Supplementary Materials:

Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance

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Contents

1 Methodological details and additional data

Violence research is at the center of discussions on ethics and personal safety for scholars and their subjects (Carpenter, 2012; Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018; Ellsberg et al., 2001; Fujii, 2010, 2012; Lake, 2018; Pachirat, 2015; Parkinson, 2013; Parkinson and Wood, 2015; Schostak and Schostak, 2009; Wood, 2006). As academics entering the field, especially in insecure spaces, we are necessarily exposing and examining vulnerable people with less power and privilege than many academics enjoy, and it is our duty to do everything in our power to ensure our research does no harm. While it is therefore important to me to protect the identities and anonymity of my respondents, interlocutors, and others I encountered in the field, I also acknowledge the importance of other scholars' ability to evaluate the validity of my research. Because of these concerns, especially in light of recent ethical scandals in our discipline (Boston College, Michael LaCour), in this appendix, I work to make my research process explicit. I detail the choices I made, why I made them, the strengths and weaknesses of those choices, and how I think they might influence my data. Indeed, I include this appendix in response to proposed qualitative "best practices" put forward by the Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (QMMR) special issue "Transparency in Qualitative and Multi-Method Research" (Bleich and Pekkanen, 2015).

This Supplementary Material proceeds as follows: I first include additional contextualizing data aimed at adding robustness and nuance to the two extreme cases detailed in the article (Section A). Second, I delve into the methodological choices I made, with the hopes of making my research practices explicit (Section B). Next, I detail my qualitative coding process of these interviews (Section C). Section D contains a detailed table, as suggested by Bleich and Pekkanen (2015), which describes each interview without providing identifiable information. Section E contains my complete interview protocol.

A   Additional context

This section provides additional context to augment the data from the two primary field sites presented in the article, including how and why I consider checkpoints to be manifestations of state violence; how violence exposure in the West Bank varies by territory; a discussion of the additional field sites and data I used as part of this theory-building process; and finally, an

additional empirical section containing contextualizing evidence from the field sites discussed in the article and from my other field sites across Hebron District.

A.1 Conception of state violence

State boundaries and identities are highly contested in the West Bank and throughout the Israeli and Palestinian territories. No abstract, theoretical concept of "the state" reflects either the international designations or the internal political realities—and complexities—of governance in this region. Nevertheless, the checkpoint apparatus that Israel has built around and amid West Bank communities has some key features that are typically associated with state authority. Specifically, the physical, human-made, wartime structures imposed upon these spaces—composing what I call the *built environment of conflict*— represent an authoritative, institutionalized, and legally authorized use of force over a population. In other words, they represent a monopoly over the "legitimate" use of violence (Weber, 1965) and use that violence to enforce their legal control over a population (Cover, 1985). For these reasons, this article treats the West Bank's built environment of conflict as emblematic of the concept of state violence.

A.2 Violence exposure in the West Bank

The West Bank presents an ideal case (in research terms) to evaluate civilian choices regarding modalities of resistance because it houses considerable variation in resistance strategies as well as geographic variation in type of and exposure to state violence. Palestinian civilians in Hebron and throughout the West Bank experience violence from a variety of sources: the Israeli Defense Force (IDF), the Palestinian Authority (PA), Israeli Settlers,[1] and interpersonal strife (e.g., family and political feuds and domestic violence).

The Oslo Accords of 1993 and 1995 divided the West Bank into three zones of control that indirectly shape the levels and forms of violence Palestinian civilians experience. Area A is under "full" PA control (see Figure 1). Here residents have limited contact with IDF troops or

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[1] "Settlers" are Jewish Israeli citizens who built houses on land designated as Palestinian territory. The term dates back to the 1967 Occupation. These settlements are considered illegal under international law, violating the Fourth Geneva Convention, and are described as an insurmountable barrier to peace in the region.
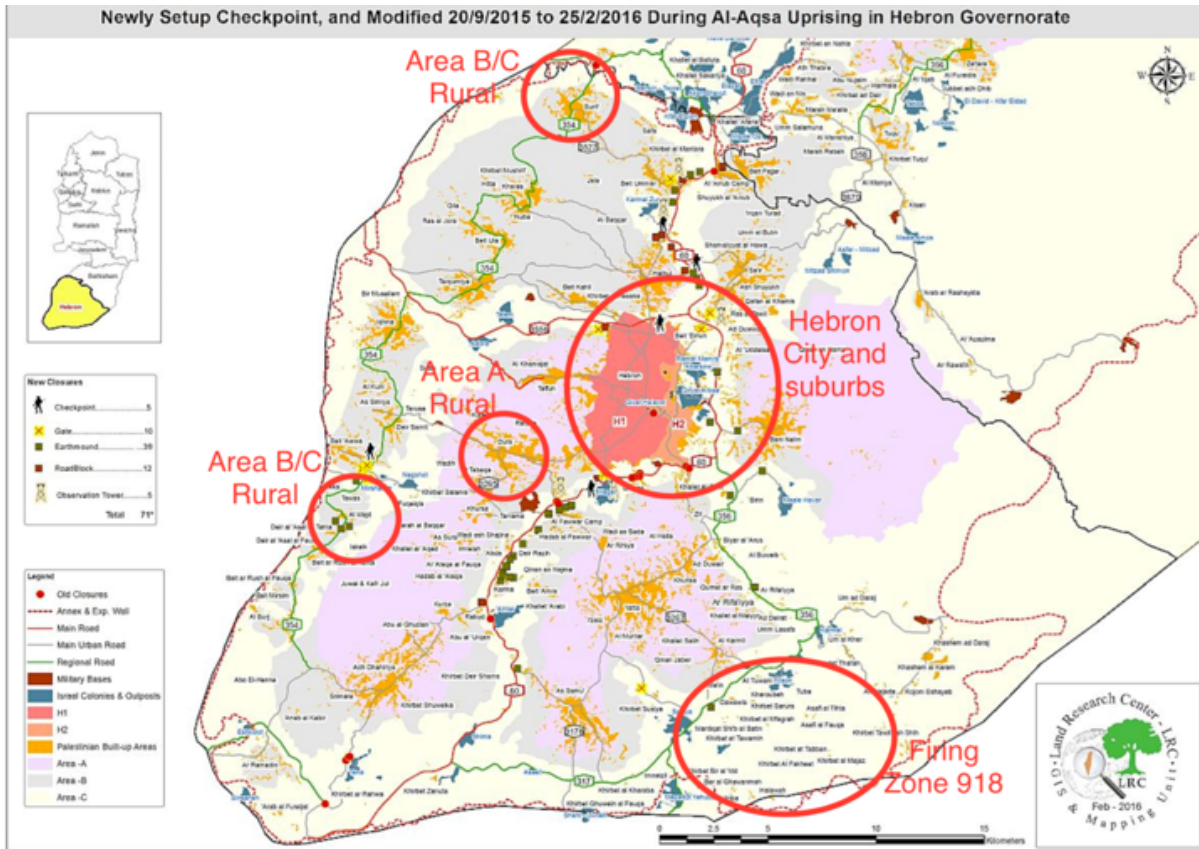
Figure 1: Hebron Governorate interview sites. Source: Land Research Center reports, available at LRC, accessed 2 August 2016.

Israeli Settlers. In Area B, the PA controls "civil" matters, while the IDF manages "security" issues. Under this bifurcated control, residents in Area B experience more structural violence and violence from Israeli Settlements (due to closer proximity), relative to residents in Area A. Area C is entirely under Israeli control. Palestinian civilians here often live close to Israeli Settlements. They frequently face violence from both the state (the IDF) and from Israeli Settlers. Today, Hebron Governorate houses the West Bank's most complex (in terms of types of violence) and varied levels of exposure to violence. Thirty percent of Hebron Governorate is in PA-controlled Area A (see Figure 1), while 60 percent of the West Bank is under Area C. In addition to the zones A–C, parts of the West Bank are "closed military zones," including H2 and Firing Zone 918 described in the article, regulated under military law. Figure 2 displays the closed military zone (H2) within al-Kahilil (Hebron city), while Figure 3 maps the location of Firing Zone 918.

