Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings

Thesis Submitted to the University of Calicut for the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH

by

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CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE FAROOK COLLEGE, CALICUT



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DECLARATION

I, Shahina Mol A K, hereby declare that the thesis entitled Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English is an original record of observations and bona fide research carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Zainul Abid Kotta, Assistant Professor & Head, PG & Research Department of English, Govt. College, Malappuram, and that it has not previously been formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar titles.

Farook College, 20-09-2019.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings** submitted by **Shahina Mol A K** to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, is an original record of observations and bona fide research carried out by her, under my supervision, and that it has not previously been formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar titles.

Malappuram, 20-09-2019.

Dr. Zainul Abid Kotta Research Supervisor

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Refugee Studies and Literature:

Regional, National and the Global Avenues

The term refugee is conceived both as geopolitical and biopolitical in the contemporary world order. Millions of people around the world have been exiled from their homes, in coercive situations like persecution, armed conflict, natural disasters, development projects and socio-economic deprivations etc. Even after the post-World War human rights revolutions, the existence of refugee crisis cannot be denied. Images of millions of desperate, destitute, and exhausted women, men and children caught up in the crosscurrents of war, revolution, famine and other adverse situations, not only evoke pathos but illustrate a daily reality.

Refugeeization has regional, national and global layers. Massive human displacement within the national borders and outside the nation are posing serious challenges for human rights, national sovereignty and global peace. Refugeehood, forced migration, and displacement carry historical and contemporary backpacks. So, the stereotypical or unipolar approach to refugee is not sufficiently encompassing the multidimensional complication of the refugee condition. Refugee studies must integrate diverse disciplinary discourses like legal, historical, political, geographical, cultural etc. into it. The geopolitical, biopolitical, legal and humanitarian ramifications of these displacements demand an interdisciplinary research on the politicization of refugee issue and it is one of the pressing global concerns of the day.

There are different statuses of refugeehood like refugees, migrants, stateless, internally displaced persons etc. Refugeeization became a common phenomenon in

the twentieth century. Two world wars and other conflicts aggravated the issue of massive exodus, especially in Europe. A structured international refugee protection regime came into force only in 1950s. The 1951 Refugee Convention of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) gave a definition for refugees. There were different humanitarian aids carried out by various organizations and movements for the services of refugees- regionally and globally. 1951 Convention and activities of UNHCR are important one among them due to its global reach. But a number of researches and studies have pointed out the limits of 1951 Refugee Convention. The complexity of refugee flows has presented enormous challenges to UNHCR. The organizational framework of services and assistances for refugees often fail to work effectively. An understanding of various refugee issues, their history, their contemporary significances and their relation with socio-political and cultural realms of lives along with its global nature is necessary for the promotion of refugee studies and refugee researches.

A comparative analysis of the global aspects of refugee crisis and its national and regional implications take a researcher into new areas allowing her to make a shift from conventional focus of refugee studies. The statistical trends were often pioneered in refugee studies and researches. As millions of people continue to be affected by this human rights violation year after year, new paradigm in researches must be opened up to ensure better protection and assistance to these people on the move. Moreover refugee crisis is calling more theoretical and practical actions. The issue of refugees, is fundamentally a problem of political exclusion rather than a problem of physical displacement. A place-based approach of the refugee problem with ample focus on their mobility, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration may lead to the political inclusion of refugees, both nationally and internationally. Researches in the

field of refugees today can contribute towards the political possibility of durable solutions.

Refugees and forced migrants have been subjects of inquiry and research with various theoretical approaches in multiple disciplines, like politics, history, geography, anthropology, law, medicine etc. But, a study that encompasses the whole aspects of lives of these people on the move is comparatively inadequate though there were some theorizations and statistical studies carried out by academics. The aesthetics and politics of refugee voices in their representations, life-narratives and memoirs are also to be incorporated into refugee researches and refugee studies to make it time relevant and forward looking. An interdisciplinary approach would be more effective for such an analysis. Analyzing the refugees' own voices, apart from the literatures on them by others, is most relevant to delineate the politics and poetics of refugee lives and refugee spaces today. Mainstreaming the refugee literatures through academic researches can work as an active force against the silencing and marginalization of refugees and refugee literatures. An in-depth impartial and multidisciplinary academic enquiry will cushion the findings already made by statistical researches down the years.

Historically speaking, the colonial invasion and the postcolonial world order have opened up an array of diverse fields of studies on agency, subjectivity, identity, marginality and ethnicity. The critiques and theoretical postulates, emerged in the second half of twentieth century, problematized the power relations, orient-occident dichotomy, historicity and subalternity of texts among others. Michel Foucault, Homi K Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak and Edward W. Said have contributed much towards such postcolonial theoretical underpinnings. The vulnerable bodies of global society like migrants, refugees, IDPs and other weaker sections etc. mandate more theorization

and academic inquiry but they have not been completely addressed by the theoretical supplements of post colonialism and neo colonialism. The binaries like nation, border, citizenship, sovereignty, inclusion, exclusion etc. act upon the individuals so crucially even in the postcolonial and post global era, consequentially making inclusivity an identity crisis.

Global refugee crisis is one of the significant concerns of the day which has created unprecedented public and academic interest. The researches, focusing on the literatures produced by the refugees and the displaced, would definitely provide a platform for voicing the concerns of these exposed group of people and would also accelerate the peace building process. A cultural approach to the literatures of refugees takes one to debate on the notions of citizenship, home, location, dislocation, mobility, everyday life and other day to day calamities as war and political conflicts.

Cut off from the homeland, defined by the intra-state and interstate borders, refugees and IDPs are always on the run. A refugee is permanently subjected to displacement, confinement and exclusion. They try to belong in the impermanent locations, seeking for a permanence in their own homeland. Refugee movements are a common phenomenon today. The world is exposed to the image of refugees as people over the sea in a sinking boat. The international community often sympathizes with refugees. Understanding and analyzing the refugee voices are quite important to explore the actual lived experiences of those displaced group of people. Though refugeehood has a global and uniform nature, its regional aspects vary among various refugee communities. The focus on their diverse locations is truly important while researching the refugee voices and refugee crisis. The Middle East regions is the worstly hit geographical fragment in terms of the refugee crisis worldwide.

Middle Eastern regions have witnessed series of forced displacements and sedentarisations, leaving the countries in permanent impermanence. Sari Hanafi observes that:

Since the establishment of nation- states in the region, the borders between Middle Eastern countries remain porous, enabling refugees to move relatively easily throughout the sub region over the past century, to reach states which have broadly tolerated their presence on an official level: These include 800,000 Palestinians, hosted across the region since 1940s; an estimated two or four million Sudanese who have fled to Egypt since 1980s; and one million Iraqis displaced, in the 1990s and 2.4 million Iraqis since 2003. (qtd.in Qasamiyeh et el.585)

The colonial invasions, settler colonialism and the civil wars are the major reasons for massive people flow in the Middle East. Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Gulf, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan etc. have a long history of the displacement of people.

Though patterns of displacement, migration and refugeeization vary between places and persons, there are some common and unique aspects of the refugeeization of each group. The case of Palestine among the Middle Eastern countries is unique in the process of refugeehood, and the case of Palestine does not fit into the existing definition of refugee, provided by UNHCR. Most of the surveys and studies exclude the otherwise genuine and peculiar Palestinian case. Palestine is becoming a risky habitat and Palestinian population is a complex one which faces difficulty of labelling. As Ilan Pappe observes: "Palestine ceased to exist as a geopolitical unit and in its place came the Jewish state of Israel" (Modern Middle East 16).

Immense body of literatures that have been produced from the Middle East reflect the everyday lives in these contested regions. *Out of Place* by Edward Said,

The Refugee Crisis by Samar Yazbek, Sea of Refugee by Hanan Al Sheikh, Out of It by Salma Dabhagh, A Land of Permanent Goodbyes by Atia Abawi, Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation by Saree Makdisi, I Saw Ramallah by Mourid Barghouti, The People Forever are Not Afraid by Shami Boianjiu, Mornings in Jenin by Susan Abul Hawa et., are only a few to mention. The meticulous readers of these and other related books can locate that refugees have started to voice out their concerns, and they are reclaiming their land and identity by negating the concept of bare life, through their aesthetic and cultural productions. Middle Eastern literature is a key to the understanding of this conflicted identities or fractured selves in a conflicted geography with fractured maps. So this research is focusing on the field of refugee narratives with special attention on locations and refugeehood. Three topographical areas have been earmarked for study-Palestine, the present day Israel and Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon-in this project.

The regressive and malice aforethought about Palestine and Palestinians by Israel is often seen as outside of the legal framework for protection of refugees. The 1951 Refugee Convention does not safeguard even the substantial demands of the refugees in Palestine. The Palestinian refugees are the worst lot in terms of nationality identity, denominations and selfhood. Do the countries provide sufficient protection for refugees today? What are the identities of Palestinians with respect to citizenship? Are they refugees? Are they IDPs? Are they free and full citizens? Do they enjoy the right of citizenship and the right of return? These are some of the unreticent questions addressed by this research. The Researcher would also like to examine on whether the legal instruments give sufficient protection for Palestinians? What is the status of Palestinian in the present day Israel, in the Israel occupied territories West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem? And what is the legal and personal identity of Palestinians who

left the land and had to move to Lebanese refugee camps during Nakba- the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948 that led to the creation of Israel in the land of Palestine. How far the Palestinian native literatures are the reflections of their everyday life and refugeehood and how far the rights of Palestinians are protected in the land of Palestine, in present day Israel and also in the refugee camps are the major research problems of this study.

The colonial and geographical imagination of Israel has resulted in creating continual territorial invasion and occupation in Palestine, sending the natives to permanent impermanence in their own homeland. The holocaust, Biblical references, mythical beliefs and the Jewish National Fund have helped the Israel and the Zionists to dream and occupy a land for them, But it affected adversely the natives, questioning their very concept of home, place, space, nation, citizenship and belonging in their own homeland. An analysis of select Palestinian women narratives to understand the life of Palestinians and to explore the conditions of fugitivity that every Palestinian has to live through in the post-colonial world order, is carried out in this research. The exploration of contemporary Palestinian life, as seen through the lens of literary scenes, exhibits the patterns of everyday life, the practices, the geographies and, the micro and macro level powers operating on the land and people. One can see that the literatures by Palestinians have their locations written into them. Both the writers and the characters are the products of the space. Hence, the literatures by the Palestinians become the literatures of the spaces where no text is out of the spaces or the locations. The socio-cultural and the political space of the locations fill the literary spaces.

An aesthetic-political imagination of Palestinian lives and Palestinian spaces exhibited through their literary works and narratives in a cartographic plane would

give the present-day picture of the contested land of Palestine. A quest for the theologically promised land of Jews has erased the Palestinian villages and lives from the space and consciousness of Palestine. Here the question is whose promised land the present day Israel is. To whom the land was promised? Can a religious text be a base for the formation of a nation state? These are some of the basic queries yet to be answered in the formation of Israel in the Palestinian territory. Nakba of 1948, which led to the formation of Israel at the cost of innocent, is central to Palestinian refugeehood while the same declares the liberation of Jews.

The Nakba refers to the entirety of the events of this period: the 1948 war, the creation of the state of Israel on the lands of historic Palestine and the resulting displacement of half of the 1.5 million members of its Palestinian Arab population, the destruction of more than 400 villages, the depopulation of Palestinians from the cities- Acre, Hiafa, Safad, Tiberius, Beersheba, Jaffa and Baysan- and the expulsion of tens of thousands of Bedoin from the Galilee, the Baysan area, the coastal plains and the Negev. (Davis 390)

The above quote, by Rochelle Davis from his book *Geographies of Dispossession*, analyzes the post- Nakba village geographies well. Those who believed they could return to their homes within two or three days could not return for seventy years. Thus, the humanitarian issue is still fuming the land of Palestine, leaving millions of people displaced. Palestinian writers problematize their present day status and the decades of occupation through their narratives- visual, oral and graphic. What does it mean to be a Palestinian in the present day Israel, in occupied territories, and out of the historic Palestine today is a major point of concern. A research on how the geographical sites appear as the literary geography in the contemporary Palestinian writings would showcase the everyday refugee space and its socio-political upheavals.

Thus, the major aim of this research is to find the ways in which refugee narratives voice out their experiences of space and place through their works, within the state imposed exilic conditions along with persecutions and fugitivity.

The project explores the refugee space and its varied dimensions by examining the select Palestinian women narratives- memoirs, short stories, graphic memoirs and essays- from diverse geopolitical locations to see how they locate their spaces in their writings by cataloging, describing, creating and narrating their memories, their histories and the squalid conditions of their present day lives. An analysis of their own voices is carried out in the project. The researcher would like to examine the living memory and forbidden history of Palestinian locations with their political geography, to explore how the locations and geographies of dispossession are active characters in their contemporary writings while narrating their fugitivity. Analysis is made here to see how they locate their villages, cities and everyday spaces in their literary narratives, aiming at the cultural relocation of their people and themselves.

The Palestinian woman self as a writer, activist, mother, daughter-in-law, mother- in -law, researcher, media person, etc. seems experiencing the inside and outside of the home and land by identifying themselves as the "Bint of Balad (daughter of city or local girl)" (Kassem 88). Hence, the narratives of women who belong to various locations form the core primary texts of this thesis. How does those women writings contribute towards achieving the national goal of Palestine?

Positioning the authors as one gendered group, the researcher would focus on their experiences of the Palestinian locations with one common denominator of fugitivity in homeland, apart from the gendered consciousness. Voices of Palestinian women authors who come on the common axes of space, time and identity statuses in

experiencing the locations- though precisely in different places- are explored here as part of the research.

Integrating researches on refugee literatures into academia has greater significance in today's scenario of global refugee crisis. The ongoing settler colonization and the violent conflicts exerted by Zionist State of Israel in the Palestine is one of the pressing political and cultural concerns of the world today, as Palestinians who have been permanently facing the degradation of exile for over seventy years. On 20 June 2019, while observing the world refugee day, Dr Ramzy Baroud, the journalist, wrote:

The United Nations World Refugee Day, observed annually on June 20, should not merely represent a reminder of the courage, strength and determination of women, men and children who are forced to flee their homeland under threat of persecution, conflict and violence. It should also be an opportunity for the international community to truly understand and actively work towards finding a sustainable remedy to forced displacement, for no woman, man or child should be forced to endure such grueling, shattering and humiliating experience in the first place.(1)

He strongly argues that the international community and peace organization should understand and actively work towards finding a suitable remedy for refugeehood, forced migration and internal displacement, since refugeeization is a grueling and humiliating experience and violation of basic human rights. Palestinians, living inside and outside of their territory, are suffering the catastrophe of losing the identity and the homeland, as being one of the biggest refugee communities in the world. "According to the UNHCR, there are currently 685 million people around the world who have been forced out from their homes, with 25.4 million of them

classified as refugees. The officially listed refugees 5.4 million are Palestinians, registered in the UNRWA" (Baroud 2).

Apart from that, many Palestinians live in the refugee-like conditions though officially not registered as refugees, in their own homeland, due to the territorial restrictions imposed by Israel in the name of securitization. This is a crucial reality in Palestine. Apart from the statistical study, how the Palestinians themselves narrate their own collective memory, history, geography and their present-day lives through their own narratives is a significant step towards understanding the Palestinian society today. Researching their own voices in their narratives would serve as a window for examining the complex intersections of history, memory, space, border, nationalism and citizenship to their lives that are reflected through their literatures, in the filthy situations of ongoing settler colonialism. Hence, this research on Palestinian society and their aesthetic productions deals not only about the community of refugees who lost their homes and histories but also about those who lost their everyday space though they possess a home to live. The rights of return and the right to live as full citizens in the home country are still dreams for Palestinians.

By reviewing the researches, that have already been carried out on Middle Eastern societies and Palestinian refugee communities, one can confirm the status of Middle East as a politically volatile location, though the socio-political and cultural context of places within the regions of Middle East are heterogeneous. Wars, civil and national conflicts, religious fundamentalism, unjustifiable Western invasions etc. also have aggravated the political disharmony in the Middle East. The political ruckus of today's Middle East is a Western production, just like the term Middle East. Historically speaking, the term Middle East itself is a Western construct. The region is named as 'West Asia' as a new coinage in the postcolonial world order. One can

perceive that many colonial or neo-colonial overrule have been persisting in the region for centuries. Conflict between borders, the postcolonial ethno-nationalism and the biopolitical control over the people have been aggravating the socio-political and cultural imbalances between communities within the states and between them. The political unrest and regional conflicts had been the matters of study and objectives of research for more than a century. The population displacement and the porousness of tension between borders give rise to refugeehood in the Middle East.

Though refugeehood is a global phenomenon, the case of Middle East and the unique aspect of Palestinian refugeeness within it, are distinctive among the refugee studies. Refugeehood has been studied, observed and researched by various international agencies like United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) etc., various esteemed Centres of study like Oxford Centre of Refugee Studies, Centre for Palestinian Studies etc. Some non-governmental organizations also have been undertaking studies on safety, security and wellbeing of the refugees. Problems of refugees in general and the Palestinian case in particular have been studied by many scholars internationally, nationally and locally with ample implication to anthropological, sociological, political, historical and statistical aspects. But, certain countries are kept outside the purview of refugee studies by many scholars. Elia Zureik examines the road map of Palestinian research and he says:

These competing schools exposing different theoretical and methodological orientations, come from a variety of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, social history, historical studies of colonialism, human rights and socio-legal studies, criminology, geography, postcolonial and cultural studies and transnational research. (12)

Refugee studies and researches by Roger Zetter, Rchard Black, Ilana Feldman, Phil Orchard etc., have given footing in the discipline of global refugee researches. Recent theoretical underpinnings made by Hannah Arendt and Giorgio Agamben are also significant in this regard. Viewing Palestinian researches, one can find that the studies made by United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) have contributed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Studies of Rashid Khalidi (1977) on identity formation of Palestinians, study of Walid Khalidi (1992), S. Kana'neh (1991) and Nur Masalha (1992) on oral history, political science, anthropology and sociology, study of demography by Lila Abu Laghod (1971), studies of Raja Shehadeh on legality, studies on ethno-national conflicts by Rabinowitz (2001), research on political economy of Palestinian territories by Raja Khalidi (2011) and Leila Farsakh (2005) etc., are of great research value and potential. The studies on the role of media and non-governmental organizations in political mobilization by Aouragh (2011) and Elia Zureik (2006) are also worthy to mention here.

Palestinian literatures- both the Arabic and translations - are studied by some researchers, from various countries. Quite recently, it has been noted that immense body of literatures in various genres are coming from contemporary Palestinian writers, both in English and in Arabic. Though the Institute of Palestine Studies (founded in 1963) and its publications as, *Journal of Palestine Studies* (JPS) and *Jerusalem Quarterly* have been taking various measures for the active academic engagements in Palestine studies and studies of Palestinian literature, they are not sufficient in promoting and researching the various repercussions of life of natives, and the aspects of native aesthetic and literary productions. Most of the Palestinian histories and studies were originally contributed by Westerners and Israelis. Exploring

the narratives and voices of Palestinians themselves is the most important one and is unfortunately under-researched.

Though, there are lots of disciplinary studies on Palestine, by westerners and Palestinians themselves, the studies concerning the everyday lives of Palestinians, exploring their own contemporary narratives are practically absent in the present researches' understanding. Moreover, the land is an exasperating issue affecting the whole community in its political, historical, cultural, geographical and sociological ways. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary one while dealing with the Palestinian literary voices. Hence, exploring refugee's own voices with theoretical underpinning is most important one and a greater number of studies must be carried out in those areas. This study is an attempt to fill such a research gap by which the researcher aims to challenge the established concepts about Palestinian women writings, and then to bring them into mainstream academia. There is a pressing need to bring the collective voices of Palestinian women narratives into researches that would echo the ruthless violations of human rights, and the Palestinian version of refugee crisis.

The research project undertaken for this study is entitled as 'Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings' which invites attention to three key phrases used in it like *location as character*, *Fugitivity voices* and *Middle East women writings*. Each phrase has its own significance in the study. While registering the voices of the Palestinian imagination expressed in their life and works, one can see that everyday life is inseparably related with their location which often occupies the position of a character in all their discourses. In the phrase 'fugitivity voices', the word voices is meaningful both as a noun and as a verb in the context of Palestine. As a noun 'voices' indicate that the Palestinian women's voices

are explored here and as a verb, *voices*, suggest the act of articulation of their voices of fugitivity. The term *fugitivity* is used in this project to portray the prison like conditions of the life of Palestinians. The Palestinian community is characterized as refugees and non-refugees. But most of the people are not registered refugees with UNRWA instead are non-registered and are Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Almost all the Palestinians are in refugee-like conditions due to socio spatial control of Zionist Israel. There is no satisfactory word to define their conditions of refugeehood since it is a unique case of refugeeization which affect all the Palestinians in multiple ways. Though majority of them are not refugees but are living in refugee-like situations, the term *fugitivity* may suit well to represent the environments in which they are enclaved and encroched.

As per *Oxford* dictionary, a fugitive, is a person who is fleeing from prosecution, intolerable situation or from a dictatorial regime. Here in this research, apart from such a dictionary definition, the term *fugitivity* also refers to an idea that even the authorship in the colonial regimes is a fugitive practice where confiscation, jailing, containment of books and authors, are so common. Hence the term is used in a wider platform which is pro-Palestinian and not to penalize them as run-aways. Palestinians are neither refugees nor fugitives in common understanding, but both along with other hardships. So, fugitivity is a human condition that stands for all types of human displacement. It is used here as an umbrella term, under which one can assemble all such exilic and hostile conditions. The term is so frequently used in African diaspora studies.

The phrase 'Middle East Women Writings', is used with two implications.

Firstly, the writers selected for this study belong to various locations of Israel occupied territories of Palestine- present day Israel, various zones of West Bank and

Gaza-and also have been located in various countries outside Palestine. Writers chosen, though belong to Palestine, originally, by birth or otherwise, spread their lives in various parts of the world. Some live in Palestine, some in Israel and others in some other areas. So, national identity is a debatable issue as far as the chosen authors are concerned. That is why the researcher used the common term *Middle East* to wrap all the writers together. As various genres like memoirs, short stories, graphic memoir and essays are taken for the study as primary sources, the phrase, '*Middle East Women Writings*' is used as a keyword.

While narrating the everyday life with its socio-political, geographical and cultural dispossessions, Palestinians are exhibiting the land along with its living memory, forbidden history and carceral geography. Therefore, location is not just a setting in their work. Here the location decides meaning and meaninglessness, root and rootlessness, citizenship and non-citizenship, identity and fugitivity, schooling and de schooling, relationship and separation, and every other aspects of their lives. Therefore location is a character, in their writings which act and react upon the people turning the harmonious existence in the homeland as a risky one. In addition to that, the voices of the Palestinian women writings of various locations in and outside of the territory reflect the relationship between land and people. Often articulation of land is in no way different from articulating the memory, self, history and the geography of them. The project asserts that a multidisciplinary approach would be the best way to carry out a research concerning refugees, refugee studies and refugee literatures.

Theorizations in the field of refugee studies and refugee researches are considerably less. The socio political aspects of Palestinian refugee crisis have been studied by various academicians and theoreticians. A state still in its making, Palestine, has attracted the attention of national and international research efforts for

decades. Media regularly report on the issues of Palestine. From a theoretical and methodological angle of various disciplines, the territory, colonialism, state security, demography, biopolitics and the Israeli racism in Palestine etc., have been studied and the process still continues. Refugee studies, conceptualized and problematized by theoreticians and academicians like Roger Zetter, Zolberg, Ilana Feldman, Phil Orchard etc. is emerged during 1980s, in humanities and in social sciences. Some theoretical developments are there to approach and research this generic field of study. Contributions of theoreticians like Michel Foucalt, Gayatri Spivak, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said etc. are remarkable in problematizing the power, exile, inbetween ness, subalternity and racist practices in refugeehood and refugeeization. But it is fair to say that these efforts, numerous as they are, did not frame any full-fledged meaningful theory in blueprint, for state-building, empowerment, refugeeness and dislocation of refugess. Since refugee issue is not a single sided one between regimes and people, a refugee theorization analyzing various aspects of refugeehood in a multidisciplinary manner-with its regional, national and global milieu- is yet to be evolved.

As refugees themselves have started to voice out their lives, apart from simply being bare lives with no political identity, in the form of diverse genres including memoirs, auto fiction, life writing, cyber literature etc., researches on these immense body of literatures are also most important in foregrounding and problematizing their lives, and thereby mainstreaming them. Such academic practices may enhance the curative measures too. Since refugee literatures are often expressions of their space, place and geography, theories concerning these aspects would be some of the best possible methods to read and appreciate their literature. Theoretical postulates of the Space by Henry Lefebvre, Human geography of Edward Soja and the Border Theory

of Thomas Nail form the theoretical base in this research. The spatiality and the visible geography of narratives are observed on the basis of the above mentioned theoretical standpoints. The theories helped a lot to examine how far location is a character while narrating the fugitivity of Palestinians by the Middle East women writers. The spatial and physical terrains of refugee geography in select refugee

literary narratives are visualized with the help of these theoretical viewpoints.

The thesis titled "Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings" constitutes seven chapters, along with a list of works cited. The chapters are divided into five core chapters prefixed by introduction and suffixed by a conclusion. Chapter one, introduction titled 'Refugee Studies and Literature: Regional, National and the Global Avenues', provides an insight to the research problem, its background, relevance, significance, scope of the study, key terms in the research, review of literature, hypothetical standpoint of the study, theoretical background of the proposed research, structure of the research, a description on key terms in research and the primary resources select for the study and the methodology employed in the research.

Chapter two, the first core chapter titled 'Bodies in Motion: Refugee Studies in Transition' conceptualizes the basic understanding of the term refugee and the area of refugee studies. It examines the refugee and the refugeeization in a global perspective. A holistic understanding of the conditions prone to refugeeization, the need for more theorization in refugee studies, and the inevitability of more interdisciplinary researches by the cross fertilization of humanities and social sciences have been insisted in the first chapter. It is meant for accelerating intellectual awareness on the refugees.

Chapter three, titled, 'Fugitivity, Palestine and the Middle East: A Critique', examines what it means to be a Palestinian refugee in the present-day context. It provides a review of the background of Palestinian refugeehood in the broader space of Middle East refugeeization framework. It examines the sociopolitical and geographical interface of Palestinian place and space, and also situates the necessity of undertaking studies and researches on the basis of Palestinian literature, as a window to understand the everyday life in Palestine. Palestine's unique refugee status in the contemporary context is also explored. The chapter sheds light on the geopolitics of Palestinian refugeehood during the ongoing Zionist oppressive practices of the day. It also views the everydayness of Palestinian refugeehood, and the role of Palestinian writers in general and that of women writers in particular in telling the truth of Palestine. The next three chapters provide an empirical analysis of Palestinian literature, produced by the contemporary women writers of varied locations, with ample theoretical footings.

Chapter four, titled 'Space Intercepts Mobility: Spaciocide, Urbicide and The Immobile Beings' explores the spatial representations of fugitivity by analyzing selected Palestinian women narratives on the basis of some theories of spatiality to understand the geographical and cultural dispossession and its manifestation in the various locations of present-day Israel, occupied territories of West Bank, Gaza and in the spatiality of a refugee camp in Lebanon. The theoretical concept of space discussed in the *Production of Space* by Henry Lefebvre work as the major theoretical setting of this chapter.

Chapter five, titled as 'Cartographies of the Mind: Memoricide and the Palestinian Dispossession' is deviced on the idea that geographical dispossession, further leads to memories of dispossession of home, land, and identity that reach its

fullest level when Israel imposes the cultural memoricide consciously as part of colonial expansion through expulsion. This chapter also enquires how far contemporary Palestinian literature is a practice of de memoricide and memorialization as a political exercise to ascertain their being. The concept of cultural memoricide by Ilan Pappe and social memory by Nur Masalha are used as the critical and theoretical platform.

Chapter six titled, 'Legal as Illegal, Citizens as Infiltrators: Bordering Space in the Human Geography of Palestine' examines the concept of Israel's surveillance-based control as a tool for the territorial dispossession through border practices in the spatiality of various locations of Palestine, present-day Israel, and also in the refugee camp. It views that while narrating the space and border, the writers are vividly portraying the cultural and political geography in the form of Palestinian present day human geography. It examines how the architecture of occupation creates bordered identities in Palestine.

The seventh chapter of this project, titled 'Location as Character: Relocating Palestinian Fugitivity through Literature' is the conclusive chapter that establishes the idea of fugitivity in the Palestinian territories with respect to various Israeli occupied locations of Palestine and verifies that locations themselves are the characters in the Palestinian refugee literatures. The idea is established on the light of the studies of Palestinian women narratives. It includes the limitations of the study and hence throws light upon the scopes of further researches. It is aimed at supporting the refugees in their share of knowledge production and filling the silence that shrouds the subject of Palestinians, especially Palestinian women in the literary field, through the academic inquiry.

The analysis is made on the basis of selected women writings of various Palestinian writers in and outside historic Palestine. In order to understand the spatiality and fugitivity in various locations, the writings of contemporary women writers, who belong to different locations have been chosen. Rather than the politics of these locations, the focus is given to literary aspects of space, place, history, geography, memory and refugee consciousness. So, the primary focus is given to memoirs of women, where life-writing and living memory merge each other in their own words. Selected short stories on contemporary Gaza by new generation women writers are also included to capture the faces of refugeeization in the young minds. The primary texts are Palestinian Women: Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory (2011), a life narrative, by Fatma Kassem, Israeli based Palestinian writer, Sharon and my Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries (2005), a memoir by Suad Amiry, Ramallah (West Bank) based Palestinian writer and activist, *Daughter of Olive Trees*: A Palestinian Woman's Struggle for Peace (2002), by Sumaya Farhat Naser, a Jerusalem based Christian Palestinian writer, Gaza Mama: Politics and Parenting in Palestine (2010), reportages by Laila El-Haddad, a Gazan writer, the select short stories from the collection Gaza Writes Back (2014), by Gazan women writers as "L for Life" by Hanan Habashi, "A Wall" and "From Beneath" by Rawan Yaghi, "Scars" by Aya Rabah, "The Story of the Land" by Sarah Ali, "Toothache in Gaza" by Sameeha Elwan, "Will I Ever Get Out" by Nour Al- Sousi, "Just Fifteen Minutes" by Wafaa Abu Al Qomboz, "Once Upon a Dawn" by Shahd Awadallah and Baddawi (2015), a graphic memoir by Leila Abdelrazaq, a Chicago based Palestinian writer. Locations of writer and writings are conscious choice made here in this research, to get ample focus on interconnectedness between fugitivity and location in the

literature. It is seen that the writers share a common axis of nationhood, though separated by the oppressive forces.

Palestinian Women: Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory is based on the life stories of first-generation women writers who have faced the al-Nakba of 1948 and became the victims of geographies of eviction in their own homeland which is the present-day Israel. The life stories of these first generation Nakba victims are the crucial contributions to the knowledge through its steeping Nakba memories of women who are straddling between citizenship and outsiderness.

Sharon and my Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries, is a memoir of living in Ramallah under siege. The book shifts back and forth in time from the 1980s when Amiry decided to return to Palestine, to her homeland, by means of a position of teaching architecture at Birzeit University in West Bank, to the two-month siege in Ramallah in Spring 2002. It is an account of everyday life in Ramallah. The Daughter of Olive Trees: A Palestinian Woman's Struggle for Peace gives an insider account of the peace delegation by Palestinian and Israeli women. Being the champion of peace activism in Palestine, Sumaya Farhat Naser emphasizes the everyday conflicts and efforts of peace in the crushing experiences of Jerusalem, Ramallah and neighboring cities of West Bank.

Gaza Mama is collection of reportages mainly from Gaza which depicts that the personal is truly political. Through the parallelism between mothering and living in between Gaza and America, Haddad became an observer of Gazan life, parenting, politics, massacres and border controls. Short stories by young Gazan women writers selected from the collection Gaza Writes Back, edited by Refaat Alareer, provide a kaleidoscopic view of present-day Gaza. These stories are included in this research to incorporate the views of young generations of Palestine about land. Their tales of loss,

survival and hope give meaning for their existence- their land, their people and their story. *Baddawi* is a graphic memoir with its setting in Lebanese refugee camp called Baddadwi. Leila Abdelrazaq, a young Palestinian American cartoonist, narrates the story of her father Ahmed, in this book. Ahmed is a Palestinian refugee brought up in Lebanon, shuttling between the book's eponymous Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The writer is sticking out the life of a refugee community in the Lebanese camp through this graphic memoir. It provides an insight to millions of refugees who are suspended in statelessness.

Reading primary works, for empirical analysis, on the bases of theoretical postulates and critical concepts is the methodology carried out in this research project titled 'Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings'. As Lefebvre said: "If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production" (36). The space, production of space and the process of production can be understood and it would be knowledgeable only in terms of representation of space and representational space.

Lefebvre further raises a question on the spatial practice under neo capitalism.

The texts produced by Palestinian women writers exhibit, narrate and incorporate their spaces into their texts. Space acts as geographies of dispossession, sites of erasure and geographies of eviction that result in social and cultural memoricide in a particular violent geography. The texts, while narrating space bring the human geography with its political and cultural aspects into it. Gregory, highlights "...how imaginative geographies fold distance into difference through a series of spatialisations and spatial demarcations that define and oppose "one's familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is theirs" (qtd. in Davis

28). As Gregory viewed the binaries of space set by colonialism and the imaginative geography of Israel become crucial in Palestinian refugee spatiality.

Hence, the importance of human geography in spatial narration is highly relevant in reading and understanding refugee literatures. To draw the features of human geography in the spatial narratives of Palestinian women writings, the concepts of Edward Soja, which is presented in his book *Postmodern Geographies*, is used as a theoretical base for this thesis. The spatial surveillance and territorial colonial practices like blockades, borders, curfews, checkpoints etc. are most crucial in defining the refugee space and understanding the refugee geography. Hence, the concept of border theory by Thomas Nail also form one of the methodological bases of this study.

The literary geographies of the select Palestinian women writings are studied on the basis of the above mentioned theoretical frameworks. Various aspects of refugee geographies and refugee locations such as place, space, spaciocide, memory, memoricide, mobility, refugee body in a certain locale and border that are epitomized in the select texts are studied to examine how the locations and fugitivity are interconnected each other in the contemporary Palestinian writings. Politics of belonging, politics of labelling, refugeehood, global refugee crisis, Palestinian fugitivity etc. are also explored with the help of some disciplinary discourses of refugee studies developed by Roger Zetter, Richard Black, Ilana Feldman, Rosemary Sayigh etc.

The critical viewpoints by Julie Peteet as mobility and space, Ilan Pappe's concept of the cultural memoricide and the ethnic cleansing, Eyal Weizman's concept of architectures of colonialization, Elia Zureik's views of Israeli colonial project in Palestine and of necropolitics, Giorgio Agamben's concept of bare life, Sari Hanafi's

study of spaciocide and urbicide, Nur Masalha's concept of social memory, Roger Zetter's researches on the disciplinary issues in refugee studies, Richard Black's concept of refugeeizaion also provided ample theoretical base for this study. The webbased resources and informal interactions with experts in the field of refugee studies, world literature, and international relations are also used as part of formulating this research output.

Chapter 2

Bodies in Motion: Refugee Studies in Transition

At midnight, I walked by foot for six hours straight with my grandson and his friend, Ahmed Khalefa. He was a brave young man. They were in their twenties. They had to help me a lot to walk because of my old age -- I was in my seventies. I walked through heavy mud in the dark. The smuggler asked me to go back. He thought I was too old to walk. In reaction, I turned him down saying, I won't go back. We have walked half way. So I will go forward, not back. (Thuraya 78)

Hasan Ghannam, Thuraya's words from her memoir *No Place to Call Home: My Life as a Palestinian Refugee*, suggests motion, pain, danger, fear and miracle that every moving human body has to live through on their search for home. Seventy year old Thuraya who was born in Tira Haifa of Palestine, had to move from Palestine to Iraq, to Turkey and then to USA as part of the global refugee crisis. She expresses her enduring wish "to see all of her children and their families together again, one day, in one place" (78) which remained as a dream forever. Thuraya sheds insight to the lives of people who are always on the move being never at home through her monumental writing.

Why do people or bodies move? What are the impacts of their movement? Are they able to get back to their host country? Are those who literally do not cross the boundaries of place or nation also the part of continual move? Is their movement being restricted by some forms of governmentality? How do the space, mobility and borders act and react upon the bodies in motion? What kind of theoretical array of knowledge would address the issues of these moving bodies? Studies on refugeehood,

refugeeization and refugee literary expressions become significant here. The above questions reflect the research gaps and the need for new knowledge in the area of refugee studies.

This chapter elucidates the definition of a refugee, types of refugeehood, international refugee protection regime, emergence of the genre of refugee studies and research, global refugee crisis and its contemporary significance, existing theorizations in refugee studies, cultural implications of refugee literary researches, various approaches and themes in refugee studies, role of refugee narratives from various parts of the world in problematizing refugee crisis, the need for multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches in refugee researches and also the requirement of new theorizations in the field of refugee studies and researches.

Refugee studies has been brought from the periphery to the mainstream academic enterprise since 1980s. The proliferous distribution of refugees makes it, a global phenomenon.

The universality, rather than the uniqueness of the refugee phenomenon, has made it a discourse for global perspectives as it is being a discourse for wider discussion, the influx of mass exodus is increasing with more historical and political importance seeking solution for global perspectives on resettlement. The restrictionism is also progressing parallely. This repression is both pernicious and now pervasive. (Zetter, *Refugees and Refugee Studies* 5)

As Roger Zetter rightly stated, the world live in an age where millions of people are on the move where persecution and conflicts drive lakhs away from their homes each year, and where forced displacement and government induced wars grow increasingly protracted. Displacement, dislocation and dispossession are no doubt, some of the major contemporary challenges the world is facing, and as the

international laws and world order still remain ill prepared to prevent the root causes of these human rights violations millions of people continue to be affected by this day to day catastrophes to form more number of refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and forced migrants year after year.

"Who a refugee is and how can one define and understand refugee and forced migration are central questions to studies of displacement and the multidisciplinary field of refugee and forced migration studies" (Qasmiyeh et al 1). Discourses on refugee studies in literature have gained its momentum for the past two three decades so as to address and problematize the concepts of place, space and people with its shifting paradigms of social, geographical, cultural and political spaces, to examine, to theorize and to voice out various aspects of refugee hood like, internal displacement, forced migration, voluntary exile, statelessness, migration, encampment, protracted refugee situations etc. that are grappling with everyday lives of thousands.

The studies on displacement and its varied forms of dislocations/ refugeehood does highlight the need for the establishment of regional, national and international strategies in order to exert pressure on the institutions of asylum, to protect the people on the ground, by making law and new treaties. Along with that new researches and discourses, in a cross disciplinary way- integrating the sociological, historical, anthropological and cultural aspects of all refugee identities. Locating the regional voices of the refugees is most important in foregrounding the real issues of refugeeization and refugee narratives on it- oral, written and visual –that will definitely have to play a significant role in policy making and popularizing the contemporary contours of their existence. The changing aspects of refugee studies and refugee research, both theoretical and practical implications, will positively affect the

operational actors like UNRWA, (United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees), UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), various forms of governments, non-governmental organizations, academia etc.

Defining refugees, refugeehood and refugeeization, and the theorizations of them are significant in refugee studies. The 1951 Refugee Convention held at Geneva endorses a single definition of the term *refugee* in Article 1. According to the Convention "A refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion" (*Refugee Convention* 3). The convention lays down basic and minimum standards for the treatment of refugees in a favorable way which includes access to the courts, education, freedom to work and provision for documentation as a refugee travel document in the form of passport. The convention is underpinned by the fundamental principles of non-discrimination, non-penalization and non-refoulment.

The term refugee carries different meanings in different contexts since its narrow legal definition is different from its vernacular use in everyday parlance.

Under the international law, a refugee is a person who is outside of his / her country of nationality. Being outside of the country or fleeing persecution seemed to be the defining factor in case of refugees. But in the vernacular, the term refugee is often much broader. As Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher have mentioned:

Refugee is popularly seen by the media and by the public as incorporating people fleeing a range of causes including authoritarian regimes, conflict, human right violation, large scale development projects, environmental disasters resulting from hurricanes, tsunamis and climate change; and as

including uprooted people who do not cross an international border but are instead displaced within their country of origin. (5)

The geographical movement and the inability or unwillingness of the country of origin to ensure citizen's protection are the factors that connect refugees in term of vernacular aspect.

Historical analysis proves that, long before 1951 Refugee Convention itself, the state of a *refugee* has been a matter of discussion and debate. During 1920s and 1930s Russian refugees and German refugees were matters of political negotiations in an inter-governmental meeting in Europe. France, being the host state of 1938 Refugee Convention, decided to establish "inter-governmental committee on refugee (IGCR)" to facilitate involuntary emigration from Germany. Significant efforts were made, then to solve the problems of Jewish refugees. The people flee for the political reasons or for protection issues not for personal inconveniences were given 'refugee statuses in Article 1 of 1938 Convention.

The geographical scope of refugee protection framework was initially confined to Europe. The reconfiguration of European balance of power, in the aftermath of the First World War gave rise to the creation of an inter war refugee regime under the League of Nations between 1921 and 1939. The collapse of empires and the creation of new states made Russians, Americans and Jews leave their countries of origin as refugees and stateless peoples. Loescher evaluates that: "Although relatively informal and highly dependent on the ad hoc and discretionary contributions of the individual states, the inter war refugee regime nevertheless set out structured international rules to ensure the protection of refugees" (*Refugee in International Relations* 8). The major contribution of 1938 convention was identified as the Nansen passport designed in 1922 that was internationally recognized as the

identity cards for the stateless and refugees to travel to a country that allow them to integrate.

The refugee problem was a matter of content and concern for the Allied powers during the Second World War. At the Bermuda Conference of 1943, between United Kingdome and United States, it was decided that protection must be given to persons who had to flee or may have to leave their countries of residence because of danger to their lives on account of race, religion or political beliefs. Analysis of international refugee accords between 1920 and 1930 reveals the approaches to refugees as either juridical, social or individualistic. International Refugee Organization (1946 -1951) classified refugees as, "All persons who in complete freedom and after receiving full knowledge of the fact, expressed valid objection to return to their country of origin" (Loescher, The UNHCR 10). As it is mentioned in United Nations General Assembly Official Records (GAOR), "Following the second World War, the basis of the current international refugee regime was created in order to protect and find solutions for those displaced in Europe by the war" (Loescher, *The* UNHCR 16). Meanwhile, as Loescher and others describe the 1950 statute of the office of the UNHCR, formally established the UNHCR and gave it supervisionary responsibility for the states' implementation of the 1951 Convention. It was only in 1967, with the liberation of colonies in much of the developing world and expansion of international society, the scope of refugee regimes and UNHCR's works were expanded to the rest of the world.

The dissolution of European colonial rule in global south and the fragmentation of independent states led to the significant refugee movements across the developing world, and hence it accentuated the need for a global refugee regime. Throughout the past half century, the major trends, causes, consequences and

responses to refugee protection have been an integral part of developments in the international system. The response of any country towards the refugees is considered to be a deciding factor of its position in the international scenario. The two World Wars and other global power plays accelerated the exclusion of people from citizenship in the new national states on the grounds of language, location, ethnicity or religious affiliation. It demanded the need for the international institutional framework so as to re integrate the displaced into the changed international system. This compelling need for a global body or platform resulted in the formation of new organs in order to problematize and resolve the issues related with exile, emigration, refugee hood and other such displacements.

The engagement with these issues of refugees in post conflict settings is much relevant in a global refugee perspective, "as the repatriation, re integration and rehabilitation of refugees and IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) within countries of origin have been increasingly acknowledged by development agencies such as the world bank to be an important aspect of how the international community engages with post conflict settings" (Loescher 10). Different bodies to facilitate the issues associated with flow of people became prominent in that aspect of global relations and global peace. UNHCR and UNRWA are some among them to mention, that have added to the scholarship on refugees, formation of treaties, protection measures and aids.

Applying research tools to the refugee life and refugee space is to be done in a longitudinal way especially, in the case of long-term refugee crisis. Refugee researches have practical, epistemological and ethical challenges since the researches focus more on the texts produced by someone for the refugees. Tracing refugee background, historically, must rely on objective realities, and much of the versions of

the refugee settlements and issues are often the data recorded by the western knowledge synthesis and practices. Hence the empirical aspect is a question. But since 1980 one can observe scientific change in the production of knowledge in refugee spectrum as the refugees themselves started to narrate and to record their experiences in the mode of representations orally, graphically and visually.

A cross-sectional research is incomplete and inappropriate for locating the shifting challenges over the years and it has its limitations of time and history. As Cilea McMichael and others opine:

Many topics such as psycho-social health, settlements in new countries, the host country and its rules, the accessibility to resources for refugees, education of refugees, self-esteem among refugees, housing and health status, family relationships, etc. have been studied by various agencies in the participatory mode. (90)

Qualitative, quantitative and ethnographic methods were mostly used in those researches. Most of the refugee researches focused on migrancy and the issues related with it are that were some of the handicaps of the researches.

What makes refugee research a challenging one? While research often begins with this question, the answer usually remain elusive. As evaluated by Qasmiyeh and others:

Academics and practitioners alike continue to debate the contours of the field. Inter alia, they ask whether studies should focus on those crossing international borders in flight from persecution and who are therefore entitled to claim legal status as refugees, or whether the field should stretch to encompass the internally displaced, the trafficked, irregular migrants, secondand third-generation Diasporas, and those at risk of deportation. (1)

The issue point towards its global regime too. They further ask: "If the latter is favored, how far can refugee and forced migration studies stretch before its focus becomes too diffuse to be meaningful, blurring into the broader fields of Migration Studies, Human Rights, Development Studies, or International Politics?" (1). One can observe that the vulnerability of refugee population and the lack of texts with actual refugees' own experiences are also definitely the challenging factors in it. More researches that can contribute to policy orientated and policy making impacts must be promoted in refugee researches and refugee studies since the issue is global.

Researches in the field of refugee literatures addresses some of the methodological issues in the ethical challenge of refugee studies. In order to propose, test and to establish novel definitions of refugee, the re valuation of some of the orthodox definitions of refugee is necessary. More researches in the field of refugee studies including refugee literatures are necessary since, refugeehood is a global phenomenon as Roger Zetter puts it: "whether it is by the volume of their number or by the powerful reactions which their designation evokes, the label refugee now constitutes an intensifying and universally confronted problem" (*Refugees and Refugee Studies* 6).

As stated earlier the field of refugee and forced migration studies and the researches in refugee studies emerged in 1980s. Refugee studies are an interdisciplinary field with a strong policy and political orientation which grow day by day. "Though the refugee studies came into academic deliberations in 1980s, there is a long history of research on refugees and forced migration across various disciplines as humanities, social and political sciences" (Qasmiyeh et al 2). Historically speaking, refugeeization and displacement of people date back to biblical period. Over the time,

new world orders emerged, that complicated the human relations in terms of geographical borders and economies ruled systems.

Environmental issues, other catastrophes, legal system and illegality etc., affected human lives to make them more and more alienated. It led to the expansion of the field of refugee studies to encompass various displaced communities. Margins of refugee studies broadened and became blurred due to the extending aspects of refugeeization over the years. Qasmiyeh and others find that by the early 1980s refugee and forced migration issues had become a globally salient issue in part as a result of major protracted refugee situations in South East Asia, Pakistan and Iran, the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa, Mexico and Central America as well as, as a substantial increase in the numbers of asylum seeker in Europe and North America (Qasmiyeh et al 3).

Researches in refugee studies, rather than promoting academic knowledge, calls for ethical actions too. Such a shift was visible during the post 1980 period. Qasmiyeh and others also report that: "One of the most important developments during the 1980s was the emergence of refugees and forced migration studies as a distinct field of study and policy analysis, and the establishment of new research and teaching centers and policy institutes" (3). Refugee studies programme at University of Oxford, refugee program at York University in Toronto, Refugee Policy group in Washington DC, US Committees for Refugees, European Council on Refugee and Exiles, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University, Journal of Refugee Studies, Journal of International Refugee Law, International Research and Advisory Panel on Refugees and other displaced persons (IRAP), International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM), etc., are some important ones to name.

Refugee studies and research envisage a shared platform of leading academics, practitioners, policy makers, researchers, think tanks, NGOs and international organizations around the world for the pro-refugee world order. A range of philosophical, political and interpretative theory is needed for shaping a refugee research to develop it into an independent field of study. As per the UNHCR report of 2003, "an average of 23,000 people being displaced a day" (qtd. in Qasmiyeh et al. 3). This itself indicates that the field of refugee studies and research must be evolved as distinct entity of discourse.

Refugees and related issues, though became very prominent in the post - world wars era in the European and Asian continents themselves, this humanitarian crisis continue to erupt recently across the Middle East and North Africa too. As Walter Fernandes has rightly commented:

With globalization Development Induced Displacement (DID) has become both a human rights issue and one of relations between different countries...The United Nations Organization has a full-fledged unit, UNHCR, to serve international refugees but no such body exists for IDPs. (288)

As he proposes, there must be more global initiatives to serve refugees and IDPs.

Different theoretical approaches to refugee research show how it can be complementary with different academia and intellectual analysis for a renewed solution for different forms of refugeehood and forced migration like crises of conflict, citizenship, capitalism, displacement, statelessness, etc. Qasmiyeh and others have explained refugee research as:

The study of those who have been identified by the international community as asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), development induced displaced persons, or trafficked persons, as well as all those whom

claim to such labels may have been denied, but who have been forced to move against their will as a result of persecution, conflict or insecurity. (5)

Ethnographic research in the area of refugee studies document lived experiences of forced migration with the contributions of anthropologists and sociologists. Along with the direct lived experiences of being forced to flee, the refugee studies "centralize direct and indirect experiences of forced immobility and forced sedentarization" (Qasmiyeh et al 5). So as per their view the refugee studies include:

Research with individuals and groups born into protracted displacement who may not have personally experienced migration (forced or otherwise) and those who are internally stuck or otherwise prevented from safely retrieving to their own or their families' places of origin in spite of a desperate desire to do so, including, stateless persons and communities. (5)

Borders moving over people as well as people moving over borders equally have gained increasing attention over the past few years in the field of academic and research. Basically the studies in refugee research focuses on the human experiences of displacement and dispossession. The experiences may vary from person to person or community to community. Heterogeneity can be observed in the human experiences (refugee experiences) according to age, gender, sexual orientation, health, economic status, disability status and religious identity. Understanding this diversity is highly significant for political and institutional analysis of the nature of the state response towards refugee or forced migration. The studies, already carried out in the area of issue in refugee and forced migration, have contributed much to the formation of international legal commitments and ethical values, and to some extend to analyze the transnational population movements.

Historiography of refugee and forced migration has to be analyzed in greater detail to bridge the gap between refugeeization and their creative input. As Qasmiyeh and other designate there is a question of 'ahistory' in connection with the refugee studies. Over 1920s and 30s, scholars discussed mass refugee movements caused by First World War. There were lots of publications in the area of refugee experiences during and after the Second World War including voluminous studies of refugee camps, but not necessarily by historians. In the post war years historians also focused on the international organizations created in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. These legal institutions thus created, later continued to dominate the literatures during the 1960s and 70s. Louise Holborn's *Influential History of UNHCR* (1975) is a seminal work in this regard. The study of history of forced migration in Europe peaked in the 1980s with publications such as Michael Marrus's *Overview of Europe's Unwanted* (1985) and Wolfgang Jacob Mayer's *Displaced Persons* (1985).

From the early 1990s many books on refugees appeared inciting massive interest in the history of immigration and refugee flows. Policies towards immigrants and refugees became part of every country's national histories with insistence on political actors. Refugee historians also have focused on inviting the attention of the academia from classical refugees to other refugees, as Jerome Elie puts it, "Historians not only began to redress the Eurocentric bias by writing about other parts of the globe but also questioned the distinction between the classical refugee who had their origin in Europe and new refugee from other parts of the world" (qtd. in Qasmiyeh et al. 25). The development of ethno nationalism also has been a shift in understanding refugee studies theoretically.

The tendency of depicting displaced persons simply as mute helpless victims rather than specific persons got changed due to the critical studies on refugees and

their locations which were carried out in and after 1980s. A systematic exclusion of refugees was carried out historically in the pre1980 era. 1980s marked a change in this field asking for the "refugees to be re/instated on the historical record as the earlier historians have ignored most refugee movements and silenced those involved" (qtd. in Qasmiyeh et al. 30). So it can be seen that "historical studies have not neglected the themes linked to refugees but historians have refrained from studying those involved" (qtd. Qasmiyeh et al. 30). The area of refugees or forced migrants is: "…less and unknown of history than a missing untraceable and unnamable character of the historiography" (qtd. in Qasmiyeh et al. 32). According to Kushner, the history of refugees has been 'actively forgotten' (qtd. in Qasmiyeh et al. 34) while for Marfleet "the important factor is also that the refugee voices challenge established national narratives" (qtd. In Qasmiyeh et al 36).

