

A Member of the Council of American
Overseas Research Centers

PARC

PALESTINIAN AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER

PROMOTING PALESTINIAN STUDIES AND SCHOLARLY EXCHANGE ON PALESTINIAN ISSUES

Letter From the President

Major positive changes are occurring within PARC. We are transforming our leadership structure from a Steering Committee to a 12-member Board of Directors. This change reflects PARC's growth into a viable organization and its increasing support within the international scholarly community. The new structure will give a larger role to our university members and provide greater opportunity for the broader involvement of our members in our future programs.

The Board will be comprised of a combination of appointed and elected members. Omar Kader, CEO of Pal-Tech Industries, who has been a key member of the Steering Committee, has agreed to serve as treasurer, and Jillian Schwedler, associate professor of political science at the University of Maryland, will be secretary. Jillian played a major role in redesigning and improving PARC's Internet presence. I will be president. Representing our university members will be Charles Butterworth of the University of Maryland, Dina Khoury from George Washington University, and Charles Smith for the University of Arizona. Don Peretz, Ellen Fleischmann, and Eugene Rogan will serve as appointed directors. The Board is still "under construction," with elections to three positions currently underway. The

results of these elections will be announced at PARC's annual business meeting on November 23 (see box for details).

Coming soon after PARC's acceptance into the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC), the change in our leadership structure dramatizes our evolution as an organization. Membership in CAORC has strengthened our relationship with other international centers and assisted us in our continuing fund raising efforts.

As our transformation unfolds, I extend PARC's thanks to our retiring Steering Committee members – Michael Fischbach, W. Benson Harer, Rashid Khalidi, and Mark Tèssier – who gave of their time and talents during PARC's developmental years. PARC also owes a debt of gratitude to Joe Seger, former president of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), and Mary Ellen Lane, director of CAORC, both of whom served as advisors. Indeed, it was Mary Ellen who conceived of the idea of a center for Palestinian studies and who has, since its inception, given it invaluable support.

Also leaving PARC is Palestine Director Mouin Rabbani, who has moved to Amman, Jordan, to analyze Palestinian politics for the International Crisis Group. Mouin will maintain involvement with PARC on the Palestine Advisory Board.

Replacing Mouin is Penny Johnson, a highly-respected scholar and long-time resident of Palestine. Penny brings to PARC's overseas office a wealth of administrative experience along with her dedication to Palestinian issues. I have known Penny for many years and believe that she will be a major asset to PARC's presence in Palestine and the region and that she will be an excellent resource for our fellows.

Our fellowship program continues to be a focal point for PARC's efforts. This year we awarded nine research fellowships, whose projects you can read about in the following pages. Five of the awardees are profiled more extensively in this issue. I am particularly pleased that, despite the difficult situation in Palestine, our fellows have continued to conduct their research.

continued on page 3



Last meeting of PARC Steering Committee, July 18th, 2002. STANDING, L TO R: Joe Seger, Omar Kader, Dina Khoury, Jillian Schwedler, Charles Butterworth. SITTING, L TO R: Philip Mattor, Don Peretz, Ann Lesch

From the U.S. Director's Desk



Ann Lesch

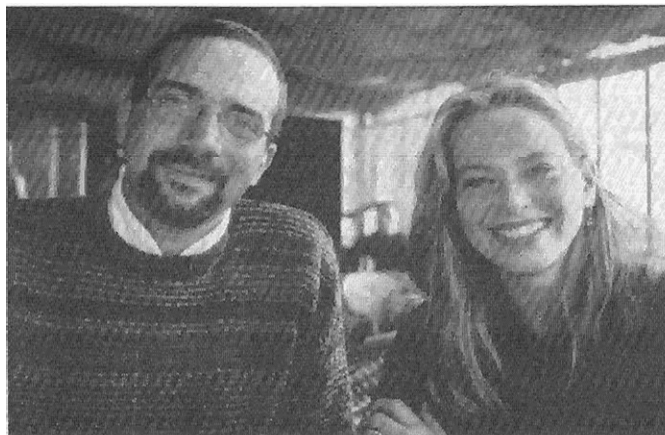
The Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies at Birzeit University hosted a conference entitled "Palestine at the Crossroads" in mid-May 2002, less than three weeks after Israeli tanks pulled out of Ramallah. I was privileged to participate in this conference, which provided an opportunity for Palestinians—joined by scholars from France and the United States—to reflect on the political implications of Israel's devastating reoccupation of the entire West Bank. Over and over Palestinian participants stressed the need for clear strategic goals, for basing resistance against occupation on international legal and moral principles, and for fundamental political reform. The failure to follow those precepts, in their view, had undermined the Palestinian struggle and provided the Israeli government with the excuse—and the international support—to re-impose its military control and attempt to crush Palestinian political structures and civil society.

Palestinians reiterated these themes throughout my eighteen-day visit, shocked and angry at the collapse of even limited autonomy and frustrated by the spiral of self-destructive retaliatory violence. In the midst of this anguish they sought to repair their physical environment and cope with profound psychological stress. Intensive counseling of children, traumatized by the loss of any safe space, was taking place alongside efforts to resume schooling and work. But towns and villages were hermetically sealed off from each other, making it impossible for people to reach their jobs and their classes and deepening the economic and social crisis. Behind peoples' brave fronts, a friend commented, "this experience has completely transformed us inside."

I appreciated peoples' willingness to take time to talk to me in the midst of these difficulties. Mouin Rabbani and I met in Ramallah with PARC advisory board members and grantees Lori Allen, Gail Boling, Yousef Daoud, and Khaled Furani. Since Mouin could not travel outside Ramallah, I met separately with advisory board chair Ibrahim Dakkak, advisory board members in Bethlehem and Gaza, and grantees Daniel Monterescu, Shira Robinson, and Haim Yacobi. I also visited with Sy Gitin, director of the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research, a fellow member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC). The latter meetings enabled me to hear the concerns of American and Israeli Jews who seek through their research and personal efforts to work with Palestinians toward a just future.