A.3 Field site selection and additional data

To nest the two opposing extreme cases discussed in the article in the broader context of the Hebron Governorate, I also conducted interviews in H1 District; suburbs of al-Khalhil (Halhul, Beit Einun, Beit Nihem, Sahir); Dura (a city west of al-Khalil largely in Area A, home to approximately 30,000 Palestinians); Surif, which is known for olive oil; and surrounding villages, including Beit Ummar (rural area around Surif City, northwest of Hebron District, spanning Areas B/C and close to the Separation Wall) and a village near the southern border wall, al-Madj (southwest of Hebron District, spanning Areas B/C).[2] I augmented my interview data with secondary source material from rights-based NGO groups (e.g., B'Tslem, Operation Dove, and Christian Peacemaker Teams), the Palestinian Bureau for Statistics, the Palestinian Center for Survey and Policy Research, and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Mission to the Occupied Territories (UNOCHA-OPT). These resources provided additional information about state use of force in specific areas, information about olive-farming practices and restrictions, and details about Palestinians' interactions with Israeli soldiers and Israeli laws.

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[2]See Village Profiles and Needs Assessment Reports from the Applied Research Institute, Jerusalem, for in-depth detail about each site (Applied Research Institute, N.d.).

A.3.1 Additional evidence from H2

This section provides additional quotations and anecdotes that were removed from the article due to space concerns. This section follows directly from Section 6.1 in the article.

When I conducted fieldwork in autumn 2015, H2 was divided by more than 109 permanent barriers, fifty-three temporary blockades, and eighteen military-style checkpoints. The entire H2 zone was closed to Palestinian-owned vehicles and sometimes pedestrians, and in October 2015, some neighborhoods in H2 became a closed military zone, requiring residents to register for special permits to return to their own homes.[3] Because H2 is governed under military law, any act deemed a "security threat" can confine Palestinian residents to their homes for hours or days, remove civilians from their homes for any "military" reason, and make them targets of IDF home searches. The IDF can require families to quarter soldiers in their homes for as long as deemed appropriate.[4] The result of these daily experiences of violence is a widespread feeling of social isolation among Palestinians living in H2.

Respondents in H2 overwhelmingly described feeling extremely isolated and reported difficulty maintaining family and friendship networks. One respondent stated, "*When I was young, it was safe then so my mother let me go play outside and in the neighborhood, but now I worry when my children go one meter away from me. I feel very sorry for my children because they haven't had a childhood—they don't have friends in the same way I did, they can't go on vacation or travel to see family.*"[5]

Respondents in H2 describe structural restrictions on movement, constant searches, violence, and curfews as greatly restricting their economic activities, access to essential services (e.g., groceries, medical care), and the very fabric of social life. An olive farmer I planned to interview died two days before our scheduled interview, because he was detained at a checkpoint when traveling to the hospital. He had inhaled teargas, which complicated his preexisting heart

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[3]Because the UN definition of ethnic cleansing includes attempts to remove residents of a certain race from a given area "by force or intimidation" (Oberschall 2012), some rights groups consider the military zone in H2 ethnic cleansing (Media 2016). These restrictions are well documented by Israeli human rights organizations (e.g., B'Tselem) and the UN Mission to the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

[4]In Interview 71, a sniper for the IDF described spending more than a week in a Palestinian house and confining the entire Palestinian family, including children, to one bathroom for that time.
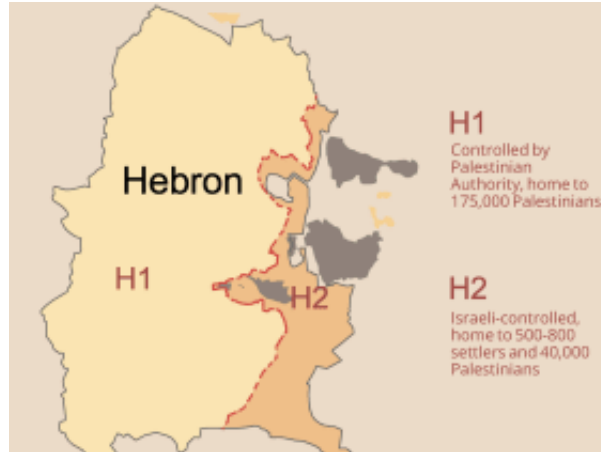
[5]Interview 2.

Figure 2: Map of H1 and H2 districts. This division was created under the 1997 Hebron Protocol. Source: `https://www.haaretz.com/misc/writers/WRITER-1.4968408`, accessed 9 February 2019.

condition. The checkpoints restricted him from obtaining the life-saving treatment he required ("West Bank Mourns Death of Veteran Palestinian Activist" 2015).

Even in general terms, respondents displayed high levels of support for retaliation and revenge, whereas respondents in other areas with different experiences of violence (either less overall violence or less community-constricting violent apparatuses) spoke more frequently about forgiveness or giving people the benefit of the doubt. When asked a question about their preference for retaliation, even in unrelated situations, male respondents in H2 were vocal (the most vocal of any of my interview subjects) about their desire for revenge and commitment to reclaiming their homes and livelihoods. One respondent told a revealing story: "*Settlers offered me millions of dollars to buy these olives and I said if you gave me billions of dollars I will never give this house or these olives to you. I will stay here until I die and never give anything or any part of it to you.*"[6] Whether or not the figure he quoted is accurate, this statement demonstrates a strong commitment to resistance, but not the kind of resistance we as scholars tend to study.
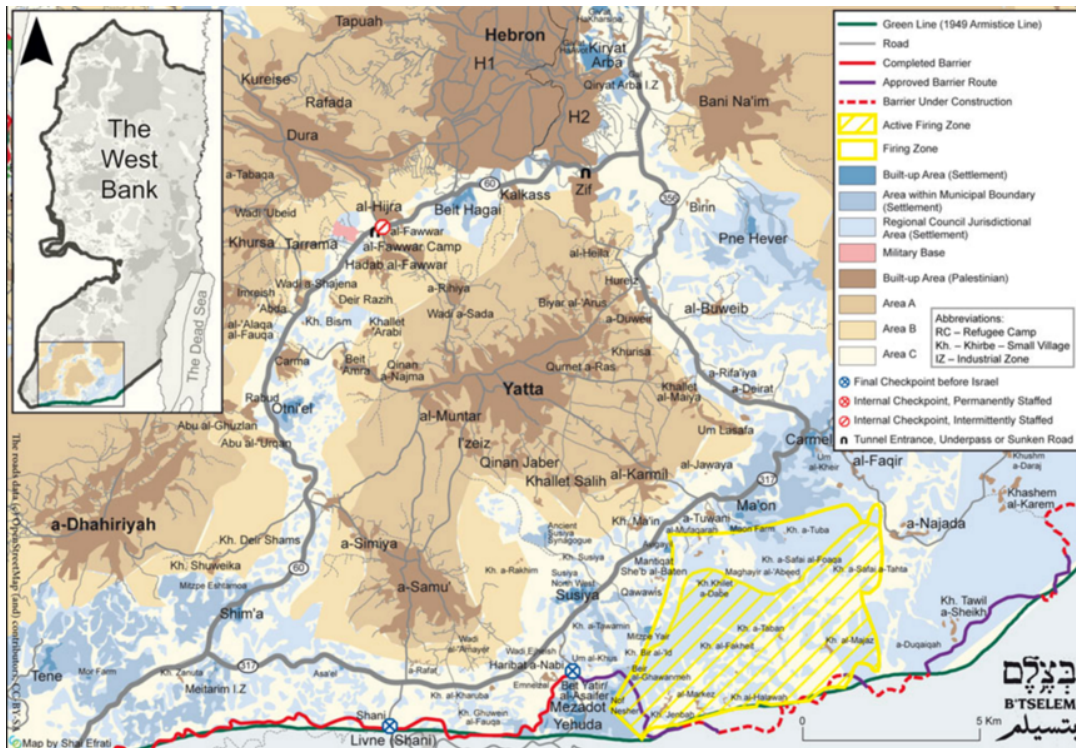
Figure 3: Map of Firing Zone 918 and surrounding region. Al-Tuwani is located just outside the border of Firing Zone 918, demarcated by yellow lines in the southeast quadrant. Source: Israeli Rights Group B'Tselem, accessed 2 August 2016.

