 Palestinian–Jordanian Coordinating
 Committee and, 70
 Jordanian Communist Party (JCP), 29, 65
 kaffiyeh, 1
 Kam, Cindy, 99, 115
 Keck, Margaret, 167
 Khawaja, Marwan, 14
 Khopa, Ben, 183
 Khousa, Tawfik Abu, 76
 King Abdullah, 4
 Krosnick, Jon, 31
 Kuttab, Daoud, 21
 Labadi, Imad, 152, 161
 labor unions, 51, 160, 165, *see also* strikes,
 see also trade unions
 Lawrence, Adria, 8, 21
 LeBas, Adrienne, 178, 189
Lemon Tree, The (Tolan), 135
 Lichbach, Mark, 11
 Lipset, Seymour, 25, 94
 Lithuania, 21
 Lithuanian Activist Front, 21

- Lohman, Suzanne, 24
 Lynch, Marc, 194, 195
- Mā'ariv*, 10, 63
 Makassed Hospital Medical Relief Committee, 152, 160
 Mandela, Nelson, 4
 Mazur, Kevin, 179
 McAdam, Doug, 30
 McCarthy, John, 178
 meso-level of the political movement, 34, 154, 166
 methodology
 bounding analysis and, 114, 113–115
 case selection, 4–7
 controlling for selection into civil society organizations, 167–170
 field research, 38–43
 generational effects and, 111
 hypotheses for impact of integration into educational institutions, 97–100
 interviews, 42–43
 life history calendar (LHC) and, 41, 102–103, 205, 204–205
 localities sampled, 197
 missing data and, 113–115
 multilevel model and, 110, 112, 146
 qualitative sources, 42–43
 recall bias and, 41, 102–104
 reverse causality and, 116, 115–116, 142, 140–143, 171, 172
 risk factors and imprisonment of a family member, 142–146
 sampling procedure, 198–202
 self-administration and, 41, 103, 203–204
 social desirability bias and, 40, 102–104, 203–204
 statistical models and, 112–113
 study design, 35–38
 survey, 3, 100–102
 survey administration and, 203–205
 survey design, 196–198
 survey information, 40, 41
 survey measures and, 105, 106, 104–108
 survey question regarding violence and imprisonment and, 139–142
 survey results, 108–112, 170–173
 survey results and, 139–142
 survey sample statistics, 201, 202
- Milhelm, Adnan, 137
- mini-intifadah of 1982, 73–75, *see also* PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization)
 Misr (Egypt) Spinning and Weaving Company, 186–189
 mobilizing structures, *see* civil society organizations, *see* mosques, *see* state institutions
 Morocco, 21
 Morozov, Evgeny, 193, 194
 mosques, 15, 16
 Mubarak regime, 35, 185–192
 Mueller, Lisa, 9
- Nabulsi government, 52
 NAVCO, 105, 174
 network theories, 22
 newspapers, 58–59
 NGC (National Guidance Committee), 69–70, 72, 74, 156
 Niger, 9
- Olson, Mancur, 11
 Orange Revolution, 14, 155
 Oslo Accords, 104
- Palestinian Authority, 4, 105
 Palestinian national movement, 5, 20, 58, 177
 Palestinian nationalism, 6, 10–11, 37, 49, 59
 resurgence of, 46, 60–65
 suppression of, 82
 under foreign regimes, 121
 Palestinian Territories, *see also* civic networks, *see also* civil society organizations, *see also* disciplinary institutions, *see also* educational institutions, *see also* Gaza Strip, *see also* Israeli occupation, *see also* Jerusalem, *see also* participation in resistance, *see also* state institutions, *see also* West Bank
 1967 War and, 49–54
 Camp David Accords and, 67–71
 industrialization and, 192
 laws governing the, 55–57
 limits on political expression in, 57
 military occupation of, 4, 5, 54–81
 municipal elections and, 46, 60, 63–64
 national economy and, 9–10

- notable class and, 50, 52, 54, 57, 60, 62
 open border with Israel and, 55
 protests in the, 6, 46–47
 repression in, 71–75
 spring uprising of 1982, 74–75
 theories of participation and, 6
 Palestinian-Jordanian Coordinating Committee, 70
 Palmer, Carl, 99, 115
 participation in resistance, *see also* resistance
 civic networks and, 171, 172, 170–173
 civil society organizations and, 12–16, 32–34, 153–155
 disciplinary institutions and, 28–30, 140, 142, 145, 128–151
 economic grievances and, 8–10, 37
