

## Content

Acknowledgements	5
Content	7
Glossary and Abbreviations	13
<b>1 Introduction</b>	21
<i>Methodological approach</i>	28
<i>Context</i>	34
<i>Structure</i>	37
<b>2 Integration of the socio-psychological, political and feminist literature</b>	41
2.1 Intractable Conflicts	43
2.2 Identity and conflict: from group boundaries to meaning	47
2.3 A conceptual approach for the analysis of national identity constructions: The ethos of conflict	52
2.3.1 National identity	52
2.3.2 The ethos of conflict	56
<i>Societal beliefs about the justness of goals</i>	59
<i>Societal beliefs about delegitimization</i>	59
<i>Societal beliefs about victimization</i>	60
<i>Societal beliefs about positive self-image</i>	61
<i>Societal beliefs about peace</i>	61
<i>Societal beliefs about security</i>	62
<i>Societal beliefs about patriotism/nationalism</i>	62
<i>Societal beliefs about unity</i>	63
2.4 Violent conflict through gender-sensitive lenses	64
2.5 Gender and national identity in intractable conflicts	70
2.5.1 Gender and nation	70
2.5.2 The gendered dimensions of the ethos of conflict	74
<i>Gendered beliefs about patriotism/nationalism and security</i>	75
<i>Gendered beliefs about victimhood</i>	77
<i>Gendered beliefs about unity</i>	78
<i>Gendered beliefs about positive self-image and delegitimization</i>	78
<i>Gendered beliefs about peace</i>	80
<i>Gendered beliefs about justness of goals</i>	80
2.6 Nexus: Towards a conceptual-methodological framework	81
2.6.1 Exploring national identity constructions	83

2.6.2	Interrelating national identity constructions and gender-role ideologies	86
2.6.3	Interrelating national identity constructions, gender-role ideologies, and intractability	87
<b>3</b>	<b>The intractability of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict</b>	<b>89</b>
3.1	Israel	91
3.1.1	Historical narratives of inter-societal conflict	91
	<i>Zionism and the Yishuv (until 1947)</i>	92
	<i>The War of Independence and the first period of statehood (from 1948 to the late 1960's)</i>	95
	<i>From the Six-Day War and the War of Yom Kippur to the increasing 'Palestinization' of the conflict (from 1967 to the late 1970s)</i>	98
	<i>The first Lebanon War (1981 to 2000)</i>	101
	<i>The first Palestinian Intifada (from 1987 to 1993)</i>	103
	<i>The peace process (from 1991 to 2000)</i>	105
	<i>The second Palestinian Intifada (from 2000 to 2005)</i>	107
	<i>Evacuation from Gaza, the second Lebanon War and War against Hamas (since 2005)</i>	108
3.1.1.1	Idealized images of 'Israeliness'	109
3.1.2	Intra-societal reverberations of the conflict	113
3.1.3	Discursive and symbolic constructions of Israeli femininity and masculinity and its tangible reverberations	120
	<i>Gender relations in historical perspective</i>	121
	<i>The gendered impact of militarism and Israeli security culture</i>	122
	<i>The Israeli women's movement between nationalism and feminism</i>	128
	<i>The violence spill into Israeli society</i>	132
	<i>Gender relations between secularism and Orthodox Judaism</i>	133
	<i>Gendered realities of power</i>	135
3.2	Palestine	138
3.2.1	Historical narratives of inter-societal conflict	138
	<i>Palestinian nationalism in Ottoman- and British-ruled Palestine (until 1947)</i>	138
	<i>The 'Nakba', its aftermath and the setback (from 1948 to the late 1960s)</i>	140
	<i>The Palestinian resistance (from 1964 onwards)</i>	144
	<i>The death of Pan-Arabism (the 1970s and early 1980s)</i>	145
	<i>The first Palestinian Intifada (from 1987 to 1993)</i>	147
	<i>The peace process (from 1991 to 2000)</i>	148