A.3.2 Additional evidence from Firing Zone 918

This section provides additional quotations and anecdotes that were removed from the article due to space concerns. This section follows directly from Section 6.2 in the article. Figure 3 maps the firing zone.

Settlers and IDF soldiers frequently harass the Palestinian residents of Firing Zone 918.[7] Palestinians are frequently arrested for ambiguous crimes, such as walking "too closely" to the Settlement—a definition of proximity that changes arbitrarily. Settlers harass Palestinians in the form of name-calling, spitting, destroying property, and poisoning livestock and wells (Operazione Colomba 2017). Many residents recount incidents where Settlers or soldiers have beaten shepherds, causing serious injuries and even death.[8] Checkpoints between Firing Zone 918 and Yatta (the closest Palestinian city) introduce major challenges to residents.

Despite the violence they have experienced, Palestinians in this region of the South Hebron Hills have developed a vibrant, nonviolent civil resistance movement and speak from a place of personal power and agency. The history of nonviolent, collective resistance in Firing Zone 918 runs deep (King, 2007; Norman, 2015; Pearlman, 2011). After more than ten years of weekly marches and activism, legal battles, and political campaigns, the interconnected communities of Firing Zone 918 point to several victories. These include a ten-year stay on home demolitions in the village of al-Tuwani; electricity and water access introduced in al-Tuwani; and, most impressively, the removal of forty-one kilometers of the "separation barrier" after it had been constructed (pursuant to an order from the Israeli High Court of Justice, Beit HaMishpat HaElyon).

Respondents in the firing zone view the IDF's ever-present military interventions and training as incredibly destructive to their lives: "*Soldiers come for exercises or they come and search the house. We don't have electricity and we live a hard life, we are acting for survival— we were born here and we will die here—but then the soldiers come here looking for guns at night. We don't even have electricity, how could we afford guns? Obviously we have none.*

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[6]Interview 1.

[7]The Settler communities here (known as Outposts) and in H2 are considered among the most radical in the West Bank (B'tselem, N.d.).

[8]Interviews 48 and 64; "Settlers' Violence in the South Hebron Hills" (2017).

But they wake everyone up and the children are sleeping and they bring them out and even
search the wells—they also put things in the land when they train." [What things?] *"Bombs,*
or something. Things that explode in the land and ruin it. They run over our fields with their
jeeps and tanks. Do you see how hard life is here?"[9]

One respondent described how the IDF assaulted him, his jail time, and how the Palestinian community's Popular Resistance Committee assisted and facilitated his release. This experience actually solidified his resolve to stay and to engage in organized nonviolent resistance:

"They [the IDF] *attacked me . . . They* [the Operation Dove NGO] *filmed it and others*
came to help but then they [the IDF] *arrested me. For three days* [the IDF] *kept me in*
the military base and they treated me very badly. They gave me dog food! So I didn't eat
during this time. I said 'you have to respect us and accord us the principles of humanity.
You have to treat me as a human being.' . . . I would not have gotten home but [for] *help*
from the Resistance Committee. My wife asked me to leave but the Prophet said the Holy
Land will be resisting injustice until the judgment day, and I want to stand strong with
the Committee because they [Israel] *want to get us out. This is the goal. To try to make*
us leave. So I decided to stay."[10]

A.3.3 Contextualizing evidence from other parts of Hebron District

This section provides a brief summary of how checkpoints; feelings of social isolation or cohesion; and support for collective or individual, violent and nonviolent, resistance relate to one another in places beyond the two extreme cases featured in the main text of this article.

Across my interviews, irrespective of location, people had a much broader conception of resistance than we tend to have as scholars. Some respondents expressed support for different resistance modalities in the same interview. Some respondents outside H2 and Firing Zone 918 expressed support for every type of resistance that I asked about, from the Intifada to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (usually excepting a renewed peace process with Israel). For example, when asked about what sorts of resistance he would prefer to see,

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[9]Interview 45.

[10]Interview 44.

one respondent from a rural area in Surif made statements in support of collective nonviolent resistance, or even potentially a peace process. But he also expressed extreme frustration with the fact that the situation was getting worse rather than better, saying that led to individual violence—the Intifada—and framing the Intifada as a human rights struggle:

"I prefer negotiations but we Palestinians try to negotiate without a partner. Israel has all the power and they don't want peace. The Intifada should happen as a protest—but I would prefer nonviolence if it would work. The situation is becoming worse. Soldiers now try to keep people from the wall and any lands are near the wall. We came to this Intifada because no peace was happening, because Israel is no partner for peace. We are so angry with what has happened, that nothing has happened to help the situation, only made it worse. We are supposed have a state now. I am against violence but I want my basic rights."[11]

After saying he supported the ongoing Intifada, he described his involvement in a collective resistance approach, but one which would likely fall outside of our scholarly studies of resistance. He stated that the community has tried to make a committee to support farmers, focused on *"improving social life as well as the agriculture,"* and that he sees that committee as *"resisting the Occupation via services. They* [the Committee] *have lots of products that help with resistance. They have a bank that pays a percent of the money it earns to services to help people stay on their land, because this is a big problem now. Most of the problems the farmers face are as a result of the occupation. All the people have problems with the roads have been closed . . . and they need help with permissions to go to their lands . . . this is a big part of what the committee does . . . these are the most common problems."*[12] In this, he is both conceiving of resistance more broadly and emphasizing the importance of freedom of movement to these resistance efforts.

Respondents' responses within the same communities were less uniform in their responses outside of these two primary field sites. Some would condemn the Intifada, but also say that they had no hope for change. These interviews were in more rural areas with less extreme exposure to checkpoints and more access to social ties, lending credence to my premise that the

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[11]Interview 55.

[12]Interview 55.

spatial intensity of checkpoints and social disconnection can engender support for individualized violent resistance. It also provides support to the premise that the organizer in Firing Zone 918 may have been critical to getting that movement off the ground and channeling those connections into viable resistance. While far from universal, people from rural areas outside of Firing Zone 918, which lacked the social cohesion described in Firing Zone 918 but seemed to retain a greater feeling of agency than in H2, seemed more willing to support a range of resistance strategies.

Even people within Firing Zone 918 feel they have a lack of freedom of movement compared with the time before the occupation:

"My grandfather used to plow with donkeys and camels. It was a very hard and very difficult life, but so happy because no occupation. We felt we had true security, true freedom of movement . . . You can't compare the life now to that in the past but the occupation makes so much trouble . . . The Israeli state is created on a big lie and still they lie to us . . . they use the occupation to create a kind of game. It is like a packet that has writing on it and it says 'sugar' but inside it is pepper. This keeps anyone from paying attention to what is happening because it says 'sugar' on the outside . . . The main goal of all this is to make you tired, and push you to leave. Even simple people know well enough that there is justice everywhere else, but not here. This is Area C under the Oslo agreement—but we are lost between the PA and the Israelis—neither has our interests at heart."[13]

Recognizing these complexities helps in understanding why people might support a range of resistance strategies, and also why "demobilizing" or compliance with the state is not something many support.

In some cases, class may have been an important factor in the search for connection and agency. Respondent 55 from the quote above was a moderately wealthy business owner, and he seemed to feel more agentive, more willing to adopt or implement resistance strategies, than many previous respondents. That may be because he had a history of trying things and having them work, a different pathway to a feeling of agency engendering a willingness to partake

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[13]Interview 44.

in collective struggle. However, the vast majority of people I interviewed were not financially stable or remotely well off. Class alone cannot explain the variation I observed because the people of Firing Zone 918 across the board have fewer resources than those of H2.

A.3.4 The Occupation should not be understood as the entirety of the Palestinian experience

It is also important to remember that the data presented so far represent a fraction of the stories people told me and how they think about their lives. Respondent 5 told me her "love story" about how she and her husband met and courted. Respondent 3 told me about getting breast cancer. The sister of Respondents 35 and 36 tried (and failed) to teach me to dance. In the context of this conflict and violence, life continues. People get married, fall in love, get sick, and die for the most ordinary reasons. It was particularly important to three respondents in al-Madj that I not make so much of the violence here that people who read what I wrote would forget about the rest of Palestinian culture and experience.

