Chaos beyond the Screen: Fauda and Its Impact on Israeli and Palestinian Viewers

Noga Even
University of Pennsylvania

Chaos beyond the Screen: Fauda and Its Impact on Israeli and Palestinian Viewers

Creative Commons License

Chaos Beyond the Screen: *Fauda* and its Impact on Israeli and Palestinian Viewers

Noga Even

Doron Kavillio, a former member of an Israel Defense Forces anti-terrorism unit, thought it was just a typical morning as he playfully chased his two children around his blooming vineyard. Later that morning, Monero, Doron's former unit commander, shows up to Doron's vineyard unannounced to inform him that Abu Ahmad, the Hamas terrorist Doron thought he killed eighteen months ago, is still alive. Now Doron must decide, will he rejoin his anti-terrorist unit and risk his life trying to kill Abu Ahmed again or will he stay on his peaceful vineyard and be a present father to his children? Ultimately, he decides to rejoin his unit.[1]

This moment begins the story of the popular Netflix series, *Fauda*. *Fauda*, meaning chaos in Arabic, captures the hearts of viewers around the world by employing dramatic twists and realistic violent scenes. The series first premiered on the Israeli channel YES on February 15, 2015, and later premiered as an original Netflix program on December 2, 2016.[2] Unlike most action television shows and movies, however, which share stories about heroes in make-believe places with fictional conflicts, *Fauda* focuses on the real Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Netflix program takes place in the West Bank and has no clear hero. But what makes this show worthy of the best international show of 2017?[3] The two creators of the show, Lior Raz and

Avi Issacharoff have real-life experiences responding to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which translates into a powerful and realistic representation of the true human "chaos" behind the conflict. This paper will argue that the experiences of Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff make the show influential and change the perspectives of Israelis and Palestinians on each other and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This study will draw, first and foremost, upon episodes from the first season of the *Fauda* series. Additionally, it will cite biographies about Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff and interviews with the two creators. This paper includes information from interviews, news articles, and reviews about *Fauda* from primarily Israeli, Palestinian, and American sources. Lastly, there will be quotations from my phone interview and Temple University Lecture with Tzachi Halvey, who portrays Naor, one of the main characters in *Fauda*.

I broke this paper into four more parts after this introduction. The first part will be context, where I will be discussing information about the Duvdevan Unit, the anti-terrorism unit *Fauda* is based on, and Israeli occupation in the West Bank. Secondly, I will be considering the careers of Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff, and what lead them to create *Fauda*. For the third section, I will be revealing how the show mirrors real-life events in Israeli and Palestinian areas. Lastly, I will express the show's effects on Palestinians and Israelis before my conclusion.

Background: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, the West Bank, Hamas, and the Duvdevan Unit

During the first season of *Fauda*, the central conflict of the show is that the allegedly dead Hamas terrorist Abu Ahmad, who killed 116 Israelis, is still alive. The main Israeli characters in *Fauda*, which are in an anti-terrorism unit, decide to find him and kill him once for all. Members of this unit need to enter the Palestinian section of the West Bank to find and kill Abu Ahmad.[4] This chain of events that occurs in *Fauda* is not unusual to Israelis

and Palestinians.

Historians trace the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back to a variety of different periods, but for this paper I will focus on the conflict since 1948. In 1948 Israel declared its statehood and Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq invaded Israel during the first Arab-Israeli war.[5] "Over 700,000 Palestinians fled their homes and became refugees in surrounding Arab countries. To Israelis, this war was the beginning of their nation; to the Palestinians, it was the Nakba, the Catastrophe, as they became stateless."[6] The war resulted in Israel gaining control of present-day Israel minus the West Bank, Jordan gaining control of the West Bank, and Egypt gaining control over Gaza. The displacement of Palestinians and the establishment of a Jewish state sparked a great hatred towards Israel from many Palestinians and future generations of Palestinians.[7]

Many Palestinians believe that the state of Israel belongs to their people and in 1964 they created the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to achieve the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle. Unfortunately for Israelis, the PLO aimed its violence at Israeli civilians.[8] In 1967 another Arab-Israeli war broke out: the Six Day War. Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, with support from Lebanon and the PLO, all fought against Israel. Ultimately, Israel gained control over Gaza, the West Bank, and the Sinai Peninsula. After the Six Day War, Israel's main conflict transitioned from the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The same Israeli-Palestinian conflict that is represented in *Fauda*.[9]

