



Mada Al-Carmel
Arab Center for
Applied Social Research



"Urbicide in Gaza: Spatial Violence, Reconstruction, and Resistance" – A Series of Public Seminars in [English](#)

ANNUAL REPORT 2025

MADA AL-CARMEL – 25 YEARS

Mada al-Carmel is an independent Palestinian research center in Haifa that produces critical, anti-colonial knowledge on Palestine and Israel since 2000. It works to empower Palestinian society through research, policy analysis, and academic engagement, while also supporting and mentoring a new generation of Palestinian scholars. Its work engages with key debates on identity, citizenship, social justice, and the decolonization of knowledge.

PALESTINIAN SOCIETY PROGRAM

Palestinian Society Program

Strengthening Palestinian society in defending its political, social, academic and cultural rights through developing critical political thought and by producing critical and applied knowledge about challenges it faces.

In 2025, Mada al-Carmel advanced its mission to promote Palestinian human, civil, and political rights through a range of impactful publications and collaborative events. Demonstrating a commitment to fostering critical discourse and preserving cultural memory, the center released new books, facilitated book readings with partner organizations, and published a diverse array of research and position papers. These initiatives addressed urgent issues facing Palestinians, from the ongoing war on Gaza to the complexities of identity, citizenship, and collective agency within and beyond the Green Line. Our main activities are summarized below:

BOOK PUBLICATIONS & READINGS

Mada al-Carmel has published a new book: **“1948 Palestinians and the Genocidal War on Gaza: Questioning Silence and Political Agency”** (November 2025). This book is the outcome of Mada al-Carmel’s annual conference in 2024 and is edited by Dr. Himmat Zoubi and Dr. Areen Hawari. This book examines the profound impact of the Gaza war on 48’ Palestinians, revealing how the conflict exposed the fragility of their citizenship and limitations of integration. Rather than an isolated incident, the war mirrored the inherent violence of the colonial state structure. It triggered an existential crisis in Palestinian political agency and challenging long-held concepts of citizenship, land retention, and political identity within the Green Line. The work approaches the "Gaza moment" from multiple perspectives - psychological, cultural, political, and philosophical - depicting the complex interplay between withdrawal and engagement as overlapping arenas of struggle. Contributors - Dr. Elham Shamali, Dr. Mtanes Shihadeh, Haneen Zoabi, Habeed Makhoul, Yousef Taha and Mohamad Awad - analyze how Palestinian society exists at the intersection of moral rejection of genocide and existential fear of the state, revealing a crisis in political consciousness.



“1948 Palestinians and the Genocidal War on Gaza”. Publication's Cover Page

The book’s chapters document how Israeli institutions have transformed into tools of control: universities becoming security barracks suppressing student activism, healthcare systems serving political surveillance, and citizenship functioning as a regime of permanent exception rather than civil contract. Despite severe repression, the work identifies modest resistance efforts and calls for urgent political and intellectual reassessment of Palestinian position within the colonial project, emphasizing the need for moral reconsideration of their role toward their people facing genocide while navigating the profound conceptual crisis in understanding politics itself. Link to the publication in [Arabic](#). Link to the book’s summary in [English](#).

We also translated and published the Arabic version of the book **“In the Presence of Names: A Critical and Literary Reading of the Names of Arab Palestinian Towns and Natural Landmarks Until 1948 and Beyond”** (October 2025) by Dr. Amer Dahamshe, translated by Alaa Hlehel. Dr. Dahamshe's research examines place-identity relationships and Arab-Jewish relations through Hebrew literature and linguistic landscape analysis. The book explores Palestinian place names as cultural expressions reflecting collective memory and social bonds. The author contrasts this with Zionist naming practices since the late 19th century, which have systematically erased Arabic appellations through translation,



“In the Presence of Names” publication's cover page

PALESTINIAN SOCIETY PROGRAM

Hebraization, and imposition of Torah-based names. This linguistic appropriation serves to erase Palestinian cultural symbols and establish Zionist narratives, transforming both linguistic identity and determining naming authority. Link to the publication in [Arabic](#) & [English](#).

Two book readings took place in partnership with sister organizations including:

- In February, Mada al-Carmel and Khashabi Theatre hosted a reading seminar on “Gaza: The Cornerstone” by Dr. Johnny Mansour. Speakers explored the book’s themes, emphasizing Palestinian intellectual resistance, Gaza’s steadfastness amid genocide, and the evolving Zionist project. Summary of event in [English](#) and video of reading seminar in [Arabic](#).
- In May, Mada al-Carmel, Baladna Association for Arab Youth, and the Liwan Cultural Café hosted a reading of the book “Uprising Amidst Liminality: The Karamah (Dignity) Uprising of May 2021 and Popular Insurrectionary Action Among Palestinians Within the ‘Green Line’ – A Sociological Perspective” by Khaled Anabtawi. The event examined the 2021 Dignity Uprising, its social-political roots, marginalized leadership, and post-uprising silence. Speakers explored agency, settler violence, and the need to rebuild grassroots political frameworks. Publication in [Arabic](#).



Reading seminar at the Khashabi Theater

PALESTINE RESEARCH PAPERS AND POSITION PAPERS

Eight papers were published, some of which are part of the Palestine Papers or the series on “Academia in the Time of the War on Gaza”:

- Palestine Papers. Thair Abu Ras, Washington’s (Unexpected) Flood: An Analytical Review of the Pro-Palestine Student Movement in the United States, 2023-2024 (January) in [Arabic](#) and [English](#).
- Palestine Papers. Ghada Majadle, Silenced Voices and Militarized Spaces: The Aftermath of October 7th and the Persecution of Palestinian Physicians in Israeli Hospitals (February) in [Arabic](#) and [English](#).
- Palestine Papers. Youssef Taha, Between the Grip of Persecution and the Limitations of Agency: Palestinian Students in Israeli Universities amid the War of Genocide on the Gaza Strip (June) in Arabic and [English](#).
- Palestine Papers. Habeeb Makhoul, “You Stink”: The Garbage Wars in Arab Towns Inside the Green Line and their Consequences (May) in [Arabic](#).
- Academia in the Time of the War on Gaza Series. Mansour Abu Karim, Cultural Genocide in the Gaza Strip after October 7th: The Urban Landscape, Cultural Life, and Education (May) in [Arabic](#).
- Palestine Papers. Remonda Mansour and Mtanes Shihadeh, The Entrenching and Expansion of Political Persecution of Palestinians in Israel (July) in [English](#).
- Palestine Papers. Nouraldin Araj and Dr. Ghada al-Madbouh, The “Garbage War” in the West Bank: Environmental Colonization and the Disruption of Palestinians’ Relationship to the Land (October), in [Arabic](#).
- Palestine Papers. Nour Bader, Steadfastness in the West Bank: The “Art of Living” under Israeli Military Rule (November) in [Arabic](#).

