



TEACHING GUIDE

This pedagogical project aims to rehabilitate the question of Gaza within an Israeli settler-colonial framework. Israel first tried to occupy the Gaza Strip in 1956, but was forced to withdraw its forces in response to pressure from the Eisenhower Administration after only four months. Later, when it occupied it in 1967, the Israeli Knesset endorsed the annexation of the Gaza Strip in a secret cabinet meeting shortly after the close of the 1967 War. After repeated and failed attempts to pacify the native Palestinian population, Israel began to shift its policy towards the coastal enclave. Since 1991, it has isolated, de-developed, and contained the territory and its population. Israel intensified its policy during the Second Palestinian Uprising between 2000-2005, which culminated in unilateral withdrawal in 2005. While Israel has framed the withdrawal of its settler population and military installations as the termination of its occupation, it has maintained control of its air space, its seaports, its electro-magnetic sphere, and its population registry, as well as the entry and exit of all goods and people. Legal scholars as well as the International Criminal Court, in dicta, have argued that Israel's ongoing authority amounts to effective control and thus its ongoing role as an Occupying Power. In contrast, since 2005, Israel has treated the Gaza Strip as a *sui generis* entity: it is neither occupied territory nor is it an

independent state, it is a “hostile entity” unlike anything else that exists. This framing has had manifold ramifications.

In practice, Israel has adopted intermittent, counterinsurgency campaigns aimed at diminishing the capacity of the captive Palestinian population to militarily resist Israel's structural violence. Conceptually, it has set Gaza apart from the rest of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict so that there is no continuity between Israel's wars waged upon it and its treatment of Palestinians throughout Israel as well as the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.

Together, the practice of systematic war and the framework of unique distinction have set the Gaza Strip apart from the question of Palestine and transformed it into a national security question. By emphasizing the role of Hamas and diminishing the question of Palestine, Israel has collapsed conditions in Gaza with asymmetric conflicts, or what has come to be known as the “global war on terror,” thus eliding the consequential distinctions between Palestinians and other non-state actors. This pedagogical project is an attempt to re-frame the issue in order to place greater emphasis on the broader question of Palestine and to explain

Israel's policy towards the Gaza Strip in that context.

The following Teaching Guide is comprised of four parts: 1) History of Israel-Palestine; 2) Settler Colonialism; 3) Situating Gaza; and 4) Structural Violence.

Each part can be taught separately along with one of the film's four parts. Alternatively, it can be taught as a single unit in the course of one class or workshop to understand the conflict with a particular emphasis on the Gaza Strip.

Due to the spectacle and horror of warfare, lay audiences may be more familiar with Israel's repeated military operations, making Gaza a gateway to understanding the broader Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The materials below can be used together and/or separately and can be supplemented using the *Bibliography* as well as the *JadMag*.

Part I: Settler Colonialism

[To be paired with Part 2 of film]

Lesson Objectives & Pedagogical Goals

- Define and understand settler-colonialism; distinguish it from colonialism.
- Understand how Israel and Palestinians is a case study of settler-colonialism by understanding Palestinian presence and claims for a nation-state as well as the rise of Zionism as a Jewish nationalist movement.
- Draw parallels between Israel's treatment of Palestinians across various jurisdictions i.e., civil, military occupation, counterinsurgency.

Suggested Reading List & Resources

- Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. "Umm al Heiran Unrecognized Village v. Hiran Settlement." YouTube video, 4:43. Posted February 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FlgU6oLswv0>.
- Bhandar, Brenda and Rafeef Ziadah. "Acts and Omissions: Framing Settler-Colonialism in Palestine Studies." *Jadaliyya*, January 14, 2016. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/23569/acts-and-omissions_framing-settler-colonialism-in-.
- Elkins, Caroline and Susan Pederson. "Settler-Colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses." In *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, 1-20. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Salamanca, Omar Jabary, Mezna Qato, Kareem Rabie, and Sobhi Samour. "Introduction, Past is Present: Settler Colonialism in Palestine." *settler colonial studies* 2.1 (2012): 1-8. https://www.academia.edu/9101689/Past_is_Present_Settler_Colonialism_in_Palestine.

- Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387-409.
- Additional References:
 - Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. "Discriminatory Laws Database." <http://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7771>.
 - Amara, Ahmad. "The Negev Land Question: Between Denial and Recognition." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42.4 (2013): 27-47. <http://www.palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/162935>.
 - Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), occupied Palestinian territories (oPt). *Humanitarian Atlas 2015*. United Nations, 2015. https://www.ochaopt.org/documents/atlas_2015_web.pdf.
 - [Visualizing Palestine](#) (infographics on various Israeli jurisdictions and resource allocation)

Suggested Discussion Questions

- What is settler-colonialism? How is it different from colonialism?
- How do the tripartite elements of dispossession, removal, and containment facilitate settler-colonialism? How does Israel achieve these goals in each of its jurisdictions of control: within Israel? Within the West Bank? Within the Gaza Strip?
- What is the Praver Plan? Where is it taking place? How is it similar and different from settlement expansion in the West Bank?
- What is Israel's "Palestine problem"? How is the Israeli government solving this "problem"?