Israel withdrew all military control from the Sinai Peninsula in 1979 to fulfill the peace agreement with Egypt. In 1987 the first Intifada broke out, which included Palestinian uprisings against Israeli occupation in Gaza and in the West Bank. Palestinians boycotted Israeli goods and services, refused to work in Israeli settlements, refused to pay taxes, and started using more violence including the throwing of stones and Molotov cocktails. As a result of this six-year-long Intifada terrorist attacks killed more than 100 Israeli civilians, injured 1400 civilians, killed 60 IDF soldiers, and injured 1700

soldiers.[10] Israel responded by taking military action, which over the six years of the intifada killed between 1,162 and 1,204 Palestinians and injured about 24,000 Palestinians.[11]

The first Intifada resulted in the creation of Hamas, the terrorist organization that Abu Ahmed, the terrorist from *Fauda,* serves. Hamas claims it was founded to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation in the area that is present-day Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank. Hamas refuses to accept the state of Israel.[12]

In 1993, in efforts to finally put an end to the Intifada, head of the PLO Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo 1 Accord in Washington D.C. This created a Palestinian Authority with limited self-governance in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.[13] The Oslo Accords split the West Bank into three parts: Area A (11 percent) - Palestinian Authority controls, Area B (28 percent) - joint Israeli-Palestinian, and Area C (61 percent) - Israeli controlled.[14] *Fauda* takes place mainly in Area A where Doron and his unit enter several times,[15] which also goes hand in hand with Palestinian people's complaint that even though Area A is Palestinian area the Israeli military can still enter when they please. Many Palestinians today are also unhappy with the Oslo Accords because there are still checkpoints surrounding their area. In 2013 according to B'Tselem, a pro-Palestine humanitarian organization, there were 99 fixed checkpoints and 174 flying checkpoints, surprise checkpoints that change locations.[16] In exchange for land, the PLO "renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to exist in peace."[17]

After Yasser Arafat's death in 2005, Hamas garnered more votes than the PLO in elections within Gaza, evenwhen Israel withdrew its military and Israeli settlements from inside of Gaza. Following an internal Palestinian struggle in 2007 between Fatah and Hamas, Hamas took over the Gaza strip.[18] Unlike the PLO, Hamas does not renounce terrorism, and Hamas does not recognize Israel's right to exist.[19] It is important to understand

Hamas' relationship to Israel when watching *Fauda* because the central conflict in the show occurs between a Hamas terrorist and the IDF anti-terrorism unit.[20]

Fauda tells the story of an unnamed anti-terrorism unit based off of the Duvdevan Unit. Duvdevan is known for its undercover operations where unit members wear Arab civilian clothes as disguises.[21] Duvdevan is known to operate independently in more than one location at a time. The unit performs targeted killings,[22] much like in *Fauda* when the unit tries to kill Abu Ahmad.[23] When Israeli officers in disguise get caught by Palestinians, the Israelis use the code word "*Fauda*" to let their other unit members know that they are under attack.[24] According to Tzachi Halvey, an actor in *Fauda* and former officer in the Duvdevan unit, not everyone in the unit goes undercover. A small percentage of the unit goes undercover. There are other jobs like planning and making sure that those who are undercover stay safe. *Fauda* does not touch on these jobs as much.[25]

The Creators: Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff

Fauda translates the relationships between Israelis and Palestinians in an incredible manner. One of the main reasons its able to capture these relationships is because Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff have very similar real-life experiences to the characters on the show.

Lior Raz grew up in Ma'ale Adumim, an Israeli settlement in the West Bank. He grew up speaking Arabic and surrounded by both Palestinians and Israelis.[26] *Fauda* is about half in Hebrew and half in Arabic. I think Raz's upbringing greatly influenced this decision to have the show in both languages. As a child, he witnessed how vital and useful it was to speak in his Arabic neighbors' native tongue. When creating *Fauda*, Raz knew the importance of having the series both in Arabic and Hebrew, so that Palestinians and Arabs could feel just as connected to the show as Israelis. Lior Raz not only partnered to create the show, but he also stars as its main

character, Doron.[27]

Much like his character Doron, Raz joined the anti-terrorism Duvdevan unit when he enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces at the age of 18.[28] Lior Raz had not spoken too much about his experiences in the Duvdevan unit until after *Fauda* aired. Anne Joseph's article Danger in the Homeland quotes Raz: "'I was post-traumatic' … For many years he carried the burden of his experience, unaware of its effects. He says that writing, '*Fauda*' was a form of healing for him."[29] Lior Raz successfully portrays the character Doron and the toll that serving in Duvdevan takes on Doron's life. Doron suffers from nightmares, and his marriage with Gali also suffers when he rejoins the unit.[30] Raz's own experiences make Doron's struggles even more realistic and truly show the mental issues that come when serving in a special forces unit.

