

**THE TWO STATES SOLUTION BETWEEN
ISRAEL AND PALESTINE: OPPORTUNITIES,
CHALLENGES, AND INTERNATIONAL
RESPONSE**

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**THE TWO STATES SOLUTION BETWEEN
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RESPONSE**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	xiii
ABSTRAK	xiv
ABSTRACT.....	xvi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.1.1 Historical Overview.....	3
1.2 Problem Statement	8
1.3 Research Questions (RQ).....	11
1.4 Research Objectives (RO).....	12
1.5 Methodology	13
1.5.1 Data Collection Methods	13
1.5.2 Selection of the Participants	15
1.5.3 Reliability and Validity	18
1.5.4 Interview Protocol	19
1.6 Data Analysis	20
1.7 Geographical Area and Timeframe of the Study	22
1.8 Study Chapters	22
1.9 Significance of the Study	23
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	24
2.1 Introduction.....	24

2.2	Background about the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict	24
2.3	Suggested Approaches for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	28
2.4	The Two-State Solution to End the Conflict.....	38
2.5	Main Gaps in the literature Review	45
2.6	Conclusion	46
CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....		48
3.1	Introduction.....	48
3.2	The Human Needs Theory	50
3.3	Brief about Peacebuilding.....	56
3.3.1	Origin of Peacebuilding.....	57
3.3.2	Evolution of Peacebuilding	58
3.3.3	Peacebuilding Concepts.....	60
3.4	Approaches to Peacebuilding.....	64
3.4.1	Conflict Transformative Approach.....	64
3.4.2	Diplomatic Approaches	66
3.4.2(a)	Negotiations.....	68
3.4.3	Third-Party Mediation	73
3.4.4	Legal Approach	75
3.4.5	Local Ownership Approach.....	76
3.4.6	Inclusive Peacebuilding.....	79
3.5	Conceptual Framework.....	83
3.6	Summary of the Theoretical Framework	86
3.7	Conclusion	89
CHAPTER 4 HISTORICAL BAKGROUND OF ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CONFLICT		92
4.1	Introduction.....	92
4.2	Main Actors of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	93
4.2.1	Main Palestinian Actors.....	93

4.2.2	The Main Israeli Actors	97
4.3	Major Political and Security Events	101
4.3.1	Jewish Settlements.....	101
4.3.2	The Balfour Declaration	102
4.3.3	Israeli-Arab War 1948	103
4.3.4	War of 1967	105
4.3.5	First Palestinian Uprising “Intifida”	107
4.3.6	Assassination of Rabin	108
4.3.7	Al Aqsa Uprising “Second Intifada”	110
4.3.8	Unilateral Withdrawal: Gaza Disengagement	111
4.3.9	Palestinian Division	113
4.3.10	Israeli – Hamas Wars.....	117
4.3.11	Hostages’ Deal and Ceasefire.....	123
4.3.12	Trump’s Suggestion to Displace Gaza People	124
4.4	Peace Efforts to Solve the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict	125
4.4.1	Madrid Conference	125
4.4.2	Oslo Accords	126
4.4.3	Camp David.....	132
4.4.4	Arab Peace Initiative from Saudi Arabia.....	133
4.4.5	The Road Map to Peace.....	135
4.4.6	The Geneva Accord	135
4.4.7	The Annapolis Conference	138
4.4.8	The Kerry Initiative (2013–2014).....	139
4.4.9	Trump Peace Deal	141
4.4.10	The Abraham Accords.....	144
4.5	The Quest for the Two-State Solution	147
4.5.1	Historical Overview of the Two-State Solution	147

4.5.2	The Question of the Palestinian State According to UN Resolutions	150
4.5.3	Key Principles of the Two-State Solution	154
4.5.4	Impediment to Palestinian Statehood	159
4.6	Conclusion	169
CHAPTER 5 DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION		171
5.1	Introduction.....	171
5.2	Data Presentation and Findings.....	172
5.2.1	The Main Roots of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.....	173
5.2.1(a)	The Palestinian Perspective.....	173
5.2.1(b)	The Israeli Perspective	175
5.2.2	The Main Needs of Palestinians and Israelis to End the Conflict.....	179
5.2.2(a)	The Main Needs of Palestinians	179
5.2.2(b)	The Main needs of Israelis	181
5.2.3	The Appropriate Peace Building Approach to End the Conflict.....	184
5.2.3(a)	Reasons Behind the Failure of Previous Peace Processes	184
5.2.3(a)(i)	The Palestinian Perspective.....	184
5.2.3(a)(ii)	The Israeli Perspective	186
5.2.3(a)(iii)	The Appropriate Peacebuilding Approach.....	189
5.2.4	The Feasibility of the Two -State Solution to End the Conflict	196
5.2.4(a)	Challenges Preventing the Application of the Two- State Solution.....	197
5.2.4(b)	The Main Opportunities Enabling the Application of the Two-State Solution.....	200
5.2.5	The Reactions of Palestinian and Israelis to the Two-State Solution.....	201

