



2017

NO SUCH STATE AS PALESTINE: NOTIONS OF HOME AND THE STATE IN PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH PALESTINE

Osama A. Abdl-Haleem

University of Kentucky, oabdlhaleem@uky.edu

Digital Object Identifier: <https://doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2017.317>

[Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.](#)

Recommended Citation

Abdl-Haleem, Osama A., "NO SUCH STATE AS PALESTINE: NOTIONS OF HOME AND THE STATE IN PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH PALESTINE" (2017). *Theses and Dissertations--Geography*. 51. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/geography_etds/51

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Geography at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--Geography by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Osama A. Abdl-Haleem, Student

Dr. Jeremy Crampton, Major Professor

Dr. Andrew Wood, Director of Graduate Studies

NO SUCH STATE AS PALESTINE:
NOTIONS OF HOME AND THE STATE
IN PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH PALESTINE

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Osama Amer Abdl-Haleem
Director: Dr. Jeremy Crampton, Professor of Geography
Lexington, Kentucky

2017

Copyright© Osama Abdl-Haleem 2017

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

NO SUCH STATE AS PALESTINE: NOTIONS OF HOME AND THE STATE IN PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH PALESTINE

There is no such state as Palestine. But nearly 70 years after the termination of the British mandate for Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel, Palestine remains a home for the Palestinian. It is an identity not dependent on the existence of a Palestinian state, nor arrested by the presence of an Israeli one. Palestinians have a home relationship with Palestine, where home is a sense of belonging that comes from within, that isn't earned and given, but personal and chosen, even while it is communal. Home is a self-determined relationship of person to place. The relationships of Palestinians with Palestine are complicated and inconsistent, but I contend that the complications and inconsistencies of understanding Palestine as home functions as a spatial strategy of holding out for justice. Where home is an intensely personal attachment with effects that vary between individuals, the nation-state seeks to create a matrix relationship between nations and territories that defines those who belong to the exclusion of all others. The persistence of Palestinian home relationships with Palestine stand argument against a nation-state world order founded on the idea that certain people belong natively to certain place.

KEYWORDS: Home, Belonging, Nationalism, State, Diaspora, Palestine

Osama Abdl-Haleem

27 July 2017

NO SUCH STATE AS PALESTINE:
NOTIONS OF HOME AND THE STATE
IN PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH PALESTINE

By

Osama Amer Abdl-Haleem

Dr. Jeremy Crampton

Director of Thesis

Dr. Andrew Wood

Director of Graduate Studies

27 July 2017

DEDICATION

With this work, I remember my grandfather.
His name was Justice. May his grave be filled with light.

Âmîn.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been written without assistance with every step. First, thanks are due to Jeremy Crampton for all his advice, support, and a tremendous amount of guidance. Anna Secor and Michael Samers were both gracious enough to serve on my committee and read my work, for which I am very grateful. Ahmad Haleem was the most gracious host and guide I could ask for while conducting interviews, and a great part of all that I have learned about Palestinian relationships with Palestine is due to his patient guidance. I am also very grateful to Harrison Cole, Katherine Stearns, Thomas Grubbs, and Robby Hardesty for their early and insightful critiques of my ideas and steady support throughout. I must also thank all the wonderful people who allowed me to interview them. And finally I thank my mother and father for their ceaseless love and attention, and for all the brilliant ideas I have stolen from them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Tables	v
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Story One: Grandfathers	2
Story Two: National Sport.....	4
Story Three: People and Their Places.....	6
What It Comes To.....	7
Chapter Two: Understanding Their Palestine: Methods in Researching	
Palestinian Identity	11
Belonging to Palestine	13
Relating to Palestine: Images.....	15
Finding Palestine: Maps.....	23
Understanding Home: Questions	26
Conclusion: Becoming Palestine	30
Chapter Three: Shapes and Labels: A History of Palestine’s Name and Cartographic	
Representation	33
An Original Palestine	34
To Give the Land a Shape	39
To Give the Land a Name	46
Conclusion: Who Belongs to Palestine?.....	50
Chapter Four: No Such State: Palestine Between Notions of Home and the State.....	52
The Place of the Stateless	53
The Nation-State: A Colonial Project	58
Home and Identity	63
Chapter Five: Conclusion: A Politics of Home.....	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73
APPENDIX A.....	78
VITA	86

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Interview Participants	14
---------------------------------------	----

Chapter One: Introduction

I know my title, “No Such State as Palestine,” will disappoint two kinds of readers: One hopeful for the success of the Palestinian cause in the form of a state by and for that people; the other excited for an argument against the existence and legitimacy of Palestine. For the consternation I may cause these readers, I do not apologize. Ultimately, this study argues for Palestine but against waiting for the world to declare a state with that name—and any recognition that confers the dispensation to wave a flag, trumpet an anthem, field an Olympic team, and everything else that internationality legitimates before rights return to human beings. Palestinians are stateless. And in the order that rules the day, people without states are people without rights.

Palestine is much more than a place. It is a people and a culture, a particular past and present. Today, Palestine is a fight, a site of values, faith, family, and justice. But it is also a lived experience, mundane and poetic, with hardship and ease. It is all this, and it is also a place. And so Palestine as an idea welcomes geography as a study, where geography is interested in the spatial and the social, not in dichotomies but in relationships. Geographies are not regions captured in prose. They are descriptions of the relationships of peoples and places. This geography of Palestine is a small study in the attachment of Palestinians to Palestine and the many elements that mediate those relationships. The central belief is that these relationships are both multiplicitous and unique. They are not state attachments but home relationships. The former is generalized and exclusive. The latter is personal. Nor does the existence of one such relationship

between a person and a place preclude the relationship of another person with that same place.

While I am focused on the plight of Palestinians, I believe that the verities that underpin this intersection of justice and geography extend to many more people and situations in our world and that the ideas of home and the state that I seek to develop here apply beyond the particularities of Palestine. To this end, I have compiled a set of three stories that demonstrate the position and potential of the stateless people who are the chief focus of this study.

Story One: Of Grandfathers

One-hundred and twenty-thousand Japanese were interned in America after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Garrett Hongo's grandfather, Kubota, was not among them, but the day after the raid he was taken from his home in Hawaii for questioning by the FBI. Kubota was only held for a few days, but the meaning of that moment never left him. And when he felt his grandson was old enough, after years of being to Garrett a "lonely, habitually silent old man," Kubota began to tell that story.

He told me about Pearl Harbor, how the planes flew in, wing after wing, in formations over his old house in La'ie in Hawaii, and how, the next day, after Roosevelt had made his famous "Day of Infamy" speech about the treachery of the Japanese, the FBI agents had come to his door and taken him in, hauled him off to Honolulu for questioning, and held him without charges. (Hongo, 1991, 102)

For Garrett, the story was a revelation. He was Hawaiian-born. The Japanese interned in the camps were mainland-born, the *Nisei*. And neither the *Nisei* nor the Americans ever spoke of that chapter of Japanese-American history. "But Kubota would not let it go."

I was not made yet and he was determined that his stories be part of my making. He spoke quietly at first, mildly, but once into his narrative and after his drink was down, his voice would rise and quaver with resentment and he'd make his accusations. He gave his testimony to me and I held it at first cautiously in my conscience like it was an heirloom too delicate to expose to strangers and anyone outside of the world Kubota made with his words....“You tell story,” Kubota would end. And I had my injunction. (Hongo, 1991, 103)

It was an injunction to remember and remind. It was an identity, a connection to some moment of human experience where justice became differentiated—and different meant dangerous. The difference emphasized by that moment needed to be dissipated and the memory suppressed by those that had experienced it. Kubota was Kibei, a Japanese American born in Hawaii, but raised and educated in Japan. He hadn't gone to the internment camps. That wasn't his experience, but it was his to witness, a responsibility he passed on to his grandson. That relationship with history set Garrett apart from his community. The Japanese Americans around him chose to forget.

Their parents had been in camp, had been the ones to suffer the complicated experience of having to distance themselves from their own history and all things Japanese in order to make their way back and into the American social and economic mainstream. It was out of this sense of shame and a fear of stigma, I was only beginning to understand, that the Nisei had silenced themselves. And for their children, among whom I grew up, they wanted no heritage, no culture, no contact with a defiled history. I recall the silence very well. The Japanese American children around me were burdened in a way I was not. Their injunction was silence. Mine was to speak. (Hongo, 1991, 104)

Addel is my grandfather, my *jiddo*. I have never been to Palestine. But he would take me there, story after story. He was my Kubota. Were he Japanese, he would be Kibei. Jiddo too was born in America but raised and educated in Palestine, to return at the end of high school. He didn't experience the *Nakbah*, the Catastrophe of ethnic cleansing and occupation, having returned to America the year before it. His West Bank home wasn't taken, his family never marked as refugees. But the moment was for him to witness. Not his to forget, nor his to forgive. A memory of justice deferred cannot be let

go till that justice returns. His name, 'Âdil, means "one who is just," as in the active participle of justice. The experience became a story, and Jiddo's stories (which always began with Adam and ended with my father's childhood) forged for me an identity around a faith, a human race, a need for justice, and place called Palestine. *Tell that story.* And I had my injunction.

But unlike the situation among Japanese Americans as Hongo recalls it, the injunction for Palestinians on the whole is *not* to be silent, but to speak, to hold to a right of return, to remember the *Nakbah*, and remind of an ongoing catastrophe.

Story Two: National Sport

In 1931, the International Olympic Committee awarded the 1936 Olympics to Berlin, Germany. In 1933, the Nazi Party came to power and a demonstration of Arian dominance became a hoped for outcome of the summer games. Over the next three years, the persecution of Jews and other minorities in Germany increased and in America pressure to boycott the Berlin Olympics mounted. Avery Brundage, the president of the American Olympic Committee, led a fight against that boycott. Letters and telegrams and protestors assailed the AOC, but Brundage rebuffed the movement. After a visit to Berlin in 1934, he reported that he had been "given positive assurance in writing...that there will be no discrimination against Jews. You can't ask more than that and I think the guarantee will be fulfilled" (Guttman, 1984, 69).

Boycott efforts then turned to the Amateur Athletic Union. The president of the AAU initially supported the boycott and moved to keep athletes from being recommended to compete in the games. The energy of the boycott subsided until 1935, when the world beheld a dramatic increase in persecution of Jews under the Third Reich

and efforts to keep Americans out of the Berlin Games intensified. But only one of three Americans in the IOC favored protesting the Olympics. At the AAU convention in December 1935, Brundage and his supporters won out, and an American team prepared to travel to Berlin (Guttman, 1984). No Jews, no minorities at all, represented the German team, who launched the Nazi salute alongside other national salutes to honor the spirit of internationality, while the *untermenschen*, the racially inferior, were gathered into concentration camps (Hilton, 2008).

In 1968, Mexico City hosted the Summer Olympics. Brundage presided. In the intervening decades, he had climbed the Olympic hierarchy to become the fifth president of the IOC itself, the only American ever to hold the position. On 16 October, he watched two African American sprinters take gold and bronze in the men's 200-meter event. He watched them ascend the champions' platform in black socks, shoes in hand, and turn to face the flag as "The Star Spangled Banner" rang out. He watched them lower their heads and raise black-gloved fists in a black power salute just six months after the killing of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. in one of the most tumultuous years of that American struggle (Guttman, 1984).