Avi Issacharoff has been working as an Israeli journalist focusing on Palestinian affairs for the last fifteen years. He has written for multiple publications including *The Times of Israel* and *Walla!*, where he works as a Middle East Analyst, and *Haaretz*, where he works as a Palestinian and Arab Affairs Correspondent.[31] He has met many of the characters that *Fauda* portrays. For example, he has sat in the homes of Palestinian politicians and had long discussions with the special forces from Hamas in their offices.[32] His interactions with both high-ranking Israeli officers and Palestinians translates into very realistic characters in his series. One of Issacharoff's main goals when creating *Fauda* was not to represent terrorists as merely terrorists but to show them as people with complicated emotions and relationships. Viewers of *Fauda* have noticed and many express that "this is the first time that an Israeli TV drama has depicted the lives of terrorists as people with wives and children."[33]

Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff knew each other since they were children growing up in Jerusalem.[34] They both come from different backgrounds and also different political views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As a member in an elite antiterrorism unit, Lior Raz was surrounded by right-wing Israelis,

and as a journalist covering Palestinian affairs, Avi Issacharoff was working with left-wing Israelis as well as Arabs and Palestinians who are anti-Zionist. These two creators come together and represent each of these views within their television show. *Fauda* gives representation to every person currently living in Israel or Palestine.

Issacharoff and Raz unexpectedly bumped into each other a few years ago, and that is when they discovered that they had both been thinking about creating a series like *Fauda* because "it's a story that has never been told before."[35] They decided that to bring this story to life they wanted both Israelis and Arabs working on the series. They hired actors that had real-life experiences serving in the Duvdevan unit, like Tzachi Halevy, and also actors that grew up as Palestinians in Israel, like Hisham Sulliman, because they wanted the characters to feel as real as possible to the viewers.[36] They also decided to shoot the series in an Israeli Arab town called Kfar Kassem.

On the first day of scheduled shooting the Israeli-Gaza War of 2014, also known as Operation Protective Edge, broke out. Out of respect, they canceled the first day of shooting because they were unsure how the Arab population and mayor in Kfar Kassem would react; however, within the next day the mayor of Kfar Kassem called Issacharoff and told him not to cancel because of the war. The mayor told the *Fauda* team that he wanted to coexist during the war, and so they decided to film during the operation. Israeli, Arab, and Palestinian members of the *Fauda* team describe that going to work during the war was like escaping to a "creativity bubble of peace."[37]

Fauda vs. Real Life

Part of what makes *Fauda* such a successful television show stems from its realistic storylines. I remember the first time I was watching *Fauda* my brother walked by and thought I was watching the Israeli news channel. The creators' real-life experiences give the show a lot of insane storylines including stories about general life in Israel and Palestine, terrorist attacks, checkpoints,

Hamas terrorists, and relationships between Israelis and Palestinians.

The show often juxtaposes life in Israel with life in Palestinian territories. In the first episode, a shot of the West Bank filled with run-down cars and dry, barren-looking land is then cut by a shot of Doron running around a vibrant green vineyard spraying his children with a water hose in Tel Aviv.[38] This sequence of shots demonstrates the economic differences and differences between the water supply in Israeli and Palestinian territories. Israeli households make an average of $48,132 U.S. dollars while Palestinian households in Ramallah make $28,588 U.S. dollars. Households in Nablus make $31,506 U.S. dollars[39] and households in Gaza make $6,773 U.S. dollars.[40] In Israel, the average amount of liters of water per capita per day is 137 liters, in the West Bank it is 98 liters, and in Gaza it is 70 liters.[41] The series shines a light on these variations within the Israeli and Palestinian sides to demonstrate that the two are not on equal playing fields. Many of these seemingly unrelated differences between the two sides greatly contribute to the conflict. Hamas pays its people large sums of money to go out and commit terrorist attacks, and because many people are living in poverty, they feel that this is their only way to support their families.[42] This is alluded to in *Fauda* when Abu Ahmad, the Hamas terrorist, presents his brother with a large sum of money on his wedding day. When Ahmad's brother refuses the money, Ahmad replies in Arabic and Netflix translates his words to "take it, don't let me down."[43]