I welcomed the opportunity to talk to Penny Johnson about joining PARC as the new Palestine director, since Mouin was moving on to a new position with the International Crisis Group in Amman. Penny's deep knowledge of academic research in Palestine will be invaluable to PARC as it embarks on its fourth round of fellowships and creates a "virtual library" on its Web site. (Later in June I participated in a CAORC meeting in Tangier, where PARC was encouraged to develop a strategy to assist Palestinian archivists to digitalize the catalogues of their research collections and also to

continued on page 3



Khaled Furani and Lori Allen

2002 PARC STEERING COMMITTEE

Officers:

Philip Mattar, *President*
Omar M. Kader, *Treasurer*
Jillian Schwedler, *Secretary*

Members:

Charles E. Butterworth
Dina R. Khoury
Don Peretz

U.S. Director:

Ann Mosely Lesch
Manka Azefer, Assistant to Director

PALESTINE ADVISORY BOARD:

Chair:

Ibrahim Dakkak

Members:

Salah Abd al-Shafi
Suad Amiri
Jamil Hilal
Hiba Hussein
Bashar Masri
Mouin Rabbani
Nadim Rouhana
Jacqueline Sfeir
Raji Sourani
Lisa Taraki

Palestine Director:

Penny Johnson

P.O. Box 1839, Ramallah
Phone & Fax: 02-298-9979

Palestinian American Research Center Newsletter Fall 2002

Ann Mosely Lesch, *Editor*

Donna P. Geisler, *Writer*

Linda N. Evans, *Writer*

Graphic Presentations, *Design & Layout*

Geoff Hartman, *Webmaster*

This newsletter is published twice yearly, spring and fall, by the Palestinian American Research Center. Material for publication in the newsletter may be submitted to the U.S. office: PARC, c/o Political Science Department, Villanova University, 300 Lancaster Avenue, Villanova, PA 19085-1699.

PARC does not guarantee that any materials submitted will be published in its newsletter or in any other publication under its control. Publication by PARC will be determined solely by its officers and directors on a space-available basis.

Phone: 610-519-7712

Web site: www.parcenr.org

Letter from the President (cont. from page 1)

All of our fellows are provided with the latest State Department warnings about traveling to and in Palestine, yet they persist in their travel and research in the region.

PARC continues to be successful in raising money to support its fellowship program and is working to secure funding for the development of an on-line archive for researchers. Our membership continues to grow thanks to the tireless efforts of Ann Lesch, our U.S. Director. Ann has provided the energy and momentum not only for the increase in membership and administrative activities, but also for much of the fundraising, and deserves our gratitude for bringing us this far.

The continuing support of major funders such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the U.S. Department of Education has given PARC a platform from which to grow. We are also pleased that we expect to receive funding for the first time from the Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the U.S. Department of State for our fellowships. We still need to diversify funding sources and increase financial support to PARC if we are to continue to fund our programs and grow. The involvement and support of our members – both individual and institutional – is paramount to our continuing success. We urge you to help us expand our membership and build our financial base through your membership pledges and contributions to PARC. We welcome your involvement and your input as PARC continues to fulfill its mission to establish a premier international scholarly center to promote Palestinian studies.

—Philip Mattar, President, PARC Board of Directors

From the U.S. Director's Desk (cont. from page 2)

create in-depth research nodes on the PARC Web site. We hope to launch these efforts this winter.)

Soon after my visit, during which I also evaluated 22 Ford Foundation grants to Palestinian NGOs, the Israeli army again seized control over all the West Bank and imposed lengthy curfews on its cities. The Ministry of Education struggled to schedule high school seniors' *tawjihi* examinations during the brief curfew breaks. Universities' spring semesters extended well into August, their schedules profoundly disrupted. And a U.S. government-funded assessment revealed that closures, curfews, and lack of income had created shortages in food availability and affordability that amounted to a humanitarian emergency. Through all this, Palestinians struggle to retain and realize their aspiration for freedom. And PARC remains determined to contribute to strengthening Palestinian academic life and to foster research that promotes a more profound understanding of the Palestinians' complex history and painful current reality.

—Ann M. Lesch, U.S. Director

Penny Johnson Takes on PARC's Palestine Directorship

Penny Johnson has accepted the directorship of PARC's Palestine office. Johnson brings to PARC extensive experience as an administrator and scholar, as she joins PARC's ranks as its newest director.

Johnson, who hails originally from the U.S., has lived in Palestine for the past two decades. "Penny is very well-connected in Palestine, and brings a wealth of experience to our organization," says PARC's president, Philip Mattar, who knows Johnson primarily through his work as editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, which published some of her writings over the years.

Johnson has been affiliated with Birzeit University for the past eight years in a number of capacities, first as assistant director of the Women's Studies Program, and more recently as an independent researcher at the Institute of Women's Studies. Her recent publications include "Perpetual Emergency: The persistence of poverty and vulnerability among Palestinian camp populations in Jordan, Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza," 2002 FAFO (Institute for Applied Social Science) Oslo, and (with Eileen Kuttab), "Where Have All the Women (and Men) Gone?: Reflections on Gender and the Second Palestinian Intifada," *Feminist Review* (December 2001).

In addition, she is an experienced communications professional who has worked as an editor, communications director, and public relations director. She will undoubtedly enhance PARC's visibility in the region. "Penny is well-respected in Palestine for her accomplishments with NGOs and for her scholarship in Palestine Studies," says Mattar. "We are delighted to have her on board."

PARC 2003 – 2004 Research Fellowship Opportunities

Palestinian American Research Center (PARC) is accepting applications for pre- and post-doctoral fellowships for scholarly research into Palestinian-related topics for the 2003-2004 academic year. Fields of study and historical time period are open.

Fellowships may range between \$4,500 and \$6,000, with a possible additional \$1,000 for travel expenses.

For application guidelines, contact Ann M. Lesch, U.S. Director, Political Science Department, Villanova University, 800 Lancaster Ave., Villanova PA 19085 (610/519-7712; email parc@villanova.edu). Download the application form and guidelines from PARC's Web site: www.parccenter.org

APPLICATION DEADLINE: February 15, 2003.