In addition, two position papers were published as part of the series on “Academia in the Time of the War on Gaza”:

- Mansour Abu Karim, Gaza, to where...? The Second Year of the War – Potential Scenarios and Approaches (January), in [Arabic](#).
- Sawsan Zaher, “The Proposed Amendment to Israel’s Association Law (2004)” (May), in [English](#).

PALESTINIAN SOCIETY PROGRAM

SEMINARS AND ROUNDTABLES

Seminar to launch the study on [“Silenced Voices and Militarized Spaces: Palestinian Physicians in Israeli Hospitals after October 7, 2023”](#) (February): Mada al-Carmel held a seminar on Ghada Majadle’s study examining repression of Palestinian physicians in Israeli hospitals post-October 7. Experts discussed human rights’ violations, healthcare’s politicization, and silencing within medical institutions. The event concluded with an open dialogue among doctors, scholars, and activists, enriching the conversation.

Roundtable: [The Accused of the May Uprising: Results of a Situation Assessment Report](#) (December): The event featured Dr. Khaled Anabtawi presenting Mada’s report on persons charged from the May 2021 Dignity Uprising, marking the beginning of cumulative research on this previously unstudied penalized group. The analysis reveals patterns of unequal treatment that demonstrate a strategic shift in repression tactics, from direct force to deploying law and judiciary as instruments for managing conflict and controlling political protest within Arab society.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Mada al-Carmel held its Annual Conference, under the title *The War on Gaza and Rethinking the Role of Palestinians inside the Green Line: Society, Academia and Politics*. The conference took place on 29 November in the city of Nazareth. To read the summary in [Arabic](#) & [English](#).



Omnia Zoubi at Mada's Annual Conference

Opening: Omnia Zoubi and Dr. Hawari called for 48’ Palestinians to reconsider their roles, stressing the inadequacy of traditional frameworks for understanding their challenges, as they confront both genocide in Gaza and systemic persecution within Israel. Dr. Hawari highlighted a lack of collective reassessment regarding Palestinian citizenship, despite new political demands and reduced fear and silence. Orouba Othman, PhD Student from Gaza, discussed Gazan resilience, noting that persistent social pain fosters future-oriented agency and counters trauma studies that often pathologize suffering.

Session One: The event showcased findings from Mada al-Carmel’s 2025 public opinion poll, revealing that Palestinians increasingly confine their support to material aid, experience heightened racism, and demonstrate declining trust in political leadership, reinforced national identity, and ambiguous political outlooks. Poll commentary by Dr. Amir Fakhoury and Ameer Makhoul pointed to shifts in Palestinian nationalism, a transition from “rescue” to “relief” logic, and the challenges of maintaining social cohesion under state-driven fragmentation.

Session Two: During our annual conference, we marked the 10th anniversary of Mada’s PhD program. A dialogue session explored the complexities of producing critical academic knowledge amid censorship and institutionalised ignorance, highlighting the importance of resistance, compliance, and collaboration between academics and activists. Participants in the dialogue included Dr. Samah al-Khatib-Ayoub, General Director of the Follow-Up Committee for Arab Education Issues; Neveen Ali-Saleh Darawshy, a lecturer and researcher at the Department of Social Work at Bar-Ilan University; and Jamal Mustafa, a master’s student in philosophy at Tel Aviv University, each of whom talked about their experiences in Israeli academia.



10th Anniversary of Mada's PhD Program during Mada's Annual Conference

NEW: “TRANSLATIONS’ SERIES”

Mada al-Carmel has launched a new “Translations’ Series” featuring critical articles translated from English to Arabic, with the aim of expanding access to academic discussions on colonialism and Palestine. The first article in this series, [“Genocide in Gaza and the End of Settler Colonialism,”](#) is by historian Lorenzo Veracini and has been translated by Palestinian writer Anas Ibrahim. Link to original article in [English](#).

PALESTINIAN SOCIETY PROGRAM

STRATEGIC FORUM

The "Strategic, Intellectual and Political Forum for Palestinians inside the Green Line" was established to create a collective vision addressing the evolving challenges Palestinians face, particularly in the wake of the war on Gaza. The forum aims to critically reassess political discourse and action by analyzing structural transformations within Palestinian society over the past two decades, after the Oslo agreements, highlighting the urgent need for new strategies due to the political and social stagnation exposed during the recent conflict.

A core goal is to reassess the Palestinian social contract, redefine the community's position within the Israeli political system, and formulate a renewed vision aligned with the broader Palestinian national project. The forum is working towards publishing a political statement and a practical guide for Palestinians in Israel, informed by these intellectual and strategic discussions. In each session we hosted academic and intellectual figures to discuss key subjects. The sessions addressed the Palestinian social and political context, highlighting the need for new strategies amid political stagnation post-7 October 2023. Participants discussed the constraints of current organisations, the strategic importance of education, and youth's pivotal role in activism. Issues such as societal fragmentation due to fear, the connection between Palestinians inside the Green Line and the national movement, and how urgent social challenges affect politics were also explored.



Strategic Forum Session

First Session – February: The inaugural session introduced the forum's concept paper, emphasizing that any analysis of the current situation requires a deep dive into the historical and ongoing political, social, and economic transformations among Palestinians inside the Green Line.

Second Session – April: The second session focused on social and economic transformations. Papers addressed the impact of neoliberal policies on Arab participation in Israel's labor market, the entrapment

of neoliberal integration, and the rise of consumerism within Palestinian families. A significant portion examined the escalation of violence and crime among Palestinian youth, with analyses attributing these trends to deliberate state policies and the breakdown of social deterrence. Presentations and workshops explored policy implications and research gaps, aiming to inform future collective strategies.

Third Session – May: This session examined shifts in the Israeli regime and their effects on Palestinians, highlighting existential threats, the rise of the Israeli right, and the need for new political strategies and unity among Palestinians inside the Green Line.

Fourth and Fifth Sessions – 3 days in July (Amman, Jordan): The sessions focused on the Palestinian political landscape within the Green Line, examining changes in social movements, local governance, social structures, identity politics, as well as domestic and regional political developments. Over three days, speakers examined shrinking Palestinian political participation, local governance failures, and grassroots activism. Discussions highlighted the erosion of identity, sectarian patronage, institutional poverty, and the urgent need for new political language and independent organisation. The forum concluded that, after October 7, 2023, Palestinians must critically rethink citizenship, broaden dialogue, and build sustainable action spaces to balance identity preservation with daily survival amid existential threats.