Recent historiographical trends in the studies of history argue in favor of bringing refugee history at the center rather than at the margins of historical enquiry, and a shift towards study of life histories also has brought a new paradigm in the problematisation of refugees' experiences and responses to their plight. The unavailability of sources about the ancient history of refugees and pre-modern history of refugees is an issue while dealing with refugee research and critical scholarship.

Another major issue which was evident in the refugee studies was the lack of valid information from rural or uneducated refugees since their experiences were often not recorded anywhere in any form of narrations, including memoirs. Often the histories/memoirs recorded by the social elite was used by historians too, which resulted in detaining major share of experiences of rural refugees from being historically studied or recorded or researched. So the use of oral history must be explored more productively in refugee research. History from below will surely play a

clear role in researching refugee voices. To understand the manifold ways in which past societies thought about refugees, historical analysis will be of great help. The ahistorical stigma can only be overcome by proper analysis of historiography.

Alienation, Persecution and Forced Migration are always amongst the most profoundly disturbing human experiences. The trauma of mass exodus and those who are excluded from societies at times of utmost political crises and the redefinition of their economic social and ethnic identity had been documented over many years. As Roger Zetter situates in his article on the refugees and refugee studies:

In the present century it is the word 'refugee' which has increasingly been deployed to describe the millions of uprooted people who have been forced into exile or displaced within their own countries because of intolerance, war or other human factors. 'Refugee' constitutes one of the most powerful labels currently in the repertoire of humanitarian concern, national and international public policy and social differentiation. (1)

Though the term refugee carries the probability of voluntary repatriation within it, the issues encircled the refugees- both legal and personal -toughen the status day by day, and it seems that a permanent solution is far away as refugee is an institutionalized and stereotypical entity. Thus refugee issue continues as one of the serious blows on the transnational globalized world order as they are subjects of social, historical, political, sociological, geographical, cultural, temporal and economical laws and debates.

Who a refugee is a question of legal, socio political geographical importance in the current globalized world. A definition was enshrined in the 1951 Convention and in the 1967 Protocol. There are novel definitions for the term refugee but there are limitations too. A genre called refugee studies is distinctly evolved as Roger Zetter

places in his article on the refugees and refugee studies: "The body of theoretical and policy orientated research has now become broadened sufficiently to be generically termed 'refugee studies" (Zetter 2). The researches and theorizations have contributed in mainstreaming of this area placing it as major academic inquiry which for the most part existed on the periphery. As argued by Malkki and later ratified by Richard Black "The term refugee has analytical usefulness not as "kind" or "type" of person or situation, but only rubric that includes within it a world of socio-economic statuses, personal histories and psychological or spiritual situations" (Black 66).

Refugees are the category of people who are defined by a particular experience called displacement. The field of' refugee studies' has grown dramatically over the latter part of the twentieth century, in parallel with the significance of the phenomenon of forced migration itself. The richness of refugee studies came into being by the emergence of refugee camps left after displacements of the two world wars, and also by the works of interwar International Refugee Organization and post war United Nations High Commission for Refugees. There were wide range of literatures that do not explicitly identify themselves as refugee studies but deals with refugee as a subject.

Situation of refugees has attracted research effort at pre- and post-doctoral levels, with funding both from policy organizations and the major research councils and foundations. To Zetter it is a research agenda that based on a 'label' which has arguably come of age as a legitimate, interdisciplinary field of enquiry. He further added that, "As refugee policies had been studied, lessons have been learned. Meanwhile, theoretical reflection has enriched both the field and many of the disciplines from which researches of refugee issues have come" (Refugee and

Refugee Studies 3). His studies in the second half of twentieth century reflect terminological debate on who is and who is not a refugee.

The definition of a refugee is central to the studies of location and displacement, and the most disciplinary field of refugee and forced migration studies. Researchers have to realize that there is a huge category of people in the world today, an increasingly large group, for whom displacement and not having a secure homeland, is increasingly becoming a permanent situation and the group needs more theorizing of their situations apart from being considered as the subalterns or minorities or the marginalized.

Refugees are of different categories. As internal conflicts, wars, ethnic and tribal conflicts, anti-colonial struggles, economic deprivation and other political or social turbulences may lead to refugeehood and migrancy- voluntary and involuntary, the kinds of refugeeization also vary in effect. Refugees can be national or international in nature. Refugees who are displaced within the nation are national (internal) and those refugees who cross the political boundary are treated as international. One can observe that the world is suffering from both internal and international refugee crisis equally.

According to the UN Commission on human rights, Internally Displaced are persons or group of persons who have been forced to flee their country unexpectedly as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters and who have not crossed an international recognized state border. Today there are an estimated 30 million internally displaced people in the world. (qtd. in Gosh xxii)

This category of people are in a refugee- like situation though they have not crossed any international borders. 1970s onwards IDPs are also come under the purview of

UNHCR. For example in 1975 United Nations General Assembly Resolutions, it approved continued humanitarian assistance to Indo- Chinese displaced persons.

The United Nations (UN) Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees held on 28 July 1951 defined a refugee as any person who:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events , is unable or, owing to such fear , is unwilling to return to it. (qtd. in Gosh xx)

The UN Protocol of 31 January 1967 went further and omitted the phrases, as Gosh observes, "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and ..." and "...as a result of such events" from the definition of refugees given earlier (Gosh xx). Later at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention held on 10 September 1969, the African States revised the definition further and it came into force on 20 June 1974. In addition to UN definition it was decided that:

The term refugee shall apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his / her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. (qtd. in Gosh xi)

In the case of person who has several nationalities as Gosh further clarifies:

The term 'a country of which he is a national' shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of which he is a national if, without any valid reasons based on the well- founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national. (Gosh xi)

In the 1980s the concept was further revised. On 22 November 1984, the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees reiterated:

In the view of the experience gained from the massive flows of refugees in the Central American area, it is necessary to consider enlarging the concept of a refugee, bearing in mind, as far as appropriate in the light of the situation prevailing in the region, the precedent of the OAU Convention and the doctrine employed in the reports of the Inter- American Commission on Human Rights. Hence the definition of concept of a refugee to be recommended for use in the region is one which, in addition to containing the elements of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, includes among refugees, persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order. (qtd. in Gosh xxi)

The Declaration further restated that:

The importance and meaning of the principle of 'non- refoulement' as a corner – stone of the international protection of refugees. This principle is imperative in regard to refugees and in the present state of international law should be acknowledged and observed as a rule of *jus cogens*. (qtd. in Gosh xxii)

Migration is generally defined as "a permanent change in place of residence by the crossing of specific administrative or political boundaries" (Gosh xxii). Gosh notes that this definition has its limits since it does not take into the account the nomadic or wandering people, seasonal migrants and movements back and forth of people who has more than one residence. It doesn't speak about the duration of movement also.

A move is a change of residence within the same administrative or political boundary. Migration is a change of residence and also a crossing of political or administrative boundary. While internal migration is a change in the place of residence from one administrative boundary to another within the same country, international migration is a move over a national boundary. (qtd. in Gosh xxi)

This definition also doesn't address the issue of forced migration rather it focuses more on voluntary migration.

It was in 1954 that the 'stateless person' was first defined. The Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons , adopted on 28 September 1954 by a conference of Plenipotentiaries convened by the UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 526 A (XVII) of 26 April 1954, defined it as 'a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its Law'. (Gosh xxiii). Gosh perceives that there are two categories of stateless persons: *de jure* and *de facto*. The *de jure* stateless persons are those who are not nationals of any state, either because at birth or subsequently they were not given any nationality or because during their life time they lost their own nationality and did not acquire a new one. The *de facto* stateless persons are those who, having left the country of which they were nationals , no longer enjoys the protection and assistance of their national authorities

either because these authorities refuse to grant them protection or assistance or because they themselves renounce the protection and assistance of the countries of which they were nationals. As Lawson (1996) views a stateless person in short is: "one who is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of his country of nationality or former nationality" (qtd. in Gosh xxiii)

The above definitions of various vulnerable communities as IDPs, refugees, migrants and stateless seem to be inadequate to accommodate different groups in different complex situations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1946) which had proclaimed that everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and the right to return to his country and also that everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution as well as the international conventions have worked to have certain progression in the case of refugee issues but not succeeded in addressing the issues globally considering different ethnic and geographical group who are bound to be refugees throughout their lives, for example, Palestinians, Syrians, Hungarians, etc. Refugee-centric successful resettlement programmes are yet to happen for many such groups. As William Lacy Swing opines: "The resettlement community is at a watershed not only because an increasingly large number of refugees are in desperate need of a third country solution but also because the current international response is gravely inadequate" (Swing 6).

The history of international protection of refugees dates back to a few decades. There are different national and international level organizations for the protection of refugees. It starts with the League of Nations. The International Committee of the Red Cross was the initiator of the international protection system of refugees set up by the League of Nations. World War I, its preliminaries (the Balkan wars 1912-13), and the aftermath in the Near East (the wars in the Caucasus, 1918-21, Greco – Turkish war,

Empire, resulted in the formation of large number of refugees and refugee movements. The Russian and other territories to various countries of Europe, Asia Minor, Central and East Asia between 1918 -1922, were worse affected by this human exodus. Though emergency relief was provided by charitable organizations they could not extend their succor beyond aids and material assistance as there were no central coordinating bodies for those activities. This situated to the thought of need for an international refugee protection system under a world organization. Under the auspicious of League of Nations (1921- 1946) discussions were held under the international committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to appoint a High Commissioner in this regard to define the status of refugees, to secure their repatriation and employment, and to coordinate measures for their assistance. The main concern of League of Nations was issuing identity certificates for refugees.

The 1933 Refugee Convention held at the archives of League of Nations during the period of inter war at Geneva, was the first attempt to create a comprehensive legal framework for refugees. But it was limited in its scope to those groups already considered refugees under the protection of League of Nations and was ratified only by nine countries. "The Convention of 1933 is a milestone in the protection of refugees and served as a model for the 1951 Convention...It undertakes in any case not to refuse entry to refugees as the frontier of their countries of origin" (qtd.in Gosh 21). It was by virtue of this Convention that the principle of non-refoulement acquired the status of international treaty law.

The great difficulties created by the Second World War obstructed the activities of the High Commissioner for refugees. On 31 December 1946, the mandate of High Commissioner of the League of Nations was terminated. On 1 January 1947,

the Inter- Governmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR) undertook the responsibilities outside the purview of League of Nations. This committee was the creation of Evian (France) Conference held on the initiative of President Roosevelt in July 1938. The major task of it was to negotiate with Germany about Jewish migration. For the next eight years, IGCR existed alongside the League of Nations office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. A travel document for those refugees who came within the mandate of IGCR and were not covered by the previous agreements was approved in the IGCR conference, held in London in 1947.

Massive human displacement during the years of World War Second was a compelling demand for establishing an international organization for relief and rehabilitation. Thus United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) was established by forty four nations in November 1943 as an operational and temporary UN specialized agency. UNRRA, set up before the establishment of United Nations, became the first United Nations Agency to deal with refugees and displaced persons in a comprehensive way. It was mainly to aid civilian nationals of the Allied nations and to displaced persons in countries liberated by the Allied Army. "About seven million had been returned home through repatriation by UNRRA" (Betts and Loescher 27). UNRRA had no right to resettle refugees and displaced persons to a third country.

The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was established in 1946 as a specialized agency of United Nations for all types of refugees that had been the concern of other organizations up to that time. When international organizations just dealt with the Russian and German refugees earlier, IRO, could deal with refugee issues with a wider geographical base. It succeeded in working with more combined effort to interact in the issues related with Africa, North and South America, Asia,

Europe, Middle East and Far East. IRO was not yet able to remarkably liquidate the refugee problem worldwide due to continuous change in international politics and economic conditions.

The General Assembly of the United Nations by resolution 429 (V) of 14

December 1950 resolved to convene in Geneva, a conference of plenipotentiaries to complete the drafting of a Convention relating to the status of Refugees and a Protocol relating to the status of Stateless persons. The Conference met at the European office of the United Nations in Geneva from 2 to 25 of July 1951. As a result of their deliberations United Nations Convention relating to the status of Refugees was adopted on 28 July 1951 and it came into force on 21 April 1954. The convention described the term Refugee as follows:

Any person who as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group of political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (qtd. in Ghosh xx)

Though the definition strongly support all the refugees globally, the Eurocentric focus of the definition and the provision for pro-western political situations are quite clear from the initial phrase with which the above definition begins. The strategic dimension of the definition comes from successful efforts of western states to give priority in matters of protection to persons whose flight was

motivated by pro-western political values. Hence it was decided to implement a protocol to this definition given by the 1951 Convention.

The obvious restriction in the definition of refugees given by the Convention (1951), the requirement that the claim relate to a pre-1951 event in Europe was prospectively eliminated by the Protocol. Thus according to the 1967 Protocol the term Refugee shall mean

Any person within the definition of article 1 of the Convention as if the words 'as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951...', '...as a result of such events' in Article 1 (A) 2 were omitted. The present Protocol, shall be applied by the States, without any geographic and time limitation says that existing declaration made by States that are already parties to the Convention in accordance with Article 1 (B), I (a), of the Convention thereof apply also under the present protocol. (qtd. in Ghosh xxi)

Refugees, whose flight was not motivated by persecution rooted in civil or political status, are excluded from the rights regime established by the Convention. It is significant, however, that besides the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the additional Protocol of 1967, there were a number of regional conventions for further expanding the definitions of refugees to meet the peculiar regional conditions. They were mainly the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States and the Council of Europe which have enacted standards of refugee protection.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is the UN refugee agency and it was formed as an alternative for its immediate predecessor, IRO (The international refugee Organizations) with the aim of more effective organizational framework to address the issues of refugees worldwide. It is a result of the discussion took place within the UN General assembly and the Economic and

Social Council (ECOSOC) from 1948 through 1950, regarding the formation of new international refugee organization. UNHCR was set up on 1 January 1951 for a period of three years. Later the period was extended in time as the need for such an organization could never be dissolved or eradicated. The office of UNHCR is a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. Its headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

(UNRWA) was established by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 302(IV)

of 8 December 1949 to administrate and carry out direct reliefs and works programs

for Palestine Refugees. It began operations on 1 May 1950. UNRWA is funded

entirely by voluntary contributions from UN Member States. Its services encompass

education, healthcare, relief and social services, camp infrastructure and

improvement, microfinance and emergency assistance including the one in terms of

armed conflict. It has contributed for the development of four generations of Palestine

refugees defined as persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the

period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood

as a result of 1948 conflict. As per the website of UNRWA, "today some five million

Palestine Refugees are eligible for UNRWA services" ("UNRWA").

The Refugee Study Centre (RSC) was established in 1982, as a part of University of Oxford's Department of International Development. The mission of RSC is to build knowledge and understanding of forced migration in order to help and improve the lives of some of the world's most vulnerable people. RSC aims to lead the world in research and education in the area of refugee and forced migration studies and to share the work on a global scale. Scholarships, academic freedom, research activities, seminars and conferences, workshops, academic programs and publications in the field of refugees and forced migration studies are the major work

plans of RSC. It also offers a number of popular learning programs in forced migration studies.

Journal of Refugee Studies is an establishment by Oxford University. Since its inception in 1988 it has extensively published on refugee issues in a multi-disciplinary way, developing the conceptual frameworks of the subject matter, refugee. Zetter has mentioned the focus of the Journal of Refugee Studies in his valedictory note as: "Journal of refugee studies has played a central and proactive role in promoting knowledge and understanding of the world of refugees and also in developing the multi-disciplinary basis of the field" (Zetter 351). From a field largely dominated by Anthropology and Law at its beginning JRS has been successful in opening the field to other disciplines and it is shown by Roger Zetter in his article entitled as "Refugees and Refugee Studies- A Valedictory Editorial" in the form of a table (Table 1) as it is shown below:

Table 1

Discipline	Number of Papers
Social/public policy	48
Politics	40
Anthropology	36
Sociology	35
Law	30
Psychology	20
Health/Housing/Education	20
Economics	16
History	11
International Relations	11

This table indicate the multi-disciplinary nature and at the same time points to the lack of researches carried out in the field of refugee literature as part of refugee studies.

JRS has also succeeded in recognizing the phenomenon of plight of IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) and DIDs (Development Induced Displacements), repatriation and psychological issues related with refugees. As Zetter rightly pointed out, refugee issues should be addressed in a multi-disciplinary way.

To Emphasis a multidisciplinary approach in refugee studies, Journal of refugee studies was established as an arena for exploration, documentation and dissemination of refugee problem with an understanding of the root causes of the mass exodus. Exploration of refugee researches need multidisciplinary approach as the root lies in social, cultural, historical, anthropological and geographical ties with the conflicted identities. Authoritative theoretical and empirical explanations and conceptualization, promoted by Journal of Refugee Studies (JRS), paved the way for more number of effective researches in the area of refugee studies. Since the issues related with refugees are historical, geographical, political, legal and cultural, understanding the painful dilemmas, conflicts and traumas which refugees experience is the major agenda for study of Journal of Refugee Studies and it must be the aim for refugee researches. Zetter's comment on the basic intention of JRS clearly marks the need for the inclusion of refugees in the articulation of their issues. He says the idea of JRS stem from a thought that "those best able to define, explain and promote an understanding of the parameters which govern their lives are the refugees themselves and the practitioners, administrators and researchers within and from both host countries and refugee communities" (Refugee and Refugee Studies 6).

Early refugee researches focused more on policies but later the focus shifted to linguistic, psychological and occupational difficulties that a refugee has to cope up in

new asylums. The theoretical turn was much lesser or perhaps none up to 1980s. During the late 1980s more number of studies came up on refugee professionals, mental health of refugees, specialized refugee groups, internally displaced persons, law and limitations of law, international laws, refugee receiving countries etc. As Stein and Tomaci put it in their introduction for International Migration Review, a "comprehensive, historical, interdisciplinary and comparative perspectives which focuses on the consistencies and patterns in the refugee experiences" (qtd. in Black 67) are necessary to carry out refugee researches. Refugee Study Center of Oxford University, has_collaborated in developing the multidisciplinary field of academic pursuit. Journal of Refugee studies 1988, International Association for the study of Forced Migration 1994 and International Migration Review established in 1964 have also been backing the studies on refugees and forced migration for the past thirty years.

Disciplinary studies have been carried out on refugees under various disciplines such as Geography, Anthropology, Sociology, Human Rights etc. out of which most of them were policy studies. Many of the researches were geographically temporally or organizationally limited. What is it that makes Refugee studies different from migration studies and people studies? Have the fifty years of critical studies in refugee succeeded in highlighting it as a separate field of inquiry in social sciences? Has the refugee research been comprehensive, historical, interdisciplinary and comparative or has it been ahistorical, or isolated? Do the academic researches on refugees have in turn affected in public policy making of refugee laws?

It can be seen that there is a difficulty in demonstrating the casual link between refugee research and policy making for refugees. But it is clear that there are implications and impacts in refugee policies adopted by UNHCR and other such

bodies in their strategic planning and training cum socio academic programmes-like gender awareness, accepting public interventions etc. -after the problematisation of refugee issues in the academic level. So the researches in refugees stimulate the policy making. A participative approach in the organizational acts is the result of it, no doubt.

There are a number of other areas in which such critical reflections on refugees would be helpful. For example, work on the negative impacts of forced geographical dispersal of refugees in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s and 1980s (Robinson 1993; Robinson and Hale 1989 as qtd.in Black 69) helped U K to move its policy away from dispersal for at least a decade. Yet an opportunity was missed to extend such work to other European countries, such as Germany and Sweden, where dispersals continued to be cornerstones of policy towards refugees and asylum-seekers. The researches could not fully mobilize the attempts to resist the new U.K. government policy of dispersal encapsulated in the National Asylum Support System (NASS) introduced in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act.

Covering the whole history of evolution in the refugee studies is not easy to trace, since there were many unorientated studies and works in pre-world- war era itself. Still the available source of studies ensure that the field was emanating with asylum seekers and their difficulties – health related, linguistic, economic – with a stronger focus on the organizational policies and international agencies for refugees. As Koser and others have rightly observed: "Disciplines as Anthropology and Law have got refugee studies wrapped up, while other disciplines have not really made enough of a contribution to this area" (Koser et al 62).

Refugee studies are often isolated and individualized so as to feel opaque in nature without giving much scope for interdisciplinarity. Refugee researches must be

placed in wider and broader contexts that may accelerate practical implications as an impact of the research. The focus on the empirical data and policy orientations have taken the domain into less theoretical field of study. Apart from being statistical, more researches are to be carried out in academia which would transfer the knowledge into the policy making and repatriation of refugees as Pnina Werbner locates it: "Any work that transforms a refugee from a 'passive sufferer,' to a person with an identity, nationality, history, culture, social relations, personal experiences, and emotions, is something that has to be done. Because, at the moment, refugees and asylum seekers are not portrayed as human beings: instead, they are a series of numbers; they are problems to be solved" (Koser et al 63). An in depth study on refugee can provide an understanding that refugees are also people with unique social experiences and histories, so as to be integrated with the communities for the betterment of the society.

Question of representation is a major issue in refugee research and theorizations. Since refugee is a much politicized group to address, it is tough to handle when they are being represented in a research. Their culture, portrayal of their socio-spatial temporal relations, politics of movement, border politics, politicization and aesthetics of refugee literatures, repatriation, and the return and resettlement are serious issues and often under researched. Moreover representative act in refugee studies is also equally alarming. Here lies the importance of having a view through the lens of their own voices from their accountable spokespersons.

It points out the scope of cultural research in the field of refugee studies that can encompass more interdisciplinary areas of studies addressing the questions like what it means to be a refugee in this time with its all complexities, contradictions and ambivalences apart from being just either a total revulsion or moral outrage. Cultural research can take us to a multidisciplinary mode of study where refugee researches

take more productive turn with integration of historical approaches, politicaleconomic approaches, policy studies, literary and theoretical approaches, geographical, sociological, ethnographical and anthropological approaches

Ien Ang in his observations on refugee research, underlines the significance of the need for a cultural approach:

Now, I've said something about refugees as a particular category of people, people who are non-citizens, in some ways, and I think that here we get to the point of methodology, and to the point of why cultural research has to be an interdisciplinary field, including anthropological perspectives. It is really important to bring detailed anthropological studies in contact, in dialogue, with more historical approaches, more political-economic approaches, policy studies, and sociology. We need to try to develop a broader understanding of what it means to be a refugee today. (Koser et al 64)

Homogeneity of the nation-state also acts as a curtailing agency in the case of refugees. A refugee identity is a multifaceted one as. Koser observes about the refugee identity that, a refugee today is not just the experience of trauma or the experience of displacement. It is also being in a structural situation that is beyond these people's control. Refugee identities are not just particular individual or cultural identities. They are also bureaucratic identities, legal identities, very much embedded in political struggles, which are international and transnational in scope. "We have to understand these in the context of international relations, of the contradictory operation of world borders today, and of course, still, the imposed homogeneity of the nation-state as the site of citizenship" (Koser et al. 65). Hence refugees must be understood in connection with the sovereignty of states.

Sovereignty of the state plays a key role in citizenship, non-citizenship and forced migration. The refugee question became highly politicized after the Second World War. When the nationalism and sovereignty started to overrule people pausing a question of inclusion and exclusion in the name of political borders. What the state is and what the state should be is a question to be addressed with the broader perspective of 'Nation-state' and 'statelessness' of refugee lives. When the state becomes grey, contested and contestable land without promising any kinds of sovereign power for some of the inmates of the land, the idea of sovereignty of the state becomes proactive and reciprocatory in the context of refugee locations. Refugee issue is global as it is related with the various states and sovereignty of states. Jackson asks:

Can a strict rule of non-interference in a nation state's 'sovereignty' really work in a world that includes governments that have been willing to undertake horrible actions against their own citizens or against humanity? If not what external actions should regarding such governments entail, and what are appropriate limits to such action? (14)

The issues associated with refugees are more than just definitional. The global significance of this issue has already opened more analytical and empirical approaches and studies worldwide. "This body of theoretical and policy orientated research has now become broadened sufficiently to be generically termed 'Refugee Studies'." (Zetter, Refugees and Refugee Studies 2). Roger points out the relevance of global importance of refugees and refugee studies. In his introductory editorial for the Journal of Refugee Studies Zetter further views that: "Refugee constitutes one of the most powerful labels, currently in the repertoire of humanitarian concern, national and international public policy and social differentiation" (1).

When the monolithic state control was swept aside by the powerful resurgence of ethnic nationalism, which had been suppressed under soviet regime, ethnic cleansing and genocide were accompanied with that and these phenomenon gave rise to new waves of refugees and forced displacement. The humanitarian concepts uprooted by these phenomenon called for international organizations. Great Lakes genocide of 1994, Mass Exodus of Palestinians in 1948, the situations among Greek Cypriots since 1974 are some cases of global significance of refugeehood to mention here.

The shape, form and extend of margins of this wider discourse called refugee studies is problematic one as the label 'refugee' has some definitional limitations.

Zetter questions the very validity and limitations of the label refugee in the introduction to Journal of Refugee Studies:

Even if the instruments could be implemented and administered in a totally systematic and comprehensive way, millions of refugee clients daily challenge some of the fundamental assumptions, aspirations and tenets of the instruments. Who is permanent and who is temporary? Whose label applies and why? Who is a refugee? These are now questions of global significance. (Refugees and Refugee Studies 5)

These questions would take the researcher into the relation between refugees and human rights and, refugees and the violation of human rights.

"While exile and forced displacement are global phenomena, paradoxically we live in a world in which the humanitarianism so closely associated with the label refugee in increasingly compromised and wider threats", Zetter comments in connection with refugees and human rights in his valedictory note on refugee studies (Valedictory Note 353). Those contradictory tendencies indicate very disturbing

trends in the world's humanitarian regime. Even in the celebrated humanitarian world order, people are forced to be on the move and exiled because of persecution.

Despite the enormous growth in humanitarian concerns with all their diversityas assistance, as human rights in law- it is an indictment of the global regime that
humanitarianism has failed to provide satisfactory or permanent response to the large
number of refugees and forcibly displaced people. The world of refugees is unlikely
to recede by publishing rigorous and well founded research journal of refugee studies,
and other similar ventures have problematized the humanitarian concerns effectively.

It is true that: "The label refugee and related labels are increasingly used to
marginalize, exclude, differentiate and restrict humanitarianism" (353), Zetter points
out so, in his valedictory note. Researches in refugee studies have consolidated both
diverse disciplinary fields of study and also have helped to some extend in placing it
in the mainstream of academic works through exploration, documentation and
dissemination. Being an issue of human rights, the problem of refugees must be
addressed in an international platform.

Refugee crisis is an international issue. It is also an important human rights issue in the international scenario as ensuring that refugees receive safety and access to their rights, livelihood, and the possibility to be reintegrated into their country of origin or another state is a major concern. In most of the cases refugees are forced to seek protection from the international community as people are frequently forced to flee across the borders. Refugee has been a central figure virtually at every significant juncture in the evolution and development of the international system. In Hannah Arendt's terms "Refugees have been a vanguard of their people, not only witnessing but also being an integral aspect of the changing architecture of world politics" (Betts and Loesher 2).

"The 'figure of the refugee' is an integral part of the international system symbolizing the failure of the state- citizen- territory relationship assumed by the state system to seamlessly ensure international order and justice" (qtd. in Betts and Loescher 1). The causes, consequences and responses to refugee community are all closely intertwined with world politics. The consequences of movements have been associated with security, the spread of conflict, terrorism and transnationalism. How the international community is responding to refugees represents a challenge to the world order and justice and to the facilitation of international cooperation. So the study of refugees and forced migration have enormous relevance for International Relations. Refugees and forced migration are intertwined with world politics. Hence the mainstreaming of issues of refugees is a necessary input in developing international relations.

As observed here, since refugee issue is a global phenomenon the researches in refugees must be carried out in a multidisciplinary way, by giving importance to various aspects of refugee geography, refugee space and international borders. Studies show that refugee researches have been undertaken in various fields with different themes. An analysis of the themes in refugee research is necessary to make out the value of refugee research today.

Refugee studies have contributed in publishing research outputs in various disciplines pioneering anthropological, sociological, legal, geographical studies, field reports, medical analysis and health care. The researches in refugee studies could invite humanitarian interventions in this regard. Themes of dependency or autonomy, incorporation or exclusion institutionalization or empowerment, control or independence, livelihoods and resources, aids from various agencies, legal support,

distribution of refugees regionally and globally, casualties and the statistical analysis of refugees were the major focuses in refugee research.

But there are negligible amount of researches carried out in refugees' own discourses or voices of refugees themselves with ample theoretical underpinnings. Researching refugee voices can promote the development of field of refugee studies and also the study of millions of people directly or indirectly impacted by exodus and forced migration. Massive influx of involuntary and voluntary migration and displacement increase globally in a way that it is difficult to distinguish between them. As persecution of various kinds continue, seeking protection from political regimes, refugees exist as a political reality that demands more thematic and theoretical research explorations.

Refugee researches in the domain of humanities can look into more theoretical developments than operational one. Literary researches provide greater scope for understanding and disseminating the painful dilemma, conflicts, traumatic experiences of dispossession and dislocation, the impacts of war and other day to day absurd realities of refugeeization which all refugee must experience bitterly. Refugee literatures/ narratives by refugee community on their conditions of refugeehood seem to be succeeding in providing scope for more tangible and closer examination behind the universal camouflage of imposed assistance, resettlement, dependency and ultimately a forgotten/neglected problem.

Literary researches may operate under an assumption that: "Those best able to explain and promote an understanding of the parameters which govern their lives are the refugees themselves and the practitioners, administers and researchers within and from both host countries and refugee communities" (Zetter, Refugees and Refugee Studies 6). Refugee literary researches are to give expressions to their voices as much

as to their existence as research data and to their stories as much as their abstraction as cases.

International refugee crisis and its global impacts must be addressed with more significance and the issue of refugees must be democratized as part of research and academic endeavors. Resolving the large scale displacement is challenging. Peace building can be achieved only through an integrated approach. Integrating diverse disciplinary approaches as legal, political, historical, anthropological, geographical and moral would help in analyzing the issue more holistically and can suggest resolutions along with making the refugee issues democratized.

The cultural approach, not the disciplinary approach, encompassing diverse disciplines can showcase the refugee phenomenon as one with interlinked factors affecting everyday lives. Through a cultural research one, will be able to appreciate the complexities of contemporary processes of refugeeization with the historical moorings. Literary researches provide ample chances for such a cultural exploration into the contemporary debates on refugees and engage in humanitarian responses from an interdisciplinary perspective drawing on insights from historical experiences and current cases. It opens critical and creative thinking on the 'refugee texts', which are the lived experiences of refugees. Cultural research can help one in analyzing themes of displacement, dispossession, dislocation, war, day to day conflicts, exile and trauma which are the recurring aspects of refugee narratives—oral, visual and graphic. Researcher observes that the approach towards the study of refugees must be cultural too. In such a scenario literary approaches have more multitudes.

It is seen that different approaches are possible in refugee studies.

Conventional theoretical development in the field of refugee studies were limited to a certain sociological, anthropological and ethnographic studies. But there remains

many important lacunae in refugee literature research. Innovative, analytical and methodological approaches are necessary in this field of study as refugee issue is multi-dimensional one. To conceptualize and understand people like refugees who are in extreme conditions of stress, a study or a theoretical inquiry encompassing social, cultural, political, economic and anthropological insights are necessary. Disciplinary researches in refugee studies have often made focus on any one of these aspects only. An integrated and multi-disciplinary research only can accommodate various contours of refugee life with ample importance to the lived experience and day-to-day life. The analysis in the field of refugee researches would help one to make out that a theoretical approach concerning the varied issues of refugees is yet to be explored and formed.

An understanding of existing studies and research point out the need for more closely integrated application of theories and methods of inquiry with social, political, cultural, historical and geographical aspects of refugee life, because refugee phenomenon as Roger Zetter observes: "...from some perspectives can display paradoxical and inconsistent characters, from different perspectives can be seen to exist as a continuum" (Refugees and Refugee Studies 2). It emphasizes the need and scope of multi-disciplinary research in refugee studies.

Roger Zetter's study and analysis of refugeehood, Egon F Kunz' analysis of refugee displacement and resettlement, Foucault's analysis of power, bio power, bio politics, governmentality and its relation with refugees and nation- states, Giorgio Agamben's observations on refugeehood, Hannah Arendt's postulates on refugeehood, Phil Orchard's study on international refugee protection, Elena Fiddian Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona's study on refugee and forced

migration etc. have provided the necessary theoretical base for the studies of refugees and displacement.

Richard Black in his article suggests the need for new theoretical upbringings in the area of refugee studies. He says:

It may also be necessary to take more seriously the warning of Bascom (1998) that there is no 'theory of refugees' and accept that, as such, there is not going to be ... If this point is accepted, our goal should not be to highlight the distinctiveness of refugees, or any other differently defined group of forced migrants; rather, the search for theoretical grounding of refugee studies may be better achieved by situating studies of particular refugee (and other forced migrant) groups in the theories of cognate areas (and major disciplines). Such an approach would provide an opportunity to use the particular circumstances of refugee situations to illuminate these more general theories and thus participate in the development of social science rather than leading refugee studies into an intellectual cul-de-sac. (66)

The traditional theoretical tool to approach and analyze the refugee phenomenon is often limited to the purview of political and social sciences. The lack of theoretical tool for the conceptualization of refugee hood can be seen while the field of inquiry is brought under the purview of literature and discourse analysis. A multi-disciplinary approach or a cross disciplinary approach can only help in this regard. And at the same time the need for an array of theoretical approach to encapsulate literary and cultural texts/discourses by/on refugees are yet to be evolved.

Refugee literary research offers scope for cross disciplinary approaches.

Refugee literatures shed new insights on the ambiguous reactions which refugees frequently display towards their existence, settlement and assistance program. The

paradoxes and ambiguities of the status and everyday life of refugees are well portrayed in refugee literatures. It is a coalition of various aspects of refugee lives along with being a historical document of psychological inquiry on refugee lives. The political powers operating on the ground make refugee lives uncertain that in turn result in their memory, history, ethnicity, mobility, health, safety, agency, humanitarianism and protection which are reflected in the narratives by them so that such literary and cultural texts provide opportunities rethinking refugee issues from a variety of angles.

A research that excludes the broad insights provided by refugee narratives cannot be taken as authentic one since the wide array of refugee lives are inscribed in the form of narratives by the refugees themselves in their literatures. The exploration of refugee literatures give opportunities to know the life of refugees from the research perspectives. Texts are the socio- spatial, cultural and temporal productions which replicate not only refugee history but geography too from an ethical refugee standpoint.

Researching refugee literatures and narratives provide scope for interdisciplinary study to travel around various issues related with refugees, as their daily lives, micro and macro powers, exerted upon them and the power plays operates in their lives. Their history, their culture, status of political being, their collective psyche, dreams, hopes, social life, exilic status, dislocation, dispossession, homecoming, affectations of war, alienation, persecution, forced and voluntary migration and other aspects of lives of refugees are most profoundly disturbing human experiences. The trauma of those who are excluded from the societies or the mass exodus at times of acute political crisis need to be studied in detail.

The critical literary research can accommodate most of the realms of sociopolitical, historical, geographical, psychological and cultural aspects of refugee lives
which are documented in the form of refugee narratives rather than contractual
consultancy the free thinking researches are produced in literary researches and
publications as part of study of humanities.

Can location be a character in refugee narratives and discourses? Do the refugee narratives and refugee texts picture locations as mere abject land? Are there any tangential line possible between place, space and people in refugee writings? Is not the question of refugee a question of geography? Are not there parallelism between marginalization of space and marginalization of people? Do the refugees speak/ draw a counter space against colonial space in their literatures- oral, visual and graphic? Refugee literature displays refugee space and refugee geography. Kibreab's study on people, place, identity and displacement states:

Place still remains a major repository of rights and membership. The assumption that identities are de territorialized and state territories are readily there for the taking, regardless of place or national origin, has no objective existence outside the minds of its proponents. In a world where rights such as equal treatment, access to sources of livelihoods, social services, rights of freedom of movement and residence, etc. are apportioned on the basis of territorially anchored identities, the identity people gain from their association with a particular place is an indispensable instrument to a socially and economically fulfilling life. (385)

Researching the refugee space, place and people with an aesthetic - political imagination and interpretation of literary works would help in analyzing and understanding the reality of everyday lives of refugees with the historical, political

and geographical implications, in a linear and non-linear way at a particular territory. Parallelism can be made between the transformation of space and the process of refugee making, or the transformation of lives over the period. When politics play a major role in erasing the maps so as to create a clash between the mental map or imagined map and the actual social map of living, it gets reflected in the spatial narratives of refugees.

Deterritorialization of identity, homelessness, as well as statelessness have become the major features of our time, as Agamben states: "Exactly because he destroys the old trinity of state-nation-territory, the refugee, an apparently marginal figure, deserves to be considered as the central figure of our political history" (qtd. in Kibreab 386). Thus discourses on place, space and refugee show us a rift in ourselves that we wish to deny. Kibreab's comment is remarkable on the politicisation of place and refugee identity:

The relationship between a territory and identity, not in terms of a link between people and soil as such, but rather in terms of membership of a state occupying a given territory with the right to exclude others from that territory, is significant. People tend to identify strongly with their territories because of the opportunity this offers regarding rights of access to resources and protection by virtue of being a member or citizen of that territory. (408)

As it is remarked here, the politicisation of space and eviction lead to refugeeization.

This Fugitivity has been finding its way in literature now. While refugees narrate, one can see that the fugitivity and authorship are inseparably related.

Refugees were not enjoyed the freedom for publication for so many years in many parts of the world. But the voices of refugees must be captured to delineate the psycho-social trauma that they live through, and the political powers operating on

them, though, there exists, censorships, curtailing and confiscating of books, cultural productions and other publications, they experience certain amount of opportunities of authorship to some extend. Literatures by the refugees and the literary researches provide chances to explore, disseminate and document the refugee years, and can enhance wider range of publication in this regard. It sheds light into the obscuring objectivity of history too, through literary imagination.

Literature, being the product of race, milieu and moment it has been widely used by many writers to assert their identity and for self-revelation. Many writers explicate their inner ambition to live and to make others know that they are existing, in the midst aggressive powers. The meaning created by the authors and the meaning attained by the readers merge into a common agenda, through the written works that is self-expression and identification. The creation was being created at the cost of the creator. Greater amount of tolerance, the writers expect from their readers. Certain writings in the genres of refugee writings, prison writings, trauma narratives, war narratives etc. may distract the authority and would welcome some intolerances.

This intolerance has many faces that may be seen on two levels: the individual and the collective. When an individual shows greater amount of intolerance, the author can brush aside without much bruise in her inner persona. When the authority /regime becomes intolerant and regressive, many writers found it difficult not only to write but to sustain .The authority has shown varied methods to colonize, contain, trim and destroy the creativity since the most potential danger that they have seen in those revolutionary writers is their creativity. The author function, as it already been examined by Barthes and Foucault, has layers of implications and when it comes to the case of an author, who is a refugee/ fugitive, the ways in which the author-text juncture react in a specific space, may be more crucial.

Fugitivity is one such intricate issue concerning the human lives for years. Being a fugitive implies that borders have been still to overcome. It suggests flight of persons along with conditions of enslavement. Crossing the demarcating lines is, critical to the status of one, between citizenship and fugitivity. Fugitivity can be defined as a critical categorization, a condition which shifts from noun to verb in itself, which emanate a juridico- political complexity in terms of conflicting terrains of congealed identities. The term fugitivity, here, examines the conditions of being in a fugitive or refugee status. Refugee/ Fugitive literature is one of the evolving areas of contemporary literary and critical spectrum in which more introspective researches and studies are to be undertaken. What are the conditions of fugitivity? How does literature become a powerful means of expression, to such group of writers, which can give them a sense of existence? What are the conditions which compel them to write? What are the attitudes of ruling regimes towards the refuges? What could be the factors affecting the author, when she/ he is in a refugee status? Fugitivity, voices it out through their narratives.

Refugee literature and researches have been voices for refugees though not always made audible by them. Studies were often made on legal, statistical, diplomatic potential and welfare aspects of refugees in the fields of political science, law, statistics and other governmental and non-governmental welfare bodies for refugees. Refugee literature had not been evolved into a full-fledged body of literature until 1980s, though there were some representations. Most often statistical studies were held by different humanitarian agencies and organization in search of global aid processes.

By 1980s there was a massive influx of writings by these group of people globally. Refugees always exhibit certain issues like difficulty in being acknowledged

as citizens which is made audible in their writings. Themes of dependency or autonomy, incorporation or exclusion, institutionalization or empowerment, control or independence, livelihoods or resources, aids from agencies or lack of legal protection were the major focuses in refugee research along with studies on legal support, distribution of refugees globally, details of causalities and statistical analysis. Surely one can see that, refugee literature and researches have succeeded in inviting humanitarian intervention to this much disturbing body of discourses.

"The return of storytelling and a new emphasis on case studies have generated an interest in the art of writing ... the emphasis is therefore on 'excavating' and 'storytelling' rather than looking for overarching explanations", Baron observes the trends in the literatures of Middle East in general (qtd. in Johnson, "What Rosemary Saw"174). It can be observed that researches also focus on the lived experiences of people in the post millennial era, the body of refugee literatures and studies have also been (e) merging out as a poignant body of literatures belonging to various genres as memoirs, diaries, blogs, reportages, fictions and nonfictions, auto fiction and life narrations along with conventional forms of writings as poetry, short stories and drama. The writers exhibit their memories, experiences, reflections, politics and polemics by which they situate themselves at home in the world of homelessness and statelessness. An aesthetics of refugee own literatures must be evolved for the appreciation of refugee literatures.

Refugee narratives are relatively recent genres of literatures by refugees and of refugees. For refugees, to narrate, was the only way to declare that they do exist. The narratives- memoirs, diaries, non-fictions, mails, blogs, fictions, stories, life writing, autobiographies, etc. by the refugees can be taken as the record of lives, the life as lived. Refugee narratives present before the world the traces of life longitudinally as

well as cross-sectionally- the culturally, politically and epistemologically a (live) from which the life is getting evolved- narrated, the identities and social relations are produced, re (produced), contested and threatened. The practice of telling everyday life and stories of life have brought the life of refugee in the forefront of academic discussions and political impacts.

A shift towards personal cum political is visible in refugee narratives in general and in the case of Middle East Refugees in particular. Coming to Arab women narratives one can see that the paradigm shift is more evident as Miriam Cooke illustrates it in her study on hundred year's Arab women writing. She opines that they are telling their lives and hence, "a change in literary genres and themes mirrored social and political change" (212) Narration by refugees- include true stories told alive with formal and informal setting, faction and fiction- have a purpose along with being an aesthetic work of art. Refugee narratives take different literary forms as poetry, short story, fiction, nonfictions, autobiography, cartooning, graphic nonfiction, graphic memoirs, life writing, etc. Broadly speaking, refugee narratives mean the literary work of art by and about asylum seekers, refugees and stateless people.

Refugee narratives have global significance today as it allow one to Engage in contemporary debates on forced migration and humanitarian responses from an inter-disciplinary perspective, drawing on insights from historical experiences and current cases; and help one in thinking critically and creatively about policies related to refugees and forced migration, identifying their positive and problematic aspects and the intentions underlying them. Refugee narratives are dealing with the politics and poetics of being when citizenship is denied. The attention is 'ethnographic, political and historical' while the writers come up with 'life- histories' in their writings.

Involvement of refugees in production and reproduction of knowledge is a timely demand as the refugeeization and strangulation of people in the name of borders, citizenship and exclusive inclusiveness spread as a day-to-day reality leaving the political identity as a question unresolved. Refugees as a mind-blowing political reality suffer through the history- both diachronically and synchronically- as a vehicle for the circulation of power in the form of impoverished near colonialism, exercising the power in the macro and micro ways. When the lived experience becomes a text for research, the researcher can observe that the power evaporates from the locations turning life and space a complex reality in the locations of power. Here is the scope for researches in refugee literatures.

Critical approaches to places have led scholars to rethink as severely problematic the traditional ethnographic project of mapping various cultures onto discrete territories, each of which contains a particular, inscribed culture that can be investigated by an ethnographer "from outside," and which description of "difference from" is the primary goal. (Gabbert and Smith 219)

But when it comes to the case of place space interventions in statelessness and non-citizenship as in the case of refugees and forced migrants, space becomes a political construct with power written into it as it is mentioned by Gabbert and Jordan-Smith in the above quote. They conceive again:

Space was reconceptualized from a commonsense model -natural, neutral, a static container for meaning, the "stage" upon which history acts- to an essential element in the construction of social life and intricately implicated in the (re)production of power and ideology. Some argue that space is primarily a hidden tool in the restructuring of capital (Harvey 1990, 2006), others suggest that additional factors such as race and gender are implicated in constructions

of spatiality; in folklore, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in particular has focused on struggles for power in contested spaces, particularly as manifested in imagery and representation (2003), and on diaspora, problematizing normative presumptions of singular attachments and pointing out disturbing ideologies underlying the uses of terms such as homelessness, placelessness, and rootlessness. (219)

Geographical sites, apart from being a demographic entity, enters into the literary text as a literary site with its multilayered, seen and unseen, exercises of power. Such a feature of refugee literatures leave locations in the refugee texts as a site for literary research. Opportunities should exist for wider examination of refugee phenomenon, for publishing research and for developing theoretical and analytical tool exclusively for generic field of refugee studies/ refugee narratives that necessitates serious multi-disciplinary research efforts.

Middle Eastern areas are one such groups of locations that exhibits the exercises of power on them. The violent geographical imagination of European powers has resulted in colonial practices which further has created the refugee crisis in Asian American and African territories. Middle Eastern refugee crisis is one of the significant issues of refugee crisis though refugee is a global phenomenon. As per the statistics of UNHCR and UNRWA world is witnessing severe refugee crisis in the post 1990 era resulting in mass exodus and dispossession. People of Palestine, Syria, Myanmar, Iraq, Somalia, Congo, Sudan and Libya are affected in the profound form of refugee hood. Middle Eastern countries are most often the subject matter of the refugee crisis for a long time due to multiple colonial/ neo colonial invasions and wars

that continue even in the post-colonial era. 'The New Middle East' must be tidied up; states, citizens and borders must correspond, disruptive anomalies must be removed" says Rosemary Sayigh while analyzing the issue of dissolving refugee problem in Middle East (19).

The orient occident dichotomies and discourses problematized by Edward

Said and other postcolonial critics as Gayatri Spivak and Frantz Fanon take varied

dimensions of post postcolonial coloniality when it comes in the case of Middle East
regions. Among those regions, the refugee issue of the Palestine is most unique one.

Postcolonial theoretical setting further extends to new theoretical realms of production
of space, human geography, cultural and political geography, geopolitics and
biopolitics etc., in the post millennial scenario of place- space interventions.

Literatures operate on a conflicting terrain of spaces of surveillance and spaces of
appearance. As Marquez states:

Spaces of appearance can also be generated within spaces that are otherwise characterized by surveillance. Witness, for example, the many activists in the Middle East who during the early twenty-first century have used social-media technologies to enter the public space and mobilize collective action through their stories of resistance to oppression, even though the same technologies enabled governments to monitor the citizens' activities. (29)

Palestine was imagined as such an empty space and as a land without people for a people without land. That view accelerated the invasion of Palestine. Zionism acted on it and still acts as a politico-spatio- literary practice. It has gained legitimacy in the Western world and it has acted on the grounds of Middle East, especially in

Palestine, by the assistance of European powers that have accentuated the refugeeization of Middle East. Understanding the unique case of fugitivity of Palestinians, through an interdisciplinary approach of reading and analyzing the narratives by the Palestinians belonging to different locations, has new research magnitudes in the current global refugee setting which is carried out in the following chapters of this project.

Chapter 3

Fugitivity, Palestine and the Middle East: A Critique

In her essay "Of Place, Time and Language", Adania Shibili, the Palestinian novelist reflects on her personal and Palestinian collective experience of waiting, living in, and seeking for life in Palestine. She perceives:

As I grew up, my cities grew with me, while Jenin remained little. I did not visit it except in transit, on my route from Jerusalem or Ramallah to my village near Jenin, travelling to visit my family. However, since the closing and blocking of roads and the spread of checkpoints in 2000, it had become impossible for Palestinian cars, to use that route and I could no longer travel on it. But now in this spring seven years later I will do so as a passenger in a German diplomatic car. (qtd. in Johnson and Shehadeh 63)

Shibili's observations serve as an aid for delineating the real Palestinian dilemma of place and time, as she is writing about Palestine as an insider. Her words provide an insight into the daily life of Palestinians.

What does it mean to be a Palestinian today? What does it mean to be a Palestinian refugee in Palestine, in present day Israel, in Lebanon, in Syria or other parts of the Middle East or the world today? Rosemary Sayigh, the Beirut anthropologist, in her article "Dis/solving the Refugee Problem" asks: "Which Palestinians count as refugees?" (19). She further opines that: "If we include all Palestinians outside historic Palestine- around 3650,000 in 1995 – and add them to the more than 1, 108, 767 displaced inside we reach a figure of more than 4,750,000 or around 70 percent of the total Palestinian population" (19). Sayigh points out the

intensity of refugeeization in Palestine, which is an ongoing ground reality, even today.

This chapter deals with the fugitivity and Palestine in the broader platform of Middle Eastern refugeehood. It consists of a review, a road map, of the earlier researches on Palestine and Palestinian society. The spatiality of Palestine, the ongoing settler colonialism in the form of classical colonialism in Palestine even in this postcolonial era, the statelessness of Palestine parallel to the Israeli nationalism, its geopolitics, politics of labelling of Palestinian refugees, geographical spaces versus the literary and aesthetic spaces of Palestine, Palestinian refugee narratives and the major themes, and the politics and poetics of everyday lives in Palestine are also explored here. The chapter ends by situating the contemporary Palestinian women writers as the tellers of cross section of the Palestinian present.

Territoriality, in the context of settler colonialism of Israel in Palestine, leads to the dispossession of indigenous people and population transfer from the native land that advance day by day. It is justified by the state of Israel in the name of national security. Placing the Zionist project in Palestine within the context of settler colonialism, reveals the strategies and goals behind the region's rules of governance that include violence, repressive state laws, macro and micro level powers, racial forms of surveillance etc. Settler colonialism or Israeli State's governance always shows three foundational concerns-violence, territory and population control that rest on the racialist discourses and practices.

The literary expressions of the self, identity and society in Palestinian literature inside and outside Palestine, seem to be more like the expressions of / on the land and it unveils various powers or inscriptions on the land. The Palestinian self – whether in Palestine or outside of it- is always reflexive, historical, cultural,

interactive and contextual. Location reciprocates in many ways in the formation and reformation of the self. For Palestinians, both land and its dispossessions, and the 1948 Nakba (Catastrophe) which was accompanied by ethnic cleansing have been central to the understanding of the self and identity formation across generations. People inhabit the land of Palestine, in the midst of a series of questions on nationality and citizenship, seeking a solution for the incursions that operate in many levels. Land limits the people and it creates a resistance culture on the part of the victims. The locations seem to separate individuals than accommodate them and make them outsiders in the sites of their own origin which create an ambivalence about inclusions and exclusions in the spheres of citizenship, nationality and culture. Individuals, as they move between spaces and time, are facing the question of survival, due to the liminality of space and place. It is nostalgic and sentimental at one level- in the case of refugee, exile, émigré, expatriate- and denial of rights and becoming an outcast in homeland at another level.

The self and land are not operating as products of solitary experiences but as collective ones since memory also play a vital role in the place, space and identity realms. Land has an enduring effect in self-positioning in the Palestinian context as it is subjected to multiple occupation and domination under different regimes. Orthodox and straitjacket interpretations of Palestinians by the Western academics and Israeli scholarship have been changing considerably by the revisionist studies from Palestine, developing the research perspectives into a broader world view and conceiving aspects of Jewish invasion as settler colonialism. In Palestine, the settler colonialism operates in multiple levels that calls for a contemporary analysis, along with historical case studies. It is observed that:

Among the approximately 80 million refugees currently displaced around the globe close to 6 million are Palestinian refugees who comprise more than half of the global population of the Palestinian people and have constituted one of the largest national groups with this unenviable status for about sixty years. (Zureik xvi)

Israel's dominant role as a dispossessor of Palestine is to be examined in association with territory or territoriality as it is the determining factor in the life of Palestinians. The settler colonialism still act upon the lives of Palestinians in many forms, today.