B Methodological details

This section details the methodological choices I made, including IRB exception and my commitment to research ethics, objectivity, positionality, how I entered the field, interpreter selection, respondent expectations, my informed consent procedure, retraumatization concerns, my transcription process, and my data protection procedures.

B.1 IRB and research ethics

On advice from my institution, I was granted an IRB "exemption" for this research on the grounds that (1) my research was not federally funded; (2) I was asking about attitudes, not behavior, and I was not seeking out anyone who had taken part in illicit activities; and (3) I would keep the transcripts I collected to myself. Recognizing that IRB approval or exemption alone is not sufficient to constitute ethical research and may serve more as a legal checklist, many scholars encourage researchers to go one step further in considering their own ethics before entering the field (Fujii, 2012, 717). Thus I took steps on my own (Wood, 2006), engaging in

conversations with other violence researchers and reading extensively on research ethics, in an attempt to set up my project in a manner that followed the basic medical principles of beneficence: not only do no harm but try also to do some modicum of good (Pearlman, 2014).

Very shortly after I arrived in the West Bank, the security situation on the ground became significantly more complex than I had expected (the Intifada of Individuals began), and "clashes" between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians became a frequent occurrence.[14] This shift, coupled with my deeper reading and thinking as a scholar, led me to believe that it was indeed possible that my research could at some future point put my respondents in an unsafe situation. The questions I asked or the way I interacted with respondents had not changed, but Israel is and was using any excuse to restrict Palestinian rights, and I had no way to predict whether—at some future point—participating in research might become grounds to be targeted (Parkinson and Wood, 2015). I maintained conversation with the IRB via email to update them of any changes I made to my research protocol. I implemented the following additional steps on my own and with guidance from experienced scholars to ensure that my research had the most minimal impact on and minimal chance for harm to the communities I studied, my interlocutors, and my translators.

Complete anonymity became the center point of this effort. The West Bank is a small space, the communities I study are also relatively small, and the Israeli government is increasingly ramping up repressive measures in the area. Thus I believe it would be deeply unethical for me to release any of my interview transcripts or field notes, especially as I do not believe it is possible to anonymize completely a life-story-style interview or a corpus of field notes.

B.2   Objectivity

There is a fetish in our discipline with the objective and sterile, where connecting personally with the communities or subjects we study is considered a flaw in our research design (Carpenter, 2012). This type of sanitation has led to egregious ethical abuses in the fields of sociology

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[14]It is worth noting that for some, this kind of individual violence is simply "something to do." In one memorable interaction, my interpreter and I were walking away from clashes and saw two young boys (maybe ten) running toward them. My interpreter reached out to stop them and had a brief exchange that left her laughing. One had said, in response to her warning not to go that way, "But, Miss, I finished my homework!"

and anthropology, prompting those fields to reevaluate their approaches to qualitative research. Lisa Wedeen (2010) points out that separating our data from our experience is not possible; data and experience are co-constitutive. While I do not pretend to take a fully interpretivist or ethnographic approach to this article, it would be inaccurate to feign objectivity. These interviews and this data collection process were deeply shaped by my and my respondents' own experiences. I was asking people about the depths of their life experiences. This is not something that can be kept within the confines of terms like "data" or "research" but instead is clearly a human experience between me, my interpreters, and my respondents. As well, my status as a foreign researcher colored each interview. My discussions with Palestinian respondents usually required me to answer why America "hates Muslims" and gives so much money to Israel. In many ways, each interview began with my trial: was I a spy? Did I "understand what was happening"? Was I going to twist their stories into something else? Did I believe the Occupation of the West Bank was justified?

This approach affected my research. First, without signaling sympathy to the Palestinian experience (which is authentic to how I think about and understand this conflict), I would not have been granted access to these communities. Second, to use these stories in a manner that did not draw attention to the role the Occupation plays in Palestinian lives would be disingenuous to the reasons I think people told me their stories. I believe many respondents saw talking to a foreign academic about their experience and politics under the Occupation as a mode of "existence as resistance," and I tried to remain cognisant throughout the writing of this piece to not shy away from the uncomfortable realities of the Occupation as a result.

B.3   Positionality

I approached this research as a classically trained International Relations scholar. This approach is likely markedly different from one that might have been taken by a Middle East or Palestine expert (which I do not consider myself to be). I had very minimal language training on arrival in the West Bank (a semester of Dari, which gave me basic familiarity with Arabic script, and some online Arabic classes). I enter these spaces with a number of unearned ascriptive characteristics that very likely ingratiated me to the communities I sought to study. As a blonde, white woman, I suspect I stand out in the West Bank as someone who is privileged,

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nonthreatening, and disarming. I believe these characteristics may have made people more likely to trust me and more willing to share their stories with me. While I felt that my respondents were quite transparent, even intimate, in these interviews, it is also important to acknowledge that culture, gender, class, and linguistic barriers likely prevented me from grasping some of the subtleties of these conversations.

I was aware of the history of research and news crews negatively impacting Palestinian communities and kept that in mind at all times during the research process. Palestinians are warm and welcoming people, known for their hospitality. Additionally, in some of the communities I visited, associating with a foreigner brings potential benefits. For example, it may boost one's reputation to be seen consorting with Americans. For many, traveling with a foreigner was an easy way to avoid being stopped or harassed at checkpoints. Indeed, several respondents stated that my American passport and blonde hair made them feel safer at checkpoints and safer while picking olives. My instrumental value in these relationships may have gained me easier access to many people's lives. Aware of these potential power inequalities, I took a range of steps (detailed below) to do my best to empower and protect the people I interviewed.

B.4 Entering the field

I did not enter the field with a Palestinian affiliation of any kind. I built my own network from the ground up and did not get connected with any interpreter, family, or institution by another academic. I made this decision consciously, as being affiliated with international or government agencies comes with a range of connotations that I wasn't sure I knew enough about to untangle (Shesterinina, 2016). It also comes with a sort of prestige, which might have changed my interactions with interview respondents. I stayed in Hebron H1 district in an Airbnb. I took local transit, ate in the local market, and took one-on-one Arabic classes from one of my interpreters.

Palestinian society is incredibly networked, and I had absolutely no connections to it. I arrived at the beginning of the olive harvest (planned), and I blindly approached potential interview participants. I walked into olive fields (from the road) and asked if families needed help picking olives. For the first week in Hebron, I picked olives with a number of different

families. Some people I encountered spoke some English, and that—combined with my few Arabic words and lots of gestures—allowed me to connect with a group of families. I told them that I was here for research about the experience of olive farmers and that I would come back to talk to them more if they were willing once I found an interpreter. I am not sure how much they understood. In the afternoons, I worked to find an interpreter.

Once I'd hired someone, I returned to the families with whom I'd picked olives and had more formal conversations about my research and asked whether they'd be willing to be interviewed. All but one agreed. My intent or hope was that picking olives was a small way to help families recover time lost in talking to me and do not believe any family that I interviewed was so desperate that the time spent talking to me resulted in lost income that would affect their financial situation. However, there is a possibility that my picking olives made families feel indebted to me in some way that made them feel compelled to participate in interviews, though I tried to make explicit that this was not the case. Not long after this, parts of H2 that house the olive fields became a "closed military zone," and I was denied further access.

I conducted research in a similar manner (though, now that I had an interpreter, I was more direct in my approach to olive-farming families and asked whether there was a time this week we could speak with them). To avoid unintentionally exploiting my interpreters, I avoided having them introduce me to a respondent (though three respondents were acquainted with Translator 1), and as much as possible, I made any interview "appointments" separately from my interpreter. This was possible with activists, ministry officials, and international contacts (NGOs or members of the ex-patriot community). I also went to olive presses and asked to interview families and olive press staff on sight. In the South Hebron Hills, I entered through the local nonviolent resistance committee. This may have disproportionately directed me toward nonviolent respondents. I attempted to overcome this concern by walking with my interpreter to three of the villages in the Firing Zone and asked families if they would be willing to speak, none of whom refused. Finally, in two cases, the agricultural ministry connected me with olive-farming families. However, these respondents were not living in H2 or Firing Zone 918, and thus they are not included in this article.

