

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The genesis of this book was a research program on alternative models for state-formation in Palestine. It was launched by the Center for Development Studies at Birzeit University in 2013, under the directorship of Dr. Samia Al-Botmeh. The aim of this research was to explore Palestinian understandings of statehood, democracy, and citizenship in view of the regional upheavals ushered in by the Arab uprisings and the failure of the Oslo peace process to bring about a viable two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A grant from the Soros Foundation financed this project, enabling the Center for Development Studies to commission six papers and conduct a survey on Palestinians' attitudes toward the one-state solution that included the views of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank as well as those living in Israel. The findings of this research were presented at a conference held at Birzeit University in 2015.

I was involved in this project from its inception. Upon its completion, it became clear to me that its findings should be accessible to everyone, as they expressed the voices of a new generation of scholars who are central to the definition of Palestinian political liberation in the twenty-first century. Like every book, though, this one has undergone various transformations, especially as some contributors dropped out and I persevered to have others join. I deeply regret that Samia Al-Botmeh could not remain my coeditor as we had originally planned. Her commitment and work at Birzeit University left little room for anything else, especially after she became dean of the Faculty of Business and Economics. Linda Tabar, who was central to the inception of this project and to the Soros grant, also could not remain in it, as her important research and teaching took all her time. I remain deeply indebted to Samia and Linda for their intellect, their precious friendship, the solidarity we developed over the years, and for their incredible generosity

towards me in some of the hardest times I endured as we were trying to get this project off the ground.

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Moving the book from conception, compilation, and completion to the actual process of publication took more time and nerves than I thought possible. For that, I want to thank a number of people who helped me along the way. They include Andre Zaaman for reminding me that this intellectual project is important for any viable political work, Gil Anidjar for his insight and for inviting me to speak about its early findings at Columbia University, and Sherene Seikaly for her encouragement and growing friendship. I am deeply indebted to Kinga Karłowska, my excellent research assistant, and Kate Rouhana for her editing of various parts of this work; Nancy and Hubert Murray for offering me the space to write in peace during the Covid-19 pandemic; Heike Schotten for her encouragement and advice with various versions of the introduction; Susan Jacoby for her fine-tooth editorial combing of that same introduction; and Sahar Bazzaz for her reading and support in more than one way. I also would like to thank Beshara Doumani for his interest in the book and eagerness to have it published in the *New Directions in Palestinian Studies (NDPS)* series. I am both honoured by and appreciative of this fitting home. A special thanks goes also to the editorial board of NDPS, whose assiduous readings and invaluable comments helped me situate this book within the larger ongoing debate on the meaning of liberation and self-determination in the twenty-first century, as well as to the book's two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and enthusiastic endorsement.

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