Homogenization of the land in Palestine and in the present day Israel, through the reformation of the Palestinian identity and space, are turning them into refugees in homeland. It has been a pressing political concern of the day. "Unlike other states, (Post) colonial, Israel has no intention of integrating Palestinian community into its socioeconomic and political fabric", notes Elia Zureik (xvi). The Palestinian self — whether in Palestine or outside of it- is always reflexive, historical, cultural, interactive and contextual. Location reciprocates in many ways in the formation and reformation of the self. For Palestinians, both land and its dispossessions, and the 1948 Nakba (Catastrophe) which was accompanied by ethnic cleansing have been central to the understanding of the self and identity formation across generations. Patrick Wolfe's observation in this regard is also remarkable here. "Zionist policy in Palestine constituted an intensification of, rather than the departure from, the settler colonialism. (qtd. in Zureik xvi)

Israel has pursued persistent surveillance techniques and brutal policies to subdue and thwart active Palestinian aspirations in Israel, West Bank and Gaza with their own political power plays. "Since its early days the main focus of Israel has been

to depopulate Palestine of its original inhabitants, denationalize its refugees and siege Palestinian land and property in order to accommodate Jewish settlers and actualize the Zionist project", Sygmunt Bauman, the Polish sociologist, has observed rightly. He opines that: "Israel is taking advantage of Holocaust to legitimize unconscionable acts", such as the West Bank Wall, which he compares to the wall built around the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw (qtd. in Zureik xvi).

Biopolitical and territorial control carried out by the Israel's settler colonialism has been analyzed in terms of sociological and anthropological perspectives, with theoretical underpinnings. Distinguished anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's statement in support of the Boycott and Divestment Campaign (BDS) -a reaction to Israel's practices in the West Bank and Gaza, captures the theoretical and empirical concerns of the study in focusing the relationship between colonialism, bio politics and territory. Stoler observes that it would be difficult not to recognize Israel's past and ongoing illegal seizure of Palestinian land, the racialization of every aspect of daily life, and the large-scale and piecemeal demolition of Palestinian homes, destruction of livelihoods, and efforts to destroy the social and familial fabric as decimation by concerted and concentrated colonial design (qtd in Zureik 2).

Even in the post-colonial, post global era, the control over the native inhabitants is refashioned, raising challenges on the globalization thesis of transnationality. The ideas of home, nation, boundary, belonging and micro influences on the familial, social relations in shaping a self is in turn affected in a reactionary way, especially in the phase of settler colonialism, as the cultural geographer Derek Gregory Remarks (2007) while he was discussing the colonial present in Iran, Afghan and Palestine: "While they may be displaced, distorted and (most often) denied, the capacities that inhere within the colonial past are routinely reaffirmed and

reactivated in the colonial present" (qtd. in Zureik 3). An understanding of the fugitivity in Palestine today includes thorough observation of researches carried out on Palestinian society and nationalism. Discourses on place, space and refugeehood, sites of refugeehood, Zionist discourses, and the geopolitics of the refugee issues must be addressed in detail. The definition of a refugee, as enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, has been regularly challenged over the past seventy years, and is under constant review by academics. Palestinian refugee is one such group whose case does not fit in to the definition put by 1951 Refugee Convention. Palestinian refugeehood has been studied by scholars from different fields like, political science, history, sociology etc. However literary researches seeking to deepen understandings on Palestinian refugeehood are relatively a few. In such a context Palestinian literary spaces, and the refugee narrations from Palestine become more meaningful and relevant since the narratives mirror the complexities of daily lives in Palestine. A thematic overview of researches on Palestinian society seems essential to carry out researches on present day Palestinian narratives.

Academic studies on/of contemporary Palestine and the Palestinians have a long way since they first made their scholarly debate in the early 1960s. As Elia Zureik, the sociologist, has rightly mentioned:

Several thematic and theoretical approaches have been making headway in our understanding of Palestinian society which come from variety of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, social history, historical studies of colonialism, post-colonial and cultural studies, human rights and sociological studies, criminology, geography and more recently contribution from women studies, visual studies, medical sociology, social studies

of science, globalization, internet and cyber studies and international research. (12)

Analying Zureik's findings, one can see that the studies have been mostly carried out in the domain of humanities and social science. It further ascertains that researches and studies based on literary expressions of Palestinian society, with ample focus on their refugeehood- in connection with their space, locality and territory- are comparatively less. As political, sociological, cultural and economic aspects of refugees and forced migrants are of global interest, there must be more researches on Palestinian society as they are a unique category of people whose identity cannot be defined by conventional standards of refugeehood. Anthropological and ethnographic researches on everyday life and oral history of Palestine have made important contributions in these aspects (Sayigh 1979; L. Abu-Lughod 2007 and Masalha 2012). But researches based on the aesthetic and cultural productions by the natives of Palestine are noticeably less.

The Study of dispersal of Palestinians and statistical analysis on the quantitative data of Palestinian lives and people are undertaken by Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) with the scientific and financial association of other international organizations. Political /national identity of Palestinians, involvement of Palestinians in Intifada or Palestinian uprising against settler colonialism that lasted from 1987 to 1994, and Al Aqsa Intifada from 2000 October to 2005 have triggered scholarly attentions under the domain of political science and sociology (Nassar and Heacock 1990 and Zureik 1996). Violence, suicide bombing and religious overtones of Palestinian space also have found scholarly dimensions within the perspectives of human rights (Pipes 2002; Karsh 2006). It was observed that politics had predominated in most of those scholarly investigations.

Palestinian historiography and its encounter with Zionism was a seminal approach undertaken by Walid Khalidi to the understanding of Palestinian society. It was he who disclosed the Zionist intensions to expel and depopulate Palestine of its Arab inhabitants as a prelude to establishing the state of Israel (Khalidi 1988). One of the main aims of the Palestinian historiography is the attempt to deconstruct the Zionist narratives and to construct a Palestinian narrative since the Zionist narrative had already gained the acceptance of the Western academia. Palestinian historiography claims that Zionist historiography had invented a history for Jews and constructed religious and historical myths in order to prove the rights of Jews to the territory of Palestine. Rachel Maissy- Noy observes:

The entry of the Zionists into Palestine is presented by Palestinian historiography as part of the imperialistic concept which holds that the entry of the white man into overseas territories brings progress to these areas and rescues the inhabitants from their backwardness. This approach is expressed mainly by Edward Said in his book The *Question of Palestine*. It would not be an exaggeration to say that most of the Arab and Palestinian historians take this approach and present Zionism as the executive arm of European imperialism. (898)

Cross fertilization between Social Sciences and other disciplines in Humanities has been an area of interest for Palestinian scholars for years as part of historical research. Such historical researches have been benefited and succeeded in "challenging the dominant versions of Palestinian history which were originally contributed by mainstream Western and Israeli scholars" (Zureik, *Israel's Colonial Project* 15). Economics based studies and researches have also been undertaken on Palestinian refugees considering their various locales and statuses, to cognize their

place in the economy of the host society and in the Middle East regions generally. Economists have already questioned the feasibility of the state of Israel in the light of their policies of expanding settlements and confiscating the Palestinian land (Liela Farsakh 2005; Raja Khalidi and Sobhi Samour, 2011). Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa also has explained the same in detail in 2009.

The social and economic living conditions of Palestinian community have been observed by scholars, following mainstream economic and social sciences approaches. International organizations such as United Nations Office of the Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Processes(UNESCO, 2011, the World Bank (2013), Swiss agency for Development and cooperation (SDC 2002) UNRWA, and Norwegian Nongovernmental organization have conducted reliable surveys and assessment on deteriorating living conditions of Palestinians, both socially and economically.

Education in Palestine and the pedagogical nature of the system in Palestine, and the treatment of Palestinian education under various political regimes also has been a matter of study for researchers (Mazaavi 1996). Marginalized lives of refugees and studies of gender were major discussions for many scholars (Nadir Abu Zahra and Adah Kay 2013). Liminality was observed in political terms most often.

Researches were carried out on the planning for Palestinian higher educational needs under the auspices of UNESCO. The studies recommended a view of establishing a Palestinian open university to cater to the need of all Palestinians in the Middle East.

Palestine has attracted the attention of national and international research efforts. The social and political movements on Palestine- their activities, espousal of religious ideologies, the media interventions, and the press and media in Palestine and the Middle East, were also areas of phenomenological study (Tamimi 2007). Israeli

and Palestinian, Jewish and Islamic fundamentalism were also not an exception in academic researches (Lustick 1988). Recent studies and researches focus on the most contemporary phases of Palestinians including the study of internet habits and use of social media in shaping political landscape of the territory. Researches were held on Palestinian's use of the internet and online communications that shed light on our understanding of the role of non-governmental organizations in political mobilizations.

A shift is visible in the field of researches on Palestinian society during 1990s and after. Israeli academic contributions and Western contributions about the Palestine and Palestinians are important ones in this regard. Benny Morris was the first Israeli historian to address the question of Palestinian refugees in a detailed manner in his work *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949*. His works contributed towards the revisionist history or post-Zionist history. Elia Zureik in his study on Israel's colonial project reports that, in 1990s more Israeli researches began to turn their attention to the issue of Palestinian refugees, and also a new generation of Western scholars mainly from anthropology, sociology, geography, culture and media studies continued to make significant contributions to the study of Palestinian refugees. Most of the researches about Palestinian society demonstrated that the knowledge on the society has ties with location and the geography.

Land and discourses on the land have been the indisputable factors in the studies and researches related to Palestinian society and refugeehood, under the auspices of various disciplines as geography, sociology, anthropology, economics, history, political science and other areas of humanities and social sciences. Pre Nakba period (Pre-1948), British mandate period, Post Nakba period, Post Zionist phase and the contemporary age of Occupied Territories of Palestine (OTP) have exhibited

different forces and pressures on the people in the name of land. Borders, walls, check points, curfews and zonal divisions are the base of everyday realities in Palestine. Competing claims of land ownership, cultivation, access to natural resources, residential segregation and demolitions of land were the objectives of study under social sciences that learnt about the demographic aspects of social control, and national conflicts out broke as an after effect of it. Urban localities and militarization of the cities have been problematized by geographers and urban planners (Stephen Graham 2010).

Effect of war and study of war zones were another area of interest under geographical, sociological and political studies in Palestine. Being refugees over 70 years, war and war zones have transformed the life of Palestinians to mere bodies in one way. Moreover their lives are under threat always. The military dynamics and tactics of Israeli authorities aim at depopulation and de territorialisation of Palestinian ethnic community. Mushrooming of unseen barriers within the habitats of Palestinians is quite commonly seen in Palestinian territory. As Palestine is turning to be depalestinised, the political and social citizenship is also equality affected. "Today the maps of Israel reveal a new geography of Israeli towns, farms, fields, factories, water parks, and universities replacing the majority of Palestinian villages that used to be within its borders" (290), Rochelle Davis comments about the geographies of dispossession in Palestine. Laleh Khalili's study of the location of Palestine is also an important one to mention here:

Heavily militarized and policing cities curtail the movements and enclave the inmates in the restricted spaces which turn the place of Palestine into spatial laboratory under Israeli military control. The taming of the landscape via

geographical surveys and geographic maps were instrumental to British mandate itself. (419)

She further continues that the use of security walls, and the watch towers to arrest the movements of rebels (natives) were also implemented by the British rules. Along with the physical barriers, closures (military occupation of individual villages) and curfews were also employed by them to inhibit Palestinians movements. Khalili's remarks explicates the situation further: "In 1938, for the first time ever the British banned the Friday prayers in the al-Aqsa mosque in order to prevent mass protests which was a measure to stop counter insurgency by the inhabitants" (422).

She reveals that: "Much of the old city of Jaffa was destroyed to punish Jaffan protests. It was done under the pretense of city planning and public hygiene and with five-four hours' notice" (423). The brutality exerted on the people with the tool of territorial colonial operation or geographical insurgency is clearly understood. Thus it can be observed that many of Israel's Emergency Regulations on the land and the lives of people, and laws, were originally British laws adopted in wholesale in 1948 upon the birth of the state of Israel, and the same laws were continued through settler colonialism by Israel too. The ever changing land rules and insurgencies turn the location of Palestine into an endangering space for the natives. The situation demands an inquiry with sufficient backing of the idea of politicization of space and place in Palestine.

The much celebrated Madrid Oslo Process of the early 1990s though acclaimed in the history as Peace Process brought neither peace nor sovereignty to the Palestinians and Palestine. Instead it brought segregation and surveillance that resulted in ethnographic field works by Israeli authority in the disguise of security, which actually aimed at controlling people.

State's racism, population containment and territorial dispossession were executed on the land/space of Palestinian territory in the name of securitization. Palestinian land has been viewed in different ways in residual biblical relics and it was also viewed as an oriental subject. Sanctity of Israel, given by the West, also made this process of colonization easy. "Palestine as a homeland and Palestinians as its inhabitants, both defy conclusive definitions" (476), says Khaled Furani and Dan Rabinowitz. Their study on the ethnography of Palestine underlines:

Prior to 1948, Palestine had been the homeland of a predominantly Arab-Muslim native population with a rich genealogy traceable to the antiquity of numerous imperial and local civilizations, including Canaanite, Edomite, Israeli, Greek, Roman Nabatean, Arabian, Philistine, Phoenician and Egyptian. (477)

They also observe that this multiplicity, notwithstanding Palestinian cultural and social forms, which emerged with the beginning of Muslim sovereignty in the 7th century AD, endured for more than thirteen centuries, disrupted only by the Crusades. Until the early 20th century, a sense of rootedness in place was visible among Arabs of Palestine. As Said puts it "Until the modern era this predominantly present society had an indissoluble bond with the land" (qtd in Furani and Rabinowitz 477). So the studies and researches show that onset of western expansion brought the crisis in to the land of Palestine. Ethnographic studies direct that present Palestinian society needs to be analyzed historically with the place as a central metaphor in their lives.

Three kinds of locales can be observed in Palestine while analyzing the current inhabitants in the land of Palestine. First category of people are Palestinians who remained either in their original communities or elsewhere as IDPs within those parts

of their homeland on whose ruins Israel was established, and who were eventually granted formal Israeli citizenship. Second category of people are Palestinians living in the land that Israel occupied in 1967- both those who had lived there prior to 1948 and those who came as refugees in 1948. Third are Palestinians who became refugees or residents or citizens in other Arab countries or beyond.

While charting the Palestinian ethnography from 19th century to the present, researchers can observe that- considering Palestine as a prevalent ethnographic subject since late 1980s, after the problematization of the refugee studies and ethnographic studies within the various locales- Palestinian have various degrees of formal citizenship, different kinds of identification with their respective host states correspondingly range of rights and limitations in residence, employment, education, property ownership, movement, basic human rights and political agency. The analysis is made here in understanding critical subjectivity of Palestine as a problem space and conceptual space in connection with the refugee identify.

Biblical references and European reasoning of life constructed Paleo geographic arguments on Palestinian land. European writers animated their own patrimony by following the footsteps of emblematic Biblical figures. As it is observed by scholars: "...the consequences of this 'Biblical anthropology' was validation of nascent Zionist claim of a historic return to a promised land" (Furani and Rabinowitz 478). Twelfth century scientific interest in ethnography has eclipsed earlier claims on the land as holy land of Heathens and Mohammedans, introducing new ones as Palestine, primitives, Moslems, Orientals and Arabs. This scientific understanding then challenged a colonial British version of Palestinian history that saw Arabs in Palestine as transient and ephemeral, offering narratives that challenged the endorsement by the Balfour Declaration of national Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Parallel to this, non- theoretical notions also evolved as the Israeli state's logic whose national logic of secularized Zionism permits only single Jewish sovereignty.

Palestine becomes a strategically important area among the Middle Eastern countries since it remains as one of the most vulnerable spaces in the Middle East, where people are always at the risk of displacement.

The hegemonic interest that permeated academic circles on both sides of the Atlantic, during 1950s shifted focus away from Palestine. Being scattered community Palestinians and their predicament became marginal to social science and other disciplinary inquiries that echoed their exclusion from any kind of political agency. Neither as ethnic community studies nor as refugee studies Palestinians' presence was not visible in academic research until the last phase of mid1980s. "Among refugees worldwide, Palestinian constitute the longest standing and largest population still awaiting resolution" (Furani and Rabinowitz 479). Palestinians were largely absent in the interdisciplinary field of refugee studies, though Middle Eastern issues were brought into the forefront by the end of 20th C. This silence illustrates the reluctance of Western scholars to confront the quagmire of Palestinian refugees. Malkki and Julie Peteet have tried to fill this remarkable gap in researches. Middle Eastern area studies in general and Palestinian studies in particular were not agenda for major academic enterprises that was embedded in the hands of Western academia and scholarship.

Parallel to this, Israel became a stellar example of modernizing national awakening in an age of decolonization with its demographic expansion, economic growth, and establishment in short period. "The status of Israel that the country offers heavenly places for endangered Jews/refugees from Europe and beyond, completely overshadowed the moral and material injuries of Palestinians in the aftermath of 1948" (Moors et al. 124). Moreover Jewish Zionist version of history which was

popularized through pictures, reports, news, visuals etc., overpowered and disarmed Arab version of history. Exploring the ideas of Moors and others one can understand that:

A term "Israeli Arabs" was designed to abrogate the history of 160,000 Palestinians who happened to be Israeli second class citizens after 1948. Being a residual community forming 16% of Israeli population in 1949, these Israeli Arabs were utilized by Israeli culturists to fabricate secular and modern identity of Israeli state". (130)

It created a dichotomy between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli as traditional, detached Palestinians vs. rational forward looking modernizing Israelis.

Palestinian people and place need special attention among the Middle Eastern territories since the land exhibits unique demographic and political behaviors. Lentin, an Israeli – Irish Jewish political sociologist, observes about the unique political being of Palestine as, "Not a state, but rather a territory, a national entity, perhaps a state- in –becoming, Palestine occupies a central position in the contemporary political imagination" (1). Ilan Pappe, an expatriate Israeli historian and socialist activist also considers Palestinian case as different one among the Middle Eastern histories. He says that a segregationist ideology worked in Palestine. "The political leaderships of both sides did their utmost to prevent cooperation on an occupational basis and preached ethnic and national segregation" (*Modern Middle East* 133).

Post structural and Post-colonial era marked a turn from the silenced selfevident category of Palestine into an object of inquiry by new generation of anthropologists, questioning the efforts of Israel that repressed Palestine nationalism and normalized Israel's colonial destabilizing racial characters. This made an entry of Palestine and its land into a subject of scholarship and inquiry. Elia Zureik makes a proper review of the road map of such researches on Palestine in his work, Israel's Colonial Project in Palestine, as summarized here. Asad's Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter (1973) Said's Orientalism (1978) and The Question of Palestine (1979) are noteworthy texts in this regard. More works on refugees and prisoners came out, considering Palestine as a unique case of anthropological enquiry. Works of Julie Peteet, Rema Hammami, Rashid Khalidi, Ilana Feldman, Rosemary Sayigh, Sari Hanafi, Ilan Pappe etc., are identifiable ones. Many issues such as land struggles and peasant's problem were brought out. The study of reproduction (Faier 1997), visual media, popular culture and poetry (Muhawi and Kanana 1989), cultural erosion (Qleibo 1992), humanitarian aid (Feldman 2007) and the development of civil society (Faier 1997) became research topics with relation to Palestine. Palestinian migration (Escribano and al-Joubeh 1983), martyrdom and suicide bombing (Laird 1998), collaboration of Arab Israeli with Israeli forces of occupation (Kanaaneh 2009), refugee issues (Feldman 2008) and olive agriculture (Meneley 2008) were also studied by scholars. Furani and Rabinowitz pinpoint the absence of sufficient Palestinian studies in the pre1980 period. They pointed out: "Our survey indicates that prior to the late 1980s the study of Palestine was almost nonexistent in the social scenes and humanities including anthropology (482).

Palestinian, as a subject of inquiry became popular in the postcolonial period. Multiculturalism, indigenous issues and ethnicity were problematized in connection with Palestinian society later (Jung 2008). The study of memory as a mode of preservation of Palestinian truth is also significant in the research map of Palestine (Abu-Lughod-2007). Said's observation that Palestine no longer exists except as memory is also crucial point to mention here (1979). Researches promoted by the Palestine American Research Center and the Center for Palestine Studies at Columbia

University are of greater importance as they extensively brought out studies on the natives. Yet the academic inquiry shows that statelessness of Palestinians in the twenty first century displays much more untouched aspects of research.

Palestine is struggling for a national sovereignty in between repression and resistance. Palestine is politically and strategically potential area in which religious, social, cultural and historical theories have been written in to. The destabilization of the land of Palestine has been viewed geographically too. Post Zionist Israel has failed in creating an inclusive Israeli state of Jews and Arabs. Moreover the repressive powers and forces of Israel spreads its genocidal activities to the occupied land of Palestine too. Israeli is Paradoxical to its own predicament of sovereign state with its foundations of theology as a Jewish nationality.

Israel's policy of exclusion have been well studied and warned by critics and theorists. Hannah Arendt argues in this regard that:

If nationality is what binds a state to its citizens it is doomed to repress some of them negate their rights and even go so far as to segregate, expel and turn them into stateless, extra territorial beings or absent presence who have as Judith Butler notes *nowhere to go.* (qtd. in Hever and Katz 632)

The observations made by Arendt is that a nation-state achieves its legitimacy via nationality. But being a nation- state, Israel controls people who are not bound with them as it is rightly pointed out by Butler "When a nation- state uses a state of emergency to control those who do not belong to the dominant culture, these minorities are likely to be expelled, imprisoned or discriminated against by having their rights delegitimized" (qtd. in Haver and Katz 632). The sovereignty of nation-state of Israel reciprocates at the Palestinian community brushing them aside from the

thought of having a place to call home. Palestinians dissolve to the land of their own but are unable to solve the issue of nationality and citizenship.

For the majority of Palestinians, nationalism, class and refugee status are inextricably intertwined as long as the absence of any breakthrough processes continues. These vast and complex majority of people who comprise the world's biggest refugee population will remain as oppositional potential for the foreseeable future, if there are no curative measures. Only the collective memory, collective survival, resistance and persistence are their weapons to withstand in a land that is dissolving day by day without a proper solution.

Why can't the Palestinian community pursue their nationality and existence free of oppression? The political reality of the Palestinian territory make it does not happen. The fertile land of Palestinian is fragmented into broken territories that lead to ludicrous situations, breaking the ties of people with land. Dissolving the people to their own land and solving the issues seem to be a political reality which is far away. Palestine is always a question which is central to the regional instability of Middle East so that elimination of Palestinian refugees in essential to the pacified Middle East, free to fulfill its designated role as in the global economy. Hence, it seems that solving the issues is not a near future. K R Singh's evaluation of the situation of Palestine in the post millennial period indicates the complexity of the issue. Singh says that "The Palestinian situation today is caught between two hardliners who have non -negotiable set of demands. For Jews the territory is God's gift to them. For the Palestinians it is a waqf and hence non-negotiable" (qtd. in Gosh 94). Thus as Singh interprets the settlement is not an easy one. It raises the question about the existence of Palestinians in their own homeland searching their identity, a status between citizenship and refugeehood, between temporary and vague.

Many politicized practices as stereotyping of refugees, conformity to a group, disaggregation, political power relations etc., work as the conceptual tools of bureaucratic labelling of refugees. Both labelled and the labelers are often subject to politicized meanings that deny certain entries and keeps certain hierarchies of interest. The non-participatory nature and powerlessness of refugees in these politics and processes of labelling are evident truths.

There are conceptual and operational limitations to the existing definition of refugees. People become labeled as refugees within the context of public policy practices. It may not be an apt strategy to completely accommodate all the persons who may come under the refugee status. The label refugee constitutes, one of the most severe label within the repertoire of human concerns. The determination of status seems very biased and political, moreover it chances for the further aids from international agencies and considerations by organizations to be addressed and assimilated into major global area.

Who is a refugee, who is a Palestinian refugee and how an identity does formed, transformed and manipulated within certain context of political, historical and geographical norms of a refugee are observed in the refugee studies. Roger Zetter rightly perceives:

Despite a widely recognized universal condition it remain the case that there is great difficulty in agreeing an acceptable definition of the label refugee.

This is more than a taxonomic problem because, far from classifying an identity the label conveys, instead an extremely complex set of values and judgments which are more than just definitional. (Refugee and Refugee Studies 1)

This statement arguments the complexity of labeling and defining, considering whole status of people who turn to be refugees.

The term refugee seems to be a malleable one with notion of persecution and sovereignty. There are internally displaced people enduring physical and social trauma equal to that of refugees. But they are not officially labeled as refugees. Concepts of migration and refugeehood have points of intersection but not treated in that precision. Bureaucratic interests function as determinants in the definition of label of refugees. Registered refugees and non-registered refugees are another one major problem while addressing the issues of refugees. Often a politically rich vein of the exploration of the refugee phenomenon was taken into consideration while defining and labeling refugees. But certain interplay of interests and institutional label become problematic one at the outset of international aid and address, humanitarian concepts, initiatives of consideration and resolution, rehousing programs, permission to return to native land etc.

Definitional issues exist in Palestinian refugeehood since the population is a highly complex one. Who is a Palestinian refugee is still unresolved issue for many scholars and critics. Concepts of migration- both voluntary and enforced, concepts of refugeehood and settlement remain lacking in precision. Legal norms and legitimacy sanctioned by UNHCR work with an authenticating / labeling agenda for the approach of help and aids in case of refugees.

Palestinian population is a mixed category carrying all the evil politics of these labeling of the refugees. A non-elective stigmatizing, stereotyping and imposing happen in the labeling of these refugees in Palestine that result in alienating the people of the land from their own soil. Rather than the socio-economic and physical aspects, the demographic aspects of the people reasons for the categorization. Critics and

scholars are of different opinion in considering the people of Palestine as refugees. Some are of the opinion that only those who lost their households during Nakba of 1948 can be considered as refugees. Some critics believe that all the Palestinian living in the occupied territory can be called refugees. At the same time certain scholars think that Palestinians are internally displaced persons not refugees. Some believe that Palestinian community who are in exile can only be treated as refugees. Conflicting definitions are the emblematic mark of Palestinian refugees.

So the eligibility to be included as the refugees exists in varying discursive modes. Imposed identities and oppositional definitions often make Palestinian refugees, a community, who are outside of most of the refugee folks and statistics. In a scenario where the borders of Palestinian land is a quite problematic one and the definitional features of the nation do not suit the Palestinian territory, the people who belong to the area of Palestine are in a way being treated as nationless, stateless ones. How are the citizens being considered when the territory is not even developed to be called or recognized as a nation -state?

Along with the implicit tools of marginalization of the Palestinian refugees from among the already being relegated refugee community, Palestinian refugee consciousness shows confusing terrain of this split identities as refugees. Being the majority in number and minority in political representation, Palestinian refugees always exist as a politicized identity who are located in the contested land of the world. Rather than refugees of world wars, refugees of revolution, refugees of natural calamities, Palestinian refugees are specialized category of people who are on a continual journey of their political exclusion from their own land without being considered by the definitional provisions of bureaucracy and world order.

Palestinian communities are often neglected in the statistical and demographic studies on refugees. They every so often lack visibility in the refugee map of the world. As the state of Palestine has never been able to occupy the position in the world map as a country of independence, governments and humanitarian organization and the global agencies do not visibly mark Palestinian refugees in their statistical study, like other community of world refugees. Battle for visibility claims, has rightly taken Palestinian to the world of letters to claim their story and history. Ilana Feldman clearly portrays this desire of the Palestinian communities to be the voices than the hearers. She reiterates: "In an article published in 1984, Edward said called attention to the fact that Palestinian did not have 'permission to narrate'- to tell their own histories to make their own claims —in mainstream media outlets" (498).

The desire to be visible among the international community and to be agentive than observed, have been the part of Palestinian struggle since the outset of the British Mandate. The Massive dispossession and displacement of 1948 became central to their desire to be visible. Their struggle has been pursued by intellectuals, actors, writers and activists to create a map of visibility. Ilana Feldman adds that:

Anyone familiar with Palestinian visibility practices will certainly be aware of the importance of certain central objects within this field. Many refugees still have the keys to their houses in Palestine. Keeping these keys, and showing them to visitors and researchers, is part of a hope for return and a claim to these properties. Given this widespread practice, these keys, with their distinctive old-fashioned look, have also become symbols of refugee commitment to Palestine. (498)

The academic practices and literary practices are the part of battle for visibility by Palestinians as they face classical form of severe colonial oppression.

The day to day colonial oppression and the tangible changes in the ground followed by the colonization is the clear manifestation of Israel's imperialism in Palestine in the classical fashion. But most of the queries and studies propagated and felicitated by the West picture and complicate it as anti-Semitic and complex one so that the international intervention is risky and inaccessible in order to retain the Israel-Palestine colonial war as impenetrable one.

Any interference from the outside world is castigated as naive at best or anti-Semitic at worst. Ilan Pappe and Noam Chomsky observe:

Indeed, the story of Palestine has been told before: European settlers coming to a foreign land, settling there and either committing genocide against or expelling the indigenous people. The Zionists have not invented anything new in this respect. But Israel succeeded nonetheless, with the help of its allies everywhere, in building a multilayered explanation that is so complex that only Israel can understand it. (13)

Thus the tale of Palestine from the beginning until today is simple story of colonialism and dispossession, but world, policed by the western hegemony think, believe, treat and propagate that Palestine's story is complex one, and that is harder to resolve. So the world and the global organization which claim to be so democratic in modus operandi is neglecting the Palestinian issue leaving the indigenous to the endless suffering.

The historical versions and narrations by the Palestinians themselves, as a realm of Palestinian academic historiography, have to some extend been catching up to prove that the disempowered also have some role in knowledge production. Then the texts produced by the Palestinians allow the world to question Israeli's version of

1948 story and to refute the depiction of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as purely terrorist organization.

Equating Zionism to colonialism has been debated and explained by many critics and scholars (Pappe and Chomsky 21) and Israeli policies of Judaization and settlement in West Bank are viewed as purely Zionist propaganda. The historical timeline clearly indicates the Zionist movement as one which successively resulted in dispossession of natives. "The Hebrew word *le bitnabel* was used since 1882 by the Zionist movement" (Pappe, *The Modern Middle East* 21), which carries an accurate English translation as *to settle* and *to colonize*. Such a study focuses on the parallelism between apartheid in South Africa to that of Israel. In many respects the apartheid of Israel is far worse than that of the apartheid in South Africa. As Pappe and Chomsky resonate: "It may be a different version of apartheid, but the Israel of 2014 is a state that segregates, separates and discriminates openly as the basis of ethnicity, religion and nationality" (24).

Researches provide an alternative source of information against the distorted reports of mainstream western media. When Israel engulfs much of the native land modeling the classical colonialism, even in the 21st century, new definition of activism is necessary which is possible through academic activities and through BDS campaign. It, even calls for academic boycott which has its footage even among Jewish academics within Israel. Ethnic cleansing has been viewed as the ideological infrastructure on which Jewish state was built. Pappe comments that "Ethnic Cleansing become the DNA of Israeli Jewish society" (Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing* 27). The international silence over Israeli dream to thrive, makes the way for Israel to continue the colonial oppression and daily occupation in a better way. Because of dishonest brokering of America and Europe in international affairs, Israel continues to

enjoy immunity in the process of unending colonial attack. Pappe says that the BDS has not affected the political elites in the West. He thinks that the colonialism will keep on continuing in its oppressive fashion even in this post Zionist phase:

Heading towards 2020 we will all most probably face a racist, ultra – capitalist and more expanded Israel still busy ethnically cleansing Palestine. There is however a good chance that such a state will become a global pariah and the people around the world will ask their leaders to act and end any relation they have with it. What they should not hear are the past slogans, which are no longer relevant in the struggle for a more just and democratic Palestine. (Pappe and Chomskey 46)

When Noam Chomsky was asked about Zionism, he remarked:

It is an ideology and has been since almost the beginning of the Zionist project in Palestinian that meant in very simple terms, that Judaism as a national movement has the right and the aspiration to have as much of Palestinian as possible with as few Palestinian in it as possible. (Pappe and Chomskey 51)

It is clear that the same ideology is being propagated throughout years. Israel has accepted and has been built on this ideology as its ethical infrastructure. Zionist acts in such a way that it contradicts basic human rights for any one which is not a Jew in Israel. Zionism and its ideology has changed to make it more brutal over the years. Chomsky meant the same while he says "In the mid-1940s, I was a Zionist youth leader, but strongly opposed to a Jewish state. I was a Zionist youth leader because it was not a state religion" (Pappe and Chomskey 52). Ilan Pappe's observation on Zionism is also remarkable here. He says: "The reason the colonialist impulse of the Zionist movement did not end at a certain historical moment lies in the territorial appetite and greediness of these settlers" (Pappe and Chomskey 53). The

annexationist dreams that Zionism kept buried during pre1948, later spread its hands to capture much of the native indigenous land, leaving the natives in a land, which is never their own except in records. Chomsky believe that hard core Zionism is not that destructive and political Zionists are looking for land grab and other human civil rights violation. The settler colonialism is a 19th century fossil which Israel is still kicking with the help of political Zionist agenda. Driving out the indigenous population is the utmost agenda of their settler colonialism in the past, present and even in the future.

"To the Zionist visionaries, leaders, and believers, Palestine was a barren and deserted land inhabited by uncivilized, penurious, and backward souls, while the Zionist project was creative, forward looking, and enlightened", Rochelle Davis observes the colonial ways of land grab (432). As Pappe found, Palestine cannot be recognized as a country of sovereign power, but instead it turns to be mere geographical entity, which is the leftover of the Zionist attempt to Judaize the whole of Palestine.

The movement in its early stages was led by pragmatic leaders such as David Ben Gurion, who recognized the need to take over Palestine bit by bit and without forgetting the imperative of always having an exclusive Jewish majority in the land and therefore when the Jews were less than a third of the population during the mandatory period (1918-1948) the movement proposed a partition of Palestine in a way that would ensure the small minority of settlers' demographic exclusivity in parts of Palestine with the hope of absorbing more settles in the future and thus more land. (Pappe and Chomskey 168)

The ethnic cleansing operations were one of the strategic plan of Israel to de- Arabize the country called Palestine which was stemmed from the Zionist aspiration to create a European kind of democracy –a Jewish democracy . The 1967 war and the ultra – religious political activism of the ruling parties of Israel together made the conditions worse so as to make the occupation brutal and to turn the occupied territories, megaprisons.

Various political upheavals and international engagements such as first Intifada second Intifada, Oslo peace process and the Camp David Summit of 2000 could not bring any kind of divergence in the vigorous and suicidal policies of Israel and in its military occupations. Thus the Zionist drive to Judaize as much of historical Palestine as possible made Israel an anachronism in the history as the country has been made by grabbing the land of Palestine- a country with the pillars of European Jewish ideology.

The inhuman and ruthless reality on the ground of Palestine imposed by the Israeli government has been an evidence for the historical reality since 1948. Israel, though a fictive country, safeguards its international immunity and reputation with the support of European and US regimes sending the inmates of Palestine endlessly in a status of non-citizenship, curtailing the basic human and civil rights of indigenous natives. It is a collective punishment for the Palestinians for a crime they have never committed.

Only false paradigms of peace was marketed by Israel after 1967 war, and the America- Britain alliance acted as the savior of the so called democratic Jewish state. Securitization acts as a safest justification for Israel for all its siege on the ground. As Pappe interprets:

When the Israeli regimes felt security deteriorated for a short while, the maximum security model was reinstalled in 2002 and in many ways it is still there today while the rebellious prison of Gaza is severely punished by a continuous siege and closure. (*The Modern Middle East* 176).

Israel's geostrategic insistence and missions with US backing continue to undo the peace processes between the political group of Gaza and West Bank by which Israel aims to separate territories in violation of Oslo Accords, for its own geocentric power on the land. Zionism and the destructive ideology act upon the land, leaving Palestine as a land of permanent dislocations and deteriorations in the political map. An urge for Palestinian sensibility is visible in the post Nakba period which lies in the collective resistance by the natives.

One can observe that the political map of Palestine specifically in the post Nakba period is inversely proportional to the literary map of the nation. Davis in his *Geographies of Dispossession* analyses the histories and dispossession of Palestinian villages. He says that:

With the rise of nationalist movements in the late nineteenth century,
Palestinians began producing newspaper articles, books, papers, speeches for
the local populace, and for the international community, popular songs, poetry,
and art that asserted their Palestinianness and their indigenous right to the
land. (461)

As annexation, occupation and de territorialisation by the Israel continues day by day, the territorial hold of the natives is getting diminished. It results in gradual degradation of the geographical and political map of the Palestinian territory for the natives. But the changes in the landscapes affect the mindscapes of literary personae, reflecting the territorial occupation in the enormous body of their own literatures, which is a way for them to journey back to their imaginary and nostalgic homelands.

"Today, more than sixty years after their displacement from their villages in 1948, Palestinian village book authors assert that it is their right to represent themselves as Palestinians, as a people, and as a nation" (Davis 494). Susan Rahman, contemporary Palestinian writer also opines on the scope of their own literary activity when she says: "Palestinian view literary activity as one of the crucial ways to defend the colonization and historical dispossession with a motto *to exist is to resist* (3). Language became the vehicle of their thoughts and memory, to recapture their land and collective memory as Said also puts it in his book *On Palestine*:

The basic dignity of our life as Arabs in Palestine, throughout the Arab world and here in America is that we are our own people with a heritage, a history a tradition and above all a language that is more than adequate to the task of representing our real aspirations. Since those aspirations derive from the experience of dispossession and suffering that has been imposed on each Palestinian since 1948. (58)

The literary activity seems to be a way to the political and geographical reimagining for every Palestinian and is also a mode to declare themselves before the world that they do exist. Writing is a way to resist the day to day colonialism. Initially literary response was to raise the banner of pan-Arab nationalization and to stress the political and economic aspects of their struggle. As Barbara Parmenter identifies:

Poetry was the preferred vehicle in Palestine for expressing nationalist sentiment, and during the period between 1920-1948, both literary figures and political leaders viewed the struggle with Zionism and the British Mandate within a nationalist framework. (36)

Later on, literary activity became more crucial among Palestinians to raise their own nationalism. Novels, short stories, memoirs and other new genres emerged as a recent innovation in Palestine literary field.

During post 1948, poets, novelists and memoirists turned their attention to the personal meanings which the land held for them first, later on the land became a common feeling as the landscape of yearning, nostalgia and absence. Exile literature also responded aesthetically and then realistically to the Palestinian tragedy apart from providing nostalgic memory and portraying a yearning for the land. The new generation writers and critics from Palestine and its diaspora who belonged to second or third generation refugees emerging from a different social background and growing up in exile or occupation waited and started to give a voice to the more subtle and complex relation between Palestinians and their land in their literature which is an act of resistance for them to counter against the political disinterestedness. It is seen that an interface between the geographical space and the literary space is visible in their literatures.

The social construction of place and its cultural implications over the lives of people, and the inscriptions of power on the place react on the mental and physical maps of Palestinians. It can be viewed that land and the changes in land over the time due to power operated by colonial invasions are one of the major aspects of Palestinian literary productions all over the world. Geography one inhabits in, and the literary geographies produced are intertwined each other. As Edward Said puts it: "Conceptions of space as 'empty' and 'inhabitable' do not exist in the world and we cannot imagine ourselves without geography and the struggle over geography" (*Culture and Imperialism* 6)

The place-space debate over Palestine is crucial in history and literature. "The geographical imagination of Palestine as an empty space and 'making the desert bloom' obscured the reality of the history and geography of Palestine inhabited by Palestinians" (Anjum xvi). Ultimately the question of Palestinian is a contestation of imaginative geography and the material practices through which the reality of geography has been altered. Technologically sophisticated means of control and governance to accumulate more spaces and resources worked on the imaginative geography of Israel, for the idea of constructing Greater Israel in the land of Palestine. It has led to the loss of land, livelihood, dignity, and economic strangulation for the people living under Israeli-settler colonial domination that affect their daily life, social and Political citizenship, and identity.

Thus the geography one lives in defines one's self. Cartography decides the being and becoming, and one can see that in such contested lands, the land maps decides the life maps. In the case of a refugee, these life maps limit them from performing their everyday activity. These limitations are reflected in their narratives of space and locations. In the Palestinian narratives, the Israeli invasion of their land, architectures of occupation, as settlements, fences, walls, borders etc., and the ever changing political map of Palestine have been vividly portrayed. Hence, such narratives are important in understanding the refugeehood and they also work as a tool for depicting the nature of occupation.

So, the Palestinian refugee narratives are a key to refugeehood in homeland. "The colonial and Zionist narratives have imagined Palestine as an empty space and as a land without people for people for without land" (Anjum xvi). It is a contestation between two national imaginings, two national claims. Moreover it is a struggle between two memories and ultimately a contestation between mental invention of

people of a territory as a nation and the real people inhabiting that space. The colonial powers –during pre Nakba and post Nakba- have played an important role in obscuring the real history and geography of Palestine. Post Nakba literature of Palestine is a means to set and affirm their foot in their homeland where their ancestors had placed themselves. Refugee narratives are engaged with narrations on identity, home, exile, memory, space, place, citizenship, daily life, war, agency, representations of fugitivity etc. Barbara Parmenter finds that, "Only in the twentieth century and particularly after 1948, Palestinian literary figures have articulated their sense of place within the framework of an explicitly national landscape" (27). Thus it is noticed that place-lessness of Palestinian experience is also a major theme in their narratives in the post Nakba literatures.

As it is observed in this chapter, Palestinian refugeehood is an exceptional condition where the conventional definitions of refugee does not give a satisfactory understanding of the identity of Palestinian population. Gwyn Rowly's study on Palestinian refugee condition is remarkable here:

As an overall backcloth it is necessary to emphasise that the two intractable problems in seeking any real and lasting peace settlements within the Middle East relate to Palestinians and their territory. Of a Palestinian population estimated in excess of 5.4 million we will see that some 2.4 million are formally recognized as refugees by the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA). While a further 1.5 million Palestinians might seriously consider themselves as refugees although residing outside the area of UNRWA operations (218)

According to the studies carried out by UNHCR, post 1980 has witnessed a massive influx of refugees worldwide. Rowly estimated in his study that the number of

refugees in the world during post 1980, have been increased by some 80% to over 18 million. There may now be as many as 20 million displaced persons in the world. The particular and most apparent problem, the ultimate nightmare that serves to differentiate Palestinian from other refugees is the continuing existence of generations of embittered, stateless people who have lived a life "in limbo", many for over 40 years and who can see little hope in the immediate future.

The marginal attention given to Palestinian issues is surprising one. As Rowly evaluates:

It is true that various agencies and academic publications either specifically exclude or provide minimal reference or coverage to the qualitative and quantitative aspects of Palestinian refugees. Their plight is continuing, indeed deepening the despair of the Palestinians themselves, adding to the severity of dimensions and numerical size of the Palestinian refugee issue. (219)

The conscious omissions, the ostensible side-lining and censorship of Palestinian refugee issues, clearly provide bases for irksome and particularly worrisome misgivings. Why is it that the Palestinian refugee populations are always marginalised in the international quantitative and qualitative studies of / on refugees both by governmental and by non-governmental agencies? The empirical and qualitative consideration given to refugees globally, and the treatment of Palestinian case in it, are always disharmonious in academic studies too.

The labelling of Palestinian community is a risky one. Are they the citizens? Are they refugees? Are they internally displaced group of people suffering the refugeehood in homeland? It is true that all the Palestinian communities do face fugitivity in one or the other way. As Palestine is a problem- space the identities are always under threat of being in a non-entity. The Palestinian people cannot stay

where they are, yet have nowhere to go since spatiality of Palestine is always coupled with geographical imagination of Israel, turning the people into continued refugeeization.

Spatiality of Palestinian refugees is rooted mainly in the foundation of State of Israel and ensuing military actions in May 1948, and the Six day war of 1967. They resulted in Israel occupying the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. As a result of the 1948 war, the size of state of Israel was increased from 56% to 72% of Palestine, unlike the one allotted for Israel by the envisaged UN Partition Plan of 1947. The studies on zonation of Palestinian population, identify that Palestinians are living in five different zones. The first zone is comprised of pre – 1967 Israel, where Palestinians live as secondary citizens. The second zone is the Occupied Territories including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. The third zone is identified as the front line Arab States of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon while fourth is rest of the Arab world including the Gulf States. The fifth zone is the remainder of the world. Rowly in his article on Palestinian refugees, observes and validates the case as:

The popular and widely distributed magazine *Refugees*, published by the Public Information Service of the UNHCR, does not include in its brief, Palestine refugees under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) by virtue of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV) of 8th December 1949 ... Likewise under its area specific title listing the Oxfam catalogue 1990-91 has no area specific title relating to Israel/Palestine nor Palestinian refugees. (qtd. in Rowley 218)

Although there were some initiatives to carry out peace process in this obstinate issue of Palestine by Arab countries and US, like the Arab Peace Initiative of 2002 lead by Saudi Arabia, Road Map of 2003 by Queslit group, initiative by International Court of Justice of 2004, US endorsement in 2009 announced by Obama, the Taba Accords of 2001, this injustice associated with human and political rights, still continues, severely resulting in massive expulsions and massacres.

Such a zonation indicates the displacement of Palestinian community within and outside the motherland which permanently create friction of space in their lives. Spatial competitions and, geopolitical and bio political conflicts on the space and people are enduring disputes for more than a century in Palestinian territory. The study of the Palestinian territories, its history, ethnography, historiography, geography and the culture is inevitable element in any study relating to the spatiality of Modern Middle East in the global context.

One state solution or two state solution, or 'a bio national state with equal rights for the two national communities that evolve from it' (Burton 114) has its own limitations and disagreements from both Palestinians and Israelis, so that no spatial solutions seem resolving the territorial tensions that prevail in the land for centuries. The contact zones between Israelis and Palestinians are never harmonious in nature instead give rise to everyday geopolitics.

"Who would represent the Palestinians in talks with Jordan and Israel over the future of the West Bank and Gaza" asks Said in his essay titled "Who Would Speak for Palestinian?" (*The Question of Palestine* 104). Said questions the existence of Israel on the negation of Palestinian's national existence. The statistics show the demographic spatial competitions among the natives and the settlers in the land of Palestine. The extend of spatial occupation is clear in Rowly's words as he says:

As of early 1992 almost 2, 50,000 Israelis live within the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967. East Jerusalem is home to the largest number of Jewish settlers with some 1, 25,000 in a dozen settlements as Talplygot, Gilo and New'e Ya'qov. A further 1, 10,000 settlers live in 158 Jewish settlements within the remainder of the West Bank and some 7000 in Gaza and there are over 12000 settlers in enclaves within Golan Heights. (224)

His words indicate the depth and width of settlement over the native territory by force and by illegal methods of reshaping law in their own fashion, by Israelis. Hence refugee issue of Palestine is to be understood geopolitically since Israel is a geopolitical reality which made Palestine lose its entity as a country. Situating the 'Geo politics' of Palestinian refugees, one can view that:

After 1948, every Palestinian disappeared nationally and legally. Some Palestinians re-appeared juridically as "non-Jews" in Israel. Those who left became "refugees" and later some of those acquired new Arab, European or American identities. No Palestinian, however lost his "old" Palestinian identity. Out of such legal fictions as the nonexistent Palestinian Israel and elsewhere, however Palestinian has finally emerged - and with a considerable amount of international attention, prepared at last to take critical notice of Zionist theory and practice" Said points out the Zionist ideology from the standpoint of victims, that witnessed Zionist population and Palestinian depopulation. (Said *Question of Palestine* 83)

Geopolitically intertwined and strategically significant issue of Palestinian refugees has been already analyzed in terms of ethnic, anthropological and religious conflicts. But the complex relation between geo politics and massive mobility within the space, conflicts and border dynamics with its sociopolitical and literary representations and

their reflections in contemporary society have not been much addressed with research inputs and theoretical backing. The incipient political tension between spaces and borders in the context of bio politics and bio power create instabilities within the borders and outside of it.

Refugee, their migration, immigration, movement, statelessness and issue of citizenship are to be viewed as the critical geopolitical issues surrounding the human rights and creating humanitarian crisis. The geopolitics of displacement and bordering, and the bio politics of making/unmaking refugees shed light on various contemporary aspects of refugee lives such as exclusion, inclusion, travel ban, coding, cessation, registration, incarceration, representation, exploitation, subjugation, narration, fetishizing and silencing of refugee narratives, documentation of refugee voices and the politicization of refugee bodies. Essentializing the tropes of refugees as the camps, asylums, detention centers, no man's land etc., are to be addressed geopolitically as significant sites of refugees.

R C Sharma views that "Geopolitics studies space from the viewpoint of the state and it investigates states primarily in relation to its environment. All problems resulting from the spatial relationships form the core of the subject matter of geopolitics" (37). Life in Palestine and the issue of refugeehood in homeland and diaspora can be undoubtedly viewed as geopolitical in nature. Since the preference of national population is endemic, the Israeli State policy towards refugee is to be debated and questioned. Maintenance of various power zones is operated militarily and legally by the Israel and is imposed on refugees and displaced. So, the stateless, refugee and the displaced are the part of constant reactions between the bio political and geo political operations in/on the ground.

At the same time unlike being a *bare life*, stated by Agamben, they have a political identity though the authority would like to silence them and turn them mere *homosacer* (Agamben 18) in the state. Agamben is true when he says "It is only in a land where the spaces of the states will have been perforated and topologically deformed, and the citizen will have learned to acknowledge that he himself is, that the man's political survival today is imaginable" (119). The political survival of Palestine seems complex reality. As Palestine is not been recognized as a sovereign state of political existence, the everyday life of Palestinians is in struggle, affecting the whole aspects of their socio spatial existence.

Said, rightly remarks on the everyday life of Palestinian community under occupation and Israeli settler colonialism when he says:

Each Palestinian community must struggle to maintain its identity on at least two levels: First as Palestinian with regard to the historical encounter with Zionism and the precipitous loss of a homeland; second, as Palestinian in the existential setting of day to day life responding to the pressure in the state of residence. (*Question of Palestine* 121)

Researchers can make out that, the issue associated with everyday lives of Palestinian refugees within the context of politics of space, place and identity of displaced, is a matter of academic inquiry and research in the matrix of ongoing global refugee crisis. "As of 2014 refugee studies is an entrenched and professional academic field of scholarly enquiry in the social science" (9), says Bobby Thomas in his article on refugee studies.

The macro level powers as forced migration war, siege, legality and the micro level powers as curfews, borders, checkpoints, travel bans, imposition of ID cards, access to resources and other everyday activities of dwelling, working and

maintaining relationships etc., determine the everyday lives of Palestinians as 'choice' is denied for them. Surveillance is an everyday reality in the form of bio control of spaces- territorial space, aerial space and resources- using national security as the main rational for bio political arguments.

The everyday life of Palestinians is entangled with the politics of space, place, collective memory and collective resistance. Narrations play a significant role in creating a Palestinian space and defending their place of existence. It is a mode of surpassing the trauma and absurdities of everyday life, for Palestinians. Resistance is to be read in association with the everyday life and politics of Palestinians. For them to resist is to exist, to exist socially, culturally and politically.

Palestinian literature is a reaction to the lost land and exile. It carries the nostalgic relation with land and its environment. A sense of nationalism, political activism, the struggles of everyday lives, the resistance etc. form the base for literary representations of Palestine. In the words of Barbara Mckean Parmenter, the literature of Palestine in general "stresses the 'outsideness' of *al-ghurbah* (an Arabic term equated with diaspora) and clearly distinguishes it from the 'insideness' of home" (51). Palestinian literature seems to be evolved through four different phases, pre Nakba period, post Nakba period, post Intifada period and Post millennial period. Poetry was the preferred vehicle in Palestine for expressing nationalist sentiment between 1920 and 1948. The sensual unification with the land became an increasingly popular motif in Palestinian literature during 1950s. Post 1980 literature of Palestine or post Intifada literature focused on *sumud*, the Palestinian resistance and the perseverance. A shift towards personal narrations is visible in the contemporary writings of Palestine.

The personal is political too. The land or the various locations is a frequent setting and symbol of Palestinian homelessness in the present day literature of Palestine. Various aspects of place, a strong sense of place and space, the complex relation between the land and individual, the barrenness of the land due to settler colonialism, The Zionist political practices, lack of rootedness, the search for homeland etc., come as major themes while representing a Palestinian life and geography by the present-day Palestinian writers. The land, cultivations, fig tree, olive tree, the hills, the homes, the historic places, the occupation, curfews etc., arise as recurrent images in their literature as they are the inevitable aspects of daily life and imagination. Palestinian writers are embedded with the task of articulating the sense of place clearly and firmly for the present and future generations and for the outsider world. Literature, in Palestine stands for the rescue of cultural memory and collective memory of the society. Hence, the description of old days, an appeal to make the people emotionally alive again through literature, keep people connected to their culture and civilization seem to be the major aims of Palestinian writers. Parmenter evaluates the present day literary activity of Palestine as: "A new generation, emerging from a different social background and growing up in exile or under occupation, give voice to the more subtle and complex relations between Palestinians and their land" (47).

The literature of Palestine makes the vantage points of the term refugee clear. Women writers play a significant role in problematizing the contemporary living conditions of Palestine and telling the truth of the land. How do Palestinians carry their past and present- socio cultural and spatial memory, the dream of living as full citizens in the homeland, the ever waiting return to homeland- and how do they articulate their stories of loss, dispossession and displacement into their narratives, are

of high research value today, as more number of Palestinian writers have been coming out, re-mapping their identity through their literary and cultural practices, to defend the unmapped political and historical identities.