2002 – 2003 PARC Fellows Named

Dr. Thomas Abowd defended his dissertation in anthropology from Columbia University in April 2002 and spent the summer in Amman conducting post-doctoral research funded by the American Center for Oriental Research. He began teaching anthropology at Temple University this fall. His dissertation focused on Jewish-Arab relations in Jerusalem from 1948 to 2000. His support from PARC will enable him to go to Jerusalem in the summer of 2003 to complete his analysis of “Jewish-Arab Relations and the Spatial Dimensions of **Everyday** Life in British Colonial Jerusalem, 1917-1948” as a background section in his book manuscript.

Dr. Frank Afflitto, former assistant professor of justice studies at Arizona State University, wants to work with Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem researchers on “A Pilot Study Applying Spatial and Ethnographic Perspectives to Understanding Root Causes of Violence in the Palestine-Israel Conflict.” His study will apply GIS techniques to analyze violence by the Israeli armed forces as a tool of social engineering that restructures access to land and resources.

Dr. Yousef Daoud, economics professor at Birzeit University since 1996 and director of its M.A. program in economics wants to use Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics data to analyze a range of variables concerning the lower participation of women than men in the labor force, even in instances in which they have comparable levels of education. This research on “The Gender Gap and Returns to Schooling in Palestine: An Empirical Assessment” will also enhance social science research at a leading Palestinian university.

Dr. Amal Jamal, assistant professor of political science at Tel Aviv University since 1998, wants to examine the roles that the Palestinian press inside Israel plays in constructing identity and contesting political space through his research entitled “The Politics of ‘Minority Media’ in Ethno-National States: The Roles of Arab Media in Israel.” He will interview journalists and conduct a poll to assess the Arab public’s attitudes toward the press.

Ms. Laleh Khalili, a Ph.D. candidate in political science at Columbia University, is conducting research in Lebanon entitled “Citizens of an Unborn Kingdom: Stateless Refugees, Commemoration and Contention,” focusing on political participation among Palestinian refugees and, specifically, their construction and deployment of commemorative practices in order to articulate a collective memory and collective demands. She has been living in Burjal-Barajneh camp, and is using PARC funds in order to return to the camp next winter for a short period to complete her field research.

Ms. Mezna Qato is a Ph.D. candidate at St. Antony’s College, Oxford, supervised by Professor Eugene Rogan. She is currently in Jordan conducting research under an ACOR grant. She will use PARC funds to conduct research in archives in Jerusalem and Haifa for her dissertation on Palestinian historiography from 1948 to 1964, the period of Jordanian rule over the West Bank. In her work, “Narrating the Catastrophe: Counter-Nationalism and Palestinian Historiography,” she will examine how Jordanian and Palestinian

common and combative interests were articulated, looking at personal papers, memoirs, leaflets, and school textbooks.

Ms. Shira Robinson, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Stanford University, supervised by Professor Joel Beinin, is examining the question of agency on the part of Palestinian citizens living under Israeli military rule through her study, entitled “From Palestinian Subjects to ‘Arab Minorities’ and Back Again: A Social History of Palestinians Under Israeli Military Rule (1948-1966).” PARC supported her final months of field research in the summer of 2002.

Mr. Musa Abdel Karim Srour is a graduate of Birzeit University and a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Provence, supervised by Dr. Randi Deguilham. His research is on “The Process of Transformation of the Pious Foundations (Waqf) Towards Private Property in Jerusalem, 1858-1917.” He wants to examine the sijils and other documents in the Jerusalem Sharia Court, al-Haram al-Sharif, Ministry of Awqaf, and Khalili library to study the transformation of waqfs into private property in Jerusalem. PARC will support his archival research in Jerusalem this winter.

Mr. Haim Yacobi is completing his Ph.D. in geography at Ben Gurion University under the supervision of Prof. Oren Yiftachel. His research on “Urban Ethnocracy: The Construction of a City and Identities” is focusing on Lydda/Lod as a contested city, examining the interrelationships of power, identity, and space. He used PARC funds to examine materials in the British Library and the Royal Institute of British Architects’ archive that provide important background concerning British planning for and policies toward Lydda during the Mandate period.

In the event that additional funding becomes available, PARC has designated the following alternates to receive funding:

Ms. Gail Boling, J.D., Legal Studies Institute, Birzeit University, seeks in her post-doctoral research on “The Limits of ‘Material Impossibility’ and ‘Legal Impossibility’ as Bars to Restitution” to assess how to create mechanisms for compensating refugees and to establish standards that could be applied to Palestinian return, restitution, and/or compensation. PARC funds would enable her to study records in The Hague and Geneva, not only related to Palestine but also to post-World War II compensation cases in Europe.

Mr. R. Michael Bracy, a Ph.D. candidate in history at University of Arkansas, supervised by Prof. Joel Gordon, seeks to study the construction of national identity by examining the career of Isa al-Isa and his *Filastin* newspaper in his project, entitled, “Isa al-Isa, *Filastin*, and the Odyssey of Constructing a National Identity.” He has examined the *Filastin* issues that are available at the University of Chicago library, but he needs to access the complete file of *Filastin* in Beirut as well as Isa’s unpublished memoirs.

Topics of Interest at the MESA 2002 Conference

The 2002 Middle East Studies Association conference will be held November 23-26 at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. The following is a list of conference sessions and papers relating to Palestine studies. * indicates PARC fellowship recipients, † indicates PARC board or committee members

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24 8:30-10:30AM

Palestine in Comparative Perspective (NP01)

Chair: CHARLES D. SMITH, University of Arizona

GORDON PEAKE, Oxford University

Policing Peace: Learning from Experiences in the Palestinian Authority and Kosovo

REX BRYNEN, McGill University

Reconstructing Afghanistan: Lessons from Donor Assistance to Palestine

ROBERT BOWKER, Australian Defence College

Palestinian Refugee Political Mythologies and UNRWA

UMUT UZER, University of Virginia

De Facto State versus Quasi-State: A Comparison of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Palestinian National Authority

PARC Panel: Views of the Other in Israeli and Palestinian Textbooks

Sunday, November 24 at 8:30AM

This year's PARC panel will present five views on the current state of textbooks used in Israeli and Palestinian primary and secondary schools. With education viewed as central to building a conflict-free future for these two peoples, how textbooks represent Palestinians and Israelis takes on an important focus.

