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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It's important for me to explain that Israel isn't all tanks and soldiers running after small children. Israel isn't just the army. There are law-abiding citizens who are concerned about human rights in Israel. That's very important for me to clarify.[1]

I think it's our responsibility as Israeli Jews to tackle the propaganda tactics globally. If they are saying that anything that is pro-Palestinian is anti-Semitic, I think it's on us to be there to say that doesn't make sense.[2]

We were born to the position of the coloniser […]. So, what's our role? We have power, I didn't choose to have it, so at least I can use it in a way that can actually break this situation.[3]

These are the voices of Israeli–Jewish dissenters, who are actively challenging Israeli government policy, the Israeli state narrative and actions towards the Palestinians. The problems they focus on and the solutions they propose vary depending on ideological and political positioning. Some commit their time and energy in pursuit of an end to 'the conflict' and 'peace' between Israel and the Palestinians; others reveal the violations of Palestinian human rights at the hands of the Israeli authorities, in order to encourage an end of the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and the blockade of the Gaza Strip; while others acknowledge their history as a colonising population, dedicating their efforts to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people. This book tells the story of this broad spectrum of Israeli dissenters; their ideological and political beliefs, their actions on the ground, their relationships with the Palestinians, and their attempts to bring peace, equality and justice to the region.

Without disregarding or silencing the voices and efforts of the Palestinians, it is worth looking at others who are also challenging the Israeli narrative and practices. In particular, it is worth looking at those who the Israeli authorities are dependent on: Israeli citizens, specifically Israeli–Jewish citizens. Given Israeli–Jews both implicitly and explicitly uphold the Israeli government and its policies, dissention among them is a key piece in creating change.

The Israeli–Jewish dissenters are not a homogenous group, with a variety of organisations and individuals operating in Israel and Palestine. They can be divided into three components to help understand their trajectories.[4] Groups in the 'liberal Zionist component' pursue political solutions to the 'Israeli–Palestinian conflict' and seek ways to achieve peace between what they view as two sides. They believe that the Jewish people are entitled to a state of their own and strive for the peace and security of the State of Israel. They emerged partly in opposition to the settler movement, Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), viewing the settlements as detrimental to the future and security of Israel, and give much of their attention to opposing the ideology and actions of the settlers.[5] The settler movement seek to annex the West Bank, based on religious–nationalist beliefs of a Greater Land of Israel.[6] In direct opposition, the liberal Zionist component understood the dangers of occupying another population and have proposed giving up the West Bank for the sake of peace. They became the largest voice of Israeli peace activists in the 1980s and 1990s, proposing a Palestinian State side-by-side with the Israeli State and continue to pursue a political peace process with the Palestinians. They include a number of public intellectuals, authors and former members of the Israeli Parliament, highlighting this component's connection to powerful elites. Historically the liberal Zionist component has been criticised for being elitists, alienating those who are not middle-class, secular or educated Jews of Eastern European origin. They tend not to be too confrontational, aiming to speak to and mobilise the Israeli public and directly influence the government.

The second component consider themselves 'radical activists', who consistently put the Palestinians at the centre of their concern, focusing on equality and justice, rather than peace. Their discourse has evolved from and in-line with the Palestinian narrative and discourse, with many of the activists acknowledging their position and history as colonisers. To differing levels, they align themselves with the position that Israel conducted an ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people between 1947 and 1949,[7] has colonised the West Bank since 1967,[8] and has engaged in an 'ongoing forced displacement' of the Palestinians.[9] They see themselves as co-resisters or solidarity activists, promoting and supporting the resistance efforts of the Palestinian activists. Thus, the Israeli activists and the Palestinian activists are acting alongside each other, influencing the ways in which they both perceive and respond to the prevailing realities There has not been a consistent political agenda among the radical groups, which include anarchists, anti-Zionists, who are against the establishment of a Jewish homeland in historic Palestine, those calling for a binational state, some calling for a two-state solution, and those who do not propose a political solution. Their tactics are the most confrontational and

come with the risk of injury or arrest. While the insistence on equality or access to human rights is not 'radical' per se, given they are merely reflecting international norms and agreements, the activists are 'radical' in the sense that they are on the extreme margins of Israeli society, supporting and promoting positions that are considered unacceptable, taboo and even illegal within Israel.