B.5 Interpreter selection

I used Arabic and Hebrew interpreters for the majority of my interviews. This comes with two disadvantages, and perhaps some advantages (Mosley, 2013). First, it likely impairs my ability to develop trust and rapport with my respondents. Second, the use of a translator increases the "performance" aspect of interviews (Parkinson, 2013); the idea that there is some sort of "show and tell" happening, or a prescribed story about the conflict, which, while "true" and part of their set of experiences, is also choreographed and, in that way, inauthentic.

However, I also observed times in which not speaking the language increased my access to potential interviewees. For example, people often went out of their way to help me in a way with which I'm not entirely comfortable (Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018). As well, my two primary interpreters were both attractive young women who wore hijab. I think that our traveling together, two young women of similar ages, coupled with some informality, made us disarming in a way that was not intentional but that I think increased my access to these communities. By traveling with and working alongside another woman, I complied with local social mores; "being seen alone" with men would have been controversial in these conservative communities.

Furthermore, life-story interviews help mitigate potential problems with interpreters. The theory I developed is grounded in concepts, not specific language,[15] and I did not specifically cue respondents to speak about checkpoints or their experiences with other forms of the built environment of conflict. Instead, I was listening to their broader stories. Given these limitations, I proceeded with my translator selection.

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[15]Though, as I note in the article, the direct translation for the English word for *nonviolence* in the Arabic (*la unf*, literally "no violence") is equated with "no action" or "acceptance" of the situation. Many nonviolent activists dislike this term and use *al nidal al silmi* (peaceful struggle), *al nidal al madani* (civilian struggle), or *al-muqawamat al madaniyyah* (civil resistance) instead (Ram and Summy, 2007, 137). See Norman (2015) for full discussion. Likewise, Allen (2002) writes about how respondents in Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem viewed Western efforts at supporting nonviolence as an attempt to make resistance more "polite." I observed this during my interviews: if a translator used a direct translation of my phrase "nonviolence," people might respond as though offended. For example, Interview Respondent 44 stated in response to my question [Do you support nonviolent resistance?] "*No! We are not passive!*" The translator corrected himself, and the old man, looking mollified, said, "*Ah yes. I support this.*"

I attempted to use hiring practices that supported the people I was interviewing: I hired local students rather than professional translators from Ramallah (the capital city of the West Bank), as an attempt to combat the common practice of foreigners who "buy access" to local communities—where the interpreter may earn more than a family in the community may earn in a month (Parkinson, 2013). However, this comes with its own set of drawbacks: there may be a sense of "subtle coercion" in play if a person feels compelled to talk to me because I am employing a friend or family member of theirs (Parkinson, 2013). For this reason, I recruited my translators from different circles than those where I was conducting each set of interviews, in an attempt to minimize this sort of coercion. I made my interview appointments as much as possible independently of my translators, or if that was not possible, I dictated whom we would ask and how we would contact potential respondents, rather than the reverse.

I asked a local friend I made on arrival (an ex-pat married to a Palestinian who worked locally) to "vet" potential translators by discussing any family reputations or links that might affect my interviews, as family name and connection is a big part of local political life. As well, because my interviews took the form of life-story approaches, I hoped to be able to accurately and honestly say that I wanted to hear and understand people's true experiences of the world as they see it, rather than tailored for my purposes. My translators in the West Bank were predominantly women (except Translators 3 and 4 in Firing Zone 918, due to safety concerns Translators 1 and 2 had about traveling to the firing zone). While I weighed the merits of switching translators frequently, I decided to maintain the same translator for all the interviews in a given community, if possible.

B.6 Respondent expectations

While acknowledging that I cannot truly know what respondent expectations were, know how respondents felt, or in any way "speak for" my respondents, I have spent time reflecting on my understanding of what respondents seemed to expect from me. Generally, and especially in more remote areas, people seemed to view speaking to me as an opportunity or platform to have their voices heard in a different way. Some members of the olive-farming community in H2 and Firing Zone 918 had been interviewed many times before, for research or for the news, in ways that I do not believe always served these communities. In those cases, I think it is likely

that certain questions would elicit a performative response—stories that they've recounted endless times. However, I crafted my interview method in an attempt to alleviate the myriad problems with this—both in terms of the data collected and the Palestinian experience of each interview. Several respondents stated that they'd never had anyone ask about their stories or be interested in their broader lives. I interpreted these statements as an indication that interviewees experienced my method of interviewing as less extractive than other interview approaches may have been. (Of course, this is my interpretation and may not accurately or completely reflect their experiences.) One respondent stated, "I've been interviewed by [many news agencies] and no one asked about my life in chapters!" In this case, I believe he was at least partially frustrated to not be able to simply "perform" his rote interview. Regardless, I do believe this method provided something different from other research approaches.

There was significant variation in how much I think people expected from me and how they felt about my research (Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018). I had one interaction where a friend of a respondent explicitly stated that people coming to research the conflict was "not good for Palestine." The respondent himself appeared to disagree, saying it helped bring attention to the struggle, but I took note of the interaction and attempted to be clear in my article and in my dealings with people when discussing my fieldwork that the conflict is only a fraction of the broader Palestinian experience, and that this is not a place or city that is burning to the ground but rather an alive, vibrant place where people both face horror and thrive.

There were some cases where people dramatically overestimated my potential impact: one woman asked me to "tell Obama what is happening here," and continued in that vein despite my assurances that I had absolutely no power to do anything about the situation in the West Bank. This is something many researchers experience in fragile contexts and which is deeply uncomfortable as a researcher, despite reiterating that we cannot provide services or generate change in this space (Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018; Lake, 2014; Lake, Muthaka and Walker, 2016). Other respondents were much more positive, or at least appeared to be—one older woman told me that talking to me was like having a grandchild visit and several that they felt "lighter" as a result of or following our talk. In some areas, people seemed truly desperate to be heard. As political tensions rose, I had two women grab my arm in the street and ask if they could tell their stories. Those interactions felt much closer to "bearing witness" than to

research.

B.7 Consent

I used verbal consent procedures to avoid the possibility of identification of my respondents. Rather than asking my respondents to sign any sort of document, I instead made a promise to them, regarding my obligation to keep their data protected and anonymous, including not recording their name, contact information, or address anywhere, as well as not sharing transcripts of their interviews or accompanying notes with anyone. I believe there are important limitations to how well foreign informed consent can be communicated to local populations in these contexts (Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018). However, I did my best to use this "informed consent" procedure to convey my research purposes and commitments to my interviewees' safety and well-being.

B.8 Retraumatization

Retraumatization (the reminder of past trauma) is a critical concern when conducting violence research. I attempted to avoid retraumatization by five means. First, by asking about people's lives rather than about their experiences of violence alone, I hoped to provide a safer space and engender trust, which are meant to decrease the likelihood of retraumatization. Second, I always made it clear that people did not have to answer any question and that if they did not want to share something, they shouldn't. Third, I did not ask any verbal questions about violence exposure. I used a questionnaire to measure violence exposure, which is described as one way to reduce retraumatization,[16] and every question was accompanied with a box that stated "prefer not to say." Most validated measures of psychological trauma resulting from violence, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder as well as witness violence are conducted using questionnaires.[17] Fourth, I consulted resources about interviewing victims before conducting my fieldwork.[18]

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[16] See http://www.childrenandwar.org/resources/

[17] For example, see the discussion from the Children and War Foundation on that organization's choice of questionnaire as measure: http://www.childrenandwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/Childhood-war-trauma-questionnaire.pdf.

[18] See https://dartcenter.org/content/working-with-victims-and-survivors-minimise-further-harm.

Finally, interviewees demonstrated the ability to act autonomously around these concerns. For example, I made it very clear that respondents did not need to answer any questions about violence, including the questionnaire, if it felt in any way uncomfortable or undesirable, and many respondents (nearly half) elected not to fill out this questionnaire.[19] I have not included these data in the article.