5.2.6	The views of Palestinians and Israelis regarding the position taken by the members of the international community towards the Two-State Solution.	204
5.2.6(a)	The USA Position.....	204
5.2.6(b)	The European Union Position	206
5.2.6(b)(i)	The Arab League Position.....	207
5.3	Discussions	208
5.3.1	Peacebuilding Approaches	210
5.3.1(a)	Conflict Transformation Approach	211
5.3.1(b)	The Inclusive Peacebuilding Approach.....	213
5.3.1(c)	Diplomatic Peacebuilding Approach.....	215
5.3.1(d)	The Local Ownership Peacebuilding Approach.....	217
5.3.1(e)	Legal Peacebuilding Approach	218
5.3.2	The Feasability of the Two-State Solution.....	219
5.3.2(a)	Political Aspect.....	221
5.3.2(b)	Civil Society Aspect.....	224
5.3.2(c)	Economic Aspect.....	225
5.3.2(d)	Natural ResourcesAspect	226
5.3.2(e)	Security Aspect.....	227
5.3.2(f)	Legal Aspect.....	227
5.4	Conclusion	228
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS		232
6.1	Introduction.....	232
6.2	Summary of the Study	232
6.3	Summary of the Main Findings	236
6.4	Theoretical Implication and Contribution of the Study	245
6.5	Study Limitations.....	247
6.6	Study Recommendations	249

6.7	Recommendations for Future Studies	254
REFERENCES.....		256
APPENDICES		

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1.1	List of Palestinian Key Informants 16
Table 1.2	List of Israeli Key Informants..... 17
Table 5.1	List of Opportunities that enable the application of the Two State Solution 200
Table 5.2	Israeli and Palestinian stakeholders who can be invoved in the transformation procces..... 215

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1.1 Palestine Shrinking, Expanding Israel. Copy rights@ Visualizing Palestine, 2015.....	4
Figure 1.2 The Main Themes and Sub-Themes of the Analysis	21
Figure 3.1 Mediation Actors and Activtites. Copy Right @ Clayton et al. 2023.....	74
Figure 3.2 Lederach Pyramid	81
Figure 3.3 Conceptual Framework	88
Figure 4.1 Israeli Settlement Expansion Around the Old City of Jerusalem	161
Figure 4.2 Israeli Settlement in the West Bank.....	162
Figure 6.1 The theoretical implementation of the study	247

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

API	Arab Peace Initiative from Saudi Arabia
ABC News	American Broadcasting Company
AED	The United Arab Emirates dirham
BBC	The British Broadcasting Corporation
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DCAF	The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
DOP	Declaration of Principles
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
EU	European Union
ECFR	European Council on Foreign Relations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOs	Government Organizations
International IDEA	The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDF	Israel Defence Forces
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISR	Israeli
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LEHI	Lohamei Herut Yisra'el
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations

NBC News	The National Broadcasting Company
OCHA	The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	The Palestinian Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PSD	Peaceful settlement of disputes
PIJ	Palestinian Islamic Jihad
PFLP	The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PFLP	the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PNI	Palestinian National Initiative
PAL	Palestinian
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
US	United States
UN	United Nations
UTJ	United Torah Judaism
UNRWA	The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNGA	UN General Assembly
UNCCP	Conciliation Commission for Palestine

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A List of Interview Questions

Appendix B Consent Form

**PENYELESAIAN DUA NEGARA ANTARA ISRAEL DAN PALESTIN:
PELUANG, CABARAN, DAN TINDAK BALAS ANTARABANGSA**

ABSTRAK

Konflik Israel-Palestin, salah satu konflik yang paling berpanjangan dan ganas dalam sejarah moden, bermula pada tahun 1947 dan semakin memuncak dengan perang 1967. Ini membawa kepada pendudukan Israel ke atas Gaza, Tebing Barat, dan Baitulmaqdis Timur. Konflik ini tertumpu pada pertikaian mengenai sempadan, status Baitulmaqdis, penempatan Israel, serta hak pemulangan pelarian Palestin. Kedua-dua kumpulan menuntut hak milik ke atas tanah yang sama. Kajian ini meneroka kebolehlaksanaan penyelesaian dua negara melalui pendekatan pembinaan perdamaian yang inklusif, dengan mengenal pasti cabaran dan peluang, menganalisis reaksi daripada pemimpin serta masyarakat sivil Israel dan Palestin, serta meneliti pandangan terhadap pendirian komuniti antarabangsa. Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif yang merangkumi kajian meja dan temu bual bersama pemimpin masyarakat sivil Palestin serta Israel dan pakar konflik, kajian ini mendapati bahawa konflik ini berakar umbi daripada pendudukan 1948, penolakan Israel terhadap kewujudan negara Palestin pada tahun 1967, serta penempatan berterusan di Tebing Barat. Rakyat Palestin menuntut kebebasan, maruah, penentuan nasib sendiri, dan penamatan penempatan, manakala rakyat Israel mengkehendaki keselamatan, pemilikan tanah, pengiktirafan negara, Baitulmaqdis yang bersatu, kepimpinan Palestin baharu, negara Palestin yang didemilitarisasi, serta penghormatan terhadap hak minoriti Arab. Penyelesaian dua negara menghadapi halangan, termasuk penentangan bersama, tekanan antarabangsa yang tidak mencukupi terhadap Israel, konflik Gaza, serta pengembangan penempatan yang berterusan. Kajian ini