	<i>The Al-Aqsa Intifada (from 2000 to 2005)</i>	149
	<i>Gaza: between liberation and invasion (since 2005)</i>	150
3.2.1.1	Idealized images of 'Palestinianess'	151
3.2.2	Intra-societal reverberations of the conflict	153
3.2.3	Discursive and symbolic constructions of Palestinian femininity and masculinity and its tangible reverberations	159
	<i>Gender relations in historical perspective</i>	159
	<i>The gendered impact of the Palestinian resistance</i>	161
	<i>The gendered impact of armed conflict and the occupation</i>	169
	<i>The violence spill into Palestinian society</i>	172
	<i>Gender relations between secularism and Islamism</i>	173
	<i>Gendered realities of power</i>	176
3.3	Summary	178
<b>4</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	181
4.1	Concourse	183
4.2	Q-Sample	184
4.3	P-Set	185
4.4	Q-sorting process	186
4.5	Analysis	187
	<i>Correlation matrix</i>	187
	<i>Factor Analysis</i>	188
	<i>Factor rotation</i>	188
	<i>Factor scores</i>	190
4.6	Interpretation	191
4.7	Critical evaluation of Q-methodology	192
<b>5</b>	<b>Operationalization</b>	195
5.1	Concourse	195
	<i>Statement collection</i>	195
	<i>Content validation</i>	198
5.2	Pre-test	199
	<i>Design</i>	199
	<i>Objectives</i>	200
	<i>Analysis of the pre-test Q-sorts</i>	200
5.3	Final Q-Sample	201
5.4	P-set	207
5.5	Empirical research: Q-sorting and questionnaires	209
5.6	Reflections of unequal power relations between Israelis and Palestinians on the empirical research process	211

<b>6</b>	<b>Analyses and results of the Q-methodological study</b>	<b>213</b>
	<i>Analytical procedure</i>	213
	<i>Classification of ideal national identity types</i>	214
	<i>Structure</i>	215
6.1	Israel	216
6.1.1	Israeli particularistic national identity: Demographic background	216
6.1.2	Israeli liberalistic national identity: Demographic background	217
6.2	Palestine	218
6.2.1	Palestinian particularistic national identity: Demographic background	218
6.2.2	Palestinian liberalistic national identity: Demographic background	218
6.3	Meaning of national identity constructions in Israel and Palestine	219
	<i>Statistical criteria for the categorization of consensus, characteristic and contested beliefs</i>	220
6.3.1	Israeli national identity constructions: consensus, characteristic and contested beliefs	221
	<i>Consensus beliefs</i>	221
	<i>Characteristic beliefs of Israeli particularism</i>	224
	<i>Characteristic beliefs of Israeli liberalism</i>	227
	<i>Contested beliefs</i>	231
6.3.2	Palestinian national identity constructions: consensus, characteristic and contested beliefs	234
	<i>Consensus beliefs</i>	234
	<i>Characteristic beliefs of Palestinian particularism</i>	238
	<i>Characteristic statements of Palestinian liberalism</i>	241
	<i>Contested beliefs</i>	244
6.3.3	Israeli and Palestinian national identity constructions compared: Corresponding and competing meanings	246
6.3.4	Gender-explicit beliefs in the construction of national identity	249
<b>7</b>	<b>Analyses and results of the R-methodological study</b>	<b>253</b>
7.1	Israeli sample	254
7.2	Palestinian sample	256
7.3	Interrelating national identity constructions and gender-role ideologies	258
7.4	Interrelating national identity constructions, gender role ideologies, and intractable conflicts	266

7.4.1	The five measures of the intractability scale	266
	<i>Peace negotiations</i>	267
	<i>Military strength</i>	267
	<i>Belligerence</i>	267
	<i>Peace-Orientedness</i>	268
	<i>Concessions</i>	269
	<i>The intractability-scale</i>	270
7.4.2	National identity constructions, gender-role ideologies and behavioral intentions	270
7.5	Summary of results	274
<b>8</b>	<b>General Discussion</b>	<b>277</b>
8.1	National identity constructions in Israel and Palestine	278
8.2	National identity constructions and gender-role ideologies	285
8.3	National identity constructions, gender, and inter-group violence	298
8.4	Limitations and scope of the empirical findings	308
8.5	Implications for the intractability or tractability of the conflict	312
8.6	Conceptual-methodological contributions and future directions	315
<b>9</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix 1:	Question guidelines for semi-structured interviews	
Appendix 2:	List of 96 statements and their sources	
Appendix 3:	Categorization of pre-test results	
Appendix 4:	Final Q-sorts	
Appendix 5:	Instruction sheets for the Q-sorts	
Appendix 6:	Answer sheets for the Q-sort	
Appendix 7:	Questionnaire Israel	
Appendix 8:	Questionnaire Palestine	
Appendix 9:	Idealized Q-sort of Israeli particularism (factor 1)	
Appendix 10:	Idealized Q-sort of Israeli liberalism (factor 2)	
Appendix 11:	Idealized Q-sort of Palestinian particularism (factor 1)	
Appendix 12:	Idealized Q-sort of Palestinian liberalism (factor 2)	

The appendices are published online at [www.nomos.de](http://www.nomos.de).