Post-Nakba literatures in Palestine by the second, third and fourth generation refugees/internally displaced persons within and outside historic land of Palestine, emerge as an offshoot of *Nakba* and other catastrophes in the land. These literatures are means to overcome and to resist the lack of tangible connection to their land and its socio-cultural, historical heritages. So, what does it means to be a refugee, a Palestinian refugee, and a Palestinian refugee woman in particular are of special significance, while dealing with the narratives of the Palestinians. "Palestinian refugees are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who were uprooted from their homes, towns and villages during 1948, and turned into a fast-growing refugee population residing in crowded camps in the Gaza strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria" (Firwana and Habeeb 253). The present day statistics of Palestinian refugees and IDPs is alarming one. The number of Palestinian refugees is about five million according to Jaspal and Coyle (qtd.in Zureik 204).

Palestinian refugee narratives in general and narratives by women in particular provide sufficient understanding about the Palestinian experience of living in a contested land. Being a Palestinian refugee woman, is much more vulnerable state of exploitation and deprivation of rights. "Refugee women are double victims, first by the general violence caused by political strife and further by violence perpetrated against them by members of their own community", says Rosemary Sayigh (20). But the risk of non-space has been added to the creative space of women, by which there are many numbers of Palestinian women as tellers of their own present.

Women's participation in the national movement and the political consciousness have added much to their literary and cultural engagement as Kuttab articulates: "It is known historically that the eruption of the 1987 Intifada came within a long process of democratic activism led by mass-based organization acting as democratic extensions of the national movement" (109). Isis Nusair while observing the women organisations in the Middle East views that:

The first Palestinian Intifada (uprising) in 1987 created new organizations that mobilized Palestinian youth, workers, women and students. It also included the creation of various specialized committees like the voluntary work committee, agricultural committees and health committees. These structures became an 'organic part of the Palestine national movement and opened a new horizon for national awakening and identity consciousness. Women uprisings in the post 1980s have added to the literary awakening of women in the Palestine. (qtd. in Al-Ali and Pratt 146)

Reflecting on the Palestinian present, one can see that, there is a huge progression in the number of women writers and unconventional genres like blogs, mails, diaries along with fiction and non-fiction are practiced by women writers for their self-representation. Penny Johnson's remark on this is more valuable here, he says: "I have continued to reflect on situating women's selves in their social and political practices as critical to understanding them as tellers of Palestinian history and the Palestinian present" (29). Their writings are characterized by the individual and the collective. Palestinian women break the universal stereotype. Women both as native self and as political subject seem engaging in the national narrative of Palestine, especially in the writing of Palestinian women narratives.

Women as writers and characters actively take part in the act of narrations as Penny Johnson further identifies: "Women's recollections are rich source of national history" (31). The private and the public, and the familial and the national, merge in the Palestinian women narratives. Hence the narratives provide an exploration to the day to day lives of Palestinian present society. Thus, travelling through the women's narratives within the socio spatial dialectic of Palestine is a key to the spatial representations and its everyday manifestations of Palestinian fugitivity in the historic land.

How does the Palestinian geography constructed in the literary texts produced by Palestinian refugees? To what extend such an imaginative, geographical and spatial realm is reincarnated in the Palestinian collective discourses? What are the aspects of spatial narratives of Palestinians? Are the narratives truly a reflection of their traumatic space? How far the refugee narrative are spatial narratives with location in the center of narrations? How far the conditions of fugitivity and locations are intertwined in their aesthetic /cultural productions? Analysis of select Palestinian narratives by women, from inside and outside of historic Palestine, who share a common identity of nationhood, is made here in the upcoming chapters with special focus on the collective experiences of land- its space, memory and the border- in the everyday lives of Palestinians, to explore the spatial representations of fugitivity in Palestine, and its manifestations in various geopolitical locations of Palestine.

Chapter 4

Space Intercepts Mobility:

Spacio-cide, Urbicide and The Immobile Beings

Once we had set a time and place for our meeting, I asked Um Mhimad for directions. As I did not understand her explanation and was afraid of getting lost, I asked for her exact address. 'I live on Salah al-Din street', she said, and immediately laughed and corrected herself. No, I didn't mean to say "Salah al-Din Street". No one will know where that is. They call it Herzl Street today. (Kassem 84)

Fatma Kassem, a Palestinian academic in Israeli university, charts the women's knife-edge position between oppression and resistance to ongoing Israeli colonization as her personal account of Palestinian spatiality in the present day Israel, through her memoir *Palestinian Women: Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory.*The above quote emphasizes the ongoing Zionisation of Palestinian territory in the present day Israel, where renaming of streets has been a fact of the regressive Zionist ideology since 1948. Um Mhimad stages her potent resistance against the erasure of Palestinian space and history through her use of the place name Salah-al Din. Her counter memory of spaces against the Zionist renaming of places which denies her history, land, identity, and her heritage, is one of Palestinian ways of forceful refugee resistance to the occupation and closure of their spatial world by the settlers.

Space has aesthetics, culture and politics. Space is an interdisciplinary nexus of inquiry. It can be seen that history, geography, politics, anthropology, architecture etc., of a given space equally affect the lives in a particular geographical territory.

Discourses on space and various disciplinary studies may re- mold and refashion the

space and lives in the spaces, taking them into new forms. Literary studies narrate, examine, construct and create space into it. Texts shape a 'spatial world' in the narratives, producing social, cultural, historical and political interactive spaces.

Spatial narratives turn to be one of the prominent fields of spatial forms of art and literature like other aesthetic expressions of place and space including film, photography, sculpture, painting, architecture, music etc.

The politics, poetics and aesthetics of space affect the everyday life. In the case of refugee lives in contested lands, space acts on individuals affecting the private and public lives. How does space and place act as forms of power on Palestinian refugee identities, how do Israeli policies intersect at micro and macro levels in the space and place of Palestine constructing strangled refugee identities, how do Palestinians comprehend, experience, critique, resist and respond to Israeli settler colonialism and what are the expressions of refugee voices used in the Palestinian refugee narratives to resonate the socio-cultural refugee spaces are the subjects of enquiry in this chapter. How do the Israeli practices in the Palestinian land police and immobilize its inmates turning them into mere matters or physical bodies than individuals with history and heritage is also explored through this chapter.

Spatial belongingness has diverse dimensions. In the case of refugees, spaces once they belonged turn into sites of nostalgia, alienation, dispossession and dislocation through violence, war and exile. Concepts of home, land, belonging and non-belonging are defined by the socio spatial interaction that individual finds in a land. Hence it is subjected to change. Paralyzed by dominant Zionist narratives, Palestinian refugees/natives always face isolation in their own homeland. Zionism's ascent after the Balfour Declaration (1917) resulted in continuous occupation of the land of Palestine. Israel is spreading the idea of celestial spatiality to bring out

continual exiles and refugeeization among the native Palestinians, making the terrestrial spatiality of Palestinians a threat.

How do refugee writers and refugee literatures contribute to the space place dialectic? How far their narratives are narratives on space and place? In the Middle East Refugee narrations especially by Palestinians, space and place are grounded in conflicting claims of the land by the native inhabitants and by the Israeli settlers. The existence of Palestinian natives was completely denied by the Zionist leaders and discourses. "Until the war of June 1967, the existence of Palestinian as people was generally denied, even in Israel. Palestinians were regarded as Israeli Arabs, Palestinian refugees, or West Bank Jordanians", observes Eli Lobel, an author of Arab world (qtd. in Zureik 163). Zionist establishments in Israel made the entire people of Palestine deprive their nation and national rights.

Apart from landscapes of a region, the theoretical inquiry of places and spaces rooted in 1960s made the nexus of space an interdisciplinary discourse, drawing principles from geography, architecture and anthropology. Such an idea was developed particularly since 1980s. As Gabbert and Smith elucidate in their article, "Space- Place Emergence":

Space was re conceptualized from a common sense model - natural, neutral, a static container for meaning, the stage upon which history acts – to an essential element in the construction of social life and intricately implicated in the (re)production of power and ideology. (220)

The above quote expounds that space, is not static thing. Henry Lefebvre, speaks of a social turn of space studies from a geometrical and mathematical realm in his *Production of Space*. Lefebvre goes on explaining how space serves a society and how hegemony makes use of it. He clearly describes the physical, mental and social

aspects of production of spaces. As Lefebvre observes, literary texts uses spaces in multiple forms, either the real space or the ideal space. Texts exhibit Space in various forms: "enclosed, described, projected, dreamt of, and speculated about" (Lefebvre 15). Lefebvre mentions Hegelian view of space "as product and residue of historical time" (22). Space according to Lefebvre becomes a product of thought and action and that is, "in addition to being a means of production, it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power, yet that, as such it escapes in part from those who would make use of it" (26).

The use of knowledge, power, language and the conscious efforts of (re)producing the space according to the Zionists aim can be observed in the present day Israel. "The aim of the Zionists, however, was not merely to exploit the resources of the Palestine, they wanted to appropriate the country, evict the Arab laborers, and take their place" (qtd. in Zureik 69), Eli Lobel aptly marks the reality. His words indicate the conscious attempt of appropriation of the land by settlers and the powerful methods to occupy it.

Money, fund and technological superiority of Jews also worked in the process of refashioning the Arab land of Palestine into the Zionist Jewish one. The appropriation of the land seems working through various realms like cognitive, physical, spiritual and social. Thus the mythical exploration of Biblical promise operates through many levels, creating and producing texts to popularize the myth, which later acts upon the ground and the consciousness of the people, ultimately resulting in refashioning the space according to the vision of Zionists. The ideal space becomes the real for the Zionists through the continuous process of production and reproduction of spaces. The region of Palestine has undergone tremendous

transformations, in the past few decades. It has social, spatial and cultural implications too.

The cultural work and artistic work of recovering Palestine is thus viewed as the spatial work of recovering Palestine. An imaginative geography of Israel becomes the real space for Zionists through the spatial practices. A reassertion of the space is what Palestinians trying to foreground through their literary and cultural productions which is also one of the striking forms of spatial resistance. The issue is primarily a spatial one as the root of the Palestine-Israel conflict lies on the Land. The issue of Palestine is basically a product from the "Zionist attempt to imagine the state of Israel on the land of Palestine" (Zureik 126).

Different methods and practices articulated and accomplished by Zionists, and later by Israelis for disparaging the image of Palestinian in the international arena and for de -Palestinising the natives from their land, continuously make the natives displaced. Zionists propagated a devaluing Palestinian image in the global milieu and by masking Palestinian footprints in their own land. Land is observed by Israelis through the prism of Zionists agenda, and Zionist narrations of history were made validating and ensuring the Jews' presence and the Palestinians' absence on the land. Zionism got advanced in Palestine by manufacturing the wrong image of Palestinians before the world and also by engineering the spaces for Israelis in the Palestine, since 1948. This spatial inscriptions have a crucial role in the successive development of Jewish colonies into the state of Israel in Palestine.

As Elia Zureik rightly charts in his study on construction of Israel and the Palestinian cause, the religious discourse paved the way for colonial spatial practices of Jews/Zionists. He opines: "The land of Palestine was colonized gradually with the support of logic of religious desire" (Zureik 216). The absent-presence of Palestinian

in Palestine, as Zionist discourses refused to identify Palestine as a separate identity than the large Arabs, made the manufacturing of people and place of Palestine easy for the settlers. As Ilan Pappe, the Jewish revisionist historian, appropriately points out:

On the one hand an administrative entity called Palestine did not exist during the Ottoman period, and before the balkanization of the West Asia following World War I, most Arab writers generally thought of the Palestine as the southern part of Bilad-al-Sham or Greater Syria, and it was in this context that they discussed its history. (*The Israel-Palestine Question* 16)

Thus the whole cry for land was simply pictured as the war between two, forgetting the actual history. The image of Palestine as barren land was also propagated to reduce the moral burden of genocide and establishment of Jewish nation. The land and history of Palestine got concealed behind the history of Zionism.

How far the location has been forcefully changed into a Jewish character by the ongoing Zionisation and Judaisation is a topic of research now. Such researches demand historical, geographical, political and sociological enquiry. The researches carried out by various scholars illustrate that the Arab/Palestinian character of the locations of Palestine and its surrounding is changed into a Jewish character by the spatial practices and powers. Critical inquiries on space also assert that the space and its social and physical behaviors may change over the time.

Lefebvre's argument on space would elaborate the idea. He indicates: "(Social) space is a (social) product" (27). The space in Palestine had a mental, physical and social character. So how does the fact about the spatial reality of Palestine is concealed, is a question. The acceptance for Zionist discourses in the West, and an opaqueness happened due to the lack of discourses by Palestinian/Arab

of Middle East in general and in Palestinian history in particular. Lefebvre examines on how does the fact that the social space is a social product, is concealed. He finds: "...by a double illusion, each side of which refers back to the other, reinforces the other, and hides behind the other. These two aspects are the illusion of transparency on the one hand and the illusion of opacity, or realistic illusion on the other" (27).

The space of Palestine has changed geographically, structurally, socially and culturally. History, over the time, becomes translucent. Thus the space has acted upon the individuals, and is still acting upon them. The social actions, social relationships, day to day activities, and mobility among Palestinians are equally affected. Space has a behavior of its own. It exhibits a model too. As Lefebvre says the analysis of space helps in analysis of society which inhabits in the space. Spatial character forms human characterization too, as he further ensures: "spatial functions and spatial forms work as a 'structural schema' and continue to haunt our consciousness and knowledge" (34).

Literatures and the cultural productions in Palestine in fact exhibit a space, a socio cultural space of the inhabitants. So the places and spaces of the texts intercede with the social spaces, where the presentation of self in the space and the representation of space in the text coalesce each other. Representation of Palestinian spaces in the texts become representational space- space directly live through its images and symbols – as per the Lefebvrian ideology. This may further describe the representations of refugee bodies, over a particular geographical area. Thus, space in the refugee literatures/fugitivity narrations become the totality of "perceived-conceived-lived space (spatial practice, representation of space, representational spaces)" (Lefebvre 40), that helps one to decode the space and spatial practices from the texts.

Such a decoding will compel one to look at history of space, the interconnectedness of spaces, distortions, displacements and mutual interactions navigating through the texts. Zionist ideology achieves consistency through the spatial (hegemonic) practices through the mediation of Zionist discourses and also through the technological superiority. The ideology becomes the knowledge in a later stage, in the case of Zionist spatial discourses. So the Palestinian literary practices are assigned with a task of processing the space through a historical relocations. In Lefebvrian terms the writers, most often, are the part of space as he emphasizes:

The production of space, having attained the conceptual and linguistic level, acts retroactively upon the past, disclosing aspects and moments of it hitherto uncomprehended. The past appears in a different light and hence the process whereby the past becomes the present also takes on another aspect. (65)

Thus, as seen above space has a visual character. Space is not only physical or structural in nature but also it manifests itself through its representational objects and images. Lefebvre pointed out the 'pronounced visual character' of the space. Looking or seeing itself becomes the life then. So, how a particular space is produced is related with how a particular space is made visible through its features. By changing the socio-spatio temporal configurations of a particular space, the historicity and geography of that particular space is affected, changed or reconstructed. Zionism's spatial practices are conscious interventions of such a remaking or reproducing of spaces through changing their visual character. The homogenization of spaces is a state-dominated practice of power in Palestinian urban and rural areas. It results in changing the visual character of the Palestinian spaces and the practice has been continuing through spacio-cide and urbicide that are being reflected in the aesthetic and cultural productions by Palestinians too.

"Israeli colonial project is spacio-cidal (as opposed to genocidal) in that it targets land for the purpose of rendering inevitable, the voluntary transfer of the Palestinian population primarily by targeting the space upon which the Palestinian people live" (Hanafi, Spacio-cide as Colonial Politics). As Sari Hanafi distinctly observes, Israel imposes the spacio-cidal project in Palestinian locations through various micro and macro level power apparatuses - military, judicial and civil. The Zionist myth of a land without people for a people without land worked as a base for the spatial imagining of Israel. As Hanafi observes in his work on Palestinian spacio-cide, with the mythical idea "the policy of successive Israeli governments has been to appropriate land while ignoring the people on it" (190). Hanafi further identifies that, the spacio-cide works through three principles. "Principle of colonization, the principle of separation and the state of exception" (191).

"Place is the primary target of Israeli-Palestine conflict" says Hanafi (191), drawing the statistics of casualties produced in the al-Nakba catastrophe and comparing it with various other ethnic conflicts like Rwanda, Burundi, Serbia-Bosnia etc. The annihilation of space or the destruction of the space is central to Israeli war on Palestine. Expulsion of people from the villages, cities and towns is cited as the major reason of Arab refugeedom by Benny Morris too as he says "700,000 Arabs who took to the roads as a result of expulsions rather than as a result of straightforward military attack or fear of attack" (49).

Israeli military authority has been employing various destructive strategies and has been planning methods to drive away the Arabs from the Palestinian (which is present day Israel) cities forever. It is manifested by constructing the Israeli statehood through the erection of settlements in the occupied territories and through bringing a homogenous face for the cities, destructing the heritage of Palestine over the years of

history. Such a spatial practice seems continuing since 1948 to the present-day occupation. For example, as Hanafi reports:

In the war on Gaza that started in December 2008, 1334 people had been killed by 20 January 2009 (against 18 Israelis), but what is spectacular is the destruction: 4100 completely destroyed housing units and 17,000 partially damaged buildings and housing units. (192)

Urbicide is one form of spacio-cide that the state of Israel employed to homogenize and rebuild the space of Israel into Palestine:

During the war years in the former Yugoslavia, architect and former Mayor of Belgrade Bogdan Bogdanovich (1993) was one of the first to coin the term "urbicide" to describe the destruction of cities in Balkans... In Palestine the entire landscape was targeted by the Israelis...Destruction of cities and all its properties were the sole aim of Israel. ("Spacio-cide as Colonial Politics") Hanafi remarks on the urbicide.

Exploring the post-Nakba narratives, one can see the visual character of the real space of Palestine, and can evaluate how far the modernized spatial practices of Israel is nothing but the manifestation of spacio-cide. Literary narratives that are explored in this chapter represent various locations of Palestinian occupied territories, Palestinian territory inside the present-day Israel and Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. They reflect the day to day phases of spacio-cide and the spatial or territorial segregation practices in the Palestinian spaces and lives, which continues till date. So, the analysis made here is based on the select literary texts of the Palestinian writers, who bring diverse locations into their texts.

Fatma Kassem's *Palestinian women*: *Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory* (2011), is located in the present day Israel. Kassem used her research as a subversive act in the book to map the Israeli modes of expulsion of Palestinians from

their homeland, to turn them into Zionist spaces. Israel has been erasing Palestinian imprints on the land so as to make the spaces visibly Israel in all aspects. As Kassem views, Palestinians are perceived by Israeli government as "demographic threat" (15) by which, what Israel aims at is a "demographic transfer or what one Israeli minister has called a 'voluntary transfer' of the Palestinian population by transforming the Palestinian topos into atopia, turning territory into mere land" (Hanafi, "Spacio-cide as Colonial Politics"). It is by the means of spacio-cide that Israel was preparing for such a population transfer. Kassem gives an account of her own stories in the beginning of the book. Kassem in the story of Sabalan, her mother's home place, reveals:

Today the reconstruction of Maqam el-Nabi Sabalan has covered up all of the old stones that are a testimony of the life of a whole community before 1948...Currently, only two of the original old stone buildings, along with the cemetery, remain as living evidence that tells the story of the Palestinian village of Sabalan. (29)

Kassem further brings out her mother's memory, about the destruction of the Sabalan by Zionist occupation in 1948, for a multiplicity of meanings. She reports her mother:

We were very afraid to sleep in our home in Sabalan. People were afraid because of the Hagana Jews had assaulted Sa'asa. They attacked it at night, when the people were asleep and destroyed many homes, right on top of the heads of its inhabitants while they were asleep. (35)

Expulsion was a planned strategy of Israel. "House demolitions are one of the other tactics used to induce the transfer of Palestinians" (Hanafi 193). Kassem refers to various cities in Israel where Israel employed spacio-cide through house demolition, in order to expel people from their native setting. She excavates: "In

contested cities like Yaffa, Haifa, Akka, Lyd and Ramleh, only a handful of their pre 1948 residents remained, whether in these cities or other places within the border of Israel, dispossessed and displaced" (43). Being a Palestinian who grew up in Israel, Kassem is situating herself in the book through her family, upbringing, life experiences and through her research on oral testimonies of urban Palestinian women living in Lyd and Ramleh. She adds: "The destiny of each of the Palestinian cities within the borders of Israel in 1948 was different. The cities of Safad Tabaria, Besan, Beer el- Sabih, Isdud and al- Majdal were depopulated and cleansed of their Palestinian residents" (43). Kassem keeps on revealing the squalid conditions of spacio- cide throughout her book:

According to the website 'Palestine Remembered' and data from the British Statistical Bureau in 1947, the populations of Lyd and Ramleh were 18,250 and 16,380 respectively. In 1950 the Israeli Army Statistics Bureau reported that the remaining Arab populations of Lyd and Ramleh were only 1050 and 400 respectively. The expulsion of inhabitants and refugees camped in and around Lyd and Ramleh was documented at between 50,000 and 60,000 people. (43)

One can perceive that Israel's vested agenda of spacio- cide is in a way reflects a case of "agoraphobia, the fear of space seeking not the division of territory but its abolition" (Hanafi, "Spacio-cide as Colonial Politics"). As Kassem narrates: "Immediately after the establishment of the state of Israel, the government began an accelerated process of renewed territorial formation, with a twofold strategic objective at its heart: the simultaneous Zionisation and de-Arabification of the space" (192). Israel in its spatial practice shows a kind of fear of Palestinian spaces so that they attempted territorial re-fashioning as an act of spacio-cide. It was the geographic

model of claiming exclusive Jewish sovereignty. Thus spacio-cide and domicide (Hanafi 193) can be seen as not only natural part of occupation but a social, spatial and political tool of expulsion of Palestinians forever.

Fatma Kassem's *Palestinian Women* clearly proves that the spacio-cide and expulsion are not only singled out examples of some, but the collective Palestinian experience in the state of Israel. Um Omar's consistent use of 'us' instead of 'mine', while narrating her experiences of Home to Kassem, is one of the indicatives of collective dimension of their shared experience. Um Omar reports: "...They (Jews) stole our home and took our heart blood, and we are keeping silent. They (Jews) came in and looted it all..." (206). The loss of private home where Um Omar and her family lived, corresponds exactly to the loss of cities and the loss of their whole land, Palestine, which were stolen from Palestinian in broad day light. Israel exerted lots of bureaucratic impositions and rules too as the manifestation of their land grab and occupation. Moreover their fear of space is also visible in their deeds, as it is reflected in the words of Um Omar, since the Israelis knew that they have repossessed the space from Palestinians illegally and brutally.

Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries* (2005) is a thought-provoking, funny but shocking account of day to day life narratives in Ramallah and its surroundings in the West Bank. The book, in a very casual catching way, narrates the change of lovely place into grey one with cement dust, broken olives and palms. Through her own stories of life and through the sketches of life from her parents, her mother-in-law and from her cousins, what she shares or memorizes is nothing but the absurdity of life in occupied Palestinian territories. The memoir *Sharon and My Mother in Law* is her journey of life through the spaces of Palestine, an attempt to travel to her own interiors of past, which was denied to her. Amiry's

journey to Jaffa, her home, for the first time in her life is an exploration of the space left by her family, by many Palestinian families due to *Nakba* catastrophe. She recounts:

I was a nervous wreck trying to find out where our house was, and here was Signor Allonzo dressing and behaving as if nothing had changed - as if the British Mandate had never ended in 1948, as if the city hadn't lost most of its Arab inhabitants after the 1948 war, as if the state of Israel had never been created. (59)

Suad Amiry narrates the readers about her lost attempt to find her home, which was situated in Jaffa, pre-1948 Palestine, and had been erased.

Erasure of spaces and thereby the erasure of natives are what Israel aim at when they execute spacio-cide. What is the urbicide in Palestine becomes the urban development for Israel. While journeying with her niece, Diala, she pointed to a lovely hotel and as they passed Hyatt Regency. Hearing Diala's remark on the place of Jerusalem some words gushed out of Suad's mouth: "If you knew that the Israelis confiscated Raja Shehadeh's father's land to build this bloody hotel, you would not say it was lovely" (Amiry113). What Amiry points out here is Israeli's dirty skill of not leaving any traces showing that others were living on this land not so long ago.

"The spacio-cide is thus a deliberate ideology with a unified rationale, albeit with dynamic process, because it is in constant interaction with the emerging context and the actions of the Palestinian resistance" (194), Hanafi states, pointing at the complexity of spacio-cide. The section entitled "Our New Neighbours" in the second part of Amiry's memoir, explains the misery of day to day life which is a nostalgic note for the spaces lost as it is being killed for a political aim. Amiry laments:

Mounds of building rubble were now the main feature of the landscape, the sidewalks only appeared now and then, making walking straight a big challenge. Dusty grey had become the national colour, while green was a rarity, fresh air was an impossibility. (125)

Amiry continues her exploration by giving an account of place and space in Palestine. Humour and wit are the tools that she has designed herself in her narration of siege and life in occupied Palestinian territories, to overcome the unbearable and alarming experience of daily life that every Palestinian has to bear through. Amiry's description of demolitions in the city is a lens to the post-1980, post-zionist Palestinian territory and its faces of urbicide. She desperately remarks:

I drove my car along the Nablus road which had been dug up by the Israeli tanks and bulldozers. The road looked like a route to hell. It was so dusty from all the cars trying to find their way through the ditches and rubble that I could hardly see where I was going... Three times I found myself face to face with the Israeli tanks. (132)

Suad Amiry's portrayal of the destruction of Nablus' Historic Quarter is the visual account of the spacio-cide that has been a daily reality in Palestine.

Israeli fighter planes have been bombarding the quarters of the old town; as a result, many historic buildings have collapsed, amongst them the eighteenth century Ottoman Caravanserai known to locals as 'al-wakalh al-

Farroukkyyeh'. Both the Nabulsi and Canaan soap factories also have been razed to the ground, so that the Israeli tanks can make their way through the narrow alleys of the old town. The Orthodox Church as well as al-Naser Mosque have been badly damaged. (165)

Amiry cannot hide her pain and abhorrence. She chronicles the daily struggles of life

under military occupation in Ramallah of West Bank. The agony in spatial reality or grounded reality is reflected in her rhetoric questions: "When is this nightmare going to end? When will they stop destroying our historic buildings, erasing our cultural heritage?" (165). Being a peace activist, in West Bank, Sumaya Farhat Naser is also occupied with the land and the people of Palestine and Israel, that contribute to her understanding and narration of space in Palestinian occupied territories. Through her memoir, *Daughter of Olive trees* (2003), the author constructs Palestinian space and identity, bringing her activism into her text. The book is a personal account of events after the Israeli withdrawal from Ramallah in 1995 giving particular focus to Jerusalem. Being a human rights activist, as she mediates between Palestinian and Israeli women's organizations, her narration is a clear portrayal of first-hand account of the place, space and people.

Daughter of Olive trees sheds light on spacio-cide in Palestine – the land confiscation, house demolition and population transfer. Sumaya Farhat Naser insists the deadly spatial practice of Israel which is dividing Palestine into zones, authenticating Sari Hanafi's observation on spacio-cide. Hanafi reports:

Spacio-cide has been rendered possible by the Israeli division of the Palestinian territory into zones A, B, B-, B+, C, H1 and H2. These areas are fragmented by the bypass routes system, dividing the West Bank into 64 small cantons. ("Spacio-cide as a Colonial Politics")

Hanafi rightly reports the urbicide in West Bank. He describes: "...There has been urban development in Zones A and B, but these are always surrounded by Israeli zones curtailing the possibilities for industrial or residential urban expansion" ("Spacio-cide as a Colonial Politics"). Sumaya's analysis is the endorsement of Hanafi's opinion. She speaks in her book:

Autonomous Palestine is a patchwork divided into three areas. Only 3.5% the so called area A, is entirely under Palestinian administration. Area B (23.5%) is under the control of the Israeli army with the Palestinian administration taking care of civil affairs only. Area C (73%) has remained entirely under Israeli military administration. The breaking up of our country into these three areas has limited the perspectives of Palestine as a national territory. (180)

Daughter of Olive Trees is a personal, political and geographic account of land of Palestine itself. Author gives a live reporting of Jerusalem and the surroundings during the war and aftermath. Space, with all its historical and social aspects is visible in the work. "A complex palette of spatial and bureaucratic strategies in Palestine has generated physical and social distances and facilitated resource acquisition." says Julie Peteet while observing space surveillance and mobility in her book, Space and Mobility in Palestine (31). Peteet also inspects and agrees the expulsion, targeted by Israeli authorities in the land of Palestine. Peteet situates:

100,000 to 250,000 Palestinians were displaced to Jordan. Occupation brought over 1.5 million Palestinians under Israeli rule. Contravening International Law, Israel has constructed over one hundred settler colonies and moved over a half million of citizens into the West Bank and East Jerusalem, with military assistance and protection and generous state subsidies. (5)

Sumaya Farhat's revelation on the location of Jerusalem substantiates Peteet's reference on space. She adds on the spatial defeat in Jerusalem:

The number of Palestinian inhabitants of Jerusalem has been drastically reduced, as a result of Palestinian land in the area of Jerusalem Municipality being confiscated; Palestinian houses being destroyed and Palestinians being deported from the city (544)

Sumaya Farhat shows the extend of military activity in the space of Palestine.

How does the academic activity in Israel conceal their land grab and tales of occupation? The academic discourses, according to Sumaya Farhat erased the Palestinian from the history too. She says:

Israeli history books say nothing about the violent expulsion of Palestinians. Yet in 1979 Yitzhak Rabin had already written in his autobiography that he had driven 50,000 Palestinians out of Lod and Ramleh in 1948 by force of arms, obeying an order from Ben Gurion. (1357)

As Sumaya Farhat Naser is working with the peace delegation organization between Palestine and Israel, she pronounces her experiences of mediation talks.

According to her the victory over space for Israel is, the loss and pain for Palestinians.

She states:

We spoke of the fear and menace which we associate with Israeli flags, for they are raised over Palestinian houses which Israeli have taken over and taken away from us. To us Israeli flags on the Old City of Jerusalem are a sign of loss and bereavement. (1522)

Sumaya's further depiction of land is visible picturization of the spacio-cide in Jerusalem. "Houses have been destroyed, huge areas of arable land devastated by bulldozers are confiscated. The settlements have been expanded into fortresses and the Palestinian towns and villages turned into walled-in prisons" (1827). Thus Sumaya Farhat's memoir, *Daughter of Olive Trees* is a clear representation of space in the occupied territory of Palestine which evaluates the fragmentation and demographic upheavals operated by settler colonialism.

Laila El-Haddad is a native of Gaza and moves between Gaza and New York as part of her profession in media. Her blogs, originally titled Raising Yousef, which

she initially started to share updates about her new born son, later was compiled into a much bigger project titled *Gaza Mama* (2010) by her, carrying the daily account of Gaza under Siege and covering events with a personal and political note from December 2004 to August 2010. It is basically a realistic account on life in Gaza, the city space, movement, residency and the burning day to day realities.

Gaza Mama is an objective account of a journalist, who is also a Gazan mother, about her homeland, while it being bombed, occupied and its inhabitants are imprisoned and dispossessed. She narrates life in Gazan city and suburbs in the form of reportages from the land occupied by Israeli military. As she is a person who has been denied the entry to her homeland, going Gaza, going Home is so particular in her case. Laila's description of even the minute reality of Gazan land provides the reader a realistic account of spatial practices in the form of terrestrial and aerial war.

She comes up with live reports from the land. Part I of the book, deals with the space and life of Gaza as Israel withdraws from the inhabitants. Laila El-Haddad adds her spatial involvements into her text in a form which is more like a diary. It covers the daily realities on ground, the occupation, the murders, the confiscation, the engagement, the disengagement, and also charts the aspects of life in refugee camps. She reports her personal experiences of travelling in and out Gaza, her professional life as Al Jazeera Stringer (2003-2006) and the Palestinian resistance (*Sumud*) against all these Israeli practices. Spatial realm of Palestinian life is reflected in all these narrations of Gazan life. One can find the aspects of spacio-cide and Gazan way of resistance in the section, "Rap finds New Voice in Occupied Gaza" of part I, which are reported on February 2005 from Gaza city. A form of "Cosmopolitan Village Protest" as seen by Peteet (170), is visible in the rap music by young Palestinians who

sing out their frustrations of life under occupation. Explaining about Abu Ayash, a member of Palestinian Rappers, Laila Haddad says:

Abu Ayash lives in a refugee camp of Maghazi and all around are constant reminders of the Israeli occupation, whether by way of demolished home, an orphaned family, or the enduring poverty that has taken hold over 57 years of dispossession. (23)

Space is totally controlled by Israel as occupation is not only grabbing the land but occupying the water and air too. Laila Haddad reports the words of a Belgian European Commission Project consultant in her book:

The funniest anecdote of all that he shared with me: Gaza municipalities only have the capacity to treat 20,000 cubic meters of sewage water a day.

Currently 35000 cubic meters are produced which means that 1500 cubic meters of shit are going directly into the sea each day. (52)

Haddad's further report on sea draws attention to the life of fishermen in Gaza:

Though one of the Gaza's oldest active fishermen, Suheil Sa 'dallah spends most of his time loitering around Gaza's makeshift fisherman's port, where dozens of docked boats, including his own bob gently in the sea. In the face of stringent Israeli restrictions on Palestinian fishing zones, and in the absence of a modern industrial port, many fishermen there, like Sa'dallah can no longer make a living. (58)

Writer indicates that the disengagement plan does not instill any hope neither in Laila Haddad nor among any Gazans. "It is not clear whether that will change after Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's planned pull out from Gaza later this month. According to the original plan, Israel will maintain control over Gaza's air, sea and land space" (Haddad 59). How far the spaces of Gaza were denied to the natives

themselves is clear in the words of Haddad on disengagement. Haddad says of Abo Walid, whose brother was killed by an Israeli sniper two years ago in the camp: "The first thing he will do after the settlers leave is head to the beach…" (Haddad 70). The access to the beach and many such other areas was often denied to Palestinians. Haddad reports Abu Khalid, who is a school teacher: "It was just about having access to a beach, we could go to Gaza city. It is about our right to live freely. It's about occupation, which will continue even after they withdrew" (70).

Laila Haddad speaks of, "roads torn apart and sealed off, thousands of homes destroyed, hundreds of innocent lives lost, acres upon acres of fertile farm land, of trees that had been hundreds of years growing in this land, razed to the now-scorched earth" (71). A worst but mourning picture of Gazan land is portrayed by Laila Haddad as she gives an account of settlement tour after the Israeli eviction from them. "In the infamous colony of Netzarim, which had strategically split Gaza into two sections and was for so long, a pillar and much hated symbol of occupation, nothing was left untouched by departing Israeli forces" (81). One can come across the space and spacio-cide in war-torn Gaza strip in the memoir of Laila Haddad. Haddad's dejection is clear as she says: "They will continue to make our lives miserable, if not with tanks, then with unmanned drones" (Haddad 86). It adds to the intensity of spacio-cide which is all occupying - Gazan land, water and air.

Israel practices various methods to wipe out native people from their native geographies. In the literary and cultural productions set in Palestine and in present-day Israel too what one sees is the merging of social space, geographical space and the psychological space, so that the activities of Palestinians on the space is always administered through military agencies of Israel. Such practices made Palestine loose not only the physical space but cultural and social space too. It results in denial of

space to the 'other', permanently turning the 'other' as displaced and dispossessed forever. "The contradictions which are emerging out of contestation of identities in a fixed geographical landscape are a result of a politics of spatial imagination which denies space to the other" (Anjum 48). Thus the Zionist idea of nation visualized itself as a nation sealed from outside world, which was understood by theoreticians as Hannah Arendt, Martin Buber, Hans Kohn and Ahad Ha'am. Zionist Jews are always trying to grab fictionalized space into the real space.

Even after the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza strip, Israel evacuated 8500 settlers from Gaza and part of Northern West Bank, but embarked on plans to make room for 30,000 new settlers that year alone (2005), primarily in and around occupied East Jerusalem. . . From the beginning of the current Intifada in September 2000, until September 2007; 77,759 housing units were damaged, of which 8103 were destroyed completely, in the Palestinian territory. (193)

The above quote of Hanafi is the result of his examination of spacio-cide in Gaza. The spatial practices of Israel affected all the Palestinian territories de-territorialising Arab land into a Jewish land. "It was to de-naturalize people and to ultimately make them stateless, spaceless beings" (Hanafi 193).

Gaza Writes Back (2013) the collection of stories by Young Gazan writers, mostly by women, illustrates the gravity of spacio-cide – which takes multiple shapes and forms in Gaza, even today. "The war came after a long siege that Israel is still imposing on Gaza, a siege that has left almost all aspects of life paralyzed. Israel targeted infrastructures, schools, universities, factories, houses and fields" says Refaat Alareer, the editor of Gaza Writes Back, in his own review of the book. "...The whole Gaza was the bull's eye for Israel's most sophisticated military arsenal" (525). He

proves this by pointing the intensity of war that followed Operation Cast Lead in Gaza. The stories by young and new generation of Gaza showcase current Palestinian voices, in the midst of attempts made by the colonizers to silence them as follows:

A sense of longing pervades the book . . . a strong yearning to return to long-cherished family homes and properties after many decades in exile for them . . . The call for justice remains forcefully persistent, and these young writers refuse to let the world forget about them – their land, their people and their story. (Alareer 529)

At the ugly face of ongoing occupation and restrictions young Palestine stories try to establish the beautiful Palestine at least in their stories, as Refaat Alareer adds:

"Palestine is a martyr away, a tear away, a missile away, or a whimper away,
Palestine is a story away" (532). The stories are a virtual reality of socio spatial Gaza,
while Gaza has to endure Israel's siege and successive military assaults. Alareer
opines that: "In the ongoing process of spacio-cide in Gaza, the stories are about
place-making" (533). Twelve out of fifteen writers of the collection *Gaza Writes Back*are women. Space is viewed as an instrument for the institutionalization of Israeli
occupation, apart from being a biophysical thing in the stories said by the Gazans.

Deprivation of space is a common factor in the stories, while they articulate on Gaza.

As we now commemorate the Land day, we honour the people who stood up for their Land in 1976, when Israel announced thousands of Palestinian dunams would be confiscated. During Marches held to protest that declaration, six people were killed. The 30th of March brings back a memory of our land, My Father's Land. (Ali 59),

Sarah Ali, one of the writers in *Gaza Writes Back*, says so, in her story: "The Story of Land" which is a dedication to her father. It highlights the confiscation, spacio-cide,

deprivation of the land and also depicts the native resistance. "Scars" by Aya Rabah, depicts a parallelism between the land and the speaker. The narrator in the story is a woman. Readers can assimilate that the woman with *The Scar* is Palestine herself, who has become a land with the scar, a scar on the world map. The space in the story is so haunting one. The speaker finds no way to console her daughter Hayat when she is scared and says: "A tree is moving. A tree is killing. I hate trees"(68). The words by Hayat is the terrible imagery that is casted in her mind due to the military moves and wars, where the soldiers hide themselves behind the trees, with the twig of trees and for Hayat the bullets are not from the army but from trees. Physical space creep into mental space here.

As Israel wants to create, what Lefebvre views in his *Production of Space*- a 'homogenous clearly demarcated space' (79) through various spatial practices, every act of Palestinian narrations is to bring out the historical and geographical space into a socio-psychic space of the Palestinians through their counter narrations. Drawing from Lefebvre in this regard one can see him saying: "Spaces are also political products and strategic" (80).

In *Gaza Writes Back*, one can see that social and spatial realm of life is very much controlled by the strategic forces of micro and macro level powers. Stories seem to generate the "problematic of space" (Lefebvre 83) and its current implications. As social space is a work and product at the same time, as Lefebvre finds, stories also try to conceive and reproduce space. Space is inseparably entangled with the life with all its social, physical implications. "A year passed. Our home was shelled. The house was partially damaged. Only one room was totally destroyed. And my father happened to be inside that room. A year passed, and I still keep myself away from that room. I still smell the burned flesh" (Sousi 72). The speaker fearfully narrates in

"Will I Ever Get Out?", the story by Nour-Al Sousi, where one can view a Palestinian / Gazan with conflicting mindscapes of getting in and getting out in the midst of series of spacio-cide by Israel.

Space and Home are recurring imageries in the aesthetic productions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees were considered as a special category of people who had the right of residence in Lebanon, but no other social, legal or economic rights. The space inside and outside the refugee camps and the psycho-spatial realm of homely space in Palestine are equally matters of re-search and critical inquiry. Jaber Suleiman in his article "Trapped refugees: The case of Palestinians in Lebanon" clearly sets out the restricted, legal, political, economic and social conditions within which Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are forced to live. He articulates:

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are deprived of basic civil and human rights. Their rights to residency, travel and freedom of movement are subject to arbitrary and often contradictory national legislation, their right to work and own property are severely restricted. (10)

A severe control, confinement and exclusion is most common among Palestinian refugees in Lebanese refugee camps. *Baddawi* (2015) by Leila Abdelrazaq reflects various refractive spaces that merge from the longing of lost spaces of Palestine since 1948, the governed space of camp and the space of surveillance outside the Refugee camp. Leila in the form of her graphic memoir, conceives the space in the Baddawi camp where her father with his family lived after the expulsion from Palestine due to al- Nakba of 1948 with his family. Narrating her memories about her father in the form of a family Saga, Leila brings out socio- spatial thread in the life of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon during 1959-1980. The expulsion from

homeland, the civil war in Lebanon, life in refugee camps of Lebanon and the migration to US are viewed through the eyes of a her father, exploring her father's childhood in the 1960s and 70s from a boy's view.

"Palestine is buried deep in the creases of my grandmother's palms"(2), Laila says, setting a space of homeland in her work. The plight of the family of her grandparents in the night settled them in a refugee camp leaving the footprints of homeland away. Leila states: "This is how my father, Ahmad, came to be born in a refugee camp in northern Lebanon. Its name Baddawi, is derived from the word 'Bedouin': Nomad" (18). The story begins by stating the denial of birth right in the homeland. Army headquarters near the refugee camp is a controlling device that is very much present in the form of governance.

Reader can observe that, Palestinians in the refugee camp cherish the lost space by reenacting it in some form. Cooking *Za'atar*, a Palestinian dish, is one such activity that the family cherishes in camp. Army's interrogations are a daily practice and reality from which refugees can't get away. People of refugee camps are victims of continuing exile; Leila showcases through her work. Israel's political and military activity continues and extends to refugee camps in Lebanon too. "Israel had bombed the camp hoping to take out freedom fighters and resistance leaders" (63) she says. Space of Beirut casts a permanent anxiety and refugeehood in the young mind of Ahmad, Leila's father. The political factions put himself in danger in Beirut. "The divide between the Christian dominated pro-government East Beirut and the Muslim majority pro freedom West Beirut was called the green line" (66). Ahmad's understanding of the space is example for nothing but the spatial powers and spatial strategies that alienate the inhabitants of refugee camps, especially refugees from Palestine.

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are subjects of permanent evasion and victims of space – physical, mental, historical and geographical. In her research on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Sayigh (1979) described their belief of being thrown out from paradise.

After sixty years only a few of the first generation refugees is still alive, but five millions of their descendants still remain and even though most of them have not seen Palestine before, they identify themselves as being Palestinian. (qtd. in Ibrahim 344)

Palestinian literature clearly chart the ethnic cleansing, Judaisation and de-Arabisation imposed by Israel aiming at erasure of land and people of Palestine.

Zionism secularised and nationalised Judaism. To bring their project to fruition, the Zionist thinkers claimed the biblical territory and recreated indeed reinvented, it as the cradle of their new nationalist movement. As they saw it, Palestine was occupied by strangers and had to be repossessed. 'Strangers' here meant everyone not Jewish who had been living in Palestine since the Roman Period. (*Ethnic Cleansing* 460)

Ilan Pappe, the Jewish historian, observes the blend of nationalist ideology propagated and enacted by Zionism in the Land of Palestine and also the root of ethnic cleansing, which aimed a pure Jewish takeover of the country by the expulsion of the indigenous Palestinian people. The powerful absence of the strong leadership and viable Palestinian fighting units gave the Jewish forces in 1947 an easy ride into the Palestinian countryside. Jews aimed at an exclusive Jewish state not only in socio political structure but in its ethnic composition too

The ideology was then put into material practice. Nationality was, thereby, tried to be constructed by Zionism through all means, especially through the mode of violence. As Lefebvre generalises:

Nationhood implies violence – the violence of a military state, be it feudal, bourgeois, imperialist, or some other variety. It implies in other words a political power controlling and exploiting the resources of the market or the growth of the productive forces in order to maintain and further its rule. (112) Militancy, exclusion, war, genocide, ecocide, denaturalization and moral devaluing were the techniques instituted by the Zionists to employ their concept of Judaisation and Israeli nationhood in the Palestinian territory.

As Lefebvre further argues: "Nation and nationalism are merely ideological constructs" (111) apart from substantial reality. Thus, in the Palestinian case, the birth of a nation by means of violence is the death of the nation for the natives. The temporal and spatial signifiers attain new significations geographically, and they are being established as the signified for a particular territory. The space which had provided a sense of being for Palestinians, turned out to be a prison house of restrictions and a space away for millions who were expelled from not only their territory but from socio cultural and psycho- physical being. Thus, in the interplay of history and geography the diachronic element of space loses its validity by a synchronic act of time over space in the case of Palestinians, creating a categorical privilege for certain people over others.

Spatial reading of native texts produced by Palestinians illustrates not only a history but also a social and geographical realm too, with a thought and action as Edward Soja asserts: "Life-stories have a geography too; they have a milieu, immediate locals, provocative emplacements, which affect thought and action" (14).

The texts selected here for the study of refugee space / refugeeization of space draw attention of the researchers into socio spatial making of Palestinian spaces by the Zionist agenda of ethnic cleansing. Israel's employment of various plans, plan A, B, C & D together worked as a methodology of cleansing as Pappe says: "The British left on 15 May 1948, and Jewish Agency immediately declared the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, officially recognized by the two superpowers of the day, the USA and the USSR" (1012). The methodology of cleansing was the combination of fragmentation and disintegration. "Plan D was the master plan for Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine" (Pappe 1177). The roads were kept open for the ethnic cleansing and de-Arabisation of Palestinian territories.

Literary productions by the Palestinians are rooted in the socio-political, cultural and geographical locus of the historic Palestine that branch out the historicity and spatiality of Palestinian space horizontally and vertically. Fatma Kassem reports the words of Hanieh from al-Majdal in her book:

. . . Originally I am from al-Majdal and then after the War 48, the last city was [unfinished and silence] al-Majdal was the last city that fell in Palestine.

Nowadays you can say ceasefire. We migrated and walked by feet, swear to God, to Gaza. We migrated. Ran away. Migrated planes, war, to where we walked! [We Walked] by foot from al-Majdal to Gaza by foot. (57)

Her words reflect the practice of cleansing embodied on the bodies of Palestine.

Changing the names of the cities is another plan of the part of methodology of ethnic cleansing. Along with spacio-cide, Israel aimed at mental and spatial reimagining of the spaces by the renaming of cities that is the ongoing practice of Hebraization.

Fatma speaks of her experience that she faced while submitting her research proposal before the supervisor. The supervisor was, against her use of Arabic names of the city,

questioning her right to name her world in her own words. She recounts: "Some of the names [of the cities] are slightly Hebraized. For instance, Akka-Akko, Safad-Zfat, Ramleh-Ramla and Lyd-Lod. In addition to them, Jewish settlements established on the ruins of the villages were named with slight Hebraization of the previous names like Sufurieh-Zipori, Berim-Beram" (69). Her personal sketches add light to the supervisor's / authorities' dislike on her Arabized way of pronunciation that the supervisor asked her to select the Jewish original names instead of the place names she selected with a slight Arabic pronunciation instead of Hebrew. Fatma Kassem speaks of ongoing Zionisation of Palestinian / Arab territory, where renaming streets has been a facet of regressive Zionist ideology since 1948.

There were different legal procedures imposed on Arabs in order to detain them from acquiring land that was also a method of permanent cleansing. Arabs in Israel had to suffer through lots of tax impositions too. Moreover they themselves became refugees in their own houses and lands. Raiefeh from Lyd speaks her story as follows:

We had a house. We wanted to build a house, a house with a garden and vegetables... Recently we were without land. To this day we haven't liberated it . . . Then we lived at my aunt's house . . . Then Jews took it from my aunt. We can take it only if we had [did not complete the sentence] but no! We don't have Kawashin or . . . [did not complete] and our land is lost. (Kassem 126) Kawashin stands for the permit here. Alice, *Paletinian Women*, is clear about the way in which the cleansing was operated. Salma from Lyd expressed dismay as to why the newly built homes had to be demolished in1948. "The homes then were new . . . In 1948, the people ruined [Israelis] them all" (200). Fatma Kassem's assertion is clear indication of ethnic cleansing happened in Israel (Palestine). She says towards

the end of her book: "The majors of both Lyd and Ramleh view each Palestinian house as a security threat not only to the Jewish residents of their cities, but also to the surrounding countryside and in the final analysis to the whole country" (232).

Suad Amiry and Sumaya Farhat Naser, representing the occupied territories of West Bank, also clearly point out the ethnic cleansing practices that were targeted in West Bank too as a means of aiming the Greater Israel project and as creating a sense of phobia of life among Palestinians. Confiscation of land and erecting settlements were the part of cleansing methodologies in West Bank. Eco-cide was also practiced as a tactic of ethnic cleansing by Israel. Uprooting the vegetations and alienating the Palestinians from their land were also methods of cleansing the people from their natural setting in the homeland. Amiry says in this regard: "I wonder what your reaction would have been if you had lived under occupation for as many years as I had or if your shopping rights as all your other rights, were violated day and night, or if the olive trees in your grandfather's orchards had been uprooted" (68). The change of the dwelling place into barren land was the result of cleansing; as Suad Amiry further adds:

On one way to my mother-in-law's house, we drove along the main Nablus road. Like the rest of the town, it had become an unrecognizable war zone. My heart ached when I saw the broken trunks of the palm trees which once lined the middle island of this road. (158)

Her words undoubtedly state the ecocide, employed as cleansing. The cleansing of East Jerusalem and neighboring places are made clear by Sumaya Farhat Naser.

Intentional neglect is the method administered for the gradual disintegration of the Palestine villages by Israel, in East Jerusalem. Sumaya says that many of the villages

were denied basic rights of living, like water and electricity. Cleansing was also practiced in the mode of ecocide in Jerusalem too.

As long as we have olive trees, we have nothing to fear, runs another proverb. Olive trees stand for our existence in Palestine. That is why it causes us so much pain when thousands of olive trees are uprooted or destroyed. The land is burned, the terraces flattened . . . I can feel the pain of the injured trees. (2475)

As the above quote explicates, a total devastation of the land was aimed by Israel to expel the Palestinians.

As one moves to Gaza through the stories and memoires built by the writers, one can feel that ethnic cleansing is exemplified through more brutal ways in Gaza where siege and war are permanent issues on the ground. Occupation of air, water and land is the way of Israelis which permanently made the Gazans homeless in the home.

I spent much of today talking to Palestinians trying to cross the Netzarim check point today. It is basically a 6 pm deep trench dug deep into Gaza's coastal road, which has in recent days, been ripped apart by nocturnal armored bulldozers that come out from behind the lone sniper in the distance and disappear before dawn when their work is done. (47)

Laila El Haddad says in her *Gaza Mama* situating the violence and disaster in Gaza. It is one of the Israeli methods of destruction as Pappe says "Israel's massive operations of expulsion" (4381).

Women writers of *Gaza Writes Back* also have a lot to narrate on their stories of being cleansed- Both the people and the trees, vegetation, plants, environment and whatever which is Palestinian. Sarah Ali, in her story "The Story of the Land", states:

Gulf war that I could feel. That an Israeli soldiers could bulldoze 189 olive trees on the land he claims is part of the "God given land" is something I will never comprehend . . . If a Palestinian bulldozer was ever invented . . . I would never uproot a tree an Israeli planted. No Palestinian would. (63)

The guiltless activity of ethnic cleansing by Israel is commented at here, by her. Since the Gazans were silent victims they could only be helpless on dying trees and people. "During the weeks that followed my father's visit to the land, he had a daily schedule: in the morning, he prayed and read Quran. At night, he cried" (62). Palestinians could only weep over it or better write on it.