Sixth Session – December: This session explored Arab world transformations and their impact on the Palestinian issue, featuring Professor Abdelwahab El-Affendi analyzing Arab uprisings that led to "black hole" authoritarian systems.

ISRAEL STUDIES' PROGRAM

Israel Studies' Program

The "Israel Studies" program aims to critically analyze social, political, and economic issues in Israel through rigorous research and academic inquiry. Its goal is to enrich the Arabic library with scholarly studies on Israel, making them accessible to the wider Arab public, as well as to Arab students and researchers.

ACADEMIC SEMINAR

The seminar covered several political, social, economic, and policy questions relating to Israel. It addresses them using critical research tools that not only do not rely on prevailing approaches within Israeli academia but also strive to equip the participants with the academic and research tools through which to dismantle the existing academic discourse and knowledge about Israel. It further seeks to enhance the current field of knowledge to confront the existing hegemonic discourse on knowledge production. The seminar started in November 2024 with two sessions taking place in 2024. In 2025 the following sessions took place:

Session Three: *How can we understand and study Zionism?* Honaida Ghanim discussed Israel's shifting social structure as secular Ashkenazi dominance wanes, replaced by settler groups, reshaping Zionist aims. Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin explored Jewish identity, Zionism, and Israel's political context, highlighting ongoing changes within society and discourse.

Session Four: *The socio-economic situation of the Palestinians in Israel.* Ameen Saabneh discussed the effects of shrinking land and housing market trends in Palestinian towns, while Mtanes Shihadeh addressed Israeli economic policies affecting Arabs. The session ended by stressing the importance of independent Palestinian strategies to address ongoing socio-economic challenges.

Session Five: *Israeli policies in the 1967 Occupied Territories.* Dr. Waleed Habbas explored shifts in Israeli policy in the 1967 occupied territories, evolving security doctrines, integrated control systems in the West Bank, Palestinian resistance dynamics, refugee camp roles, and the future of the Palestinian Authority amid rising religious influence.

Session Six: *The relationship between Israeli cultural production and societal and political shifts.* Anton Shulhut and Mohammad Jabali analyzed Israeli literature and art, revealing how cultural works reflect internal societal tensions, shifts in Zionist identity, and debates about the nation's future, offering fresh insights into evolving Israeli identity through creative expression.

Session Seven: *After October 7th – Zionism changes and the Supreme Court alignment with the state.* Adv. Abeer Bakker explored the changing character of Zionism and the Israeli Supreme Court post-October 7, noting Zionism's increasing religious orientation and the Court's alignment with state policies, raising concerns about judicial independence and the future trajectory of the Zionist project amid significant societal transformation.

Session Eight (final session): *Towards Critical Knowledge Production that Deconstructs the Dominant Narrative.* The final session, delivered by seminar members Fakhira Halloon, Remonda Mansour, Eyad Maloof, and Maher Dahoud, examined Palestinian identity, social divisions in Israel, media discourse, and Western representations of Palestinians, with a focus on structural barriers, ideological framing, and dehumanization.



Campaign: 25 Years' Mada al-Carmel



Academic Seminar Session

ISRAEL STUDIES' PROGRAM

READINGS & SYMPOSIA

Book Reading Seminar of the book “Colonizing Palestine: The Zionist Left and the Making of the Palestinian Nakba”. On Nakba Day, Mada al-Carmel and the Liwan Cultural Café hosted a seminar on “Colonizing Palestine” by Dr. Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, Professor of Sociology at Berkley and the Hebrew University. The seminar explored the war on Gaza as a system intertwining extermination with political and media justification. Speakers explored Zionist leftist roles in the Nakba, settler-Indigenous dynamics, and the duty of critical, anti-colonial scholarship amid ongoing genocide. The event emphasized connecting academic inquiry with lived Palestinian realities. The seminar was moderated by Dr. Luay Watad. Speakers included Dr. Areen Hawari, Dr. Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, Professor Asa’ad Ghanem and Professor Osama Maqdisi. Link to the summary in [Arabic](#).



“Colonizing Palestine” Reading Seminar

From Gaza to Iran – Israel’s Wars and the Reshaping of the Region: The symposium discussed Israel and Iran’s shift from indirect conflict to open confrontation. Dr. Marwan Kabalan said Iran’s reliance on proxies, especially Hezbollah, fell short, exposing defensive weaknesses and reduced deterrence, with limited backing from Russia and China. Dr. Fatima Samadi argued Iran misread the international context, enabling Israel’s strike, but said Iran’s response unified the country and may alter its nuclear policy. Dr. Ibrahim Khatib and Dr. Shihadeh noted no decisive victory and only a temporary boost for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Seminar: A Reading of the Israeli Political Landscape. On October 24, Mada al-Carmel’s seminar examined how the war on the Gaza Strip is managed as an integrated system that combines systematic extermination with its political and media-based justifications, by analyzing the mechanisms for legitimizing collective violence, Netanyahu’s strategies for holding onto power, and repressive measures employed against Palestinian academics within Israeli universities during the war. The seminar was moderated by Dr. Areen Hawari and featured Dr. Ameer Fakhoury, Dr. Mtanes Shihadeh and Dr. Maha Sabbah-Karkabi.



Mtanes Shihadeh- Director of the Israel Studies' Program

RESEARCH PAPERS: ISRAEL STUDIES SERIES

#10 in Series: Nareman Shehadeh-Zoabi, Israel’s Justice System and the Genocidal War on Gaza, Arabic and [English](#).

#11 in Series: Muhannad Mustapha, “Preliminary Reflections on Israeli ‘Holocaust-Based’ Approaches to the War of Extermination in the Gaza Strip”, [Arabic](#).

Mtanes Shihadeh, Essay: “Israel’s Attack on Iran. The Convergence of Security and Political Calculations”, [Arabic](#).

POSITION PAPERS

#61 in Series: The Estimated Cost of the Gaza War on the Israeli Economy. January, Arabic and [English](#).

#63: Gaza Ceasefire Agreement does not Secure the Fate of Netanyahu’s Government. February, [Arabic](#).

#64: Israel’s Center-Right and Leftist Parties Have Always Supported Displacing Gaza’s Palestinians. March, Arabic and [English](#).

#65: Has Netanyahu's Government Become More Cohesive and Stable? April. Arabic and [English](#).

#67: Could the War on Iran be Netanyahu’s Political Lifeline? July, [Arabic](#) and English.

#68: The Weakness of Israeli Opposition to the War on Gaza. September, Arabic and [English](#).

#69: Construction in the E1 Area: Preventing Palestinian Geographical Contiguity. October, Arabic and [English](#).

#70: Bribes and the Ballot Box: How Israel’s 2026 Budget Serves the Governing Coalition. Nov., Arabic & [English](#).

