## Contents

Foreword	i×
Preface	×
Acknowledgments	xvii
Note on Transliterations	×i×
Chronology of Events	XX
CHAPTER ONE	
Islamism and Secular Nationalism Situating Secular Nationalism and Islamism in the Palestinian Setting Palestinian Islamist Mobilization in Regional Perspective Generation Dynamics within Social Movements Generational Transformation and Palestinian National Identity	1 4 7 14 20
CHAPTER TWO The Secular-Nationalist Milieu The Ethos of Fathawi Nationalism Social Backgrounds Factors of Mobilization Conceptions of the Collective: Retrievals and Alterations Conclusion	27 29 35 45 52 69
CHAPTER THREE The Islamist Milieu The Structures and Ethos of the Islamist Milieu Social Backgrounds Mobilization: Events and Structures Islamist Conceptions of the Collective Al-jihād fī sabīl al-nafs: The Struggle for the Soul Al-jihād fī sabīl al-siyāsa: The Struggle for Politics Al-jihād fī sabīl al-thawra: The Struggle for the Revolution Conclusion	73 75 85 92 100 101 108 113
CHAPTER FOUR Thawra Camp: A Case Study of Shifting Identities Setting, Institutions, and Ethos of Thawra Camp	123 125

## viii CONTENTS

Social Backgrounds of the Interlocutors	132
Mobilization: Events and Structures	142
Identity Formation in the Secular-Nationalist Milieu	143
Identity Formation in the Islamist Milieu	148
Hierarchies of Solidarity	158
Sheer Secularism: Al-Lībrāliyyīn	159
Islamic Secularism	162
Liberal Islamism	169
Sheer Islamism	173
Conclusion	177
CHAPTER FIVE	
Karama Camp: Islamist-Secularist Dynamics	
in the Gaza Strip	179
Karama Camp and Post-Oslo Gaza	184
The Camp	184
The Gaza Strip	187
The Asdudis: Social Backgrounds and Paths of Political Mobilization	197
Conceptions of the Collective Order	207
ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's Islamism	207
Abu Jamil and "Traditionalist Nationalism"	214
Islam without the Islamists: Latif, Imm Muhammad, and Abu Qays	223
Conclusion	230
Epilogue	233
References	247
Index	257