The USOC (formerly the AOC) reprimanded John Carlos and Tommie Smith. But Brundage wanted more for the "nasty demonstration against the American flag by negroes" (Guttman, 1984, 245). The IOC threatened to ban the whole of the US track team if the USOC failed to expel Carlos and Smith. Two days after the salute, the USOC obliged Brundage, stripping Smith and Carlos of their medals, barring them from the games, and banishing them from Olympic Village. Brundage claimed that the cause the two Olympians saluted was the cause of no nation and the salute was not a national

salute. As such, they had no place in the Olympic spirit of international relations (Guttman, 1984).

Story Three: People and Their Places

“Is this your land?” I asked him.

“Not yet,” he said.

“You mean you are hoping to buy it?”

He looked at me in silence for a while. Then he said, “The land is at present owned by a Palestinian farmer, but he has given us permission to live here. He has also allowed us some fields so that we can grow our own food.”

“So where do you go from here?” I asked him. “You and all your orphans?”

“We don't go anywhere,” he said, smiling through his black beard. “We stay here.”

“Then you will all become Palestinians,” I said. “Or perhaps you are that already.”

He smiled again, presumably at the naivety of my questions.

“No,” the man said. “I do not think we will become Palestinians.”

“Then what will you do?”

“You are a young man who is flying airplanes,” he said, “and I do not expect you to understand our problems.”

“What problems?” I asked him.

“You have a country to live in and it is called England,” he said. “Therefore you have no problems.”

“No problems!” I cried.

— from Roald Dahl's *Going Solo*.

This was Roald Dahl's first experience in Palestine. On his first day in the country, only moments after landing his RAF fighter plane in a cleared cornfield, the soon to be author of fantastical stories encountered one of the defining issues of the modern world: The question of peoples and places and the reassignment of all such relationships that follow the establishment of the modern world order of nations and

states. In May of 1948, British mandate ended and the state of Israel was established. Palestine was no longer a place you could belong to. And the Palestinians became a stateless people.

The formalities of this had yet to be set down when Dahl landed in that field on the outskirts of Haifa. But his conversation with the elderly refugee out of Germany, or at least his memory of it, is laden with the ideas that underpin the logic of modern sovereignty. The two men from Europe in the lent hut of a Palestinian farmer together speak to a worldview that ties people to place and places to peoples in a patch work of territories and identities that necessarily leave someone (ironically in this case, their benevolent host) placeless.

I still have a very clear picture of the inside of that hut and of the bearded man with the bright fiery eyes who kept talking to me in riddles. "We need a homeland," the man was saying. "We need a country of our own. Even the Zulus have Zululand. But we have nothing."

"You mean the Jews have no country?"

"That's exactly what I mean," he said. "It's time we had one."

"But how in the world are you going to get yourselves a country?" I asked him. "They are all occupied. Norway belongs to the Norwegians and Nicaragua belongs to the Nicaraguans. It's the same all over." (Dahl, 1986, 197)

What It Comes To

Together these stories illustrate three dimensions of the fraught position of the stateless people in a world of mismatched nation-states. Dahl's first conversation in Palestine betrays a particular worldview masquerading as common sense that leaves some nations stateless and strips them of rights. The story of the 1968 Olympics and the conviction of Carlos and Smith for their demonstration evidences the position of those people and movements deemed to be of no nation at all within a global hierarchy of rights

and performance. Hongo's relationship with his grandfather emphasizes the role of connection and transmission, and the position of the witness. An experience does not die even when those who it first marked pass away. The harm done in the nullification of a people's right to move or stay freely is not damage done to a single generation. There remains a need to speak about injustice, to tell the story, even when it is more properly someone else's story, until the return to justice. "And he has to tell me. And I have to listen. It's a ritual payment the young owe their elders who have survived." Every grandfather's story of injustice is his grandson's to tell.

My hope is that this work will add to this set of stories the story of Palestinians' relationship to a small tract of land on the east shore of the Mediterranean Sea and how that relationship, along with many more, is daily violated, but renewed with every generation. Chapter two highlights my primary research, the questions that fueled my research, and the methods I employed to answer them. I draw heavily on, and dissect, the interviews I conducted and the ideas they left me with. I discuss the trends and tendencies that emerged during my interviews with 14 self-declared Palestinian contacts. I also proffer some conclusions about the attachment of these Palestinians to Palestine, particularly relating to the factors that mediate these relationships.

Chapter three begins with a critique of arguments of *originality* and *authenticity* often used in pursuit of legitimacy in Palestine. The body of the chapter provides a cartographic history of Palestine along with a review of some of the literature on the mapping and imaginings of the region, predominantly revolving around the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Versailles negotiations of 1919. In particular, I attend to the

development of ideas and politics around the shape and name of Palestine, its changing two-dimensional depictions, and its sociolinguistic representation and significance.

In chapter four, I turn to the primary argument of the attachment of Palestinians to Palestine as a home attachment rather than, and possibly opposed to, a state attachment. I look at the relationships of home and identity and ideas of sovereignty and belonging. A principle focus hones in on those factors that mediate or govern the relationship of people to place, and also on an understanding of home as an alternative legitimation to being in a place.

I conclude in chapter five by attempting to extrapolate from the situation of Palestinians and Palestine an understanding of the position of all stateless people in the modern world order. I attempt to make the case for the development of a politics around the idea of home that empowers the stateless without reference to the world order that renders them so.

This is a critical geography. As such, it is ultimately about power, the power to be in place and what understandings of space we empower to that end. The academic intention of this work is to follow the lead of scholars like Doreen Massey and Gearoid Ó Tuathail who remind us of the weight and purpose of this discipline's scholarship. "Geography is about power. Although often assumed to be innocent, the geography of the world is not a product of nature but a product of histories of struggle between competing authorities over the power to organize, occupy, and administer space" (Ó Tuathail, 1996, 1).

The world order that now dominates insinuates to us a fiction of fixity; namely, that the world has achieved its ultimate shape and political architecture and thus shall it

largely remain in the push and pull amid the balance of powers. But an understanding of Palestine that goes against the established world order and persists through generations unmask this fabrication, and reveals a teeming, fluid reality. “While almost all of the land of the earth has now been territorialized by states, the processes by which this disciplining of space by modern states occurs remain highly contested” (Ó Tuathail, 1996, 2).

Chapter 2

Understanding Their Palestine: Methods in Researching Palestinian Identity

Belonging is a powerful conception. It is inseparable from spatiality, and ours is a spatial existence. To belong or not belong is to understand positionality, relation—and all existence is relational. Everything is a relationship, an attachment, at once personal and interpersonal, and never binary. All things are swimming, all things in motion and position, and therefore in relation. Belonging, moreover, is power, not over, but within, spatial relations. It is a force, a greater gravity, to which other powers accrue—the power to move; to change positionalities; to access, grant access, deny access; and most of all today, the power to achieve and allot rights in a spatial world. Being at once personal and interpersonal makes the power that belonging constitutes significant because it is power over the personal.

Geopolitics comes down to a question: Who can belong? Citizens and settlers? Natives and neighbors? Foreigners, migrants, and refugees? We draw from myriad notions to help us define and determine the relationships of people to place. All relationships are mediated, never binary. Every attachment and interaction—person and person, or person and place—assembles the elements of numerous relations. Belonging is power over the personal. Many forms of relating to place are mediated by external forces that determine belonging for us. But there is at least one form of belonging that comes from within, a right to a personal power over the personal and spatial. “Wherever it may be, home is a center of meaning, a familiar setting in an uncertain world, it is the place where one belongs” (Relph, 2007, 908).

Home.

In *The Death of a Hired Man*, Robert Frost describes a husband and wife sitting together on a front porch, talking about neighbors, family, and home. “Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in,” says the husband. “I should have called it something you somehow haven’t to deserve,” says the wife. (Frost, 1995, 43)

I side with the wife here. The first understanding of home is as a place of dwelling and necessity. A singular, natural relationship returned to in times of loss or need. The second understanding is personal, still spatial but not necessarily a dwelling. No external legitimation is required to determine home. You “somehow haven’t to deserve” it. Home is belonging that comes from within, that isn’t earned and given, but personal and chosen, even while it is communal.

Home is a self-determined relationship of person to place, but it remains mediated, involving other people and the elements of other relationships. Both of Frost’s understandings of home recognize that the idea of home always involves some relationality to other persons. Attachments to home “are not locked up in the minds of individuals; rather they must be considered to be intersubjective—in other words, shared, because they can be communicated and make clear sense to others” (Relph, 2007, 908). Seen in this way, home begins to run up against ideas of community and nation, significantly more fraught understandings of belonging and the politics of place.

Belonging to Palestine

This research began as a personal question. “With what legitimacy can I call myself Palestinian?” I was not born in Palestine, nor my father, nor even my grandfather. The question is one wrapped up in issues of belonging, identity, and authenticity. It is, ironically, a very Palestinian question. To engage it, we need an understanding of what it means to relate to place where a relationship is an articulated attachment, navigated and not predetermined. What forces mediate or articulate those relationships? To what degree do we hold such relationships to be personal or communal? And are some of our relationships with place more significant than others?

To answer these questions, I interviewed fourteen self-declared Palestinians living in America, predominantly in the Greater Chicago area (see Table 1). Two individuals who I had previous contact with helped me to spread the word about my research throughout the Palestinian community in Chicago. My participants all responded offering to help and inviting me to interview them. It is important that my participants live outside of Palestine, as a key question is; are attachments to place other than dwelling more affective than locational. This makes it important that I understand my participants’ cartographic conceptualizations of Palestine, as well. Where does it begin and end? Is there consistency in Palestinians’ understanding of geographic Palestine? And to what degree does symbolism matter?

I created an interview in three parts. The first presented a set of pictures of Palestine to my respondents that I asked them to describe and rate affectively as positive or negative. Then I introduced to them different possible maps of Palestine and asked them to order the maps from ‘most representative of Palestine’ to ‘least representative’ of

it and to discuss their affective responses to each. Lastly, I asked them directly about their relationship with the place they called Palestine. I also recorded meta data, such as age, gender, whether they were born in Palestine or elsewhere, and how often they visited. The results were complicated and messy, filled with inconsistency, irregularity, and contradictions. Carefully crafted questions designed to bring out deep meaning were often met with monosyllabic responses. Cross-referencing data and meta data revealed little. And some of my most treasured theories were bluntly rejected—which thrilled me. It was just like talking to people about home.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Time Spent	Place in Palestine
Zahra	F	72	Born There, Visits Often	Beitunia
Bakriya	F	64	Born Away, Never Visited	Beitunia
Yasmine	F	48	Born Away, Visited Once	Yafa
Nasreen	F	45	Born There, Visits Often	Bethlehem
Ful	F	21	Born Away, Visits Seldom	Ramallah
Raihan	F	19	Born Away, Visits Seldom	Ijdira
Dahlia	F	18	Born Away, Visits Seldom	Ramallah
Laith	M	80	Born There, Visits Often	Beitunia
Haydar	M	65	Born There, Visits Often	Salameh
Wael	M	60	Born There, Visits Seldom	Ramallah
Hamzah	M	58	Born Away, Visited Once	Beitunia
Abbas	M	55	Born Away, Visits Often	Beitunia
Shibel	M	23	Born Away, Visits Seldom	Ijdira
Harith	M	20	Born Away, Visits Often	Ni'lin

Table 1. Interview Participants

Relating to Palestine: Images

I began my interviews by presenting pictures of Palestine to participants. In this decision I was almost wholly informed by Rose's methodology on the interpretation of imagery, her discussion of the power of the visual, "the need to take images seriously" (Rose, 2001, 33), and our ability to engage and be engaged by what we see. My use of images however differs slightly from Rose's in that the images are not the content of my interest. Rather they are a means to elicit my participants' engagements with ideas of Palestine.