Both the Israelis and Palestinians are in the process of re-writing school history texts – a project that is fraught with political controversy for both groups. One panelist will examine the efforts by “new historians” in Israel to recast the Zionist narrative in a more critical light. The remaining four panelists will look at such concerns as the politics of Palestinian textbooks, their actual contents with respect to depicting Israelis as “the other,” and how they promote values supportive of democracy and mutual tolerance.

Dr. Philip Mattar, president of PARC's Board of Directors and a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, will chair the panel.

Chair: PHILIP MATTAR, United States Institute of Peace

FOUAD M. MOUGHRABI, Qattan Foundation

The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks

ISSAM NASSER, Institute for Jerusalem Studies

Overview of Palestinian Textbooks

NATHAN J. BROWN, George Washington University

Debating Palestinian Democracy: The Effort to Write a New National Curriculum

RUTH FIRER, Hebrew University

A Comparative Study of Israeli and Palestinian Social Studies Textbooks

ILAN PAPPÉ, Haifa University

The Silencing of Critique: The Case of History Textbooks in Israel

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24 2:00-4:00AM

ROUNDTABLE: Where is the Palestinian Problem Heading in the Post-September 11 Environment? (RT002)

Sponsored by the Institute for Palestine Studies

Chair: SALIM TAMARI, Bir Zeit University

CAMILLE MANSOUR, University of Paris

†RASHID KHALIDI, University of Chicago

RAEF ZREIK, Harvard University

KHALIL HINDI, Brunel University

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25 8:30-10:30AM

Perspectives on the Israel-Palestine Conflict (NP16)

Chair: MIRNA LATTOUF, Arizona State University

FRED SCHIFF, University of Houston

Abu Nidal: Ideological Limits of Secular Palestinian Nationalism

ALLISEN BETH HODGKINS, Northeastern University

Consolidation of Identity and Power: Understanding the Short Life of Yassir Arafat as a Partner for Peace

KATHERINE E. ZIRBEL, Columbia University

Activism and the Reconceptualization of the Palestinian-Israeli Struggle

Arabs in America (NP43)

Chair/Discussant: AMANEY JAMAL, Columbia University

DWAN KAOUKI, Loyola University Chicago

Living in the Satellite Bubble: Media, Identity and Community in Palestinian American Chicago

JULIANE HAMMER, Georgetown University

Palestinian-Americans between Palestinian, Arab and Muslim Identities

LOUISE CAINKAR, University of Illinois-Chicago

The Effects of the Aftermath of 9/11 on Palestinians in the US: Further Exclusion?

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25 10:30AM-12:30PM

Minorities Inside Israel (NP30)

Chair: Steven C. Dinero, Philadelphia University

IBTISAM IBRAHIM, Asch Center, University of Pennsylvania

Divisiveness along Religious Lines: Israel's Differential Policies in the City of Shafa-amr, Western Galilee

MARION BOULBY, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Israeli, Islamist and Feminist?: Current Impacts on All Fronts

SHERRY R. LOWRANCE, University of Texas at Austin

Ethnic Mobilization in the Jewish State:

The Role of Palestinian Identity in Arab Protest

Haim Yacobi Examines the “Settler Society” in Israeli Mixed Cities

An architect and Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Geography at Ben-Gurion University, Haim Yacobi is focusing his research on contested cities in Israel, using Lod (formerly the Palestinian city of Lydda) as a case study.

“My argument is articulated within two theoretical fields,” Yacobi says. “The first relates to the contested meaning of citizenship in multi-ethnic societies, and the second relates to the theoretical urban criticism.” Both are examined within a wider theoretical framework of “settler society.”

The term “mixed cities” is widely used in Israel to describe an urban situation in which ethno-national communities share the same urban space. Yacobi contends that the occurrence of mixed spaces in Israel results from historical circumstances that proved the complete Judaization of the Israeli national territory an unattainable mission. Accordingly, his research will analyze critically the way in which such contested urban spaces in Israeli mixed cities are produced. “I suggest that these urban phenomena originate from the exclusionary Israeli-Jewish national identity and from the construction of hierarchical citizenship, which are based on ethnic belonging,” he says. His research will focus on aggression and oppression on one hand and minority resistance on the other. “Both have produced these urban landscapes,” he contends.

Yacobi says his research aims:

- to analyze the way in which the ex-Palestinian city of Lydda was transformed into the “mixed city” of Lod dominated by Jewish inhabitants
- to expose the way that ethno-national dominance is used as a tool for shaping daily spaces of Palestinian citizens in Israel
- to analyze the spatial meaning of minority protest and resistance vis-à-vis hegemonic oppression in the urban context
- to conceptualize theoretically the interrelations between power, identity, and space within the urban arena
- to develop a qualitative methodology for urban analysis

Yacobi recently traveled to London on his PARC grant to conduct archival research at the British Library, Royal Institute of British Architects Archive, the Palestinian Exploration Fund, and the Public Record Office. His research has also included conducting interviews with Palestinian and Jewish inhabitants of Lod.

Located at the edge of the coastal plain of Israel, Lydda was occupied by the British in 1917, and they invested intensively in developing the city. The year 1948 was the city’s turning point. The Israeli army occupied the city and its 20,000 inhabitants escaped or were forced to leave. The need for labor and specific professionals, such as railway workers, was Israel’s reason for allowing 500 Palestinians to remain in the city, which was renamed Lod. After the establishment of the Israeli state, the Palestinians were moved to an area

surrounded by a wire fence. Under constant surveillance, the daily lives of the Palestinians were controlled, including their movement and their right to work. “Thus every aspect of this population’s life was – and still is – under surveillance including education, social services and above all – spatial planning,” he adds.