Suggested Activities

- Break the class up into groups of 2-3 and assign the class a settler-colonial case study. Suggestions include: the United States, Australia, Canada, Algeria, and South Africa. Ask them to answer the following questions for their case studies before returning to the group to share their responses and de-brief their findings.
 - o Who are the native people?
 - o Who are the settlers and what are their claims to the land?
 - o What happened to the native population and how?
 - o What are the native people's outstanding claims?
 - o What happened to the settlers?
 - o What are the similarities and differences between your case study and that of Israel and the Palestinians?

Part II: History of Israel-Palestine

[To be paired with Part 3 of film]

Lesson Objectives & Pedagogical Goals

- Understand Israel's methods of control of Palestinian population across its jurisdictional authority and what explains its pursuit of different policies.
- Trace and contextualize historical trajectory of events and isolation of Gaza and examine Israel's rhetorical use of self-defense as an argument in light of Hamas's establishment in 1988 and its use of force.
- Understand that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are slated to be the Palestinian state under the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process. Explore the inherent challenges to the establishment of such a sovereign state in light of their non-contiguous territorial character and Israel's policy goal of autonomy for Palestinians rather than self-determination and sovereignty.

Suggested Reading List & Resources

- Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar. "Palestine, Israel, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer." *Middle East Research & Information Project*, February 2014. [http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine-Israel\(MERIP_February2014\)final.pdf](http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine-Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf).
- Dana, Tariq. "The Palestinian Capitalists that Have Gone Too Far." *Al-Shabaka*, January 14, 2014. <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/palestinian-capitalists-have-gone-too-far/>.
- Filiu, Jean-Pierre. "One Palestine against Another." In *Gaza: A History*, 279-310. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Gelvin, James. "Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinians." In *The Modern Middle East (Third Edition)*, 283-293.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Li, Darryl. "A Separate Piece?: Gaza and the 'No-State Solution'." *Jadaliyya*, December 4, 2012. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/8762/a-separate-piece_gaza-and-the-%E2%80%9Cno-state-solution%E2%80%9D-.
- Pappé, Ilan. "The Drive for An Exclusively Jewish State." In *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, 10-28. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006.
- Roy, Sara. "De-Development Revisited: Palestinian Economy and Society since Oslo." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28.3 (1999): 64-82. http://duncankennedy.net/documents/Is-Pal/Second-Syllabus/Sara_Roy_De-Development_Revisited.pdf.
- Tartir, Alaa. "The Evolution and Reform of Palestinian Security Forces 1993-2013." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 4.1 (2015). Accessed 5 June 2016. <http://www.stabilityjournal.org/articles/10.5334/sta.gi>.
- Timeline from *Gaza in Context*, <http://gazaincontext.weebly.com/gic-slides.html>.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Where is the West Bank and what is its relationship to the Gaza Strip? Why does Israel want the West Bank? Why does it no longer desire the Gaza Strip?
- What are the Dayton Security Forces in the West Bank? Who trains and funds them? Who are they expected to protect and why? Why are there no Dayton Forces in the Gaza Strip?
- How has Israel de-developed and isolated the Gaza Strip since 1993? Why is that year particularly significant?
- When did Hamas launch its first suicide attack? When did Hamas launch its first rocket into Israel? What does the chronology of these attacks tell us about Israel's claims for the use of force against

Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and beyond?

Suggested Activities

- Break the class into 2-3 groups and ask them each to answer the following questions:
 - o What happened in 2006 and 2007 between Fatah and Hamas?
 - o How did this impact the conflict, specifically Palestinian claims for liberation and Israeli military action?
 - o How did the Palestinian leadership's policies in the West Bank aim to fulfill Israel's demands? Were they successful in meeting those demands? Did their compliance lead to benefit for the Palestinians?
- Imagine you were born in Gaza in 1986 and you are now 30 years old. What are the pivotal events in your life as someone living in the Gaza Strip?
 - o Point to specific years and explain what happened, with the impact this had on you and your family.

Part III: Situating Gaza

[To be paired with Part 1 of film]

Lesson Objectives & Pedagogical Goals

- Place Gaza both geographically and conceptually – understand where it is and start to identify what makes it both similar to the rest of Palestine and unique in its experience.
- Define asymmetry in warfare - understand how asymmetry applies to Israel and Palestinians.
- Question how media affects our understanding of power and conflict.