"The meanings of an image or set of images are made at three sites: the sites of production, the image itself, and its audiencing" (Rose, 2001, 32). Audiencing is the primary site of meaning in the scope of my research. Meaning construction at the level of the image itself necessarily plays into the interview process but at no point did I engage in discussion of the sites of production of the images. I recognize that I here fall short of Rose's visual methodology by focusing on the on the audiencing and somewhat on the image itself but never attending to the particulars and social practices of the images' production. I would be very interested in research that, following Rose's methodology, investigated the production of visual representations of Palestine in photography and film. The productions I am concerned with here are the similarities and differences of affects and reactions of Palestinians to particular depictions of Palestine.

I began the image process by selecting images of Palestine that I felt might bring out different forms of attachment to the place. "It is crucial to look very carefully at the image or images in which you are interested, because the image itself has its own effects" (Rose, 2001, 33). Each of the eight images was first coded as positive or negative by a

non-Palestinian who was largely unaware of the topic or content (I say largely because one of the pictures is of a Palestinian flag, and I'm sure my non-Palestinian respondent caught on to the main idea). Then, before presenting the images to my interviewees, I listed the different ideas represented in each picture. Then, during the course of my interviews, I noted which ideas the interviewees isolated in discussion of the image. For example, the picture of a large Palestinian flag waving over a district of crowded, multi-story apartment buildings is emotionally positive. A waving flag and a bright sky, the soft browns and tans of the buildings, all lift the spirit. Ideas of patriotism, success, development, and teeming crowds are represented. A participant who identified the image as positive and focused on the flag would be considered to have a state-mediated relationship. That is not to say that their only mediation is the state, or that the state mediates all aspects of their relationship with Palestine; but it does imply that the idea of a Palestinian state is present, positively, in their relationship with Palestine.

Another participant might consider that same image positive but focus on the buildings below the flag. They might recognize that this is a district in Ramallah and begin talking about family they have in that city or experiences they recall from there. This participant would be expressing a family or identity-mediated relationship, where identity is expressed as those elements considered to form an understanding of the self, a focus on pasts and presents. Still others might think the image negative, perhaps because of the flag (they are resistant to nationalism) or because of the buildings (they dislike the overcrowding and disorganization, or the sense of a lack of progress this scene imbues them with) or the sprawling nature of the city (they are nostalgic for a pastoral Palestine).

Finally, and crucially, participants might, and very often did, express a focus on multiple ideas, emphasizing the complex and highly personal nature of home relationships.

This is an inspection of the image's *content*; simply put, "what does the image actually show?" (Rose, 2001, 38). The most crucial of Rose's terms for the purposes of my interviews was *expressive content*, Rose's measure of the emotional effect of the depiction. Here we come to the issue of affect, a critical notion in discussion of belonging and attachment, and interrelation between the material stuff and emotive impact of an image. In most cases the content of the image was accepted by all of my participants. However, with a couple of images the content was understood differently by participants and the difference significantly effected the emotional response. The clearest example of this interplay between understood content and expressed reaction was with the image of the village of Ya'bid which we will discuss shortly. Watching the interviewees process and arrive at a determination of what they were looking at, and listening to the discussion that went one way or another based on that final determination, proved one of the richest parts of the interview.

It is the meaning produced at the site of audiencing that is most critical to my work. *Audiencing* is "the process by which a visual image has its meanings renegotiated, or even rejected, by particular audiences watching in specific circumstances." (Rose, 2001, 25). Understanding the content of the image was simple enough, coding the images expressive content with an outside individual was straightforward. But every time I presented the images to my participants the meaning and affects were "renegotiated, or even rejected."

The Olive Tree Refrain

Of the eight images, a few stood out, either for the consistency of the answers received, or the verity.¹ Image 2 is a picture of a young olive tree. It was the only image to receive a positive designation from every participant. In the course of my interview discussions of the image, *every* person I spoke to described his or her love for olive trees and how the olive tree represents Palestine. The consistency of these responses was not unexpected, but it challenged my understanding of attachment as purely personal. At this point, I began to take Deleuze and Guattari's notion of relationships as assemblages more seriously. In particular, the idea of the territorial refrain provided a useful backdrop to discussion of Palestinian identity and the olive tree.

A refrain in song or music is something repeated over and over until it is recognized, not as a set of notes, but as a whole, a block that can be called upon and inserted. It is a marker, and as sound moves through space, it is spatial. "The role of the refrain has often been emphasized: It is territorial, a territorial assemblage" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2014, 312). Deleuze and Guattari focus mainly on the sonorous refrain, the music of birdsong that establishes a territory. After hearing the description of the olive tree, over and again, I began to conceive of that attachment as a refrain, a marker that tells the listener, 'You are in Palestine now.' Sitting in a living room in a Chicago suburb, I was beckoned into Palestine through talk of the olive tree.

"I love these trees," Haydar told me. "You have to go see the olive trees. You have to go see Palestine. It's still there. It's in the olives, the scarf and the robe, the

¹ For all images and a full list of responses see Appendix A.

dance. And this is our country if we see it all together. It's lots of things, but it's in the connections." He pauses, looking at the picture. "This is Palestine."

"I love, love, love olive trees," Yasmine said, "Like every Palestinian. When I can, I only buy Palestinian olives." And when talking about the house he built in Palestine, Abbas said, "I planted 70 olive trees around it. So I'm serious about calling it home." The consistency of this response underscores the importance of Relph's insistence that home, while personal, is also always shared and communicated.

Hilltops and Wire

Images 1, 3, and 6 all brought out the common motif of separation in the Palestinian landscape. Image 1 is the afore mentioned picture of the village of Ya'bid. It shows a wide landscape under blue skies and billowing gray clouds. At its center, a village sits atop a hill surrounded by rows of olive trees. The image received largely positive reactions, but three participants considered it negative, assuming the village to be a settlement. Each of them remarked that settlers always try to occupy the highest hilltop. "See, they want to occupy us and surround us," remarked Zahra. "But not only in two dimensions, in three dimensions as well. They want to be above us; so they take the hills." The image is actually of a Palestinian village in the northern West Bank. But for some, patterns of Israeli occupation stand out, and even the possibility of a village being a settlement can tarnish a landscape.

Like the picture of the olive tree, image 3 stood out for the consistency of reactions it prompted. It was the only image to receive a unanimously negative designation. The picture is of a settlement taken through coils of razor wire fencing. Each interviewee immediately identified the neat rows of matching buildings as belonging to

an Israeli settlement. Many again noted that the settlement was built on a hill, as settlements usually are. In most cases (10 of 14) discussion turned to the issue of separation represented by the wire fence. “This is sad,” said Nasreen. “You see how the prison has come into our country. This is our land actually. And it’s really sad.”

Zahra spoke of the meaning of a fence and its two sidedness. “If you put things and wires between you and other people, it is because you are afraid of them. You are also putting yourself in a cage, dividing yourself from them.” For Palestinians who live near the security border, wire fences are less of an idea and more of an experience. Harith’s family comes from Ni’lin, a village just inside the West Bank, which he visits often. “When I visited again the wall was up, with razor wire just like in the picture, and the valley was gone. Then the settlement on the other side grew.”

Image 6 also depicts a fence. It is a picture of an olive orchard taken through a barbed wire fence. Thirteen of my 14 interviewees called the image negative. Many of them spoke of the agricultural oppression of Palestinians, of farmers cut off from their land, land confiscated, land destroyed. All of them remarked on the symbolism of the photo. “This is a good picture,” said Laith, referring to the affective potential of the image. “The wire and the tree. That is an olive tree. The wire might be from the army. They block farmers from going to the harvest. They did that to your grandfather’s land and our land. Now no one can go there.”

The one exception was 19-year-old Harith, who had some experience working with his grandfather and cousins on their farm in Ni’lin. He said that, as it was barbed wire and not razor wire, it was probably just a farmer’s fence and not a military one. He also remarked though, on the symbolism of the photograph.

Flags over Ramallah

Image 5 is the earlier mentioned picture of the Palestinian flag flying over a neighborhood of multi-story apartment buildings. It received the most mixed results of all the images, 7 positive, 6 negative, and one who actually described her feelings toward the image as mixed. “I have mixed emotions,” Bakriya said. “This flag is way up on this roof here, but it’s really not a place. It’s sad because Palestine should exist, and the flag is there but the actual solid ground isn’t there for people.” To Bakriya the image represented a disconnect. The flag represents a Palestinian state that doesn’t exist, and its presence above the city does little to change the experience of Palestinians on the ground.

Zahra, who described the image as negative, expressed a similar viewpoint. “I do not think the two-state solution is going to happen. I don’t think it can. And when they wave the flag over Ramallah, that’s what they’re hoping for, to have two equal states. But that doesn’t change anything. And I don’t think it can happen.” Both these views, and those that expressed positive emotions toward the image were focused on the flag and the conditions of a possible state of Palestine. But some responses didn’t take in the flag at all, and had little to do with statehood.

Wael and Abbas both considered the image negative because of the lack of development represented in the crowded apartment buildings. “I’m familiar with this area,” said Abbas. “I don’t like the buildings. You see, because there is no room to grow sideways we have to build up. And there is no order.” He did not mention the flag, nor did Laith. He spoke about the town he was born in, 20 kilometers north of Jerusalem, and how “when you stand up on top of the house in Beitunia, the old house, you can see Jerusalem. And you can see the Aqsa. And if you look west, you can see the

Mediterranean and the ships if it's clear weather. You can't now because there are too many buildings. I miss it before the buildings." Beitunia is an ancient agrarian village of seven deeply interrelated clans. In the past two decades, it has boomed with the dislocated populations from elsewhere in Palestine.

Harith was one of those who marked the image as positive, but the only one to do so without reference to the flag. He recognized the city in the picture to be Ramallah and immediately began speaking about his grandmother who lives in the city. Yasmine did speak about the flag, but unlike most who did, she expressed a negative reaction to it. "I know I should like the flag, but it doesn't represent Palestine to me, like say the olive tree does. This could be any city in the Middle East." Her reaction speaks to a need for distinction in place. Palestine must be particularly Palestinian and a flag is not enough. This sensitivity to the particularities of place is an important expression to which we will return in chapter 4 when discussing placelessness.