Palestinian refugees, wherever they live, are conscious of the ethnic cleansing that happened in 1948 and after. It is a constant traumatic experience in their life and narratives. As they always long for a homeland, ethnic cleansing is seen as the threatening imagery that they couldn't get away. The graphic representation of the exile of the family in the midnight with the available belongings, at the gun point, in Leila Abdelrazaq's *Baddawi* describes the intensity of Nakba which was aimed at expulsion and ethnic cleansing of majority of Palestinians. She adds her note on that:

...But Zionist gangs were ethnically cleansing villages all over Palestine, committing widespread massacres. After Israel was established they barred Palestinians from returning home, in direct violation of UN Resolution, the right of Return. (18)

The execution of the methodology may vary from place to place. But what Israel practices through Zionist ideology of ethnic cleansing in the land of Palestine is creation of a settler colonial geography. Pappe's words add to the intensity of this spatial reality:

The writer Taha Muhammad Ali was a boy of seventeen when on 20 June 1948, the Israeli soldiers entered the village of Mi'ar. He was born in nearby Suffuriyya, but much of his poetry and prose today, as an Israeli citizen, is inspired by the traumatic events he was unfolding in Mi'ar. That June he stood watching at sunset, the approaching Israeli troops shooting indiscriminately at the villagers still busy in the fields collecting their dura. When they got tired of the killing spree, the soldiers then began destroying the houses. People later returned to Mi'ar and continued living there until mid-July when Israeli troops reoccupied it and expelled them for good. Forty people were killed in the Israeli attack on 20 June, part of the few thousand Palestinians who perished in the massacres that accompanied the ethnic cleansing operation. (Ethnic Cleansing 3044)

Along with ethnic cleansing, mobility is also a critical issue of Palestinian spatiality. Palestinians are to speak about their daily experiences of turning into a mere (im) mobile beings or physical bodies, instead of being considered as living beings. In one way they are always on the move, since they are unable to find a peaceful land in their homeland, but on another way they are immobile due to spatial control and restrictions, which turn them into (im) mobile. Their narratives are, narratives of mobility- denied, constrained and ultimately reconfigured. Peteet observes that their narratives also serve as: "A point of departure to explore how Palestinians live with, and variously accommodate, subvert, resist, refuse and negotiate constraints on their mobility" (Peteet 69). Their literatures flush out the ways in which space, mobility and subjectivity are mutually constructive. Here comes the relevance for the "geography of subjectivity" (Peteet 69) and the disparities of mobility within and between regions. The Palestinian subjectivity is tangled with

the segregated roads, blocks, curfews, ID cards, waiting, walls, checkpoint interviews and questionings as the subjectivity is defined by the physical structure of the land.

To travel in Palestine is to be caught in a slow moving vertex of filtering by the permit system and funneling through the ubiquitous checkpoints, and to move among spaces with varying forms of sovereignty and power. Most significantly this geography of mobility compels a toying with concepts of subjectivity and habitus. (Peteet70)

Sari Hanafi while describing the spacio-cide in Palestine clarifies: "Separation is based on two strategies" (197). He adds on the colonial fragmentation of Palestinian space and the administration of Palestinian movement. He further makes it more intelligible saying that administration of movement is operated firstly by creating cantons in the West Bank, a sort of Bantustans, separated by Jewish settlements and bypass roads and secondly by 'setting in motion different statuses of Palestinians to restrict the mobility of the population and confine them in specific territories. (197)

The life narratives of Palestinians typically show the illegitimacy that Israel impose on Palestinians that restrict their movement in the homeland. Along with the checking and endless waiting that Palestinians face, the hyper vigilance is also operated by Israelis to control the people who move. Restricting life is the main purpose of Israelis over the Palestinians. It is a mode of punishment too. Life sketches of the writers from various Palestinian locale describe, laugh at, protest, narrate, question and register their experience of movement. Fatma Kassem gives us a tangible version of present day Israeli picture. She says:

During the military regime in both cities (Ramleh and Lyd) women needed military permit to go out to the fields. The military confinement ended in July 1949. However the women I interviewed said they were still prohibited from

going to their farms after the military restrictions on their movement had ended. (223)

Kassem's words ensure that the personal aspects of lives like access to land, access to fields, marriages between two families, social relationships, travelling etc., were affected badly by the restrictions.

Occupation brings a maddening and irksome response in the life and works of Suad Amiry. Every now and then she feels like gushing the words of anger out at military but she keeps quite. *Sharon and My Mother in Law* is an account of the struggles of normal life in an insane situation. "Our problems are as rich as the city itself" (156), articulates Amiry one of her interview while asked of her experiences of problems in placing a political grid over Jerusalem's living culture. The city is the people and the people means city. Each cannot get away from one another. Amiry with a wry sense of humour reports the senselessness in the daily life of a Palestinian in Ramallah, West Bank. She proves that one has to face endless interrogations that blocks one's movement.

Israeli soldier's provocative actions that Amiry reports are clear indication of the Zionist project, which is aimed at unilateral separation of the Israeli Jews from the Palestinians for security; and to decelerate and contain an impending Palestinian majority; as Julie Peteet remarks:

A strategy of managing and controlling a captive population through immobilizing and incarceratory policies and practices carve out sites where a particular form of power is wielded and a vision of the ethnic sectarian and national composition of space is enacted. (31)

Mobility is an intertwining issue in Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law* in the very beginning of the book itself. She says she was not in a mood to answer the

security officer when series of suspicious questions (that every Palestinian has to suffer on daily base) are thrown at her: "How come you were born in Damascus? Have you ever lived in Damascus? Do you have relatives in Syria? What are the purpose of your visit to London? What were you doing in London?" (8). The resignation on her face and the funny way of replies were her tactics to bear through the situation. She was told: "You know that failing to co-operate with us on security matters will result in your arrest" (9). Suad Amiry says at this: "I wondered if the officers knew that like many other Palestinians living in occupied territories, we needed many types of permits to move about " (9). Her words are the mirror image of the cross section of Palestinian world of mobility.

Amiry goes on commenting on the daily life and movement for every Palestinian. She speaks about the seven years waiting to get her hawiyyeh (permit) to live and to move to Ramallah (43) and also shares her agony of waiting in line, in front of the military compound for days, on end to review her visitor's permit (46). Imposition of curfews is another case of limiting mobility and strangling life, which Amiry discusses in her work. Her funny way of expressing the shopping spree of Palestinians while lifting the curfew is the replication of depression that she wants to painfully laugh at. "Every time the curfew was lifted frantic crowds rushed out and cleared out every supermarket, store and bakery in Ramallah and Al-Bireh" (Amiry 60). Funny expressions, negation on faces at security officers, silence, humor, fierce looks, and laughs at the absurdities are the techniques that Amiry practices herself and also employs in her life-narratives. It helps her to live through the life of endless waiting and immobile days.

Ramallah turns as a "geography of anticipation" (Peteet 121) due to the movement restrictions. Amiry's version is evident in this regard. "During the gulf

war in 1991, the Israeli Army kept over two million Palestinians under curfew for forty two days, in anticipation of the unknown . . . Ramallah would become an absolutely frantic town " (Amiry 130). The section titled "Ramallah under Curfew", illustrates the painful slice of lives too as Amiry says: "There is not much we can do, the Israeli army is not allowing us to move. We have not been able to help the besieged or the wounded, or collect corpses from the streets of Ramallah or from inside the besieged buildings . . . " (148). Amiry's description of Nablus may conclude the risk of mobility in these words: "The driver almost stopped the car, looked at Mohammad and said passionately: "Uskut . . . Uskut Ya Zelameh Wallah illi minshuf min il Israeligyeh kull youm Jhannam (Man . . . Man what the Israeli makes us go through every day is worse than hell" (Amiry168).

Sumaya Farhat's picturization of Jerusalem, in *Daughter of Olive Trees* also leaves a note on mobility and daily life of Palestinians. The section titled "Life in Occupied Country" echoes the risk of travelling in Ramallah. "On our way back there were hundreds of cars and people waiting at the check point". On Sumaya's need to move soldier replied: "New regulation had arrived that journey was only allowed in one direction. No argument helped, no entreaties. The people stood there furious. A few were weeping" (273). Sumaya speaks about the series of curfews imposed and lifted upon decisions of Israeli authorities. In the section titled "Struggling for Political Structures in Palestinian Society", she comments: "Freedom of movement is more limited than ever, there is an internal curfew. All the towns and villages are separated from each other" (1827). In the following section titled "In a State of War" Sumaya pronounces the shrinking aspects of movement:

The complete encirclement of our residential areas and limiting of freedom of movement to a few kilometers prevented normal work anyhow . . . Everyday

life had become so dangerous that even the most essential task could only be carried out at one's peril. Whenever possible people stayed at home. Survival had become a daily concern (2027).

Being a Journalist, living Gaza from the outside, Laila El- Haddad coins series of experiences which remind her of the painful (un)belonging in her homeland. The massacres, bombardment and blockade of Gaza add to her prison-camp condition in Gaza where mobility is a bigger issue. "A Long Hot Summer in Gaza" by Haddad, from Gazan city dated, 6 December 2003, casting back everyday life in Gaza and the restrictions upon the inmates. She says: "Due to frequent closures between the northern and southern ends of the Gaza strip many patients in Rafah and Khan Yunis – areas most affected by the conflict – have been unable to receive the vital services they need" (46). Closing and opening of gates and checkpoints are a continued activity that Gazans are used to – though miserably. In her report, dated 26 July 2005, from Gazan city Laila says:

My mother made it back to Gaza city, finally . . . Unfortunately her trip back from Khan Yunis, where she was stuck for three days while visiting her mother, after the Israelis closed down the Abu Holi Checkpoint, was not easy". (53)

Freedom of movement curtails people from family reunion, work, and other daily activities. Those who fled couldn't return to homeland. Those who stuck in the homeland couldn't move out on any serious need. This is the report from Gaza that Laila draws in her account on the Gazan territory which is one of the brutal fatea of occupation. People's frustration is clear when Laila reports the strong decision of Saleh Areef at the desperate end. "I left Kuwait to come to live in Gaza, but the Israelis froze the family reunion and residency permits after I arrived and I've been a

prisoner in my own land ever since" (Haddad 85). Mobility is highly restricted and space acts upon people in the form of power and surveillance blocking the everyday actions.

Young Gazan writers, of *Gaza Writes Back* also articulates the dejection and despair at their fate of becoming immobile beings. But, their stories in a way provide them a metaphorical move in their cities. Narrating Gaza is to "testify against one of the most brutal occupations the world has known" (Alareer118). Writers together educate the plight and travails of Palestinians as they are living under Israeli occupation. Stories cogitate about the endurance of Gazans under Israeli siege and successive military assaults. Within "The occupied territories, mobility is severely restricted" (118) says Refaat Alareer. The stories are the attempt to revolutionize Gaza and the strict imposition of rules on them. To quote from the story "From Beneath" by Rawan Yaghi, 22 year old Gazan writer:

I didn't even know if my eyes were open. I sensed the dust covering my face. It seemed to block my nostrils . . . one of my arms was trapped somewhere under the wooden edges of my bed . . . My toes, my legs, and my hair were jailed and sentenced not to move I was never trapped in so little a space. My world felt so narrow and sharp. (119)

A kind of stagnation is there that she feels which designate the stillness of life in Gaza that is quite a common thing after every siege.

UNRWA's report on the social exclusion of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon describes the socio political and economic life of refugees in the Land of Lebanon. Palestine refugees residing Syria and Jordan can work in all professions and own property. But in Lebanese they are barred from owning property. In addition, the Lebanese army controls access to Palestine refugee camps, restricting refugees'

mobility" (Ibrahim 345). Camps are enclaves outside the authority of the Lebanese state. However the surface area of the camps has not increased with population and many have become cramped shanty towns, offering little privacy to residents and exposing them to hearth hazards. "The ideal case scenario would be one where citizen-refugees enjoy civil and economic rights as well as the right to space and mobility" (Ibrahim 345).

Leila Abdel Razaq's graphic memoir *Baddawi* centered on the Baddawi camp validates the study of UNRWA on the mobility and space of refugees in Lebanese camps. Lebanese army has a continued presence there and the refugees are always on a night raid. Ahmad's mother's voice, though casually spoken, points out the severity of occupation that curtails the freedom and mobility. Mother says: "Kids, there is no school today. Last night the Israeli and Lebanese armies came into the camp. They entered through the sea and the mountains" (Abdelrazaq 40). Mother adds: "Go and play with your friends today, but stay away from the areas where the army has been" (42). Though the utterance is casual, it is an evidence for the haunting space of movement and the "geography of risk" (Peteet 127) that is an alarming reality in most of the Lebanese refugee camps.

Thus, the ordinary human movements and travels are themselves affected, creating an inertia for Palestinian in Israel, West Bank, Gaza and in the refugee camps outside Palestine. As Peteet reiterates Bergmann's quote:

The entanglement of subjectivity and mobility is stark. I move therefore I am" (Moveo ergo Sam) and "I am how I move". Mobility occupies center stage in human subjectivity. It is essential to being a human and to having a sense of self – the I, and quality of that being, is contingent on how one moves or doesn't. (qtd. in Peteet 97)

The military matrix and the politics of spatial separation work in such a way in present day Israel, occupied territories and in Refugee camps outside of the Palestine to build a Jewish homogenous space through deconstruction and reconstruction of Palestinian public spaces, bringing out a territorial apartheid and space of alienation. Erasure and subversion of the space are other forms of spatial injustices that mutilate Palestinian geography to form an anarchic geography with a transformation of the cities, villages and all public spaces. Apart from spacio-cide and ethnic cleansing, Israel aimed at spatial reformations as an erection of new territorial forms that resonate with their "Phantasmagorical Zionist dream of the complete land of Israel" (Weizman 57).

Building settlements, cultural centres, hotels and business parks by demolishing heritage centres of Palestine, and establishing military check posts, constructing identical cities, setting up army headquarters, making armed enclaves in a network fashion throughout the major cities and by separating with walls, were some of the governing tools of Israelis for a geographical re modification of Palestinian native spaces and geography that are continued for years, even today. It is administered through various officers and architects. It resulted in fragmentation of the spaces and the de territorialisation of the natives within the homeland.

Thus, building architectures of occupations and destructing the Palestinian spaces –private and public- are the territorial models practiced by the state of Israel in Palestine. It turns the Palestinian space into a hollow land. Architecture of Ariel Sharon is important one among many forms of fortifications. "Sharon, flying over the Occupied Territories once remarked: 'Arabs should see Jewish lights every night from 500 metres' tactical consideration engaged simultaneously thus with both seeing and

being seen" (Weizman 82). Such signs of dominations over the space through colonial architectural projects erase the land of Palestine.

Fatma Kassem presents the aching realities of the re modifications and architectures of colonization, militarization and occupation through her Palestinian Women. Many women she had interviewed for her own research on post-Nakba memory and history shared their twinkling memories of calm dwelling spaces in the present day Israel. They also expressed the tormenting memories on how far the spaces were re-fashioned into Jewish spaces by expunging the Palestinian spaces and erecting new ones. Apartheid was strategized by Israelis in limiting the Arabs into ghettos and positioning Jews in newly built spaces. When Kassem asks the direction to Um Nazri's grandmother's home, the woman replied: "All the Arabs lived in the ghetto, or to this day, they call this a ghetto" (Kassem 219). Naming, renaming and ghettoization is part of political spatiality and territorial apartheid as Kassem has portrayed. Kassem further quotes Hain Yacobi (2003) in this regard "Israeli state has initiated a plan of rapidly redesigning its territorial spaces: At the heart of this endeavor lay one main principle: Turning Arab spaces into Jewish spaces" (Kassem 218). Strict separation between Arabs and Jews was one of the major segments of such tactics.

The interviews that Kassem had carried out for her book, elaborate the native Palestinian spatial memories -about their land before Jewish invasion- which was understandably muted in historical memory. Palestinians in Israel are bound to subordinate their spatial dreams to larger political projects of Israel-a political trajectory that is continued to twenty first century.

Israeli architecture in present day Israel, as Fatma Kassem replicates in her book, replicate the ongoing process of turning Arab homes illegal in their home town

and creating new public housing for Jews in Israel by demolishing the native home towns'. "Public spaces in Palestinian cities have been significantly reshaped during the Israeli military occupation both on the physical (morphological) and on the socioeconomic level" (743), says Zahraa Zawawi et al, in the article "Public Spaces in the Occupied Palestinian Territories". Spatial forms of social control and constructions of occupation are daily uses of spaces by Israelis. "The strangulation of Gaza" (Weizman xiii), the "stratigraphic separation" (Weizman xv), the burial of historical cities, and the occupation of public spaces are recurring forms of political geography of Occupied Palestinian Territories as they are figured by the West Bank and Gazan writers.

Suad Amiry and Sumaya Farhat Nusar elucidate such a phase of architecture of occupation of Palestinian cities called Jaffa, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Nablus and their surroundings. Amiry portrays how far the new erection and construction affects the daily life of Palestinians. She reports a TV news in her work *Sharon and My Mother in Law*: "The American administration is critical about Israel's construction of the security wall inside the Palestinian territories hence depriving, Palestinians from reaching their farms" (188). She goes on speaking about the terrible impact of Wall on lives of Palestine. Amiry brings out the authority's tool of occupation through architecture, as she reports the words of Ariel Sharon in his interview with Winston S. Churchill III, in 1973, while he was asked how Israel would deal with the Palestinians. She reports:

We'll make a pastrami sandwich of them. We'll insert a strip of Jewish settlements in between the Palestinians, and then another strip of Jewish settlements right across the West Bank, so that in 25 years, neither UN nor USA nobody will be able to tear it apart . (194)

Sumaya Farhat's observations about the West Bank also recaps the attitude of segregation, and apartheid rooted in the construction of Israel and its occupation:

The Israeli government claims that they are necessary to allow the settlers to get from the settlements to their places of work in Israel without fear of Palestinian incursions. They are well constructed, wide roads, which cut up our country for which more land being confiscated all the time. (200)

The economic exclusion of Palestinians through the construction and extension of settlements is widely expressed by Sumaya Farhat as follows:

Ten of thousands of olive trees have been uprooted by Israeli army and settlers since September 2000 . . . The farmers are driven out . . . In this way the settlements can be extended. There is hardly any space left for economic development. (239)

Weizman's illustration from his *The Architecture of Occupation* would help in explicating the condition of Gaza: "The most extreme act of architectural-political camouflage, however, must surely be the new terminal in Rafah, between Gaza and Egypt (Weizman 152). His postulations are based on his observations of the checkpoints and the technological inspection imposed on the citizens. *Gaza Mama* by Laila el- Haddad and *Gaza Writes Back*, collected stories of Gazans edited by Refaat Alareer, also exhibit a cross section of Gazan land which is an emblem of architecture of occupation. "What remains is permanent apartheid, ghettoization" (Laila 183) and waiting at well-constructed, well- maintained checkpoints, for Gazans, along with dispossession as Haddad further details:

. . . So as always we wait, we wait our entire lives, as Palestinians . . . But the Palestinian never forgets his aloneness. He is always reminded of it in borders. That above all, is why I hate Rafah crossing. That is why I hate

borders. They remind me that, I, like all Palestinians, belong everywhere and nowhere at once. They are the borders of dispossession. (183)

Thus the checkpoints and settlements permanently create alienation, and operate as the strategy of architecture of geographical and social occupation.

Rawan Yaghi's short story "A Wall", from the collection *Gaza Writes Back*, is also a typical Gazan cataclysmic representation of Walls and Israeli constructions in Gaza that devastate the life of Gazans into ruinous days. "I kept on walking", writer says, as she walks through the city. Her walks mirror the city space. She comments: "It didn't seem to end. My fingertips were now stained with all the graffiti colours. I stopped, I turned my face to the wall. I put both my hands on it. I pushed. I kept pushing" (Alareer 75). It is the typical new generation way of fighting with architecture and infrastructure that turn Gaza into a war zone.

Moving to the state of refugees in refugee camps of Lebanon, one can observe that almost all the camps are ill-constructed and the erections of army headquarters near the refugee camps are modes of architectural occupations. The headquarters established near the refugee camps always create sense of fear and work against the inclusive index of refugees, permanently turning the identities into displaced and controlled beings. As the Refugees are not allowed any kinds of modification or constructions, they are bound to face the limitations of the camp. In *Baddawi* one can see that Ahmad's family move to Beirut, seeking a better job opportunity for his father. The continuous raids and the attacks by headquarters turned the camp and the surroundings a "ruinscape" (Khayyat 167). Sajad Ibrahim, the academician and writer, citing the crisis of refugees in Lebanon says: "Many camps were partly dismantled during the civil war and Israeli invasion, and were never reconstructed"

(346). It also sheds light on architecture of occupation operated by both Lebanon and Israel in the camp spatiality.

Reassertion of native space and the right to city by advocating a re (de) territorialization of spaces is emblematic to the Palestinian Narratives. Palestinian literatures, aesthetic and cultural productions are always engaged with the politicized spatiality of the socio cultural life in Palestine, through the critical literary occupation, which aims at reassertion of space through their depiction and understanding of geographies of eviction and occupation. Through a problematic of socio-spatial dialectic, the writers reverberate the making of locations and their geographies by reclaims and re-assertions.

To drive illegally through Israel against army orders seemed to be the only way to make it to Qaqiliah for Amiry in *Sharon and My Mother in Law*. It was also the only way to "challenge Sharon's Security Wall" (Amiry 189). What was legal once, becomes illegal for Palestinians, due to a shift in space and time. The urge to reoccupy or to re assert the lost spaces is visible in the decisive act and words of Amiry. Most of the post Intifada writers on Palestine perceive this re assertion of space as the powerful mode of re-Arabisation and re (de) territorialization.

Social action in the form of narrations, travels, memorizing, street demonstrations, occupying the spaces, planting trees, building homes, preservation of monuments and heritages can be viewed in the literary representations of Palestine as modes of reassertion of space that Palestinians practice consciously in their everyday engagement with space. As Edward Soja views: "The spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship are materially constituted, made concrete". Palestinian writers' engagement with space in life and in narration is a method of re-producing space which was made opaque by Zionist ideology.

In Palestine, by the mythical assertion and biblical claims, Zionist ideology has been creating the space as a product of their ideology. As Henry Lefebvre points out: "The forces of production and technology now permit of intervention at every level of space . . . Space as a whole, geographical or historical space, is thus modified" (90). The production of space through the representation was the objective of Zionist ideology to negate the Palestinian spatial occupation. By the architecture of occupations they succeed in creating a space- homogeneous Jewish space - through the images and symbols, "as the logic embodied in this specialization is logic (and strategy) of metaphor – or, rather, of constant metaphorization. Living bodies, the bodies of users – are caught up not only in the foils of parcellized space, but also in the web of what philosophers call analogous: images, signs and symbols" (Lefebvre 98).

Thus the demarcated space excluded the presence of others. Writers of Palestine are engaged with a political geography rooted in socio spatial dialect of reassertion. It seems Palestinian writers showcase that:

Palestinian will not so easily be pushed from a landscape in which they liken themselves to 'trees', deeply rooted and not easily bulldozed away. Continuing spatial temporal fracturing, immobilization and ever expanding technologies of surveillances and controls that overcome space and time are met by new and pragmatic ways of coping, negotiating and mounting opposition (Peteet 169).

Drawing from the insight of Peteet on the practice of Palestinian writers it is clear that how the writers do attempt their aesthetic activity as a mode of assertion against geosocial power.

The women, whom Fatma Kassem interviewed always showed a tendency to

assert their space and an urgency to rebuild their ruined houses. "We liberated our land and built our home" (125) says Salma, one of the interviewees in *Palestinian Women*. Kassem's further explanation will serve as an aid for an analysis of re assertion of space by Plaestinians in the present day Israel:

When I enter these two cities (Lyd and Ramleh), important historical landmarks from the pre-1948 period are ever present, despite being in various stages of dilapidation and ruin. These visible remnants, are eyewitness testimony of the history and memory of the bustling life in Palestinian cities before the Nakbah (194).

Suad Amiry and Sumaya Farhat Naser have also been engaged with the reassertion of Occupied Territories in their works. Amiry's journey to Jaffa – her father's land is a strong political and personal travel to assert her space and identity, being a native Palestinian. Though she was unable to make her journey fulfilled by finding her family home in Jaffa, the journey itself is a form of reassertion. She has titled the section it as "Return to Jaffa", which indicate Jaffa is no more an alienated space. Journey is a painful necessity as she says: "We penetrated the narrow alleys of what was once a flourishing Arab old town, and is now an Israeli Artists' colony" (25). Journeying through the historic Palestine itself is the mode of re assertion in her life.

Farhat's illustration of post siege (conflict) Ramallah is also an example of re assertion of the space by Palestinians. She proclaims:

Many Palestinians, men and women, had decided to return in order to take part in building a Palestinian society and state. They began to construct houses, set up businesses, open shops and restaurants. A mood of optimism spread and people took heart. (148)

Reassertion of space is shaping lives and activism in Palestine. Sumaya Farhat Naser's work, *Daughter of Olive trees* resonates it. Through 'Jerusalem Link', women's organization for peace and human rights, she is taking initiative to encourage Israeli and Palestinian women to sit together and to engage in peace delegations so as to stop violence, debating on the ontology of being. The critical spatial thinking, make Samaya Farhat to work psychologically and spatially. 'Sharing Jerusalem - Two Capitals for Two States' established 1997 is also an initiative by the women's organization under the leadership of Sumaya Farhat Naser. It is mainly occupied with the commemoration of the thirty years of Israeli occupation (1967-1997), in East Jerusalem, and thereby they are aiming at asserting the right to city for Palestinians. It seems that Sumaya Farhat advocates re assertion through a consciences when she says:

The aim of the campaign was to enable a vision to become reality, for a short time -the vision of an open city, a city serving two peoples and two nations as a capital. This was not a popular attitude in Israeli and Palestinian society then, nor is it today. The great majority of Israelis and Palestinian believe that Jerusalem should belong to them alone. The reality of the city of Jerusalem is different, however. It is a city with two halves, a Jewish Israeli one and a Muslim and Christian Palestinian one. (53)

Sumaya's activity in Jerusalem though the *Jerusalem Link*, one can see that a reassertion of the space is evoked through all her activism on ground by educating the society. Her work *Daughter of Olive Trees* exhibits a "geo historical look" (Soja 12) as a concept of spatial justice in Palestine. Sumaya's mode of activism in the land echoes Edward Soja's concept of city and spatial justice as he says:

In the broadest sense, spatial (in) justice refers to an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice. As a starting point, that involves the fair end equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to them. (13)

The interpretation of space and the conscious articulation of place-space discourses is a recent development in the narratives of Palestinians. Barbara Parmenter contributes to the idea of sense of place among Palestinians as:

Palestinians, were insiders largely unconcerned with articulating their relationship to their home, therefore this relationship remained unarticulated and devoid of ideology throughout 19th century. Without a defined framework for embracing and promulgating a nationally meaningful land rhetoric, Palestinian Arabs were at a disadvantage in confronting European and Zionist penetration. Only in the twentieth century, and particularly after 1948, Palestinian literary figures have articulated their sense of place within the framework of an explicitly national landscape, having a generally recognized symbolic meaning. (27)

Parmenter is correct while he comments on the place-space consciousness of Palestinian in occupied territories, in Post Nakba period.

Struggling with all her motherhood, profession in media, marital status with a doctor who has been denied the permission to get into his home town in Gaza and with her political activism of being a Gazan woman Laila al- Haddad's reportages and updates on the territory, Gaze, during Seige, disengagement of Israeli soldiers and the depiction of daily life are to be viewed as her own means to recapture the city space-the native regional space- through reassertions. Occupying the space and narrating on it are the ways that Haddad find on her political act of reassertions. Maintaining the

family ties and reporting the land have political and historical underpinnings along with personal one, for Gazans, says Haddad. The following quote explicates it: "I am going to see my mother, who is very ill, in al-Arish and try and bring her back to Gaza explained Salah Aroof, who has been unable to leave Gaze since 1999." (Haddad 85). Palestinian decisiveness of reassertion is clear here.

"The critical spatial perspective" (Soja 2) is thus the major aspects of refugee geography in the narratives of Palestinians in the wake of Post Nakba literatures in general and in post intifada literatures and narratives in particular. Through the retelling of stories and histories, social activism and through spatial consciousness, the Palestinian writers re assert the claims to the land. While travelling with British Airways, Haddad realizes that her country's name is not in the drop down menu of countries in order to fill up in the passenger details. She remarks: "I have become accustomed to dealing with Kafkaesque complications in routine matters ... Now I understand Palestine does not extend on any western maps" (169). Narrating the live reportages on Gaza in Palestine work act at two levels in Haddad. To re-assert the space and to echo her ideology "I complain, Therefore I' m" (Haddad 169).

Space is a site of political contestation for young Gazan women writers too, against the daily realities of de spatializing from their own land. According to Refaat Alareer, celebrated writer of Gaza and editor of *Gaza Writes Back*:

The stories here are endowed with the passion with which Palestinians relate themselves to the Land. Land, place and trees are central motifs in the stories of *Gaza Writes Black*. This attachment to the land and soil continues to grow in spite of all the practices and measures that Israel takes to detach Palestinians from their land. The harder the Israel tries the more attached to the land these people grow. Therefore many of these stories can be read in the

context of contesting the Israeli narrative and myths of ownership of Palestine.

(23)

The young women writers of Gaza raise questions on the occupation echoing their prison-like existence in their own land. Telling stories is an act of reassertions for them.

"Toothache in Gaze" by Sameeha Elwan questions the harsh realities in land. An aesthetic response to Palestinian tragedy is visible in the stories by those writers. Through the voice of a young girl who is waiting to get her tooth treated for the pain in the UNRWA hospital, Sameeha gives the vivid descriptions of the Gazan towns and its (un)homely transformations in the post 1967 era. While reading Sameeha, one should be reminded of what Parmenter says:

New sensibility to the land, becoming the representative of a new generation, emerging from a different social background and growing up in exile or under occupation waited to give voice to the more subtle and complex relations between Palestinians and their land. (47)

The notion of giving up or yielding to spatial power sounds like a quite repulsive act for them. Sameeha's questions through the voice of a young girl is an example for un yielding young mind who tries to recapture the land, the socio spatial existence of them, in their own historic land.

Would a bag of sugar make up for the bitter misery, those people have always felt after losing their sweet homes to dwell in refugee camps? Would the two bottles of oil make them forget their olive trees, which had been mercilessly uprooted as they themselves were? Or maybe it is simply a declaration that they are temporary refugees who once had the land which, as long as this card is still in their hands, would still be waiting for them to return. (Elwan 67)

Through her questions, Sameeha reminds the readers that nothing, other than the re possession of their home land, would satisfy them. The collective loss of the land and its re assertion are strikingly suggested here.

"In the refugee camp, the sense of place is maintained by the presence of a community living together" (Parmenter 65). *Baddawi*, the graphic memoir by Laila Abdelrazaq, signals that the camp space in Lebanese refugee camp is a space of hope and anticipation. Re-creating certain aspects of home in refugee camp outside the home town is an aspect of reassertion of the homeland and suggests the right of return, in camp narratives, as the critic Ramadan finds:

The refugee camp is more than just a humanitarian space of physical relief and welfare. More than a space of exception and intensified control. For Palestinians in Lebanon, it is also a space for refuge from bewildering disorientation, insecurity and marginally of exile". Observes Ramadan while assessing the spatiality of camp. (74)

Within the liminal camp space, the Palestinian refugees create a space of togetherness, evoking their native villages, which is a means of re-living and reasserting Palestine, the homeland.

"Despite its impermanence, poor housing and insanitary conditions, the refugee camp has become a living symbol of struggle...The Palestinian who live in the camps have shaped them into their own places" (Parmenter 66). *Baddaawi*, the camp in the memoir of Laila Abdelrazaq, also provides such an insight to the life of refugees in camps of Lebanon. Celebrating the month of Ramadan at camps, visiting the relatives in nearby camps, preparing the Palestinian dishes, living the life of native setting, keeping the practices and rituals of homeland, and political activism are to be viewed as the methods of reassertions of a land left by the inmates. "Though the

family could not return to Palestine, they still held strong to their traditions and no time was more full of traditions than Ramadan" (Abdelrazaq 36), says the narrator in *Baddaawi*.

As it is perceived in this chapter, spatiality works in Palestine in such a way that space intercepts mobility through surveillance and through various other modes of occupation. Achille Mbembe's findings would help in clarification:

Late modern colonial occupation differs in many ways from early modern occupation, particularly in its combining of the disciplinary, the biopolitical and the necropolitical. The most accomplished form of necropower is the contemporary colonial occupation of Palestine. (qtd. in Zareik 125)

The space in Palestine -both private and public space is consciously reproduced by Zionist regime of Israel to alienate and to the de- naturalize the natives through various political means so as to ultimately Judaize, Zionise, Hebraize and de-Arabise the land forever. Palestinian spaces are under the Zionist surveillance so that the social production of spatiality and spatial production of sociality are always regulated, controlled and re performed. But, the explicit forms of everyday use of space in the mode of re asserting and re capturing the space through literary and aesthetic productions through of counter narratives, acting and living on the spaces, travelling through it, preserving national heritages etc. are practiced as an attempt of spatial resistance during the ongoing process of de nationalizing the homeland by the State of Israel.

"Mobility is also central to the production of space. Place is dynamically produced and reproduced through the activities and the social relationship formed and performed in it. One should be reminded of what Julie Peteet comments on mobility in Palestine: "In the West Bank the asymmetrical contest over producing place is

enacted daily through the regulation of mobility" (98). As Israel expands the territory, Palestinian territories are shrinking. Fractured space and segregation have become the emblematic to Palestinian space. Racializing space, and spacio-cide are being continued, even today. Urbicide (planned destruction of urban areas, both cities and infrastructure), as Stephen Graham (2003) rightly observed, is also heading its way in Palestine. Territorial attacks, mass massacres, human right violations and genocide are also exist by which Palestinians are exposed to spatial threats in present day Israel, in occupied territories and in Lebanon too.

Palestinians still produce place and their space even in these confined spaces too. Telling everyday experiences through the narratives is a mode of political and literary activism to reclaim and to regain the lost spaces as it is exhibited in the writers who have been analyzed in this research project. Telling the land is part of occupying and reoccupying the falsely occupied land. To travel and to narrate the personal and the social are political and geographical for the Palestinian writers, within the militarized ongoing practice of, "Israeli participation in state and society to facilitate the production of an expanding Israeli Jewish space" (Peteet 98). It can be seen that three kinds of forces operate in Palestinian spaces like production occupation and transformation. Thus, as Zahraa Zawawi and others find it: "After the war of 1948 (Nakba), historical Palestine which was until that time under the British Mandate, witnessed drastic geo political transformation" (745). A desire to dispossess Palestinians from their home, creating geographies of dispossession, further resulted in another form of settler colonialism and occupation, leaving the natives as immobile matters with painful memories of dispossession, which is discussed in the upcoming chapter of this project.

Chapter 5

Cartographies of the Mind:

Memoricide and the Palestinian Dispossession

Cartographies of mind seem inseparably related with the geographies of landscapes, in the literatures on violent geography and contested lands, when the mind and the body have to forcefully move between territories due to a rift in history. Mind, consciously or unconsciously, looks for a gravity of memories when the land is always sliding beneath the feet as a result of power politics. Writers, in the politically, historically and geographically torn landscapes weave memories -of childhood, loss, refugee hood and exile-into their narratives as a measure for keeping them and the land, alive, to resist the continuous eviction, amidst conscious attempts of memoricide designed by the authority and the power.

This chapter examines the ways in which refugee writers inhabit, imagine and represent their land through their memories. It seems refugee literature unfolds as a strategic narrative amid the dispossession of land and possession of memories. Hence, at first the chapter specifically looks at refugee literatures as the result of two way reaction between memory and memoricide, and also views memories and memorizing as political catalysts to resist and defend the land, being an agent of de-memoricide in a war torn settler colonial territory and in the lands that are present-absentees. The chapter also focuses at home, village and refugee body as the sites of commemoration in refugee literatures, and observes memory as resistance. Finally it explores the theme of memory and de-memoricide, in the counter memory narratives, as a dialogue between the past and the present, and the land and its people, with special focus on select Palestinian memoirs and stories.

The memoirs and other select narratives by Palestinian women refugee writers in occupied territories, in the present day Israel and in exile, who are situated in various contested landscapes that verge on geography's shafts, exhibit that memory and geography are intertwined while narrating the fugitivity within and outside their homelands. "Those memoirs challenge the imperial, colonial and Zionist narrative of Palestine as an 'empty' territory waiting for the arrival of the Jewish Diaspora" (Anjum 57), by showcasing the history and memory of a land which is on borderlines of loss and gain, being the geography of the refugees and the displaced. When the geography of the homeland becomes the site for illegal settlements and "land pornography" (Shehadeh 72), memories try to reconstruct the tormented lives in tormented land by deconstructing the Zionist imagination of the land and the geography. Memoirs and stories situated in various contested landscapes of Palestinian occupied territories like West Bank, Gaza, the present day Israel, and the refugee camp of Palestine in Lebanon, written by the select refugee women writes, belonging various generations, are explored to figure out, how locations come as characters in their works while narrating the refugee hood, and how the memories are inseparably interwoven with geography, by creating ties between memory, history and geography.

It can be perceived that the change in the landscape-in the geography-due to the settler colonialism, and occupation has brought diversity and politicization of memories in the refugee literatures by the Palestinians. Raja Shehadeh, in his memoir, *Palastenian Walks* sets out to capture the memories of the land, and to deconstruct the distorted imagination through his walks that help him to behold the memories. Shehadeh, through his memoir, seems to declare that walking is an act of resistance. Shehadeh writes:

When I began hill walking in Palestine, a quarter of a century ago, I was not aware that I was travelling through a vanishing landscape. For centuries, the central highland hills of Palestine, which slope on the one side towards the sea and the other towards the desert, had remained relatively unchanged. (xi)

Palestinian lands were buried under history as Shehadeh laments: "Oslo agreements buried my truth" (123). The writers in the post –Nakba period, exhibit their conscious efforts to dig out the memories of the land and to archive them as the stories of the land so as to preserve them forever, in order to prevent the land from dying. There is a parallelism seen between the memories about the land and the memories of themselves. Hence, the failure of the land becomes the failure of people and the harmony of the land becomes the harmony of the inmates.

Joyce Carol Oates, the American writer, sees memoirs as the most seductive and dangerous of literary genres: "The memoir is a repository of truths, as each discrete truth is uttered, but the memoir cannot be the repository of Truth which is the very breadth of the sky, too vast to be perceived in a single gaze" (qtd. in Baratz and Reingold 219). The truth and memoirs are interconnected. It is observed that: "Oates capitalises the truth to show that it cannot be contained in one memoir and that it is still part of the process of adding accounts to a story in the making" (qtd. in Baratz and Reingold 219) Thus, the narrations in the memoirs come out as discourses on land and its geography, when they uncover the history and memory through personal narrations, where the writers themselves along with their immediate relatives and the people in the surroundings are characterized with full of sense and sentiments of life in a land where cartography decides being and becoming.

Memories play an important role while coming to terms with the present day realities of refugee locations. When the mind is travelling through the geographical

terrain, histories and stories come to rescue the people from the rubble. The pain is geopolitical and historical. "Memories are inscribed in space. Every space has its memories, stories and the past…" (37), observes Lefebvre, and he also adds that memory "…leaves its traces; time has its own script. Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a present space given as an immediate while, complete with its associations and the connections in their actuality" (37). Hence, in the memoirs of Palestinian women memoirists and writers, one can view that, memory is the only tool to come to term with the homeland when they have to be refugees in own land.

The Palestinian memoirists from Gaza, West Bank, present day Israel and other parts of world, come in a common axis on the basis of their loss, dispossession of land and mode of activism. Memory act as a membrane among the women memoirists that fight against the de-territorialization imposed by settler colonialism. As Lea Baratz and Roni Reingold observe: "Memory constitutes the self-consciousness, and even the most personal memory cannot be separated from the social context. A collective memory sometimes turns events concealed into symbolic milestones of historical changes" (218). Thus, in the discourses on land, collective social memory has a greater significance.

The theory of *social memory* by Nur Masalha and the concept of *cultural memoricide* by Ilan Pappe, are used here to explore the memory and memoricide in the Palestinian narratives, and the analysis is made to seek how far these memories are the memories of the locations themselves. Memorizing the past, visiting museums, telling histories, storytelling, listening stories and remembering the names of places are seen as some means of asserting the membership of refugees in the Palestinian polity. Apart from being nostalgic for the lost land, these memoirs serve as resistance and political mobilizations.

The contemporary literatures of Palestine transform trauma, absence, loss and dispossession into their personal, social and collective memories that are political too in nature. Memoirs, written in Arabic and Anglophone memories have been a strong component of modern Palestinian literary tradition, especially from 1980s. The use of memory ranges from political reflection to more abstract artistic narratives, proclaiming cultural and national identity. Steven Salaita evaluates: "The modern Palestinian memoir is inherently politicized, as evidenced by the age-old habit shared by writers of colonized nations of asserting peoplehood as simple act of straight forward subversion" (91). Moreover memory has a key role in safeguarding the land as she further locates:

For prominent Palestinian women who partook in the building of several peace organizations in Palestinian, preserving and safeguarding Palestinian personal and collective identity are prominently featured in their memoirs, through techniques of storytelling that convey how they had experienced and had remembered key historical events and also, how the people of Palestine have been enduring the life under political occupation. (92)

As Salaita substantiates, remembering is synonymous with identity, and belongingness to the historic homeland of Palestine, for the memoirists, and also for the whole Palestinian community. Memoirs facilitate the cultural re-mapping of a concrete Palestinian shared identity which has been persistently and systematically "un-mapped" (Salaita 92), out of time and space, since 1948.

Telling memories by Palestinian memoirists often deal with the cultural memory of Al-Nakba as a powerful narrative signifier of contemporary Palestinian exilic consciousness. The writers articulate memories of the loss of the homeland, memories of historical events around 1948, and post-Nakba trauma. Memories of Al-

Nakba and the post-Nakba period reinforce the centrality of the land in Palestinian discourses. Memories also play a significant role in creating the claim of belongingness while the European and American powers turn so opportunistic that Norman G. Finkelstein argues in his book, *The Holocaust Industry*. Finkelstein points out the reflections, on the exploitation of Jewish suffering as:

...the prominence of colonial perspective in both European and American intellectual and public discourses is related to the privileging of the Holocaust narrative and memory. Invocations of the Nazi genocide are not only often opportunistic but also exploitative and used to justify the criminal policies of the Israeli state and the US support for these policies. (qtd. in Salaita 60)

Various studies on Palestinians also prove that Palestinian narratives were often

The Holocaust Industry induces European and American public memories and cultural-political discourses to sustain the grip of Israel's founding narrative of itself as an exclusive ethnic 'Jewish state' and to silence postcolonial narratives of indigenous people, particularly those of Palestinians. (Salaita 93)

sidelined from the mainstream academia for a long period.

Writing memoirs and collecting authentic documents are the practices in Palestinian discourses to highlight the loss of place and memory in the cultural present. Ilan Pappe in his *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* validates Walid Khalidi's findings: "By collecting authentic memories and documents about what had happened to their people, Palestinian historians in the 1970s, Walid Khalidi foremost among them, were able to retrieve a significant part of the picture Israel had tried to erase" (4). Being a Jewish revisionist historian, Pappe took part in showing how false and absurd were the Israeli claim that the Palestinians 'had left of their own accord' (Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing* 4). Pappe reports that considerable number of massacres,

genocide, have been executed by Jewish forces. He also observes his findings of another Israeli historian Benny Morris and states that Morris' study was, "enough for his Israeli readers to realize that the 'voluntary flight' of the Palestinian had been a myth" (5). As it is observed, ethnic cleansing of Palestine and memoricide are inseparably connected since the former leads to the latter.

Pappe defines Ethnic Cleaning as: "Well-defined policy of a particular group of persons to systematically eliminate another group from a given territory on the basis of religious, ethnic or national origin" (5). According to him, the 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Palestine employed by Israel with the support of USA and Europe is, a Zionist agenda. Pappe establishes:

To bring their project to fruition, Zionist thinkers claimed the biblical territory and recreated, indeed reinvested it as the cradle of their new nationalist movement. As they saw it, Palestine was occupied by strangers and had to be repossessed. For many Zionists, Palestine was not even an 'occupied' land when they arrived there in 1882 but rather an 'empty' one. The native Palestinians who lived there were largely invisible to them, or, if not, were part of nature's hardships and as such were to be conquered and removed. (*Ethnic Cleansing* 7)

Above quote by Pappe makes one understand the colonial agenda. There were clear plans made by Israel to deter Palestinians from their land. Pappe studies Plan C and Plan D spelled out by Israel: "Killing the Palestinians' political leadership. Killing Palestinian inciters and their financial supporters, Killing Palestinians who acted against Jews . . . Damaging the sources of Palestinian livelihoods. . ."(12). As he rightly mentioned these two plans sealed the fate of Palestinians and called for their

systematic and total expulsion from their homeland. What history witnessed then was the escalation of cultural memoricide of Palestinians.

A planned mechanism of the memoricide of historic Arab landscape or heritage locations was then employed through the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and through military operations. Pappe clearly places his findings that:

Deeply rooted in the people's psyche this mechanism works through exactly this replacement of Palestinian sites of trauma and memory by spaces of leisure and entertainment for Israelis. In other words, what the JNF texts represent as an ecological concern is yet one more official Israeli effort to deny the Nakba and conceal the enormity of the Palestinian tragedy. (221)

Killing of cultural memory was so strategic one, employed by Zionists in Israel which was manifested through demographic and geographic modes and methods, and was inscribed on the cities of Palestine. "Momoirs, diaries, biographies, autobiographies, testimonies and so forth fill this gap only partially" (Haran 4). But at the same time they attempt the conscious rediscovery of Palestine, characterizing location in the center of their artistic, literary and cultural spaces.

Nur Masalha notices that along with cultural memoricide, Zionist toponymic strategies also worked to erase the social memory of natives. A collective memory and group consciousness play a crucial role in social identification of people in a given land. Construction of collective social memory is deeply associated with the places. Hence, through the erasure of geographical sites and landscapes, a social memoricide also occurs which negates the historical existence of community.

Masalha, in his article on settler colonialism and memoricide, situates:

Since the rise of the Zionist settler movement in the late nineteenth century, and especially since the establishment of Israel in 1948, the struggle over

toponymic memory and the renaming of sites has developed as an integral part of the political conflict in Palestine. The indigenous Palestinians have insisted on their own comprehensive set of Arabic place names through which they see their own social memory and deep-rootedness in the land of Palestine. (2)

The deliberate and methodical theft of Palestinian documents, books and photos dates back to 1930s. It is a colonial design of cultural erasure or memoricide. It is away to establish that Palestinians have no history, no documents and no belonging. Uncovering censored Palestinian books, documents and history from the erased archives is a political act both by Palestinian and Israeli historians to claim the existence of land and its people. Palestinian history is buried and dominated by Israeli colonial archives.

Memoricide is "deliberate attempt to expunge human memory, carefully through the destruction of memory's physical prop and the cultural landscape" (ix), says Porteous and Smith and they also perceive domicide and ecocide as tools of memoricide. Domicide is defined as "the deliberate destruction of home by human agency in pursuit of specified goals" (Douglas and Smith 12). The destruction of homes and expulsion of natives are recurrent in Palestinian historical archives and narrations. The observation of Porteous and Smith in this regard is so significant. They further observe:

Hitler's aim was clearly genocidal, and surviving Jewish remnants that returned to Poland in 1945-46, only to see their homes and city quarters razed to ground... little wonder that, memory after two millennia Jews flooded into Palestine after 1945 and committed domicide against about one million Palestinians in 1948 and 1967. (14)

Having a critical inquiry of Palestinian and Israeli geographies of the past decades, one can understand that Israel has employed domicide and ecocide as political methods of erasing the history and memory of Palestine so as to achieve their dream of Greater Israel. Israeli military activities include eviction, exile, expropriation, dislocation, displacement and dispossession from the land and the home. In this political platform, writers from Palestine and the Palestinian writers and critics all over the world, are entrusted with an activity of remembering the past- a form of de memoricide- so that they can register their resistance through the act of writing, which includes of memorialization of the land with its cultural, historical and geographical heritage. Memorizing the land and defending it, by re- imagining and re writing the story of the land, which is on the verge of extinction due to the cultural memoricide through the aesthetic and cultural productions including the literatures, have been a distinct mode of Palestinian nationalism since 1980s. Ilan Pappe describes the concept of cultural memoricide in his *The Ethnic cleansing of Palestine*, which is reinforced by Nur Masalha is his *The Zionist Bible*. Masalha's argument can be read as:

In the Ethnic cleaning of Palestine the concept of cultural memoricide is deployed by historian, Ilan Pappe, where he highlights the systematic scholarly, Political and military attempt in post-1948 Israel to "de-Arabize" and "ecologicide" the Palestinian terrain, its names, space, ecology, religious sites, its village, town and city spaces, and its cemeteries, fields and olive and orange groves and the fruity prickly pears (cactus) famously grown in and around Arab villages and cultivated Arab gardens in Palestine. Pappe conceives of a metaphorical palimpzest at work here, the erasure of the history

of one people in order to write that of another people over it, the reduction of many layers to a single layer. (148)

Longing for home and belonging in a land of rubble make the Palestinian refugees write and rewrite the memory as a means of reclaiming the land, which has been their homeland. The imposition of collective amnesia by the settler colonialism of Israel which has been continuing till date throughout history, especially since 1948, through the elimination of written documents, kept in libraries and archives, demolition of homes, destruction of cities, killing of environment and through confiscation of properties, as practices of cultural memoricide. Masalha observes:

To destroy memory means to dispossess an individual or a group, off their memories, which is a tool for giving sense to their present. As one understands human beings need to extract, from their past, the necessary answers for understanding their current state and acting in the building of their future. (Settler Colonialism 148)

Cartographies of the Palestinian minds tell the truth of geographies, dispossessed and dislocated forever by the colonial administration and forceful Israeli memoricide. The aesthetic and cultural productions are mapping the memories and lands that Palestinians had to leave behind. Literary voices about Palestine by the Palestinians themselves are richly progressing now. But, the everyday life, refugeeizaion and resistance of ordinary Palestinians are less reported and researched as Fatma Kassem, the Palestinian writer and researcher in present day Israel mentions: "Information about ordinary Palestinian women's experiences in marginal cities is scarcely documented (Kassem 2). A research on refugee lives in Palestine and the prison-like situation for millions in their homeland carry greater significance in the

current scenario, when the settler colonialism crosses seventy years of withering Palestine forever.

Palestinian Women: Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory by Fatma
Kassem is based on the analysis of twenty interviews with Palestinian women, living
in cities of Lyd and Ramleh, that were so heavenly for Palestinians and were
populated by overwhelming Palestinian majority before 1948 but are now radically
transformed. The memories shared by Palestinian women in Israel, who had
experienced the Nakba- the first generation refugees of Palestine in Israel- are
testimonies against silence and negation of native Palestinians in Israel, and is brought
out by Fatma Kassem in her Palestinian Women.

Palestinian Women reflects on the 'forbidden story' of their experiences as women, as collective Palestinian identities and as citizens in the state of Israel. One can observe that these women are active agents in the production and preservation of knowledge and history. The focus is on the forgotten communities and their unforgettable memories- addressing everyday social, economic and cultural locations.

These Palestinian women present memory, through their unique way, by challenging the history created by Israel hijacking the real history. Their mind, body and home are alternative sites of commemorations so that they are threats towards the nationalist agendas of Israel and their colonialism. Women, being a marginal group are consistently excluded from the history and the sites of memory and commemoration. As historian Ellen Fleischmann rightly puts it: "There is surprise in silence that shrouds the subject of Palestinian women in almost all historical writings on Palestine" (qtd. in Kassem 4). Women's stories poignantly offer a radically innovative contribution to the ongoing construction of Palestinian historical narrative, and thereby provide a progressive shift towards the pro refugee and pro-Palestinian

move in the international realm. The life stories of those women do in fact constitute a new realm of national consciousness through "female collective memory" (Kassem 5), establishing broader Palestinian experience. Ordinary Palestinian women's experiences are under researched in the refugee perspectives, and they remain excluded from historical documents and collective memories often. Since memory comes as national narrative, the killing of memory works as a tool to denationalize its people which was instrumented by Zionist regime. *Palestinian Women* reiterates what Ismael Abu-Saad told:

The Bedoin of the Naqab Desert are among the indigenous Palestinian Arabs who remained on their land after Israel was established in 1948. They have inhabited the Naqab Desert since the 5th century AD and were traditionally organized into nomadic or semi nomadic tribes that lived by grazing herds and engaging in seasonal agriculture. During the last five decades, the Palestinian Bedouin of the Naqab have undergone tremendous changes, including dislocation, massive land confiscation and forced urbanization. (qtd. in Hasan 18)

Palestinian memory- both individual and collective, and the Palestinian citizens, are threat to Israel's demographic security and ethnic domination in the latter's perspective. Therefore the history and memory are not only forbidden to them but subject to systematic destruction, distortion and erasure. Living in contested Palestinian-Jewish cities exposes the Palestinian inhabitants of Israel to the confrontations on daily basis. Hence their daily lives encompasses personal, political and subjective experiences with historical and geographical realms of the nation/territory. Their memory appears as history in general as Minh-ha validates: "...the memories of women patiently transmitted from mouth to ear, body to body,

hand to hand, were the world's earliest archives" (qtd. in Kassem 10). Then memory acts as a historical, geographical and political space narrative of the location.