Fauda also does a good job exhibiting the injustices that occur at checkpoints. When the Israeli anti-terrorism unit decides to go undercover as caterers, they need to stop the real caterers from arriving at the wedding to avoid suspicion. In a long line of cars, viewers see the caterers finally come to the end of the line to be checked by the IDF soldiers who immediately arrest them. The Palestinians try to question the Israelis choice to arrest them and even tell them to search their truck. The Israeli officer insensitively responds to them saying, "אתה מהכאב את כל הרחבים זוז" which translates to "you're backing

up traffic. Move it."[44] The workers missed out on a financial opportunity by being arrested at the checkpoint, and they did not do anything wrong. These Palestinian workers were just scapegoats in the Israeli anti-terrorism unit's plan. As written in the background section, checkpoints are found all over the West Bank. Israel created these checkpoints to prevent terrorist attacks in Israel, but that does not mean that injustices do not occur at checkpoints. People can sometimes be stuck waiting at checkpoints for forty minutes, making them late for work and thus lose some of their income.[45]

In *Fauda* the unit goes undercover as caterers to Abu Ahmad's brother's wedding to find and kill Abu Ahmad. At the wedding, people begin to discover that the caterers are not who they say they are, and they start attacking the Israelis. Doron tries to stop the wedding guests from attacking him, so he grabs the recently wed bride and holds a gun to her head to scare the wedding guests. The groom walks into the party and sees the man he thought was a caterer, Doron, holding a gun to his new wife's head. Without hesitation, he runs towards Doron with a knife and Boaz, one of the other undercover Duvdevan members, shoots him. The bride screams out in agony and after a few days of mourning decides to become a suicide bomber in the name of her deceased husband. On a busy night, she bombs a bar that Boaz frequently attends killing herself and many Israeli civilians. Boaz was not in the bar that night, but his girlfriend was, and he becomes depressed and suicidal blaming her death and the death of the other Israelis on himself.[46] This chain of events seems too crazy to be a real sequence of events. When Lior Raz was in the Duvdevan unit, however, his nineteen-year-old girlfriend was brutally stabbed to death by a Palestinian terrorist, and Raz fell into a depressed state like the character Boaz. Raz expresses:

When I was 19, I had a girlfriend for three years who died in a terror attack in Israel, in Jerusalem ... so the same words and the same sentences that we used to talk, we wrote it in the script ... so there's a lot of similarity between our life and the show.[47]

Towards the end of season one in *Fauda*, the unit kidnaps Abu Ahmad's daughter to make him give back one of the Israeli anti-terrorism unit members that he captured. The Israeli government ultimately finds out what Doron and his unit members have done and punishes their unit by shutting them down.[48] I believe that by including this in the series the creators of the show Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff are trying to show the flaws of the Duvdevan Unit that is supposed to serve as the "heroes" of Israel but ultimately end up acting as villains. Abu Ahmad is upset about the kidnapping of his daughter but ultimately decides that the Hamas cause is greater than her life, and he blows up the antiterrorism unit commander he originally kidnapped. I believe that by including this awful moment in the series Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff are trying to highlight that Palestinian children are used as political weapons.[49] They bring to life a quotation from Golda Meir and a belief held by some Israelis that "we will only have peace with [the Palestinians] when they love their children more than they hate us."[50]

Issacharoff based Abu Ahmad in *Fauda* on real-life Hamas terrorist Sheikh Hassan Yousef. Sheikh Hassan Yousef has a fascinating relationship with his wife. Issacharoff explains that "[Sheikh Hassan Yousef] was totally in love with the wife, so he wrote her letters, and he bought her presents. And time after time, he wanted to see her and to reach her."[51] Issacharoff wanted to show the terrorist in *Fauda* in the same way as Sheikh Hassan Yossef to show that even though he is a terrorist he loves and cares deeply for his wife. Viewers see this particularly in the *Fauda* scene where Abu Ahmad risks his life to buy his wife perfume.[52]

During my phone interview with actor Tzachi Halvey from *Fauda*, I asked him what his thoughts are on the secret affair between Doron and the Palestinian doctor, Dr. Shirin Al Abed, on *Fauda*.[53] Tzachi Halvey is famously married to a Muslim Arab Israeli news anchor, Lucy Aharish. This marriage provoked many strong positive, and negative reactions from the media and

news in Israel much like the characters of Doron and Shirin did on *Fauda*. Halvey expressed that the relationship between a Palestinian doctor working for Hamas and an Israeli working for a special force antiterrorism unit would never happen in real life. His relationship with his wife is not nearly as dramatic:

> We have been dating for five years, and we do not agree on many things about Israel, but that's what makes us special, we challenge each other and stay open-minded ... [we] tend to focus on the positivity from people when it comes to our relationship. There is a lot more positivity than negativity.[54]

Effects on Palestinians, Israelis, and The Conflict

Two polls conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research and the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research in 2018 asked 1,270 Palestinians from Gaza and West Bank, and 900 Israelis living in Israel, if they support a two-state solution among Palestinians and Israelis. The results were that 47 percent of Palestinians and 46 percent of Israelis support a two-state solution.[55] The number of Israelis that support a two-state solution used to be much higher, around 70 percent, but after the second intifada, many Israelis lost hope in the possibility of peace.[56] Since the release of *Fauda*, however, Israelis and Palestinians have expressed their change in opinion about the other side. In the words of Issacharoff, "it got everyone" from religious settlers to Palestinians in Gaza.[57]

Israelis have received *Fauda* very well since its release. The show has won 11 Israeli Academy Awards.[58] I believe the reason for its great success is that it shows Israelis the human side of Palestinians. Many Israelis have even reported that after watching *Fauda*, they feel compassion for the Palestinians for the first time.[59] Tzachi Halvey thinks that the reason Israelis feel compassion is because the series shows that "there is more than one type of Israeli and Palestinian." *Fauda* aims to exhibit that not all Palestinians are

terrorists or support acts of terror. *Fauda* also destigmatized a lot of the fear that people feel towards the Arabic language. Halvey told me that "some Israelis get nervous when they see a man speaking Arabic, but by *Fauda* being in Arabic I think it makes the language seem less scary and more beautiful." Halvey speaks passionately about Arabic because he thinks it should be mandatory for every Israeli to learn Arabic. He said that "it is a barrier Israelis need to overcome to come closer to peace with the Palestinians." He proudly told me that the show has encouraged more Israelis to study Arabic and that he has even been invited to schools to teach children Arabic and talk to them about the importance of studying the language.[60]

Palestinians have had many different reactions about *Fauda*. In 2016 the Palestinian-led Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement stated that *Fauda* "is an anti-Arab, racist, Israeli propaganda tool that glorifies the Israeli military's war crimes against the Palestinian people."[61] Hamas has also publicly told people not to watch *Fauda*; however, they also included a link to the show on their official website, and *Fauda* is the most popular show in Israeli prisons where many of the inmates worked for Hamas.[62]

Regular Palestinian civilians have praised the show. In fact, twenty-six -year-old Mohammad Abumazen, a Palestinian living in Ramallah, said when he first watched *Fauda* he was surprised that Israelis created it since he has never seen anything like it on Israeli television "because [Israelis] were focusing on showing the world that we are terrorists" in previous Israeli shows he has seen.[63] Palestinians appreciate that fact that the show demonstrates a balanced approach when it comes to the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Yasmeen Serhan, a female Palestinian living in the United States, declares: "I watched because I wanted to see how a show lauded in some quarters for its evenhanded portrayal of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict depicts the players on either side of it, including Hamas."[64] Raz credits the Arabic the show uses for bringing *Fauda* to Israeli-Arab audiences voicing, "[the Palestinians] can see that the [Israeli] side is more complicated than they thought."[65]

Through Netflix audiences all over the world can watch *Fauda* and because the show is also in Arabic it is accessible to Palestinians as well. These two factors caused the show to have insane ratings compared to most other Israeli programs. Israelis and Palestinians living abroad feel more connected to their homeland expressing that watching the show has been like a "homecoming" to them.[66] As an Israeli living outside of Israel, I feel that the show has given me more perspective about the conflict. It can be hard to understand why Israelis and Palestinians make certain choices when you do not live in Israel and see the conflict directly affect everyday life. *Fauda* allowed me to witness how the conflict impacts everyone no matter where they reside on the political spectrum.