Yacobi notes that since the 1950s “waves of Palestinian ‘internal refugees’ have settled in the city.” Today the Palestinian population of the city has grown to 21 percent, or about 14,500 inhabitants.

Yacobi found that two areas in Lod are dominated by Palestinians. These segregated enclaves are the locus of the Palestinian citizens’ daily lives “and reflect the debate concerning city space and citizenship as theoretically discussed.” Lacking basic infrastructure, the spaces are characterized by massive informal construction. According to Yacobi’s estimation, “65 percent of the Palestinian population in the city lives in ‘illegal’ structures.” As in other mixed cities in Israel, “this demographic flow embodies political, cultural, and economic tensions that are expressed spatially. In the city of Lod, within the same city, two separate ‘places’ exist.”

Policy toward the Palestinian citizens of Lod, Yacobi says, has not changed over the years. “They are still the enemies, subjects of spatial and demographic oppression.”

Yacobi contends that this spatial organization of the city is not a natural process reflecting solely economic differences. “Rather, it is integrated into unequal urban niches that spatially express power relations,” he asserts. “These segregated battlefields are the locations in which struggles for the right to the city take place. Hence, understanding the patterns of segregation in housing, economic activities and everyday life is tightly linked with the analysis of minority-majority power relations.”

The relevance of Yacobi’s work has become apparent, notes one of his former teachers, Ronaldo Ramirez of University College, London, “as the extreme rigidity of housing solutions – that tend to ignore the social and cultural peculiarities of minority groups, migrants, etc. – has led to an enormous waste of resources and serious social conflicts in many countries.”

Associate Professor Oren Yiftachel, chair of the Department of Geography and Environmental Development at Ben-Gurion University, argues that Yacobi’s research has uncovered “a vast pool of original, primary material.” Yacobi received a bachelor of architecture degree from Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem and a M.Sc. in international housing studies from University College London. He teaches a course on urban development at Ben-Gurion University and is a lecturer at the Academy of Art and Design. He formerly worked as an architect for St. Yves Human Rights Organization on a self-help housing project for the Jahelin Bedouin tribe.



Haim Yacobi

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25 4:30–6:30PM

Elite Change in the Arab World, Part II (PO28)

Chair: ROCHELLE DAVIS, University of Michigan

†Discussant: ELLEN FLEISCHMANN, University of Dayton

ABIGAIL JACOBSON, University of Chicago

Living Together in One City and One Country: Intercommunal Relations between Sephardi Jews and Arabs in Ottoman Jerusalem

SALIM TAMARI, Bir Zeit University

Biography and Identity: The Demise of Confessionalism in Two Jerusalem Lives (1910-1938)

ROCHELLE DAVIS, University of Michigan

Nationalizing Education: The Arab College in Jerusalem

KIMBERLY KATZ, University of Notre Dame

Legitimizing Control in a Built Environment: Jordan's Renovations of Jerusalem's Holy Places

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26 8:30–10:30AM

Transition, Civic Engagement, and National Discourse in Palestine (NP21)

Chair: LAWRENCE DAVIDSON, West Chester University

ESMAIL NASHIF, The University of Texas at Austin

Forming a Discourse: The Case of the Palestinian Political Prisoners

DEBORAH J. GERNER, University of Kansas

Mobilization without Emancipation? Palestinian Women, the National Struggle, and the State-Building Process

AMANAY JAMAL, Columbia University

Palestinian Citizenship and Engagement in the West Bank: How Political Institutions Matter

**MANAL JAMAL, McGill University*

Palestinian Civil Society and the Demobilization of Its Grassroots Organizations: Social Movement Theory Revisited

LEILA FARSAKH, SOAS, University of London

The Redefinition of Boundaries between Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip

Inside Out, Outside In: Muslim Women's Identity Markers (PO49)

Chair/Discussant: RUQAYYA YASMIN KHAN, University of California, Santa Barbara

MICHELLE ZIMNEY, University of California, Santa Barbara

"The First Female Suicide-Bomber": Wafa' Idris and the Transgression of Boundaries of Nation and Gender

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26 1:30–3:30PM

Post-Colonial Law in the Arab World Between Identity and the Market (PO35)

Chair/Discussant: LAMA ABU-ODEH, Georgetown University Law Center

AMR SHALAKAWY, Bir Zeit University

Identity, Redistribution and Back Again

Web site LINK updates

Here is the second installment of the annotated list of sites linked through PARC's Web site. For more information, please visit www.parccenter.org.

LAW - The Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment (www.lawsociety.org) English and Arabic speakers can find out the latest news, reports and press releases on this site. The society was founded by Palestinian lawyers interested in protecting human rights.

Palestinian Academic Network (www.planet.edu) The Palestinian Academic Network aims to provide accurate information on higher education institutions in Palestine, as well as educational, technological and organizational help to those institutions. There are opportunities for special interest groups to exchange ideas and knowledge.

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Jerusalem (<http://www.passia.org>) An independent Arab non-profit institution that researches the question of Palestine, extensively examines the status of Jerusalem, and provides a forum for the free expression of perspectives on Palestine. The site offers links to facts, publications, projects, and seminars.

The Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR) (www.pecdar.org) Posts activity reports from 1996 with periodic updates about the ongoing process of development. Other publications on development, including information on the school building initiative, are available.

Palestinian Economic Forum (www.palecon.org) The Palestinian Economic Forum collects data about issues facing the Palestinian economy and posts publications on economic policy dating back to 1997 on this site. Information on past and upcoming discussion forums is updated regularly.

Palestinian Energy and Environment Research Center (www.planet.edu/~pec/) Established on 1993, this center conducts studies on the community's energy needs. Information on current projects and community goals is listed.

Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group (www.phrmg.org/) Founded in 1996, the Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group monitors human rights violations in Palestine. Information about outreach services, fact sheets, and publications are available in English and Arabic.

Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights (www.piccr.org) The Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights is the "first national human rights institution in the Arab World." Publications, articles and special reports are featured in Arabic and English.

continued on page 10

Amal Jamal to Study Role of Arab Media in Israel

The struggle of national, cultural, linguistic and ethnic minorities for equality in their home states has been one of the main challenges that nation-states have had to deal with. And that struggle has often been undertaken in the media.

Dr. Amal Jamal, lecturer and coordinator of the M.A. in political communication program at Tel Aviv University and a lecturer at Western Galilee College, is examining Arab media in Israel under his PARC grant.



Amal Jamal

Since there has not been any study like this before, his work will provide a serious contribution to the understanding of the structure, policies and calculations of minority media in a conflictual ethno-national reality.

“There is clear evidence that, since the establishment of the state of Israel, there has been a tremendous rise in Arab media institutions,” says Jamal, an Israeli citizen

who earned degrees from The Hebrew University and The Free University of Berlin. “These institutions play a growing role in setting the public agenda of the Arab public.”

Jamal’s premise is based on the idea that minorities of different kinds, much like national movements, conceive of the media as an institution that can help to construct and preserve their own identity. “On the other hand,” he comments, “states have sought to develop their own media institutions directed to penetrate the minority, frame its worldview and set its agenda.”

Thus, according to Jamal, “in multi-cultural or multi-ethnic societies, the media becomes a central arena of struggle between the different social agents.” Journalists, in turn, as part of the intellectual elite become active players in the power games of society.

Jamal’s research aims to address two main issues:

- the role that minority media plays in constructing the nature of the relationship between the minority, the state and the larger public of the dominant nationality in conflictual societies, and
- the patterns of journalistic consumption among national minorities and the impact of their media on their worldviews and patterns of thinking and behaving.

His research will be undertaken in four parts. The first will examine the organizational structure of Arab media in Israel. Integral will be identifying who the media players are, who they represent, and how they are organized. Jamal points out that “this part will provide a map of the media network active in Arab society and the interrelationships between the different media

organs.” He also expects this part “to enable us to understand the political, social and economic meaning of the organizational structure of Arab media.” Jamal will pay special attention to the use of new technologies, such as the Internet, in order to advance and promote the visibility of Arab media.

The second part of his study will focus on the policies of the different media and look deeply at the interests, values and norms that determine their outlook. He will look at editorial policy – how and by whom it is determined – and survey and personally interview owners, managers, journalists and editors who determine editorial policies. Personal interviews will enable Jamal to “determine the editorial policies of media in order to establish empirical evidence regarding patterns of thinking and behavior that explain and justify media roles in situations of conflict.”

In the third part of his study, Jamal will analyze selected articles and programs published in newspapers and broadcast over the radio to clarify the substantial frames and the agenda of the minority media institutions. “Since the Arab minority in Israel views itself as an integral part of the Palestinian people in a state of conflict with Israel, clarifying the substantial frames and the agenda of Arab media institutions in Israel could be of great importance in understanding the way each institution locates itself vis-à-vis the conflict,” he says. A central question will concern the borders of identity, identification and solidarity that the editorial line of each institution portrays.

The final section of Jamal’s study will deal with public attitudes towards the media, the patterns of media consumption among the Arab minority and the influence of Arab media on setting the public agenda of the minority. “This part will provide us with evidence regarding the role that the Arab media managed to engrave among its audience and consumers,” Jamal explains. He will look at questions of what the Arab public reads, listens to and views; how often; how they evaluate Arab media; how they are influenced by them; and what the most trusted media institutions are and why.

Jamal plans to use interdisciplinary methodologies to achieve his goals. He will use structural analysis of the minority media, seeking to draw a picture of their organizational structure. He will make use of personal interviews and a public opinion survey conducted among the adult Arab public, and he will make use of discourse analysis in order to identify the frames utilized by the media to promote its role and set the public agenda.

“The importance of this study stems from its originality,” Jamal asserts. “There has been no comprehensive study of the Arab media in Israel and the role it plays in setting the Arab public agenda.” His study, he believes, will “enable us to examine the politics of Arab communications and the communication of Arab politics in Israel.”

Laleh Khalili to Investigate Common Commemorative Narratives of Refugees

Having spent time conducting research in Lebanon, including three months in three of the country's refugee camps, Laleh Khalili intends to show the ways in which Palestinian refugees in Lebanon narrate, collate, elide and classify their narratives of their original dispossession in 1948 and subsequent violent conflicts among their various political factions.

She is focusing on the ways in which the articulation of collective memory and the production and reproduction of common commemorative narratives and practices serve as the framework within which Palestinian refugees make political claims toward their host government. She is also examining the differing manners in which these commemorative practices and narratives are deployed during times of conflict and instability.

"Most importantly, I would like to focus on whether the production of particular commemorative narratives, collective memories, and local histories is the particular domain of the elite or whether the subaltern group itself is active in the creation and propagation of 'its' history," she explains. Her hypothesis is that it is not solely an elite activity, and she hopes to show how the socioeconomic and political climate in which the telling of the past takes place "greatly influences not only the form but also the content of the memories."

A doctoral student at Columbia University, Khalili hopes to address the ways in which individual and collective agencies of political actors affect outcomes and the ability of the subaltern groups to "speak" for themselves, "to recount their histories, to use their memories as a means of normative pressure, and their ability and capacity to engage in claim-making and political contention on their own behalf rather than as 'foot soldiers' in 'wars' waged by their leaders."

The puzzle she focuses on is the variance in the internal content, form, and tone of legitimating narratives during the widely variant instances of cyclical conflict, in which Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have been engaged – whether as active participants or as unwilling targets. "Why have the Palestinian refugees acted collectively to make civil and social claims against the Lebanese government during some periods and not others?" she asks. "When a dispossessed refugee group has deployed violence, how have the legitimating narratives invoking collective memories differed from those times when the refugees have been targets of violence?"