The third component is made up of the human rights organisations. 'Human rights' in this context refers to the everyday entitlements of Palestinians living under Israeli military occupation, which are being violated by the actions of Israel. These include, but are not limited to, freedom of movement, access to food and water, the right to education, and individual and collective security. 'Human rights' can also refer to the right to self-determination and the right to liberation, depending on the particular organisation. As human rights organisations they aim to hold the Israeli government accountable for their actions towards the Palestinians and seek to ensure that the Israeli public are aware of what is being done in their name. They employ Palestinians to document their daily lives and disseminate this both within Israel and abroad. They are less concerned with recognising or compensating historical injustices and do not tend to promote a political solution, but focus on the realities on the ground. While some tactics overlap with the radical groups, the efforts of the human rights organisations to speak to the Israeli public, government, and the international community, places them in a different component.

Providing an overarching title to this broad spectrum of Israeli dissenters is complex. Using the term 'Israeli peace movement' is no longer accurate. Firstly, since the outbreak of the Palestinian Intifada in 2000,[10] many groups do not use the term 'peace,' having either rejected support for a peace process over action on the ground or focused on human rights violations rather than a political agreement. Secondly, the term 'movement' is also inaccurate. Professor Tamar Hermann explains that the term 'Israeli peace movement' is an 'analytical construct rather than a concrete entity', noting that the 'movement' was always comprised of various individual organisations and groups that held different underlying beliefs and ideas about the political situation. She gives justification for the use of the term 'peace movement' because the many groups saw themselves as one body that was opposed to the nationalist camp within Israel and that many outsiders also saw them as one movement.[11] In the period since 2000 this sector of Israeli society has become even more fragmented and more significantly, the term 'Israeli

peace movement' has become a euphemism for the liberal Zionist component and therefore does not encapsulate the full range of groups operating.

Figure 1.1: List of main groups in each component operating since 2000.

Liberal Zionist	Radical	Human Rights
A Different Future	+972mag	Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI)
All Nations Café	Active Stills	B'Tselem: The Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories
Bringing Peace Together	All That's Left	
Centre for Emerging Futures	Anarchists Against the Wall	
Commanders for Israel's Security	Coalition of Women for Peace	Breaking the Silence
EcoPeace Middle East	Combatants for Peace	Emek Shaveh: Archaeology in the Shadow of Conflict
IPCRI (Israel-Palestine Centre for Research and Information)	Gush Shalom (Peace Bloc)	
	New Profile	Gisha: Legal Centre for Freedom of Movement
Jerusalem Peace Makers	Solidarity Sheikh Jarrah	
Neve Shalom-Wahat al Salam (Oasis of Peace)	Ta'ayush: Arab–Jewish Partnership	Humans Without Borders
		Ir Amim (City of Nation/City of People)
One Voice	Tarabut–Hithabrut: The Arab–Jewish Movement for Social Change	
Other Voice		Israel Social TV
Parent's Circle -Association of Bereaved Families in the Middle East	We Do Not Obey	Israeli Committee Against House Demolition (ICAHD)
	Who Profits?	Machsom (Checkpoint) Watch
Peace Now	Women in Black	Mental Health Workers for the Advancement of Peace
Peres Centre for Peace	Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit/Boundary/Border)	
Strength and Peace	Zochrot (Remembering)	Physicians for Human Rights
Sulha Peace Project		Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)
Women Wage Peace		Rabbis for Human Rights
		Yesh Din (There is Justice)

This book therefore refers to 'Israeli anti-occupation activism', with all groups seeking to end 'the Israeli occupation' in some form. The liberal Zionists and human rights groups use the term 'occupation' to refer to the areas that Israel occupied following the war in 1967, with a focus on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. For many of the radical component, 'occupation' refers

to 1948 when the State of Israel was founded, arguing that all of historic Palestine is 'occupied'. Therefore, the term 'anti-occupation activism' is relevant to describe all the groups detailed in this book after the Al Aqsa Intifada, and the definition of the type of occupation will be given where relevant.

