

**October 30, 2007**

**Applicant:** Lena Meari

**Title of proposed research:** Interrogating “Painful” Encounters: The Interrogation-Encounter between Palestinian Political Activists and the Shabak

**Research questions and main objectives**

I intend to investigate the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from the viewpoint of the interrogation-encounter between Palestinian political activists and the shabak (Israeli General Security Service) during forty years of Israeli occupation to Palestinian territories (1967-2007)<sup>1</sup>. Since 1967 more than 650,000 Palestinians have been arrested and interrogated by Israel. This figure constitutes approximately 20% of the total Palestinian population in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and 40% of Palestinian males (Addameer 2007). Therefore, one cannot understand the Palestinian/Israeli relationship without understanding the conceptualizations and practices related to the interrogation-encounter. Based on one year of fieldwork in Jerusalem and Ramallah, this research project examines how the violent interrogation-encounter has shaped -and been re-shaped by- understandings of torture and pain perceived by Palestinian political activists and the Palestinian community they belong to, as well as the shabak and the state of Israel it represents. Specifically, the research examines Palestinian and Israeli conceptualizations of torture and pain, the strategies used to construct these conceptualizations, and their resulting practices within the interrogation-encounter.

The interrogation-encounter is a revealing site for analyzing how Palestinians and Israelis have been mutually constituted throughout their conflict. Both sides plan and train subjects for this encounter in a way that shapes the larger public discourses regarding torture and pain. As a major agent of the Israeli occupation, the shabak draws on and builds up culturally specific knowledge about Palestinians in order to develop effective disciplining

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1948 the Zionist forces occupied part of mandate Palestine and established the state of Israel, and in 1967 Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem- the remaining territories of mandate Palestine. This research project focuses on the second phase of occupation.

technologies that aim among other things, to extract information, recruit collaborators, form submissive subjects, and destroy the will to resist by isolating the Palestinian activist and employing physical and psychological torture techniques. On the other hand, Palestinian resistance movement(s)<sup>2</sup> aim to cultivate activists through long processes of training and preparation which involve employing technologies of the self that promote *sumud* within the interrogation-encounter. *Sumud* means steadfastness, yet the English term does not capture accurately the meaning of the term. *Sumud* is a relational concept that constitutes a vital aspect of Palestinians' subjectivity in relation to Israeli occupation and affects Palestinians' discourse and practice in facing the occupation. *Sumud* shapes deeply the sense of the Palestinian identity and absorbs the public space. This research will explicate how *sumud* is enacted –or is not enacted- within the interrogation-encounter where torture and pain are prevalent.

Since the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, the shabak has regularly and systematically employed physical and psychological torture in interrogating Palestinians (B'tselem and Hamoked 2007, B'tselem 2000, Qatamesh and Shaaban 2003, Cohen and Golan 1991, Amnesty 1999, 2002). The operations of the shabak generally occupy a space outside public scrutiny or accountability (Cohen and Golan 1991), and its employees are not accessible to researchers. Still, shabak's techniques have been forced into the Israeli public arena several times. In 1987, the Landau official government commission published a report which includes two parts; the first reviews the nature of shabak activity, and the second, which remains secret and unpublished, details the exact guidelines for permissible interrogation methods (Cohen and Golan 1991). Twelve years later, in 1999, the Israeli Supreme Court discussed the legality of the methods of interrogation used by the shabak. Alongside these and other documents, several lawyers and organizations have pursued

---

<sup>2</sup> Palestinian resistant movement is diverse and composed of different parties including Marxist, Nationalist, and Islamic parties.

challenges to the shabak's use of torture in extracting testimonies from Palestinians. As a result, shabak interrogators have been tried at Israeli courts. Additionally, several Israeli human rights organizations have published reports regarding the shabak's use of torture techniques (for example B'tselem 1991, 2000; B'tselem and Hamoked 2007). Moreover, former shabak employees have written memoirs or been interviewed regarding their techniques (for Example Peri 1999). This research aims to investigate Israeli torture techniques (including their cultural and gender dimensions) and the ways in which torture and pain employed within the interrogation-encounter are conceptualized by the shabak as well as by Israeli courts and human rights organizations. The research will explore also, the strategies used by Israeli state institutions to deal with the deployment of torture while claiming a liberal-democratic political system, and how these strategies shape the interrogation-encounter.