mengesyorkan gencatan senjata kekal di Gaza, penamatan perang, dan pengunduran pasukan Israel sebagai pertukaran dengan pembebasan tebusan oleh Hamas. Israel perlu menghentikan pembinaan penempatan di Tebing Barat dan Baitulmaqdis Timur bagi menyokong proses perdamaian yang membina. Selain itu, Israel mesti mengiktiraf penentuan nasib sendiri dan kewujudan negara Palestin, serta kedua-dua Israel dan Amerika Syarikat perlu menghentikan usaha menghalang inisiatif Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu untuk memberikan keahlian penuh kepada Palestin. Pemimpin kedua-dua pihak perlu menerima penyelesaian dua negara berdasarkan sempadan pra-1967 bagi mencapai perdamaian yang berkekalan.

**THE TWO STATES SOLUTION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PALESTINE:
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INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE**

ABSTRACT

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one of the most enduring and violent in modern history, began in 1947 and intensified with the 1967 war. This led to Israel's occupation of Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem. The conflict centers on disputes over borders, Jerusalem's status, Israeli settlements, and Palestinian refugees' right to return. Both groups claim the same land. This study explores the feasibility of a two-state solution through an inclusive peace-building approach, identifying challenges and opportunities, analyzing reactions from Israeli and Palestinian leaders and civil society, and examining views on international community stances. Employing a qualitative methodology with a desk review and interviews with Palestinian and Israeli civil society leaders and conflict experts, the study finds that the conflict is rooted in the 1948 occupation, Israel's 1967 rejection of Palestinian statehood, and ongoing West Bank settlements. Palestinians demand freedom, dignity, self-determination, and an end to settlements, while Israelis seek security, land ownership, state legitimacy, a unified Jerusalem, new Palestinian leadership, a demilitarized Palestinian state, and respect for Arab minority rights. The two-state solution faces obstacles, including mutual resistance, insufficient international pressure on Israel, the Gaza conflict, and continued settlement expansion. The study recommends a permanent Gaza ceasefire, halting the war, and withdrawing Israeli forces in exchange for Hamas releasing the hostages. Israel should stop building West Bank and East Jerusalem settlements to support a constructive peace process.

Additionally, Israel must recognize Palestinian self-determination and statehood, and both Israel and the USA should cease obstructing UN efforts to grant Palestine full membership. Both sides' leaders should accept a two-state solution based on pre-1967 borders for lasting peace.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is considered one of the longest conflicts with the worst violence waves in contemporary politics since 1947. Despite many political efforts made in the past decades by some Arab states and members of the international community to resolve this conflict, the conflict persisted and became even more complicated in 2023 following to the 7th October attack, without any glimpse of hope for a political solution. This has negatively affected the lives of civilians from both sides resulting in losses of lives and assets among them.

Wypych (2022) presents two opposing narratives and interpretations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: The first is the Pro-Palestinian Narrative, which sees the Jewish national revival as an example of European colonist expansion into the Middle East, and a foreign invader who attempts to annihilate the indigenous population. The second narrative is the Pro-Israeli Narrative that calls upon the return of Jews to their ancient homeland, and sees Zionism as a legitimate expression of Jewish nationalism, especially after the struggle of Jewish people for survival following the second world war. Thus, accepting one narrative will eventually undermine the opposing narrative's credibility.

As part of its efforts to facilitate a peaceful resolution to the conflict, the Norwegian Government facilitated the signing of the Oslo Accords by Israeli and Palestinian leaders in 1993. The Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized each other as partners for peace rather than enemies.

As stated on the Al Jazeera website (n.d.), numerous observers viewed the signing of the Oslo Accords as a crucial initial step toward resolving the conflict. Consequently, the international community introduced the two-state solution as a means to achieve peace.

However, Kelman (2011) highlights that since the collapse of the Camp David summit in 2000 and the subsequent eruption of the second intifada, progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process has come to a standstill. Significant concerns remain regarding the willingness of leaders on both sides to make the necessary compromises for a final-status agreement.