Conclusion

Fauda has touched the lives of many Israelis and Palestinians because of its well-developed realistic plot, which could only have been created by two people that have had the experiences of Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff. There is an increasing number of Israelis deciding to study Arabic because of *Fauda* and Israelis are beginning to eliminate ignorance and islamophobia. It feels like every news source in Israel today has an agenda, and with *Fauda* the only mission is to entertain and show situations through multiple perspectives. For some Palestinians, *Fauda* is the first Israeli-made source of media they enjoy and trust, and this is creating a wave of positivity between Israelis and Palestinians. *Fauda* has strong positive responses from both Israelis and Palestinians and is already pushing Israel towards peace.

Noga Even is a sophomore in the Wharton School and minoring in Cinema and Media Studies. She has lived in Tel Aviv, Dallas, and Washington D.C., and she loves to binge watch *Fauda* on Netflix in her free time.

Endnotes

1. Moshe Zonder writer, "*Fauda* / Episodes 1.01-1.13," In *Fauda*, Netflix, December 2, 2016.

2. Debra Kamin, "Netflix Picks Up Israeli Political Thriller 'Fauda,'" *Variety*, November 11, 2016, accessed November 20, 2018, https://variety.com/2016/tv/news/netflix-israeli-political-thriller-fauda-1201912287/.

3. James Poniewozik, Mike Hale, and Margaret Lyons, "The Best TV Shows of 2017," *New York Times*, December 04, 2017, accessed November 05, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/04/arts/television/best-tv-shows.html.

4. *Fauda.*

5. David Tal, *War in Palestine, 1948 Israeli and Arab Strategy and Diplomacy (*London: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 153-54.

6. "Conflict in Israel and Palestine: Crash Course World History 223," YouTube, January 28, 2015, accessed November 22, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wo2TLlMhiw.

7. Tal, *War in Palestine.*

8. Lisa Beyer, "A Life in Retrospect: Yasser Arafat," *Time*, November 12, 2004, accessed December 05, 2018. http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,781566,00.html.

9. "Conflict in Israel and Palestine," Youtube.

10. "A History of Conflict: Palestinian Intifada," *BBC*, accessed November 29, 2018, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_ip_timeline/html/1987.stm.

11. Arthur Neslen, *In Your Eyes a Sandstorm: Ways of Being Palestinian* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011).

12. Amal Jamal, *The Palestinian National Movement: Politics of Contention, 1967-2003* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005).

13. "United States Department of State / *Foreign relations of the United States, 1950. The Near East, South Asia, and Africa,*" University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&entity=FRUS.FRUS1950v05.p0943&id=FRUS.FRUS1950v05&isize=M.

14. "Oslo Accords," U.S. Department of State, accessed November 20, 2018. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/oslo.

15. *Fauda.*

16. "List of Military Checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," B'Tselem, accessed November 22, 2018, http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/checkpoints_and_forbidden_roads.

17. "Oslo Accords," U.S. Department of State.

18. "Conflict in Israel and Palestine," Youtube.

19. "Hamas," Hamas Charter, 1988, accessed December 01, 2018, http://www.acpr.org.il/resources/hamascharter.html.

20. *Fauda.*

21. Nick Craven, "Squad That Strikes from the Shadows," HighBeam Research - Newspaper Archives and Journal Articles, October 19, 2000, accessed December 06, 2018, https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-109613358.html.

22. Jack Lewis, "Israel's Guns Against Terrorism," Wisconsin: Iola, 2011.

23. *Fauda.*

24. הלוחמים של שמשון, performed by גלעד טוקטלי עמרי אסנהיים directed by הפאודה הגדולה מכולן, Mako, May 10, 2018, accessed December 04, 2018, https://www.mako.co.il/tv-ilana_dayan/2017/Article-51df9e610ea4361006.htm.

25. "Tzachi Halvey on Fauda's Effects on Israelis and Palestinians," telephone interview by author, December 03, 2018.

26. "Lior Raz Archives," *Jewish Journal*, May 23, 2018, accessed December 01, 2018. https://jewishjournal.com/tag/lior-raz/.

27. David Remnick, "How Do You Make a TV Show Set in the West Bank?" *New Yorker*, May 31, 2018, accessed November 07, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/09/04/how-do-you-make-a-tv-show-set-in-the-west-bank.

28. "'Fauda' Co-creator and Star, Lior Raz, Brings the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict to Netflix," interview by Helen Mann, January 8, 2017, transcript, CBC Radio.

29. Anne Joseph, "Danger in the Homeland," *Forward*, July 3, 2015, accessed November 28, 2018.

30. *Fauda*.

31. "Avi Issacharoff," *Times of Israel*, 2018, accessed November 08, 2018, http://www.timesofisrael.com/writers/avi-issacharoff/.