 educational institutions and, 25–28, 82–100, 108, 109
 Egypt and, 185–192
 grievances and, 6, 8, 28, 55
 human rights abuses and, 131
 information technology and, 193–195
 interest in politics and, 37, 124, 122–124
 internet usage and, 14
 level of schooling and, 27–28, 36, 83, 83, 97, 108, 107–108
 material incentives and, 6
 nationalist grievances and, 10–11, 120–122
 persistence of, 30–32, 97, 136, 138, 151
 radicalization and, 148–151
 recruitment and, 13
 relative deprivation and, 124–125, 126
 repression and, 131
 risk and, 13, 24, 26, 30, 31, 95–97, 191
 selective incentives and, 11–12
 social movement theory and, 12–16
 South Africa and, 181–185
 state institutions and, 23, 20–25, 178–180
 success of movements and, 7
 weak ties and, 16, 22
 Pearlman, Wendy, 31, 177
 Petersen, Roger, 21
 PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 62
 PLA (Palestinian Liberation Army), 53
 pleasure in agency, 31
 PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization), 15, 49–50, *see also* intifadah, first, *see also* mini-intifada of 1982, *see also* Shabiba committees, *see also* Shabiba movement
 as a political party, 105
 designation as a terrorist organization of, 58
 election to power of, 46
 goals of, 10
 incarceration of members of, 132
 institution-building and, 66, 71, 73, 75
 opposition to elections and, 61, 63
 Palestinian-Jordanian Coordinating Committee and, 70
 PLA and, 53
 political autonomy and, 57
 scholarships and, 11
 selective incentives and, 11
 spring uprising of 1982 and, 73–75
 support for, 6, 10, 60–63
 PNF (Palestinian National Front), 61–69
 political education and activism, 157
 political process theories, *see* civil society organizations
 Popkin, Samuel, 11
 preparatory schools, *see* educational institutions
 primary schools, *see* educational institutions
 prisons, *see* disciplinary institutions
 Rabin, Yitzhak, 79
 Red Crescent, 134, 135
 Red Cross, 134
 refugee camps, 51, 53, 76, 87, 88, 93, 96, 158, 161, 162
 regimes, *see also* Egypt, *see also* Mubarak regime, *see also* South Africa apartheid, 35, 181–185
 autocratic, 7
 Eastern European, 177
 information flow and, 20–22, 24–25
 Mubarak, 185–192
 nondemocratic, 5, 7
 Palestinian Territories and, 120
 transition and, 174
 resistance, *see also* civil society organizations, *see also* disciplinary institutions, *see also* educational institutions, *see also* internal institutions, *see also* organizational strength, *see also*

- intifadah, first, *see also* participation
 in resistance, *see also* state institutions
 armed, 2, 5, 6, 11, 42, 46, 53, 80, 84,
 132, 177, 185
 barriers against, 21–22
 communication and coordination and, 2,
 16, 20–22, 24, 34, 71, 73, 74, 88, 89,
 93–95, 126, 129, 130, 135, 136, 138,
 151, 154, 155, 163–166, 173, 185,
 190, 191, 195
 definition of, 19–20
 Egypt and, 185–192
 information technology and, 193–195
 internal organizational strength and, 154
 participation and, 5, 7
 protest coordination and, 173
 shift to unarmed resistance and, 46, 81
 social movement theories and, 176–180
 South Africa and, 181–185
 state institutions and, 2
 theories on participation in, 2
 to the Israeli occupation, 46–49, 81
 types of, 106, 118–119
 unarmed, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14–16,
 19, 43, 46, 47, 64, 65, 68, 69, 75, 80,
 81, 88, 89, 118, 132, 133, 154, 157,
 173, 176–178, 185
 unarmed violence and, 19
 resource mobilization, *see* civil society
 organizations
 revolutions
 Eastern European, 3
 Robinson, Glenn, 161
 Ron, James, 133
 Rosenfeld, Maya, 29, 133, 134, 136, 138
- Sa'ir Youth Committee for Social Work,
 160
 Sadat, Anwar, 68
 safety in numbers, 22, 24
 disciplinary institutions and, 30, 129,
 136
 educational institutions and, 26, 34,
 95–97, 99, 121