Thus, the primary aim of this study is to evaluate the feasibility of resolving the conflict between both parties by adopting conflict resolution approaches, including the two-state solution, which seeks to establish an independent Palestinian state alongside an independent Israeli state based on the 1967 borders.

The study explores the two-state solution as a framework for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, examining the internal and external factors that hinder its implementation. It also analyzes the responses of Palestinian and Israeli leaders to the two-state solution and evaluates the potential of an inclusive peacebuilding approach as a comprehensive strategy for achieving this resolution. Furthermore, the study considers the feasibility of the two-state solution as a definitive means to end the prolonged conflict between Israel and Palestine.

This study utilized a qualitative methodology, incorporating a desk review and key informant interviews. These methods were employed to gather qualitative data on various aspects, such as the key conflict resolution theories applicable to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the perspectives of Israeli and Palestinian civil society members

on the two-state solution, the most significant opportunities that facilitate its implementation, and the major obstacles hindering its adoption. Additionally, the study explored the viewpoints of both Palestinians and Israelis regarding the stance of the international community on the two-state solution, as well as global efforts to assist both sides in ending ongoing violence.

Content analysis techniques were used to analyze qualitative data/information collected by the desk review and key informant interviews.

Additionally, the study proposes several recommendations for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the two-state solution, enabling both Palestinians and Israelis to coexist in independent states, free from violence, while upholding their mutual right to peace and security.

1.1.1 Historical Overview

This section presents a historical overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, introducing the main historical events that have exacerbated the situation between the two sides. A more detailed discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict history will be presented in Chapter 4.



Figure 1.1 Palestine Shrinking, Expanding Israel. Copy rights@ Visualizing Palestine, 2015.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict began in 1880, when the Jewish people living in Europe founded the Zionist movement to create a Jewish national homeland in Palestine (Abubakar, 2021).

On November 2, 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour issued a public statement expressing the British government's support for establishing a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. Known as the Balfour Declaration, this statement marked the initial step toward political Zionism, aiming to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine under legal protection (Yale Law School, 2024).

During the 128th plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 1947, Resolution 181 (II) was adopted, calling for the establishment of two separate states—one for the Arab population and another for the Jewish population. The resolution passed with 33 votes in favor, 13 against, and 10 abstentions (The United Nations, 1976)

On May 14, 1948, the Jewish National Council officially declared the establishment of the State of Israel in Tel Aviv. In response, on May 15, 1948, five armies from the Arab League crossed into the newly declared Israeli state, initiating a military conflict against what they referred to as the "Zionist creation" (Kloke, 2011).

As a result of the military escalation mentioned above, the Israelis and the Arab states were involved in a big war, which the Israeli side named "The Israeli War of Independence". However, the Palestinian side named it "*Nakba*" which means catastrophe because it led to the destruction of 400-500 Palestinian villages by the Israeli army, and displacement of 750,000 Palestinians who were uprooted from their lands and forced to flee to Gaza, the West Bank and other Arab states (Naser & Somer, 2016).

A second war erupted in 1967 between Israel and three Arab states – Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It was called by the Israeli side "The Six Days War" because it was short and lasted only six days. In that period, Israel organized a ground offensive to capture the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem from Egypt. Israel also took the Golan Heights from Syria. This war was ended by a U.N.-led truce, but it altered the geography of the Middle East and led to geopolitical conflict (Ms & M, 2020).

After more than five decades of Israeli occupation in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem, the First Intifada (Palestinian uprising) erupted on December 9, 1987. This was triggered by a controversial traffic accident in Gaza, where an Israeli truck struck and killed four Palestinian workers while injuring others. The incident fueled widespread unrest, particularly after Israeli security forces used

lethal force against Palestinian protesters. The uprising soon escalated and spread to the West Bank (Baycar & Atar, 2021).

As previously mentioned, in 1993, both the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) signed the Oslo Accords to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These accords emerged from secret negotiations facilitated by Norway, in which both parties agreed on a five-year timeline for establishing limited Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, later known as the "Palestinian Authority" (PA) (Wermenbol, 2018).

However, the Palestinian Authority faced significant limitations under the Oslo Process, as it only governed the Gaza Strip and a small portion of the West Bank, designated as Area A (Parsons, 2005).

In January 2006, the Hamas Islamic Movement secured a majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) elections, winning 74 out of 132 seats (56%), while the Fatah movement obtained only 45 seats. (The Guardian, 2006) Following its electoral victory, Hamas formed the Palestinian government in March 2006 without Fatah, as the latter refused to join the Hamas-led coalition. Subsequently, in April 2006, both the US and the EU decided to halt all financial aid to the West Bank and Gaza if it was funneled through PA institutions. However, humanitarian assistance continued via international and non-governmental organizations (Saarela, 2018).