While the groups within each of these components represent different perspectives, which has always made it difficult for them to present one cohesive voice, in the late 1980s they began to rally together to persuade the Israeli government into negotiations with the Palestinians on the basis of 'two states for two peoples.' A 'peace movement' did emerge able to mobilise hundreds of thousands of Israelis emerged to lobby the government to make a two-state solution through peace agreements with the Palestinians its goal.

Despite the peace movement achieving their ultimate objective, with the Israelis and Palestinians entering negotiations in the early 1990s, the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995, the failure of the Camp David II Summit in 2000 and the outbreak of the Intifada that followed,[12] dealt a severe blow to the Israeli peace movement, which is argued to have been in decline ever since.[13] As explained in the newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli–Palestinian Peace, *The Other Israel*,[14]

> The peace-minded ordinary people, who for nearly three decades could be relied on to come out in their hundreds and thousands once or twice a year (and sometimes more frequently when the situation clearly demanded it) have disappeared from the streets since that fatal time in 2000.[15]

Exhaustion and disillusionment, alongside an inability for the peace movement to form an agenda in response to the outbreak of the violent Intifada, marked the decline of the Israeli peace movement, as 'many of the most prominent peace activists, silent and disillusioned, retired to the seclusion of their homes'.[16] Given the importance of Israeli dissenters in challenging and putting pressure on their own government, this certainly presents a bleak picture. Yet, this is by no means the whole story.

While Israeli anti-occupation activism has been in decline since its peak years in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it would be a mistake to suggest that the efforts have become paralysed, without any significant activities or influence in the period since the Intifada in 2000. It has,

actually, only been the more moderate, liberal Zionist component of Israeli anti-occupation activism that has experienced this decline. Many of the more radical groups and groups dealing with issues of human rights have continued to mobilise, with new groups emerging. The paralysis of the liberal Zionist component has created a 'clearer and louder message of dissent' among an array of Israeli anti-occupation organisations, networks and individuals.[17] They are experiencing and developing new ways to understand the situation, developing new relationships with Palestinian activists, supporting their struggle, and creating stronger ties with the international community to encourage them to put pressure on Israel. Significantly, they are yielding some influence.

Despite being small and on the margins of Israeli society, the radical groups have a precedent of yielding influence. Veteran activist and writer, Reuven Kaminer, has shown that historically the radical groups have been the agenda setters. While Peace Now, the largest of the liberal Zionist groups, was able to mobilise mass demonstrations, such as 50,000 to 80,000 people in January 1988 against the government's response to the first Intifada,[18] it was the pressure of the 'small wheel of the bicycle'– the radical component – that pushed the 'big wheel' – the liberal Zionist component – to take certain positions and mobilise sooner than they would have otherwise.[19] Ideas that originated in the radical groups, such as recognition that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) was the true representative of the Palestinian people, eventually diffused into the liberal Zionist groups and later government policy. In the period beginning with the Al Aqsa Intifada, the 'big wheel; little wheel' dynamic no longer holds true and a new trajectory in Israeli anti-occupation activism can be identified. While, the 'big wheel' did slow down, this book shows that the 'small wheel', the radical component, along with the human rights component, continued to mobilise and develop new ideas.

This transformation in Israeli anti-occupation activism will be approached through a framework based in social movement theory. The conceptual tools that constitute social movement theory provide a clear and logical way of analysing different aspects of contentious activity. Although peace activism since the Al Aqsa Intifada maybe too fragmented to constitute a social movement, the tools still have explanatory power even in relation to activism falling short of a sustained large-scale movement.