Suggested Reading List & Resources

- Abusalim, Jihad. "From Fence to Fence: Retelling Gaza's Story." In *Gaza as Metaphor*, edited by Dina Matar and Helga Tawil-Souri, 83-93. London: Hurst Publishers, 2016.
- Baker, Basil. "Interview with Dr. Basil Baker: Quick Death under Siege." By Nehad Khader. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 44.1 (2014): 126-132.
- Feldman, Ilana Feldman. "Government Practice and the Place of Gaza." In *Governing Gaza*, 1-30. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Mohyeldin, Ayman. "Mediating the Assault on Gaza." By Adel Iskandar. *Status* 1.1 (2014). <http://www.statishour.com/ayman-mohyeldin.html>.
- Seikaly, Sherene. "Gaza as Archive." In *Gaza As Metaphor*, edited by Dina Matar and Helga Tawil-Souri, 225-231. London: Hurst Publishers, 2016.
- Thrall, Nathan. " Hamas's Chances." *London Review of Books* 36.16 (2014): 10-12. <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n16/nathan-thrall/hamass-chances>.
- References:
 - Institute for Middle East Understanding. "[50 Days of Death & Destruction: Israel's](#)

"[Operation Protective Edge](#)." 10 September 2014.

- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), occupied Palestinian territories (oPt). Gaza situation maps. United Nations. <https://www.ochaopt.org/maps>.
- OCHA, oPt. *Humanitarian Atlas 2015*. United Nations, 2015. https://www.ochaopt.org/documents/atlas_2015_web.pdf.
- Visualizing Palestine. *Gaza's Untold Story: From Displacement to Death*. <http://visualizingpalestine.org/visuals/gaza-refugee-deaths>. (visual)
- Visualizing Palestine. *Israeli & Palestinian Ceasefire Violations*. <http://visualizingpalestine.org/visuals/gaza-ceasefire-violations>. (visual)

Suggested Discussion Questions

- Where is the Gaza Strip? What is it: a state? An occupied territory? Something in between?
- What is Hamas? When was it founded? How many members does it have? Who are the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip?
- How did Israel try to pacify the population of Gaza and fail?
- Who has the right to self-defense? People or states and what is the difference?

Suggested Activities

- Word association & discussion framing
 - Begin an open discussion with a word association exercise (you could do this before and/or after viewing the video as a class) by asking students to say the first word that comes to mind when they hear "Gaza" or "Palestinians"

- o This can be done popcorn-style with whoever wants to participate or round robin until everyone has gone and students are satisfied with the words that have been listed on the board
 - o Leave this list of words up for the remainder of the class as you conduct other activities and discussion based on the video and readings (if you are doing this over more than one class, take a photo of the words from the first day.)
 - o Come back to these words at the end of your lesson(s) and have students reflect on why certain words are on the board. Are there words they would remove? Are there words they would add? Why?
- Media Analysis
 - o In groups of 2-3, students read silently and then discuss one of the NY Times articles suggested below. Each group can/should be given a different article to help enrich the report-back to the rest of the class. For some of these articles, it is more helpful to conduct an analysis of the content or text; whereas, for others, it will be an analysis of the headline and larger framing. The level of guidance to students can be left to the instructor's discretion and can be very structured or can be an approach that allows them to bring back and tie their own reflections based on earlier readings or class discussion.
 - o For groups conducting a textual analysis, names of the parties (states, political parties, etc.) involved should be blacked out and students should characterize/ describe each party based on the information and adjectives given in the article. For groups focusing on headlines or larger framing, no details need to be marked out.
- o Students should reflect on the following in their group discussions:
 - ♣ How does the article define self-defense through its narrative? Are there problems with this definition? Why?
 - ♣ What words/terms are used to describe the event? Are these "neutral" words or do they have some kind of bias?
 - ♣ What words/terms are missing?
 - ♣ What weapons or threats are included? Who is being threatened?
1. "Boys Drawn to Gaza Beach, and Into Center of Mideast Strife" (Original title: "Gaza Strip Beach Explosion Kills Children") <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/17/world/middleeast/gaza-strip-beach-explosion-kills-children.html>
 2. "A Growing Arsenal of Homegrown Rockets Encounters Israel's Iron Dome" <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/10/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-missiles-iron-dome.html>
 3. "Israelis Watch Bombs Drop on Gaza from Front-Row Seats" <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/15/world/middleeast/israelis-watch-bombs-drop-on-gaza-from-front-row-seats.html>
 4. Video: "Cutting the Grass" <http://www.nytimes.com/video/>

[world/middleeast/
10000002989054/cutting-the-
grass-of-hamass-militancy.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/10/world/middleeast/10000002989054/cutting-the-grass-of-hamass-militancy.html)