In June 2007, Hamas Islamic Movement subsequently expelled all Fatah officials from Gaza, seizing control inside Gaza, which resulted in internal violence in Gaza, that lasted from June 10 to June 15, 2007. This violence was very severe to the degree that some people called it the Palestinian Civil War (Swart, 2019).

Immediately after the Hamas Islamic Movement took control of the Gaza Strip, the Israeli government imposed a land, sea, and air blockade on Gaza. Thus, in 2014, Gaza's GDP was reduced by 50%, the unemployment rate increased to 43%, and youth unemployment exceeded 60%. Due to this, Gaza was ranked as the most unemployed country in the world (UN OCHA, 2015).

The Gaza Strip ruled by Hamas was also targeted between 2008 and 2022 by four major Israeli military operations: 1- Operation Cast Lead in 2008, 2- Operation Pillar of Defense in 2012, 3- Operation Protective Edge in 2014, and 4- Operation Breaking Dawn in 2022 (BBC, 2025).

It can thus be said that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict went through a variety of historical stages that affected negatively the current situation of the conflict and led to high levels of tension between both sides and sabotaged international efforts to find a sustainable solution to create peace and reduce violence. For example, when the United States, Arab countries or the United Nations proposed international solutions to resolve the conflict, violence broke out between the Israelis and the Palestinians. This exacerbated the security situation there and made all international efforts to peace ineffective.

The Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands can be viewed as one of the main roots of the conflict. Therefore, any international efforts to resolve the conflict between both sides are ineffective if they do not consider the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Palestinian lands based on the 1967 borders as mentioned in UN resolution number 242.

1.2 Problem Statement

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the most complicated conflicts in the world. It has persisted for more than a century. This conflict revolves around borders, Jerusalem's status, Israeli settlements, and Palestinian refugees' right to return. However, the fundamental problem is that the two groups claim the same piece of land as their right to own it.

It is imperative to highlight that Diez, Stetter & Albert (2004), define the conflict as a result of fighting over disputed state borders. This is similar to the definition of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Yahaya (2020) explains how liberalism encompasses global politics not only from the perspective of the state, but also international law, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. This liberal approach can be employed for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, through requesting both conflict parties to respect international law and implement UN resolutions issued during the conflict.

Stefanova and Greco (1997), Takang (2012), Abu Oudeh (2020), Gordon and Cohen (2012), Raphael (2016), Karimi (2020), Rahman (2020), Bar-Tal (2022), Jadallah and Mrabet (2012), Elgindy (2018) and Zanotti (2010) presented different methods of conflict resolution including direct and indirect negotiations, third-party mediation, Peaceful settlement of disputes (PSD), Demilitarization, and Economic development and some approaches for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian state including one state solution, the two states solution, federal state, inclusive peace process and the status quo.

However, these above studies did not provide detailed guidance on how these approaches can be applied practically. For example the previous studies did not succeed in proposing the two-state solution as a means to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, because they did not discuss deeply the political and security concerns of both parties, that should be considered in the negotiation process. The previous studies failed also in discussing the internal and external factors that delay the implementation of the two-state solution, and they did not either analyze the attitudes and the reactions of Palestinian and Israeli leaders towards the two-state solution, nor the role of Palestinian and Israeli civil societies in supporting such a solution.

Mostly, previous Palestinian and Israeli studies focused on one side of the conflict through adopting one narrative of the conflict, according to the perspective of one party without addressing the narratives of the two peoples. This limits the development of an objective conflict analysis.

Thus, the study's problem is framed by two central questions. First, how can the two-state solution be practically implemented as a sustainable resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, given the competing narratives of both parties, the internal and external factors delaying its adoption, and the roles of governmental, civil society, and international stakeholders in either promoting or obstructing its success? Second, what are the specific social, political, and security challenges hindering the two-state solution, and how can an inclusive peacebuilding approach address these challenges to ensure its long-term viability and effectiveness in resolving the conflict?

Further, this study aims to analyse the conflict from the Palestinian and Israeli perspectives and analysing the internal and external factors that delay the implementation of the two- state solution.

The study examines also if an inclusive peacebuilding approach can be used as a comprehensive approach to reaching a two-state solution. Additionally, it discusses the possibility of implementing the two-state solution as a final solution for ending the long conflict between Israel and Palestine, highlighting the role of different stakeholders at governmental level, civil society level and international level in either promoting or opposing such a solution.

The researcher found that there is a gap in understanding how two-state solutions can be applied practically by both conflict parties. Although the feasibility of the two-state solution has been discussed in many researches, there is a lack of comprehensive research on the long-term viability and sustainability of this solution.

Further, a study is needed to assess the social, security and political factors that may contribute to the success or failure of a two-state model in the region, analyse the main challenges facing this solution, and discuss how to overcome these challenges.