As Feldman (1991) noticed regarding Northern Ireland, arrest and interrogation have been central to the political culture of violence in Palestine, and have been vitally present in the oral culture as well as the practices of activists and supporting communities. Palestinian political parties developed conceptual/discursive and practical strategies to deal with torture and pain within the interrogation-encounter. They aim to cultivate activists through an extensive process of preparation and nurturance in accordance with the ideology (secular or Islamic) of the party in order to bolster the will of activists and enable their *sumud*. This process includes among other things, using poetry and songs, heroic models, invoking successful resistance frontiers, reading and discussing translated books written by revolutionists around the world (such as Fucik 1990 and Dochengara 1980) as well as books published by Palestinian Political activists who experienced interrogation (for example Qatamesh 1998 and Al-Hodali 2003). My research explores the conceptualizations of torture and pain developed by multiple Palestinian political parties (Marxist, Nationalist, and Islamic)

and the detailed strategies used to construct these conceptualizations and deploy them among activists and the whole community in a way that organizes the popular culture around these conceptualizations. Furthermore, the research will explore how activists have engaged with these conceptualizations and how they have enacted them within the interrogation-encounter.

While locally grounded in the historical-political context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, my research offers insights into one of the most important arenas of Palestinian/Israeli encounter and the conceptualizations and practices related to it. Moreover, the research addresses broader questions concerning violent encounters in colonial settings, the mutual constitution of disciplining and resistance technologies, and the multiplicity of social-cultural and political significations of torture and pain, as well as the various agential practices exerted by them.

### **Theoretical framework and literature review**

The violence and intensity of the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation over more than a century, has produced an enormous body of literature. The limitation of most of it resides in the adoption of the nation as the central unit of analysis (Robinson 2005). To overcome this limitation, a group of scholars adopted a “relational” approach (Shafir 1989, Lockman 1993, 1996, Beinun 1998). In placing the encounter between Zionist settlers and Palestine’s native Arab inhabitants at the center of their analysis, these scholars demonstrate the ways in which Palestine’s Arabs and Jews have been fundamentally and mutually constituted by their conflict over land since 1880s (Robinson 2005). Within this framework, I examine the ways in which the intimate interrogation-encounter has shaped Palestinians and Israelis and their different systems of meaning and practices. To do so, I locate my project within theoretical and anthropological scholarship that explores different traditions and systems of meaning

regarding torture and pain; the hegemonic modern-liberal tradition, and secular and Islamic non-liberal traditions.

### ***Modern liberal sensibilities toward torture and pain***

We can delineate two different arguments regarding the development of new sensibilities toward torture and pain and the desire to eliminate them in modern societies. The first attributes these sensibilities to the gradual spread of humanism, empathy and human rights discourse in the modern age (Scott 2003, Hunt 2007). The second attributes them to the development of disciplinary power and its efficiency (Foucault 1977). Despite these modern-liberal sensibilities, scholars argue that torture persists in modern societies and constitutes an integral element of modern states rather than a barbaric survival in it (Rejali 1994). Moreover, torture is inherent in the project of liberation and civilizing mission (Maran 1989), and constitutes a vital part of the colonial encounter (Puar 2005). However, as Asad (2003) argues, despite its persistence, torture is enacted in secrecy because it is defined in the law as a form of cruelty that modern-liberal societies do not approve of. They generate rhetoric of public denial and disclaim that torture has taken place in their domain of authority. This denial is linked to the narrative that modern history of “torture” is a record of the progressive prohibition of cruel, inhuman practices and is also part of the universal secular-liberal story of how one becomes human (Asad 2003). Nevertheless, argues Asad, the modern dedication to eliminating torture and pain often conflicts with other commitments such as the duty of the state to maintain its security. In order to deal with this contradiction, pain is treated as quantifiable essence. Inflicted physical suffering is measured in accordance with the proportionality of means to ends (Asad 2003). My research will explore Israeli techniques of torture and how state institutions deal conceptually and practically with the prevalence of torture and pain in a state that defines itself as a liberal democracy.