5. “Air Sirens Puncture Life in Affluent Tel Aviv Suburbs”
[http://www.nytimes.com/
2014/07/10/world/middleeast/
israel-gaza-amas-tel-aviv-
palestinians-iron-dome-
rockets.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/10/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-amas-tel-aviv-palestinians-iron-dome-rockets.html)
6. “In Rubble of Gaza Seaside Café, Hunt for Victims Who Had Come for Soccer” [http://
www.nytimes.com/2014/07/11/
world/middleeast/missile-at-
beachside-gaza-cafe-finds-
patrons-poised-for-world-
cup.html?
partner=rss&emc=rss&smid=tw-
nytimes](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/11/world/middleeast/missile-at-beachside-gaza-cafe-finds-patrons-poised-for-world-cup.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&smid=tw-nytimes)
(See also, the original headline:
“Missile at Beachside Café
Finds Patrons Poised for World
Cup.” [https://twitter.com/
nytimes/status/
487334827931471873](https://twitter.com/nytimes/status/487334827931471873))

Part IV: Structural Violence

[To be paired with Part 4 of film]

Lesson Objectives & Pedagogical Goals

- Understand the meaning of structural violence and how the status quo can be a violent experience for marginalized populations.
- Understand how the concept of structural violence applies to Palestinians.
- Critically examine the responsibility of individuals and states in cases of conflict.

Suggested Reading List & Resources

- Ajl, Max. "The Limits of Humanitarianism." *Jadaliyya*, July 7, 2015. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/22091/the-limits-of-humanitarianism>.
- Erakat, Noura, Bianca Isais, and Salmah Rizvi. "Operation Protective Edge & Legal Remedies." *International Affairs & the UN in the Arab World Program Working Paper Series #24* (October 2014). https://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/publications/Documents/working_papers/20141009_noura_erakat.pdf.
- Esmeir, Samera. "Colonial Experiments in Gaza." *Jadaliyya*, July 14, 2014. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/8482/colonial-experiments-in-gaza->
- Farmer, Paul. "On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below." *Daedalus* 125.1 (1996): 261-83.
- Khalidi, Rashid. "Collective Punishment in Gaza." *The New Yorker*, July 29, 2014. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/collective-punishment-gaza>.
- Landler, Mark. "Gaza War Strains Relations Between the U.S., Israel." *New York Times*, August 4, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/05/world/middleeast/gaza-is-straining-us-ties-to-israel.html?_r=0.
- Oswald, Nuriya. "Gaza Reconstruction Mechanism: Profiting Israel, Entrenching the Blockade." *Jadaliyya*, July 7, 2015.

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/22089/gaza-reconstruction-mechanism-profiting-israel-ent>.

- Pelham, Nicolas. "The Role of the Tunnel Economy in Redeveloping Gaza." In *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy: De-development and Beyond*, edited by Mandy Turner and Omar Shweiki, 200-219. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Rabbani, Mouin. "Why the Gaza Truce Failed." *Jadaliyya*, August 24, 2014. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/18976/why-the-gaza-truce-failed>.

Suggested Discussion Questions

- If there are no more military confrontations between Israel and the Palestinians, particularly Hamas, how will this affect the Israeli economy? The Israeli military? How will the lives of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip be changed? What will happen to Palestinians in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem? What will happen to Palestinian citizens of Israel?
- How long has Israel's siege on the Gaza Strip been in place? What does Israel claim it is meant to do? What does it do in practice? What is the humanitarian function of the tunnels in this context?
- What choices do Palestinians in the Gaza Strip have? What choices do Israelis have?
- What is the responsibility of the United States in this conflict? What is the responsibility of individuals? Of other countries or international organizations, such as the United Nations?

Suggested Activities

- Break the class up into groups of 2-3 and ask them to do one of two activities:
 - Look at the terms of the 2012 and 2014 Israel-Palestinian

Ceasefire agreements (below)
and answer:

- ♣ How similar are they?
- ♣ Do they address the root of the conflict? Why or why not?
- ♣ Will they successfully prevent another military confrontation between Hamas and Israel?

(For 2012 terms, see: <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/text-cease-fire-agreement-between-israel-and-hamas.premium-1.479653>; For 2014 terms, see: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28939350>; See also Hamas' terms for a desired 10-year truce: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28939350>)

- o Ask the students to examine the claims of the global movement for boycott, divestment, and sanctions and answer:
 - ♣ What are the demands of the BDS movement?
 - ♣ Do these demands address the root cause of conflict?
 - ♣ If the BDS Movement's three demands are successfully implemented, will that help prevent another military confrontation between Hamas and Israel? If not, what value does it have, if any?

(For BDS demands, see: <https://bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>)