PhD & Higher Education Program

We have seen significant achievements in our PhD & Higher Education Program, which strives to foster academic and political discourse, empowering Palestinian scholars to engage in research that addresses current challenges both regionally and globally.

SEMINAR TO SUPPORT RESEARCH SKILLS AMONG GRADUATE STUDENTS

These seminars aim to create a supportive environment in which participants can openly discuss their academic inquiries, share challenges encountered during their research, and engage in dialogue with peers and Palestinian guest lecturers. The seminar emphasizes developing critical perspectives, particularly in formulating theoretical frameworks, and addressing issues related to Palestinian society. Additionally, it provides a vital space for postgraduate students and Palestinian scholars from the 1967 and 1948 occupied territories to connect and collaborate with each other. The seminar includes 16 researchers from various disciplines. Meetings included:

January – Introductory Meeting: The primary discussion, led by Dr. Mohanad Mustafa, focused on Dr. Zawawi Bagora's article "Social Philosophy: Research into its Concept, Theory, and Relationships". [Summary in Arabic.](#)

February – Critical Knowledge and the Theoretical Field: Between Academic Discipline and Emancipation in Research: Prof. Furani discussed freedom in Palestine Studies, exploring poets' perspectives and epistemological limits. Dr. Mustafa highlighted sources of political knowledge in Arab and Islamic traditions and stressed the importance of theoretical fields in academic writing and balancing rigour with intellectual freedom. Summary in [Arabic.](#)

March – Ibn Khaldun and the Field of Knowledge: Dr. Mohanad Mustafa's session highlighted the importance of theoretical frameworks, focusing on Ibn Khaldun's "The Muqaddimah" and its enduring relevance. The discussion covered epistemological and sociological impacts, illustrating advances in knowledge production and historical analysis. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

April – Research Methodologies: Dr. Hawari highlighted the importance of qualitative research in amplifying marginalized voices. Graduate student Sojoud Mahajneh demonstrated applied qualitative research through her project on the Palestinian village of Lajoun, utilizing oral history and ethnography to preserve collective memory. Additionally, Dr. Sami Mahaneh discussed integrating quantitative methods with qualitative techniques. Seminar participant Balqees Amayrah presented quantitative research on the impact of political and war-related social media exposure on Palestinian mental health. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

May – The theoretical approaches to academic research and how they enhance scientific studies: Mada al-Carmel held the fifth session of its Graduate Student Support Seminar series. The session covered theoretical approaches to academic research and how they enhance scientific studies. Dr. Mohanad Mustafa highlighted the pivotal role played by the theoretical framework in academic research. The session also included presentations and discussion by the students: Fairouz Salameh, Mohammed Eghbaria and Widad Hassan.



Seminar for Graduate Students Meeting

PHD & HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

August – Two-day Seminar in Ramallah in collaboration with the Palestinian Centre for Israeli Studies. The Seminar featured Dr. Mohanad Mustafa, Khaled Anabtawi, Dr. Hawari, Ahmad Ezz, Professor Abdulrahim Al Shaikh, and Dr. Omar Abed Rabo. Highlights included lectures on research skills, methodology, translation, and academic book reviews. The event provided a safe space for critical discussion, awarded scholarships, and reaffirmed support for Palestinian graduate students in research and critical thinking. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION WRITING WORKSHOP:



Knowledge Production Writing Workshop – Virtual Meeting

Led by Dr. Mohanad Mustafa and coordinated by Jowana Jbara, this workshop focused on enhancing knowledge related to Palestinians in the 1948 territories. In 2024, five meetings took place. Workshops continued into 2025.

January: Participants explored academic and historical texts, discussed research proposals, and examined theoretical approaches. Saher Ghazzawi’s paper showed the Islamic Movement’s pivotal role in Naqab issues, influencing knowledge production and raising cultural, religious, and political awareness within Palestinian society. [Arabic Summary.](#)

February: Doctoral students discussed sociological and epistemological research on language education and identity in Palestinian society. Dr. Sabbagh-Khoury examined epistemic violence and crime, highlighting academic and feminist influences, promoting critical thinking and alternative research methodologies. [Arabic Summary.](#)

March – Final Meeting: Dr. Honaida Ghanim analysed Herzl’s writings in a modern Palestinian context, linking literature and occupation. Ahmad As’ad reviewed the Journal of Palestinian Affairs, highlighting post-Oslo political shifts and changes for Palestinians inside the Green Line. [Arabic Summary.](#)

Book Publication: “Knowledge Production and Palestinians in Israel: Between Power, Settler Colonialism and Knowledge Sovereignty”, edited by Dr. Areej Sabbagh-Khoury and Dr. Mohanad Mustafa.

The book critically examines how knowledge about Palestinians in Israel has been produced, represented, and contested across different fields. It is scheduled for publication in 2026 and will feature chapters that critically analyze the key frameworks that influence perceptions of Palestinian society in Israel.

“RESEARCH AGENDAS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE GENOCIDAL WAR ON GAZA” WORKSHOP

The Research Agendas Workshop was launched as an intellectual and critical response to the new context generated by the war of genocide on Gaza, as a political and intellectual turning point that has given rise to novel research approaches.

July Meeting - Launch of Research Agendas Workshop: Mada al-Carmel’s first Research Agendas Workshop convened Palestinian scholars to critically reassess theoretical frameworks, particularly ‘settler colonialism’, in light of Gaza’s war. The workshop addressed evolving Israeli strategies, the adequacy of dominant concepts, and the need for new research methodologies reflecting the complexities of the current moment. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

PHD & HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM



August Meeting – A Reading of Israeli Knowledge Production on Gaza: Mada al-Carmel’s second workshop critically examined Israeli knowledge production post-October 7. Guest speaker Professor Nadim Rouhana analysed ideological shifts in Zionism, critiqued recent Israeli books for political bias, and highlighted the need for a new Palestinian discourse to address the evolving justifications and strategies shaping the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

September Meetings – Readings in Palestinian, Arab, International Scholarship on the Genocidal War in Gaza: The third and fourth workshop meetings in Ramallah gathered Palestinian, Arab, and international scholars to critically examine Gaza, colonialism, and Palestinian society’s future. Notable speakers included Prof. Lorenzo Veracini, Prof. Nadim Rouhana, and Prof. Ilan Pappé. [Summary in Arabic.](#)

November Meeting – Research Agendas Amid Gaza’s Genocide: Scholars from diverse fields, including Ali Habiballah and Dr. Fahima Ghanayim, critically examined Palestinian and Arab scholarly output about the war, analyzing changes in interpretation and discourse over time. The session featured Habiballah’s review of articles from the *Journal of Palestine Studies* and a discussion with Professor As’ad Ghanem about his book *Gaza: An Entry into the Prolonged War*. The workshop stressed ongoing critical inquiry into the conflict’s colonial, ethical, and epistemological dimensions.