There are a large variety of concepts with potential explanatory power that form social movement theory and this book will extract, refine and build upon those elements which are

most relevant and useful in understanding the case of the Israeli anti-occupation activism. The theoretical perspective will draw particularly on the work of Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly and Doug McAdam.[20] Tarrow has succeeded in synthesising the various analytical tools developed in social movement theory.[21] He outlines 'fours powers of movement': collective action frames, 'how social movements construct meaning for action';[22] tactical repertoires, 'the ways in which people act together in pursuit of shared interests';[23] mobilisation structures, 'the fundamental infrastructures that support and condition citizen mobilisation';[24] and political opportunity structures, 'factors of the external environment in which a social movement operates that facilitate or constrain activities'.[25] These four powers of movement will frame each chapter in turn.

While some scholars have applied aspects of social movement theory to their studies of Israeli anti-occupation activism,[26] there is a general emphasis on the external factors that affect a social movement, such as the nature of the government, public opinion and perceptions on the peace process. A focus on these external factors has led scholars to conclude that the marginality of Israeli anti-occupation activism and their inability to influence policy change, confirm their political irrelevancy.[27] However, a heavy focus on the external factors that affect Israeli anti-occupation activism and contextualising it within the Oslo peace process,[28] leaves little attention to the internal features of Israeli anti-occupation activism, thus overlooking those groups formulating different ideas and the influence these groups are having beyond the policy arena.

There is therefore a need to give greater attention to the internal characteristics of a social movement in order to understand the internal dynamics and give weight to agency in social movement activities. This will enable a clear picture of transformations within the movement. As one Israeli activist explained in talking about the organisation she is involved in,

> The way in which we act in New Profile […] it cannot be affected by external, political developments, events and so on. Different paths that we decided to take were not the result of wars, Intifadas, Palestinian politics or anything of the sort. It was internal.[29]

It was through this focus on the internal characteristics of Israeli anti-occupation activism, that the three distinct components were distinguished. Such typologies have a strong precedent in

the study of peace movements and it helps to show that groups with different internal characteristics, despite dealing with the same area of contention and operating in the same environment, can experience different trajectories.[30]

This book adopts the qualitative methods that have been employed as the standard approach to studying these groups.[31] Since the study of a social movement is in some respects the study of the narratives of those individuals and groups of individuals involved in the social movement, qualitative research methods allow for an appreciation of the individuals' understandings and interactions. It helps to unearth nuances and subtleties that may have been overlooked by more structured data gathering and gives a voice to marginalised sectors of society. Some quantitative measurement of certain aspects of social movements, such as calculating the amount of funding received per annum or referring to public opinion polls, will help to compare and contrast particular elements of and dynamics within a social movement. However, it would be difficult to gain accurate quantitative data for other aspects, such as the number of events held, due to the informal and ad hoc nature of a social movement and its component parts. Such methods are only partially employed when researching social movements, with scholars favouring interviews, testimonials and participant observation.

A list of all the peace organisations that have been active in Israel since 1967 was compiled.[32] This is based upon a list drawn up by Professor Tamar Hermann and added to from useful internet resources, in particular 'Insight on Conflict' and 'Just Vision', and prior knowledge of certain groups.[33] Throughout this book I provide the English name of the organisations where possible, so as to make accessible to readers. For cases where there is not an English name and the Hebrew name is used in English media, the Hebrew name is given in transliteration, followed by the English translation in brackets, or the English tag-line of the organisations follows the Hebrew name. This is to make it possible for those interested to further research the organisations. I gathered information on these groups mainly through interviews with activists in Israel, as well as some participant observation at different events and my own participation in tours and demonstrations. This began while I was living in Jerusalem from September 2009 to July 2010, followed by the main research trip from January 2013 to July 2013, with some follow up during a research trip sponsored by the International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict in December from 2017 to January 2018.