### ***Significations of torture and pain experiences***

Scholars and human rights activists usually focus on the traumatic aspects of torturous experiences and their ineffability. Timerman (1981) announces the unsharability of the tortured gazes and Scarry (1985) asserts the solitary experience of the tortured and the inexpressibility of physical pain that splits the tortured reality and the reality of others. These features of pain are often presented as universal, and despite their partial accuracy, they exemplify the usual association of suffering physical or mental pain with being in a passive state; being an object not a subject. This understanding is related to the secular-liberal viewpoint of the only two mutually exclusive options available: either an agent or a victim (Asad 2003: 79, Mahmood 2005). Unlike perceptions of pain as passive and lonely experience (Kotarba 1983, Scarry 1985, Kleinman et al 1997), scholars and anthropologists depict terror and pain as a social and public relationship with agential aspects (Ahmed 2002, Asad 2003) and healing potential (Taussig 1987). Building on the latter understandings, my research will investigate the dynamics in which pain experienced within the interrogation-encounter develops into a cultural-political relationship that connects Palestinians and motivates their actions.

Some scholars situate torture and pain in the human body (Scarry 1985, Leder 1990, Grosz 1996). They focus on the body as separable entity from the soul/spirit. Yet, paying attention to the soul assists capturing different perceptions of pain and the meanings associated with it. Anthropologists have pointed to religious traditions based on the idea of the soul (Mahmood 1998, Asad 2003, Hirschkind 2006, Pandolfo 2007). Ensoulment for them means that “the living human body is an integrated reality having developable capacities for sensing, imagining, and doing that are culturally mediated” (Asad 2003: 89). By paying attention to the soul/spirit/self, my research will explore how it is cultivated within the Islamic parties and extend the exploration of the soul to investigate its cultivation within secular political parties.

Scholars have pointed to the role of cultures of terror in constituting subjectivities, producing meanings and exerting practices. Fanon (1963) considers the process of decolonization as the creation of new men. Taussig (1987) perceives the space of death as a space of transformation crucial in the creation of meaning and consciousness. Feldman (1991) argues that arrest and interrogation function as biographical markers that precede the intensified involvement with organized paramilitary violence in Northern Ireland; “subject formation, a pivotal mechanism for the production of political ideology, can be located within the biographical conjuncture formed by arrest/interrogation experiences” (Feldman 1991: 98).

Some of the abovementioned issues had been studied in the Palestinian context. Thornhill (1992) documents the methods of abuse used by the shabak to extract confessions from Palestinian women. Pitcher (1998) examines the production of meaning regarding martyrdom during the Intifada. Peteet (1994) explores how Palestinian recipients of bodily violence re-signify the practices of violence and power in an agential manner. Nashif (2008) examines the production of meaning among the community of Palestinian political prisoners in the Israeli colonial prison system. However, little attention had been given to the interrogation-encounter as a productive site for shaping the conceptualizations and practices of both Palestinians and Israelis.

### **The contribution of the research project**

Exploring the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation from the viewpoint of the interrogation-encounter opens up new possibilities for understanding the ways in which this confrontation constitutes both Palestinians and Israelis and shapes their subjectivities, systems of meaning and practices. This exploration will enhance our understanding of the dynamics of conflictual encounters in other places.

Encounters have always been important sites for anthropological explorations. The specific encounter examined in my research, the interrogation-encounter, is becoming one of the main sites that constitute the relation between the West on one hand, and Arabs and Muslims on the other, such as in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo. This research will deepen our understanding of this kind of relationship and its cultural-political implications on both sides.

The interrogation-encounter I am investigating engages two different traditions and systems of meaning. One, allies itself with modern-secular-liberal tradition, and the other works within non-liberal tradition (either secular or Islamic). While anthropologists have recently challenged the universality of liberal tradition through invoking Islamic tradition and illuminating the techniques by which the self is formed within this tradition (Asad 2003, Mahmood 2005, Hirschkind 2006), my research broadens this exploration to include technologies for self formation within non-liberal secular tradition.

Finally, the research will contribute to the study of forms of resistance, a widely studied concept in anthropology and related disciplines. The research explores how disciplining technologies and resisting technologies are mutually constitutive. Furthermore, it expounds how the historically and culturally specific understandings of torture and pain subvert dominant (state, human rights, etc.) discourses about torture and pain, which aim to make torture intelligible in a realm of normative-humanitarian politics.