Major public health agencies state that to justify violence research (on domestic violence, for example), study aims must include direct links to violence prevention and policy change, or otherwise should not be preformed (World Health Organization, 2005). By this metric, perhaps no study in political science on violence should be conducted, as we tend to have limited capacity to effect policy change to reduce violence. As an individual scholar and to feel this study was justified, I (1) endeavored to be authentic to civilian stories and voices; (2) made anonymous financial donations to local organizations working to resist violence in this specific context after leaving the field; and (3) endeavored to communicate to as many people in my own U.S. context and public network as I could about the reality of violence in this context. I continue to use my position as a university instructor, public intellectual (and author of public opinion pieces), and individual with broad social networks to elevate the perspectives that my interview subjects generously, assiduously, and compassionately shared with me.

B.9   Transcription

I offered my respondents the opportunity to choose between my taking notes by hand or by computer. I asked how people preferred I take notes and stated that I have no preference. All respondents in the West Bank seemed most comfortable with handwritten notes, while some in Israel were surprised and even seemed to find it unprofessional to take notes by hand, and indeed asked me to record the interview on a tape recorder (I did not). I took notes in English with pen and paper (or with IDF soldiers, via computer). I did not record names, contact information, or exact locations of any interviews. While I have attempted to quote directly and repeatedly stopped respondents while they spoke to make sure I got as much of their stories as possible, I was taking notes by hand through an interpreter, and thus while I believe the

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[19]Note that many respondents were illiterate or had trouble with formal Arabic, so my translator offered to walk through the questionnaire with them. This could be why many declined to fill out the form.

concepts described are accurate, each "quote" should be read with those facts in mind.

B.10 Interview protocol

I recorded metadata about each interview (Fujii, 2010)—the time of day each interview took place, the number of interviews I conducted that day, area of the interview, who introduced me to the interview respondent, my emotions around each interview, the translator I used and how we got along, as well as any other data that would affect my ability as an "information-gathering" instrument for my personal reference. These data are available in Appendix D. A full interview protocol, including the approximate format of questions of my unstructured interviews (individual interviews varied based on respondent comfort, interruptions, or necessary follow-up questions and were adjusted in two primary ways after the first four interviews), is available in Appendix E.

B.11 Number of interviews

I stopped conducting interviews when interviews no longer uncovered new information (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, 143). My number of interviews (seventy-one total interviews, fifty-eight of which were life-story interviews) far exceeds the average of twenty-three life stories among the life-story-based research projects reviewed by Mason (2010). The need for variation in exposure to state use of force and the facts that some interviews were terminated early and that I was denied entry to certain sites mid-way through the project dictated the higher number of respondents for this project.

B.12 Data protection

In addition to recording no names, addresses, or other identifiers, I took careful, rigorous measures to ensure that my entire corpus of data was not physically transported together and that my digital files were encrypted. I took this additional precaution because I do not believe it is possible to completely anonymize a life-story interview. This ensured that if any of my interview notes were intercepted or opened, they would maintain a degree of anonymity that the corpus of notes as a whole could not. Because the state of Israel is known for its invasive security

techniques, these steps allowed me to transport notes across borders without jeopardizing the identities and testimonies of my respondents.

C   Coding of interviews

My coding process was as follows: I typed up interviews based on my handwritten notes each day when I got back to my computer from the field. I used a computer privacy screen to provide additional protection to interviewees in any case when I had my computer open in public. When I returned to the United States, I took a break from this project and worked on another one, to give myself some space from what I'd seen and heard. I wrote a reflective ethics piece about fieldwork in violent contexts. Then I began to work on the precursor to this piece, my dissertation. I started by rereading my interviews. I then coded the interviews in Microsoft Word. I used *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* Saldaña (2015) as my coding reference book.

In some ways, this is almost a grounded theory project. I entered the field with a theory that I had developed as part of my dissertation prospectus. When I arrived in the West Bank, I decided the theory I'd developed in the United States was incorrect, missing important aspects of the local context, and I began again. In consultation with my home institution's IRB, I adjusted my interview protocol to focus on life histories. I had not planned to study checkpoints at all, until that seemed to be what emerged from the data I collected. What is presented in this article was thus built inductively, as mentioned in the article. Part of this process began in the field, but a lot of it happened when I returned home, in the thinking and processing of the time I'd spent in the field and in the rereading of my interview notes. The coding of my interviews themselves thus also involved a process of inductive and deductive coding cycles. Because this was explicitly a theory-building project rather than a theory-testing project, these methods are appropriate for this project.

C.1   Coding procedure: Resistance

Attitudes about different resistance modalities were the dependent variable of this project from the beginning. I included structured questions taken from a standard survey conducted

quarterly in the West Bank and Gaza by the Palestinian Center for Survey and Policy Research as metrics of these variables. As a result, the dependent variable was the most straightforward coding process. Please note that originally, I had situated the dependent variable simply as "support for militancy," whereas by the latest version of this project, it had become "support for resistance modality."

I primarily used structural coding[20] for the dependent variable (support for resistance modality), using semistructured questions that I asked at the end of the interviews. So for example, I coded the following response from Interview 5: [What about other forms of resistance, like launching rockets from Gaza?] "*Yes! They should launch all the rockets!*" [support for collective violent resistance], whereas a respondent who replied yes to the question [Do you support the current Intifada] would be coded as [support for individual violent resistance]. These more specific codes (collective violence vs. individual violence) were added following the revise and resubmit process.

C.2 Coding procedure: Independent variables and mechanisms

For the independent variables and mechanisms, I used a combination of process coding, causation coding, and emotion coding. I coded the independent variable of "isolation" or "disconnection" and the mechanisms of checkpoints or built environments from the life-story sections of the interviews. I looked for explicit mentions of disconnection/isolation or connection and for evidence that directly and causally linked and attributed those experiences to a built environment's mechanism. For example, I coded the following quote as follows: "*In the past, before all the soldiers and checkpoints in H2,* [Checkpoints Mechanism] *relationships were stronger.* [Isolation] *People could talk to one another and they weren't so afraid.* [Isolation] *Now people are separate.* [Isolation] *Those times made me happy, those are my best memories, but this is much harder.*" This quote gives a good example of causation and process coding, as the respondent is explicitly linking the feeling of disconnection to the checkpoint mechanism. It is worth reiterating that I drew on this evidence to posit a potential causal relationship as part of my theory-building project rather than to test or evaluate an existing theory about a causal

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[20]Saldaña (2015) defines *structural coding* as a conceptual frame that refers to a specific idea that responds to a researcher-initiated question.

relationship.

This coding scheme allowed me to observe and recognize if and when an individual respondent expressed feelings of both social cohesion and social isolation. Although theoretically possible, however, very few respondents relayed experiencing both. The considerable majority of respondents either expressed feeling checkpoint-induced social isolation or maintained social cohesion, but not both.

D Table of interviews

#	Date	Type	Time of Day	Referred by?	Length of Interview	Interruptions	Relation to Other Respondents?	Others Present	Location	Translator	Area
1	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon day one, morning day 2	International Contact	1.5 hrs	Yes. Soldiers; conducted on two days; tear gas and two fly-overs during interview	Spouse of 2	Wife and children	Olive Fields	1	H2
2	Oct-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	2 hrs	Yes - Soldiers, conducted on two days	Spouse of 1	Husband and children	Olive Fields	1	H2
3	Oct-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	2 hrs	Yes - Soldiers, conducted over three days	Spouse of 4, Parent of 7	Wife and children	Olive Fields	1	H2
4	Oct-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	1 hr	Yes - Soldiers, conducted on two days	Spouse of 3, Parent of 7	Husband and children	Olive Fields	1	H2
5	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	1.5 hrs	Yes, shooting down the street	Parent of 6	Daughter	House	1	H2

6	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	1.5 hrs	Yes, shooting down the street	Child of 5	Mother	House	1	H2
7	Oct-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	Parents	1 hr	Yes - Soldiers, conducted on two days	Child of 3 and 4	None	House	1	H2
8	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	45 min	Was sexually inappropriate to me and to my translator so we left before finishing	None	Wife, Daughters	House	1	H2
X	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	NA	Interview subject died -	None	None	House	1	H2
At this point H2 became a closed military zone and I was denied further access.											
9	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	Spouse of 10	Whole family in and out	House	2	Beit Ummar
10	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	Spouse of 9	Whole family in and out	House	2	Beit Ummar
11	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached me and asked to be interviewed	45 min	None	None	None	House	2	Beit Ummar
12	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1.5 hrs	None	Parent of 13	Whole family in and out	House	2	Beit Ummar
13	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	Child of 12	Whole family in and out	House	2	Beit Ummar