The network of Israeli peace activists is small and most people know or know of each other, which enabled a large number of interviews with activists across the spectrum of groups to be conducted. Over fifty interviews were conducted across these trips with individual activists, both core and periphery, across the spectrum of groups, organisation leaders, intellectuals, former Members of the Israeli Parliament and journalists. Some of the activists wanted their names to be used, with public engagement seen as part of the activism. However, for the sake of ethical considerations and to avoid personalising political opinions, anonymity will be held throughout for the interviews I conducted. Potential interviewees were contacted in Hebrew and English, to enable non-English speakers to respond. The interviews were offered to be conducted in Hebrew yet, all respondents chose English. This perhaps reflects their desire to reach out to the international community, as part of their activism. Given the complexities in the use of language, using English terms will only tell some of the story. Articles, blogs and chants in Hebrew were consulted to overcome this gap, with my own translations provided. However, translations will also leave behind some of the original meanings intended by certain words. Given the Israelis often speak in English to the Palestinians and engage in international activities to promote their work, the use of English terms and translations will still reflect how the activists frame themselves and their efforts.

There is some likelihood that those who chose to be interviewed were the ones who were experienced and confident in speaking to a foreign researcher and therefore others will have been excluded, particularly those who are less prominent in certain groups or those with no access to email or spare time to participate. This is reflective of the elitist image attributed particularly to the liberal Zionist component, where those who front each group have a particular background. However, many of the newer groups that have emerged, particularly those made up of younger people and/or feminist organisations have made attempts to broaden their demographics and the movement is becoming more diverse. Attempts were therefore made to reach out to the more marginalised activists, such as, religious activists, radical feminists and Jews of Middle Eastern or North African descent. I succeeded in speaking to a range of Israeli–Jewish activists, of different ages, genders, ethnic origins, religiosity and levels of engagement, thus providing a broad array of voices among Israeli anti-occupation activists. Despite this, it should still be noted that some activists simply do not have the extra time or energy to meet with a researcher, because of commitments to their jobs and families, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds involved in anti-occupation activism, who would have therefore been consulted less than those with disposable time.

During the periods of fieldwork, I attended a range of events and activities of the different groups. I attended three tours, with Emek Shaveh: Archaeology in the Shadow of Conflict in the City of David and village of Silwan, Ir Amim (City of Peoples) through East Jerusalem and Jerusalem Peace Makers in Hebron. I went to demonstrations held by Women in Black and Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit). I attended solidarity actions with Combatants for Peace, Solidarity Shiekh Jarrah and Ta'ayush: Arab–Jewish Partnership and accompanied Machsom (Checkpoint) Watch. I went to discussion forums held by The Coalition of Women for Peace, Combatants for Peace and We Do Not Obey. In 2018 I also attended demonstrations in the Palestinian village of Bil'in and further actions with Ta'ayush: Arab–Jewish Partnership.

In addition to these interviews, I collected further information on the groups from their publications, websites, minutes of meetings, petitions, event advertisements and e-mails sent to mailing lists. Articles written by intellectuals and journalists, and lectures given, added to this. There are also two useful collections on Israeli anti-occupation activism that were consulted, particularly for groups that were founded before 2000: 'the Israeli–left archive', which has collated information on some of the main organisations from the sixties, seventies and eighties, including primary documents; and *The Other Israel*, a magazine which has detailed the activities across the spectrum of groups between 1983 to present day and is available online. Newspaper articles, both in print and on the internet, particularly from the newspaper *Haaretz* and online media platforms, such as *+972mag*, *Bitterlemons*, *Occupation Magazine* and other editorials were also useful. In some instances, primary sources, such as testimonies, were extracted from these, adding to the rich set of primary information for this study.

For any researcher, objectivity and neutrality can never be achieved, due to the positionality from which we approach our research, determined by our social, cultural and subject positions. Thus, the questions we ask, the relationships we develop with our subjects, our access to information and whether we will be listened to is affected by who we are.[34] As a British–Jew, who grew up in a progressive Zionist Jewish Youth Organisation, I held strong to the liberal Zionist perspective and was unaware of the actual predicament of the Palestinians. When I moved to Jerusalem in 2009 to work for the Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information, my eyes were opened both to the struggle of the Palestinians and to the array of radical anti-occupation voices coming from Israeli–Jews. I began to involve myself in Israeli

groups that were actively challenging aspects of Israeli policies and standing alongside the Palestinians. My sympathies turned to supporting the Palestinian struggle, but my schooling stems from the Israeli and Jewish anti-occupation discourse. Thus, the language I use, the questions I asked and the access I obtained reflects the Israeli–Jewish narrative. Efforts have been made to take this bias into account, by expanding the language used to describe certain events and to look critically at the Israeli–Jewish narrative.