## **Methodology**

In order to investigate conceptualizations of torture and pain for both Palestinians and Israelis and the strategies used to build these conceptualizations as well as their resulting practices within the interrogation-encounter, I will collect data from various sites in two key locations. One period of fieldwork will be carried out in Jerusalem where Israeli courts and human rights organizations are located. From Jerusalem I will be able to collect various kinds

of ethnographic information concerning the shabak's use of torture techniques, Israeli conceptualizations of torture and pain inflicted by the shabak on Palestinian activists, and strategies used by Israeli institutions, courts and human rights organizations, to reconcile the claim of a liberal democratic political system, with widely employed torture techniques by the Israeli state. First, I will gather court decisions, governmental and human rights organizations' reports regarding the shabak use of torture, as well as books, articles and interviews written by/with shabak employees. Second, I will engage in participant observation in Israeli courts dealing with cases against the shabak and in human rights organizations producing reports regarding the shabak's use of torture. Third, I will interview lawyers pursuing cases against the shabak as well as employees and volunteers working in human rights organizations doing the same. The second period of fieldwork will be carried out in Ramallah in the West Bank, where I will interview leaders and cadres of various political parties engaged in preparing their members for the interrogation-encounter, Palestinian activists who experienced the interrogation-encounter, family members and friends of political activists as well as Palestinian experts interested in the Palestinian political culture. In addition, I will engage in participant observation within political parties, families of political prisoners and the Palestinian community in general.

### **Phase 1: Jerusalem**

#### **September 2008-December 2008**

In addition to collecting archival materials that include reports and court decisions regarding shabak use of torture techniques as well as books written by former shabak employees and interviews conducted with shabak interrogators, I will conduct participant observation in Israeli courts investigating shabak interrogators involved in using torture against Palestinian activists. I will focus on how torture and pain are conceptualized and how these conceptualizations are constructed through the discourses prevalent in courts. I will

engage also in participant observation in two Israeli human rights organizations; B'tselem and Hamoked who work on producing reports concerning shabak use of torture. I will interview employees who have worked on preparing reports regarding shabak use of torture and collecting shabak responses to these reports. In addition I will interview lawyers working on specific cases of torture in order to explore how the interrogation-encounter had been affected by previous court decisions and governmental and human rights reports.

## **Phase 2: Ramallah**

### **January 2009-April 2009**

I will conduct in depth interviews with leaders and high level cadres of 3 Palestinian political parties; Marxist, Nationalist, and Islamic parties. I will access them through connections already established in my previous exploratory research. My interviews will focus on their conceptualizations of torture and pain inflicted on Palestinians during the interrogation encounter and the strategies used by each political party to cultivate their members and prepare them in order to practice *sumud* within the interrogation-encounter. During the interviews I will explore who plans the educational programs, the materials used by each political party in this preparation process, including the use of books, poems, and songs, the heroic models invoked, and how torture and pain are conceptualized in these and other artifacts. I will explore the meanings of *sumud* within the interrogation-encounter and how they expect its enactment by activists. Additionally, I will participate in educational sessions conducted by these parties and observe how torture and pain are conceptualized and discussed.

I will also engage in participant observation and interview family members and friends of previous and current Palestinian political prisoners as well as Palestinians interested in Palestinian popular culture in order to explore to what extent and in what ways have the

conceptualizations of torture and pain developed by political parties been disseminated within the whole community and within popular culture.

### **May 2009-August 2009**

I will interview political activists who experienced interrogation in different periods of Israeli occupation (1967-2007). I will access these activists through the political parties' leaders and the connections I have already established with activists and Palestinian organizations working with political prisoners. Because Palestinian political prisoners constitute a network, I will employ the "snowball method" as a means of meeting more interviewees. I will interview activists with diverse age, gender, locality, social status and political affiliation in order to examine how different torture techniques are used with different groups. I will engage in conversations with the political activists in order to identify whether the strategies used through the preparation process work within the interrogation-encounter and to what extent they determine their practices of *sumud* or *inhjar* (breakdown). Through these conversations I will explore how these activists engage with the different components of this preparation process. For instance, how they read books or listen to poems and songs, or share them with their surrounding community before their arrest, and what components of the preparation process work better for these activists within the interrogation process itself. I will explore how songs, books, and heroic models invoked within the interrogation affect their practice of *sumud* act, how *sumud* is perceived and enacted by them, and affects their relationship with Israeli interrogator/s.