32. Jessica Steinberg, "'Fouda' Brings the Chaos of the West Bank to Television," *Times of Israel*, February 12, 2015, accessed November 08, 2018, https://www.timesofisrael.com/fouda-brings-the-chaos-of-the-west-bank-to-television/.

33. Joseph, "Danger in the Homeland."

34. Remnick, "How Do You Make a TV Show Set in the West Bank?"

35. Steinberg, "'Fouda' Brings the Chaos of the West Bank to Television."

36. "Tzachi Halvey," interview.

37. "Inside Fauda," interview by Dan Senor, March 27, 2017, transcript, AIPAC, accessed November 08, 2018, http://www.policyconference.org/article/transcripts/2017/fauda.asp.

38. *Fauda*.

39. Moti Bassok, "Average Israeli Household Earns $4,000 a Month (after Taxes), Spends $3,200," *Haaretz*, April 24, 2018, accessed December 06, 2018, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/business/average-israeli-household-earns-4k-per-month-1.5476423.

40. "Palestine | 2017/18 Average Salary Survey," Average Salary Survey, accessed December 01, 2018, https://www.averagesalarysurvey.com/palestine.

41. "West Bank and Gaza: Assessment of Restrictions on Palestinian Water Sector Development," The World Bank, April 2009, accessed November 22, 2018.

42. Thane Rosenbaum, "Palestinians Are Rewarding Terrorists. The U.S. Should Stop Enabling Them," *Washington Post*, April 28, 2017, accessed December 01, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/04/28/palestinians-are-rewarding-terrorists-the-u-s-should-stop-enabling-them/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.550254563292.

43. *Fauda*.

44. *Fauda*.

45. Ted Conover, "The Checkpoint," *Atlantic*, March 01, 2006, accessed November 28, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/03/the-

checkpoint/304604/).

46. *Fauda*.

47. Sasha Savitsky, "How Israeli TV Show 'Fauda' Is Bridging the Gap between Arabs and Jews," *Fox News*, May 25, 2018, accessed November 25, 2018, https://www.foxnews.com/entertainment/how-israeli-tv-show-fauda-is-bridging-the-gap-between-arabs-and-jews.

48. *Fauda*.

49. Yossi Yehoshua, "IDF: Hamas Sending Children at Us," *Ynet*, April 23, 2018, accessed December 01, 2018, https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5238249,00.html.

50. "Quotes on Judaism & Israel: Golda Meir," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed December 02, 2018, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/golda-meir-quotes-on-israel-and-judaism.

51. "How An Israeli Journalist's Coverage Of The Palestinian Conflict Inspired 'Fauda,'" interview by Dave Davies, August 23, 2018, transcript, NPR.

52. *Fauda*.

53. *Fauda*.

54. "Tzachi Halvey," interview.

55. Adam Rasgon, "Poll: Under 50% of Palestinians, Israeli Jews Support Two-state Solution," *Jerusalem Post*, January 25, 2018, accessed December 03, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Poll-Under-50-percent-of-Palestinians-Israeli-Jews-support-two-state-solution-539780.

56. Jerome Slater, "What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 2 (2001): 171-99. doi:10.2307/798058.

57. Joseph, "Danger in the Homeland."

58. Itay Stern, "Israeli Emmys: 'Fauda' Wins Best TV Drama, 'Shababnikim' Best TV Comedy," *Haaretz*, March 12, 2018, accessed December 01, 2018, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israeli-emmys-fauda-wins-best-tv-drama-shababnikim-best-comedy-1.5891352.

59. Savitsky, "How Israeli TV Show 'Fauda' Is Bridging the Gap between Arabs and Jews."

60. "Tzachi Halvey," interview.

61. Yasmeen Serhan, "Watching Israeli TV's Fauda as a Palestinian," *Atlantic*, June 08,

2018, accessed November 06, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/watching-israeli-tvs-fauda-as-a-palestinian/561917/.

62. "How An Israeli Journalist's Coverage," interview.

63. "Tzachi Halvey," interview.

64. Serhan, "Watching Israeli TV's Fauda as a Palestinian."

65. "Hit TV Show 'Fauda' Highlights the Chaos of the Israeli-Palestinian Divide," interview by Dalia Mortada, July 8, 2018, transcript, PRI's The World.

66. Serhan, "Watching Israeli TV's Fauda as a Palestinian."