14	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	She approached me	1.5 hrs	None - her son died four days prior in clashes and she wanted to talk about that so I listened	None	Son's three-yearold daughter	House	2	Beit Ummar
15	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	PA AG officials	1 hr	None	None	PA Official	Olive Fields	2	Surif
16	Oct-15	Olive Press	Afternoon	Approached with translator	2 hrs	None	Parent with two children interviewed together	Workers and costumers	Olive Press	1	Dura
17	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Olive Press	45 min	None	None	Olive press workers around but not present	Olive Press	1	Dura
18	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	2 hrs	None	Spouse of 19	None	House	1	Beit Einun
19	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	Spouse of 18	None	House	1	Beit Einun
20	Oct-15	Olive Family	Evening	Approached with translator	2.5 hrs	None	Parent of 65	None	House	English	Beit Einun
21	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1.5 hrs	None	Friend of 22	None	House	1	Beit Einun
22	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1.5 hrs	None	Friend of 21	None	House	1	Beit Einun

23	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1.5 hrs	He later asked my translator to marry him	Child of 25	None	House	1	Beit Ei-nun
24	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	2 hrs	None	Friend of 23 and 25	None	House	1	Beit Ei-nun
25	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	45 min	None	Parent of 23	None	House	1	Beit Ei-nun
26	Oct-15	PA AG officials	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	High ranking member of the PA in that area - interruptions	None	None	Municipality	2	Surif
27	Oct-15	Municipality	Afternoon	PA AG officials	1.5 hrs	Flyovers	None	None	Olive Fields	2	Surif
28	Oct-15	PA AG officials	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1.5 hrs	None	None	None	Municipality	1	H1
29	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	None	None	Hospital	1	H1
30	Oct-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	45 min	Yes, strike ended interview	None	None	Hospital	1	H1
31	Oct-15	Municipality	Afternoon	Approached with translator	45 min	None	None	None	Municipality	1	Beit Nihem
32	Nov-15	PA AG officials	Afternoon	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	None	None	Municipality	1	Beit Nihem
33	Nov-15	Activist	Afternoon	Online Search	4 hrs	Across three days	None	None	House	English	Al Tawani
34	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Activist	5 hrs	Across three days	None	None	House	English	Al Tawani
35	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Online Search	3 hrs	Across two days	Sibling of 36	Brother	House	2	Al Madj
36	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Online Search	2 hrs	Across two days	Sibling of 35	Sister	House	2	Al Madj

37	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Number 35	1.5 hrs	None	Friend of 35; spouse of 38	35, 36, and 38	House	2	Al Madj
38	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Number 35	1.5 hrs	None	Friend of 35; spouse of 37	35, 36, and 37	House	2	Al Madj
39	Nov-15	Olive Press	Afternoon	Went to olive press	1.5 hrs	None	None	None	House	2	Al Madj
40	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Number 35	1 hr	None	Friend of 35	35	Shop	2	Al Madj
41	Nov-15	Researcher	Afternoon	Munici-pality in Dura	1.5 hrs	None	None	None	Munici-pality	1	Dura
42	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Approached with trans-lator	1.5 hrs	None	None	None	House	3	Al Tuwani
43	Nov-15	Olive Family	Mid-day	Approached with trans-lator	1.5 hrs	None	None	None	Cave	3	Firing Zone 918
44	Nov-15	Olive Family	Evening	Approached with trans-lator	1 hr	None	Parent of 46, Spouse of 45	Son and wife	Tent	4	Firing Zone 918
45	Nov-15	Olive Family	Evening	Approached with trans-lator	1 hr	None	Parent of 46, Spouse of 44	Son and husband	Tent	4	Firing Zone 918
46	Nov-15	Olive Family	Evening	Approached with trans-lator	1.5 hrs	None	Child of 44 and 45	Mother and Father	Tent	4	Firing Zone 918
47	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Approached with trans-lator	4 hrs	Across three days	Child of 33	None	Walking in the Firing Zone	Eng-lish	Firing Zone 918
48	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Approached with trans-lator	1 hr	None	None	Three Sons	In Field	4	Firing Zone 918

49	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Approached with translator	2 hrs	None	None	None	Walking in the Firing Zone	English	Firing Zone 918
50	Nov-15	PA Official	Morning	Went to Municipality	1 hr	None	None	None	Municipality	1	Sahir
51	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Municipality in Sahir	2 hr	None	Spouse of 52	3 children, Wife, 6 grand-children, Municipality workers	In tent	1	Sahir
52	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning	Municipality in Sahir	30 min	None	Spouse of 51	3 children, husband 6 grand-children, Municipality workers	In tent	1	Sahir
53	Nov-15	Olive Press	Afternoon	Went to olive press	1 hr	None	None	None	In Olive Press	2	Surif
54	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Went to olive press	30 min	None	None	None	In Olive Press	2	Surif
55	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Went to olive press	2 hrs	None	None	None	In office	2	Surif
56	Nov-15	PA AG officials	Afternoon	Municipality in Halhul	1 hr	None	None	None	In office	English	Halhul
57	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	5 hrs	Across three days	Child of 22	None	In Café	English	H1
58	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	45 min	None	Child of 59	None	In house	5	Dura
59	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	1.5 hrs	None	Parent of 58	Daughter and two sons	In house	5	Dura

60	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	20 min	None	None	Family in house	In house	5	Dura
61	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	30 min	None	None	Family in house	In house	5	Dura
62	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	International Contact	1 hr	None	None	None	In Field	5	Dura
63	Nov-15	Olive Family	Afternoon	Approached with translator	2 hrs	None	None	None	In house	5	Dura
64	Nov-15	Olive Family	Evening	Approached with translator	1 hr	None	None	None	On top of demolished Mosque	4	Firing Zone 918
65	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	4+ hrs	Across four days	Child of 20	None	In Café in H1	English	H2
66	Nov-15	Olive Family	Morning, afternoon	International Contact	4 + hrs	Across four days	None	None	In Café in H1	English	H2
67	Dec-15	Soldier-Retired	Afternoon	International Contact	1 hr	None	None	None	In house	English	Tel Aviv
68	Dec-15	Soldier-Retired	Afternoon	International Contact	1 hr	None	None	None	In house	English	Tel Aviv
69	Dec-15	Soldier-Active	Afternoon	International Contact	2.5 hrs	None	None	None	In house	English	Jerusalem
70	Dec-15	Soldier-Breaking the Silence	Afternoon	Online Search	2 hrs	None	Coworker of 71	None	In Café	English	Tel Aviv
71	Dec-15	Soldier-Breaking the Silence	Afternoon	Online Search	2 hrs	None	Coworker of 70	None	In Café	English	Tel Aviv

Table 1: Table of Interview Respondents

E   Interview protocol

This interview was based upon the life-story interview format developed by Dan McAdams at the Foley Center at Northwestern: `https://www.sesp.northwestern.edu/foley/instruments/interview/`. Some questions are taken verbatim from that interview; others are adapted for my purposes. I also included questions from the Palestinian Center for Survey and Policy Research (`http://www.pcpsr.org/`), quarterly surveys, and an "anchoring vignette" (`https://gking.harvard.edu/vign`).

NOTE: This represents the rough format of questions my translator and I worked through in each interview. However, individual interviews varied based on respondent comfort, interruptions, or necessary follow-up questions.

Introduction

This is an interview about the story of your life, with particular reference to the events and experiences—singular or daily—that you believe made you who you are. As a social scientist, I am interested in hearing your story, including parts of the past as you remember them and the future as you imagine it. The story is selective; it does not include everything that has ever happened to you. Instead, I will ask you to focus on a few key things in your life—a few key scenes, characters, and ideas. There are no right or wrong answers to my questions. Specifically, I am here in al-Khalil gathering stories about what your daily life is like under the Israeli occupation, and how violence and oppression from Israel and from Settlers affect your perspectives and attitudes about society, government, and politics. So, there will be some more specific questions that all respondents will answer, including education, income, participation in political activities, your olive groves, and experiences of violence. Everything you say is voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. We can stop at any time, so please just let me know if you'd like to discontinue our interview. Do you have any questions?