SECOND ACADEMIC CAMP FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS – SEPTEMBER 2025.

The academic camp, organised by Mada al-Carmel and MADAR – The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies in Ramallah, immersed thirteen undergraduates in social science research, Palestinian academic life, and critical knowledge production. Over three days, students attended lectures, workshops, university tours, and museum visits, fostering analytical skills, dialogue, and engagement with academic and political realities, thereby deepening their understanding of contemporary Palestinian debates. Link to additional information in [English.](#)



Academic Camp for Undergraduate Students

“For me, the camp was a guiding light in a time filled with feelings of estrangement and fragmentation. It gave me a compass to make sense of the confusion we’re all living through in this harsh period 🤍💡.” – Ruiya

“With Mada al-Carmel, the camp became an authentic space where I could reconnect with both my humanity and my Palestinian-ness, free from any external or internal censorship.” -- Anonymous

GENDER STUDIES PROGRAM

Gender Studies Program

Within the framework of our Gender Studies Program, Mada encourages a gender-focused lens in all our activities and cultivates specialized feminist research that incorporates an intersectional perspective. We also emphasize the importance of supporting Palestinian women researchers and their advanced academic pursuits.

CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS: “GENOCIDE, A PALESTINIAN ANTI-COLONIAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE”

This call for contributions, issued in April by the Gender Studies Program at Mada al-Carmel and the Institute of Women’s Studies at Birzeit University, invited submissions for a special publication titled “Genocide – a Palestinian Anti-Colonial Feminist Perspective.” The special issue seeks to advance an anti-colonial feminist analysis of genocide, grounded in a critical knowledge framework that interrogates and challenges the foundations of colonial and imperial domination. It aims to document and analyze systematic violence while developing conceptual and theoretical tools that reflect Palestinians’ lived experiences, with particular attention to women’s realities under intensified eliminationist policies. The initiative builds on the long-term research agendas of both institutions, which emphasize Palestinian feminist knowledge production as a form of political, theoretical, and ethical resistance. By foregrounding feminist perspectives, the issue positions scholarship itself as an act of confrontation against settler colonialism and a means of strengthening collective understanding and struggle.

The editorial team consists of Dr. Areen Hawari and Dr. Himmat Zoubi from Mada al-Carmel; Dr. Ameera Silmi, Dr. Lina Meari and Dr. Rami Salameh from the Birzeit Women Institute. Following the call, approximately forty proposals were submitted. Ten were selected for acceptance and will be published on Mada and the Institute of Women’s Studies at Birzeit University’s websites. A workshop is planned for May 2026, depending on the security situation, at Birzeit University to discuss and develop the accepted papers. The publication is expected in May 2026.

WORKSHOP: FEMINIST DISCOURSE ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY



Hajar Abu Saleh, Project Coordinator, Kayan

In September, Mada al-Carmel’s Gender Studies Program organized a feminist dialogue workshop that brought together researchers and activists from the Palestinian feminist and queer organizations Women Against Violence, Kayan - Palestinian Feminist Organization, and alQaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society, alongside independent activists. The workshop sought to address sexual assault and the questions often postponed or silenced during broader political and social crises, creating a critical space to discuss issues marginalized in public debate. We are currently working on an academic paper by Attorney Meisa Irshaid that will be published in English and Arabic.

The workshop centered on three key papers by Dr. Areen Hawari, Nisreen Tabari, and Attorney Meisa Irshaid, exploring sexual violence through feminist perspectives. Dr. Hawari’s article, “Lām Qamariyya,” highlighted the complexities of sexual assault and stressed the importance of safe feminist spaces for open debate, particularly when perpetrators



Nisreen Tabari, CEO Kayan Feminist Association

GENDER STUDIES PROGRAM

are socially influential. The concept of “Lām Qamariyya,” symbolizing audibility, underscored the commitment to amplifying marginalized voices. Tabari’s paper “Sexual Violations: Between Practice and Political Instrumentalization” examined



Naila Awwad, CEO Women Against Violence

sexual violence as both a lived experience and a political tool. Through analysis of the #MeToo campaign, Tabari noted achievements in breaking silence and accountability, but cautioned against politically selective trials that undermine justice. Irshaid critiqued legal barriers and advocated for grassroots feminist initiatives centering testimony and collective responsibility. Moderated by Dr. Himmat Zoubi, the workshop encouraged reflection on credibility, alternative justice, and the challenges of solidarity. A follow-up session in Haifa addressed the intersection of national institutions and feminist activism, emphasizing the need to resist silencing and protect feminist organizing within Palestinian society.



Dr. Areen Hawari, CEO Mada al-Carmel

LECTURES:

April 16, Dr. Hawari delivered a lecture titled: “Arab Feminism and Palestinian Feminism.” to volunteers of the women’s emergency support hotline at the organization *Women Against Violence*. The lecture was followed by an interactive workshop.

May 18, Dr. Hawari delivered a lecture at the Graduates Seminar at Al-Qasemi Academic College in Baqa al-Gharbiyye on “Literature, Gender, and Colonialism”.

June 30, Jowana Jbara delivered a lecture titled “Between the Body, Gender, and Belonging: On Clothing and Transgender Palestinian Identities” to a group of activists at *Isha L’Isha* in Haifa.

November 14, Dr. Hawari gave a lecture on “Feminist thought and an intersectional feminist perspective: Palestinian approach” for a group of volunteers working on the emergency hotline supporting women subjected to violence in the feminist organization *Kayan, Feminist Organization*.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL EVENTS

A visit by the Delegation of the Nobel Women’s Initiative to Palestine and Jordan (April): Dr. Hawari joined Nobel Peace Prize laureates and activists in a delegation to Palestine and Jordan, advocating for Palestinian women, a ceasefire, and accountability for breaches of international law, underscoring solidarity and calls for peace and justice.

Workshop supported by the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands (May): Dr. Zoubi participated in a University of Amsterdam-supported workshop, bringing together Arab feminists, researchers, and artists across Europe for dialogue on Arab feminism and cross-border solidarity, linking academia, art, and activism.

Session on “The War on Gaza” at AWID: At AWID’s International Forum (December 2024, Bangkok), Mada’s session examined anti-colonial feminist perspectives on the Gaza and Lebanon conflicts, highlighting justice, resistance, and the broad impact of violence. Mada’s participation included Dr. Hawari, Hadeel Qazaz and Amal Abu Siam.