A Second Glance at Khulda

Image 8, the last image in the set, shows a wide, rich landscape, small trees in the foreground, open, green fields beyond them, and rolling, wooded hills in the background, all under a bright blue sky. The site is a park, a forest, planted by the Jewish National Fund over the remains of a pre-1948 Palestinian village called Khulda, halfway between Jerusalem and Yaffa. Israeli militia units destroyed the village in 1948 and then ecologically erased it with trees and grasses over the following decade. I only told this story to my participants after they rated the image. All of them had rated it as positive image, consistent with my coding. I was interested in how the new understanding would affect their view of the image, but afraid I was creating a scenario where all would

change their rating to a negative, and I would be left wondering what that really meant. I was surprised, however, when nearly half of my participants (6 of 14) held to their rating of the image as positive.

The discussion proved fruitful, and revealing of a certain understanding of Palestine. Each of those six (Zahra, Yasmine, Nasreen, Laith, Haydar, and Abbas) argued that while the story of Khulda was a tragic and unnerving one, the image was of the beautiful nature of Palestine. Regardless of who planted the forest over the ruins, its presence and beauty show that Palestine is a rich and bountiful place. They marked it as historically sad, yet still beautiful. In addition to the six, one other participant, Bakriya, said that it was sad, “and I think it’s negative now. But you can’t blame nature.”

Finding Palestine: Maps

In the second part of the interview I had the participants arrange five maps in order of representativeness of their cartographic understanding of Palestine. The maps showed (1) an outline of British Mandate Palestine, (2) an outline of the 1948 borders, (3) the '48 borders with regional context, (4) the same map but without the Naqab (southern Palestine), and (5) an outline of the West Bank and Gaza.² The questions of home that I am asking are focused on the idea of a relationship with Palestine from without or beyond its associated borders. So it became important for me to understand how my participants conceptualized Palestine geographically and cartographically. Where is Palestine? And how far can an understanding of Palestine be extended?

My most unique contribution in terms of methodology emerged from my attempt to apply Rose’s visual methodology, particularly as it concerns expressive content, to

² For maps see Appendix A.

these maps. Maps, and even more specifically the border outlines that I used, lack many of the basic features and elements of an image. There is no color, no hue and saturation. There is no lighting. And there are generally no features that inherently effect the mood or feel of the map. Instead of emotive elements maps display political content. New students of cartography are taught that all maps are authored, that every map is an argument. And arguments have emotional content.

The first segment of the interview revealed mostly irregularities in the participants' engagements with Palestine. While many images were marked affectively the same, participants focused on a wide range of elements in each picture. But when working with the maps, nearly all the participants produced the same results. Every participant placed the 1948 borders first in its representativeness of Palestine. "This is Palestine. In my eyes all of it is Palestine" (Nasreen, 2016).

At this juncture I was most surprised by the response of my participants. The main point I was trying to arrive at was a challenging of the pervasive association of Palestine with 1948 borders originally drawn up for the state of Israel. I expected either to shake their understanding of Palestinian cartography or else be met with resistance to the idea of a Palestine separate from those 1948 borders. However, none of my participants reacted with any intensity. Rather, they each seemed unconcerned with that challenge and continued to rank the outline of the 1948 borders as the most representative of Palestine.

The second map saw consensus as well. All participants also selected this second map of 1948, but the borders of which covered a greater area than the previous map. Together, the two maps representing the shape of the 1948 borders confirmed a suspicion of mine that the shape of Palestine was more symbolic than cartographic. There was no

debate on the fact that those borders *were* Palestine and the fact that in the second map the borders actually encompassed notably more land than they did in the first 1948 map was never mentioned. The borders are more important than the territory. “This is Palestine definitely” (Abbas, 2016).

The majority (11 of 14) placed the map of the West Bank and Gaza in 3rd place. Three people (Zahra, Wael, and Hamzah) ranked the map of the British Mandate for Palestine 3rd. Each of these participants recognized it as the British Mandate. Those numbers reversed for 4th place, with the eleven participants selecting Mandate Palestine as 4th, and the three others selecting the West Bank and Gaza as 4th. All participants expressed confusion over the map of Palestine without the Naqab, its southern desert region, and ranked it last in order of representativeness.

While all the participants recognized the map of the West Bank and Gaza, they reacted negatively to it. Yet, as we have seen, most (11 of 14) ranked it higher than the map of British Mandate. Only three participants recognized the map of British Mandate for the historic moment it was, and ranked it higher than the map of the West Bank and Gaza. Of the remaining eleven, six understood it to be a combined Palestine and Jordan, and insisted on a distinction between the two, and five were simply confused by the shape. This was one of the few areas where age proved a determining factor. The five who did not recognize the map as either British Mandate or a combined Palestine and Jordan, were all under 40-years-old.

Among the set of five, these two maps were the only ones contested. Despite the negative reaction to the West Bank and Gaza—“this is a made up map” (Yasmine, 2016)—it was largely preferred either because of its recognizability or because of the

distinction it provided from Jordan. “It says that Palestine and Jordan are the same place, which I don’t agree with at all” (Abbas, 2016). Recognition proved important in discussion of the last map as well. Every participant ranked the map of Palestine without the Naqab last and described it as confusing or a mistake.

Two primary ideas came out of the exercise with maps. Firstly, it demonstrates the importance of the map as a symbol. Palestinian culture is filled with representations of the post ’48 borders of Palestine, an interesting result of the British division of Palestine and Jordan, as that particular shape has historically only ever officially represented the state of Israel. This again brings me to Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of the territorial refrain. The well-recognized and accepted shape of Palestine is depicted over and over again in Palestinian art, jewelry, and dress. Like a chorus is stressed and repeated to be remembered when all other verses are forgotten, the shape of Palestine is significant even when cartographic history is forgotten. Secondly, there is a geographic specificity to Palestine (heavily but not exclusively informed by cartographic symbolism) in the minds of Palestinians. It must be distinct from Jordan, and other Middle Eastern countries. Again, this point plays into the idea of a sensitivity to the particularities of place that we will further develop when discussing the notion of home.

Understanding Home: Questions

All of this brings me to the idea home. Home is complicated, a mix of consistencies and inconsistencies. But, particularly in Germanic languages, home is often confused with a kind of spatial and temporal monism. Traditional geographic theorizations of home considered home to be that single dwelling you inhabit at present moment. This is evident in Relph’s entry on home in the *Companion Encyclopedia of*

Geography (1996), in which he opposes home to homelessness, the idea being that those without houses are without home. Indeed, he claims that people living in poor or impoverished conditions have a less developed sense of home. Geographic research in the years since has been critical of the strict association of home with dwelling and comfort (Ahmet, 2013; Blunt, 2006; Bunkse, 2004; Tuan, 2001). The association exists, however, and as such many of my participants said they would not call Palestine home, even while each of them expressed what I consider to be a home attachment to Palestine; an attachment to place crucial to the formation of identity and sensitive to the particularities of place.

In the final segment of the interview, I asked my participants directly about their relationship with Palestine. Of my participants, four were born in Palestine and visit often; one was born there but has only returned once; two were born in the United States and visit often; six were born in the U.S. and have visited Palestine only once or twice; and one was born in the U.S. and had never visited (interestingly, she has since gone and will go again this year). Every participant said they referred to themselves as Palestinian. Most said they always used the term to identify themselves. Two (Bakriya and Wael) said that at times they referred to themselves as Arab rather than Palestinian. Bakriya recalled her parents telling her as a child that she was '*arabiyyah* (Arab) and that she would tell people she was Arabian, "until '67. I think it was because of the war, but after that my parents would always tell us 'you're Palestinian.' And that's what I've said since."

All of my participants at some point spoke about a specific place in Palestine, and discussed the issues of Palestine in terms of the particular city or village that they considered to be their hometown. Family connections and storytelling featured

prominently in most interviews. But the quality of stories varied. Some participants (3) favored stories told to them by parents who remembered a Palestine before Israeli occupation. Those stories focused mainly on relationships with the land, the kinds of fruit that grew there, and the freedom they had to move between places. These were all older participants who had never been to Palestine, or visited only once or twice. Bakriya recalled her favorite of her father's stories. "He would tell me, 'Ah, *baba* [term of endearment, actually meaning "daddy"], in the *bilad* [old country] I used to go up to the tree and pick the pomegranate and the fig and anything you could get from the trees.'"

The younger participants in the category of people who seldom visited expressed a preference for stories of resistance and dealing with occupation and oppression. "I like hearing stories about people who lived there and what they went through," says Ful, 21. "This gives me more insight on the reality of living there. It also helps relay a true message to others about Palestine." The other young U.S. born Palestinians also articulated a sense of equivalence between hardship and veracity.

Participants who were born in Palestine or visited frequently spoke more of Palestine in terms of the changes to daily life. Laith, spoke a lot about changes in movement and sightlines in Palestine. "My father would go by horse from Beitunia with the grapes [from his orchard to sell] to Jerusalem. And sometimes he would go to Yaffa, and that would take him only two hours. Now it takes two hours just to get to Jerusalem. And they make it so hard for us to move in this place. But the land is still there."

Some questions meant to provoke longer conversations received surprisingly short, emphatic answers. In particular, one question referenced a moment in 2015 when 136 member states of the United Nations recognized a Palestinian state, and asked if the

recognition legitimated the participants' Palestinian identity. All the participants answered "no." Most explained that while it was nice to see, "I don't need others to legitimize my identity" (Raihana, 2016). This was the one question where younger participants discussed more than their elders.

The final question of the interview was the most direct. "Do you consider Palestine home?" Nine participants responded "yes." Those spanned all categories of birthplace and quantity of visits. The remaining five, those that answered "no," were all born in the U.S. Two were over fifty, and three under 25. The two older than fifty (Bakriya and Hamzah) both went on speaking about how they felt about Palestine and their relationships with it through family members until they changed their answers to yes. "I can't say it's my home because I've never been there. This is where I've been born and raised. So it would be kind of ludicrous to say that it's my home. But in my heart, it's my home, because of my loved ones, for them. In that sense, yes" (Bakriya, 2016).

In that same sense, I assert that all the participants described a home relationship with Palestine—a significant place of personal connection, but also capable of assignation of identity and shared experience. Everyone who said they would not call Palestine home also expressed an understanding of the idea of home closer to Relph's spatially and temporally restricted notion. All my participants also stated—unprompted—that America was home. And many were hesitant to call Palestine home where it might be understood as opposed to calling America home. This sentiment was expected, as the climate of American politics and society in late 2016, when I conducted these interviews, summons such emphasis from Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians who are United States

citizens, either born and raised here or naturalized, and whose legitimate belonging is being directly challenged.

Conclusion: Becoming Palestine

I contend, as stated, that each of the 14 Palestinians I interviewed expressed a home relationship with Palestine. But perhaps even more profoundly, they did so in ways unique to their own experiences and understandings, for this context of a politics of place built around home makes for a far better reference for asserting one's personal and communal spatial right and place of belonging than does a politics of place built around sovereignty and the nation-state. This is where my interviews have left me. To make some sense of it, I turn once more to Deleuze and Guattari's theories of becoming. Both the consistencies and inconsistencies of responses to pictures, maps, and questions can be described as rhizomatic relationships with place. In each case, Palestine came to look more like the world view of the Palestinian. In turn, participants took on, in their self-identity, characteristics associated with Palestine, including a love of olive trees and a hate for barriers and barbed wire. A becoming-Place of the person and a becoming-Person of the place. (Deleuze and Guattari, 2014).