 Egypt and, 191, 192
 South Africa and, 182, 185
 Sauliai groups, 21
 Sayigh, Yezid, 66
 Scacco, Alexandra, 41
 schools, *see* educational institutions
 scope conditions, 34–35
- secondary schools, *see* educational
 institutions
 Shabiba committees, 71, 78, 92, 160, *see*
also Fatah
 use of civic networks and, 163–164
 Shabiba movement, 33–34, 37, 157–160,
 173, *see also* Fatah
 constitution of, 159
 Sharon, Ariel, 53
 Shin Bet, 121
 Sikkink, Kathryn, 167
 Sinai Peninsula, 62, 68
 social media, 193–195
 social movement activism, 2, 167
 social movement theories, 12–16, 32,
 176–180
 social networks, 22–24, 30, 91, 116, 117,
 89–118, 134–136, 136, 137, 146,
 148, 181–183, 191
 social welfare, 157, 168
 South Africa, 35, 181–185
 African National Congress and, 184,
 185
 black consciousness movement and, 184,
 185
 churches and, 184
 student groups and, 184
 uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), 185
 South African Students' Organization
 (SASO), 184
 Soviet Union, 11, 21
 Soweto Uprising, 35, 181–185
 state institutions, *see also* disciplinary
 institutions, *see also* educational
 institutions, *see also* participation in
 resistance
 civic networks and, 167–168, 169
 communication and coordination, 2, 16,
 20–22, 24, 34, 71, 73, 74, 88, 89,
 93–95, 126, 129, 130, 135, 136, 138,
 151, 154, 155, 163–166, 173, 185,
 190, 191, 195
 definition of, 17–19
 disciplinary, 28–30
 educational, 25–27, 28
 Egypt and, 185–192
 integration into, 2, 4, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24,
 30, 32, 34, 38, 43, 82, 104, 113, 153,
 167, 168, 170, 175, 178, 179, 195
 limits on, 2, 25, 32, 51

- participation in resistance and, 23,
 20–25, 178–180
 risks of protest and, 13, 24, 26, 30, 31,
 95–97, 191
 social networks and, 22–24
 South Africa and, 181–185
 technology and, 193–195
 state intelligence services, 194
 state-controlled, mass institution
 (definition of), 17, *see also* disciplinary
 institutions, *see also* educational
 institutions, *see also* state institutions
 strikes, 77, 184–192
 Sullivan, Andrew, 193
 survey methodology, *see* methodology
 Syria, 62
- Tamari, Salim, 91
 Taraki, Lisa, 73
The Logic of Collective Action (Olson), 11
Time, 10, 74
 Tolan, Sandy, 135
 trade unions, 15, 51, 65–67, 178, 184,
 189, *see also* labor unions, *see also*
 strikes
 trigger events, 24, 93, 94
 Trivedi, Priyamvada, 31
 Tulkarm, 152
 Tulkarm Union of Public Institutions and
 Construction Workers, 152, 161
 Tunisia, 194
 Twitter, 193, 194, *see also* social media
- Ukraine, 14, 155
 uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), 185
 unarmed resistance, *see* resistance
 Union of Medical Relief Committees, 160
 Union of Palestinian Women's Committees
 (UPWC), 136
 unions, *see* labor unions, *see* trade unions
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency
 (UNRWA), 94, 162
 United Nations Resolution 242, 68
 United States of America, 68
 universities, *see* educational institutions
 UNLU (United National Leadership of the
 Uprising), 78–80, *see also* intifadah,
 first
- Vodafone, 194
 voluntary working committees (VWCs), 65
- Weidmann, N. B. W., 8
 Weizman, Ezer, 72
 West Bank, *see also* Gaza Strip, *see also*
 Jerusalem, *see also* Palestinian
 Territories
 Camp David Accords and, 68
 civil society organizations and, 14, 51,
 67
 classroom sizes in, 94
 economy of, 52
 Fatah infiltration of, 53
 first intifadah and, 77
 Israeli military rule of the, 4
 leadership structure of, 57
 municipal elections and, 10, 60, 63–64
 NGC and, 156
 opposition to Israeli rule in, 46
 protests in, 164
 reunification with Jordan and, 53
 ruralness and, 50
 trade unions and, 65
 Wood, Elisabeth, 31, 167
- Yatta, 165
 Young Farmers, 21
 Youth Activities Centres, 161–162
- Zhao, Dingxin, 24, 179