Palestinian women in Israel speak about the delegitimisation of
Palestinianness and Palestinian national sites of memory in Israel, while they were
interviewed by Kassem for her research. *Palestinian Women*, underlines that the book,
through commemorating the 'forbidden' memory creates a counter-sites of collective
national memory to subvert and resist Zionist national narrative. The author creates
'her-story' that is, Palestine's story through the stories of Palestinian women which
have a crucial role in making, transmitting and commemorating history of the
refugees of homeland. *Palestinian Women* also explores the nature of Arab identity in
the present day Israel.

In order to be an Arab Israeli a Palestinian must detach her or himself from the Palestinian collective and history, instead annexing her or himself to Israel, the land and the people. This confined and conditional sense of belonging indicates that Palestinian in Israel are located in a space of eternal interment within the Jewish Israeli state, thus erasing their rights to their homeland as natives and obliterating their identity. (Kassem 14)

The unofficial oral stories that Fatma Kassem narrates in her book become the women's discourses and documentations on life in present day Israel (Palestine). The book creates silent but powerful ripples from the sea of Palestinian women's hearts that are filled with muted voices of their right to life, to art, to land and to speak. The author, through the story of her own village, el-Bi'aneh in upper Galilee, in the historic Palestine (now made Israel) and the neighboring villages, narrates not only the personal life sketches but the sketches of the nation which were grabbed by the colonizers from the poor unorganized, unprepared, untrained, inadequately equipped

village inhabitants forever. So the na(rra)tion oscillates between herself and her village. When Kassem tells the story of her mother, the reader understands that the loss of land is continuing from generation to generation. Her mother who belongs to Palestinian village of Sabalan, losses the village forever as the village was transformed into Maqam of Druz Sheikh from Hurfaysh by the Zionists.

Suad Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries* is a powerful memoir, which weaves the traumatic history and memory of Palestine with a unique style of narration that mirrors the war, loss, refugeehood and dispossession in amiry's own land. Memory and narration are the only tools that the other possess as a counter act for the survival against the erasure and (non) belongingness of Palestine and Palestinians.

Suad Amiry, the Ramallah based architect and author, born to Palestinian parents in 1951, in Amman, Jordan, has written her memory, war diaries and day to day experience into her book. She was also a member of Palestinian Peace Delegation in Washington D.C., between 1991 and 1993. Until 1991, she held a position in Birzeit University which also has helped her in shaping the various views of the current Palestinian reality. Her association with Palestinian heritage and space preservation is quite visible through her anti occupation activism by being the founder and director of Riwaq, Centre for Architectural Conservation in Palestine, which is found exclusively for the conservation of Palestinian architectural heritage – another mode of resisting the settler colonialism.

Memory plays a crucial role in her memoir, *Sharon and my Mother in Law:*Ramallah Diaries which is narrated in the background of first Palestinian uprising in 1987, second Palestinian uprising in 2000, continual incursions of various cities, especially Ramallah, Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the Separation Wall in

2003. The author unfolds her narration through the life sketches of her family and herself where her husband, Salim and her mother in law, Um- Salim, play a major part in framing the narrations. Amiry's use of social memory, conceptualised by Masalha, is clear while he is speaking of her homeland. Her memory shifts back and forth. Amiry's lives and works in her city Ramallah, her everyday life, the tales of her friends, relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, her confrontation with Israeli military officials in the contested land of Palestine etc., are key elements in the work. Memory shared by her family members and herself are the narratives on the locations they have been living through. Memory, history and trauma entwine in the story of Amiry inseparably. As Suad Amiry recalls of her mother –in- law:

My mother- in- law who fled home in Jaffa in 1948 and now lives next to al – Maqata (Arafat's headquarters) in Ramallah, told me, what I experienced here next to Arafat's headquarters was hell; it was as bad as what we experienced in Jaffa in 1948, but this time we knew better; no matter what, you don't flee your town, you stay home ... Ye'ta'hum (God damn it) – there has been nothing but trouble ever since they came. (ix)

The series of expulsions from the land that every Palestinian has to suffer from her homeland is captured here in the words of her mother-in-law.

The pain of memory and history are shadowed, while Amiry speaks. On her decision to visit her family home in Jaffa, while they were in Amman, she asks her mother: Mama, can you describe to me how to get to our house in Jaffa?" Mother could reply only with a deep sigh of despair. Mother replied: "It is going to be extremely difficult as you have never been to Jaffa or to the house. You and your brother Ayman were born few years later (13). The aggravated pain that she never had been to her own home, not even once is reflected in Suad Amiry's further emotions as

she retorts: "It is true that I have never physically been to our home in Jaffa, but I feel I know it so well" (13).

Direct and forthright style of writing along with acute sense of sense of humour are the tactics found by Amiry to narrate even the most terrifying memories. *Sharon and My Mother-in Law* is based on diaries and email correspondences that she had kept from 1981to 2002. Amiry evokes daily life in the West Bank town of Ramallah where her relatives, husband, cousins and colleagues are being characterised as part of her life in Ramallah. Various personal anecdotes related with her home town and other places make her memories sharper where land comes as a frequent image. Session entitled as "Seven Years Epic of My Identify 1981 – 1988", narrates Amiry's post-marital confusions which were created out of status of being a non-citizen or a refugee in hometown. She, though being a native of Palestine had to look for legal support to live in her homeland. She says: "If the bastards don't give me a residency so I can live with my husband, I will stay "illegally" for the rest of my life" (33). Though she managed to get one month permit, she was always on the move, as she puts it: "My poor Birzeit students – I am not sure they learned much from a teacher on the run" (33).

Stories from her parents shape her memory about her homeland that create a sense of belonging in the midst of painful realities of exilic and non-belonging status of minds. Stories help her to recapture the homeland once she sets out in search of Jaffa. She conveys:

I was sixteen when the 1967 war took place. We never had relatives in the West Bank, though my parents had many close friends there. I was born in Damascus, grew up in Amman and studied in Beirut. All of a sudden it hit me

that my familiarity with Palestine came only through my parents' recollections and my scattered childhood memories. (16)

On hearing the name Jaffa, her mother was captivated and became stiffened. Amiry recalls: "I wasn't sure whether she was crying because I had brought back her pre 1948 Jaffa memories ..." (4). The pain of memory of (home) land is evoked in many occasions throughout her book while characterising her relatives and parents. Amiry remembers how sick and depressed her father became when he visited in his house in 1968:

The minute I closed my eyes beneath the two ice-pads, images from my father's last trip to his house in Jaffa rushed into my head...I remembered how sick and depressed he became when he visited his house in 1968. (20)

Memoirs of Middle Eastern women writers, as life narratives, are the site of struggle and resistance. Memories of the comfortable historic land in opposition with the contemporary trauma and pain evoked through the present day reality in the contested ground form the base for many literary/cultural texts by Middle Eastern women writers. Most of the childhood and adulthood memories are geographically bound, among them. Manar Hasan, while studying about Palestinian absent cities, rightly reports:

Various practices of memory — poetic, literary, autobiographical, ceremonial — aided the construction of the Palestinian past as rural. The visual arts likewise played a role in this. In numerous Palestinian works of visual art, Tina al-Malhi-Sherwell adds: 'The village has served as a proper metaphor for Palestinian identity'. The concept of the 'village' thus became a 'floating signifier', signifying not only the village itself but also an entire national narrative. (9)

As the above quote expounds, readers can discover that Suad Amiry's memoir is also a powerful account of memory and memoricide which maps the loss of her ancestral home in Jaffa, the exile and the disintegration of her own homeland.

As Leila Aouadi observes: "The memoir comes close in form and content to an oral testimony where the speaker is going through a cathartic session. The painful memory and itinerary of loss colour the narrative self" (25). The author goes on digging her memories and digging the land to receive the truth of her people and herself that is inscribed on the land, though kidnapped later by Israel. Amiry's work is oscillating between past and present through the lives of her parents in pre 1948 Palestine and her refugeehood in the present day occupied Palestine. On her way to Jaffa her father is very much present with her, through her memories of her father's words. She remembers her father's words: "I thought that the only thing I would allow myself to do, once they let me in the house, was ask for my mother's photograph, if it was still hanging there" (21).

"Nakba, as a traumatic event, is pivotal in the authorisation of the text, acquires new overtones because of its ripple effort on the confused self, and the disintegrated country" (Aouadi 205). Thus, there is no divide between the personal and the geographical memories, since they are interconnected. The land and the self are inseparably intertwined in the making and unmaking of Palestinian lives. As the Israel always wants to wipe out the memories of Palestinians, the political, historical, geographic and personal memories that are expressed in *Sharon and My Mother in Law; Ramallah Diaries* by the celebrated memoirist Suad Amiry can be considered as a historical and cultural document which play a significant role in chronicling the document of the land.

Daughter of Olive Trees by Sumaya Farhat Naser is a narrative of her efforts as a peace activist in Palestine. Born in Jerusalem, in a Christian family in 1948 she has witnessed the oppressive faces of settler colonialism of Israel in various forms, and is struggling to put an end to the occupation by her own means, operating as a peace activist in Palestine. Her memoir intensely portrays the everyday experiences of a Palestinian in the occupied territory. Sumaya Farhat Naser's memoir "calls for a therapeutic teleology where the two communities could identify with each other's historical and geographical pain and make way for a 'democracy to come' to use Derrida's phrase" (Anjum 78).

Memory and memoricide play the central roles in *Daughter of Olive Trees*. The book begins with the recollection of a day of hope, when the Israeli soldiers withdrew from Ramallah on 27th December 1995. Sumaya recollects the happiness with which people shouted at Israeli soldiers: "Go Home, Go Home, Never set foot on our land again! Your hands are stained forever with our children's blood!"(6). The painful memory of humiliation and degradation was visible on their words and faces.

Daughter of Olive Trees is set in Palestinian cities as Ramallah, Birziet, East-Jerusalem and in other neighbouring villages of West Bank. The memories that she share about the life in occupied territories are alarming. The events are centred in the 1990s and in the beginning of 2000s. She pictures the horrible realities of day to day life in occupied Palestine- the political life, domestic life and the academic life. Sumaya shows, how the memories of the land, trees and the people are inseparably entangled with the lives of Palestinians:

In the summer of 1998 Birzeit hosted the reunion of Birzeit living abroad, which takes place every two years. More than a thousand people turned home and spent two weeks attending cultural events taking part in political

discussions and enjoying themselves. Two thousand trees had been planted along the streets in preparation, paid for by families in the name of much-loved deceased member. There is a tree for my brother, Bussam, in Birzeit now. (13)

Declaring Jerusalem as an open city for both Israelis and Palestinians is the toughest project that Sumaya and her friends have undertaken. In the book, she depicts the memories associated with her peace delegations and hard works behind the friendly communications between colonizers and the colonized. All the peace delegations are immensely powered by the life in peaceful Jerusalem city that once the people had enjoyed. Land is the most sensitive thing that makes them discuss each other and at the same time the thing which delays the friendly associations. Sumaya established an organization called "Jerusalem Link". Through the platform she, tried to put women of Israel and Palestine together for discussions.

The major activity of 'Jerusalem Centre for Women' was making the discussions between Israel and Palestine authorities possible. Sumaya goes on explaining how much their activities, demonstrations, discussions and delegations were aiming for a creation of a Palestine state – free of military occupation. Her memoir is a direct resource in which Sumaya Farhat keeps the memory of a historical event and the brutal past. In her communication with Gila Svirsky, the Director of Bat Shalom, the human rights organisation of Israel, she reported an account of one of the massacres in Palestine villages:

I told Gila how important it was for us, Palestinians, when in 1992 the Israel researcher Teddy Katz confirmed that the village of Tantura had been the scene of a massacre in 1942 where two hundred Palestinians had been killed

by Jewish terrorist organization and the village had been destroyed. At last as Israel was confirming for once that we had been wronged. (45)

The memories, that she paints, are direct accounts of the catastrophe of 1948.

Memory of Sumaya Farhat Naser joins hands with history. She says: "Israel history book say nothing about the violent expulsion of the Palestinians" (52). The conscious 'memoricide' as a tool is found operating here. She adds:

...Yet in 1979 Yitzhak Robin had already written in his autobiography that he had driven 50,000 Palestinians out of land and Ramallah in 1948 by force of arms, obeying an order from Ben Gurion. This passage was censored, but the confession of the man who later became Prime Minister became known nonetheless... Israeli history books say nothing about the many massacres carried out among Palestinian in 1948. (52)

Sumaya keeps on articulating the Palestinian sufferings in her memoir *Daughter of Olive Trees*.

Sumaya reminds readers about her visit to Yad Vashem, in the West

Jerusalem, to see the Holocaust Memorial. What she had witnessed there was denial
of Palestinian chapters / episodes and the expression of human rights violations by

Jewish regimes. She evaluates: "Our sufferings have been disappeared completely,
history has been falsified. This is denial of injustice what we have gone through". (54)
The city seems evoking memory through its every stone and sand. Sumaya refreshes
every minute aspect of the location:

We showed the Israelis our old city of Jerusalem, walking together the narrow streets and along the walls. We felt at home, and the Israeli saw us, perhaps for the first time, as part of the city. Each have, every stone had a history for us a history which was unknown to them. (59)

Memorising the events happened in the past and educating people about it have greater positive consequences in the peace delegations, according to Sumaya Farhat Naser. She believes in the power of monuments, and also in cross cultural communications and of other activities like documentary screening, declarations between peace organizations and peace demonstrations etc. She points out:

I will continue to foster and develop contacts and cooperation with my Israeli friends, both women and men, for the time for joint work for peace will surely come again. Dealing with shadows of the past in public, as the *Committee Against Torture*'s documentary play on the stage of an Arab theatre showed, can be an important therapeutic step towards dealing with the traumas of both sides. (2199)

One can understand that Sumaya Farhat Nasar, who partook in the building of several peace organizations, together with Israeli women, is trying to preserve, safeguard and defend Palestinian identity and culture along with voicing the 'fugitivity' that the entire people live through in their day to day realities. The remembrance of the key historical events and the archiving of those cultural and political memory through her book *Daughter of Olive Trees* is a way of proclamation of their political self that is questioned, negated and ignored, being the refugee selves in a prison-like walled city for more than seventy years.

The land, its flora and fauna, its people and its cultural specification are preserved through the act of memorising the location however the settler occupiers is trying to hijack even the memories of its people and their places. Through her memoir Sumaya Farhat Naser aims to investigate the land to explore its realities in the grounds, unfolding the history through personal accounts and narrative realms.

Personal is overtaken by the political in Laila El – Haddad's 'Gaza Mama': Politics and Parenting in Palestine. She gives the readers a quintessential Palestinian experience in her work, which is a blog turned political reader on Gaza. Since their identities surface on national and international borders and on the war torn land, Palestinians cannot separate the personal from the political. The book focuses on Gaza in the period between 2004 and 2007. The book is as Haddad says: "A single account within the dizzying multiplicity of experiences and existences that constitute the Palestinian experience as a whole. It is a story about mothering, homeland, identity and survival" (xi).

Originally written as blog entries about her son Yousuf and raising him,
Laila's book on Gaza turns into the realistic account on life of Gazans and life of
whole Palestinians in home and exile. She started to write blog entries in 2004, when
blogging as a medium was almost unheard in the Middle East. Being a Gazan, who
was born and brought up in exile, Laila Haddad has personally experienced the bitter
taste of exile, loss, depression and refugeehood. The entries in the form of diary
reports, in the book, is a clear portrait of Gaza and other occupied territories in
Palestine. She is amplifying the voices on the ground. From the beginning to the end
of the book one can observe that the realities have not been changed on the ground in
Gaza.

The book is a compilation of various posts that Laila El- Haddad has written for her blog, and for various news agencies- being a young mother of two and a media person in Gaza. Readers come across a direct and truthful reporting on daily life of Gazans like life and blood in Gaza, reporting on Palestinian everyday politics, massacres, siege, border controls, bombardment of Israel on Gaza, blockades of Gaza during various periods and the infamous Operation Cast Lead etc. Thus it is plea for

homeland by a mother, who is also a journalist. Haddad explains the complex reality of Gaza to her people around, being perplexed between the love for homeland and the pain of belonging within the threat of ejections from the homeland.

Laila El-Haddad seems to declare the world that, she blogs, therefore she is.

Her existence is defined by her blogging. The memories which are anew and part of present day to day life, enter her blog and become the share of global discourses either in the form of blog entries or in the form of news reports. The fact is that her entry to Gaza – being a journalist and being an inmate of Gaza – was denied several times by Israeli authorities. The incident sheds light to the way in which her political writings and sharing of day to day memories were treated by Israeli authorities as a threat to their act of occupations. At the same time, the objectivity of her narrations on Gazan realities, covering the story of her homeland which is occupied and imprisoned, give the reader a clear idea about the historic Palestine.

'Gaza Mama' situates the events between December 2004 and August 2010 through three parts in which the first part explores the daily realities of Gazans. The session is entitled as "Gaza Life as Israel (Partially) Withdraws: December 2004 – December 2005". Spanning through six sections, reader gets a clear account of refugee life in Gazan land – its space, memory and geography. The author keeps on telling the minute realities that affect the Palestinians. The panic life and the aftermath that every Palestinian live through on each moment play the significant share of Laila's blog entries.

She comes up with a tentative list of her top ten memorable moments of the past two years which has no particular order, in her blog entry on 27th August 2005 that she shares an account of an Israeli murder with her journalist's eye:

Forgetting my role as a journalist for a moment and crying alongside the grieving parents of ten year old Nuran Dib, whose life was taken by an Israeli sniper as she stood in line, singing with her classmates, watching to enter her classroom in the besieged town of Rafah. (78)

Laila reports, the words of Tawaysha, a Gazan farmer whose house was occupied more than twenty times by Israeli forces throughout the intifada, after the disengagement of Israelis. Haddad reports Tawaysha's memory about the Gazans and the land of Gaza: "Tonight will be the first time we can sit outside after sunset without fear of being shot at by the nearby troops" (83). What Haddad shares through her blog or her political memoir becomes the national memory- something which is terrific for Israeli settlers, since the settlers are trying to erase the memory of native inhabitants as part of their easiest mode of occupation.

Stories collected in *Gaza Writes Back* give an introspection to young Gazan women writers in their twenties, from a land where hope is the most precious commodity passed down through the generations. Stories provide a tangible platform for the silenced voices to make them audible. The stories mark the fifth anniversary of the ill-famed 2008-2009 Israeli attack on Gaza, Operation Cast Lead.

Gaza Writes Back, provides an exclusive evidence that telling stories shape Palestinian memories. The act of storytelling, by Gazan women writers, itself is the theme in some of the stories in the collection Gaza Writes Back. The place making is only possible for them through the stories and memories that were often denied by the Israeli authorities. The stories exhibit an understanding that writing back to Israel's long occupation is a moral obligation that they are paying back to Palestine and to a bleeding Gaza.

To tell a story is to remember and to help others to remember the land. Thus, memory of the homeland by the Palestinian writers question the myth about Palestine, a land without people for a people without land, propagated by Israel. One can see that Israel always tried to shatter the native memories of the homeland. The stories, collected in *Gaza Writes Back* recollect the memories of the land that shape their world. Memory plays a major part in "L' for Life", a short story written by Hanan Habashi. Memories of her father and the sweet fragrance of the stories shared by her father make Mariam living, in the disturbing city of Gaza. The alienation of her mother and the craziness of her grandfather, after the demise of her father are the pool of sadness on which the story is built. Once Gaza is frustrating with rootlessness and nothingness that take over in the place, memories of her father and the letters that she writes to her father have life. The stories that her father told about Tha'er and Amalthe characters in her father's touching stories about their native land-fill her mind and she is in search of the heroic Amal and Tha'er which is in turn a search for Palestine.

Painfully loaded with the memories of her father, memories of the little girl who planted the olive seed behind the orphanage the narrator sets out with her aunty Karama. What she sees is nothing but the ruins of the orphanage where her father taught the kids. How Israel had bulldozed the buildings, homes and the memories are clear here in the words of Mariam while her aunty shows her the ruins of the orphanage:

I felt ashamed. I felt you deserved a better successor, I lowered my head to the ground. I smiled, I laughed, I cried. I kept on sighing at the sight of the olive trees standing alive at the very end of the burned home, or the orphanage. Tha'er's seeds grew up. Nothing else was left, but the trees were enough for me. For Amal, for Tha'er and for you, my dearest Baba. (39)

Commemoration of the Land Day, honouring the people who stood up for the land in 1976, is the major theme in Sarah Ali's "The Story of the Land". The speaker says:

When Israel announced thousands of Palestinian dunam would be confiscated ... During marches held to protest that declaration, many people were killed.

The 30th of March brings back a memory of our land, my father's Land. (59) The narrator's words emphasize that even the commemoration was denied, because what Israel perceives as threatening among the Palestinians, is their memory. The story is dedicated to her father.

Nurturing olive trees and caring for the trees and the land were the means of making the ties with the world and life for her father in the story "The Story of the land". When the narrator asks her father about the uprooted olive trees the reply makes her stunned about the lovely association with land that her father kept in his mind. His memory is very clear when she asks: "How many trees were uprooted? 180 olive trees I guess and ...?" Father replied: "189 olive trees, 160 lemon trees, the guava trees..." (63). He bellowed angrily that his daughter missed the exact number. Father retorts: You hear me? There were 189 olive trees, Not 180, Not 181. Not even 188, 189 olive trees..." (63) Daughter felt guilt over the reply that the father added. The perfection of the memory shows the intensity of the association with the land how much memory makes Palestinians living in their land which is lost forever. It was the memory of the olive trees which is giving the sense of safety and security each time for the father as and when he sits under them.

The vivid map of his village is the happiest memory that Islam, has in his mind, in the story, "Just Fifteen Minutes" by Wafaa Abu Al-Qomboz. Islam, the protagonist in the story, is unable to paint his village now. The Village has been

changed a lot. The map is being lost forever. His father is also not at home. All that he knows is his father is "Wanted". Here, one can see that only memories illuminate the world of kids too. The memories of their land, home and childhood is so much associated with the stories and day to day experiences that connect them with their family. Islam says "I remember when I was living there in that small house. It was a small house, the old tree, yes, which dad planted or may be my grandfather did. No I was the person who planted this tree" (122). Islam is waiting for his father, who is away, to get his map painted ready. He is very sure that father can help him to paint beautifully. He is in between his dream and reality. He is not sure whether his dream about his father would be fulfilled. But he is hopeful. The memory of the glorious painting of his village that his father painted for him is the only thing that Islam is happy about.

Memories of death also play a significant role in most of the stories on Gaza, in *Gaza Writes Back*. Dying bodies, missiles, families apart, destructions etc. are persistent in the stories through which the narrators are giving their account of the attack. Shahd Awadallah's "Once upon a Dawn" is built as the memories of the lost son during one of the missile attacks in Gaza. Mother is keeping on writing stories to the son explaining/justifying what had actually been happened during that night while she lost her son forever:

That night, I lost you. I remembered you again when I woke up in the hospital. I remembered that I forgot you alone there. I realized that I will be all alone after your and your father's martyrdom. You are alone and I am alone... You died alone and I will die alone. That night I missed your warm breasts harmonic heartbeats, and charming smile. That night I lost my son. (165)

The woman, the only survivor in her family after the blast, in the story, "Scars" says: "I did not want my wound to heal. I was satisfied with such tangible shame that could at least make me always remember who lost their lives so others could survive" (173). She lost her mother, brothers and her children, Salam and Hayat. Living with the 'scars' that evoke the memory of great loss is the way with which she fights life. When Israel doesn't want to make Gazans/Palestinians remember the past, even the 'scars' of the wound says a lot for the survivors. 'Scars' exists as a memory in the ongoing project of Israel to wipe out the memories, when "Israel is continuing the attempts to erase the colonial past and depict the present as free of any connection between Palestine and its landscape, culture and continuous Arab presence" (Zureik 75).

When Israel began ethnically cleansing Palestine in 1947, it was believed that the Palestine people would disappear with time, that we would be absorbed into other nation that our stories should be lost. That the old would die and the young would forget. This book is a statement to the fact that we have not forgotten. (Abdelrazaq 2)

Leila Abdelrazaq, the Chicago based Palestinian writer, activist and organizer, comments so, in the preface of her book *Baddawi*, which is a graphic memoir. *Baddawi* is a book of memory in the midst of political threat of memoricide. The author, Abdelrazaq, believes that the 'preservation of the past is an act of resistance' (13).

Baddawi is basically the story of Leila's father's childhood, in a refugee camp in Lebanon. It is a graphic memoir in which she explores her father's childhood in the 1960s and 1970s. Growing up in a Palestinian refugee camp in Northern Lebanon, her father, then being a young boy at the time of Nakba of 1948, while the family had to

flee to Lebanon, carries some sentiments about the homeland. In the midst of terrible uncertainty of the life of a young boy in a Palestinian refugee camp, he witnesses the world as crumbling around him. For Ahmed, the young boy, his mother land is only an idea not even able to hold at least the memories of home land, as Ahmed's parents fled their family's village Safsaf in Palestine. In *Baddawi* author says: "My grandparents fled Safsaf under the cover of night and walked to a refugee camp in Lebanon. Then Ahmed came to be born in refugee camp in Northern Lebanon" (17).

Laleh Khalili comments at the life in refugee camps of Lebanon when she says:

Having been doubly dispossessed of property and of political rights, and wrenched from stability to a permanent impermanence, marked by squalid living conditions, the refugees in Lebanon rhapsodize about a land of plenty, implicitly constructing it with the desperation of current conditions in which they are deprived not only of political community, social welfare, economic security and civil rights, but even of simple human dignity and a guarantee of survival. (Khalili 18)

Khalili's observation will help in understanding the life of refugees in Lebanese camps. Israel wanted them, the villagers of Afsaf, never to return to their homes and their farms. While thousands of families left their homes, and lived off the land, they thought they would be able to return home soon enough but Israel consciously weaponed to kill even the memories as Abdelrazaq puts it in *Baddawi*: "Zionist gangs were ethnically cleansing villages all over Palestine, committing wide spread massacres" (18).

Life in refugee camps and in the surroundings of the camp was too alarming for the refugees from Palestine. They lived on the verge of war and extinction always.

Life was permanently at the gun point for most of the youths and adults in the camp. They had not been allowed to keep the memory of their home land. In the book one can see that Ahmed was told by one of his school mates about his friend's visit to the army headquarters in the refugee camp while his friend's father was arrested. The reason for the arrest of the friend's father was quite shocking. The boy says: "He put up the Palestinian flag outside their home. When they finally let him out, he was covered in bruises. They beat him up" (27). One can observe that even the mere sign of memory of homeland was denied to the refugees in Lebanon and as the 'return' was most brutal deed by them for Israel. Ahmed felt happy about his father for being apolitical.

As the sign of permanent memoricide, more news of destruction reached the refugee camp which was equally desperate and killing for the refugees. Abdelrazaq comments of Naksa, 1967 war, as:

When the Arab armies lost it, it took everyone by surprise. Israel destroyed even more Palestinian villages, continuing its campaign of widespread ethnic cleansing. The six day war, The Naksa, ethnically cleansed another 3,00,000 Palestinians. (35)

Palestinians memoirs and other aesthetic narrations evolve as counter memory and celebrate memory as resistance when memoricide is continued as political agenda by Israel. Palestinians in Israel were always denied the opportunities to share the historic memory in the public place and commemorate the historical incidents. Fatma recalls the story of the occupation of the villages el -Bi'aneh and Dir -el Assad:

According to my father the Israeli army gathered the people of both villages one Spring day, at Ein- el Tihta, the local water spring, asking to leave their houses, leaving the doors open. The army then shows four strong men and

killed them in front of the villagers, ordering everyone else to go to Lebanon.

The four included Muslims and Christians...needless to say there is no site of commemoration for the memory of those four men in either of the villages.

(25)

It reflects that even the commemoration was denied since Israel was scared of having the real stories in the minds of the real owners of the land and what they wanted is nothing but memoricide, because, the denial of commemoration was an act of power by Israel as Fatma mentions: "A new version of the proposed law replaces a criminal penalty with an extreme economic penalty, whereby the state would cut off funding for organizations and institutions that commemorate Nakba day" (8).

Using the "life story" (Fatma 46) of women from Lyd and Ramleh, Palestinian villages in pre Nakba period, as the methodological tool as it is done in the book *Palestinian Women*, reader can decode the sites of commemoration that the women carry with living and burning memories of the catastrophe, and the hegemonic ways in which the settlers impinge those memories and the geographical sites. Fatma's first hand introduction of these two cities as Palestinian cities can be viewed as a defensive act. The stories reveal the intricate position of Palestinian citizens in Israel.

The life stories of old women were considered by Israel as forbidden knowledge or dangerous knowledge because they relate to 1948. One of the interviewee's of Fatma says, when she was asked to tell her story: "I sometimes can't tell it to myself". The reply reveals the profound fear that she still continues to experience and the traumatic crisis she continues to live because of that knowledge. The interrelation between biographical memory, collective memory, social memory and national memory is quite evident here in these (forbidden) stories. Fatma Kassem's *Palestinian Women* is based on the analysis of twenty interviews. Ten of

the life stories belong to women who were original residents of Lyd and Ramleh, where they were continued to live since 1948. Other ten stories belonged to a group of women who were uprooted from Yaffa, al-Majdal, Isdud, al-Mukha, Yzin, Summit, Wadi Hunayn, Kafr A'na and Zakariyya and found refugee in Lyd and Ramleh where they still live. All women were of minimum age of 65.

Gradual killing of the memories of the city is another agenda of Israel. Israel by law, prevents Palestinians who left the borders of Jewish Israel in 1948 due to war, from having ties to their home cities. Formation of family ties through marriage was also not entertained by Israel and was prevented with many strangling laws, denying their meetings. Consequently people are forced to forget these cities of birth in Israel along with their right to return. However the oppressive forces tend them to forget the memories of their home cities Kassem identifies groups of women having no option to forget, instead they believe they must remember it, as an inner compulsion against 'forcible forgetting and erasure that Israelis are trying to impose through the legal system' (60). Kassem tells us of the continuous efforts of Israel to delegitimize and erase the Palestinian narratives to enforce Zionist narrative.

Kassem asserts in her book that the fear and anger expressed by the university officials/academicians on her research proposal ensured her that: "...the total erasure of the collective Palestinian memory from either Jewish or Palestinian consciousness is impossible" (76). The fact that Israel's Beiteinu Knesset party proposed a law known as the "Nakba Bill" (Kassem 79) banning the use and commemoration of the term, Nakba, which was discussed at the cabinet level legislative committee on 10 Jan 2010 indicates, the conscious power play in forceful killing of the memory of homeland and its experiences, harming the Palestinians' rights at all levels in Palestine/Israel.

The language used by the Palestinian women to speak about their Nakba experiences are so crucial because, even those terminology they use constitute a site of commemoration and resistance through memory. Their use of language as an alternative site for memory indicates, these women's conscious practice of 'agency' in the face of delegitimization of Palestinian history within the Zionist states. Masalha writes:

In Palestine the Zionist-Hebrew renaming projects were critical to the ethnocisation of the European Jews and nationalisation of the Hebrew Bible. They were inspired by and followed closely British, French and American archaeological and geographical 'exploration' expeditions of the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. (2)

Um Mhimad's use of Salah – Al – Din for the name of the place instead of new Zionist name Herzel street today, is clearly an act of resistance and counter memory and calls for the recognition of legitimacy for collective Palestinian history and memory. The erasure of the Plastinian names or Arab names of the cities is simply an act of delegitimization of the history and land, and an act of legistimation of Jewish present against Palastinian past. Recollection of Arab street names is an act of resistance for them. When the old women use the same Arabic names, the memory acts as a resistance through their entitlement of the land, and it mirrors the limits of the hegemonic Zionist ideology at work, in the state of Israel.

The self-introduction of Um Omar, as Kassem interviews her, also reflects how much the people of Palestinian in Israel is the product of part and parcel of the city that is inseparably interwined in their lives. She introduces herself as "I am a daughter of the country" (*I am binth el- balad*), or, we are *ahl -el balad* (people of city) (88). Thus the readers can see that the remembrance is the combination of time

and place. Commemoration is the transmission of historic memories to the next generation. The story of the women demonstrate that their stories are richly moulded and shaped by *Watan*, the homeland with a glorious past and it carries a kind of grey traces in the present since their cities and villages of origin are continuously contested and delegitimized and their rights to homeland is negated in the present day. 1948 was the most important constitutive event in their lives.

Recalling the events of 1948, Salma in *Palestinian Women* narrates:

A Palestinian came and said, come on, come on, go out! The Jews came in [dakhalo] and expelled us right away ... they started to hit the cars with cannons ... they didn't let anyone stay here in town ... The Jews expelled the whole country. Yalla Yalla to Abdullah to Abdullah, Yalla!. (93)

Expulsion of the native from the land is clearly pictured in these words that are still afresh in the minds of many. The act of remembering can be understood as the women's [men's too] need to retain their identity and sense of belonging to their places of origin in general and in the case of Salma in particular. Those are the act of remembering not the forgetting.

In *Sharon and My Mother in Law; Ramallah Diaries* by Suad Amiry, use of personal memories of childhood and youth are so remarkable, in preserving her in the home land and as the defence on/of the land. There are many instances in the text in which she preserves and recollects her memories so as to make herself believe that she does exists in the land of herself and of her grandparents. In the part I of the book, *Sharon and My Mother-in –Law* chapter two "Good bye, Mother" readers can see that the picture of her home, though she had not been even once to her home in Jaffa, is afresh in her mind that she had been preserving as a sense of belonging:

Isn't it next to the train station in al- Manshiyyeh, not very far from Hasan Beik Mosque, and also not far from Suq Iskandar' Awad? It is just two minute walk from the sea; Dad used to walk across the road wearing his swimsuit, his towel hanging over his shoulder. He swam every morning ...It is the two storey house with a staircase on one side...I kept going. (14)

She claims to her mother and her sister Awad that she knew where their home was and how could she locate it. The readers can locate that carrying the memories and narrating on them are the act of defences of memory.

Memory acts as a shield in facing the occupation. Sharon and my mother in Law is mainly on recounting the siege of Ramallah with Amiry's personal experiences, and is infused with humour. The book is a memoir of living in Ramallah where memory shifts back and forth in time from the 1980s, when Amiry first decided to return to Palestine, Jaffa, her home town, by means of a position of teaching architecture at the Birzeit University in the West Bank, to the two month siege of Ramallah by the Israeli occupation in Spring 2002.

Writing the memoirs works as a preservation of a memory and the land to cure through the trauma and also to resist the force of expulsion. Writing, as Leila Auoadi observes:

Writing, as a form of self-preservation against loss and emptiness, is not novel: it has its therapeutic effect on both the writer and the reader because they are both implicated in what Felman and Laub call 'a crisis in history translated into a crisis of literature insofar as literature becomes a witness, and perhaps the only witness, to the crisis within history, which precisely cannot be articulated in the given category of history" (xviii). Literature becomes in this respect a negotiating space between history, memory, and fiction as a

trauma witness. Literary discourse is not tested against history, but it is a generator of history and truth about trauma and pain. (211)

The personal turns to be political in Amiry as in most of the Middle Eastern women writers. Memory is the adhesive force by which the author tries to locate herself with her homeland and with the world map, and memoirs contribute to the history of Palestine despite its disappearance from the world map. Remembering, lamenting and writing on Palestine together help Amiry to grapple with the issues and absurdities of life in Palestine. In rewriting the historic past and the turbulent present of great nation of Palestine, Amiry's memoir has greater role as it is an account of a Palestinian from the Palestinian stand point.

As a counter narrative and a counter memory that dislodges and questions the certitude of official Israeli historic accounts on Palestine- that resonate in many Western Countries including USA- memoirs by a Palestinian woman writer contribute to the historical rewriting of Palestine in order to preserve it as an archive of history and memory. Amiry perceives Palestine as a site that bears witness to the history of pre – Nakba land.

All in all, the Israeli army had razed to the ground since 1948 four hundred and twenty Palestinian villages: Saris, Bayt Jibrin, Bayt Nattif, Allar, Qalunya, al-Walaja, Emoas...as well as al-Manshieh neighbourhood in Jaffa...hundreds of unlicensed houses in East Jerusalem dozens of houses in Khan Yuonis, hundreds of thousands of olive and palm trees, now the Yasmineh quarter in Nablus, and tomorrow, who knows? Perhaps the historic quarter of Hebron. (166)

The nightmarish memory can be seen as a defence used here. History, memory – socio-political and geopolitical – and the refugeehood in the land of Palestine bind

together, in her work *Sharon and My Mother in Law; Ramallah Diaries* echoing Aouadi's words: "The political is indeed personal, and as Leila Khaled writes in her autobiography [it] is not politics [but] it is a matter of life and death" (214).

The family reunion once in two years in the city of Birzeit give the natives a special way of feeling, perceiving and experiencing the land in *Daughter of Olive Trees* by Sumaya Farhat Naser. It evolves as a form of resistance through memories – forming memories and exchanging memories – for the natives of the city who are away for years. While they bid farewell they kept hope of re-joining and brushing up the memory of the losing land, by saying "Next year in Birzeit again" (13). Memory and making of memories is so much closely associated with the land as Sumaya puts it: "The committee which had organised the reunion celebrations also invited everyone to walk through the village and olive groves, so as to strengthen the exiles' feeling of belonging to the country and to its inhabitants" (14).

One can see that, telling stories is a common recurring imagery that the Palestinian kept on and on to preserve the land which is on the verge of losing forever, in order to keep it in the possession, as Sumaya recollects: "People told legends and stories from the village which have been circulating for centuries" (14). Preserving the memory of a panic situation by writing it off, seems to be the only way to resist the terror of the events in the life of Sumaya Farhat and her daughter. While there was a bombardment as the way of the mother and daughter, as soon as they reached home, "Ghada rushed to her room and put her feelings and her pains into writing." She published the text on the homepage the Women's Affairs Technical committee... Only this way can I cope with it, she said" (16). Pappe rightly mentions in this regard:

Commemoration, also find central position in the refugee literatures and activities. The true mission of the Jewish National Fund, in other words, has been to conceal these visible remnants of Palestine not only by the trees it has planted over them, but also by the narratives it has created to deny their existence. Whether on the JNF website or in the parks themselves, the most sophisticated audiovisual equipment displays the official Zionist story, contextualising any given location. (213)

"Sharing Jerusalem – Two Capitals for Two States" a campaign under the leadership of Sumaya Farhat took place in the third week of June 1997 "to commemorate the thirty years of Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem" (21), says Sumaya Farhat Naser in her book *Daughter of Olive Trees* in which both Palestine and Israeli women activists joined hands to fight against refugeehood. The memories constitute a corpus of Palestinian refugeehood in the strangled land where memories and narrations about the land is the way to manage and transform the trauma and the hardships that the whole Palestinians have to suffer in the name of the place.

'Memory' acts as a resistance to preserve the land and its people in her work when she tries to reconcile with the occupiers through her political engagements and peace activities mainly through the organisation, 'Jerusalem Link'

After the disengagement of Israel from Gaza on August 2005, Gazans are so curious to see the settlements, deserted by Israelis. The photojournalist, walking inside the settlement in a vest stapled with pictures, he took photographs of Palestinian martyrs who were killed by Israeli forces in years past, including the youngest victim, 4-month old Iman Hijju of Khan Younis and he says: "I want them to witness this historic moment with me. I want to also make sure that people never

forget what they died for" (82). Here one can observe that the memory, through the photographs, turn to be the part of Palestinian resistance.

The act of blogging, and reporting, themselves become active modes of resistance in Laila El- Haddad. It has political realms. Since the settlers are on a mission of 'Greater Israel' the memories of a historic homeland by Palestinians and the recording of its day to day harsh realities and absurdities in the present day is a threatening act by the natives against the settlers. The book voices the representation of Gazans and their daily lives. The odd ways through which Gazans survive in the land of Gaza Strip play the major share of the book, *Gaza Mama*. The writer navigates between the political and personal statuses, as mother of two children, as daughter of Gaza, as wife of a Gazan who is always in exile, and also as a journalist who tries to capture the objective realities. Thus the book celebrates resistance through registering the news of Palestine in an accountable way.

Telling the memories in the form of stories is an act of resistance, for the young Gazan writers, against an occupation that works hard to obliterate and destroy links between Palestine and Palestinians. As Brockmeier has rightly mentioned:

Much of the new literature on cultural forms of memory and remembering seems to confirm that narrative is particularly powerful local discourse form that plays a pivotal role in the cultural organization of remembering...The study of cultural memory and of narrative mutually refer to, and depend on, each other. (qtd. in Hasan 6)

One can locate that the young Gazan writers methodify such a working memory and semantic memory in their counter narrations. Gaza writes back because the story telling helps to construct Palestinian national identity and unity. Keeping the stories told by her father, so close to her heart and telling her memories of good old days that

she enjoyed with her father, make Mariam living, and through which she gains an energy to live in the story "L for Life" by Hanan Habashi. Father's memory act as a shield of resistance within her. She was told by her aunt:

Your father spent his entire youth teaching the kids here to spell Palestine. P for Passion, A for Aspiration, L for Life, E for Existence, S for sanity, T for Trust, I for You, N for Nation, E for Exaltation (38).

What comes through the aunt is the love and trust of the author about her homeland and its glory.

Remembrance of the uprooted olive trees is the only thing through which the father resists the bulldozing activity of Israel in their land in "The Story of Land" by Sarah Ali. The narrator says:

That an Israeli soldier could bulldoze 189 olive trees on the land he claims is part of the God – Given Land is something I will never comprehend... If a Palestinian bulldozer were ever invented (Baba, I know!) and I had given the chance to be in an orchard, in Haifa for instance, I would never uproot a tree an Israeli planted. No Palestinian would...Palestine is the West Bank, Palestine is Ramallah, and Palestine is Nablus... is Yafa, Haifa and Akka and all those cities that Israel want us to forget about. (62)

Thus, writing is remembrance and remembrance is resistance for them.

Writing letters to her 'dead son' is in a way, a form of resistance and self defence through memory in the story, "Once upon a Time" by Shahed Awadallah. Only through writing about it, the missile attack, the narrator in the story, the worn out mother realizes, that, she will be somehow be able to escape those melancholic recollections which occupied most of her memory and whole life. 'Writing back' about Gaza and Palestine to the world and making the world aware of their stories of

pain and loss is one form of resistance through memory and remembrance. Taking the sheet of paper in the right hand and pen in the left, the mother writes: "This is a good chance to challenge your sorrow; if you fail, as usual, you will have to live with more pain and more sleepless nights" (171). Writing is the call of the soul of Gazans, all Palestinians. They are trying to pour down every single memory that tortures them, about the cursed days and nights.

"It is a portrait from the Nakha, and we have to remember those people who went through so much agony. Furthermore, we have to pray that the coming generations can remember our agonies too, my son"(177), the mother says to her son, Salam, in the story "Scars" reminding her son that passing the memories through generations is an act of resistance through memory, that all Gazans wanted to do as a conscious political art of being.

In *Baddawi*, author portrays that even the minute act is counted as a national cause. Denied the chance of thinking, smelling and feeling the home land, the refugee in the Lebanon refugee camps often made their minute acts as feeling the home. It can be understood as an act of resistance, resistance through memorizing the land.

Ahmed's mother is dreaming so hopefully about cooking Za'atar, the Palestinian dish, from their own home. She says: You know Ahmed, next time you gather thyme for the Za'atar, it will be in Palestine' (34). "The multiple displacements and tragic violence experienced by the Palestinians in Lebanon in no doubt heighten the sense of urgency to salvage memories, identity markers and claims to the land before some new disaster befalls the community", says Laleh Khalili in her article on Palestinian refugees in Lebanese refugee camps (16).

Stories of homeland that was shared by mothers and grandmothers were the only bond with the motherland for many refugee children including Ahmed. "Ahmed

wondered what Palestine would be like. He thought of his mother's stories. Along with the stories of home land, keeping the traditions of Palestine and memorizing and practicing them, were the methods by which the elders kept the touch with land and they wanted to get them children grew. The family functions were molded in Palestinian way. The way of life that the Palestinian refugee families led in the refugee camps of Lebanon would tell the reader that, even 'living' with Palestinian traditions, itself is an act of resistance for them.

"Though the family could not return to Palestine, they still held strong to their traditions and no time was fuller of tradition than Ramadan" (36), says the narrator in *Baddawi*. Ahmed's words about his grandfather reveals the readers that how much his grandfather was addicted to the Palestinian way of living as mode of memorizing of the homeland and resisting the displacement. "Each day his grandfather would drink one raw egg and a small amount of olive oil. He would then take his three sheep to graze" (Abdelrazaq 38).

Narrating the stories of homeland act as a recurring theme in Palestinian refugee literatures. Narration makes them living, in the refugee camp with the memories of good old days. Moreover it was seen as the way of educating the younger generation about a home land which was yet to be captured. Refugees only possessed the stories, not the land. During the days of Eid, visiting families in the nearby refugee camps was one of the important act for the families including Ahmed's family. To keep the ties with the land and to share the memories of the home land they united and shared the stories. Abdelrazaq says: "Together the family would play cards, eat great food... and listen to the stories of Palestine" (39).

Baddawi is referred to as "the first book length graphic work written or drawn in English by a Palestinian. The illustrations used in the book are another method

employed by the author as a defense of Palestinianness. The patterns used by the writer throughout the book has given the text a Palestinian visual beauty. The patterns are combinations of illustrations and geometric floral patterns. They are designs typically used in *tatreez*, traditional Palestinian embroidery. It gives the book a Palestinian flavor and beauty. The author's use of illustrations and designs must be understood as methods of keeping them as a memory of Palestine and as a resistance through Palestinian memory."

Most Palestinian refugees in Lebanon's camps trace their origins to rural Palestine, their mnemonic practices focus on the remembered villages . . . the popular mnemonic practices of the refugees emphasize local elements of collective memories and identities that the unifying narrative of the para-statal organizations tended to erase. Palestinian village life is commemorated in the very geography of Lebanon's refugee camps: when the camps were first established, the refugees gathered in groups that replicated their village and families, with the result that the various camp quarters were named for Palestinian villages. (Khalili 8)

Narrative commemoration of pre-exilic life, either in the form of remembrance or in the form of some practices of pre-exilic life are the part of refugee texts produced on Palestinian lives in refugee camps of Lebanon. Cooking certain Palestinian dishes by collecting plants is also seen as an act of living the life of a Palestinian. Belonging to a post-memory generation of Palestinian refugees, Leila Abdelrazaq shares her memories of ancestral land through the eyes of her father, a boy brought up in Lebaneses refugee camp for Palestinians

The dedication of the book is another strong way through which the author keeps her ties with the land. The celebration of the memories of the home land, about

which the author has only some stories in possession, is clear from her dedication. It goes like this: "For my Teta and Jiddo. And for all those children of immigrants who have not forgotten their parents' stories" (Abdelrazaq 1). *Baddawi* is about one individual. But its anecdotes are uttered in countless families; at children's besides, late at night. It is the journey through the heart of every Palestinian refugee child in the refugee camps away from home land. The story is shaped by the memories and aspirations of about five million people born into the life of exile and persecution in the midst of their pangs of statelessness. Only stories can save them from dying. As Leila Abdelrazaq puts it: "That is because for Palestinians, preservation of the past is an act of resistance" (12).

When Palestinians dispossess their land, memories of life in homeland are their only possession. Women, interviewed by Fatma Kassem for her book, commonly share the heart breaking memory of their homes in Palestine (present day Israel) which were either demolished or became the property of Anidar, a state company originally set up for the settlement of new Jewish immigrants. Um- Dieb describes the circumstances of 1948 Lyd quoting her father;

Shoot me and my wife and my children, but to Abdallah I am not going. There are snakes and scorpions there. Where will I leave my children? ... and we went in living on Lyd and we stayed. And that's it. That's what I remember. That's our life. (110)

Though they were expelled and fled their homes, these women focus their stories as success stories in another way, because they succeeded in their goal of remaining in their native home land against all odds practiced upon them. At the same time these memories have traces of hopelessness, loss, misery, worry, anger, humiliation and sorrow.

Plural verb forms used by the interviewees of Kassem to express their experiences show the collective nature of their memories. Though they expressed total lack of control of their daily experiences especially during and after 1948 through the words: "The Jews loaded us, they dropped us off, put us on trucks, threw them to Arabs, left us" (Kassem 112), women had the control over their memories, however Israeli authorities consciously tried to wipe them out.

The owners of the land became those who had no other way than "stealing from own land". The memories of women date back to the British Mandate years and the Ottoman years too. Salma in *Palestinian Women*, depicted the English as expropriators of the land while memorising the old days. "English took the station Vineyards and made it into a Parade ground for the army" (118). Memories by Aysheh, originally from Isdud, currently from Ramleh, also exhibits the same pain:

Our Palestinian people were always oppressed and discriminated against.

Turkey conquered us and put young men to death. My father in law was a fighter in Turkey ... after the Turks, the English came, and after the English Israel came [she laughs]. (118)

Aysheh's use of the words "our Palestinian" is typical for the collective memories that every Palestinian carry. Jewish Israelis dispersed, fragmented and shattered not only Palestinian population, but their homes and their memories too. But the memories they keep with them about the home land is the one and only possession that they have about their historic land.

The estrangement and the present day insecurities that they face in the contemporary Israel is visible in the words of Um- Nasri, one of the interviewees of Fatma Kassem: "We lived in a city where everyone knew everyone, they were no house numbers, no street numbers and everyone knew Um- Anis and everyone could

direct you to her house (127)". How harmoniously they lived in the city as a cohesive social group than as the fragmented cities and fragmented selves is clear in the words of many, since safety and security were the promises of cities. But the same city was lost for ever as Salma says; "...the land was ours, ours and we were renting it from the Jews and working on it. Ours was rented too. The Jews took it. At the time we did not have our land here yet [where her present home is], from the Jews, and we were renting (our on land)" (122). Thus through the socio-personal and historic memory, these Palestinian women resist the Zionist historiographical narrative.

Body acts as a site memory in Palestinian narratives. Remembrance of the refugee body becomes a counter memory. The women interviewed by Fatma Kassem recalled historical events over different periods of time through their bodies: body time, body performance, body features, images of their own body and images of male body. Body becomes memory and history. The complexity of experiences of 1948 has been remembered through their bodies often. The deaths on the roads, the burials, the attacks on the body, the hunger and the thirst of the body, the revolutionary body, the missing body, the abused body, the maiden body, the strong female body, the pregnant female body, the raped body, the disguised body and the body of resistance are various poignant ways through it the body act as a site of memory of Palestinian history and the present.

"People died on their way, my husband's cousin died and his aunt and my cousin died on her way ... it was so hot, so hot ... the old ones were dying. Bodies were left by the road (132)", words, recalled by Salma intensify the pain of/about bodily memory. People dying on the roads was recurrent memory shared by many interviewees. Aysheh concealed the pain of the death of her infant baby on her way she spoke of memory of migration to safer place; "I had two daughters with me when

we migrated. One was two years old and the other was six months old. It was very hard. No doctors and no food. She sucked poisonous milk because of fatigue" (133).

The occupation, colonialism and forceful expulsion from the home land were practiced by Israel through/on the inhabitant's bodies. Hunger and thirst are ever eloquent themes, remembered through the body. Alice from Ramleh shows the intensity: "We were humiliated. We drank animals' water (urine) and licked watermelon rinds" (136). Fathers missing and husbands shot dead were so common memories shared by most of the women. "He knocked on our door and my father opened it to him. He told [my father], Haj, the town is gone ... he took us in the morning. You can say in the afternoon [The Jews] came and took him ... they took him and he did not come back" (141). Um- Omar remorsefully remembers her father. Numerous stories of disappearances, murders, imprisonments and abuses are shared by various women as Um -Mhimad, Haliemeh and Um- Nasri while they were interviewed by Fatma Kassem. Along with that, the rape and sexual exploitation were also recurrent memories in the stories, as the one which is shared by Rashideh, in *Palestinian Women*:

Yes, one was [there] when the Jews entered in the beginning ... far away someone [else] had a beautiful and good looking daughter and [they] came to rape her. Took her [out] under a fig tree. Her father started shouting, Ya Ya people! and no one came ... at night [Jews] would come and take the girls and the women. (159)

Homes were also not safe places. Salma agrees that women and girls put dirt and animal excrements on their body in order to prevent them from being raped. "We put dirt on ourselves ... to prevent the Jews from approaching us" (162). Another striking way the body got remembered in was naming the babies after the name of

places, historical incidents and experiences. Um -Usif shared her memory of naming her baby as Asir, meaning captive, for the memory of collective experience of Palestinian men being held in captivity in 1948. Names of cities, like Yaffa, Bisan and Sirin were also common, equating them with the names of places. Thus from the stand point of their present lives, the women whom Kassem interviewed described what the body did and what they did with the body. The body then becomes an active agent of memory and is dynamic source of alternative history and knowledge. It subverts the so called historical narrative. Feminine patterns of memory is visible when women commemorating the historical events of 1948 before and after, as maidenhood, pregnancy and child death and breast feeding are recurring in the memories.