The study benefited from a deeper understanding of regional and international influences upon the implementation process. This includes examining the role of neighboring countries, regional, and international actors in supporting, hindering, or mediating the negotiations and implementation of a two-state solution.

The research also attempted to fill in the gaps in other studies regarding the reactions of the leaders of the civil community in Palestine and Israel to the two-state solution.

Addressing these study gaps would enable a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the feasibility and challenges associated with the two-state solution for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Such a study is essential for informing

policymakers, negotiators, and stakeholders in their efforts to achieve a just and sustainable resolution.

1.3 Research Questions (RQ)

To address the main points of the problem, the researcher tries to answer the following questions:

RQ1. What are the main roots of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?

RQ2. How can an inclusive peace building approach be applied to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

RQ3. Why has it been difficult to implement the two- state solution? What are the challenges or factors hindering the implementation of this solution?

RQ4. What are the main opportunities that can enable the implementation of the two- state solution?

RQ5. How are the Israeli and Palestinian members of civil society reacting to the two-state solution?

RQ6. What are the views of Palestinians and Israelis regarding the positions taken by members of the international community towards the two-state solution?

1.4 Research Objectives (RO)

The primary objective of the proposed study is to analyze if the two-state solution is possible between the Israelis and Palestinians through applying one or more conflict resolution approaches to resolve the conflict between the two sides. The specific objectives of the proposed study are as follows:

- RO1. To analyze the main roots of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.
- RO2. To identify the possibility of applying the two-state solution through using an inclusive peace building approach and other approaches.
- RO3. To identify the main challenges that hinder the implementation of the two-state solution and the main opportunities that enable the implementation of this solution.
- RO4. To investigate the main opportunities that may contribute to the success of the two-state solution in the region.
- RO5. To analyze the reactions of Israeli and Palestinian leaders and members of civil society towards the two-state solution.
- RO6. To explore the views of Palestinians and Israelis towards the positions taken by members of the international community regarding the two-state solution.

1.5 Methodology

In conducting this study, the researcher used qualitative research, which involves examining phenomena in terms of their quality, different manifestations, the contexts in which they appear, or the perspectives from which they can be viewed, without considering their range, frequency, or place in a chain of cause and effect that is objectively determined (Philipsen & Vernooij-Dassen, 2007).

This formal definition can be expanded to include the following practical guidelines: qualitative research includes word-based data rather than numerical data (Punch, 2013)

Thus, the researcher used this approach, for more understanding of the conflict resolution between the Israelis, and the Palestinians, through adopting the two-state solution in 1967, and through analyzing the feasibility of this solution in terms of existing opportunities and challenges that enable or prevent the application of the two-state solution.

1.5.1 Data Collection Methods

The researcher conducted a desk review of Israeli and Palestinian studies, Israeli and Palestinian statements, academic researches related to the conflict and peacebuilding, international and Arab political reports and studies, peacebuilding theories, books related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, UN statements and resolutions related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and etc.

Key informant interviews (KIIs) were used to collect data, which are specialized qualitative interviews conducted with individuals with in-depth knowledge or unique perspectives regarding a particular topic.

Through KIIs, the researcher gained access to specialized knowledge and expert insight, which enabled her to understand complex issues. The use of KIIs provides depth to policy analysis by capturing context and nuances.

a) Sample Technique

The sample consists of some purposively selected individuals from the two countries (Palestine and Israel) who have extensive experience in conducting research related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, who are actively involved in peacebuilding and political affairs and who accept to share their opinions about the conflict and the two- state solution.

b) Sample Size

A total of twenty-two (22) participants (11 Israelis and 11 Palestinians) were interviewed, and they shared a big amount of information related to the scope of the study. The researcher did not select more than 22 participants because she considered the opinions of some qualitative researchers who advised not to interview a big number of informants when conducting qualitative research. For instance, it was noted that after more than 20 interviews in an interview-based study, few new information could be collected (Green & Thorogood, 2009). Thus, a sample size of about 10 – 20 respondents was determined to be appropriate for providing the detailed number of perceptions, beliefs, and personal experiences (Silverman, 2011). In addition, data saturation in qualitative research suggests that additional data does not necessarily

imply more valuable information. Compared to quantitative research, qualitative research tends to be labor-intensive and time-consuming, so the use of large sample sizes is not recommended (Mason, 2010).

1.5.2 Selection of the Participants

The participants of this study were selected according to the objectives of the study, which aimed at analyzing the roots of the conflict, applying an inclusive peace building approach and discussing the feasibility of the two-state solution. Equal numbers of participants were selected from each country, and it includes researchers, academics, journalists, political activists, members of NGOs, parliamentarians, diplomats, political advisors, and political leaders.