LIBERATION PSYCHOLOGY

Liberation Psychology

The Liberation Psychology Program aims to address psychological challenges faced by Palestinians by providing a critical perspective on the complex reality of Palestinian society in Israel and empowering individuals to validate their feelings within a socio-political context. It aims to provide a sense of belonging and validation for those experiencing these challenges.

SEMINAR SERIES “LIBERATION PSYCHOLOGY READINGS IN THE PALESTINIAN CONTEXT”

The second annual seminar on Liberatory Mental Health, jointly organized by Mada al-Carmel and Birzeit University, opened on June 20, bringing together students, graduates, and mental health professionals.

First Session, June: Led by Einas Odeh-Haj and Dr. Sama Dawani, the seminar explored liberation psychology’s history, key concepts, and distinct approach, which emphasizes collective empowerment and resistance within therapy. Unlike traditional psychology, liberation psychology integrates political experience and views individuals as active agents in personal and societal transformation.

Second Session, July (Birzeit University): The session brought together students, graduates, and mental health professionals, including participants from Birzeit University’s MA program in Community Psychology. In the keynote lecture, Dr. Ferdoos Alissa, Head of the Social Work Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies in Qatar, examined “Liberation Mental Health in the Context of Collective Oppression.”



Liberation Psychology Session at the Birzeit University

a keynote by Dr. Mai Albzour, Director of the Community Psychology Program at Birzeit University, on academic writing and participatory research. Under the title, “How Do We Produce Knowledge? The Components of Academic Writing and Participatory Research”, Albzour began by posing questions about liberatory knowledge and community intervention, and stated that we need knowledge that challenges oppressive structures, and then asked: What form should this knowledge take? How do we produce liberatory knowledge? And should we shun classical paradigms and theories, engage with them, or propose alternatives?

Fifth Session, November (Birzeit University): This session explored the intersections between theory and practice in psychotherapy from a liberation perspective. The session was presented by Dr. Mustafa Qasqasi, a clinical psychologist, supervisor, and researcher into liberation psychoanalysis and inter-generational trauma. In his lecture “The Clinic of Desire and Domination: Psychoanalysis in a Time of Absolute Evil”, he drew on the work of theorists

Third Session, September: Focused on “Palestinians inside the Green Line and the Open Colonial Wound,” this session addressed the psychological consequences of ongoing settler-colonial realities in two different lectures. Einas Odeh Haj, psychotherapist and coordinator of Mada al-Carmel’s Liberation Psychology Program, introduced the concept of “Colonial Unhomeliness,” exploring experiences of alienation and dispossession. Educational psychologist Asrar Kayyal proposed a framework for liberation-based psychoanalysis, using the psychological legacy of Palestinian society inside the Green Line as an analytical model.

Fourth Session, October (Birzeit University): Dedicated to questions of knowledge production, this session featured

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and thinkers from around the world, contemplating how their theories can be applied to the current Palestinian situation.

Sixth Session, December (Birzeit University): Professor Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian discussed the dangers of knowledge production detached from its political context, warning it can perpetuate mental colonization. She emphasized restoring consciousness by grounding knowledge in local realities and listening to affected communities, referencing the voices of Gaza's children during genocide as crucial to challenging fragmentation and building capacity.



Einas Odeh-Haj, Liberation Psychology Program Director

PUBLICATIONS (ARABIC ONLY)

Asrar Kayal, [Reflection of the Psychological Legacy of the Palestinian Community in the 1948 Territories in their Collective Behaviour since the Beginning of the Genocidal War on Gaza](#) (January). The paper examines collective Palestinian behaviours within the Green Line during the Gaza war, interpreted as indifference and resignation, using liberatory psychology. It also analyses the increase in crime rates among Palestinians and explores its broader social and political implications.

Luay Watad, [The "Unhomely" Homeland: A Psychological and Cultural Analysis of the Palestinian Experience and Postcolonial Literature](#) (April). The study by Luay Watad explores "unhomeliness" in Palestinian identity through postcolonial literature, examining psychological and political alienation. Using psychoanalytical and liberation psychology frameworks, it shows literature's value in understanding trauma and supporting psychological liberation after colonial violence.

Maha Ibrahim, [The Time of Genocide as a Mirror: Psychological Colonialism and the Hierarchy of Death among Palestinians inside the Green Line](#) (October). The paper argues that extreme colonial violence shatters both body and language, narrowing emotional expression. During the Gaza war, Palestinians experience relentless exposure to violence, prompting complex feelings of fear, guilt, and silence shaped by colonial history and ongoing trauma.

Najla Athamneh, [Colonial Structures and Moral Collapse within the Therapeutic Space: A Reading or Personal Experience from a Liberatory Perspective](#) (November). The paper examines the therapeutic dynamics between a Palestinian client and Israeli therapist, highlighting personal and collective tensions in politically charged contexts. It analyses breakdowns in therapy, exposing unresolved professional, ethical, and social issues within psychotherapy. [English](#) version.

Dr. Rania Jawad, Dr. Sama Dawani, Dr. Said Shehadeh, and Bisan Nateel, [Against Frames of Trauma and Testimony: Palestinian Children's Narratives from Within a Contemporary Genocide](#) (December). Bisan Nateel, a youth worker from Gaza, documents displaced children's stories in Deir al-Balah post-October 2023. Her method redefines trauma narratives, highlighting the need for new language to convey the realities shaped by war and ongoing conflict in Palestine. This is a translation of the article by Jawad, R., Dawani, S., Shehadeh, S., & Nateel, B. (2025). *Against Frames of Trauma and Testimony: Palestinian Children's Narratives from Within a Contemporary Genocide*. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 54(3), 71-82. an article published in English.

Strategic Communication

CAMPAIGN: 25 YEARS MADA AL-CARMEL

[News update in Arabic.](#)

On the 25th anniversary of its founding, and coinciding with the annual commemoration of Land Day, Mada al-Carmel has launched a digital campaign that aims to revive its rich archive of research and knowledge by featuring a selection of its publications issued over the past quarter-century. The campaign seeks to make the knowledge accumulated by Mada al-Carmel accessible to the wider public, based on a belief that the production of critical knowledge and its dissemination in the public sphere is an essential, integral part of political action.

The campaign began with the theme of the Nakba and identity by revisiting **The Haifa Declaration (2007)**. This intellectual and political text was an important milestone in the conceptualization of the collective national identity of Palestinians inside the Green Line and their relationship to the land and the state. Recalling the document in this context is intended not simply to archive the political moment in which it was written, but also to highlight its potential to continue raising urgent questions about citizenship, belonging, and the place of Palestinians in Israel. Through the year, the campaign focused on different topics:

- **Publication: What Remains of the Land: The Arab Druze in Israel**, May 2025. This publication examines Israel's policies towards the Arab Druze, highlighting isolation, fragmentation, and diminishing national ties. Since 1948, Druze land ownership and municipal areas have declined, with approximately 66% of their land lost through systematic dispossession.