Since Khalili's project addresses the processes by which conflict is legitimated and perpetuated, its application reaches far beyond its geographical boundaries. "As civil and international strife seems to increasingly produce refugees in all regions of the world, understanding the modes and level of their engagement in their own fate will be of utmost importance," she says. Finally, since the project examines a wide variety of states as well as sub- and supra-state political actors, "we will have a better understanding of whether the role of the state in producing or hindering conflict is truly diminishing or simply transforming."

In her dissertation proposal, she posits that "times of conflict produce different stories than times of relative stability and that stories of conflict are

told differently depending on the present context." Khalili plans to combine the ethnographic methods of anthropology with the analytic methods of oral history, using documentary and archival evidence as backup.

Additionally, her research will show that the point at which various commemorative narratives diverge from one another and from "official" accounts is the important entry point that can reveal the manner in which subaltern social memory appropriates, transforms and sometimes subverts the process of elite memory-making. Finally, she hopes to show the mechanisms "by which these narratives of the past frame current claims-making, affect intra-group relations, and hinder or help local, national, and international alliances."

Khalili was selected by Dr. Gary G. Sick as rapporteur for the Columbia University Seminar on the Middle East and as principal research assistant to the Gulf/2000 electronic archives project, which he directs. Khalili's "impeccable judgment and her growing familiarity with Middle East politics and developments in the Gulf have earned her an excellent reputation with the scholars, journalists and others who rely on this source of primary documentary material," he adds.

Professor Anthony W. Marx of Columbia notes that Khalili's research is unique in that the literature on human rights has tended to downplay the role of claimants. He argues that "the plight of refugees and their response to the situation and memories of statelessness, require an expansion of the analytic assumptions we have too long taken for granted, and [Khalili] is poised to provide a breakthrough." Her research will "shed light and expand analysis to the growing populations of peoples who do not fall neatly within a state framework, and therefore whose human rights can and must be pursued through other institutions."

Khalili spent eight months living in Beirut, including an extended period in Burj al-Barajneh, one of the largest refugee camps in Lebanon, in order to collect histories, memories, and stories of the past. She also spent shorter periods in Nahr el-Bared camp in the North and Ein el-Hilweh camp in the South "in order to ensure that I addressed differentials in regional conditions and camp-specific histories." She will add to these stories the intellectual productions of the elite who have influenced or been influenced by the more popular commemorations by the subalterns.

"These competing and complementing narratives will be then situated within the particular historical context in which they operate and interact to show the interrelation of the micro-processes and macro-historical changes taking place on the regional and, ultimately, world stage," she explains.

Khalili, who is of Iranian descent, was born in the United States and raised in Iran. She was forced to leave Iran at the age of 17 since she would not have been able to attend a university because her parents were political dissidents. Fluent in Persian and Arabic, she has found her unusual background conducive to her research. She received a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering from the University of Texas at Austin and worked for several years as a business and systems consultant before returning to school.



Laleh Khalili

Musa Abdel Karim Sroor to Study Infrastructural Change in Waqf Status

During the period from 1858 to 1917 numerous religious endowments (waqf) in Jerusalem were transformed into private property. In his doctoral research, Musa A.I. Abdel Karim Sroor is studying the infrastructural change of the waqfs during the 19th century until the close of the Ottoman period at the end of World War I. "In particular," he notes, "I am focusing on the analysis of the process by which certain waqf assets as well as public space that had been consecrated as waqf were being transformed into a type of private property, especially through long-term rent leases on foundation property and through physical occupation of waqf space by individuals and families."

While private property had always existed "in shari'a and in fiqh, which regulated the norms of waqf behavior," the moves towards the privatization of some waqf assets and waqf space in 19th and 20th century Jerusalem occurred on a larger scale than in previous times," Sroor says. Documents from these times show, for instance, that numerous waqfs which financed soup kitchens and religious schools were transformed into private property. "Moreover, revenue destined for those institutions was used for the creation of a government education system," Sroor explains. During the period of his study, several changes affected the institution of waqf, including the sale of numerous properties and the transfer of their revenues to the state treasury. Sroor points out. "At the same time, the state pursued its policies of waqf confiscation under the pretext of their use for the public good." Sroor adds that several Jerusalem Muslim families which had managed these endowments over a number of generations began to consider them as their own property. According to documents he has studied, forty religious schools in Jerusalem were transformed into family housing, and some waqf foundations were transformed into private property for the benefit of foreign countries, such as Germany, Russia and France, as well as for the benefit of different Christian communities, including the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. The documents show, too, that part of the waqf became the property of people living in the vicinity of these pious foundations.

Sroor's study will consider many questions, including was there, in reality, a veritable transformation of waqf assets into private property in Jerusalem; when did this happen; what were the exact modalities of the transformations; what were the reasons and motivations for the transformations; and do the transformations go along with or contradict the contractual stipulations of the endowments and their founders.

His work "is not only important in relation to the individual research project itself but is indispensable in order to identify and comprehend overall trends in the transformation of waqf assets into private property which will develop in a much larger way during the Mandate period," commented Randi Deguilhem, tenured researcher at the Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes sur le

Monde Arabe et Musulman (IREMAM), Université de Provence Aix-Marseille, where Sroor is a graduate student. "Using numerous pious foundations in Jerusalem as a case study, analyzing the internal transformation of different waqfs away from their original purposes of supporting charitable or public causes towards a system of private property which is indicative of modifications in the waqf system itself, will allow him to study the profound changes experienced by both Muslim and Christian society at this time in Palestine."

Sroor believes his work will increase the understanding of the history of waqfs in late Ottoman Jerusalem and in Palestine and also contribute towards the understanding of the place of the endowments within 19th and 20th century Mediterranean history and the movement towards privatization of property. "It will be the first study focusing on waqfs during the period 1858 to 1917 in Palestine which is dedicated to the study of the process of transformation of waqfs on the basis of primary sources," he explains.

In order to carry out his research, Sroor intends to use primary sources consisting mainly of religious court registers, the Jerusalem archives of the Ministry of Waqf and documents from the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. He will adopt a quantitative and qualitative methodology; quantitative because he will use several hundred documents which will be processed using computer technology, and qualitative because he will analyze these facts in light of Ottoman legislation, most notably the Land Law of 1858.