Moreover, female body itself was viewed as positive and progressive since the female body can rebuild and maintain the family and the community.

Body and deaths function as a memory – a memory inscribed through the body, in Haddad's *Gaza Mama*. Laila El- Haddad's report on 5th February 2005, for Al Jazeera English, titled as "Killing of Palestinian girl shatters family says: "On the afternoon of 31 January 2005, Israeli sniper fire ripped through her face as she stood in her school's courtyard, lining up for afternoon assembly" (19). The body of ten year old girl turn to be a victimised memory of occupation. What Haddad gives is a shocking memory of how that young girl's body is aimed by Israeli military force and how that young Palestinian blood becomes the fractured body with fractured memory. "Nuran was the fifth Palestinian child to be shot dead or aimed by Israeli occupation forces while on the premises of their UN flagged schools in the past two years. She was also one of the 172 children killed in Gaza this year alone" (20).

It is clear that the dead body of the girl will tell one about the way the refugee body was treated by the occupiers. Haddad's report intensifies the devilishness of the situation: "According to Al- Essi, 70 percent of the patients treated here are 15 to 29 years old and more than 75 percent of the injuries are located in the upper part of the body" (45). El -Assi is the Director of the hospital in Gaza. Attacks are meant for killing not for disabling. Killing becomes the part of daily records, in Haddad's blogs. She says:

One of our best family friends was killed today in a car crash in Egypt, along with her husband and adopted daughter (only the second daughter, the 12 year old girl survived). They were travelling there seeking the cancer treatment for the father that is unavailable in Gaza. Now the family who survives them in Gaza cannot go Egypt and bring the bodies back to be buried here or the surviving child with them. This is harsh daily reality for Palestinians. (48) Thus the bodies becomes memory and memory becomes the national narration- the

Private homes function as sites of commemoration that celebrate Palestinian history, heritage, culture and memory. The stories, the women shared in spite of the fear of state domination, reveal the memories about home and homeland. The homely memories were contrasted between the events of 1948 and the pre 1948, the days of Arabs, in their words, making clear distinction of memories, in the homely space and public space due to the 1948 catastrophe. In her reference to the events of 1948, Salma, in *Palestinian Women* says:

memory of a nation which had been killed and yet to be reborn.

The homes then were new ... in 1948 the people [The Israelis] ruined them all.

Whenever some was going out their house, they were receiving it and
throwing its stones into the wells ... they don't want to leave single home
here. Israel, I mean does not want the Arabs to say that it's ours. (Kassem 200)

It must be understood as a part of Israeli methods of memoricide and historicide.

The collective devastation of Palestinian population and houses are testified by the comments from the interviewees of Kassem: "only we remained from the house of el – Far, everyone migrated" (202). For most of the interviewees of Kassem the painful memories of what happened to them in 1948 is like "spreading salt on open wounds" (204). Hanieh says in vivid terms: "I came down, and the plane dropped bombs in the direction of my mother's home... we found al – Majdal empty" (204). The aim of bombing was to force people to leave the cities. Israel aimed at total absence from homes and also from memories of homeland because, loss of home was equal to loss of villages and cities.

The 'key' is the metaphor for their loss, pain, hope and memory as Fatma Kassem locates it: "Locking up their homes and keeping the keys nurtured the hope for many Palestinians that they would eventually return, which is a dominant theme in Palestinian history" (210). Living, in the family home by risking their lives, itself was a sign of steadfast in the words of Palestinian women. But in most cases, though the Palestinians returned to Lyd and Ramleh, they were not given their homes, instead they had to live in rented houses. It exacerbated their pain and suffering.

The threat of dispossession and court procedures from Israeli officials was going on at one side, still they are not ready to leave the homes and the memories of bygone days. As Fatmeh Abed el - Hadi poignantly remarks: "If I had the wisdom I have today I would never have left my home" (235). As sociologist Halim Barakat (1993) claims that "Palestinian's sense of belonging is rooted in the home and in the family as much as it rooted in the land" (qtd in Kassem 234). Though the access to home and land is forbidden, they can't abandon both, at least the memories of a time having both. Thus the memories are the mirrors where we can see the endless stories of dispossession and displacement of broader Palestinian experience.

Thus as it is viewed in this chapter, Memory acts as a dialogue between past and present in the Palestinian narratives. When Israel is disciplining Palestinian memory the politics of memorizing serve as de-memoricide. "Memory is one of the few weapons available to those against whom the tide of history has turned" (Zareik 111). Memory acts as a technique to bring the forgotten past into present as an active agent against the disciplining of native memory through the political tools of cultural and spatial memoricide. Confiscating Palestinian land and controlling their mobility, the state of Israel implemented psychological colonialism along with territorial colonialism that aimed at confiscation of native memory, by conscious practices of erasing the memories of home and land. "A colonization of the mind occurs, when your lack of control over your space is naturalized and you cannot imagine, nay believe, anything different" says Lina Jamoul (3) in the article titled, "Spaces of Oppression and Resistance in Palestine". Native memory was seen as a threat for the Israeli expansion and colonial invasion. Hence commemoration of Nakba and other historic Palestinian aspects of land and community lives were always controlled and curtailed by Israelis to discipline the memory of natives. Punishments were imposed on natives on their commemorating activities often so that natives were selfdisciplined in order to save them from the military rule. Jamoul also opines that spacio-cide and memoricide are entangled each other.

As Pappe shows it rightly: "Israeli attempts at subverting public discourse on Palestinian collective memory constitute acts of memoricide which shows no sign of abatement" (*Ethnic Cleansing* 234). A deliberate forgetfulness was induced so that the act did take place and indoctrination (of forced memory) was also held to ensure that future Israeli generations would encounter only the official discourse, particularly the narrative of the state security apparatus in the writings of mainstream Israeli

scholarship, school textbooks popular culture and the media. Israel allow the natives to occupy state sanctioned Jewish memory instead of native memory. A "pathologised memory" (Zureik 116) is popularized by Israel which justifies their acts of brutality against Palestinians.

Post-Nakba or post 1948 narratives by Israel and Post Nakba reproduction of space by them together have resulted in erasure of memory and thereby erasure of history of Palestinians in their historic homeland. Genocide and Mass atrocities along with the militarization have intensified this process of memoricide. It acts on the land to make them de-Palestinized, and de-nationalized.

The Palestinian presence in Lebanon dates back to the Nakba of 1948. Adam Ramadan in his article titled "Spatialising the Refugee Camp" reviews UNRWA's study about the social exclusion of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as follows:

The refugee community in Lebanon is best described as one of protracted (long term) refugees rather than refugees fleeing from recent conflict. Despite their long standing presence in Lebanon, Palestine refugees remain excluded from key aspects of social, political and economic life in the country. (68)

When history becomes the record of victors' version of events, Palestinians are recreating their memory and history which were buried in the land. Hence collective memory and narration of it have a transformative role in Palestinian identity and narratives. By relying more on oral history, instead of officially sanctioned archival material, the narratives present a world of collective Palestinian social and cultural memory which is an act of resistance that counters Zionist claims about what happened in 1948 and after. The act of commemoration has a serious political undertone. "Often the concept of 'collective memory' is seen as the representative of the specific values, beliefs and traditions which unite individuals, through the idea of

a shared part" (Zureik 116). Hence remembrance forms the very cornerstone of the Palestinians national identity. The writers in the post Nakba period in Palestine in general and the writers analyzed for this study in particular narrate their existence into their texts declaring that they remember, therefore they are.

Narrating Nakba, remembering the stories of the land, visiting places, keeping social relationships, performing the past rituals like Nakba day, Land day, telling memories of the places, sharing the rich heritage of the cities, preserving monuments and heritage cities and living the life of Palestinians even in the ongoing practices of colonization by settlers etc., are acts of counter memory in Palestinian lives and literatures. The reproduction of social and spatial life is thus rooted in reclaiming memory and thereby spatializing in the *Watan*, the home land. Home, body and the place together become the sites of memory in their narrations. Memoirs, stories and other writings by the Palestinians, narrate the shared experiences of collective memory and past to create their own space through unconventional ways of narration that reflect the everyday reality. "Story telling is part of people's everyday life, a cultural and inter subjective experience to the core" (Zureik 117), in which a person draws on cultural repertoires at his/her disposal to make sense, to imagine and to negotiate with others and with the world around them.

Memories, both personal and social, play an essential role in refugee narratives in general and in Palestinian narrations of fugitivity in particular.

"Memories are socially constructed and culturally specific always mediated but also censored- publicly and privately, officially and unofficially" (Zureik 221). Thus, memory has a politics and the writers select here display the politics of memorialization through their writings which is against Israeli practice of memoricide imposed upon them and on their land. Aouadi says: "The different maps of Palestine

narrate in their own turn, and in line with the narrative discourse, the shrinking and disappearance of Palestine: they span the seventy-year birthday of Israel and the erasure of Palestine" (218). Palestinian memoirists and other writers are ideally trying to create new voices through narration of memories.

Hence, what Israel practices in Palestine is the only safeguarding of the vested interest of settler colonizers, and it is also the Zionist agenda to eject the natives from their homes for ever. What Israel aims through Zionism and Judaization are weakening of the land, out of memory and history of native Palestinians. A Zionist ethnography or Zionist ethno nationalism was promoted through the post Zionist discourses to arrest history, and to refashion it in their own way. Palestinians were de Palestinised, de politicized and de-historicized through such Zionist efforts which had been started in pre-Nakba period itself. Palestinian's interaction with history was also minimized by the power regimes consciously.

Middle Eastern women writers come up with memories, by journeying through the interiors of mental and geographic maps, oscillating between past and present simultaneously. To conceptualize and spatialize the Palestinian refugeehood and identity, memory's use as a sensorium and as a historical counterpoint are to be considered seriously. Thus finding the blind spots in historiography is a cultural and social aim of memoirs by them. They realize that forgetfulness or de-memory will act as a pathogen, which affect the nation and the citizenship. Thus it can be proved that memoirs by the select women writers here exhibit a socio political dimension of remembering.

Israel's control over space and memory of Palestine transform and deterritorialize Palestine into the geographies of dispossession where natives fight to regain their lost earth and imagination through their narratives. Memory works as a

dialogue between past and present, between generations. Through their memoirs and other genres of aesthetic productions Palestinians have been vanquishing the "historical claustrophobia" (Carpi 674), the inability to turn past memories into a solid basis for a better future. At the same time, the colonial desire to dispossess the Palestinians spatially, continues in the form of borders and blockades throughout the land which is discussed in the next chapter of this project, to see how the Palestinian fugitivity is characterized with bordered identities.

Chapter 6

Legal as Illegal, Citizens as Infiltrators:

Bordering Space in the Human Geography of Palestine

The large scale macro politics of Israeli occupation and colonial administration in Palestine replace its geography as an "elastic geography" (Weizman 4) with border politics which impinge the natives by imposing more number of borders on everyday lives. These borders are affecting the socio spatial imagining and practicing of ordinary lives of Palestinians, leaving them in a land of post-postcolonial, carceral geography which is a post truth reality in Palestine turning the human geography – "restructured, rearranged and rewired" (Slesinger 124).

Israel's colonial geographical imagination, that operates through the security discourses by the settler colonizers, justifies the geographical practices, and new forms of "political geographies" (Soja 6) in Palestine. Such a violent geography and territorial administration in the land of Palestine, whereby Palestinian cities were purged of their Arab residents are questioned and resisted through the alternative geopolitical storylines and counter discourses on the land, by the native Palestinians and exiles within their geopolitical situations of bordered geographies and bordered identities.

"Border is now understood as a verb in the sense of bordering" (Slesinger 132). When the checkpoints and borders act as embodiments of settler colonial technology of Israeli control over Palestinian mobilities, Palestinian life narratives unfold as what Hammami calls "narratives of crossing"(1). This chapter specifically looks at the ways in which borders act upon the geographies of Palestine to control the bodies and the land. It also focuses on the architecture of occupations erected and

maintained by Israel in Palestine, and the powers operated on the bodies at the borders through the critical interpretation of human geography of select narratives. The narratives by Palestinians – both in home land and outside home - negotiate the collective sufferings at the borders and at other materialistic structures of occupations. These narratives, at the same time, exhibit: "…suffering and (not) suffering at borders (checkpoints, walls, closures, fences etc.) and also defend it through the narrative strategies against Israel's carceral geography" (Hammami 2).

The intersection between geography and literature in the refugee narratives is to be viewed and analyzed in the context of post modern cultural and political geographies. "Life stories have a geography too, they have a milieu, immediate locals, provocative emplacements, which affect thought and action" (Soja 14), Edward Soja, the postmodern political geographer, says while observing postmodern geographies. Refugee narratives of Palestinians are geographical discourses along with being the historical and aesthetic. Their narratives have a geography – violent, affective and rational one which is always at risk. Palestinian refugee narratives reflect the military powers and the lines of forces in geography.

Borders are complex socio-spatial phenomenon that are associated with territory and emanating power with them. It demands an interdisciplinary study and a vigorous theoretical approach.

The historic-cartographic approach, based on the mapping of changes in boundaries, their morphological features and socio-geographical study of border areas, originated on the basis of generalization of numerous case studies and was applied in research related to the allocation, delimitation and demarcation of borders after the First World War (Hammami 4).

Coming to the literatures and the study of borders with special focus on refugees in the contested lands, in the enclaved spaces of camps, and in the encircled walled socio-spaces, one has to see borders as mutable spaces with inertia and movement. "Limology", as Hammami states, "by the end of the last century, became a rapidly widening interdisciplinary field of knowledge." (33). Limology also includes that the study of territorial boundaries at various levels are based on the 'concepts of center and periphery which are relative too' (43).

In order to find out the 'geo-history' (Foucault 67) of refugeehood, that is reflected in the refugee narratives of Palestinian natives and exiles, the contact zones between the Israel and Palestine are to be analyzed as what Soja says "Postmodern geographies"(2). Literatures from such geographies showcase the contact zones as always frictional. A literary geographical imagination is visible as space and time are affecting on the land, and are creating a geopolitical unrest as ever living entities in the land discourses, validating Foucault's statement: "Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, and the immobile. Time as the contrary was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic" (Foucault 70). Borders are becoming circular spaces in Palestinian lives and literary discourses that limit mobility.

Borders act as political, administrative, and cultural boundaries that constitute a single, coherent and hierarchically organized social system which is simultaneously exclusive and inclusive.

Border studies have formed the idea that the political demarcation of the space at all levels is the means to meet two basic needs of the society.

1) Security – protection against external and internal threats and 2) Separating the territory controlled by specific political, cultural and social groups

possessing a strong identity, shared values and who want to preserve their originality, not allowing strangers to "own" land. (Hammami 45)

Nations seem to erect certain materialistic and military methods to maintain the same.

Border becomes an important conundrum in the geopolitical aspect of the State and in its apparatuses. Dispersed network of apparatuses work together in a geographical territory of the "dissemination of micro power" (Foucault 71) to give rise to "universal gaze" then (Foucault 72). The politics and ever shifting nature of politics with respect to border has socio cultural dimensions too. 'Borders' which act as a life saving machinery, in a particular system, reverses its effect of 'safety' 'to control' in another system of spaces. So, the sense of spaces becomes binary in that liminal space of border as 'theirs' and 'ours' in the context of Palestine.

'Binary geographical imagination' of Israel (Weizman 127) works as colonial imagination about the ever expanding borders and controlling the other, to create securitized landscapes. The Israeli invented and imposed borders in Palestine and those border interactions thus become hierarchical and vicious affecting the spatial proximity of natives and other inmates due to the securitized border control systems. Citizenship, nationality and power, work along with (non) citizenship, statelessness and powerlessness in the case of any border, for the less privileged communities like refugees, dispersed communities, exiles, migrants, immigrants etc. Among these, refugees and internally displaced groups suffer more bitterly, facing a situation of inclusive exclusion and exclusive inclusion in the abject land of Palestine which is a special case demanding more attention.

The geographical turn in the refugee studies and has opened up a close reading of borders and bordering practices, offering a frame work for understanding territorial conflicts within the political geographies, operated by Israeli powers. The refugees

and inhabitants in a conflicted space are creating geopolitical mini narratives within the bigger realm of geopolitical colonial meta narratives, propagated by the colonizers. In the case of Palestine "networked geopolitical power" (Weizman 46) operates in the spaces of contact zones -borders, checkpoints, closures and walls- that are strong means of occupation for Israel.

The notion of physical and conceptual borders, the barrier of apartheid and the solidity and porousness of the borders create the sense of homeland and the sense of homelessness. Borders create the oscillation between hope and despair among Palestinians as Yiftached evaluates: "The struggles over the issues of land, borders, immigration, settlement, development and political conflict have created tensions, confrontations, dramas, tragedies and constant oscillation between hope and despairs so prevalent in Israel / Palestine" (qtd.in Slesinger 125). He observes Israeli border measures as realms of "Ethnonationalism and ethnocratic regimes that are sets of ideas and practices that constitute one of the most powerful forces to have shaped the world's political geography in general and that of Israel / Palestine in Particular" (qtd. in Slesinger126).

The dominance of ethnonational concepts sovereignty and homogenous State have created the borders and bordered spaces in Palestine and Israel occupied Palestine, limiting it from one state solution and two state solution equally. The narratives by Palestinian writers consciously evoke the sense of borders and bordered spaces in their day to day lives, through their works on homeland. Border consciousness and countering measures are treated by the writers, selected here for the study for this research.

Fatma Kassem problematizes the issues of borders and the territory that affect Palestinian in the land of present day Israel. The everyday of Palestinian, both in

Israel and in occupied territories, is characterized by various manifestations of borders and bordering. Through curfews, military check points, road blocks, walls and continuous surveillances, they are always made alert about the alienation in homeland which is an Israeli apparatus for de-naturalizing them in their own land, tempting for a voluntary exile and also to make them politically docile.

Kassem's interviews of Nakba victims, in her *Palestinian Women*, reflect how far they are alert about their Palestinianness within the borders created by Israel. "Um Dieb" refers to the nationality and entry into Israel law (Temporary order) passed by the Knesset, the unicameral Israeli Parliament, on 31 July 2003, which bars Palestinians from 1967 occupied territories from obtaining any residency status or citizenship in Israel through marriage to an Israeli citizen. The law affects many Palestinian women and men who are already married (59), says Kassem. Kassem further adds that "...like Um Dieb's family, thousands of other Palestinian families have been affected by this law. Most people with Israeli citizenship refuse to accompany their spouses to the occupied territories from 1967, and their husbands or wives are not allowed to remain within 1948 border of land ...Thus political border decides the identity of Palestinians (78).

Life, in occupied territories of West Bank and Gaza, is also not free from bordering the spaces by Israel. In Israel, they form many laws and property rights, while in occupied territories, borders operate in the form of materialistic methods of bordering the spaces. Suad Amily and Sumaya Farhat Naser, explore the problematics of border in their works. Amiry in her memoir, *Sharon and my Mother- in –Law* speaks more of check points and curfews, demonstrated on the spaces of Palestine that affect the normal life in Palestine creating an absurdity of everyday life and practices. She says:

Living under a curfew for thirty six days is not ridiculous, not giving

Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza gas masks is not ridiculous. Giving the

Arabs in Israel, out of date gas masks is not ridiculous, the absolute madness
and hysteria about Saddam's chemical and nuclear heads are not ridiculous,
and bringing your mother in law and my ninety year old mother to live with us
in sealed rooms day and night is not ridiculous, Not Ridiculous? (178)

Amiry expresses her grievances on curfew to her friend Gabi, while both of them
were anxiously waiting for the gas masks at the time of curfew in Ramallah.

The frustrations of closed spaces and curfews, where natives are unable to act on their own, are visible in those words of anger and terror. The intensity of check points in the lives of any Palestinian and the pain of waiting at the closures are visible when Amiry explains the border politics of daily life in Palestine as:

Most of all, but not all, needed reservation a few months in advance on the bus which takes you from Jericho Rest house across the river to Jordan. What would be a ten minute drive under normal circumstances takes four to five hours. (185)

Being a peace activist who works among Israeli and Palestinian women,
Sumaya farhat Naser brings out the tension between people and borders throughout
her memoir, *Daughter of Olive Trees*. Sumaya Farhat primarily speaks on the stiff
borders which would not allow the return possible. A hope of returning home, work in
the back drop of her words on Palestinians who had to flee homeland either as
permanent exiles or as internal refugees. Farhat says:

Many Palestinians, men and women had decided to return in order to take part in building a Palestinian society and state. They began to construct houses, set up businesses, open shops and restaurants ... my sister was allowed to return but her husband Isam and their three children were not allowed. (1325)

Sumaya Farhat is explicitly marking the borderlines that work in the form of separations and exclusions

State investment in bifurcated infrastructure, checkpoints, identity documents and a permit system underlines the centrality of closure to occupation.

Through closure Israeli agents of government aims beyond sovereign control of the Israeli Palestinian border or narrowly conceived security for Israeli subjects. (Parsons and Salter 701)

Palestinians are unable to live a life without thinking of these herculean tasks of getting through the borders that are disastrous and disgusting. Israeli governmentality of Palestinian mobility is operated through the administration of borders in the West Bank and in Gaza that always bring a demographic anxiety among the Palestinians.

As Farhat observes, ID cards became the symbol of colored (im) mobilities of Palestine. The biopolitical apparatus, instrumented by Israeli like ID cards, acts as a tool of mobility and immobility through the bordered space. She says:

The ID card regime, and less so the permit regime, limits Palestinian geographic movement and economic mobility while simultaneously permitting free Jewish Israeli flows and mobilities... ID Cards demonstrate the power of Israeli regime to produce distinct people and bind them to specific territories while allowing others to trespass over those same boundaries. (1367)

Through ID cards borders are erected between Jewish and Arab people. "The ID card regime puts into question the natural and territorial boundaries of Israel and the geopolitical existence of the Palestinian territories" (Tawil Souri 153). Farhat Naser's observation will help to understand further. Commenting on the situations at

West Bank, especially in East Jerusalem and Ramallah, Farhat assimilates that borders cannot open territories before its people. The natives remain bordered and controlled. She says: "You will find that rarely can Palestinians live their daily lives in a Jewish environment isolated from their culture and people" (1378).

In Gaza, as Haddad points out through her *Gaza Mama*, the punishing siege and the following restrictions operated and demonstrated through borders make the life imprisoned. "As long as they were inside Gaza, several blocks of Jewish settlements and string of military bases exercised the traditional form of territorial control, they controlled the roadways and surveyed the cities" (Weizman xii). The observation made by Eyal Wiezman is reflected in the work of Laila El Haddad. She clearly speaks about this ferocious kind of a strangulation of Gaza and its people. One can observe that the contemporary writers of Gaza too are occupied with the portrayal of borders that would appear on the ground of Palestine everywhere at any time, according to the master device of Israeli security officers.

"Agreements with Egypt ensure Israel has some say over who can pass through Gaza's border crossing in Rafah", Weizmann has commented so while analyzing the on strangulation of Gaza (Weizmann xii). The anxiety at borders is recurrently visible in the life and works of Haddad. She is a native of Gaza, now works in USA, and finds it very difficult to commute to her homeland except being bothered about borders. It creates a trauma in her. Haddad's report that on 18 July 2005 is highly remarkable here: "The checkpoint, along with one farther south at Abo Holi, has divided Gaza into three isolated segments for over five days now: Rafah and Khan Yunis in the south, Deir – al – Balah, Maghazi, and Nseirat refugee camps in the central Gaza strip and Gaza city, Beit Hanoun and Jabaliya in the north" (49). Her

comment on the crossing at Gaza makes the readers aware of the prison like situation in Gaza: "we are sealed into Gaza. Abo Holi was closed again today" (54)

Gaza Writes Back reflects the contemporary responses to borders and waiting at borders by Palestinians, throughout the stories which carry the undercurrents of 'borders' that every Palestinian face in daily base. Nour Al-Souri's "Will I Ever Get Out?" is a work to mention here. The speaker in the story narrates her hopelessness in a closed space. The narrator, though a medical aspirant, has no other way to feed the family than digging tunnels, which is the job he is engaged in. Tunnels and borders depict everyday reality in the story. Narrator says: "I took a taxi to Rafah. The digging was taking place under the houses near the border... All that complicated our lives and made them intolerable was nothing other than those regular power failures, the food price crisis the continuing closure of borders that kept us from travelling abroad, the transportation crisis and the desperate struggle for living. Only these and nothing more" (71). Weizman's critical observation would serve to describe the situation better. He adds: "the siege is giant and unparalleled exercise in population control. It seeks to isolate the strip from the external world is and gradually increase the collective hardship by reducing the incoming flow of all life sustaining provisons" (Weizman xiii) in Gaza. Life is always sieged and bordered.

Baddawi by Leila Abdelrazaq illustrates border consciousness in the life of refugees in the camps of Lebanon, both literally and diagrammatically through the life sketches of Ahamed, the young boy in a camp named Baddawi, in Lebanon. Border is not seen as visible entity, but it is omnipresent in Lebanon for the camp dwellers. It affects the normal life. A feeling of out of territory is always created among the inmates of the refugee camps through the regular military checks, interrogations, denial of permits etc., that are common sights as Ahamed, the protagonist says: "last

night somebody set the police headquarters on fire so now the army is interrogating everyone (43)", about the long queue at the army headquarters just near to the refugee camp. They are not allowed to live a life, free of borders. In the case of refugees in Lebanese camps, borders are erected through encampment.

"Bedouin Arabs in the Beer-Sheva region are formally full citizens of the state of Israel; why should their use of state land be considered as invasion, while their fellow Jewish citizens are encouraged to come and use the same land?" (Yiftachel 5). Borders are at the heart of these structural elevation of Jewish over Arab citizens, the privileging of Jewish diaspora over local Arab citizens. "Blurring of the state borders, which allows West Bank of Jewish settlement to continue to form a (de facto) part of Israel, while their immediate Palestinian neighbors remain disenfranchised" (Yiftachel 5). He argues that the borders act in a reverse order on two communities on the same land. Hence, the exclusion and inclusion become political and geographical on the territory of Palestine.

"Kinopolitics is the theory and analysis of social motion: the politics of movement. (Nail 34). The analytics of social motion or Kinopolitics has elaborated the theory of phenomenon of movement in various social conditions and the phenomenon of historical and contemporary borders. "Societies are always in motion directing people and objects; reproducing their social conditions (periodicity) and striving to expand their territorial, political, juridical and economic through diverse forms of expulsions" (Nail 67)

A world of borders touches every aspect of social life. It has various dimensions too. The "Socio-Spatial Dialectic" (Soja123) of the life of refugees and moving communities are always characterized with the borders of many dimensions in day to day lives, unlike the full citizens in the world. The checkpoints, along with

intermittent opening and closing of borders, road blocks, siege and curfews become the matter of territorial, social and mental closedness of space then. The identification of documents also make them juridical within the socio spatial limitation and in entire matrix of bordered zones.

Unlike the traditional definition of border, that is the limit of sovereign state, it is seen that borders are within the states and between the territories in the case of Palestine. Border theory studies the territorial border practices. Border indicates a break produced over the territory or a discontinuousness. It is followed by a positive or negative bifurcation. "The result of this bifurcation according to Thomas Nail is that border is experienced as a continuity by some and as a discontinuity by others. So in the case of refugees, border show a discontinuum from where they are forbidden or redirected" (Nail 11)

"Detention, deportation or expulsion", as Nail further explains (Nail 11), is associated as the byproduct of borders. A filtering is also accompanied or aimed by bordering of people and places. A political controlling of the society and also a creation of exclusive homogenous society is created through borders. Social formation of the dominant is also an agenda in the social division of borders. Border is both constitutive and is constituted by the society. It is a key to understanding networked connectivity as well as questions of identity, belongingness, political conflict and social transformations.

"The study of border is multidisciplinary" (qtd. in Nnail 13), says David
Newman. Borders are always made and remade, according to the various forces of
operations on the land. They are not always geographical. Borders are moving, and at
the same time, it is the symbol of the static nature too. Permeability and
impermeability- water tightness- is performed at the border simultaneously. Though

the flow, fluidity or motion or movement of people are highlighted or celebrated as "borderscapes" (Nail 14) in the global arena, there are less studies about this membrane of power and politics, called border, as Nail observes: "The border is not simply and static membrane or space through which flows of people move. In contrast to the vast literature on the movement of people and things across borders, there is relatively little analysis of the motion of the border itself" (16).

Apart from geomorphological movement of the borders, there are movements in the form of governmentality, power, sovereignty, homogeneity and exclusivity that are operated politically. Palestine is such a case of bordered space where borders move, widen and increase in numbers, due to the Israeli state impositions and military forces that leave the Palestine as sites of continual negotiations. Borders are made, reproduced and maintained through affirmation to bring out a static rigidity and the process continues in a circular fashion in the case of Palestinians. So border is not simply a space. Border is in between "solid spaces and states" as Nail has stated (17).

Nail's perception of various types of borders as "territorial, political, juridical and economic" (22) would help in understanding the theme of border in Palestinian narratives further. Border suggests motion and motionlessness, and in turn leads to "kinopolitics" (Nail 24). Refugees, being geopolitical and biopolitical subjects, the flow and the politics of movement are more crucial than the social flow, in usual cases. Borders- seen and unseen- seem operating physically and mentally among Palestinians and among Jews. For Palestinians borders are associated with the daily life. Their daily travels, jobs, relationships, economic independence, identity, education, health and return are the areas where borders manifest on them on daily basis.

Writers from Palestine cannot get away from these strangling reality of borders and bordering. Their works are operating in the terrains of socio spatial border dialectic. Fatma Kassem, the Palestinian writer from present day Israel, narrates on the fragmentation of selves, operated through border practices. Many women, whom Kassem interviewed shared the anxiety of a demographic order where they are confined or imprisoned. Kassem says:

Palestinian women I interviewed, did not migrate to other countries, but in many cases moved within the borders of historical Palestine and inside the newly formed state of Israel. The drafting of the new borders by the Israeli, fragmented the Palestinian population, forcing some of them to become refugees and positioning Palestinians living in Israel, in a coercive liminal situation in their own homeland. (104)

Thus it is evident that, borders act as agents of direct expulsion, where a forced motion or ejection from home land happens through borders.

Borders affect the normal life to bring about an insane situation in the West Bank and in the Gaza, due to the zonal properties of the occupied territory of Palestine where Israel aims at annexation of land and settlement with more Jewish spaces, creating relative insides and outsides within the territory, without absolute exclusion or inclusion. Nail terms it as "circulation" (41). Harnessing and deportation also work together here.

Suad Amiry expresses her protest at the "checkpoint drama" (Amiry186) operated by military officers at various towns of West Bank, either in the form of silence or in the form of verbal diarrhea, in her *Sharon and my Mother-in-Law:* Ramallah Diaries.

Most of us needed a tourist visa to Cairo. Most of us but not all needed 'a checkpoint permit' from the Israeli Beit- Eil Headquarters near Ramallah. This kind of permit allowed one to cross some but not all of the 320 checkpoints forming the Palestinian cantons in the West Bank, but didn't allow one to enter Jerusalem or Gaza. For that you need a different kind of permit which is almost impossible to get. (121)

Amiry says contemplating about her visit to Egypt as being a Palestinian citizen.

Politics of movement is operating on Jews and Palestinian on multiple layers. Jews are free to come from everywhere and Palestinians once expelled, have lots of problems of return to homeland. Sumaya Farhat Naser, the writer and Palestinian peace activist in the West Bank, also has explicated the issues of border with illustrations in her *Daughter of Olive Trees*. Border makes return impossible for many as Farhat views:

It is important to accept the right to compensation and much more important, the right to let them choose ... It is still more important for Palestinians to have the right to choose. Most of them stay in the diaspora, as the Jews do.

But those who want to return to Israel should be able to do so. A state should never be able to say to a people that it has no place in its own country. (1191)

Farhat further quotes the UN resolution: 194, cited by the advocates of right of return, which describes: "The refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbor should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date" (1234).

Readers can confirm that borders seem operating in juridical ways too.

Apart from movement restrictions, border crossing is so a much part of political selves in Gaza. Haddad reports excerpts from her interview with Mohammed Samhouri on the Gaza Disengagement of 31 July 2005, in her book *Gaza Mama*. He

had been assigned the task of coordinating the withdrawal on the Palestinian side. Haddad reports his words: "The major block of issues is related to access and movement, border crossings, all ports, territorial link between Gaza and the West Bank and external closure within the West Bank" (55).

"Checkpoints give daily materiality to Israel's heterophobia and impulse to separate. To Israelis, they are security measures that deter violence" (100), observes Julie Peteet on checkpoints. Borders are created for separations at various levels. Haddad reports Samhouri's idea of disengagement: "We are asking for door to door delivery instead and bigger terminal for Palestinian labourers at Erez Crossing. The controls on the border are killing the Palestinian economy."(56). Haddad shows that borders cause economic strangulation too.

"A wall", the short story by Rawan Yaghi in the collection *Gaza Writes Back*, reminds us of the walls in the life of Gazans. The Wall, the apartheid wall erected by Israel, is seen as an emblem of politics of separation which also injects a notion of bing subjected to the apartheid among Palestinians. The protagonist in the story is trying to "un-wall the Wall" (Weizman 208). In their narratives, as Weizman views: "...the desire to un-wall, go beyond the wall" (209). It is exhibited by the narrator in "A Wall". The narrator says: "I walked with my fingertip touching the huge blocks of the great wall built to scare me... I turned my face to the wall. I put both my hands on it. I pushed" (75). Though the Wall built by Israel in West Bank is not experienced by most of the Gazans, they perceive the Wall and the walling of people through it. Thus Gazan writers share the Palestinian identity through their narratives on the Wall. "Wall had coalesced around a permanently temporary Palestinian state scattered in an archipelago of land locked sovereign zones" (115). Thus, Weizman aptly concludes the politics of walling the people of Palestine.

Expansion by expulsion is the strategy that Israel employed while expelling the inhabitants in 1948 and after, to turn them permanently as refugees, in their homeland, in the camps, and in other countries. But in the case of Israel, expansion is never expansion of movement but expansion of their territories and settlements through expulsion of the natives. "Expansion by expulsion is the social logic by which some members of society are dispossessed of their status so that social power can be expanded elsewhere" (47), says Nail in his *Theory of the Border*. In the case of refugees in camps of Lebanon, borders act as the permanent "limit or mark" (Nail 53). Ahmad in *Baddawi* memorizes: "My grandparents fled Safsaf under the cover of night and walked to a refugee camp in Northern Lebanon. They thought they would be able to return home soon enough..." (17). Closure becomes a permanent mark forever for the refugees. Camp is an enclave, which is socially and politically defined and is secluded, curtailing the identity of its dwellers. Refugees have to face securitized borders. People are made ordered and disciplined by the Zionist regimes regularly.

Border regimes in Israel, in West Bank, in Gaza and in the refugee camps, thus create a kinetic social division which is operated through the state apparatuses. Palestinians have to be consciously aware of these forms of borders in their daily lives that they can't liberate themselves from within the (non)space entity of their political existence. Though crossing the borders is tough for them, their movements are to be seen as motion to defend the borders too. Kinopolitically speaking, movements associate the Palestinians between themselves and with the land. Bodies of motion is the social, spatial and temporal way of living in the bordered spaces.

How do Palestinian fugitive bodies experience the borders? What happens at the encounter spaces? What are the spatio-temporal realms of the bodily affectations of borders? Julie Peteet in her essay "Geography of Anticipation and Risk" says: "At these encounter spaces, bodily discipline is self conscious, situated and calculated. Palestinians have cultivated silence and stoic demeanor that alter with anxiety and anger" (99). As Peteet observed the disciplining of the Palestinian body is instituted at borders.

In the narratives by Palestinians, these geographies of risk, humiliation, anticipation and affectation, are crucial as they obstruct mobility and act upon the body to violate human rights like, right to education, right to health care, right to resources and right to social / familial lives. Check points, borders, curfews, closures, road blocks, military check posts, encampments etc., are such "geographies of anticipation and risk" (Peteet 99), that are constitutive and relational. It facilitates Jewish Israeli mobility and constitution of space but at the same time curtail that of Palestinians. "Checkpoint is the linchpin in the matrix of control-of the direction, speed and destination of Palestinian mobility" (Peteet 100).

Israel operates large number of information checkpoints to biopolitically control the Palestinian population. Material devices of security and military operations work together at the bordered spaces. Giorgio Agamben has analysed the borders and politics of space across a global biopolitical terrain. Contextualizing Agamben's idea of bare life to the situation of Palestinian refugees, one can diagnose the operation of sovereign power of Israel.

It is not possible to understand the national and biopolitical development and vocation of the modern state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries if one forgets that what lies at its basis is not man as a free and conscious political subject but, above all man's bare life, the simple birth that as such is in the passage from subject to citizen, invested with the principle of sovereignty. (*Homo Sacer*130)

Agamben says while examining the biopolitical and the bare life. While considering refugees as bare life, Agamben himself makes clear the case of Arendt's suggestion in her essay "We Refugees", where refugee is treated as man of right.

Narratives of Palestine become national discourse along with being personal, social, historical and geographical. The identity of the people seems conflicting with the sovereign concept of Israeli native state as an effect of various border forces acted upon their body, through space, in micro and macro levels, either in the form of waiting or torture or imprisonment. Exemplifying Foucault's observation in this regard, as he says: "The individual with his identity and characteristics is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires and forces" (74).

Bordering measures like checkpoints, funnel traps, walls, fences, road blocks, information devices, and other devices of border controls within the territory and outside of it are so common in the Palestinian spatiality, and they are clearly reflected in the narratives of Palestinians too. Analyzing the checkpoints in a geography of anticipation and risk, Peteet says:

Palestinians have several words for a checkpoint: ma'bara, which means a crossing between two states; hajiz, standard Arabic for a checkpoint; or the Hebrew Machsome (years of crossing the green line to work in Israel has familiarized Palestinians with rudimentary Hebrew). But for the most part, Palestinians refer to check points by their place names – Qalandia, Surda, Hamra, Huwwarah etc., each evoking particular sets of experiences and encounters. (99)

The narratives, while depicting the checkpoint trauma, show that while the body moves from Israeli space to Palestinian space, through a border measure, it

relaxes, loosens up, and relief ensues. But a bitter taste of humiliation is stamped with these move through the borders. Checkpoints and other borders become transit zones, in the Palestinian narratives on daily bases where colonial dominion is inscribed, exercised and practiced on the body. They involve (em) bodied practices. Borders in their homeland make them citizens and infiltrators simultaneously. In present day Israel as Fatma Kassem says:

Those Palestinians who sought to return were instead called infiltrators...This term was widely publicized, appearing in Israeli official records, media and text books as well as in radio broadcasts... This terminology connoted criminality, such that those Palestinians who tried to return home were termed criminals and law-breakers. (105)

The same geographical area, once people inhabited, turn as prohibited space once a border is set by the colonizers- deterritorializing the people. Fatma Kassem narrates the story of women who collectively share the suffering at borders in the form of issues of rights to return. The feeling of helplessness and empathy for others are visible in their stories of loss and in stories of the geographies. The stories that they shared were stories of iteration.

Calamitous checkpoint stories are shared by Suad Amiry on narrating her West Bank experiences. The hours of waiting, the dispossession of ID card that is necessary to live in home land, the illegal driving through the checkpoints etc., are common imagery in Amiry's *Sharon and My Mother in Law*. Amiry's satirical, sarcastic, witty, and funny comments on the absurdities of bordering practices in Palestine by Israel are the means of resisting the borders. The cartography of occupation is clear while she speaks on the nightmarish difficulties in obtaining ID

papers. Her humour as border protest and disgust for the walled -in space are nothing but cross section of crossings, in the everydayness of Palestinians.

Getting to Qalandiya Checkpoint, Amiry writes: "We were given a warm welcome by Israeli soldiers. Because the taxi bringing us from Jericho is not allowed to cross the Qalandiya check point, we had to get out of the taxi and mount our huge amount of luggage on a Karroseh (pedal cab). As we were doing so we heard lots of shooting but could not see the soldiers. That's a nice welcome, I said. All of a sudden we saw an Israeli soldier running through the hundreds of Palestinians waiting in line to be allowed in or out of Ramallah... The soldier kept shooting" (186)

"Check points do two things", says Peteet. "They organize and display the spectacular nature of separation and they monitor and manage the scope and speed of Palestinian mobility" (100). *Daughter of Olive Trees* by Sumaya Farhat Naser reminds the reader that the borders are physically etched presence of bordering the bodies of Palestinians, from their social, personal and professional needs. Sumaya Farhat speaks of the lands of cultivations by Palestinians from which they are not allowed to harvest. Thus economic bordering is also quite common in Palestinian territories. Denial of access to the bodies in terms of security is visible in this act.

Sumaya Farhat caries the reader through the experiences of harassments and waiting at the checkpoints. An excerpt from her memoir Shows:

The inhabitants of the thirty five Palestinian villages round about have no longer any possibility of taking a right road to Ramallah or even Birzeit, which is only few kilometers away... Every morning I watch the people in the collective taxis with their tensed faces on the alert, caring and waiting... A soldier stopped us, demanded our papers...he asked one of the men: How old are you? 'Thirty'. "Are you married? 'No'. Why not? The man answered,

embarrassed: I don't know, I've no money. I've no time either. 'What do you do all day? Answer me: "The man began to cough, blushed turned away.

While the soldier aiming his gun at him, shouted and demanded a convincing answer. (252)

The above quote can be interpreted on the basis of Nail's insights on checkpoints.

Checkpoints are defined not simply by what they allow through or do not allow through; they are also defined by a dramatic increase in the use of information technologies for actively surveying, surveilling and registering the passing traffic. (145).

In the case of Palestinians, the use of these data is crucial for Israelis for inspecting and controlling the bodies on move. Palestine is always witnessing sudden sprouting of check points.

Certain checkpoints act as the information checkpoints where informations are extracted- geographical, biological, political, educational and so on. The person is an "in(fo)dividual" (Nail 198), which is completely operated through various biometrical systems. "Biometrics act as the new biopolitics" (129), Zureik comments. Zureik's further observations will help to understand the situation clearer:

As a suspect minority, the Palestinian in Israel look with trepidation at any efforts to expand the system of population monitoring and registering in the name of efficiency. In their eyes this has the potential to track their movements more thoroughly and store personal information about them in real time. (130)

Borders are the structures built for ensuring the occupation. To Israelis, borders are security measures that detect violence against them, though it is a disguise, and really meant as an apparatus of colonialsm.

These ritualized spaces, borders of various kinds, are encounter spaces for Israelis and Palestinians. One should be reminded of what Peteet says:

The Palestinian body is ordered, surveyed, interrogated, tracked and disciplined where lessons in subordination are preached and subjectivity takes shape and most significantly, the boundaries of the body are violated as the Palestinian is subjected to scrutiny and visualization, and can at any moment be stripped, exposed and man handled making these intimate encounters. (100)

Haddad's reportages from Gaza also convey the consequence of border on bodies. Rather than checkpoints within the State, Haddad speaks more of borders between states. Peteet comments about the 'physics of mobility' in contact zones: "...whereby the colonial occupation estimates at, impossibility for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time" (140). Peteet is carrying this formula further to the physics of mobility in Palestine. She illustrates "the intersection of time and space, and how the obstacles to mobility produce space diluted of natives, space that can be then recategorized and imagined as Israeli Jewish" (141).

Border crossing is a threatening practice for Gazans according to Haddad. Her comments on the crossing of borders are the slices of Gazans' waiting and waiting for hours. She says:

I couldn't help but stay up and watch the end of the Palestine satellite channel ticker marking down the "days till liberation". Or the hoards of journalists and photographers who were massed out Kissufin crossing, waiting for midnight when once golden settle only gates would finally close for good. (68)

She keeps on speaking about the "occupation time" (Peteet 141) at borders and enclaves. Haddad's report on Mawasi Enclave in Khan Yunis is an important one in this regard:

Nearby, Mawasi resident Subhi Astal, 57, waited for Israeli forces to open the Tafah check point. Mawasi a Palestinian enclave within the Gush Katif bloc, has been sealed off from the rest of the Gaza strip for more than four years. Special permits must be obtained to pass the checkpoints. (70)

Crossing is always threatening experience for Palestinian refugees in the refugee camps of Lebanon. Border regimes are fracturing their selves and identity in a new land. They are the group of Palestinians who were denied all kinds of privileges of citizenship, and are always exposed to military confrontation in land and air only in the name of borders, and security recouped with borders. Israeli attacks and Lebanese security checks equally affect on them on tertiary level. There is a trauma associated with Palestinian armed struggle in Lebanon too, though they fight for a good cause, as they say. Refugee bodies in camps are enclaved bodies. Even the structure of camp itself alert the enclaved feeling of space. Refugee bodies are subjected to all kinds of tortures in the name of borders that they crossed. Leila Abdelrazaq in her *Baddawi* says: "They raided the headquarters of all the Palestinian resistance movements, and killed the leaders. Anyone they saw on the street was also killed... The armies have gone...But they leave a mess in the camp" (42). Confinement is visible in the life of young Ahmed in many ways. He is not even allowed to, at least, play freely with the other camp children.

At the army headquarters in Lebanon, near the Baddawi camp, Palestinians are compelled to perform publicly visible "rituals of obedience and submission" (Peteet 101), as an act of settling stage of security, and control. A "self-disciplining body" (Peteet 120) is aimed by Israel creating a sense of shrinking space among Palestinians. Palestinians are reborn on each day on the moment as they get through the borders. At checkpoints there is little privacy as Peteet remarks: "At checkpoints the Palestinian

body is socially profiled, characteristics such as age and sex (and religion) come into play" (124). She is a nalyzing the bodily politics and practices at borders and checkpoints. Bodily search is a common practice at various border crossings. Peteet observes that 2006 onwards Palestinians face the "Civilianization" (120) of checkpoints which included outsourcing to private security companies. Checkpoints become didactic spaces too. "Security personnel can compel publicly repetitive often intimate gendered performances of hierarchy in which Palestinians are both actors and audience" (Peteet 124). Colonialism make the body visible and viable at the checkpoints.

Peteet, while narrating the checkpoint experiences of women, adds the story of Um Fuad, that invite reader's attention to the treacherous ways in which body is weighed by the borders. "Um Fuad, 80 years old, speaks of her first experience of crossing in 1972: we used to come every year ... one time the female soldier made me to take off my clothes even my under wear – all of it" (102). Peteet's analysis of Um Fuad's experience will help the reader in understanding the border practices in the select narratives. "The space of border, its circularity, its opaqueness and its coloniality is acting as structures of socio, spatial controls and leave the natives as 'hypomobile rightness Palestinians" (Peteet 105).

Thus, borders within the spatiality of Palestine, are woven into the human geography of Palestinian narratives. As Soja views: "Text is a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings that are tied together by a spatial rather than temporal logic" (1). The socio spatial geographies in the narrative text has political, demographic, economic, cultural and historical realms, which make a geography within the text along with the history. Spatializing the narratives thus lead to critical human geographies, with its "politisized spatiality of social life" (Soja 2). Texts

provide geographical and 'spatio-temporal subject from which the interpretation of historical geography of cities, regions, states and the world seem possible.

Analyzing the Palestinian narratives, spatiality of the social, aesthetic and cultural productions, would definitely elevate the readers and the texts into the critical postmodern human geographies where every act of living is inseparably related to its geographies too. Geopolitical sites of spatial control and the biopolitical tool to suppress and regulate lives in present day Israel, and in Israeli monitored occupied territories, and in refugee camps outside the Palestinian territory illustrate how the settler colonialism act geographically bordering the minds, lives and the everyday mechanisms of Palestinians. The infrastructural networks erected in the land of Palestine show, how far away the territories are, from putting an end to occupations and also how the bordering of people and places are constituted geographically. Human geography, in the postmodern context, discusses different conceptions of place, space, demography, culture, population, economy eenvironment, interactions and all other human geographical practices on the earth's surface. In refugee studies, especially in the study of socio spatial contextualising of refugees and refugee narratives, human geography play a critical role in providing research outlook about the regfugeeization – since it is mainly arises from the displacement and dispossession.

Refugee narratives mirror the practices on the land, air and water by the settler colonial regimes so as to de-territorialise the natives or forced migrants in a geographical area. Bordering is one such colonial practice with its own conception, history, politics and architecture. "Borders operate as the hidden geographical texts into the earth" (Soja 2). Geography, in general and refugee geography in particular, is evolved as a reaction to continuous practice over land by the settlers. Social, cultural

and political geographies are seen affecting together to give rise to a critical human geography. Thus historical practices have its spatial and geographical illustrations on the land.

Through political geographical practices, like architectures of borders or bordering, urban architecture and re-structuring, a capitalist colonial inscription of land is continually administered by Israel in Palestine so as to make Palestinians devoid of "Spatial simultaneity" (Soja 5). It results in "de-spatialising historicism" (Soja 5) and de-naturalising citizenship. This politicised spatiality of geography creates "structured chaos, improvisation and plastic geography" (Weizman 6) in a colonial fashion. Historicity loses its momentum in the paradigmatic practices over the land, where both the land and people are de-historicised, spatially and temporally along with being de-geographized.

A colonial geography evokes and limits movement, in the form of carceral geography executed through 'borderland' practices. Both Soja and Lefebvre assert the spatiality as a social product and also as a shaping force in social life. As Soja says: "We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatially of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology" (7), refugee geography is a conscious political production by the colonizers.

Borders are Israeli practices to separate Jews and Palestinians in one way and to control the Palestinian population in another way. Borders like walls, fences, checkpoints, road blocks, blockades of other kinds, curfews and flunnels have a geography of their own and have kinographic realms too. They are social, political and economic borders too, along with being geographical border. As Nail puts it:

"They are transcendentally empirical, historical, or material in the sense in which they

describe how several groups of empirical border technologies are related and function as regimes of social motion and division (24). Here lies the importance of geography of border, bordered geography and its kinetographic functions.

Analysing the geography of borders, one can critically evaluate the function of movement and its association with the political ordering of the movement. Borders are both temporary and permanent in the case of Palestinians. Certain flying borders may come at any point anywhere in their journeys. Borders tend to behave as 'Elastic geography' (Weizman 6) which never mean its looseness to permeate the native Palestinians, as Wiezman observes:

The linear border, a cartographic imaginary inherited from the military and political spatiality of the nation state has splintered into a multitude of temporary, transportable, deployable and removable borders synonyms with separation walls, barriers, blockades, closures, road blocks, check points, sterile areas, special security zones, closed military areas and killing zones, that shrink and expand the territory at will. (6)

Borders, thus create an 'anarchic geography' (Weizman 7) that result in continuous erection and removal of outposts, blockades and checkpoints on their own way, changing, blocking and modulating Palestinian traffic in ever differing ways. The elasticity here never suggest the softness or permeability or malleability. But the expansion and contraction of borders on Palestinians and their territories that have their own politics of separation. Thus borders are territorial arrangement to principle of separation.

The geography of the border, or the bordering in a particular geography, has its own structure too. The particular structures erect in the ground in the form of bordering the space create a territory of violence of its own. With the specially built

structures they do two things as Peteet Observes: "They arrange and display the spectacular nature of separation, and they monitor and manage the scope and speed of Palestinian mobility" (100). Thus, it has a geographic function and a kinographic function, being the "site of control" (100). Elaborating on the physical structure of borders of various kinds, Peteet adds: "As physical structures; checkpoints are movement spaces. Filtering and funnelling nodes, where the built environment connects spaces. They are also encounter spaces that are emblematic of cartography of privilege" (101).

Getting through a check point or border is thus an ordeal for Palestinians, not only because of the bodily ordeals that body suffers at the checkpoints but also the structure itself is part of the surveillance or ordering. Palestinian narrators are consciously aware of this plasticity of border and its occupational structures.

Fatma Kassem reports the patrolling at the borders, that is a symbol of added cruelty to the structure of the border: "Salma's use of the phrase, "hunt them down" in her interview, as Kassem says: "Reflects the intensity and cruelty of the Israeli border patrol troops in their treatment of those who sought to return" (91). In Israel, rather than the torturing through erected structures of borders, the military and the State apparatuses are more associated with permanently avoiding the Palestinians from their return to homeland.

Wall, various kinds of security checkpoints and the funnels are the architectures of bordered geography in West Bank. Suad Amiry refers to Qalandiya checkpoint which has a very important role in the disciplining of Palestinian lives. She speaks of mounting on it and getting down with luggage as a practice where soldiers see the persons on mount, being invisible, so that from any point he can shoot if he wishes. Amiry states: "As we were doing so we heard lots of shooting but could

not see soldiers" (185). Thus, the construction of checkpoint is so particular where Palestinians were seen but the visibility of the officers were hidden and saved. She speaks of Wall in many occasions that is erected to strangle the people in a liminal space.