For the purpose of analyzing difference of expressions between experiences, I broke down the whole set of interviewees into groupings of opposed categories: male/female, young/elder, born in Palestine/born elsewhere, and, most importantly, visits often/visits seldom or never. However, no significant differences emerged between any of the categories. The work that I did with the coded images of Palestine demonstrates the varied and personal nature of Palestinian identity. While some saw Palestine as a state that might be, and others saw it as a peaceful place that was, all saw it as a place worthy

of self-attachment. That attachment was mediated by different elements: family, faith, culture, and a need for justice—the last of these perhaps being, not only the most intriguing, but also the most compelling. The identity that each described as related to Palestine is an identity built around the remembrance of an injustice and the strength to hold out for indemnity.

There is so much confusion over Palestine. Palestine that was, a Palestine that might be, perpetual conflict over the Palestine that is. There is seemingly no unity of Palestinian thought or action. For 69 years, Palestinians have been challenged by the idea of the nation-state, and are no closer to achieving what Belfour and Sykes created for the Zionists. But this is the confusion of home. The central feature of a modern Palestinian identity is the pursuit of justice. The idea of a Palestinian State is a waiting for justice. But the idea of a Palestinian home is a settling in and holding out for a justice inevitable. There is a critical difference between waiting for something and holding out for it. The first implies detaching yourself from the effects of space, and investing in the passage of time. The latter requires you to make and maintain a space for a thing that time will bring.

Relationships with Palestine are complicated, but I contend that the complications and consistencies of Palestine as home is a strategy of holding out for justice. It is a politics of home that should be understood. But to understand or benefit from the examples of 14 Palestine-Palestinian relationships, we need to put statelessness vis-à-vis Palestine and Palestinians, and other stateless people and places (the Standing Rock Sioux tribe of South Dakota, for example), in the context of cartographic histories and imaginations and subject the formations and ideas of the nation-state and secular

sovereignty to unsentimental, evaluative, anthropological critique against a background of studied understandings of human home and identity.

Chapter Three

Shapes and Labels: A History of Palestine's Name and Cartographic Representation

The whole of the geopolitical issue of Palestine can be said to revolve around an issue of inheritance, tracings of originality in the relationships of peoples to places. The question that has been asked is; to whom does Palestine belong? To which heart is Jerusalem more dear? And to what hand does the earth respond? I think in the current climate of justice and geography these questions have been rendered immaterial. The death of environmental determinism has left unshorn the Zionist argument of an inherently Jewish ability to make the desert bloom. And the “empty land” thesis is an all but forgotten colonial polemic. The shift away from quantitative geography and simple spatial science over the last forty years has hollowed out any attempts to measure and record the sacredness of a site, or present one nation's attachment to place as more statistically significant than another's. And I hope to add to that dismissal in the next chapter with discussion of the idea of *home* in geographic research.

The question I hope to arrive at is not of to whom Palestine belongs. But rather of who belongs to Palestine? What is Palestine to the Palestinian? And what right or reason mediates the relationship of person to place? The difference, I think, is critical. Rather than asking after the, apparently, inherent and temporally immutable qualities of some original space, like Plato's ideal shapes, we pursue space and society as a relationship of mutually affective entities. Such that, instead of politics being exclusively the positions and decisions of people, people and their multiplicity of actions shape and reshape space, and that space repositions people and their decisions by an alteration of context. This

reciprocal play between what we do and where we are is the essence of the question of legitimacy and possibility, and the issue of belonging in Palestine.

The immediate questions of this chapter are of the history and importance of cartographic representations of Palestine, and the geographic imaginaries deployed around it. While I do attend somewhat to instants before and a few after, I have chosen to focus predominantly on the fall of Ottoman Empire and the moment post World War I when the shapes of the Middle East just began to resemble there current, or at least most recent, dominant cartographic forms. In addressing Palestine's cartography, I will look at the various powers at play and the politics of the push and pull of possibility and probability that effected an era of place-based strife. I will also, though briefly investigate different and changing ideas of Palestine primarily reflected by the history of the name and politics of the word "Palestine" itself. But I will begin with a further dismissal of the idea of originality in the geopolitics of Palestine, because the idea irks me so.

An Original Palestine

To be original in Palestine works in at least two ways. The more common manner is to claim an attachment to the place older than any other claims. The Jewish story arch of being in Palestine at a time, being forced out, and then returning. Another way of approaching originality is found in the more geographically sophisticated claim that Palestine did not itself exist until its creation by the events and fallout of World War I, that from its conception Palestine has been a Zionist ontogenesis (Biger, 2008; Kohn, 1991; Mountain, 2007, Horwitz, 2002; Bar-Illan, 1992; Abelson, 1991).

Gideon Biger has argued precisely that (Biger, 1981; 1989; 2000; 2004). “The year 1923 marked the period in which, for the first time in modern history, Palestine was defined as a political-territorial unit, separate from the surrounding area” (Biger, 2008, 88). To Biger identity and belonging are related not to places but to territories. Measurement and definition, of a particular kind, are required to establish a land with a people. “Palestine was more a geohistorical concept rooted in historical consciousness than a defined and measured stretch of land lying within clear geographical boundaries or stable political borders” (Biger, 2008, 68).

I have argued that the cartographic shape today so cherished and reified by Palestinians never existed in the world until the caesarean birth of the state of Israel. I stand by that claim. But a place is more than its representations. It need not be first measured and meted out to be amenable to attachment. Or at least not measured in the same manner for all places and times. The interlocking borders of the modern Middle East are entirely the product of the exercise of western power for western political and economic gain. However, perhaps more important than understanding the origins of current representations is understanding the possibility of the existence of simultaneous and often contradictory representations of space. That is, that to detach the Palestinian people from the borders drawn in 1948 is not to detach them from the land or from the idea of place called Palestine. Both these ideas are necessary to engage, the momentary history of the drawing of the modern Middle East, and the notion of the multiple representations of space. For that history I will fall frequently back on the works of Culcasi. And for the idea of the multiplicity of space I will defer to Massey from whose work I learnt it entirely.

Massey (2005), in her well-known arguments on behalf of a better conceptual understanding of space, claims that western thought, while greatly attentive to abstractions of time, has tended to either divorce it entirely from space—its conceptual other—or to tie the two so closely together as to obscure our cognizance of their unique attributes and attentions. We do not, on a societal level, investigate space or try to glean actionable information from such researches of it. What Massey believes to be missing from modern conceptualizations is an understanding of “space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity” (Massey, 2005, 9).

In her dissertation, *Cartographic Constructions of the Middle East* (2008), Culcasi interrupts a common place understanding of the “Middle East” with a closer inspection of the interplay of the map and the map-users; the oft articulated thesis that even while we shape maps so to do maps shape us and our understandings of our world. In the case of post-World War Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, that was a very real relationship where negotiators views of the regions were almost entirely the product of the (usually military) maps they were provided with, which they promptly proceeded to divide and divvy up with pens and rulers.

The critical element of these two arguments, one with historical positioning and the other theoretical, is their ability to comprehend an *other* representation and engagement with place. In that they ascribe no solid, solitary, answer to any moment of time or space. They create a pause. Within which the possibility of difference becomes productive rather than discordant. An argument of originality, be its legitimacy through

inherent attachment or creative right, forecloses all other attachment on the grounds of underdevelopment.

Zachery Foster explains, almost zoologically, those factors that hindered a true Arab attachment to Palestine. “Regions like Palestine were also quite large and therefore more difficult for most people to comprehend in a world without atlases and maps. Regions had few physical manifestations in the world, and so they latched onto spaces that were very real to people, such as cities” (Foster, 2016, 3). So much material. In few contexts does Palestine appear large. There are, were, and have for very long been a good many atlases and maps in, of and by the Arab world. Regions are little more *than* physical manifestations. And to claim that cities are more real than the pasture to the shepherd, or the field to farmer, or the desert to the Bedouin, is thoughtless at best. But what strikes me most is how “regions like Palestine” are “difficult for *most* people to comprehend” (my emphasis). Ostensibly claiming that *some* can; but the importance is in determining those that cannot, those to whom Palestine cannot belong.

Foster takes, as his point of entry into the history of Palestinian place and identity, “a cultural tendency in the Arab Middle East and elsewhere to conflate cities and regions” (Foster, 2016, 3). We will return to Arabic linguistic representations when we discuss the matter of Palestine’s name. For now, Foster’s premise provides an explanation of Biger’s observation that, “only for brief periods was the area under the uniform control of its residents... Since the fall of the Crusades (1299), Palestine has not been an independent state” (Biger, 2008, 69).

Biger and Foster argue, or at the very least imply that never was there an Arab identity belonging to Palestine or its region, that narrow strip of land at the eastern end of

the Mediterranean, because that identity was not exclusive. It was not inherent or original to the land. Rather because of a common Arab identity, or a shared Muslim identity the so-called Palestinians confused and conflated cities and regions and countries. They argue a lack of Palestinian identity on the grounds that Palestinian and Arab and other spaces were undifferentiated.

This thinking represents “a failure of spatial imagination” (Massey, 2005, 8). Massey describes “space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity” (Massey, 2005, 9). The argument to legitimize a singularly Jewish relationship to Palestine, through claim to its British-Zionist conception generalizes the history and direction of the west while delegitimizing its lived alternatives. “The trajectories of others can be immobilized while we proceed with our own; the real challenge of the contemporaneity of others can be deflected by their relegation to a past (backward, old-fashioned, archaic)” (Massey, 2005, 8). This is precisely what has been attempted by Biger, Foster, and others, in defense of a notion of an originally Jewish Palestine.

Similarly, the argument for an innate consonance of the Jewish mind and the Promised land is premised, not only on a particularly colonial brand of cultural ecology (which need not be addressed here) but also on a geographic imaginary that casts space as the motionless stage to the acts and scenes of human enterprise. But space is not so passive to our action. That is the argument of an increasingly familiar idea, that alterations of landscape call certain people into being and certain actions into play (Robbins, 2012). The resulting figures of Middle Eastern countries were hardly a random sequence of shapes. Culcasi demonstrates that they betray a striking devotion to strategic materiality. “Several maps and letters from the Paris Peace Conference show not only

that the British wanted to control areas thought to be rich in oil, but also that they were keenly aware of the location of oil reserves” (Culcasi, 2008, 118).

Ultimately, a paradox is created. In a classic and codified trick of colonial land-people surgery, Palestinians are simultaneously cast as simply part of the landscape and yet decidedly unattached to it. Presence without belonging, without originality. I assert that there can be no original Palestine because people and place develop within the contexts of each other’s content. To belong to place is to be at home. And home, as we will discuss in the next chapter, is too powerful and personal a notion to be entirely mediated and metered by historical construction.

To Give the Land a Shape

Learning from Massey (2005) we are to understand that where time is the dimension in which things happen one after the other, space is the dimension of multiplicity, and of many things being at once. As such what I describe here as the development of the current cartography of Palestine and the Middle East is only one of many multiples of the space we attend to. Earlier we discussed the use of originality as a legitimizing discourse on the part of Zionist thinkers. But European thought and political geography are perhaps more significantly implicated in the cartographic construction of the region (Culcasi, 2008; Gregory, 2004). In addition to colonial rhetoric of the 20th century, dominant ideologies of sovereignty and the nation state permeate the issue of justice and belonging (Hallaq, 2013; Arendt, 1968).