VIRAL INSTAGRAM POST ON REDUCTION OF DRUZE MUNICIPAL AREAS

A [post on Instagram](#) by Mada Al-Carmel about the drastic reduction of Druze municipal areas has garnered significant attention and public debate.

By presenting concrete data on the drastic reduction of Druze municipal areas and framing this within broader state strategies of spatial control, the post about the Druze disrupted dominant narratives of loyalty and integration. It sparked widespread attention by boldly exposing the Israeli state's systematic theft of Druze land. Grounded in research from a book published by Mada, the post shed light on a long-suppressed history, where such truths are rarely acknowledged. It offered a powerful counter-narrative that challenged the dominant discourse and invited critical reflection.



- **25 Years of Knowledge: Mada al-Carmel's archive in the Palestinian political context**, June 2025. The campaign highlights testimonies from Palestinians displaced in 1948, drawing parallels between past and present patterns of violence and displacement, showing today's ongoing Nakba in Gaza as a continuation of colonial policy, rather than a historical exception.
- **A Palestinian Narrative of Protest: Popular Confrontation, Everyday Resistance, and the Limits of the Possible**, October 2025. Mada's literature documents major Palestinian protest moments since 2000, offering analyses of justice, youth and feminist movements, as well as the Dignity Uprising. These works illuminate

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evolving resistance, memory, and contemporary challenges faced by Palestinians of '48, especially amid Gaza's crises.

- **A Palestinian Narrative of Protest: On the Spark of Protest and Collective Action**, October 2025. As part of the “25 Years Since the Founding of Mada al-Carmel” campaign, the centre republished the book “Uprising at a Threshold: The Dignity Uprising (May 2021) and Popular-Intifada Action Among Palestinians of '48”, a Sociological Approach by researcher Dr. Khaled Anabtawi, reopening the discussion on resistance, organization, and the political future of Palestinians of '48.
- **Palestinian Women Confronting Colonialism: Readings from the Mada al-Carmel Archive**, October 2025. On Palestinian Women's Day, we revisit the Mada al-Carmel archive to highlight contributions by women researchers who have played a role in shaping critical Palestinian feminist knowledge.
- **Citizens Without Citizenship: Methods of Control and Surveillance After the End of Military Rule**, December 2025. The focus of this post was on the declared end of military rule and the persistence of its underlying methodology. The post draws specifically on the book *Citizens Without Citizenship* by researcher Nimer Sultany.
- **A Declared End, an Ongoing Methodology: Military Rule and Policies of Control**, December 2025. The “25 Years Since the Founding of Mada al-Carmel” campaign's final theme focused on the declared end of military rule and the persistence of its underlying methodology.

MADA'S PODCAST

- [The Israeli Judicial System amid the War of Genocide](#), with Nareman Shehadeh-Zoabi | January 2025.
- [Israeli Centre-Right and the Left-Wing Political Parties and their Position toward the Gaza Displacement Plan](#), with Dr. Mtanes Shihadeh | March 2025.
- [The Psychological Legacy of Palestinians within the Green Line and their Collective Behaviors during the War](#), with Asrar Kayyal | April 2025.
- [Being a Palestinian Doctor in Israel in the Time of Genocide](#), with Ghada Majadle | April 2025.
- [The Proposed Amendment to Israel's Associations Law \(2004\)](#), with Adv. Sawsan Zaher | May 2025.
- [Between the Grip of Persecution and the Limitations of Agency: Palestinian Students in Israeli Universities amid the War of Genocide and the Gaza Strip](#), with Youssef Taha | Sep. 2025.
- [Analyzing Two Years of Genocide](#) with Ilan Pappé | Oct. 2025. The post garnered significant social media attention with 62K views, 95.5% from non-followers. Our podcasts had a large outreach with an average of around 800 views. The podcast with Ilan Pappé received more than 490K views.



ONLINE CAMPAIGN: “KNOW JUSTICE”



The “Know Justice” digital campaign, launched around Land Day, marked Mada al-Carmel's first crowdfunding effort, raising \$5,100 CAD from 35 donors during its 25th anniversary. The five-week initiative, featuring email outreach, social media, paid ads, partnerships, and a GoFundMe page, aimed to support independent Palestinian research and advocacy. Beyond funding core programming, the campaign increased awareness of Mada's mission and strengthened its reputation, laying groundwork for a culture of individual giving. In late 2025, Mada issued six newsletters and switched fundraising to [GlobalGiving](#), enhancing security and transparency for future engagement and donations. Summary of the campaign in [English](#).

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PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

- **Mada al-Carmel participated in the Network of Palestinian Associations**, a forum that brings together around twenty Palestinian organizations operating at the national level. Since its establishment, the network has sought to serve as a space for dialogue and cooperation among different associations, in response to the shared challenges we all face. With the renewed proposal of a tax law targeting associations, the urgent need for such a collective framework has become clearer than ever. Mada al-Carmel is actively working to ensure the success of this initiative, particularly in relation to the protection of civil associations.
- **Mada al-Carmel’s staff and board of directors participated in the third Annual Palestine Forum in Doha (January)**: Mada al-Carmel’s team, including Dr. Sonia Boulos, Dr. Khaled Anabtawi, and Mohanad Mustafa among others, presented on the International Court of Justice, Palestinian citizenship, and transformations in Israeli society during the Gaza war. Their involvement highlighted ongoing research and engagement with critical political themes.
- **Second SARD Regional Workshop on Feminist Oral History – Kenya (February)**: Dr. Himmat Zoubi served as a trainer at the SARD Regional Workshop in Nairobi, guiding participants through feminist oral history methods, ethics, and narrative interpretation, while fostering connections between oral history, the arts, and regional memory. The event strengthened feminist research and collaboration across regions.
- **Lecture at the Graduates Seminar at Al-Qasemi Academic College in Baqa al-Gharbiyye** by Dr. Johnny Mansour on “The Cultural Scene before 1948” (May).
- **Participation at the Annual Conference of the Institute of Palestine Studies** (8-10 October): Dr. Hawari spoke at Birzeit University on “Palestinians in 1948 Territories and the Moment of Genocide”, reflecting on new realities and historical junctures in Palestinian society.
- **Participation at the Annual Conference of the Conflict Research Society at the University of Kent, UK**: (September). Mada hosted a panel with Dr. Mtanes Shihadeh, Yousef Taha, and Habeeb Makhoul on Palestinians inside the Green Line post-October 7, addressing rising racism, repression, identity, and student activism in response to the Gaza war. The panel was moderated by Muna Haddad.
- **Participation at the workshop “Living Archives” organized by the Khalidi Library in Jerusalem in cooperation with the Institute for Palestine Studies** (December): Dr. Hawari presented Mada’s archival work at the Khalidi Library in collaboration with the Institute for Palestine Studies, sharing insights into its documentation efforts.