### **Preparedness for this research**

As a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship I grew up within the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. I was born and raised in Haifa, studied at Haifa and Tel-Aviv Universities within Israel and at Birzeit University in Palestine. I am fluent in both Arabic and

Hebrew languages. My language skills will assist carrying out my research in the two locations Jerusalem and Ramallah. Moreover my experience in living through the borders equips me with knowledge, deep understanding, access to Israeli and Palestinian institutions and personnel, and awareness of the sensitivity of my research project and the necessity of vigilance in protecting my own safety and the safety of my interlocutors.

During my work as a researcher at the Women Studies Institute at Birzeit University (2001-2005), I attained skills in conducting ethnographic research through my participation in a two year research project titled: “ethnography of checkpoints”. I conducted participant observation and interviewed Palestinians crossing Israeli checkpoints. During these interviews I noticed the centrality of the concept *sumud* in the discourses and practices of Palestinians and realized that *sumud* is a relational concept that organizes Palestinians’ experiences regarding the Israeli occupation. These insights motivated my current research and offered the “relational” framework I am using.

Regarding the current proposed research project, I spent the summers of 2006 and 2007 in Jerusalem and Ramallah conducting an exploratory research and establishing contacts with Israeli and Palestinian organizations working with previous and current Palestinian political prisoners. I established contacts with the following organizations: A-ddameer and Nadi alansir located in Ramallah in the West Bank and B`tselem and Hamoked located in Jerusalem. I also established contacts with Palestinian parties’ leaders and cadres and engaged in conversations with Palestinian activists who experienced interrogation by the shabak. The cooperation of my interlocutors convinced me that I will be able to carry out this research. I have already traced some of the materials used by various parties during the training process such as novels, materials written by Palestinians who experienced interrogation, and materials that aim to prepare Palestinian activists for the encounter. Reading these materials has helped me to raise some of my research questions.

During my B.A and M.A studies I took several courses about the Palestinian/Israeli conflict from different perspectives including political, cultural, and psychodynamic perspectives. During my graduate studies at UC Davis, I have been taken courses in anthropological theories and methodologies. These courses developed my critical analyses regarding hierarchical systems of knowledge production and hegemonic universalizing concepts not grounded within specific historical-political and cultural contexts. In addition, they enhanced my skills and prepared me for the proposed project. Furthermore, my Masters degree in women studies has developed my gender sensitivity and ability to analyze gender specific techniques of torture.

I have already obtained affiliation with Birzeit University during my fieldwork. Two Palestinian anthropologists from the Women Studies Institute and the Sociology and Anthropology department: Professor Reema Hammami and Professor Esmail Nashif have agreed to meet with me regularly. Both have conducted research on various aspects of Palestinian lives under Israeli occupation. In addition, my adviser at UC Davis, Professor Suad Joseph, will work with me through email and phone calls to guide the research.

### **Significance of the expected results**

In addition to the contribution to anthropological theory as mentioned in the contribution section, the results of the proposed research project will deepen our understanding of the Arab-Palestinian/Israeli conflict; a conflict that has shaped the politics of the Arab world, particularly, since the occupation of Palestine in 1948. The research will illuminate the psychological, cultural and political impact of the conflict on Palestinians and will show that despite being victims of Israeli disciplining technologies which include torture; Palestinians are re-signifying the meanings of torture in agential way.

### **Plans for the write up and dissemination of research results**

The results of the research project will constitute my PhD dissertation at the university of California- Davis. In addition, I plan to write articles in journals, in English and Arabic, addressing different aspects of my research. Moreover, I plan to turn the dissertation into a book in both languages Arabic and English.

### **Protection of human subjects**

Before conducting the proposed research, I will get the approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at UC-Davis. The IRB is a campus wide committee established to protect the rights and welfare of human subjects in research studies conducted under the auspices of the University of California, Davis. The IRB has the authority to approve, require modifications in, or disapprove all research activities that fall within its jurisdiction. The IRB independently approves or disapproves a research protocol based on whether or not human subjects are adequately protected. The IRB, which reports to the Vice Chancellor for Research, is comprised of four committees, three clinical and one social and behavioral.

### **Utilization of research facilities**

As mentioned in the preparedness section, I have already obtained affiliation with Birzeit University during my fieldwork. This will allow me to use the university's facilities, such as the library, as needed during my fieldwork.