It would be too simplistic to blame the result of Palestine and the Middle East on Britain. But few involved entities played as critical a role. In his history of proposals, possibilities, and changes to the borders of the states in the area of Palestine, Biger claims that ultimately the line work laid by British negotiators has proven the most inviolable. “The British Mandate lines, which were established in the 1920s, are seen as the boundaries of Palestine, which no one is allowed to cross... the permanent international boundary lines of Israel” (Biger, 2008, 92).

While the Zionist claim to Palestine rested on notions of natural belonging, the right to a Zionist claim is dependent, in the world order of nations and states, on its British support. In turn, Britain’s legitimacy came, at least formally, from the Mandate system of the League of Nations. Particularly vested in the former Ottoman Empire, the mandate system was cast as an engine of independence under European benevolence and global leadership. “The overriding theme is the obligation and task of the “advanced nation” to help the “backward peoples” develop and establish governance.” (Culcasi, 2008, 92).

On 30 January, 1919, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations implemented the mandate system for all former German and Ottoman territories in Africa and Asia (Gregory, 2004, 80). It emerges in a time of increasing anti-colonial rhetoric, and emphasizes the need to avoid repetition of the “evils” and “abuses” perpetrated against “native races” by “more advanced civilizations” (1924 Pamphlet, quoted from Culcasi, 2008). Rather than being revolutionary the discourse appears almost commonplace, set alongside many such proclamations including Woodrow Wilson’s

Fourteen Points, which ends with a guarantee of “political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike” (Avalon Project).

However, in the language of the British, French, and American negotiators, little such compassion or righteousness (other than the self-kind) are exhibited. To the contrary many of the expressed views of decision makers involved in the negotiations for Ottoman territory in 1919 were decidedly imperialist and steeped in environmental determinism. Gertrude Bell, an Arab specialist who consulted on the mapping and division of Mesopotamia, described Arabs as “short-sighted and almost incredibly stupid” (quoted in Culcasi, 2008). Leon Dominain, one-time president of the American Geographic Society, wrote that Arabia, “in virtue of its position, represents a wedge of barbarism driven against the civilizing influence exerted by England” (Dominain, 1917, 288).

The ensuing cartography of the Middle East not only reflected the dominant rhetoric and ideology of the time but also carried issues forward to the present day. “In contrast with the European settlements, the straight line borders in much of this region suggest the abstraction from local geography that guided the imposition of these states, and continuing conflicts there date in part to the arbitrariness of the created geographies in contrast with the social and natural bases of local power” (Smith, 2004, 176).

It is not that the Mandate system was ineffectually, or incorrectly applied by cartographers and negotiators. But rather that it’s foundational understanding of the world validated relationships of abuse while decrying past acts of such. The mandate system was colonialism. “Regardless of the rhetoric, the mandate system ultimately established imperialist controlled states, which functioned more like colonies than independent nations... The cartography of the mandates reflects neither moral compassion nor a goal

of Arab independence” (Culcasi, 2008, 92). As such, despite its framing in an existing anti-colonial consciousness, the mandate system emphasized and reinscribed an inherently colonial world order.

The cartography that would define and redefine the Middle East was the outcome of political dealings and men drawing lines on maps but was also significantly informed by the theoretical engagements of the academy. A situation not unlike our own current hopes of a more theory based critical cartography, though, we hope, with markedly different applications. “The Allies justified control over former Ottoman territory within typical Orientalist discourses. The Arabs were seen as inferior, tribal, backward, and violent, and thus incapable of genuine independence” (Culcasi, 2008, 97).

Isaiah Bowman is perhaps the most highly recognized geographer in American history, due to his position as Roosevelt’s advisor and leader of the American delegation to the Versailles peace talks. The issue of Palestine featured prominently in later editions of his book *The New World: Problems in Political Geography*. Bowman’s advice on the Palestine and the Jewish Homeland was, with hindsight, “nothing if not prescient” (Smith, 2004, 311). Discussing the Palestine question with Eleanor Roosevelt Bowman asked “whether there was much difference between Nazi ambitions for Lebensraum and Zionist determination to dispossess Palestine’s Arabs” (Smith, 2004, 306). And in an interview with the New York Times he described the Zionist project as set “on a basis that is difficult to distinguish from Hitler’s Lebensraum.” Regarding American and British support in the issue he asked, “Is it not putting power behind a nationalist program in such a way as to take away land occupied by one people and give it to another?” (Bowman quoted in Smith, 2004, 306).

But his zealous geographical rationalism (his attachment to the theory of absorptive capacities) put him soundly in the theoretical camp of the Zionist program he so resisted. That is; his was a mindset that fueled colonization. And Zionism is, as Gregory argues, an inherently colonial project (Gregory, 2004).

Bowman's concern was not so much for people, or at least the peoples involved, as it was for the land. The absorptive capacity of a territory was his understanding of its capacity to support human populations. Bowman was firmly of the opinion that the land could not support a mass migration and therein lay the issue. "The British High Commissioner was to guarantee equality of treatment of the population elements, and to provide a national home for Jews, allowing them to return to Palestine only as the development of that country should permit the normal absorption of immigrants" (Bowman, 1928, 531).

His concern was for the land and his loyalty was first and foremost to the idea of the state. A state in the image of western states was needed to achieve the proper care of the territory. All of this was augmented by the fact that, according to Smith, Bowman was an irreconcilable racist. "His prescience was inseparably interlaced with prejudice" (Smith, 2004, 307). To add to the condemnation Smith allots Bowman and his geographical science a share in the blame for the state of the refugees of the World War. "Bowman's prejudices abetted and contributed to the broad failure of the United States and Allied governments even to attempt a rescue of Jews and millions of other refugees from Europe" (Smith, 2004, 310).

While the accusation of racism leveled against Bowman are contested some degree of anti-Semitism may have fed his political approach. Smith, however, is certain

of the legitimacy of the allegation. “His anti-Semitism was quite ecumenical, and his prejudices covered Arabs every bit as much as Jews” (Smith, 2004, 311). “To turn the government of the new state to either the Jews or Arabs would have meant discord from the start. The population had no experience in government, and it would certainly have carried into its first political contests a fanatical religious feeling that would have meant disaster if outside supervision had been withheld” (Bowman, 1928, 530).

As such Bowman supported the mandatory system as a resolution to the issue of Palestine; though he once argued against, on seemingly moral grounds, American and British support of a usurping Zionist program. “It was logical to select Great Britain as the mandatory of Palestine because of (1) her interest in the security of the Suez Canal... and (2) her long experience in controlling unruly peoples of diverse race, speech, and religious faith” (Bowman, 1928, 531). Ultimately Bowman’s colonial mindset rendered him incapable of adhering to his own advice and set him instead on the side of the Zionist project.

Biger, in what he calls a “critical geography” recognizes the disparity of power between the nations involved in the shaping of modern Palestine, and Britain’s advantaged position, much as I have done here. But he casts the former seat of Empire as operating solely in the light of the prevailing rhetoric of the time, and fails to see the Orientalist trajectory to domination and usurpation.

Britain, which established Trans-Jordan as part of the promises given to the Arabs helping her during World War I, tried to create need for cooperation between the Jewish and the Arab States by dividing the Jordan River and the Dead Sea

between them, forcing its “two established states” to cooperate in using the shared water and the Dead Sea mineral resources. (Biger, 2008, 73)

The implementation of the Mandate system in the Middle East and its particular effect on Palestine falls neatly into Massey’s “failure of spatial imagination.” It returns us to the question of belonging. When asking to whom Palestine belongs, we are asking after who has power over Palestine. The process by which the modern Middle East was formed demonstrates that power over place belongs to those who develop and progress, not objectively, but in the image of the west. That region and the nation-states that compose it (and possibly all nation-states) are the result of a colonial project. Palestinians risk losing Palestine by understanding place and its relationship with people differently than in the modern west.

We are not to imagine them as having their own trajectories, their own particular histories, and the potential for their own, perhaps different, futures. They are not recognized as coeval others. They are merely at an earlier stage in the one and only narrative it is possible to tell. That cosmology of 'only one narrative' obliterates the multiplicities, the contemporaneous heterogeneities of space. It reduces simultaneous coexistence to place in the historical queue. (Massey, 2005, 5)

And yet, despite persisting statelessness Palestinians have remained and continue to define themselves in relation to a place called Palestine. As shown in the previous chapter that relationship takes many forms, affected by many factors. But in all the ability to call upon even the idea of a place is necessary. In this way the name of Palestine becomes an important discussion, to which I turn now.

To Give the Land a Name

The name of a place is as much a political representation of it as its maps. If the shape and spatial definition of Palestine have been fought over and staked as points of legitimization it is inconceivable that its name and linguistic definition would not be. As such, it is important to convey a brief understanding of the history of the word itself, but as with the argument of originality, more critical is the application of that history and the kind of politics that surround presences and absences of that name.

The origins of the word itself are uncertain. Needless to say it is old. It appears in Egyptian writing around 1150 BCE with a consonant root of p-r-s-t in reference to a neighboring people. These are believed to be the Philistines living along the southeastern shore of the Mediterranean. At some point the 'r' alters to 'l' as is not an uncommon sound change. And in early Hebrew inscriptions a word P'leshet is used to reference the same region, and P'lishtim to mean its people. Many similar alterations emerge in the surrounding languages, but eventually the Greek word *Palestina* comes to dominate geographic references. Herodotus is the earliest recorded reference to the word, at times labeling the Hebrews 'Syrians of *Palestina*.' He describes the district of Syria *Palestina* between Phoenicia and Egypt, including in it the cities of Ascalon (Ashkelon) and Cadytis (Gaza). The term does not appear to be exclusive as Herodotus sometimes placed those cities simply in Syria. In descriptions of his maps of the region, he appears to use both the names "Syria *Palestina*" and "*Palestina*" over the area of what would today be southern Palestine. But always at a representative level below the regional title "Syria." (Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography)

The interplay of Syria and Palestine continues on to the modern era, and seems to constitute the norm of the regional geographic imaginary rather than the Arab exception suggested by Biger and Foster. Even on the part of European Arabists, “‘Palestine’ and ‘Syria’ were vague terms before the World War I negotiations, and it was unclear where one ended and the other began. But by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, most of the borders and ownership of the individual mandated states had been delimited and made official” (Culcasi, 2008, 95).

Like other spatial representations the relationship of names to geography is a point of imaginative difference. Western cartographic conventions of the hierarchy of areas do not neatly apply to the Arab imaginary, as seen with the alterations of Palestine and Syria. The rupture cuts even deeper into those conventions. “It is important to recall here that for much of Islamic history, cities and regions formed two endpoints of a spectrum rather than distinct ideas” (Foster, 2016, 9). Foster’s history of the geographic associations of the word Palestine with the city of Ramla, while limited by a hint of orientalism, effectively demonstrate the occasional percolation of regional names to the level of the city.

Ramla is a little discussed city just west of Jerusalem, about half the distance to Tel Aviv. Among cities in the region it is comparatively young, built mainly during the early Muslim period (7th century BCE). The city quickly became an important center of trade, and rose to prominence in the region, particularly when the Umayyad seat of power shifted to it from Damascus shortly before its eventual overthrow (Foster, 2016, 3). Because of its economic and political position in the region, Ramla was often called Palestine (Foster, 2016, 12). The practice is not uncommon in the Arab world. Even

today Damascus is often called *Sham* (the Arabic word for Syria as a region rather than a country), Cairo is called *Misr* (Egypt), and Bagdad is termed Iraq.