Due to the current war situation in Gaza and the difficulty of interviewing members of Palestinian and Israeli governments, the researcher used desk review as a data collection tool to present the statements of public officers from both sides about the conflict.

Using the purposive sampling technique, the researcher purposely selects relevant participants with the aim of maximizing a rich source of information.

a) Brief Descriptive Biography

In order to ensure data protection, the researcher coded the names of the participants. The tables below provide a brief overview of the background of the interviewees on both sides of the debate.

i) **List of Palestinian participants**

Table 1.1 List of Palestinian Key Informants

#	Palestinian Participants	BIO	Date of Interview
1	PAL1	He is a Political Leader, a Member of the Central Political Committee of Fateh Movement and a Former Minister at Palestinian Authority.	10\07\2024
2	PAL2	He is a political leader, a Member of the Political Bureau of the Palestinian political party “The initiative”.	17\07\2024
3	PAL3	He is a researcher and the Director of a Palestinian Think Tank that implements research projects related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.	5\07\2024
4	PAL4	She is a journalist and the founder of one Palestinian news site that covers the news of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.	12\07\2024
5	PAL5	He is an academic and the research advisor at a Palestinian research center that researches about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and implements civil peace initiatives.	9\07\2024
6	PAL6	He is a political analyst and the Director of a Palestinian Research Centre in West Bank that prepares public polls that assess the opinion of Palestinian public about issues related to Palestinian cause.	10\07\2024
7	PAL7	He is a political analyst and member of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) affiliated to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)	10\07\2024
8	PAL8	He is a researcher, and the Director of Advocacy and Human Rights organization based in Gaza.	20\07\2024

Table 1.1 (Continued)

#	Palestinian Participants	BIO	Date of Interview
9	PAL9	He is a professor of political science at one of private Palestinian Universities in Gaza.	13\07\2024
10	PAL10	He is a former advisor of the former Prime Minister at Palestinian Authority.	11\07\2024
11	PAL 11	He is a former advisor of Palestinian President at Palestinian Authority	15\07\2024

ii) List of Israeli Participants

Table 1.2 List of Israeli Key Informants

#	Israeli Participants	BIO	Date of Interview
1	ISR1	He is a middle east director of one Israeli Non-Governmental Organization , an Author, a former negotiator for prisoner deal with Hamas, and an award winning Times of Israel Columnist.	23\07\2024
2	ISR2	He is a former ambassador, a consultant on strategy, energy & planning, and an academic in foreign policy & energy.	5\08\2024
3	ISR3	She is a political activist, and former candidate of the municipality election in Arab community in Israel	30\07\2024
4	ISR4	She is a member of Israeli parliament (Knesset) who represents Arab community in Israel.	12\08\2024
5	ISR5	She is a head of one women rights organization working in Arab community in Israel	1\08\2024
6	ISR6	He is a senior researcher at Israeli Institute for Security Studies	10\09\2024
7	ISR7	He is a director of research at one Israeli Institutes for Regional Foreign Policies.	22\10\2024

Table 1.2 (Continued)

#	Israeli Participants	BIO	Date of Interview
8	ISR8	She is a director of the conflict and gender Project at one of Israeli Non-Governmental Organization that implements peacebuilding projects in Israel.	28\10\2024
9	ISR9	She is a director of one Israeli Non-Governmental Organization that promotes peacebuilding and human rights in Jerusalem.	12\11\2024
10	ISR 10	He is a political activist, journalist, and a founder of broadcast that promotes peacebuilding between Israelis and Palestinians.	8\11\2024
11	ISR 11	She is a director of one Israeli Non-Governmental Organization that implements projects related to women, peace and security in Israel.	11\11\2024

1.5.3 Reliability and Validity

To ensure the reliability and validity of collected data from the respondents, the researcher compared the data related to the history of the conflict with data collected through desk review and she considered the views of two conflict sides without judging them. As qualitative study involves interaction with participants who have subjective opinions, the researcher adhered carefully and firmly to the established protocol and procedure of qualitative approach in collection, analysis and reporting of data. Therefore, the researcher applied the below research protocol to ensure that there is no bias when collecting the data from the two conflicting sides.

1.5.4 Interview Protocol

This study was guided by a protocol in the conduct of the interviewing process. The participants were emailed first, providing them with an introduction about the researcher, and basic information regarding the study.

a) Taking consent from the interviewees

The researcher sent the researcher a consent form before starting the interview, and after they accepted to be interviewed through signing the consent form or sending acceptance email, the researcher sent to the participants a Google Meeting Link to interview them online according to their availability.

b) Starting the interview

The researcher introduced herself again and thanked each participant for accepting to be interviewed. The participant was assured of the confidentiality of the data/responses collected. The interviewee was further informed that the data is solely collected for PhD exercise and other related academic purposes.

c) Taking Notes

During the online interviews the researcher took written notes through a notebook while she was listening to all the remarks of the participants regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She drafted the notes in English and Arabic through Microsoft Word.

d) Objectivity

The researcher encouraged all the participants to share their opinions about the conflict without any judgement and she provided them with an open and safe space to

share their insights about the potential solution to the conflict. This was done by informing the participants that their names will be coded and the data collection will be used for the purpose of the study without sharing their information with third parties.

e) Showing appreciation at the end of the interview

At the end of each interview session, the researcher thanked the participant and appreciated his\her time and the information that he\she shared.