Basic information

To start off, let's just get some basic information about you:

How old are you?

In which city were you born?

How many years have you lived here in al-Khalil/area?

Are you married?

Do you have any children?

What is your relationship to the head of your household?

How many people live in this household?

Are you able to use electricity in your house most of the day, only part of the day, only a few days a week, or not at all?

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Life story section

I would like you to focus in on a few key scenes that stand out in your life. A key scene would be an event or specific incident that took place at a particular time and place. Consider a key scene to be a moment in your life story that stands out for a particular reason—perhaps because it was especially good or bad, particularly vivid, important, or memorable. For each of the key events we will consider, I ask that you describe in detail what happened, when and where it happened, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling in the event. Please feel free to change names of people or places as appropriate if it makes you more comfortable—for this research, I am not interested in the specific names of people or organizations themselves, but rather the way those people or organizations have impacted you. In addition, I ask that you tell me why you think this particular scene is important or significant in your life. What does the scene say about you as a person? Please be specific.

[Initially, there was a section here about "chapters," where respondents were asked to think for a moment about their lives as though they were a novel and pick "chapters" that would be part of that novel. "Please begin by thinking about your life as if it were a book or novel. Imagine that the book has a table of contents containing the titles of the main chapters in the story. To begin here, please describe very briefly what the main chapters in the book might be. Please give each chapter a title, tell me just a little bit about what each chapter is about, and say a word or two about how we get from one chapter to the next. As a storyteller here, what you want to do is to give me an overall plot summary of your story, going chapter by chapter. You may have as many or as few as you like, but let's try to keep this section of the interview relatively brief. This is just a broad overview." However, people seemed to find

Vivid memory: Please think back to your childhood and identify one scene that stands out as especially vivid or meaningful, positive or negative. Please describe this scene in detail, tell what happened, when and where, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

Vivid adult memory: Moving ahead to your adult years, identify one scene that stands out as especially vivid or meaningful. This would be an especially memorable, vivid, or important scene, positive or negative, from your adult years. Please describe this scene in detail, tell what happened, when and where, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

High point: Please describe a scene, episode, or moment in your life that stands out as an especially positive experience. This might be the high point scene of your entire life or else an especially happy, joyous, exciting, or wonderful moment in the story. What happened, when and where, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was so good and what the scene may say about who you are as a person.

Low point: The second scene is the opposite of the first. Thinking back over your entire life, please identify a scene that stands out as a low point, if not the low point in your life story. What happened in the event, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was so bad and what the scene may say about you or your life.

Turning point: In looking back over your life, it may be possible to identify certain key moments that stand out as turning points—episodes that marked an important change in you or your life story. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point in your life. Again, for this event, please describe what happened, where and when, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, please say a word or two about what you think this event says about you as a person or about your life.

Life challenge: Looking back over your entire life, please identify and describe what you now consider to be the greatest single challenge you have faced in your life. What is or was the challenge or problem? How did the challenge or problem develop? How did you address or deal with this challenge or problem? What is the significance of this challenge or problem in your own life story?

Olives and anchoring questions

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your olives, is that OK?

How many olive trees do you have?

How long have the olive trees been in your family?

Are the olive groves the central livelihood of your family?

Do you sell your olives? To whom?

Do you find it harder to access your trees and pick your olives now than in the past?

Have you had any confrontations with settlers or the IDF around your olives? Have you had any damage to the olive trees? (please describe) When did that happen?

Now I'd like to ask you some standard questions, if it's OK?

Speaking generally, do you see change as possible? (never, rarely, somewhat possible, absolutely)

Suppose you are given a choice between two options: you can either (1) accept 500 shekels and take it home with you or (2) play a game. In the game, a person flips a coin. If you correctly predict which side the coin falls on, you will receive 1,000 shekels to take home. If you predict incorrectly, you will receive no shekels. Would you rather (1) take the 50 shekels or (2) play the game?

I'm going to read you a scenario and then ask you about what you'd like to do in response.

Say you are paid 1,000 shekels for completing a job you worked very hard for, and then 200 shekels of that money is stolen from your pocket. If you knew who had done that, what would you do?

How much, if anything, would you be willing to pay (of your remaining money) to make sure the thief paid for his or her crime?

Would you do that even if your losses were not recovered?

I'm going to briefly describe a scenario to you, and I want you to tell me how violent you think that event was, on a scale from 1 to 100, where 100 is the most violent thing you can imagine and 1 is completely nonviolent.

- Verbal harassment?

- Being beaten?

- A soldier or policeman being shot in the leg?

- A civilian being shot in the leg?

Economic questions

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about economic conditions, is that OK?

Are you currently engaged in any work-related activity from which you earn income?

What is your main income-generating activity?

Beliefs and values

Now, I would like to ask a few questions about your fundamental beliefs and values. Is that OK?

Consider for a moment the religious or spiritual aspects of your life. Please describe in a nutshell your religious beliefs and values, if indeed these are important to you. Whether you are religious or not, please describe your overall ethical or moral approach to life.

How frequently do you attend mosque? (less than once a month, once per month, once per day, more than once per day)

Please tell the story of how your religious, moral, and political views and values have developed over time. Have they changed in any important ways? Please explain.

Some people describe themselves first by their nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, or occupation. How would you describe your identity? How do you see yourself? (e.g., as a Palestinian first, a Muslim second, and then a husband? Or as a husband first . . . ?)

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Politics

Would it be OK to ask you some specific questions about government and politics?

How do you approach political or social issues? Do you have a particular political point of view? Are there particular social issues or causes about which you feel strongly? Please explain.

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement: sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on. Do you agree: very strongly, somewhat strongly, not very strongly, or not at all strongly?

When there are elections here, do you vote? (every time, sometimes, rarely, or never)

Generally, do you see yourself as (supportive of the peace process, opposed to the peace process, in between support and opposed, don't know)

In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days? (very good, good, so so, bad, very bad, don't know)

Would you support stopping security coordination with Israel? (certainly support, support, oppose, certainly oppose, don't know)

Do you support the campaign to boycott Israeli products? (certainly support, support, oppose, certainly oppose, don't know)

Do you support civil resistance, like protests, against Israel? (certainly support, support, oppose, certainly oppose, don't know)

In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear? (yes, no, don't know)

Do you support or oppose the continuation of launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip on Israeli cities and towns until Israel agree to end the siege and closure on Gaza? (certainly support, support, oppose, certainly oppose, don't know)

Now that negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis have stopped, would you support or oppose a return to the armed intifada and confrontations? (changed in the field to "Do you support the current intifada?")

If yes, have you always supported the intifada? Was there ever a time where you thought the intifadas were a bad idea? What changed your mind?

If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated

by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?

And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?

The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of Occupation and Settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us what, in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority.

Experience of the Occupation

I'd like to hear about your personal experience of the Occupation, if you are willing to talk about that with me?

To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Israel in your daily life or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished? (very worried, worried, not worried, not worried at all)

If you could tell people who don't know anything about this conflict one thing that I have not yet asked, what would it be?

People are victims of violence for all types of reasons and have contact with state actors and Occupation forces for all sorts of reasons. If you feel comfortable, please check which, if any, of these experiences you've had personally, and which, if any, you believe have happened to a close friend or family member? This is entirely optional, so if you do not feel comfortable with this or don't want to, please don't fill this out.

[Here respondents were handed a questionnaire and filled it out or didn't as per their preference.]

Reflection

Finally, I asked each respondent to reflect on our interview:

Thank you very much for this interview. Many of the stories you have told me are about experiences that stand out from the day-to-day. For example, we talked about a high point, a turning point, etc. Given that most people don't share their life stories in this way on a regular basis, I'm wondering if you might reflect for one last moment about what this interview, here

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today, has been like for you. What were your thoughts and feelings during the interview? How do you think this interview has affected you? Do you have any other comments about the interview process? Do you have any questions for me?

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