But rather than make the case that this practice represents an alternative cartographic tradition, Foster argues that this association of Ramla and Palestine betrays an Arab understanding of Palestine as a region limited to the immediate area of that city. And even posits that the association occurred as the result of a failure of Arab writers, copying, without understanding, earlier descriptions of the city and its regional importance. All of this he uses to make the ultimate claim that Jerusalem was never within Palestine and wasn't considered important by Arabs until after World War I (Foster, 2016, 3). This is a tragic misapplication of a potentially subtle understanding of a different geographic imaginary. Simply put, the importance of Jerusalem to Arabs, Muslim and Christian, comes not from its relationship to Palestine but from its positionality in Abrahamic faith, an importance preserved for Muslims in the oft repeated verses of the Quran:

Highly exalted is He who carried His servant, 'Muhammad,' by night from the Sacred Mosque 'at Makkah' to Al-Aqsa Mosque 'at Jerusalem'—the surroundings of which We have blessed—to show him 'something' of Our 'wondrous' signs. Indeed, it is He who is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing. (17:1, The Gracious Quran, Trans. Hammad)

The land around is part of the city. In the case of Jerusalem, in Islam's religious geography, the region's significance comes from its association with the city; not Jerusalem's from Palestine. But Foster's rejection of different conceptualizations aside, his attention to a recasting of Palestine is telling. It fits within a discourse that, rather than

attempting erasure of the notion of Palestine, seeks to qualify its historic position either to diminish its contemporary relevance, or appropriate it and disassociate it from the Arab claim.

Erasure of Palestinian identity appears to have been an early primary Zionist strategy, particularly in western discourse; one with momentary success. In the 1960s and 70s mention of Palestine nearly ceases in the English speaking world in both literature and media. The decline parallels an increase in mention of Israel as a state and the Israeli Defense Force (Google Ngram, Proquest), as well as a broadening popularity of both among Americans (Weizman, 2005). In Palestine itself erasure was a cartographic literal. Any labeling of Palestine was removed from maps. Arabic names of cities were replaced by exclusive Hebrew ones. Arab dominant villages in pre '48 territory went unmapped by state cartography, an omission with significant effect on the village residents who went uncounted and without state services like running water (Shoshan, 2014).

The name Palestine saw steady reemergence in English literature and media in the 1980s. While in the 1990s and into the 2000s, mentions of the name in book publications again dropped off, in print media usage soared, from just over 2000 mentions between 1960 and 1969 to just under 30,000 in the first decade of the century (Proquest search accessed Nov. 21 2016). During the 1990s a strategy of appropriating Palestine seems to have proliferated beyond the strategy of erasure. Between 1990 and 1996 the Jerusalem Post published approximately two articles each year claiming Jewish creation of Palestine (Proquest). "Until 1950," writes David Bar-Illan in the Post, "the name of this newspaper was The Palestine Post." That was the first line of his 1992 article, "The Great Identity

Fraud.” Which returns us to the question of originality I have so tried to distance, and the ultimate issue of to whom Palestine belongs.

Politics of name use dominate Palestinian discourse as well. But the emphasis as I illustrated in the last chapter, is on maintaining attachment to place rather than pursuing the disassociation of Jewish identity from Palestine. “I tell them I’m from Beitunia,” Laith told me, “Because I am. I am from my village. And then I tell them I am from Palestine, because it should be remembered that we are from there too” (Laith, 2016). Laith’s concern revolves around a personal belonging. He wants to belong to Palestine, not to remove the belonging of others. His is an understanding of place markedly different from the notion of the nation state that seeks to mediate the relationship of all people to a place.

Conclusion: Who Belongs to Palestine?

I will end with a contemplation of broader application. We have come through the issue of originality in discourse on contested territory and its rejection on Massey’s grounds of understanding space as difference. I have provided a momentary history of 1919 and the cartographic construction of the Middle East to emphasize their relation to a colonial project, the agendas and theoretical foundation of dominating forces, rather than Bigger’s more simplistic understanding of the shape of region developing as the result of promise fulfillment. And I have engaged in the discussion of the politics of naming to reassert that critique of originality and to highlight the question of belonging. The culmination of these threads of thought is an attempt at understanding the dynamics of the Palestinian attachment to Palestine, and a hopefully broader application to questions of belonging, sovereignty and citizenry, the state and the nation, and the politics of

people relating to place. I will try to address these issues in the following chapter, while suggesting as an alternate theoretical base a geographic engagement with notion of Home.

Chapter 4

No Such State: Palestine Between Notions of Home and the State

What is the relationship between a largely diasporic people and a place that does not officially exist? That is the essential question of this research. We have discussed in some detail the forms of attachment to Palestine reported by my Palestinian interviewees. Each of them evidences an immediate relationship to the place and idea of Palestine in their self-description as Palestinians. But what enables the perpetuation of that association without the existence of a state with that name and despite the existence of a territorially homogenous or overlapping state opposed to the legitimacy of that identity? Here I turn to the notion of home, where I understand home to be a particular attachment of people to place, unique to individuals and multiplicitous in its mediations; that is, numerous relationships coincide in a home attachment and the existence of one relationship does not preclude the presence of another.

Understood in this way, the idea of home is ultimately subversive to the modern form of the nation-state. Home in this sense is a belief that implies that all people belong to some place or places, a relationship that is unique but not exclusive. The modern nation-state assumes that every people belong, in some ordained or anointed way, to a particular place in a relationship that is both prescriptive and proscriptive. I believe that the situation of Palestine and Palestinians—69 years after the formation of the state of Israel to the exclusion of all other national identities in that space—stands witness to the living presence of the notion of home over sovereignty and of the strength of this notion over the modern conception of the state. To understand this claim, we must engage a critique of the modern world order of nations and states.

The Place of the Stateless

If there is no state of Palestine, then it follows that Palestinians are a stateless people. Nor are they unique in the world in this status. The surface (and subsurfaces) of the earth may be entirely and neatly divided into states, yet it is nonetheless strewn with the messy presence of stateless people—including the Uyghurs, Chechens, Circassians, Amazigh, Basque, Hmong, Kashmiris, Rohingya, Kurds, and many other peoples. The stated-world has, from even before its creation of Israel and the concomitant denationalization of the Palestinians, proposed simplistic binary “solutions” to the issue of Palestine, one-state and two-state. Palestine is not an isolated political quandary in the nation-state world order, but its place in the long record of statelessness helps to elucidate the crown jewel of geopolitical problems: in the world today, people without states are people without rights—and they abound. Build a Palestinian state tomorrow and the world will still want for states. That is because the reality of statelessness and out-of-placeness inheres in the very conception of the nation-state and the order its logic dictates. It creates the stateless and all manner of out-of-place people as a by-product of the visions that come to express the oscillation of its conceptions of nationalism between consensual plurality and racial purity. The periodic cleansed include the diasporic, refugees, asylum seekers, and all those real people who proliferate beyond the definitions of an endlessly evolving etymology of placelessness and exilic identity in the modern world order.

In her *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt demonstrates how the early twentieth-century push to structure the whole of Europe, and then the world, on the model of the Western nation-states necessarily created stateless communities. “The Second World War

and the DP [Displaced Persons] camps were not necessary to show that the only practical substitute for a nonexistent homeland was an internment camp. Indeed, as early as the thirties this was the only “country” the world had to offer the stateless” (Arendt, 1968, 284). Thus it is true that war and turmoil accompanied the “unmixing” of multiethnic Eastern Europe, but the common depiction of war itself as the root cause of the ensuing displacement is not.

Gatrell in his analysis of Europe’s refugee crises offers confirmation of Arendt’s observations on population displacement. “Twentieth-century displacement was unprecedented by virtue of being linked to the collapse of multinational empires, [and] the emergence of the modern state with bounded citizenship” (Gatrell, 2015, 2). Citizenship—that is, the association of people and place with the assignment of rights and responsibilities—created the stateless, “those people,” as in the case of the Palestinians, with a fatal incongruence of territory and nationality.

In this regard, support for refugees and displaced persons proved ineffectual. “Relief efforts concentrated on alleviating civilian suffering until such time as the war ended and refugees could return to their homes. But ‘home’ itself changed as a result of war, revolution and the formation of new states” (Gatrell, 2015, 17). Displacement occurred more as the result of sovereignty’s reassignment of relationships with place rather than through the material destruction of homes by warfare.

In Palestine, the argument used to justify the reassignment of relationships was that the Arab population could not adequately maintain and make use of the land. The Jewish nation was clearly a more native fit. “Zionists made a direct link between Jewish settlement and what they regarded as the cultural and economic retardation of the

indigenous Arab population” (Gatrell, 120). In order to address those populations left outside the system of nations and states following the creation of nation-states out of the remains of multiethnic empires, European governments included in their peace treaties regulations on the management of minorities, which, Arendt argues:

Said in plain language what until then had been only implied in the working system of nation-states, namely, that only nationals could be citizens, only people of the same national origin could enjoy the full protection of legal institutions, that persons of different nationality needed some law of exception until or unless they were completely assimilated and divorced from their origin. (Arendt, 1968, 275)

She remarks also on the systematically inculcated psychology perpetrated on the populations of Europe prior to World War I:

The worst factor in this situation was...that the nationally frustrated population was firmly convinced—as was everybody else—that true freedom, true emancipation, and true popular sovereignty could be attained only with full national emancipation, that people without their own national government were deprived of human rights. (Arendt, 1968, 272)

Simply put, sovereignty creates the nation. This seems backwards, for sovereignty by the definition of the nation-state world order is supposedly the guiding will of the nation. Surely, nation precedes sovereignty. Thomas Hobbes, a highly culpable theorist of the modern state, argued for an absolute sovereign with power authorized by the people of his territory. “The Multitude so united in one person, is called a Commonwealth...This is the Generation of that great Leviathan” (Hobbes, 1996, 17). John Locke saw the state as contingent upon the consent of unified and distinct nations. “By consent, they came in time, to set out the bounds of their distinct Territories, and agree on limits between them and their Neighbours” (Locke, 2012, 38). Friedrich Ratzel conceptualized the state as an organic entity composed of an aggregate of organisms (Hunter, 1983). In

all these conceptions there resides an ontological understanding of the state as a natural development, consistent across space and time.

Herein lies an essential moment in critical geographic thought; that ideas have spatial *and* temporal origins, they have environments *and* contexts that provoke their genesis and development. Elden argues that even so familiar and prevailing an idea as *territory* has a history and progression. “The idea of a territory as bounded space under the control of a group of people, with fixed boundaries, exclusive internal sovereignty, and equal external status is historically produced” (Elden, 2013,18). The notion of territory is critical to this understanding, and we will return to it. For now, the key point is the historical production of the requisite elements of modern sovereignty; namely, territory, state, and nation. “The problematic of the subjugation and management of space conceptualized as a territorial container requiring effective occupation by a central state apparatus first emerges in Europe in the sixteenth century” (Ó Tuathail, 1996, 3).