Language is particularly complicated when discussing the situation in Israel and Palestine. Words used to describe events, policies and practices are laden with ideological perspectives. For example, referring to the 'Israeli–Palestinian conflict', the 'Israeli military occupation' or 'Israeli settler-colonialism' will reflect different discourses around the causes and solutions of what has happened and what is happening today in Israel and Palestine. Given these complexities, this book will try to explain the use of terms employed and in particular highlight the terms that are employed by the activists themselves. In doing so, it will show how Israeli dissenters have transformed their perspectives, as well as clear disparities among different groups within this sector of Israeli society. Furthermore, this will demonstrate how their narratives and discourse reflect or diverge from the Israeli mainstream discourse, Palestinian perspectives and the position of the international community. It is the purpose of the remainder of this book to tell the story of these Israeli–Jewish dissenters through their messaging, tactics, organisational forms and response to the external environment. It will begin with the messages and ideas of the Israeli anti-occupation activists

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[1] Yafit Gamila Biso, 'Interview with Nahanni Rous and Leora Gal' (2005), *Just Vision*. Available at https://www.justvision.org/interview-question/please-tell-me-little-about-your-background-and-how-you-became-involved-peace (accessed 3 August 2018).
[2] Israeli Respondent 1, *Interview with Author* (16 January 2018) Tel Aviv, Israel.
[3] Israeli Respondent 2, *Interview with Author* (16 January 2018) Tel Aviv, Israel.
[4] See figure 1.1 for a division of the groups operating since 2000 into the three components
[5] David Newman and Tamar Hermann, 'A Comparative Study of Gush Emunim and Peace Now', *Middle Eastern Studies* 28/3 (1992), pp. 509–30; Joyce Dalsheim, 'Ant/agonizing Settlers in the Colonial Present of Israel-Palestine', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 49/2 (2005), pp. 122–46.
[6] Michael Feige, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories* (Michigan, 2009).
[7] Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford, 2007); Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London, 2012).
[8] Neve Gordon and Moriel Ram, 'Ethnic Cleansing and the Formation of Settler Colonial Geographies', *Political Geography* 53 (2016), pp. 20–9.
[9] Nur Masalha, 'Remembering the Palestinians Nakba: Commemoration, Oral History and Narratives of Memory', *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 7/2 (2008), pp. 123–56.
[10] The *Al-Aqsa Intifada*, also known as the second Intifada, was a Palestinian uprising against Israel in response to the failed peace agreements and continued repressive measures by the Israeli authorities. It began in 2000 and

is generally considered to have ended at the beginning of 2005. It was a heightened period of violence, with Palestinian suicide bombs in Israel towns and cities and further repressive measures by the Israeli authorities.

[11] Tamar Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream* (New York, 2009).

[12] The summit took place between 11 and 25 July 2000 between Palestinian Authority Chairman, Yasser Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak and President of the United States, Bill Clinton to reach a final status agreement.

[13] Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement*.

[14] The Other Israel: P. O. Box 2542, Holon 58125, ISRAEL, Phone/fax +972-3-556-5804, E-mail: otherisr@actcom.co.il

[15] Adam Keller and Beate Zilversmidt, 'The Fading Common Ground', *The Other Israel* (September-October 2008). Available at http://toibillboard.info/ed137_138.htm (accessed 20 July 2015), p. 13.

[16] David Newman, 'How Israel's Peace Movement Fell Apart,' *The New York Times*, 30 August 2002. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/30/opinion/how-israel-s-peace-movement-fellapart.htm?pagewanted=all&src=pm (accessed 12 July 2013).