MEDIA PRESENCE

All our activities and publications have been featured in the media. Senior researchers at Mada al-Carmel have been regularly invited and interviewed as experts in major Arab networks, notably on Al Jazeera, Al Araby TV, Al-Jadeed Newspaper, among others. They mainly participate in programs that delve into deeper analysis and host researchers who specialize in Israeli affairs. Dr. Mohanad Mustafa and Dr. Mtanes Shihadeh have appeared consistently in numerous interviews on leading media platforms ([here](#) and [here](#)).



Mada al-Carmel in the media

CLOSING REMARKS

Closing Remarks

ACHIEVEMENTS

In 2025 we undertook much more work than in the past, resulting in significant outcomes and impacts at a time when Palestinian academics are in dire need of support. Their role in using higher education and research to build resilience, maintain hope, and further the Palestinian struggle for justice and equality is vital.

We are now engaged in many more collaborations, delivering lectures and talks. At a time in which there is continued violence and repression against Palestinians throughout the region, **Mada al-Carmel successfully created a space for alternative research** that questions prevailing political, social, and cultural power structures, while also seeking to reshape fields of knowledge to reflect the Palestinian (gendered) experience.

We were **able to support a new generation of Palestinian researchers**, women and men, nurturing their ability to think critically and produce knowledge that engages with local, regional and global intellectual and political debates on settler colonialism, identity, nationalism, the decolonization of knowledge, citizenship, feminism, social justice and liberation psychology. **Gender became also a cross-cutting issue at Mada al-Carmel**, and we will further continue and strengthen this approach. These achievements are not without risks as outlined above.

Urban Studies – Award

Mada al-Carmel, under the leadership of Dr. Himmat Zoubi and Dr. Areen Hawari, and in collaboration with the Master of Israel Studies Program at Birzeit University, has been selected as a recipient of the prestigious 2025 Urban Studies Foundation (USF) Seminar Series Awards. Our project, “Urbicide in Gaza: Spatial Violence, Reconstruction, and Resistance,” brings together scholars, architects, planners, and activists to examine how the situation in Gaza reveals the workings of settler colonialism and urbicide in Palestine. By exploring the intersections of architecture, memory, and urban space, the project highlights Palestinian experiences of survival and resistance. It generates critical knowledge on urbicide as a settler-colonial practice that continues to undermine Palestinian liberation, political agency, and the construction of a society that is rooted in historical continuity and collective aspirations.

- To read more about the USF’s announcement: [“Announcing the 2025 USF Seminar Series Awards”](#)
- To read more about Mada’s project: [“Urbicide in Gaza: Spatial Violence, Reconstruction, and Resistance”](#)

CHALLENGES

In 2025, we continued to encounter challenges stemming largely from the complex political situation. The genocide in Gaza and the suppression of Palestinians in the West Bank and inside Israel, have been devastating for the Palestinian people. In this oppressive and volatile political landscape, Mada al-Carmel not only broke the academic silence on the genocidal war on Gaza but has remained steadfast in its mission: producing anti-colonial knowledge about Palestinians across 1948 and 1967 areas and empowering Palestinian academia to lead change. This despite the psychological burden of coping with the ongoing genocide affecting our fellow people in Gaza.

Like many Palestinian civil society organizations (CSOs) operating in Israel during this difficult period, Mada al-Carmel is facing systemic efforts to further restrict the limited space available for Palestinian civil society. Proposed laws regarding INGO registration and new taxes on foreign funding are part of these efforts. These laws aim to severely weaken or even shut down CSOs, especially those critical of the government. If enacted, they would greatly

CLOSING REMARKS

impact Palestinian CSOs, as most depend on support from abroad. In addition, we have witnessed direct targeting of Palestinian CSOs. This ranges from banks denying money transfers from funders.

Mada al-Carmel, alongside other Arab and human rights organizations, has encountered incitement from segments of the Israeli media and political establishment and continues to confront initiatives promoting discriminatory policies. Our organization remains committed to its mission with dedication and resilience. We actively participate in coalitions addressing these matters, have published a position paper on the subject, and engaged in meetings with embassies and various organizations. Both Mada al-Carmel and its director, Dr. Areen Hawari, have been subject to incitement in the Israeli media.

Furthermore, crime rates within Palestinian communities inside the Green Line have risen significantly. Over the past year in particular, local governance has deteriorated as state attention is diverted toward the war, allowing criminal activity, especially gender-based violence, to escalate with impunity. Some of the women were victims of domestic violence, while others were murdered because of organized crime activities and revenge conflicts. Criminal gangs are often used to carry out or cover gender-based crimes. Several political leaders connect the marked increase in crime rates in recent years to either the disregard for the safety and security of Palestinian citizens by law enforcement agencies or the potential collusion between police and intelligence agencies that collaborated with organized crime groups before October 7 to maintain an ongoing crime presence in Arab localities. In 2026, this issue will receive greater attention through research papers, symposiums, the Gender Studies Program, and other activities focused on organized crime in the 1948 territories.

Despite facing many challenges, our team consistently shows exceptional dedication. We all strive to advance human, civil, and political rights through applied social research and policy analysis. With a steady influx of meeting requests, academic publication submissions, and a notable rise in student grant applications, our schedule is packed, including during the weekends. Our staff members frequently go above and beyond their assigned duties, reflecting their strong commitment. We remain focused on providing comprehensive support.

THANK YOU TO OUR PARTNERS FOR YOUR GENEROUS SUPPORT AND CONTINUED COLLABORATION!

<i>The Galilee Foundation</i>	<i>Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung</i>
<i>Open Society Foundations</i>	<i>Mediterranean Women’s Fund</i>
<i>Qattan Foundation</i>	<i>Global Fund for Women</i>
<i>Urban Studies Foundation</i>	<i>Birzeit University</i>
<i>Baladna, Association for Arab Youth</i>	<i>Kayan, Feminist Organization</i>
<i>Women Against Violence</i>	<i>Arab Cultural Association</i>
<i>Liwan Coffee – Nazareth</i>	<i>Madar – The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies</i>
<i>The Institute for Palestine Studies</i>	<i>Khashabi Theater</i>
<i>Assiwar, the Feminist Arab Movement</i>	<i>Al-Qaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society</i>
<i>Al-Qasemi Academic College</i>	

Commemorating 25 Years of Mada al-Carmel