1.6 Data Analysis

Six main research questions guided the interview protocol to explore participant experiences and perceptions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the feasibility of a two-state solution.

The researcher used thematic analysis which is a technique in qualitative research that involves identifying common themes topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that come up repeatedly.

The data analysis explores the relationships between the theme and the sub-themes that guide the main research questions. This study's first objective was to examine the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To achieve this objective, the researcher had to generate three sub-themes which are the origin of the conflict, the needs of Palestinians and Israelis to solve the conflict. The second objective was to determine the appropriate peacebuilding approach to end the conflict. To achieve this objective, the researcher had to develop two sub-themes, namely the reasons behind previous conflict resolution and the appropriate peace building approach. The third

objective was to assess the feasibility of the two-state solution. To accomplish this the researcher had to generate two sub-themes which are the main challenges facing the application of the two-state solution and the main existing opportunities for applying the two-state solution. The fourth objective was to assess the reactions of both conflict sides and the international community towards the two-state solution. To achieve that the researcher has generated 5 sub-themes which are the reactions of Palestinian people and Israeli people, towards the Two-State Solution and the role of the USA administration, the European Union and the Arab League to support this solution. The following diagram summarizes the three main themes that comprise the sub-themes:



Figure 1.2 The Main Themes and Sub-Themes of the Analysis

1.7 Geographical Area and Timeframe of the Study

The targeted geographical areas of the proposed study are the occupied Palestinian territories, and Israel. The study discusses the conflict from 1948 till 28 February 2025.

1.8 Study Chapters

The study consists of six chapters as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction to the study, the objectives of the study, the study methodology, the study questions, the study problem, and the main outlines of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter Three: A presentation of the main theories on conflict resolution, conflict and peacebuilding, and a conceptual framework for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict peacefully.

Chapter Four: Historical background and description of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from 1947 to January 2025.

Chapter Five: Presentation of data collection and data collection methods, and discussion and analyzing the collected data in terms of the appropriate peacebuilding theory, that can be adopted to resolve the conflict, the main roots of the conflict, the possibility of applying the two states solution, and the reactions of Israelis, Palestinians and the international community towards the two states solution.

Chapter Six: Summary of the main findings, the theoretical implications and contribution of the study, the limitations of the study, general recommendations regarding peace building approaches that can be used to resolve conflict, and recommendations for further research, and conclusion of the study.

1.9 Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it addresses the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one of the most enduring and polarizing disputes in modern history, by examining the prospects of a two-state solution through an inclusive peace-building approach. It offers a detailed analysis of the conflict, emphasizing the two-state framework as a critical yet challenging path to peace. Using a qualitative method that combines a desk review and interviews with civil society leaders from both communities, the study provides nuanced insights into their aspirations, challenges, and opportunities. Key issues such as Israeli settlements, the Gaza conflict, and insufficient international pressure are identified, alongside practical recommendations like halting settlements and recognizing Palestinian statehood within pre-1967 borders. With its focus on inclusive peace-building and perspectives from local and international stakeholders, this study is a valuable resource for researchers exploring conflict resolution, Middle Eastern geopolitics, and peace processes, encouraging further exploration of sustainable solutions to this global issue.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Examining the two-state solution as a means of addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict necessitates reviewing various studies and literature on conflict definitions in general, as well as those specifically related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This literature review explores past approaches to resolving the conflict. This chapter presents literature review related to the history of the conflict, the approach suggested for resolving the conflict and the two-states solution.

2.2 Background about the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict

Neal (1995) describes the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a complex and multifaceted issue that has evolved over time. According to him, the conflict originated with the First Aliya, an influx of Zionist Jews into Palestine that began in 1882. The impending division of the Ottoman Empire caused Britain to reach three agreements with three parties regarding Palestine's final status before World War I ended. The Hussein-McMahon correspondence, the Sykes-Picot agreement, and the Balfour Declaration were among these agreements.

According to the author, Hussein promised McMahon an independent Arab Palestine in exchange for Hussein's help in encouraging Arab rebellions against the Ottoman Empire. By Sykes-Picot, the Levant area was divided between the British and French spheres of influence, and Palestine was placed under "international administration" because of its religious status. In the Balfour Declaration, dated