[17] Orli Fridman, 'Breaking States of Denial: Anti-Occupation Activism in Israel after 2000', Genro 10 (2008), p. 37.

[18] The first Intifada was a Palestinian uprising against the Israeli policies and practices. It began in December 1987 until the early 1990s. It mainly involved nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience from the Palestinians and was met with violent a violent response from the Israeli authorities.

[18] Reuven Kaminer, *The Politics of Protest and the Palestinian Intifada: The Israeli Peace Movement and the Palestinian Intifada* (Brighton, 1996).

[19] Kaminer, *The Politics of Protest.*

[20] Sydney G. Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge (New York; London, 2005); Sydney G Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge, 2011); Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain* 1758-1834 (Cambridge; London, 1995); Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (eds), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge, 1995).

[21] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*

[22] Ibid., p. 144

[23] Charles Tilly, *From Mobilisation to Revolution* (Reading PA, 1978), p. 41.

[24] Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (eds), *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse NY, 1997), p. 61

[25] Ibid., p. 66

[26] For example, see Tamar Hermann, 'Do They Have a Chance? Protest and Political Structure of Opportunities in Israel', *Israel Studies* 1/1 (1996), pp. 144–70; Samuel Peleg, 'Peace Now or Later? Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and the Israeli Political Cleavage', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 23 (2000), pp. 235–54; Benjamin Gidron, Stanley Katz and Yeheskel Hasenfeld (eds), *Mobilizing for Peace: Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine and South Africa* (New York, 2002); Tamar Hermann, 'The Sour Taste of Success: The Israeli Peace Movement, 1967-1998', in B. Gidron, S. Katz and Y. Hasenfeld (eds), *Mobilizing for peace* pp. 94–129; Megan Meyer, 'Organisational Identity, Political Contexts, and SMO Action: Explaining the Tactical Choices Made by Peace Organisations in Israel, Northern Ireland, and South Africa', *Social Movement Studies* 3/2 (2004), pp. 167–97; Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement;* Ruthie Ginsburg, 'Framing, Misframing and Reframing: The Fiddle at Beit-Iba Checkpoint' in E. Marteu, (ed.), *Civil Organisations and Protest Movements in Israel: Mobilisation around the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (New York, 2009), pp. 91–105.

[27] Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement.*

[28] The Oslo peace process between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, mediated by the government of the United States, aimed to reach a peace agreement. The first Oslo Accord was signed in 1993 and agreements continued throughout the 1990s, arguably coming to a halt with the failure of Camp David II in 2000.

[29] Israeli Respondent 3, *Interview with Author* (18 April 2013) Tel-Aviv, Israel.

[30] Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914–1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford, 1980); Martin Ceadel, *Thinking about Peace and War* (Oxford, 1987); Martin Ceadel, *Semi Detached Idealists: The Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854–1945* (Oxford, 2000).

[31] For example, see Mordechai Bar-On, 'The Peace Movement in Israel', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 14:3 (1985), pp. 73–86; Mordechai Bar-On, *Shalom Achshav: L'Diyokana shel Tnua [Peace Now: The Portrait of a Movement]* (Tel Aviv, 1985) (Hebrew); Mordechai Bar-On, *In Pursuit of Peace: A History of the Israeli Peace*

Movement (Washington, D.C., 1996); Gidron, Katz and Hasenfeld (eds), *Mobilizing for Peace;* Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement;* Elisabeth Marteu (ed.), *Civil Organisations and Protest Movements in Israel: Mobilisation around the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (New York, 2009); Polly Pallister-Wilkins, 'Radical Ground: Israeli and Palestinian Activists and Joint Protest Against the Wall', *Social Movement Studies* 8/4 (2009), pp. 393–407; Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta, *Refusing to be Enemies* (Reading, 2010).

[32] See Appendix

[33] Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement,* pp. 267–75.

[34] Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts and Sarah Whatmore, (eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Sussex, 2009).