Sroor, who was born in Nalin, Palestine, taught for five years in the secondary school system of Ramallah before embarking on his doctoral degree. He is fluent in Arabic, English and French. He holds a master's degree in contemporary Arab studies from Birzeit University. Sroor presented his first research results during an international workshop on endowments at IREMAM in June.

Web site LINK updates (cont. from page 7)

Riwaq: Center for Architecture (www.riwaq.org) This center wants to protect the Palestinian architectural culture heritage and provides information about its community outreach, books, research, publications and contact information.

Shammout.com (www.shammout.com) The Shammouts are Palestinian artists, who post their paintings on this site. Their work captures images of Palestinian history.

Society of St. Yves (www.saint-yves.org) This Catholic human rights center for legal resources and development has information on Israeli human rights abuses against Palestinians, with archives, links, and contact information available.

Shira Robinson Researches the Social History of Palestinians under Israeli Military Rule

Focusing on Nazareth and the "little triangle" in Israel between 1948 and 1967, Shira Robinson used her PARC fellowship to complete her doctoral research, which explores the range of mechanisms which the Israeli state has used to try to subordinate, discipline and transform Palestinian subjects into obedient "Israeli Arab" citizens as well as the diverse ways in which Palestinians experienced, negotiated and challenged those measures. "Only through a combined analysis of the everyday and the ritualized attention to state spectacles as well as brute force can we see the full manifestation of power, adaptation and defiance at work in the making of the Israeli state and the Palestinian minority within it," Robinson maintains.

Her work, which is based on archival research as well as oral history interviews, analyzes these dynamics by examining Palestinians' experiences of and responses to a variety of state practices, including police surveillance, census registration, banishment orders, travel and work permit denials, radio shows, Independence Day celebrations and museum exhibits. The years she examines "were marked by personal and family tragedy as well as social reconfiguration" for Palestinians in Israel, she observes. "It was a time of adjustment to becoming an indigenous minority, as well as a period of isolation." In order to provide a historically grounded analysis of the period, "I am examining the encounters between Palestinian citizens, state structures and their representatives, analyzing how and why they changed over time."

In her thesis, she focuses on elements of continuity and rupture rather than presuming that the 1948 war led to the absolute destruction or metamorphosis of Palestinian life. She also explores how the enactment of national celebrations, the physical presence of the military forces in Palestinian areas, the rhetoric, categories and practice of surveillance, and other forms of representation "all helped to create the idea of the state and 'the Israeli Arab.'" Further, she examines the extent to which the celebrations, performances and ideological campaigns that were imposed on Palestinians can be understood as a particular kind of "civilizing mission," with all the contradictory goals and effects such projects have entailed. "My review of ministry, police and Israeli radio files thus far reveals a dynamic effort by state authorities to instill in Palestinians a 'loyal' and 'Israeli' sensibility," Robinson says.

A doctoral student at Stanford University, Robinson received her bachelor of arts in Middle Eastern and North African Studies from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. She participated in an overseas student program at Tel Aviv University, where she completed coursework in Hebrew, Arabic and modern Middle Eastern history. She was in residence in Israel through September 2002 to conduct interviews, state and local archival research and



Shira Robinson

press surveys. She spent a year in Cairo studying Arabic at the Center for Arabic Study Abroad and began her field research during winter 2001-2002 with funds from Stanford, the Fulbright Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council.

Her primary advisor at Stanford, Professor Joel Beinin, comments that "If Shira succeeds, and my judgment is that she will, she will be able to substantially revise the history of the Palestinian citizens of Israel and their relations with the state and its Jewish citizens." Calling Robinson "an outstanding student and a passionate researcher," Beinin notes that, Robinson has already written a lengthy seminar paper on the 1956 massacre of Arab citizens by Israeli border guards at Kafr Qasim,

which was accepted for publication in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

Richard Roberts, professor of African history and director of the Center for African Studies at Stanford, points out that Robinson has identified an important gap in the historiography of modern Israel, namely the social history of the Palestinians. Her research is "a novel project that has as its center the internal social and economic networks of the Palestinians who remained within Israel's borders after 1948," he adds. "She [is] especially concerned not with the political mobilization of the Palestinians in Israel, which must be a part of any history of the region, but with their cultural, social and economic experience." She is also attentive to the differences among the Palestinians, "thus moving away from the ahistorical tendency to explain all Palestinians experiences in terms of struggle."

Robinson has received a full doctoral fellowship from Stanford, the Stanford History Department Award for Excellence in First Time Teaching, and research and travel grants from the Stanford History Department, the Dorot Foundation and the Newhouse Fund.




Palestinian American Research Center
 c/o Political Science Department
 Villanova University
 800 Lancaster Avenue
 Villanova, PA 19085-1699

PHONE: (610) 519-7712
 EMAIL: parc@villanova.edu
 WEB SITE: www.parccenter.org

PRESRT STD
 U.S. Postage
PAID
 Permit No. 1630
 Richmond, VA

PARC's Annual Business Meeting to Be Held During MESA Conference

Please join us at our annual business meeting to be held **Saturday, November 23 at 2:00 PM** in the Eisenhower room of the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel. PARC has had an extraordinary year and we look forward to sharing with you our accomplishments and our hopes for the future. *Results of recent Board elections will be announced. Be there!*

 *Return this form with your check in a stamped envelope.*

Tell a friend! Help build our membership.

Support our efforts to promote Palestinian studies and academic exchange among scholars interested in Palestinian affairs.

Membership Application:

Name: _____
 Address: _____
 Telephone: _____
 Fax: _____
 E-mail: _____

Membership Level:

- Individual \$25
- Founding Member \$200
- Other \$ _____
- Institutional \$100
- Sustaining Member \$500
- Please keep my contribution anonymous
- Student \$15
- Patron \$1,000 to \$5,000

PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO PARC AND MAIL TO:

PARC c/o Political Science Department, Villanova University
 800 Lancaster Avenue Villanova, PA 19085-1699
Membership contributions are tax deductible.