The movement function or "kinopower" (Nail 111) of borders, is important here. The Wall is defensive for Israelis and it is a territorial limit for Palestinians. The huge structure of the Wall limits the entry and the movement physically and also juridically. It is "centrifugal" (Nail 111) in the case of Israelis as it mobilises the Israeli community to its centre and it is centripetal for Palestinians since they detach the Palestinians from it. It regulate the flow of commerce too, for Palestinians as borders block them from performing daily functions.

Kinographically speaking, the borders are making the population visible on the row and on the move. A mobile inspection of the population, with all the biometric details, is made available by the high technological support, even without the knowledge of the passers-by. "What were registered in this way include forms of behaviour, attitudes, possibilities, suspicions-a permanent account of individuals behaviours" (157), says Nail, referring to kinographic function of the police borders (157).

Though the writers speak less about the structure of geography of the borders, they make readers painfully alive about the process of ordering practiced through the borders. Readers can assume the experiences from the shade of words. Haddad has always been through the borders since she is living in and out of Gaza often. She says of Rafah Crossing: "...we say that because, in the end nothing will change. Ultimate control over the border – the only route to the outside world for Gaza's 1.4 millions Palestinians (that off repeated statistics includes Yousuf and me) will remain in Israeli

hands (79). Haddad insists that bordering practice is performed so devilishly. She adds:

The mediating geography of tubes, pipes, wires and corridors that pierce Gaza is an essential mechanism to control and regulate any incoming or outgoing flow to the strip. Infrastructure networks are conceived as an umbilical cord that ties colonized bodies and territory to the colonizer while at the same time enforce a severe and enduring dependency. (89)

Israel also succeeds in creating an image of Gaza as 'terrorist space' so that they are always entangled with wires, and demarcations which permanently make Gazans bordered. Munira's critical narrative about Gaza's Eretz checkpoint, which is quoted by Peteet in her analysis on the checkpoint could also be viewed in this regard:

To go through Eretz is like being part of an experiment on human beings. It is so complicated that the first line I started to go through, I had to ask people four times to get instructions... Like a Kafka story... You face your doors with no directions... You go through another corridor, there are eight doors...

Through the high technology scanning machines, with minimal social interactions everything is modulated.

They can see you at all times, but you cannot see them. (105)

"The immobile infrastructures range from a couple of cement blocks to large sites as Eretz, like international border zones" says Peteet (106). Funnelling people is a structural ordering to control the behavior of the people of Palestine. Peteet's further observations can pinpoint the structure of bordering spaces which are either devised into bigger scanning machines or into enclosed passage ways that can funnel people before they eventually come out into open space. The diagrammatic graphic representations of the military headquarters near the refugee camp of Baddawi, about

which Leila Abdelrazaq's memoir on her father's refugee experience is built also illustrates that the structure of bordering was done in order to geographically limit the refugees with its occupational architecture. An element of terror is painted graphically into her graphic memoir *Baddawi* by Leila Abdelrazaq. Camps and the headquarters become walled spaces that stamp people's life and movement to make them bordered, mapped and disciplined.

"The policy of separation does not only divide Jews and Palestinians, but also creates division between Palestinians" (xv), says Weizman about the stratigraphic separation of Palestinians. Territorial Stratifications are operated through geographical and juridical methods. Physical barriers cut apart Gaza, Jerusalem and West Bank and also separate the native Palestinians from the Palestinians in present day Israel. The Wall of West Bank, fencing in Gaza, settlements in Gaza, East Jeruasalem, and West Jerusalem and in West Bank, special roads for Jews, no-go areas, and other systemic methods of bordering are creating walled-in bordered identities in Palestine.

According to Arendt, "the political realm is guaranteed by two kinds of walls: The wall surrounding the city, which defined the zone of the political; and the walls separating private space from the public domain ensuring the autonomy of the domestic realm" (qtd in Weizman 210). The syntax of architectural, political and social orders link with the physical properties of construction of these bordering spaces and devices.

Palestinians are the victims of the map. They are mapped and at the same time maples community too, since they belong to a tetrritory with no sovereign power.

Map acts as an instrument of power. Israel is mapping power and also powering the map simultaneously. A diachronic analysis of the map of Palestinian territory

(political and geographical) would definitely reveal the territorial changes and the shrinkages of the historical Palestine from the vast area to the strips. Literary discourses paint these territorial power plays, locating the narrative maps in the life of Palestinians.

The tactics and strategies of power used by the settlers to border and map the Palestinian land affect the consciousness and language of the victims. "Tactics and strategies deployed through implementations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organizations of domains which could well make up a sort of geopolitics where my preoccupations would link up with your method" (77) says Foucault while discussing the questions on geography.

As Foucault mentioned, border politics in the form of control of the natives create a geography of anticipation and it raises questions on geography too.

Mushrooming of unseen barriers leave the natives, de-palestinised. Military interventions always leave the scars in the land, and permanently make the territories a fragile State. In order to preserve the national borders and a horizontal status of maps, territory requires limits in a certain order, as Rogers Brubaker noted: "Citizenship is internally inclusive and externally exclusive' (qtd. in Peteet 254). So the limits of the borders are limits of the citizenship. Geographically speaking, these borders instead act as the lines or demarcations that determine the refugeehood, a narrow line between citizenship and non-citizenship.

In the case of Palestine, concept of border is not only the traditional one. But they are part of an ever drawing new and new borders by Israel in the land of Palestine, by annexations that affect native Palestinians everywhere within and outside their territory. Borders create political, structural and territorial fragmentations

whereby Palestinians' right to live in homeland is questioned permanently creating bordered notion of social and temporal spatiality.

Territorial architectural contours and military practices work in a way that the Palestinians are not able to escape from the borderness of spaces. Daniel and Knudsen view the border and the following estrangement:

Once awareness of borders is registered in consciousness, however, it lodges itself permanently there. What is more, this awareness is invariably accompanied by an acute feeling of estrangement and marginalisation". (qtd. in Peteet 129)

The legitimacies of such boundaries are never questioned by the international authorities. They legitimate borders arbitrarily, separate Palestinian from what grounds his personal entities: home, land and place of birth.

Blockades and borders along with curfews and checkpoints make the everyday space of Palestinians. The morphological, physiographical and geographical territories would reveal the bordering of spaces and identities in Palestine, creating a sense of fearful geography or violent geography. It is always characterized with the inside, outside notions. "The quintessential Palestinian experience takes place at a border, at an airport, or checkpoint: in short at any of those modern barriers where identities are checked and verified" (12), says Khalidi in his analysis on Palestinian identity. A biological bio political control, through biometrical examination throughout the checkpoints and terrestrial barriers has instilled a fear of being observed, looked and verified among Palestinians, by which Israel succeeds in observing and monitoring the demographic realm of Palestinian population.

Elia Zureik validates Rashid Khalidi's observation as he says:

Historian Rashid Khalidi captures the generalized feeling among Palestinian of being watched and surveilled. Body searches identity documentation, standing in line four hours awaiting a signal from conscripts in the Israeli army to either proceed are be turned away, are emblematic of the checkpoint experience, which is characterized by dehumanization, lack of sovereignty and overall limitation on free movement. (Zureik 126)

Thus, borders create a sense of discontinuity for the lives of Palestinians. Block is to be habitualized by them through biopolitical and geopolitical practices. Thus, the border politics works in the Palestinian territories. Kassem in *Palestinian Women* exemplifies the border in the life of Palestinians in present day Israel.

The drafting of the new borders by the Israelis fragmented the Palestinian population forcing some of them to become refugees and positioning Palestinians living in Israel in a coercive terminal situation in their homeland. (104)

The trial that Amiry faces in the airport is an example for the typical waiting for hours that every Palestinian must have to go through on daily base as they cross the national or international borders. She says that she was not in the mood to answer "the long list of questions asked by the Israeli officer at Lod (Tel Aviv) airport" (3). Amiry narrates the experience humiliating experience which she has to face:

My anxiety and irritation increased on the young woman at passport control slipped a pink tag into my Palestinian passport. I, of course have no problem either with pink or with being Palestinian. But at that very moment all I wanted was a white tag. As I had experienced many times before, pink automatically meant at least an extra hour with security officers at the airport.

Borders are very much alarming and threatening for any Palestinian. The blocks add to discontinuity in time and in space.

The dynamism of space and time for Jewish Zionist lives reverses in the case of Palestinians when it comes to borders and territorial controls. The objective of bordering is "to suppress, block, delay, or keep still, the flow of Palestinian time" (Jamoul 376), relegating Palestinians to the margins of society by seizing control of their spaces, places and time. Borders suggests static geography, an inertia on the land. This stillness in life creates a stillness in minds, so that Palestinians are controlled, ordered and observed. While Israel aims at expansion of territories and settlements through spacio-cide and urbicide of Palestinian territories, borders are erected to shrink Palestinian space. Peteet observes: "Palestinian space shrinks, time slows and mobility constrained" (99).

Along with the disciplining of consciousness and memory, the disciplining of movement and behavior are made into practice by the border regime. Palestinian is always under a "civic gaze" (Zureik 113), and it is instituted through border practices. With the Wall, checkpoints, fences, watch towers and segregation barriers in the back ground, to mention the panoply of high technology surveillance machinery, researchers point out that the permit regime is best viewed as the "intersection of carceral (body) control, mobility and bio politics" (Parsons and Salter 721). Apart from regulating the bodies, borders work for systematic confiscation of land too.

More and more spaces are securitized on daily base, so that new borders may arise at any place. Allison Brown observes: "Check points and road blocks are often unpredictable in terms of the time it will take to pass, and because flying points could be set up at any time" (qtd. in Weizman 176).

Sumaya Farhat Naser, signifying the road blockades, says in her *Daughter of Olive Trees*:

In normal circumstances it took me half an hour to travel the sixteen kilometers to my office in East Jerusalem, when I worked, in the Jerusalem Center for Women until 2001. But now it often took an intolerable two hours, because there were several check points to get through. (1145)

Sumaya Farhat's office was exactly at the al-Ram check point between Jerusalem and Ramallah. She could observe what was happening at the checkpoint from her desk. Farhat continues on her personal experience at checkpoint: "At the first checkpoint, for example, we had to get out and continue on foot, whatever the weather, a distance of up to a kilometer, depending on where the nearest soldiers were standing (1199).

Stephen Graham observes the "three dimensional gaze of the Israeli Defence Force's high technology surveillance system and weaponry" (70), at the checkpoints. Graham's observation helps in expounding Farhat's border discourse. She says: "Everyday hundreds of people have to walk past, watched by heavily armed soldiers and a tank...The atmosphere in the buffer zones between the checkpoints is charged with anger and humiliation" (405). Farhat's words add to the intensity of checkpoint tragedies of bordered lives of Palestine.

Laila EI -Haddad, in her book *Gaza Mama* elucidates the pain at checkpoints, enacted by soldiers upon Gazan:

Haddavi's friend has not seen her sister who lives in Ramallah for five years now because of travel ban. The most she can do is exchange family photos through her personal blog and talk on the phone- Even though they are only one hour apart, the moon may as well be closer! (105)

This is the case for almost all Gazans. Haddad comments of everyday space of Gazans as something filled with thicket of physical, corporeal barriers of all types and sizes (Checkpoints, roadblocks, blockades, fences, walls, steel gates, roads prohibited to traffic, concrete cubes) by way of a frequently updated assortment of bans and limitations (159). Haddad's last blog reports from Gazan city comes on June 2007, before she leaves for North Carolina in July 2007. She speaks of her exhausting but gripping memories of crossing the Rafah border. She says:

We spent the grueling hours on the crossing along with thousands of other Palestinians, desperate to either leave or enter the strip. Busload after busload, entire families and their children and spouses were clinging to the ceilings, crushed inside or piled on top of the luggage in back. Some fainted. At one point hundreds of anxious passengers, each following the advice passed down along the Rafah-crossing...Crossing closed...We returned to our home in Gaza city exhausted demoralized, and dehumanized. (237)

Border stories are irritating threatening and they are stories of humiliations and human rights violations. Haddad's words clarify it as she says: "The Gaza whose gates were closed shut just after we had left it and whose gates remain shut to more than 6000 people, 19 of whom died so far"(238).

Eyal Weizman's study of architecture of occupation thoroughly examines architectures of borders and the politics behind it. He proves that how Article X was conceived, in the meeting of Israeli and Palestinian peace bureaucrats in 1993 September in Oslo, that agreed upon and designed the most complex architectural products of the occupation. Weizman says:

"It is concerned with the interfaces between varieties of differently defined territories, in particular the border connections between the outside world and the areas handed over to limited Palestinian control. The architecture of the terminals connecting these territories sought to resolve the structural paradox that resulted from the seemingly contradictory desire to enable the functioning of Palestinian autonomy while enabling Israel to maintain overall control of the security. (138)

The structure of borders are thus facilitating Israel's overall invisible control. All the passengers and Palestinian police officers were in turn invisibly observed by the Israeli security officers. "Between 1994 and 1999 Israel installed 230 checkpoints and imposed 499 days of closure", says Weizman (143). The on/off valves of road blocks and checkpoints and the effectively shifted road networks added to the architecture of blockades. Everything through the border was regulated. The labour, goods, energy and waste, along with the civilians.

Borders thus become the illegal spatial and ideological apparatus of Oslo which morphologically divided geographies creating "geographies of eviction" (Davis 165). Seemingly it helps to manage the settlers and Palestinian inhabitants.

According to a report prepared by OCHA – the UN office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs:

...the policy of these traffic restrictions comprised a system of 528 physical obstacles. During one week in December 2006, OCHA researchers registered 160 new flying checkpoints and an extra 38 kilometers of roadways that also fenced off to prevent use by Palestinians. (qtd. in Weizman 146)

These barriers worked in creating a new geographic, social and economic reality of segregation in Palestinian territories. Without encroaching to the cities, towns and villages and without making much violent forces, Israel could monitor the flows of native humans and could modulate it. Seemingly it is built for the relief for

Palestinians, in the disguise of help. But the main aim of these territorial system is to "dominate and manage the Palestinian lives" (Weizman 146).

The geography of Palestinian lives is thus characterized with barriers that include permanent and partially manned checkpoints, roadblocks, metal gates, trenches, flying or mobile checkpoints, and all of which were operated according to a frequently changing assortment, bans and limitations. Weizman mentions an organization of women, dedicated to monitoring human rights abuse at military checkpoints, titled as Machsom (checkpoint) Watch which had reported the humiliation caused by checkpoint systems. The report speaks of:

"the delaying of the sick, the elderly, and infants needing medical care, the births and deaths occurring on the hard border, the manner in which circulation regime penetrated and violated every aspect of Palestinian daily lives, delaying, humiliating, and exhausting people in a daily struggle to survive, attempting, as they claimed, to make Palestinian political resistance beyond their capacity to undertake. (qtd in Weizman 147)

The omnipresent border system and its intrusive nature to govern the entire spectrum of Palestinian life under occupation is widely discussed by the Palestinian writers.

At times the road is completely closed and the people are shut up in the buffer zone for hours. Anyone who tries to walk round the checkpoints risks getting shot at. Anyone who tries to help people who get hurt, runs the same risk. (405),

Sumaya Farhat Naser says, pointing to the conditions in the West Bank. Weizman clearly examines the various barriers splintered the West Bank into a series of approximately 200 separate sealed-off territorial cells around Palestinian population

centres, with traffic between these cells, channeled through military controlled bottlenecks. "It is difficult to put into terms what it means when a territory of 1.5 million people's only passage to the outside world is closed for most of the time and open for only a few meaningless, infuriatingly slow hours when it is open at all" (237), Haddad's reports on borders at Gaza are also equally frightening and distressing. Weizman gives an account of structure of the Qalandiya checkpoint about which Suad Amiry and Sumaya Farhat Naser keep on speaking in their memoirs. Their memoirs show how disturbing and disgusting the experiences are. The construction was completed according to the principles of Spiegel plan, at the end of 2005. Weizman explains the new system:

...includes a labyrinth of iron fences that channels passengers en route to

Jerusalem via a series of turnstiles...All commuters must go through five

stages. This entire process is captured by a dense network of cameras, and the

passenger is given instruction via loudspeakers. (151)

The high security system and controls over borders leave Palestinian Authority and territories under a "Prosthetic sovereignty" (Weizman 155). The system is giving chances for Israel to play all their dirty politics over borders. Israel operates them under the impression of crisis management and securitization by which they are able to claim international acceptance too. It is through this regulation of international aid, under the disguise of security, that Israel still controls, regulates and modulates the Palestinian economy and in effect, life in Gaza, Jerusalem and in the West Bank. The Wall is constructed through entire West Bank area to separate the Jewish settlements and present day Israeli cities from Palestinian cities and villages, which was also announced as "anti terrorist fense" (Weizman 172), that is temporary. This temporariness gave the wall, a legal permit for Israel. In terms of Israel, the elastic

property of the wall and the temporariness of it, defined the wall, as seemingly "ad hoc but actually strategic security measures and is very justification for the suspension of state budgetary constraints and the allocation of massive funds for the purpose of security" (Weizman 173).

As Amiry reflects on the Wall: "Leila and I were driven alongside the Wall which totally surrounds Qualqiliah. We learnt that 45 percent of the town's land and nineteen of its wells are now out of reach, i.e., on the 'other side' of the wall" (191). She further continues: "...Even though it was the end of October, villagers had not been permitted to harvest their olives yet" (192) Amiry's words indicate the social, spatial, and economic walling of Palestinian territories and lives which leave them bordered and mapped within the struggle of living in a mapless territory.

Spatial continuity and spatial fragmentation, as Lefebvre, Foucault, and Gregory observe and Edward Soja restates are social products and often an integral part of the instrumentality of political powers. Mode of production is not so simple since it is operated through series of continually planned production and reproductions on the geohistorical realm of the space aiming at an "institutionalized citizenry" (Soja 126). Social and spatial structures are dialectically intertwined in social life, not just mapped one into the other, as categorical projections. Borders and barriers, being such projections that work horizontally and vertically on the geography of refugees and all inhabitants of Palestinian in various occupied territories, are embodiment of powers-socio-spatial- which create a violent geography which is affective and relational.

Understanding of borders in refugee lives and literatures of Palestine would make the reader aware of how spaces are made to hide the Israeli extravaganzas on Palestine. Such an understanding elaborates, how relations of power and discipline are

inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology. Borders are erected on the ground seemingly allowing Palestinian authority to modulate their people but are always under the invisible control of Israeli military regime exposing the natives not only to the biopolitical realms of Zionist government but to the "necropolitics" (Zureik 112) or "thanatopolitical" (Ghanim 6) rule also. Natives are controlled with biometrical apparatus as ordered, disciplined, monitored and examined before they pass through and in certain cases even shot at.

A kind of so called democratic exclusion (Zureik 117) is employed on the ground of Palestine by the territorial controls whereby the discontinuity of motion is equated with the discontinuity of lives, emanating a carceral geography where bodies are always exposed to bodily demarcations and humiliations. Borders have an "illusion of transparency" (Soja 124) and also an "illusion of opaqueness" (Soja 122). But it separates through the "power-filled and problematic making of geographies, the enveloping and instrumental spatialization of society" (Soja 7).

Borders, walls, checkpoints fences, roadblocks and other architectures of separation turn the lives of Palestinians into bare life where they are ordered not to question but to pass silently to continue their movement and life. Agamben views refugees as Homo sacer. He associates this "inclusive-exclusiveness of bare life with social form of life (bios)" (Agamben, *We Refugees* 4) which he has mentioned in his essay, "We Refugees" whereby refugees are considered as controlled and manageable objects.

At the same time, the cultural and political realms of human geographies in the select narratives of Palestinian contemporary activists and writers definitely question the ontological concepts of bare life through the socio-spatial narration that unveils

the politics of everyday lives and affective geography that every Palestinian has to walk off. The memory of borderless space, the crossing of walls and checkpoints, the reporting of everyday checkpoint melodrama, the illegal driving, readiness to wait for hours at the checkpoints and to cross borders, and the detailed narration of ordeals in checkpoint are the forms of counter (border)narrations which remind the world about the borders and need for opening the borders. The portrayal of affective geographies in the texts open discussions about the walled- in identities of Palestine, and help one to explore "the variegated postmodern landscapes of critical human geographies" (Soja 61) in Palestine.

Borders sink into the "spatio-temporal structuration of social life" (Soja 127), as an everyday reality in the series of mutations on the land inscribed by the Israeli regimes. In Palestine, land becomes mutable too. It acts on the Palestinian state apparatus to politically control the bodies and curtail the movement. Thus, the chapter has explored the ways in which borders act upon the geographies of Palestine to control the bodies and the land, various architecture of occupations erected and maintained by Israel in Palestine, and the powers operated at the borders through the critical interpretation of human geography of select Palestinian literatures which clearly shed light to the geographical, political and historical realms of bordering the space of Palestine. "The Wall starkly etches into the landscape unmistakable lines of inclusion, exclusion, difference, repression and privilege" (Weizman 67). By bordering the space Israel aims at these exclusions that the Palestinian narratives try to un-wall through their counter border narratives.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

Location as Character:

Relocating the Palestinian Fugitivity through Literature

Refugeehood and refugeeization have regional, national and global dimensions. Massive human displacement and forced expulsion from the land, by means of power, are always challenges for human rights, national sovereignty, citizenship and the global peace. Refugeehood has historical and contemporary dimensions. Hence, in the modern times the issue of refugeeization is geopolitical and biopolitical in nature. This socio-political scenario has opened up new interdisciplinary area of study as refugee studies in the wake of post 1980s. At the same time, as it is observed in this thesis, the label refugee and related labels are increasingly used to marginalize, exclude, differentiate, and to restrict humanitarianism as Roger Zetter has viewed.

Despite the enormous growth in humanitarian concerns with all their diversities- as assistance and as human rights legislations-the global community, though not fully, has failed to provide a satisfactory and a permanent response to the basic rights to the large number of refugees and forcibly displaced people. The world of refugees is unlikely to recede. By publishing rigorous and well founded research, a positive and progressive take in this urgent humanitarian issue can be configured globally. So, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, researches in refugee studies, to some extend, help in placing their issue in the mainstream of academia and in framing better theoretical backdrops so as to help in refugee repatriation.

Recent developments in academia have problematized the term refugee, and

varied forms of refugeeness like emigrants, migrants, internally displaced persons, exiles, expellees, economic refugees, development refugees, humanitarian refugees, stateless persons, environmental refugees, government assisted refugees etc. The contributions of Roger Zetter and Richard Black towards the refugee studies are highly remarkable in this regard. At the same time, as discoursed in the second chapter, there is a lack of proper theorizations that would cover the complexity of the refugee issue and the global refugee crisis. As Bobby Thomas Cameron has rightly opined the complexity of refugees and refugeeness due to their different socio economic statuses - psychological, mental and physical - make a grand or meta theory difficult even if possible. As it is viewed in this chapter such a complexity of refugeehood calls for a multidisciplinary theory in refugeehood and refugeeization.

As mentioned above, a single theory encompassing all the socio political, cultural and geographical realms of refugee lives and refugee expressions, seems difficult and hence, there is a need for more theorizations in this emerging field of study. The birth of refugee studies has no definitive starting point. Malkki and Chimni B. S have debated the emergence of the field of refugee studies in some details. Professionalization of pro-refugee studies and researches appear to be emerged in the post-World War era that abstracted the term refugee and its varied contours in social and academic dominions. The ontological-epistemological orientation of the term refugee has led to the disciplinary discourses called refugee studies, and thus the institutionalization of the refugee studies was materialized during 1980s. Academic institutions, centered on refugee studies like Centre for Refugee Studies at York University and Refugee Study Centre at Oxford University, etc., were also emerged as a result of it. More policy oriented researches have been carried out there. Studies have also been undertaken in the area of explicit and implicit, hegemonic or power-

monopolizing policies and exclusionist approaches towards asylum seekers and refugees. An institutionalized "refugee protection regime" (Thomas 8) also came into force, with the establishment and activities of various national and international organizations for refugees. UNHCR and UNRWA are some important initiatives just to mention. Though it travelled a long way these theorizations, pro-refugee practices, policies and researches, the labelling of refugees and distinguishing of refugee and non-refugee are still posing unresolved questions in the academic world and in the socio-political realms that reverberate in many ways.

There are many distinct groups of vulnerable individuals, as various refugee communities for whom the established theories and support systems would not work, to make them fit to live safely with the dignity of a human being. It is seen that many such groups are outside of the legal protection of the 1951 definition of Refugee Convention. This is to be brought under the purview of more researches. Palestinian refugee community within the Palestine and outside of the historic Palestine is one such group, who are still on the margins of citizenship and nationhood. Integration, repatriation, return and resettlement are still at risk that aggravate the complexity of their refugeeness. Such a scenario leaves more latitude for research on Palestinian refugees. Hence, as explored in the third chapter of this thesis native Palestinian aesthetic and cultural expressions have a greater role to play in enhancing an empirical research on this vulnerable group, along with the other qualitative and quantitative researches on them. With that understanding, this thesis has explored the problematic of Palestinian refugees, their spatiality and fugitivity in the post millennial era, taking the narratives - non fictional and fictional - of contemporary Palestinian women writers culled from diverse geopolitical locations, as the source of the study.

In 2018, Palestinians across the world marked the seventieth anniversary of their Nakba, the Arab word, meaning the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948, which refers to the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland. With the establishment of the state of Israel on 15th May 1948, in the land of Palestine, 85-90% of Palestinians within the territory of self-proclaimed Jewish state, were forcefully cleansed out, and many of the Palestinian towns, cities and villages were also destroyed, declaring the ethnic cleansing of people and places in territory. This permanently resulted in creating geographies of dislocation and memories of dispossession that have been continuing till date.

The year 2018, witnessed the Great March of Return to Palestine by the natives, to ascertain their right to city and right to homeland in the midst of Israel's refusal to admit, Palestinian refugees' right to return. What Israel practices is a clear violation of the 1993 Oslo accords. It can be seen that Nakba was both central to establishing a Jewish state in the first place and is the foundation on which today's system of discrimination and exclusion have been built.

The lack of proper theorization of refugees, the politics of labelling Palestinian refugees and less-developed institutionalization of Palestinian refugee studies are some of the major academic concerns of the day, which demand democratization of refugee researches and studies. Palestinian societies were the subjects of various research inquiries and many aspects like demographic, political, social, anthropological studies etc., were employed by the efforts of various academic platforms as Centre for Palestine Studies, Columbia University, Institute for Palestine Studies etc. UNRWA's support for the registered refugees are important but not covering all the refugees, who are either non-registered or non-labelled. More prorefugee establishments are to be figured out and more multidisciplinary researches

have to be undertaken to educate and to mainstream this longstanding Palestinian refugee issue. Even after 25 years of Oslo accords of 1993, the border and status of Palestinian state, the claims and repatriation of Palestine refugees and the IDPs, and the dispossession of East Jerusalem are becoming more and more complex.

Aesthetic productions and literary and cultural expressions by the Palestinians, and the researches on native Palestinian voices are more significant today, within the problematic of refugee studies. The unabated voices of Palestinians, through their literatures reflect that none has been as pressing and tangible as the problem of land for them. Analysis of Palestinian women narratives is carried out so as to examine the everyday lives of Palestinians and to explore the conditions of fugitivity that every Palestinian has to live through, in the post-colonial world order, irrespective of the identity and status. The contemporary Palestinian life, seen through the literary geography of various texts set in various Israeli occupied refugee locations, formed the primary base of this study. The socio-cultural and political spaces written into the texts are analyzed with the help of theories of space, memory and border that mark the spatiality of individuals in the contested lands with the arrested, kidnapped and the forbidden history. Refugee space and its varied dimensions in the literary writings of women are researched with the help of theoretical supplements in the area of refugee and space/ location studies.

A distinct theoretical array, to read and interpret the refugee literatures and to explore refugeeization, covering the multidisciplinary aspects of the area, is lacking though the disciplinary discourses of refugee studies had emerged in 1980s. At the same time, the exclusionist approaches against refugees, IDPs, stateless and the exiles in the literary narratives can be understood in the light of critical postulations on refugeehood. Moreover the issues of spatiality, memory, history, border, sovereignty,

citizenship, refugee identity and various other aspects can also be analyzed with the theoretical underpinnings like space studies, historiography, border studies, social memory, sociology, etc. and the thesis has examined them through the critical exploration of select narratives.

As Palestine is a postcolonial colony with the illegal ongoing settler colonialism imposed by Israel, the theories of post colonialism is insufficient in contextualizing the refugee crisis. So, the recent theoretical developments in space, place and human geography are used in this research to interpret the primary texts, formulate the knowledge and to conceptualize the findings. They include some concepts of social production of space theorized by Henry Lefebvre, some theories of human geography formulated by Edward Soja, the idea of the theory of the border by Thomas Nail, some of the critical postulates and ideas discussed by Ilan Pappe, Noam Chomsky, Nur Masalha, Julie Peteet, Sari Hanafi, Rima Hammami, Elia Zureik, Georgio Agamben, Rochelle Davis, Eyal Weizman etc., are used as critical sources for the interpretation of the literary texts of select women writers of Middle East.

In order to analyze the global refugee crisis and the Palestinian picture of refugeeization some of the critical frameworks in the area of refugee studies, problematized and popularized by Roger Zetter, Richard Black, Ilana Feldman, Lila Abu Lughod, Leila Farsakh, Malkki, Chimni, Edward Said, Raja Shehadeh, Rashid Khalid, Penny Johnson, Rosemary Sayigh, Fiddian Qasmiyeh etc., are employed.

Palestinian literary voices are framed in between the geographical dislocation and assertive literary relocations. The writers are trying to relocate themselves and their people by remapping the forgotten histories and memories through their narratives in a cartographic plane. A parallelism between the cartographies of the dispossessed minds and dislocated maps can be seen in their works. Thus, literatures

by the Palestinians become the literature of space or location as they exhibit the colonial present. In addition, the geopolitical continuity of loss of place is unveiled in the Palestinian writings. Nakba is central to the Palestinian literary imagination. The writers, instead of being nostalgic of the land, question the logic of the demographic exclusion. The writings furnish the cross section of Palestinian society, even after decades of Nakba, which evoke fugitivity among natives in varied form.

On the basis of the aesthetic literary exploration of select refugee narratives and with the framework of above mentioned theoretical and critical theories, the research entitled 'Location as Character: Fugitivity Voices in the Selected Middle East Women Writings' formulates various findings on the issue of refugee spatiality, memory, border, geography and the interconnectedness of fugitivity in specified locations.

Palestinian literary responses to forced depopulation, dispossession, ethnic cleansing and cultural erasure have been diverse, complex and protean. The post Intifada literary face of Palestine has witnessed a spectacular revival of aesthetic and cultural productions, in various literary genres - traditional ones as poems, short stories, novels, etc. and non-traditional ones as blogging, diary reports, films, photographic documentation, visual history narrations, oral narrations, graphic memoirs, etc. - produced by the exiles, refugees, IDPs and other expellees, in the form of a counter literature that aim at the refuting of Israeli erasure and omission that eradicate the Palestinian practice in the native land.

Hence, location is the central aspect in the native literary experiences and practices whereby the writers are trying to relocate themselves culturally, socially, geographically and politically in midst of exiles and exterminations, and Israeli appropriation of the land of Palestine. It seems that Palestinians are moving the

history forward. As Israeli authorities are engaged in refashioning the cultural, social and geographical infrastructure of the location, with various micro and macro level powers exerted on the land, leaving the natives as people of itinerary, the Palestinian writers are trying to assert their right to land that has been denied for them for decades. Reassertion of the land and claims of inclusion are strongly advocated by these writers in general.

While dealing with the socio-cultural aspects of daily life of Palestinians, the writers selected for the study, have vividly portrayed various aspects of location, through their literary geographies. The texts exhibit a space – a social space and a cultural space. The texts carry a history and a geography. The writers paint a refugee space into their texts thorough the day to day realities on the ground. Various aspects of spatiality as place, memory, history and border are taken into consideration while researching the locations and human geography of Palestinians in the narratives. The research draws one's attention to the current challenges faced by the displaced in the land of permanent goodbyes which are present-absentees. While narrating estrangement in own land, the writers are dealing with various ramifications of refugee geography. The cities and places compiled by exiles over exiles provide the geographical platform upon which the texts are built. Refugee geography in the literary texts is interwoven with the space and memory within the bourgeoning of borders.

The texts select here for this research which are set in different locations as present day Israel, West Bank, Gaza, Lebanon etc., together reflect the ongoing spatial apartheid in Palestine. The obliteration and the distortion of the land reality and the mutations on the land in the form of Jewish settlements, expulsions and evictions of natives are recurrent themes discussed by all the select writers here.

These themes are explored by foregrounding three major characters of locations in texts as spatiality and spacio-cide, memory and memoricide and border and bordered human geography.

Space, as observed in the fourth chapter of this thesis, acts as an interdisciplinary nexus of inquiry in the context of Palestinian refugee identities and writings. Literary texts, selected in this project narrate, examine, construct and create space into it. Refugee narratives become the spatial narratives, dealing with space as visual character rather than it being mere settings of the texts. The spacio-cide, urbcide, ecocide and domicide, practiced by the Israeli military, find their space in the literary texts here. As the select women writers narrate through their memoirs and stories, ethnic cleansing, de- Arabization, Judaization, Hebrization and Ghettoization of the cities are the ongoing projects that are forcefully practiced by Zionism in the lands of Palestine, for the total homogenization of the cities and refashioning of them. Human beings are turned as immobile matters, devoid of identity and dignity.

Mobility is entangled with the space in Palestine today. Through various forms of spatial surveillance, Israel is practicing the territorial apartheid in the village and cities of Palestine. Palestinian writers are engaged with the reassertion of space and homeland through their voices.

Israeli colonial project is spacio-cidal. It works through three principles like principles of colonization, the principles of separation and the state of exception. As Ilan Pappe focuses, Zionism has secularized and nationalized Judaism. The narratives clearly illustrate the ways of ethnic cleansing imposed by Zionist Israel on the natives through a number of plans like plan A, B, C and D as methodologies of cleansing of Palestine and Palestinians. The zonal divisions, implemented by Israel, acted on the native Palestinians that turned them into static beings, who are unable to make their

daily living. Kassem's expression of "bint-al Balad" meaning the daughter of city while referring to Palestinians in the present day Israel, Amiry's journey to Jaffa- her homeland, Farhat's activism for the peace in Jerusalem, Haddad's reports on continuous demolitions of Gaza and use of unmanned drones in Gaza, Aya Rabah's portrayal of Palestine as a permanent scar, Leila Abdelrazaq's mention about city of Safsaf which was eternally lost for her father and her grandparents etc., are some literary reflections of space and spaciocide in Palestine.

Memory becomes the mode of habitation as discussed in the fifth chapter, when the land limits people and their mobility. The writers deal with the conscious and brutal activity of memoricide which has been implemented. Through the complete demolition of land, home, cultural heritages and all that remind the Palestinianness in their homeland. Researcher could perceive that remembering the people, places, street names, rituals, practices, commemoration of Nakba catastrophe and Naksa war of 1967, collective memory of community living, and the military brutality and threatening activities of Israel have socio-political dimensions in the context of cultural memoricide. The "social memory of Palestinians" (Masalha 2) in their writings acts as a tool to overcome the memoricide. Even the refugee body, villages, cities and home act as the sites of memory whereby writers insist on the counter memory as a mode of resistance during the ongoing practices of memoricide. Writers assert the de- memoricide and memorialization as techniques of preserving memory and identity in the midst of (be) longing a lost land of their own. The texts, selected here celebrate the rituals of memory to defend the Israeli modes of memoricide. Researches on gendered memory of Palestinian women, in Sabalan Lyd and Ramleh of the present day Israel, as seen in Kassem, travelling to historic cities of Ramallah, Jaffa and Nablus as seen in Amiry, Preserving and narrating the stories of land as seen in Sarah Ali, blogging the reports of murders of young little girls in schools to keep the memory afresh as seen in Haddad etc., are some examples for acts of de memoricide by native Palestinians.

It can be viewed that the contemporary literatures of Palestine transform trauma, loss and dispossession into their personal, social and collective memories, with political undercurrents. The modern Palestinian memoirs are inherently politicized. It is true that the technique of storytelling and commemorations have key roles in safeguarding the interests of the land. Remembering is synonymous with identity and belongingness for the writers. Thus, as examined here in the light of several excerpts, memoirs and stories facilitate the cultural re-mapping of concrete Palestinian shared identity, which has been persistently "unmapped" (Salaita 92). Memory is associated with illegitimizing the settler colonial practices in their land. Memories act as dialogue between past and present when Israel is trying to insist a 'pathologised memory' (Zureik 116).

As conversed in chapter six, the Israeli colonial over ambition to make the Palestinians dispossess the land and its memory, reaches its zenith through the various architectures of occupation as borders, checkpoints, curfews, road blockades etc., to impinge them in a violent geography. Palestinians question the dialectics of border and bordering them in the homeland. Bourgeoning of borders and the Palestinian waiting for hours at the border security checks are unavoidable reality, both in their literary and geographical space even if they try to create borderless literatures. Bordering acts as a form of necropolitics and thanatopolitics, turning the natives as mapped and bordered identities. Palestinian existence is circumscribed by occupied immobility for those in homeland and exiled immobility for those in Lebanese refugee camps.

The question, here, is the legitimacy of Israel to fix and define the borders for Palestinians, in their homeland and, whose borders or which borders are to be followed by Palestinians, being a community exiled in their homeland. Is it 1948 border? Is it the 1967 one? Or is it the one forged by Oslo accords in 1993? The ever shrinking geographical location of Palestine and the border practices has found their way in the literary geography of the natives.

The geopolitical turn in refugee studies and refugee literatures have opened up new scope for a close reading of refugee geographies of contested lands in the texts. Palestinian refugee women narratives illustrate clear reflections of the cultural turn of human geography while critiquing the violent and affective geographies of Palestine. Conceptualizing the carceral geography of Palestine as "elastic geography" (Weizman 6) and as "plastic geography" (Peteet 125), the women writers, selected here, representing various locations of Palestine and Lebanese refugee camp, succinctly encapsulate that how far the Palestinians are strangled in bordered spaces that are characterized by eviction and extermination of natives. Palestinian writings are veritably saturated with the concept of human geography validating Soja's observation on postmodern geographies: "Life stories have a geography too" (2). The historic-cartographic approach to Palestinian literary expressions showcase socio geographical bordering of Palestinian spaces in their homeland is practiced through various "architectures of occupation" (Weizman 2) as borders, blockades, curfews, tunnels, walls, settlements etc. As the above mentioned writers articulate, a panoptic system of surveillance plays a role in circumscribing human movement.

Fatma Kassem reveals the story of bordered identities, in the present day Israel, who are unable to acquire residency cards since they are from 1967 borders. Amiry makes the readers alert about the curfew days and the frantic behavior of

natives to grab homely needs while curfew was lifted for some hours. The intensity of checkpoints is clear while Amiry says: "a ten minute drive under normal circumstances takes four to five hours" (185). Sumaya Farhat's reference to ID card regime in West Bank and the coloured immobilities of the natives which were imposed at checkpoints, and Haddad's reportages on the trauma and anxiety of Rafah border crossing are clear portrayals of bordering of Palestinian native space and geographies. When Nour-al Sousi hints at the rarest chance of getting out in her story "Will I Ever Get Out" and when Leila Abdelrazaq describes encampment of children in refugee camps, readers are again and again made conscious of the limology of Palestinian space, and its literary expressions. Israel's heterophobia and impulse to separate the natives from themselves and from Jews are monitored through the border practices. Amiry narrates on the hundreds of checkpoints that every Palestinian has to cross on daily basis.

Pushing at the wall with her hands, in Rawan Yaghi's story "A Wall" is emblematic for Palestinians' dream to un-wall their spaces and borders that permanently cause the social, geographic and economic strangulations. Borders become the site of bodily disciplining too. Palestinian body is controlled, monitored, weighed, observed, disciplined and surveyed at the borders, through the border apparatuses created by Israel, in the disguise of security and safety of natives. Peteet's remarks conclude the bodily practices at borders well, when she says: Checkpoint is the linchpin in the matrix of the control of the direction, speed and destination of Palestinian mobility" (99). Amiry's description of crossing at Qalandiya checkpoint at the gunpoint, Farhat's descriptions of military trials of natives that make them humiliated on the roads to Ramallah and Birzeit, Haddad's portrayal of midnight waiting of journalists at Kissufin crossing, Leila Abdelrazaq's description of

continuous raids at the enclave of camp space of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebabon, and Kassem's stories on women in present day Israel who are secluded from families are finest examples for expressions of border politics.

Borders, as Nail observes, reproduce a kinopolitics and kinopower, since they are built for territorial limit. Hence, along with geographic realms, borders have kinographic realms too. Borders make "civic gaze" (Zureik 113) possible for Israelis and thus individuals turn to be "in(fo)dividual" (Nail 65), since Palestinians are de humanized and demoralized at the borders, extracting more informations about the natives. Creating "physical exclusion of Palestinians" (Weizman 155), Israelis are aiming at "institutionalized citizenry" (Peteet 126). While borders sink into "spatiotemporal structuration of social life" (Soja 127), Palestinians are trying to overcome it through their literary narratives and aesthetic productions that are distinct markers of their counter border narrations.

As it is made clear by select women narratives, through their problematisation of Palestinian refugee space and geography, readers can perceive that expelling the indigenous people from the homeland through forced displacement and through permanent cleansing by issuing various military measures on the ground, have been Israeli editions of settler colonialism in Palestine that continue in the most devilish form even today. Land is central to this age old human right violation and is also forming centrality for Palestinian narratives even after seventy years after Nakba. Thus, Palestinian villages and cities were purged off their native Arab residents. Nakba was in 1948, and the catastrophe is continuing, leaving immense scope for post truth reality. Palestinian spaces tell the stories of ongoing Nakba. "Israel has domineered on the ground, leaving only 22% of the land to native Palestinians" (Lentin 145). All the native claims have been brutally devastated by various practices

as jailing, confiscation of properties, demolition of homes, mass masscres, distorted media reports, confiscation of books and imposition of various laws on them that make them strangers in own land. Through spaciocide, urbicide and memoricide Palestinians are de historicized and have been catagorized as "invented people" (Holt 121) on the land. People live the life of seventy years of shattered dreams. The Nakba and the stunning silence of the aftermath of that catastrophe are echoed in their literary repertoire's expressions of fugitivity. Writers selected here come out with their "narratives of interiority" (Farag 103), creating a clear demarcation from the conventional style of writing, which is central to Palestinian women literary idiom.

The primary thematic concern among these women writers is fugitivity in homeland which is depicted with profound interiority of the daily life in Palestine and in the refugee camp. Theme of fugitivity intersect with space, memory, history, gender, border, mobility, war, home, belongingness and, authorship in between these conflicting scenario. These writers have an agenda of sensitizing the reading public about the conditions of fugitivity in which the authors themselves, the characters and the whole natives are born into. Hence, there is no divide between author's location, and the location of the text. These women writers become the staples of Palestinian literary productions. Writers, selected here, act as embodiment of locations through their memoirs. While they write on every day aspects of life, the locus of criticism shifts from politics to daily life. They come out with socio spatial dialectic of Palestinian refugee locations through their texts. Dialectic of memory and politics of being in a fractured land are explicit in their writings. One can view these women authors have crafted their textual narratives between remembrance and forgetting. Narratives of memory and dispossessions that impede, enable, critique and complicate the possibility of belonging in a violent geography. Ruins of Nakba and the ongoing

occupation are strewn, throughout their narrations, on past and present. Instead of being nostalgic of ruins, their introspective meditations on ruins of Historic Palestine turn their narratives as re-reading of ruinations or a post truth reality of their culture, history and space within the visceral rejection of Israeli history of Nakba.

Integrating themselves with the realities within the contradictions of so-called national belonging in Palestine and re locating themselves, through the narratives of hope and re building, Palestinians make their literal dwelling alive while physical sites are effaced. Thus these narratives evolve as narratives of dislocation, dispossession, history, body, memory, hope, regeneration, exile, home, belonging, and thereby as narratives of fugitivity. Statistically speaking, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics says 42% Palestinian population are refugees. But what about the rest 58%? Are there Palestinians who live as full citizens in an approved nation state? In a territory where political existence is denied, in a territory with no map of its own, in a territory where citizenship is always under threat, how can a full citizenship be possible? Only those registered with UNRWA are counted as refugees. But invoking the narratives of women writers selected here – both fictional and non-fictional- one can see that, no writer is depicting a free Palestinian citizen. It suggests that all Palestinians are refugees, better to say that they are experiencing refugeehood within their homeland and in the camp outside of it. Whether Palestinians who live in their own homeland are to be addressed as refugees is another question to pose, since the term refugee carries a strangeness. May be that is why most of them never wish to be called as refugees, as Kassem says in her Palestinian Women: "While I referred to all of the interviewees as refugees, in contrast they never used this term to describe themselves..."(61).

As Kassem puts it in Palestine and in the present day Israel they are not

refugees, though they live as refugees. Hence in this thesis the term fugitivity is used to decipher and designate the refugeeness experienced by each and every Palestinian in their homeland and in the present day Palestine. Literature act as the window for natives, for expellees living in various refugee camps outside Palestine and for third or fourth generation Palestinians who live in various parts of the world, to "overcome the rippling sorrows of estrangement" (Said, *Reflections on Exile* 14) and to narrate the refugee locations and geographies that they are bound to live in.

Fatma Kassem's life stories of first generation Nakba victims convey broader socio cultural understandings on fugitivity in the various cities as Lyd, Ramleh, Sabalan etc., of Palestine that are in present day Israel. Being a (Palestinian) citizen of present day Israel, Kassem, like many of her interviewees, was humiliated and was questioned about her competence as a researcher by the officials in Ben Gurion University. Palestinian women in Israel live under a self-enforced silence as a result of their disastrous experience in 1948, "in order to survive and rebuild their families and homes" (Kassem 79). With a feminist life story methodology, she depicts the Palestinians in present day Israel as the ones who are straddling between citizenship and outsiderness. Women, interviewed by Kassem, memorise history through the body where male body is "vulnerable, victimized, hanged, killed, expelled, imprisoned signifying the failure in public sphere whereas female body comes as a site of memory and resistance" (Kassem 78). Excavating the life stories and potent narration of women, against university's attempts to silence her, Kassem through her Palestinian Women evokes multilayered meanings of Palestinian fugitivity in present day Israel.

The fugitivity of Palestinians in West Bank is clear in the memoir of Amiry, Sharon and My Mother in Law: Ramallah Diaries, while she narrates the life in Jaffa, Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron and other cities of West Bank. The intensity of refugeehood which is continued for generations has been brought through the life stories of her mother -in- law, husband, parents, cousins, neighbors and herself. When Amiry says: "I was born in Damascus, grew up Amman and studied in Beirut. All of a sudden it hits me that my familiarity with Palestine came only through my parents' recollection and my scattered memories" (17), the picture of fugitivity is conveyed. Amiry characterizes the land as one with permanent goodbyes, curfews, blockades, military checkpoints and borders. Her portrayal of Nablus' historic quartet (164) and demolition of 420 Palestinian villages (166) are some points to mention here to narrate the fugitivity of/on the land.

Sumaya Farhat Naser also encapsulates the fugitivity in West Bank of Palestine with special focus on East Jerusalem, within the arena of contestation of the location, in her memoir *Daughter of Olive Trees*. Being a Christian Palestinian in West bank who advocate peace through women's organization called "Jerusalem Link", Farhat Naser mediates between Israeli and Palestinian women. Contemplating on present day life, Farhat says: "When I was a child it seemed quite natural to me for us to visit our capital, Jerusalem...Today for the nearly three million refugees who live on the west Bank and in the Gaza strip, Jerusalem is almost out of reach" (418), which summarises fugitivity in the city of Jerusalem well.

Gaza's isolation and strangulation, that have turned the location into the biggest open air prison, are made intense through the portrayal of politics of life and parenting in Gaza by Laila El-Haddad in her *Gaza Mama*. The pain, agony, hatred and dejection are clear in her words: "We carry Palestinian Authority passports (passport to where? What good is a passport that cannot even get you back to home? We are residents of Gaza) and we have nowhere to return to now" (240). It is a fact

that children of twelve years have experienced three wars in Gaza. The fictional writings, as the short stories by Gazan writers like Sarah Ali, Aya Rabah, Rawan Yaghi, Nour al- Sousi, Sameeha Elwan, Hanan Habashi, Shahd Awadallah etc., also depict the cross section of Gazan reality. The endless waiting for the father by Tha'er, the pushing of wall by narrator in "A Wall", the depiction of a scar which is inescapable in "The Scars" by Aya Rabah, are some metaphors used by the writers to suggest the permanent impermanence in Gaza that symbolically represent homeland as what Rana Barakat says: "Palestine is a dream away" (qtd. in Johnson and Shehadeh 93).

Palestinians are never treated as citizens in Lebanon. Leila Abdelrazaq's graphic memoir *Baddawi* is drawing the picture of camp spatiality and fugitivity in Lebanon, well. Palestinians are given citizenship in Syria, Jordan and Egypt but it is denied in Lebanon. Though many of the families left for new lands during 1948, with the hope that they could return within three or four days, could not return for decades as it is happened in the case of Ahamed, Abdelrazaq's father, and his parents.

Thus, fugitivity in various locations are explored mining the contemporary reality through the literary excavation. Women, unlike being mere nurturers in family, transform into various roles to tell the stories of lives. Kassem being a researcher, Amiry being a lecturer of architecture, Farhat being a peace activist, Haddad being a media reporter, Leila Abdelrazaq being a cartoonist and graphic memoirist explore the city and the lives. Women as mothers, mother- in –laws, grandmother, researcher, student and activist narrate lives. They have devised different linguistic and artistic methods in their counter narratives to cope up with the realities of location and fugitivity.

Kassem's research on Nakba victims to generate the stories of women,

Amiry's "illegal" driving to her hometown and other cities, Farhat's demonstrations to declare the right to city, Haddad'd parenting and blogging daring the consequences, Leila Abdelrazaq's graphic representation of Palestininanness in her text, Aya Rabah's and Rawan Yaghi's capacity to preserve and narrate the stories of Gaza back to the young generations, are illustrations of modes of resistances to cope up with the absurdities of fugitivity in their homeland. Examining the narratives of fugitivity, it can be observed that, abundant use of Arab words, memorizing Arab city names, use of wit, and humour as a disruptive strategy, travelling through the cities, occupying the land, naming the children after the city names, commemoration of land day, cooking Palestinian dishes in the refugee camps, waiting for hours at the borders, planting more olive trees, preservation of heritage towns etc., are acts of decoloniality in their narrations.

While people with arrested histories and contested lands narrate their conditions of fugitivity in homeland, writing becomes politically conscious account which take the shape of life narratives. Writers claim the "lived historicity" (Mehta 461) within the political and geographic fault lines. The prismatic charting of landscapes of occupation evolve as life generating narratives that convey intergenerational status of lives in and outside Palestine ranging from the first generation women's experience of Nakba to third or fourth generation young lives.

Locations/contested lands merge with the intimate experiences of the author, narrator and the character so to become the textual locations. Land is in the backdrop of all fictional and non-fictional writings, selected here for this thesis. Authors themselves are fugitives and authorship is act of defending fugitivity. The concretization of "text as experience and experience as text" (Mehta 460), is evident in writings so that there is no divide between text's topography and Palestinian geography or texts' intimate

familiarity with lands' topography. Thus, location is not a setting for the characterization instead it is the character itself.

Focusing the narratives of women who are working in the grass root level, this research aimed at the knowledge production in the area of refugee studies and is done to avoid the exclusion of women from collective memory of Palestine and from historical documents. Hence charting (m)others' voices is also a conscious act.

Literary articulation of selected women to the critical corpus of refugeehood would hopefully contribute to the ongoing studies of refugee crisis.

The locations are limited to certain cities and villages in the present day Israel, different occupied Palestinian territories and a refugee camp in Lebabon which is the limitation of the thesis. Moreover the empirical analysis is made based on the women's texts though gender is not prime concern of the study, which is also a limitation. Thesis leaves scope for further researches as theorizations in the field of refugees and refugee studies, global refugee reform, specific aspects in Palestinian literatures as theme of return in their literature, refugee camp spatiality, parenting, intersections between language and refugeehood, agricultural intersections in refugee literature, Nakba narratives, girls' memory on land, grandma stories of land etc. Expansion and inclusion of palimpzests of more theoretical approaches concerning Palestinian experience from the vantage point of refugee researches are to come out.

Hence, Palestinian women writers, wherever they belong-whether inside or outside of Historic Palestine-have their locations written into their texts both in fictional and non-fictional narratives. The select writings of Palestinian women belonging to various locations, solidify Palestinian locations and refugee geographies into their literary geographies so as to replicate the fugitivity in the land.

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