## Bibliography

- \* Addameer, 2007, *Political Detention*, Addameer: Prisoners' support and Human Rights Association.
- \* Ahmed, S. 2002, The Contingency of Pain. *Parallax* 8:1 17-34.
- \* Al-Hodali W., 2003, *Purdahs of Darkness, Ninety Days of Flaming Confrontation*, Palestinian Institution for National Education (Arabic).
- \* Asad, T. 2003, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- \* Amnesty, 1999, *Israel and the Occupied Territories*, Amnesty International Report.
- \* Amnesty, 2002, *Israel and the Occupied Territories*, Amnesty International Report.
- \* Beinun J., 1998, Political Economy and Public Culture in a State of Constant Conflict: 50 Years of Jewish Statehood, *Jewish Social Studies* 4, no 3: 96-141.
- \* B'tselem, 2000, *Legislation Allowing the Use of Physical Force and Mental Coercion in Interrogations by the General Security Service*, B'tselem the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.
- \* B'tselem and Hamoked, 2007, *Absolute Prohibition, The Torture and Ill Treatment of Palestinian Detainees*, Report (Hebrew).
- \* Cohen S. and Golan D., 1991, *The Interrogation of Palestinians During the Intifada: Ill-Treatment, "Moderate Physical Pressure" or Torture*, B'tselem-The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.
- \* Dochengara D., 1980, *Let Me Talk: The Testimony Of Dumetella, A Woman From Bolivian Mines*, Arab Studies Association (Arabic).
- \* Fanon F., 1963, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, New York.
- \* Feldman A., 1991, *Formations of Violence, The Narration of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- \* Foucault, M. 1977, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. NY: Vintage Books.
- \* Fucik J., 1990, *Notes From the Gallows*, Gibbs Smith.
- \* Grosz E., 1996, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*, Routledge, New York.
- \* Hirschkind C., 2006, *The Ethical Sounscape: Cassette-Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*, Columbia University Press: New York.
- \* Hunt L., 2007, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, London.
- \* Kleinman A., Das V., and Lock M., 1997, *Social Suffering*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- \* Kotarba J. A., 1983, *Chronic Pain: Its Social Dimensions*, Beverley Hills: Sage.
- \* Leder D., 1990, *The Absent Body*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- \* Loakman Z., 1993, Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-Ruled Palestine, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1: 601-627.

- \* Loakman Z., 1996, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- \* Mahmood S., 1998, *Women's Piety and Embodied Discipline: The Islamic Resurgence in Contemporary Egypt*, Ph.D diss., Stanford University.
- \* Mahmood S., 2005, *Politics of Piety, The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and London.
- \* Maran, R. 1989, *Torture: The Role of Ideology in the French-Algerian War*. New York: Praeger.
- \* Nashif E., 2008, *Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community*, Routledge.
- \* Pandolfo S., 2007, The Burning, Finitude and the Politico-Theological Imagination of Illegal Migration, *Anthropological Theory* 7: 329-363.
- \* Peri Y., 1999, *Habaa Le Horgecha*, Keshet (Hebrew).
- \* Peteet, J. 1994, Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian *Intifada*: a Cultural Politics of Violence. *American Ethnologist* 21:1 31-49.
- \* Pitcher L., 1998, The Devine Impatience: Ritual, Narrative, and Symbolization in the Practice of Martyrdom in Palestine, *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12 (1): 8-30.
- \* Puar J., 2005, On Torture: Abu Ghraib, *Radical History Review*, issue 93: 13-38.
- \* Qatamesh A., 1998, *I will not wear your dress: My experience in the interrogation Gallows*, Kanaan for Studies and Publication (Arabic).
- \* Qatamesh R. and Shaaban N, 2003, *Torturing Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli Prisons, Aldameer* (Arabic).
- \* Rejali, D. M. 1994, *Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran*. CO: Westview, Boulder.
- \* Robinson S., 2005, *Occupied Citizens in a Liberal State: Palestinians Under Military Rule and the Colonial Formation of Israeli Society, 1948-1966*, Dissertation submitted to the Department of History, Stanford University.
- \* Scarry, E. 1985, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the world*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \* Scott G. R., 2003, *History of Torture Throughout the Ages*, Kessinger Publishing, LLC
- \* Shafir G., 1989, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- \* Taussig M., 1987, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man, A Study in Terror and Healing*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- \* Timerman J., 1981, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- \* Thornhill T., 1992, *Making Women Talk: The Interrogation of Palestinian Women Detainees by the Israeli General Security Services*, London, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights.