

## THE RAMALLAH FRIENDS MEETING: EXAMINING ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE AND JUSTICE WORK

Maia Carter Hallward  
Kennesaw State University, USA

### ABSTRACT

This article uses interviews conducted around the 2010 Centennial celebrations of the Ramallah Friends (Quaker) Meeting House to explore domestic and expatriate Quaker peace and justice efforts over the years. Although the general public often equates peace building with direct action aimed at reducing violence, such as facilitation of peace negotiations or activities bringing conflict parties together for dialogue, the history of the Quakers in Ramallah suggests the need for a broader understanding of peace and justice promotion that is rooted in an understanding of Quaker testimonies, traditional Quaker practices, and an appreciation for the political reality in which Palestinian Quakers live. After exploring the Quaker approach to peace, the article discusses specific efforts of the Quaker community in Ramallah, including the ministry of hospitality, a preschool in the Am'ari refugee camp, and the Friends International Center in Ramallah (FICR), which provides a space for hosting groups and conducting programming related to Quaker concerns.

### KEYWORDS

Quakers, Ramallah, social justice, peace, Israeli–Palestinian conflict, hospitality, FICR.

### INTRODUCTION

Much of the literature examining the role of religious groups in the Occupied Palestinian Territories focuses on Islamic groups like Hamas or else the role of the ideological settler movement *Gush Emunim* (Bloc of the Faithful) (Chehab 2007; Mishal and Sela 2000; Newman 2005; Tessler 1986). Often, however, this literature examines the political dimensions of the movements concerned rather than their role as religious groups per se. Scholarship on Hamas, especially since its victory in the 2006 Parliamentary elections, has tended to study its role within the existing framework of secular Palestinian politics; religious groups are examined not in terms of religious views and principles, and the extent to which those impact what they do, but how they impact secular institutions (Aysha 2006; ICG

2006; Pelham 2010; Zweiri 2006). With a few exceptions, this tendency generally carries forth when looking at Israeli politics as well, although the Israeli religious right is often discussed in more nuanced terms and their theology (particularly concerning Jewish claims to land) is discussed more than that of Hamas (Lehmann and Siebzeiner 2008; Leibner 2008; Tessler 1986; Zarembski 2000).

In the past decade, a number of scholars have criticized the exclusively secular focus of scholars and policy makers dealing with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, arguing that religious identities and symbolism must be brought into the peacemaking process in order for lasting success. Religion and politics are inherently intertwined for observant Jews and Muslims; for many Orthodox Jews in Israel, the observance of *halakah* (religious law) is more important than some secular laws which may be seen to be contradictory (Abu-Nimer 2004; Gordon 1989; Sapir 2002). Although some Hamas members and some Jewish settlers reject processes of negotiation and recognition of the Other, often using religious language to buttress their positions, religion can also be used for peacemaking among Palestinians and Israelis through the careful use of symbols and rituals (Abu-Nimer 2004; Gopin 2002; Landau 2003). Indeed, groups like the Inter-faith Encounter Association (IEA) have been growing in their scope and impact in recent years, as Muslims, Jews, and Christians come together to learn about similarities and differences in their faiths and in the process come to know the Other as human (Feldinger 2009). Religious dialogue groups such as IEA, however, explicitly seek to distance themselves from politics, a stance at odds with those, like Oscar Romero (or, arguably, Jesus Christ), who view the Church's mission as inherently political (Ateek 1989; Zaru 2008).

The Christian minority in Palestine is often overlooked by the media and policymakers, who tend to focus on Jewish–Muslim relations.<sup>1</sup> However, Christians have a long tradition in Palestinian society and continue to play a valued role in Palestinian social, economic, and political life, even as their numbers decline. For example, the mayoral seats in historically Christian towns like Ramallah and Bethlehem are reserved for Palestinian Christians, and a number of private schools were started with the support of Christian missionaries during the years of Ottoman and British rule. While the majority of Palestinian Christians were originally Greek Orthodox, over the years a number of denominations have emerged, including the Lutherans, Anglicans, Catholics, and Melkites. Due to the political and economic challenges of statelessness and the hazards of life in a conflict zone, many Christians have emigrated, primarily to Western countries where they can provide a more secure life for their families (Dalrymple 1997; Soudah and Sabella 2006). This article focuses on one particular Christian community, the Ramallah Friends (Quaker) Meeting, and examines the role of Quakers, a denomination traditionally known for their work on peace and social justice issues, within the Ramallah community, particularly in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The impetus for this paper originated from the Centennial celebration of the Ramallah Friends Meeting in March 2010, which the author attended, which also coincided with the fifth anniversary of the Friends International Center in

Ramallah (FICR), an institution that emerged out of consultations surrounding the rededication of the Ramallah Meeting House in March 2005. The experiences of the Quaker meeting in Ramallah point to the importance of thinking broadly about what it means to work for 'peace' in a situation of violent conflict and power asymmetry, and raise questions regarding the role of US Quakers in supporting overseas 'missions'.

The study that follows examines Quaker testimonies and beliefs as they relate specifically to peace and social justice activities before providing an overview of the history of Quaker presence in Ramallah. After these context-setting pieces, the paper draws on eleven interviews conducted primarily in March 2010 with local and international Quakers who have been involved in the work of the Ramallah Friends Meeting over the years to explore the life of the meeting over the decades. This article also draws on the author's regular attendance at the Ramallah Friends Meeting from 1998–2000 and 2004–2005.

### QUAKER TESTIMONIES AND APPROACH TO PEACEMAKING

#### BACKGROUND OF THE RAMALLAH MEETING

The Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, is a historical peace church, known for its testimonies of peace, equality, simplicity, community, and integrity. Quakers traditionally have no outward sacraments, focusing on the Light or Spirit within each human being, which allows him or her to communicate directly with God. Within the United States there are several branches of Quakers that have evolved over the years, with the two largest groups being Friends United Meeting (FUM) and Friends General Conference (FGC). The Ramallah Friends School was established by Quakers affiliated with what is now Friends United Meeting, and was run by the Friends Mission Board; FUM still holds the school licenses, owns the school property, and supports the school financially. The Ramallah Friends Meeting is independent of FUM, although FUM periodically sent pastors, and FUM-sponsored teachers were expected to engage in the life of the meeting community. The meeting is part of the Friends World Council on Consultation (FWCC) Europe and the Middle East Section and maintains strong connections to European Friends. Although the meeting was established in part to serve the Quaker missionaries associated with the FUM-supported Ramallah Friends School and to provide a place of worship for the boarding students, in recent years (particularly since 2002) Ramallah Friends have strengthened ties with FGC-affiliated Yearly Meetings, like Baltimore and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, which raised the funds to renovate and restore the Friends Meeting House.<sup>2</sup> Connections with FGC are not new, nor is the meeting exclusively affiliated with US Friends. On the contrary, the meeting house has long been a site of interaction, connection, and exchange between Friends from all over the world. As will be discussed later, the meeting's historic ministry of hospitality combined with the many Friends who come to Israel/Palestine for work on various projects related to peace and justice means that on any given First Day, the meeting might have as many nationalities as attenders, and FGC–FUM divisions really only pertain to

US Friends. In this way, one can draw parallels between the Ramallah Friends Meeting and the contemporary Convergent movement, which comprises 'Quakers who embrace participatory culture and: seek a holistic faith, have a public witness, create spaces for worship, experiment with Quaker practices, seek renewal within Quaker structures, and emphasize hospitality within difference' (Daniels 2010: 245). However, this tendency toward convergent theology and practice differs considerably from the faith and practice of early Friends connected to the meeting, and early Friends were in Ramallah not to promote peace, but rather to provide Christian service, primary in the field of education.<sup>3</sup>

#### QUAKER VIEWS ON PEACE

In the Quaker tradition, peacemaking is about relationships. Quaker peacemaker Adam Curle affirmed that 'peaceful relations are those in which, through the structure of the relationship, the individuals or groups involved have a greater opportunity, and are indeed actively helped, to become what they really are' (Curle 1981: 37). For Quakers, testimonies including those of peace and equality emerge out of the basic Quaker belief in the indwelling divinity, that there is 'that of God' within each person (Curle 1981; Zaru 2008). Quaker peacemaking emerges out of the teachings of George Fox, founder of Quakerism, whose declarations in 1651 and 1661 rejected 'all outward wars and strife' and called on Friends to live 'in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars'. Thus, Quaker peacemaking focuses not simply on the elimination of outward violence, but on 'eliminating the social, psychological and material conditions that lead to conflict, and of answering that of God in every one' (cited in Curle 1981: 53, 89). For Quakers, this involves a deep commitment to justice, integrity, and education, as peacemaking involves not only getting rid of what causes violence but also helping people reach their God-given potential; this puts the Quaker approach to peace in line with what peace scholars consider 'positive' peace (Galtung 1996). Consequently, Quaker peacemaking efforts have often involved listening, talking, building ties with the conflicting parties, and investigating the root causes of conflicting parties' identities, grievances, and needs (Gallagher 2007).

Quakers are a small denomination comparatively, and Quakers operate primarily at the unofficial, personal level when involved in mediation efforts. In the Middle East, Quaker peacemaking has been done on a number of levels, including through projects run by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). AFSC originally became involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through its work with Palestinian refugees, but its work has expanded over the years to include workcamps for Israelis, Palestinians, and internationals, a Legal Aid Center in Jerusalem in the 1970s and 1980s as well as Youth Leadership training, and support for Israeli conscientious objectors (Author Interview 2010e). Individual Quakers like Landrum Bolling and Elmore Jackson have been involved in unofficial peacemaking over the years, and Quakers have written several key reports on the Middle East conflict and options for peacemaking, including *Search*

*for Peace in the Middle East* and *When the Rain Returns* (AFSC 1971, 2004; Bolling 2004; Gallagher 2007). The Quaker Mission in Ramallah often played a mediating role between the British and Palestinians in the 1930s due to their knowledge of both cultures; however, the Mission emphasized modeling 'Christian ideals in the land of Christ' and the importance of education rather than political activism (Jordan 1995: 155, 183). In its first years, AFSC's humanitarian work in the region, while driven by good intentions, was often divorced from consultation with local Friends and was focused on relief efforts and dialogue without a deeper knowledge of the history and structure of the conflict. Quakers with a history of service in Palestine and Lebanon and Quakers coming from the US and Britain differed in their understanding of the conflict, which impacted how Quakers engaged in peace work in the region; it also created tension between AFSC and the Ramallah Friends Schools (Gallagher 2007: 48-59; Ricks 2009: 43). While both groups of Quakers were concerned with peace and reconciliation, the FUM mission in Ramallah was focused on providing education and health services, and, for some, a 'civilizing' mission of 'progress', while other Quakers engaged in more explicitly political activity in consultation with the United Nations and Israeli government (Gallagher 2007; Jones 1946: 161).

This historical background, including the tendency for Friends associated with FUM and FGC to work in parallel rather than in consultation, and the existence of different conceptions of appropriate 'peace work', has helped shape the peace and justice efforts of the Ramallah Friends Meeting over past century. Given the lack of meeting archives and the small number of members still active in the meeting, the historical record is notably incomplete; consequently it is important to document stories from local Quakers as well as international Quakers with ties to the meeting. After providing a historical overview of the meeting, the remainder of the paper examines several themes that emerged in the course of the interviews, including the role of the meeting in providing hospitality (in both theological and practical senses of the word), the impact of the Sunday School on community values, including tolerance, and the tension inherent in the practices and beliefs of Friends and the assumptions underlying what was originally a mission project.

#### HISTORY OF THE RAMALLAH FRIENDS MEETING

The Quaker presence in Ramallah, Palestine began after an 1867 visit to the area by Eli and Sybil Jones of New England Yearly Meeting and Alfred Lloyd Fox and Ellen Clare Miller of Britain Yearly Meeting. When stopping over in Ramallah, a small Christian town, they met fifteen year old Miriam Karam, who asked them to start a school for girls and volunteered to be the first teacher. The Quakers went home, raised funds, and returned in 1868 to set up classes for girls. In 1889 classes became institutionalized as a boarding school, called the Girls Domestic Training Center. The school was highly successful, and the community requested that Friends establish a school for boys, which they did in 1901 (Edwards-Konic 2008; Leonard 1989<sup>4</sup>).

The American Friends Mission Board, which was responsible for running the schools, was concerned that Friends lacked a meeting house in Ramallah. A house was rented for ten years as the place of worship for those connected with the schools. A monthly meeting was established in 1890 for five years, and was later revived in 1901 by Elihu and Almy Grant (Brinson *et al.* 2010; Jones 1944). In 1906 members of the Ramallah community purchased land to construct a meeting house half way between the Girls Training Home and the land that had been purchased for the Friends Boys School. While today this site is in the center of downtown Ramallah, in 1910, when the meeting house was completed, it stood alone, with no buildings nearby. Foreign Quakers from Haverford College helped raise the money to construct the actual meeting house, but local Friends provided the benches and other internal furnishings. A local Ramallah Friend said ‘I’ll start with myself. I’ll offer two benches. And then his friends were embarrassed that he offered and they didn’t. And so in one sitting, they managed to get twenty benches for the meeting’ (Author Interview 2010f). Unlike the schools, the meeting remained under the ownership of local Friends, not the American Friends Mission Board, and the property was registered as *Kiniset Arabia le Friends*, the Arab Friends Church.

The meeting prospered in its early years, with attendance as high as 154 when school was in session and up to 400 children attending Sunday School in some years in the 1920s (Brinson *et al.* 2010). The Sunday School was one of the Meeting’s most successful outreach programs, with some non-Christians and many Christians from other denominations attending. At both the re-dedication of the Ramallah Friends Meeting in March 2005 and the Centennial Celebration in March 2010, local dignitaries including the Governor and the Mayor (neither of whom is Quaker) shared their memories of attending Sunday School at the Quaker meeting. Although a number of Friends assisted with the Sunday School over the years, it was the particular ministry of Ellen Audeh Mansour, who had a special gift of storytelling. As one local Friend shared, ‘We still talk about our days at Sunday School today... We were bonded in that special way’ (Author Interview 2010g). Another local Friend noted that as late as the 1970s, ‘Sunday school was the thing in town so everybody just joined in’ regardless of whether they were Quakers, Greek Orthodox, or Catholic. In fact, the majority of the 20–25 children who attended each week were non-Quaker (Author Interview 2010i).

The 1940s were a period of heightened nationalism, and many in the local community saw the Ramallah Friends Schools as an institution aimed at helping Palestinians build their expected state (the 1937 Peel Commission had recommended dividing the British Mandate into an Arab and a Jewish state). The meeting prospered, with approximately 170 members. Khalil Totah, the principal of the Friends Boys School and a major leader in the Ramallah community, connected to Quakers around the world as a result of his speaking tours, and to Jewish leaders and Jordanian officials as well, was a major figure in the meeting. However, a series of differences of opinion over the leadership and direction of the Ramallah Friends Mission between Totah and the Friends Mission Board led

to Ramallah Quakers meeting separately from American Quakers. This conflict stemmed in part from

different social, political and cultural traditions, practices and expectations of Palestinians engulfed in decades of violent struggles for their independence, and the American Quakers who were, in part, insensitive to the implications of the Palestinian war against Zionism and British colonialism, and, in part, to missionary hubris in bringing 'democracy' to Palestine and in 'creating' American Quaker Christians in the Middle East (Ricks 2009: 34).

Struggles over how best to manage and run the schools involved questions not only of nationality and personality, but also of patriarchy, leadership style, and control over Mission property (Ricks 2009: 36–37). After several years of disagreements and debates within the Ramallah community as well as between local and foreign Quakers, in March 1944 Dr Totah sent an ultimatum to the Friends Mission Board that unless all Friends work and property were turned over to the Ramallah Friends Meeting (where he played a leading role) he would resign. Willard Jones, whose wife Christian was Education Secretary for Friends United Meeting in Richmond, IN, was sent immediately to Ramallah to accept Totah's resignation. Practically overnight the meeting lost over 120 members, as everyone except for those employed by the schools and a few other families resigned along with Totah (Leonard 1989, 2010).<sup>5</sup> This break is best understood in the context of the ongoing political conflict between Arabs, Jews, and British, as well as Palestinian desires for independence and self-determination in all aspects of life. While theological issues may have played a role, particularly American Quakers focus on democracy over Totah's more dictatorial style, other factors included the broader colonial struggles in which Quaker testimonies of democracy and equality were applied differently in different contexts (Author Interview 2010a, 2010b).<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the at times strained relations between local and foreign Quakers over leadership and autonomy issues, the meeting has been greatly impacted by the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. In 1967, with the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the meeting house was hit during the fighting, leaving two big holes in the roof, and it lost many weekly attenders when the Ramallah Friends Schools had to stop boarding students. Until this time, about forty girls and the boarding boys attended meeting each Sunday, sitting on either side of the meeting house with twenty to fifty meeting members and attenders sitting in the middle (Brinson *et al.* 2010; Author Interview 2010l). As the occupation became more entrenched, Christians, including Ramallah Quakers, increasingly emigrated to the United States and elsewhere. By the 1970s there were usually about thirty to thirty-five people attending meeting on an average Sunday; in the 1980s this decreased to about twenty to twenty-five on average. During the first Intifada (1987–1993) Friends stopped using the meeting house because it was not safe to meet since the main street of town was the site of frequent clashes between Israeli soldiers and local youth. Instead, the meeting began to gather in a small room at the Friends Girls School. In 1995 the meeting house was leaking so badly that it was no longer useable; experts from al Najah University declared the building unsafe (Author Interview 2010f, 2010i).

Given the cost of repairing the roof and the size of the meeting, local Quakers debated the future of the meeting house. However, after the first intifada Palestinians had an increased concern for preserving their cultural heritage and using it as a form of national resistance. The meeting house was declared to be an historical site by the Ramallah Municipality, ending the possibility of moving it (Nassar 2006; Author Interview 2010c, 2010i). In 2002, when presiding clerk Jean Zaru spoke at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (FGC-affiliated), Philadelphia Quakers were so moved by the situation in Ramallah that even though Jean did not ask for funds for the roof they raised \$50,000 almost on the spot for the renovation. As the renovations occurred, first for the meeting house and then for the annex, local Quakers, in consultation with Friends from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Baltimore Yearly Meeting, which also contributed funds to the project, began to discuss how to best make use of this newly renovated space. In 2005, when the meeting house was re-dedicated, a group of Quakers gathered together in a consultation out of which emerged the vision of FICR.

#### COLONIAL IMPACT

While Quakers are known for their peace testimony and their belief in equality and social justice, these testimonies were not the driving impetus for American missionaries who ran the school in the early days; a more primary focus seems to have been Christian education and even a ‘civilizing mission’, much like other missionaries of the time. For example, a report from a visitor to the meeting notes that ‘Edward Kelsey and Moses Bailey do most of the preaching. Both use an interpreter. Because the Mission is understaffed the spiritual life of the members living in the villages is more or less neglected’ (Brinson *et al.* 2010: 4). Unlike other missionaries, however, Friends have not traditionally engaged in proselytizing or evangelizing, and records suggest that Quakers did not seek to convert Muslims or Greek Orthodox to Quaker. Several of those interviewed referenced the fact that Quakers do not proselytize as one of the major reasons why the meeting did not grow in the same manner as other Protestant denominations within Ramallah.

While those interviewed noted the significant and beneficial impact of foreign Quakers in helping establish and run the Friends Schools for more than a century, they also shared some of the problematic consequences of the ‘mission’ orientation. In the literature, missionaries are seen as

agents of change...[who] share powerful new ideas with locals, providing them with new intellectual and organizational tools for decoding their own culture. The social consequences of this kind of work are hard to dismiss: the re-framing of one’s social condition through the ideological perspective of North American or European religious workers lead to new social practices amidst converts (Cavalcanti 2005: 382).

The foreign Quakers who came ‘were genuine, they were loving, they were devoted certainly to Ramallah and to the Ramallah people’ but at the same time there was a sense that ‘they had the attitude that we’re somehow helping people



who need to be helped because they're not quite where they need to be' (Author Interview 2010b). Respondents repeatedly referenced the fact that the Quaker service was historically conducted in English (although Arabic hymns were sung and sometimes Arabic scripture readings) as different from other Protestant churches, where local pastors were trained to conduct Arabic language services. This meant that members and attenders were limited to those who were fluent in English. Furthermore, because foreign Quakers were strictly against smoking and drinking, the meeting core was comprised of women, since many men smoked or had the occasional arak, a traditional anise-flavored drink often served at weddings and other events. Foreign Quakers who came to teach at the schools were admonished not to 'go native' and, especially in the early years of the schools, local Friends were encouraged to 'Westernize', meaning 'you're going to be somehow more advanced, you're going to somehow be better' (Author Interview 2010b, 2010c). While foreign Quakers encouraged Westernization, they also instilled beliefs in equality, integrity, and continuing revelation. Just as colonized people in India and elsewhere used Western principles of nationalism to struggle against foreign domination, Ramallah Quakers used Quaker beliefs to challenge missionary influence, for example in the 1944 split. Local Quakers emphasize their equality to foreign Quakers, their Quaker pedigrees, and their distinguished culture and history.

The 'Western' orientation of the Ramallah Friends Mission proved an obstacle to local Quakers in the wake of the 1967 war. Because of United States support for Israel during the 1967 war, when the West Bank and Gaza Strip came under Israeli military rule, it was difficult for Palestinians to come to meeting or be associated with it. One local Friend related a conversation between a foreign Quaker and the mayor of Ramallah at the time, who was connected through family to the Ramallah meeting, in which he opined that 'Quakers had nothing to add, to offer' due to their perceived political support for the Palestinians' oppressor (Author Interview 2010b). Missionaries often served as colonial agents, particularly in areas under European control, where religious institutions were often imposed along with political and social institutions (Cavalcanti 2005; Sharkey 2004). While foreign Quakers have not always listened sufficiently to the voices of Palestinian Quakers, Quakers involved with the work in Ramallah have spoken out against Western policies in the region over the decades, often differing from political leaders (and other Western Quakers) precisely because of their commitment to the people of Ramallah (Gallagher 2007; Author Interview 2010b, 2010c, 2010d).

#### MINISTRY OF HOSPITALITY: NURTURING PEACE AND JUSTICE WORK

As evidenced by the interviews, a major service of the Ramallah Friends Meeting (and FICR) is providing hospitality in the practical and theological sense. This ministry stems in part from the small size of the meeting and its strong connection to foreign Quakers, although Palestinians also pride themselves on their culture of hospitality. This hospitality is a vital contribution to peace and justice work in the

region as the meeting has nurtured and enriched Quakers and fellow travellers visiting or working in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, often in connection with stressful humanitarian and peacebuilding efforts. At the same time, the visitors strengthen the meeting through their presence and solidarity. Due to the meeting's connections with FGC and FUM, as well as its membership in the European and Middle Eastern Section of FWCC, this hospitality also connects Friends across differences and reflects (unintentionally) the Convergent Friends' emphasis on building relationships through hospitality, participation, public witness, and shared worship rather than narrow doctrinal agreement (Daniels 2010: 244-45). Unsurprisingly, given that the meeting was created to support the foreign Quakers working at the Ramallah Friends Schools, every respondent recalled that foreign visitors have always been a part of Sunday worship. As one foreign Quaker long connected to the meeting commented,

What has kept a vibrant community has been the long-term and short-term visitors. Mostly foreign, occasionally a Palestinian. The nature of the meeting [in 2010] is very similar to what it was twenty or thirty years ago. Jean [Zaru, clerk of the meeting] in her person makes a difference, **she** is a Quaker internationally known and she is a large part of the meeting and she remains a large part of the meeting, but for many years there haven't been very many Palestinians besides Jean to keep the meeting going (Author Interview 2010e).

The meeting's connection with Friends United Meeting (FUM), while not of a direct or material nature, is one reason for the regular presence of foreign Quakers. FUM has supported the meeting through its sponsorship of foreign Quaker teachers at the Friends schools, because 'anybody that came to the schools has a commitment to participate in the life of the meeting because it's basic for their activity. I mean, if they do not function out of a faith base and a commitment to these values...they will be burnt out.' As one foreign Quaker affirmed, 'the meeting served as a good refuge and support for the Quaker volunteers', and another, who taught at the schools in the 1970s, shared, 'the meeting and meeting community was really an anchor for me during the years as a teacher and a respite from the craziness of teaching at the schools'. The meeting has supported foreign Quaker teachers over the decades, serving as their 'support system' and 'community for the people who came' (Author Interview 2010c, 2010e, 2010f, 2010g). One foreign Quaker who joined the meeting in the 1970s while working in Jerusalem said that the meeting provided 'hospitality with all of the theological implications of hospitality', noting that while this might be easy to take for granted, 'as soon as you think about it, you think about how important those relationships were, how much you felt empowered by them, embraced by them' (Author Interview 2010h). He explained how knowing 'that there were Palestinians open to a just and equitable relationship with Israelis' made his peace and justice work easier (Author Interview 2010h).

The support function of the meeting extends beyond Quaker teachers at the Ramallah Friends School to include other foreigners, such as the Mennonites or volunteers with Christian Peacemaker Teams in Hebron, who engage in peace

and social justice work and come to the meeting for ‘respite’ and for ‘a moment of quiet reflection and to try to hush their spirits’ after their difficult work (Author Interview 2010e). The meeting house has provided this same ‘respite’ function for local Ramallah Quakers as well. Although the bustling commercial center of Ramallah has grown up around the meeting house, Friends shared that the meeting house continues to serve as a refuge from the chaos of everyday life.<sup>7</sup> As a local Quaker said, ‘We go to the meeting house with all the noise around you, and I don’t know how, but you stop listening to the outside world. A lot of people were pushing to move the meeting somewhere else. I think it’s great that it is still where it is in the middle of town’ (Author Interview 2010i).

The meeting also served as a place of restoration for Quakers travelling in the region for a variety of reasons, including peace and justice efforts. Such visits also strengthened the worship experience and connected worshippers to other ideas, experiences, and communities. One foreign Quaker recalled a moving message

from Landrum Bolling, probably in 1971. He had been engaged in secret shuttle diplomacy between Egypt, Israel and Syria, and probably the PLO in exile. He spoke of how the situation was more hopeless than he had seen over his many years of engaging in this activity but that it was important to maintain hope anyway, that you can’t give up hope. In fact, that tension led to the 1973 October War, but later those same parties found a way to make peace in the late 1970s and again later talk to each other in the Oslo Accords (Author Interview 2010c).

While not all Quaker visitors have engaged in that level of diplomatic peace-making, over the years the meeting has helped network individuals and groups involved in peace and justice work. As a result of meeting at the Ramallah Friends Meeting, people ‘were able to coordinate activities and exchange information, form friendships’ (Author Interview 2010e). Quakers have supported the World Council of Churches’ Ecumenical Accompaniment Program in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI) and Quakers working for a host of different NGOs in Ramallah and Jerusalem. In this way, the Ramallah meeting has, in the manner of convergent Friends, supported the public presence of Friends’ testimonies in society.

#### OUTREACH PROJECTS: SPEAKING TO THAT OF GOD IN EVERYONE

Collins asserts that ‘Quaker identity is sustained primarily through the generation and regeneration of stories, primarily in and around the Meeting House’ and that Quakerism tends to be a behavioral creed rather than a theological one (Collins 2009: 215, 217). Indeed, Ramallah Friends have demonstrated their commitment to peace and justice work, as well as their Quaker identity, through behavior in the community and through the presence of the meeting house itself. In a very fundamental way, the Ramallah meeting opened its doors to refugees during the Nakba of 1948, with nine families (a total of fifty-eight people) making their home in the small meeting house until the end of 1949. The Quakers ran a refugee school from 1948–52, and eventually opened a series of play centers for

the refugee children, both in the Annex of the meeting house and also in the Am'ari refugee camp on the outskirts of Ramallah/El Bireh (Brinson *et al.* 2010; Zaru 2008).

In addition to providing physical space and schooling to refugee families, the meeting women organized a sewing cooperative to make clothes for refugee women and children. Ellen Mansour, Azizi Mikhail, Violet Zaru, and Bahia Salah were particularly concerned with social outreach projects, including the sewing circle, a cross-stitch cooperative started by Mansour so that refugee and village women could sell their handicraft work, and the Am'ari playcenter, which was the special ministry of Violet Zaru until her death in 2006. The Quaker testimony of equality and the particular concern that Quakers have always had for gender equality in particular may be a contributing factor to the continued presence of these strong women in the Ramallah meeting, even while the early Quaker stance against smoking kept their husbands from attending. The actions and beliefs of two of the strong, independent, spinster Quaker missionaries, Mildred White and Annice Carter, seem to have influenced local Quakers as well.<sup>8</sup>

The ecumenical Sunday School run by Mansour, which took place for an hour each Sunday before meeting, was perhaps the most cited ministry of the meeting. 'Everyone' went to Sunday School, from the current mayor of Ramallah, to the Christian and Muslim friends of meeting attenders. There were over ninety children on the roll in 1950, approximately one-third of whom were refugee children, with only eleven of these from Quaker homes. Several local Quakers reflected positively on their Sunday School experience, saying,

I remember a very vibrant team of friends from my school who were non-Quakers who came to Sunday school... Our clerk of the board of trustees at the [Friends Boys] School, Samir Shehadeh, he was a regular attender of the Sunday School, for example, so I think his relationship with the meeting in that respect made him more aware of Quakerism and maybe that has something to do with the fact that he's...the clerk (Author Interview 2010g).

Beyond personal friendships, the Sunday School experience instilled Quaker values in the local community. One local Friend noted that many of his friends reflect positively on how accepting the Quaker meeting was and how supportive it was of the issues they faced. 'How people treat each other and accept each other regardless of background or color or religion is still a major impact locally' (Author Interview 2010i). This Friend continued, saying

Sometimes we take these things for granted, but when I sit back and evaluate how I'm dealing with my friends, how I'm dealing with others in the community or even with my family and daughters and stop to think about why I am doing these things, I think that is a major impact of the way I was raised as a Quaker within my family, within the community in the Quaker way of beliefs and teaching. And if this affected me, it affected the hundreds who attended over the years.

The impact on individual behavior and openness to others is difficult to measure or demonstrate beyond anecdotal evidence, although the large number of Ramallah residents attending the re-dedication of the meeting house in March 2005 and

the Centennial in March 2010 speaks to the import of the Quaker community. The Sunday School continued up until the first intifada, when the location of the meeting house rendered it no longer safe. The loss of the meeting house as a central space for meeting resulted in the loss of the Sunday School, and a major sphere of Quaker influence on the community. Many of these Sunday School graduates were grateful to see a renewed Quaker presence when the building was renovated; despite the Quaker belief that worship can occur in any space, the presence of Quakers openly worshipping in the center of Ramallah sent a symbolic message to those historically connected to the ministry of the meeting.

Many of the peace and justice efforts of Ramallah Friends have been ‘outside the corporate meeting framework’ largely ‘because the Palestinian Friends are so few in number. [Yet the meeting] projects an attitude of nonviolence and commitment to justice. It’s not terribly visible and public, but I think nonetheless these have been important contributions’ (Author Interview 2010h). Another interview subject noted that

And I think Quakers at their best, with this quiet diplomacy, are sort of like a chemical agent that disappears when it all comes together. So that’s in some ways, you know, that’s what makes it hard for you to do this particular project about the meeting. Because some of the best Quaker work is not known. And people don’t claim ownership... [T]hey are quiet, the kind of presence, and the modesty, the genuine humility of Quakers (Author Interview 2010e).

Several examples of this type of quiet peacemaking work include a story of foreign Quaker teachers providing space for their high school students to sleep during the Tawjihi exams because of the Israeli practice of rounding up children just before the exams and holding them for two weeks so that they missed the exams and had to wait until the following year; or the impact of the Quaker workcamps run by AFSC, FUM, Friends Center, and other Quaker organizations over the years that have impacted the lives of Israelis, Palestinians, and the international participants (Author Interview 2010e).

One of the more visible forms of peace and justice outreach done by a meeting member, again, outside of the ‘corporate meeting framework’ but nevertheless connected to the Quaker presence in Ramallah, is the ministry of Jean Zaru, who has become internationally known as a representative of Palestinian Quakers. Jean has been active in international women’s activism and in interfaith dialogue efforts over the decades. In addition to her role as clerk of the Ramallah Friends Meeting, Jean has served on the Board of the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center in Jerusalem, was honored with the Anna Lindh memorial prize in 2010 for her commitment to nonviolence and to challenging systems of structural violence and injustice, serves on the Council of the Charter for Compassion, and is the author of *Occupied with Nonviolence: A Palestinian Woman Speaks* (2008). As one Friend noted:

Jean is a public Friend and one of the best known Friends of her generation. She is well known in Europe and Australia and the United States. She has been a principle spokesperson for Palestinian Friends in Europe and the United States. I think that is

very important and the most far-reaching contribution the meeting has made. Yes, it's personal, but Jean's faith and involvement grows out of her involvement in the meeting.

Jean has travelled around the world giving talks on nonviolence, the role of justice, women's equality, and providing a Palestinian Quaker perspective on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict; she has helped many understand the Quaker testimonies of peace, justice, and equality in the context of conflict and oppression (Author Interview 2010c, 2010d, 2010e, 2010h).

#### THE FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTER IN RAMALLAH

After Jean Zaru's 2002 keynote address, Philadelphia Friends decided to pay for renovating the meeting house as a way to support peacemaking in the region and to develop a long-term relationship with the Ramallah Friends Meeting. Reports from those present at the Meeting for Business at which the idea was presented suggest that 'it was absolutely clear that the holy spirit was at work and the meeting was almost instantly unified' (Author Interview 2010j). Ramallah Meeting graciously accepted this donation and asked 'not only to help "fix the building" so that it can again be used as a place of worship, but also to support its development as a center for community building and peacemaking activities in the Quaker tradition' (Jeavons 2003: 2). Those involved in the rebuilding process report that 'at a personal level it was the most satisfying thing I've ever done in my life' and although the task was difficult and expensive 'the local community, even non-Quakers, really felt the excitement [of the renovation] and they were really proud that the meeting was being renovated, they would stop and ask questions and would enjoy the garden or the roof being fixed' (Author Interview 2010i, 2010j). As one local Quaker reflected:

when they finished the renovation, we went in and saw the new structure, I became very emotional. I almost teared [up]. We're trying to revive our Quaker community here, irrespective of how many we were, at least [this renovation] tells the whole population, 'come and look at our new meeting house, look what we did'. That meant a great deal to me (Author Interview 2010k).

Although the renovation itself was a powerful act that energized the relationship between the Ramallah meeting and foreign Quakers and brought new life—spiritual and physical—to central downtown Ramallah, the creation of FICR was intended to do much more than simply rehabilitate space. The three-part vision of FICR is to 'unite in one place':

1. a space for sacred worship after the manner of Friends to which all are welcome;
2. a safe and supportive environment in which residents in Ramallah can come together to work towards a better future in an atmosphere of faith and hope;
3. a vehicle through which Friends and other people of goodwill can connect with and provide support to those in the region who are striving to build a future of peace and justice.

To these ends, the International Friends Center in Ramallah offers a ministry of hospitality; creates an atmosphere of care and respect in which positive, civic, and civil discourse can be pursued; and is a witness to hope and reconciliation in a region where despair and violence have too often reigned. In all this we seek to express the deepest values and highest aspirations of the Quaker faith (Steering Committee 2005).

The colonial legacy discussed earlier and the uneven relationship between the Ramallah Friends Meeting and foreign Quakers over its century of existence explains some of the current dynamics and concerns of FICR, and the intentionality with which the new organization has sought to consult with and include Palestinian Quaker and non-Quaker voices in its planning, including a week-long consultation in 2005. According to the 'Statement of Intention Regarding the Roles and Responsibilities of the Friends International Steering Committee which works in partnership with Ramallah Friends Meeting in the establishment and operation of the Friends International Center in Ramallah' (Steering Committee 2005), FICR is a *partnership* between the International Steering Committee and Ramallah Friends Meeting. The Steering Committee and the Ramallah Friends Meeting sought to build measures of accountability into their relationship to ensure that present relationships reflected Quaker testimonies of integrity and equality.

Primary to the work of FICR, which is organized by a Program Coordinator and supported by the International Steering Committee, is supporting the Ramallah meeting, because, as one Friend noted, 'FICR cannot function without Ramallah meeting' (Author Interview 2010d). With a tiny local membership, Ramallah Friends see the role of FICR in supporting the meeting as vital, and the renovation of the meeting house was seen symbolically as 'the pillar of keeping the Quaker denomination alive here' because it keeps the Quakers on the radar of the local community (Author Interview 2010k). Indeed, FICR has tried to restart the Sunday School, but this has been a challenge in the current era as Ramallah has changed considerably in the past decades. Since the signing of the Oslo Accords, Ramallah has become the de facto capital of Palestine, with a consequent growth in population, building, and activity. Whereas Ramallah today has many activities, in the past 'there wasn't so much competition. It was the only thing to do and it made sense, so we went to it' (Author Interview 2010i). Furthermore, many offices have Friday and Saturday as their days off, which means that many people work on Sunday. FICR has attempted to address these challenges by finding alternative times for gathering, and seeking ways of building community from the ground up. FICR held youth group activities for the children of the meeting, including a Christmas Sing-Along that drew a standing room only audience with over sixty children participating. FICR reinstated a Wednesday night potluck which has drawn meeting members and attenders and their guests, often with a featured speaker or discussion topic, as a modified form of the midweek worship that Ramallah Friends hosted until the first intifada made it impossible. After meeting, fellowship occurs in the annex, where Friends gather, talk, and often meet for an impromptu lunch. The challenge of attracting and

maintaining members, particularly of the younger generations, is not unique to the Ramallah Friends Meeting, however, or even Quakerism. Between 1972 and 2002, membership in North American Quaker meetings declined from 121,380 to 92,786, a trend also faced by mainstream Christian denominations. If such trends continue, 'American Quakers would become extinct sometime late in the 21st century' and 'sixty percent of all existing Christian congregations in America will disappear before the year 2050' (Daniels 2010: 237; ESR 2012). Explanations for these trends vary, from cultural shifts, to increasingly busy lives, to alternative means of expressing one's faith. In Palestine, the ongoing Israeli occupation affects every facet of political, social, and economic life, including the emigration of Christian families.

Over the five years FICR has been in existence it has hosted numerous groups and individuals who are interested in the work of Quakers, as well as provided hospitality to Quakers travelling through the region, thereby continuing the tradition of Ramallah Friends in providing linkages between and among Quakers and fellow seekers. The meeting house has been used for concerts by local and foreign musicians, talks by noted theologians Rosemary Radford Ruether and Don Wagner, public events by NGOs like the Carter Center, and films on peace and justice issues. In addition to scheduling and hosting public events, FICR is also used by local groups as a place for meeting and planning. For example, representatives from the local peace teams (Christian Peacemaker Teams, Operation Dove, IWPS, EAPPI) used the space for their regular meetings to exchange information about their current activities and keep in touch regarding matters of common concern.<sup>9</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Although a very small meeting, the Ramallah Friends Meeting has continued to play a critical role in supporting those working for peace and justice in the region, expanding the conception of peace and justice work to one that includes a ministry of presence and a space for nurturing and connecting visitors engaged in short- or long-term peace and justice activities. Through its ministry of hospitality for Quakers and fellow travelers working in the region, as well as through providing meeting space for groups working for a better future, the meeting has secondary and tertiary impacts beyond the individuals who physically walk through its doors.

It has been challenging for the meeting to conduct peace and justice work in the way Western Quakers conventionally think of peace and social outreach committees, which engage in demonstrations or awareness campaigns or fundraisers, in part due to the size of the meeting (although the meeting engaged in that type of work with refugees in the wake of the Nakba) and in part because of the location of the meeting within a conflict zone. The meeting house has literally been on the front lines over the past century because of its location on the main street of Ramallah. This has had negative repercussions on the meeting's physical structure and spiritual life. Because of conflict during the 1967 war and again in



the first and second intifadas, meeting members often could not worship in the meeting house itself, but gathered quietly in rooms at the Ramallah Friends Schools or in private homes. This lack of a public gathering space meant that it was more difficult for Friends to attract visitors or new members, and it made it more difficult to organize activities like the Sunday School. Despite the physical, sociological, psychological, and economic challenges of working within a zone of protracted conflict, including the many restrictions placed on Palestinian freedom and movement by the Israeli military, and the fact that the core membership of the meeting was women with domestic responsibilities, the meeting engaged in local peace and justice efforts focused on educational activities (the playcenter, the refugee school, the Sunday School) and handiwork (sewing circle, cross-stitch cooperative), each building on their individual strengths.

At the same time, precisely because of the ongoing conflict, the meeting has served as a focal point for Quakers and fellow travelers who come to the region to engage in peace and justice work. By supporting these individuals and helping connect them with other individuals with similar concerns, the meeting has served a vital peace and justice function through both its spiritual and physical hospitality. Thus, the meeting in many ways is an international one, with weekly attendance comprised primarily of foreigners living and working in Ramallah, along with visitors passing through; in 2012, only two local Quakers attend regularly, along with the FICR Program Coordinator. In many ways this demographic parallels those found in the United States, where many visitors enter the doors of Quaker meeting houses, but membership continues to age and numbers decline.<sup>10</sup> Although the number of local members has not increased, the number of Palestinians entering the doors of the meeting and engaging in the broader life of the meeting through events hosted by FICR, however, has grown. The meeting house is once again a place of activity, and the regular events occurring at the center remind the community of the Quaker presence and continued commitment to the people of Ramallah. Although the future of the local Quaker community remains unclear, the meeting will endure in some manner due to the ongoing commitment of FICR and the importance of Ramallah meeting to so many Quakers around the world, who continue to foster relations with the Ramallah meeting and with local people working for peace and justice.

#### NOTES

1. This is problematic for a number of reasons, because of divides within both Israel and the Palestinian Territories between secular (non-practicing) Jews and Muslims, those who consider themselves observant or pious, and those who express a more politicised religious orientation. The diversity of belief and religiosity within the Israeli Jewish and Palestinian Muslim communities is often overlooked.

2. While Baltimore Yearly Meeting (BYM) is jointly affiliated with FUM and FGC, it has been undergoing a discernment process since 2005 regarding its relationship with FUM due to disagreements over FUM's personnel policy.

3. Space does not allow a full discussion here of the history of FUM missions. For more on the ideas guiding the FUM missionaries in Ramallah, see Jones 1944; Jordan 1995.

4. An unpublished manuscript on the Ramallah Friends Meeting shared with the author by Graham Leonard, entitled 'Friends in Ramallah (1967–1989)'.
5. More on Khalil Totah and his relationship with the Friends Mission Board can be found in Ricks 2009. Unfortunately the diary is missing entries from the time period surrounding the departure of Totah from the meeting.
6. Palestinians, particularly women, embraced Quaker principles of equality and peace as well as the manner of worship (Author Interview 2010f; Jordan 1995).
7. Although Ramallah is historically Christian, it is now majority Muslim, and Sunday is a working day for most.
8. This influence had its positive and negative results, including, from several accounts, Mildred White's encouragement of local women to get married, even though she had never been married herself.
9. For more on the activities of FICR, see its monthly electronic newsletter, <http://www.ramallahquakers.org/newsletter/newsletter.php?id=40> (accessed 10 October 2010).
10. At the July 2011 New York Yearly Meeting Summer Sessions, General Secretary Christopher Sammond noted that in the past 56 years, the Yearly Meeting lost 50% of its members, and that a lack of outreach programs means visitors do not stay.

## REFERENCES

- Abu-Nimer, M. 2004. 'Religion, Dialogue, and Non-Violent Actions in Palestinian–Israeli Conflict', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17/3, pp. 491–511.
- AFSC. 1971. 'Search for Peace in the Middle East: A Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee', Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee.
- 2004. 'When the Rain Returns: Toward Justice and Reconciliation in Palestine and Israel', Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee.
- Ateek, N.S., 1989. *Justice and Only Justice*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Aysha, E.E.-D., 2006. 'The Hamas Victory and the New Politics that May Come', *New Politics* 11/1, pp. 86–91.
- Bolling, L., (Writer), 2004. 'Searching for Peace in the Middle East', in L. Bolling (Producer), *United States: Foundation for Middle East Peace*.
- Brinson, B., Kanaana, P., Rought-Brooks, H., Campuzano, P., and Bergen, K., 2010. 'Stories from the Ramallah Friends Meeting', in *F. I. C. i. R. (FICR)* (ed.). Booklet published by the Committee for the 100th anniversary. Ramallah.
- Cavalcanti, H.B., 2005. 'Human Agency in Mission Work: Missionary Styles and Their Political Consequences', *Sociology of Religion* 66/4, pp. 381–98.
- Chehab, Z., 2007. *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement*, New York: Nation Books.
- 'Christians of the Holy Land', 2012. *60 Minutes*, narration by B. Simon, produced by H. Radliffe, CBS News.
- Collins, P., 2009. The Problem of Quaker Identity, *Quaker Studies* 13/2, pp. 205–19.
- Curle, A., 1981. *True Justice: Quaker Peace Makers and Peace Making*, London: Headley Brothers, Ltd, the Invicta Press.
- Dalrymple, W., 1997. *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey among the Christians of the Middle East*, New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Daniels, C.W., 2010. 'Convergent Friends: The Emergence of Postmodern Quakerism', *Quaker Studies* 14/2, pp. 236–50.
- Edwards-Konic, P., 2008. *Enduring Hope: The Impact of the Ramallah Friends Schools*, Richmond, IN: Friends United Press.
- ESR, 2012. 'The Present State of Quakerism', online: <http://esr.earlham.edu/support/comprehensive-case/the-vine/present-state-of-quakerism> (accessed 28 August 2012)

- Feldinger, L.G., 2009. 'In Good Faith: Settling their Differences', *Jerusalem Post*, pp. 9-15. Online: <http://interfaith-encounter.org/post.pdf>.
- Gallagher, N., 2007. *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism*, Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press.
- Galtung, J., 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means*, London: Sage Publications.
- Gopin, M., 2002. *Holy War, Holy Peace*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gordon, C., 1989. 'Mutual Perceptions of Religious and Secular Jews in Israel', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33/4, pp. 632-51.
- ICG, 2006. *Enter Hamas: The Challenges of Political Integration Middle East Report*, Amman/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- Jeavons, T., 2003. *An Investment in Hope: A Case for the Restoration of the Ramallah Friends Meetinghouse as a Center for Worship and Community Nurture*, Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.
- Jones, C.H., 1946. *American Friends in World Missions*, Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House.
- 1944. *Friends in Palestine*, Richmond, IN: American Friends Board of Missions.
- Jordan, L.H., 1995. *Ramallah Teacher: The Life of Mildred White, Quaker Missionary*, Richmond, IN: Print Press.
- Landau, Y., 2003. *Healing the Holy Land: Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Lehmann, D., and Siebzehner, B., 2008. 'Self-Exclusion as a Strategy of Inclusion: The Case of Shas', *Citizenship Studies* 12/3, pp. 233-47.
- Leibner, G., 2008. 'What, Are You Establishing a Political Party? The Tarabut Social-Political Movement in Israel,' *Alternative News*, accessed 5 November 2008.
- Mishal, S., and Sela, A., 2000. *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nassar, H.K., 2006. 'Stories from under Occupation: Performing the Palestinian Experience', *Theatre Journal* 58/1, pp. 15-37.
- Newman, D., 2005. 'From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society', *Israel Studies* 10/3, pp. 192-224.
- Pelham, N., 2010. 'Hamas Back Out of its Box', *Middle East Report Online*, online <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero090210.html> (accessed 2 September 2010).
- Ricks, T.M., 2009. *Turbulent Times in Palestine: The Diaries of Khalil Totah 1886-1955*, Jerusalem and Ramallah: Institute of Palestine Studies and PASSIA.
- Sapir, G., 2002. 'Can an Orthodox Jew Participate in the Public Life of the State of Israel?', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 20/2, pp. 85-121.
- Sharkey, H., 2004. 'Arabic Antimissionary Treatises: Muslim Responses to Christian Evangelism in the Modern Middle East', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28/3, pp. 98-104.
- Soudah, R., and Sabella, B., 2006. *The Sabeel Survey on Palestinian Christians in the West Bank and Israel*, East Jerusalem: Sabeel.
- Steering Committee, 2005. 'Statement of Intention Regarding the Role and Responsibilities of the Friends International Center Steering Committee which Works in Partnership with Ramallah Friends Meeting in the Establishment and Operation of the Friends International Center in Ramallah' (unpublished document).
- Tessler, M., 1986. 'The Political Right in Israel: Its Origins, Growth, and Prospects', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 15, pp. 12-55.
- Zarembski, L.S., 2000. 'Israel's Religious Right—Not a Monolith', *Middle East Quarterly* 7/2, pp. 23-31.
- Zaru, J., 2008. *Occupied with Nonviolence: A Palestinian Woman Speaks*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Zweiri, M., 2006. 'The Hamas Victory: Shifting Sands or Major Earthquake?' *Third World Quarterly* 27/4, pp. 675-88.

## AUTHOR DETAILS

Maia Carter Hallward is an associate professor of Middle East Politics and is jointly appointed with the PhD program in International Conflict Management at Kennesaw State University. She is the author of *Struggling for a Just Peace: Israeli and Palestinian Activism in the Second Intifada* (University of Florida Press, 2011), and co-editor of *Nonviolent Resistance in the Second Intifada: Activism and Advocacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). She also serves as Associate Editor for the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*. Maia lived and worked in Ramallah, Amman, and Jerusalem for four years, and has led several delegations to the region.

Mailing address: Dept. of Political Science & International Affairs, 1000 Chastain Rd, Maildrop 2205, Kennesaw, GA 30144, USA.

Email: [mhallwar@kennesaw.edu](mailto:mhallwar@kennesaw.edu).