The guidance of a national will in the creation of state and territory, as theorized by Hobbes, Locke, and Ratzel, presupposes the existence of a cohesive people, uniquely and identically driven. In reality, no such population exists so one is imagined. This is what Hallaq in *The Impossible State* calls “sovereignty and its metaphysics.” He points out that “to come into existence, sovereignty needs not only a state but also the general prerequisite of an imagined construct, the nation” (Hallaq, 2013, 27). Thus, sovereignty both creates and relies on the presupposition of a unified and consistent nation.

Politically and ideologically, sovereignty is constructed around the fictitious concept of will to representation. European in origin (which is to say, specifically European *conditions* had produced it), the concept of [national] sovereignty is constituted by the idea that the nation *embodying* the state is the sole author of its own will and destiny...The abstractness of sovereignty...requires the evaluation of the state not only as an empirical set of differentiated institutions but also as an

ideological structure that both pervades and orders the state's social matrix. (Hallaq, 2013, 25)

The ordering of the social matrix is, in no small part, a racialized endeavor. It would appear that for the nation to be politically unified, it must also be ethnically homogeneous. An idea emerges, prevalent today, that certain people belong in certain places. Space clearly figures into the social matrix as well—not merely as a container of its progress and practices, but, as Elden argues, as territory, a tactic of ordering and control. “Territory is more than merely land, and goes beyond terrain, but is a rendering of the emergent concept of ‘space’ as a political category: owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered and controlled” (Elden, 2010, 810).

Elden conceptualizes territory as something created by techniques of measuring and control that themselves become a measure and control of the world, inherently unequal. More than a land parcel, territory is a technology, in the Heideggerian sense, that it is a way of framing and conceiving of the world. “Territory is a historical question: produced, mutable and fluid. It is geographical, not simply because it is one of the ways of ordering the world, but also because it is profoundly uneven in its development” (Elden, 2010, 812). Thus, just as sovereignty relies on the fiction of the nation, it also demands the formation of territory by and for that nation. But as Elden notes in his marking of territory as a geographical question, its development is irregular and inconsistent, defined, in fact, by its inequity.

It is this inequity that is defined by an understanding of space and power. Territory is a “particular and historically limited set of practices and ideas about the relation between place and power” (Elden, 2013, 6). While it is commonly believed that the state is the source of power, critical scholarship has posited that the state is in fact the

product of the relationship of power and knowledge. The relationship of power and knowledge cannot be addressed without recourse to Foucault's influential investigation of governmentality.

Governmentality...is connected to a set of analyses and forms of knowledge which began to develop in the late sixteenth century and grew in importance during the seventeenth, and which were essentially to do with knowledge of the state, in all its different elements, dimensions and factors of power, questions which were termed 'statistics,' meaning the science of the state. (Foucault, 2007, 100)

The modern state is thus underpinned by a set of ideas and a projection of this that creates an implicit understanding of space that is virulently colonial in nature.

The Nation-State: A Colonial Project

Gregory insists that ours is an era of colonial presence, rather than of post-colonialism. Colonizing still happens where we "continue to think and to act in ways that are dyed in the colors of colonial power" (Gregory, 2004, xv). The political, military, and economic power of powerful states colonize the lives, the history, and the identity of the stateless they create. They are states that see their power as coming from their overthrow of colonialism. But they are in fact states created by the power of colonialism. When the British mandate created in Palestine the state of Israel it was not an exception, just an eerily explicit example.

The relationship of power and the state represents a disjunction between a more widely circulated understanding of political science and the keystone ideas of critical social thought. I have tried to show that while the more common understanding holds that the state is the source of legitimate power, critical geographers assert that the state itself is a product of the relations of power and the construction of knowledge. The statelessness of the Palestinian identity is a result of a world order given its power by a

particular formation of knowledge about space. Ó Tuathail argues that a “conception of space,” launched and lauded by Euclid, Galileo, Newton, and Descartes, gave shape to modern geopolitics when it “was eventually recognized and codified in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648” (Ó Tuathail, 1996, 3). That problematic understanding of space is perhaps most notably elucidated by Massey.

Instead of operating on a spatial engagement with difference, the preference and supersession of time over space girds a worldview that generalizes the history and direction of the west while delegitimizing its validated alternatives. “The trajectories of others can be immobilized while we proceed with our own; the real challenge of the contemporaneity of others can be deflected by their relegation to a past (backward, old-fashioned, archaic)” (Massey, 2005, 8).

In this way, nations and territories, already problematic in their creation of the stateless, are themselves unequal. Rather than a presentation of alterity, nations across space are collapsed, and a single story arc is established, some nations ahead and the rest following behind. Time is valued and regarded over space, which is simplistically seen as a stage for the events pulled across it by time. Time is always moving on. Events happen one after the other and things build upon each other. Thus, the underlying belief is in the notion of progress, which demands continuous movement forward, a necessary abandonment of old practices and ideas and an acceptance of emerging ones. Any system or tradition of thought tied to some delegitimized point in the past is, therefore, seen as incapable of providing an alternative to current crises. Our ability to look elsewhere for solutions is curtailed by a valorization of the present and a certainty that we occupy the spearhead of development. Ultimately, we perceive the state of humanity as steadily

increasing, a straight line positively inclined on a temporal graph of human ability, intelligence, and value.

In light of the relegation of peoples and places as “ahead” and “behind,” it is merely logical that those at the height of human development achieve the benefits of their maximal humanity, the inalienability of human rights, who therewith gift these in measure to the less developed. In fact, consideration for the rest of humanity, manifested as concern for the disadvantaged and underdeveloped, on the part of the more advanced and empowered, is a driving mechanism of governance today. It is what Didier Fassin describes as humanitarian governance. “Moral sentiments have become an essential force in contemporary politics: they nourish its discourses and legitimize its practices, particularly where these discourses and practices are focused on the disadvantaged and the dominated” (Fassin, 2012, 1).

Rights, like resources, are gathered and distributed (with stark inequality) by the most developed nations to the “underdeveloped” or “developing” more as gifts than dues, effectively working to reinforce the humanity of the giver rather than confirm the humanity of the receiver. They demonstrate “the importance for Western societies of opening their democratic space as little as possible, while preserving the possibility, as a last resort, of granting consideration to those who succeed in entering our world, but on the basis of humanitarianism rather than as a right” (Fassin, 2012, 253).

What humanitarianism ultimately allows, Fassin argues, is the preservation of an inherently inequitable world order with lip-service claim to a foundation on the principle that all lives are equal. “Humanitarian reason, by instituting the equivalence of lives and the equivalence of suffering, allows us to continue believing—contrary to the daily

evidence of the realities that we encounter—in this concept of humanity which presupposes that all human beings are of equal value” (Fassin, 2012, 252). Nonetheless, these daily evidences are increasingly difficult to ignore. “As we have seen, the lives of the Palestinian youth, the Iraqi civilian, the ill African, or the unskilled immigrant worker in France have much lower value than, respectively, the lives of the Israeli child, the American soldier, the European patient, or the French professional” (Fassin, 2012, 252). Humanitarian governance emerges as an attempt to make all people equal but merely holds that all people are equal and enjoins the giving of aid (gifts) rather than the receipt of rights regardless of nation or associated place (Nguyen, 2012).

The logic of sovereignty—which creates and relies on the idea of the nation, a homogeneous and affectively united population, and the notion of a territory, a space of measurement and control, to which that nation is inherently native—epitomizes Massey’s seminal “failure of spatial imagination...failure in the sense of being inadequate to face up to the challenges of space” (Massey, 2005, 8). In the wake of our failure, our devotion to the ‘natural’ sovereignty of concocted nations over constructed territories has emerged in the hideous realities of the problem of the stateless, the forced passivity and temporal imprisonment of the refugee, the abject disdain and social imprisonment of the migrant, and the amalgamation of both these experiences of statelessness and displacement, and more, affecting actual people who fall outside the confines of simple terms like migrant and refugee.

That logic of sovereignty, and its assembly of the inherently unequal world order of overlapping rather than interlocking nation-states, is the result of a conceptual relegation of time over space, in which difference across space simply becomes

placement in a temporal que, and the idea that certain people belong, inescapably, to certain places and therefore to certain positions in the single trajectory of human development. It is not only conceivable but reasonable that what we call human rights would be preeminently achieved by those nations belonging to spaces deemed most advanced—rights that they, then, might gift or lend to the peoples and places that fell behind.

As with the discussion of cartographic histories in the last chapter we come to the colonial project as I have defined it. In the case of both the state of Israel and any potential Palestinian state, true power to define place remains in the hands of Western colonial powers. Israel is, as I have asserted, a colonial project. But so too is the nation-state as a whole, and the world order that demands, through an economy of international recognition, that all relationships to place be in the image of the west. And western powers are the key beneficiaries. Racism is a key driver and product of a world view that binds people and their rights to particular places, allowing for non-western peoples to be marked as out-of-place, and therefore without rights, when outside the geographic boundaries of the territory to which their nation most “natively” belongs.

In the two years I have devoted to this project we have seen a dramatic increase in nativist politics in the west drawing on this world view. And the colonial agenda is clear. Through processes of colonialism and imperialism the western powers gathered to themselves the wealth and resources of the world. But once that was done it became vital to establish a system that would mark and hold at bay those people who would leave their place of “origin” to follow those resources. The nation-state fulfills that need.

Home and Identity

Generations of geographers, sociologists, psychologists and other scholars have studied the complex concept of home. They have quantified, qualified, analyzed, constructed, deconstructed, and defined it in numerous ways toward diverse ends. For all this study, there is still no definitive answer to the question of what home is, and that is perhaps the point of this research, that home is a highly personal relationship. Whereas the state, as described above, defines and mediates all relationships of people to place, home is a relationship of a person to a place that is unique to each, defined on its own terms.

For all the confusion it causes the scholarly, the idea of home is intuitive to everyone. Each of us is intimately connected to and affected by home. Each of us has, or has had, a home. For some of us, it is our house. We conflate the two. For some, home extends outside the house. For others, home is elsewhere. Even those of us who make no claim to home, whether or not we have a house, have some idea or ideal of home. We can envision homes we hope to have, long for homes we wish we had. What all of this shows is that home and dwelling are actually separate concepts. For some, for many, they are clearly separate geographic entities. I use the term “geographic,” for while the consensus is that home is more emotional than physical, more feeling than place, place is always involved.

For Palestinians living outside the understood geographic borders of Palestine, home is isolated from any entangling idea of dwelling. As shown in chapter 2, many interviewees in this research, while describing a home relationship with Palestine, are for this reason hesitant to use the word “home” in reference to a place they do not dwell in.

The words for home in Germanic and Scandinavian languages connote ideas of abode, dwelling, and safety (Tuan, 2011). But research on the idea of home and the relationships of people to place tend toward an understanding of home as more affect than structure. In their geographic research of home, Blunt and Dowling posit that “home is much more than a house or the physical structure in which we dwell” (Blunt, 2006, 14). Home, moreover, is personal. It is defined by the one at home even where environments do not lend themselves to being “homey.” Edmunds Bunkše describes living, apart from his family, in a concrete complex in Soviet occupied Latvia when “a very curious thing happened: I experienced protected intimacy, warmth, domesticity, security and homeyness in my shabby, Le Corbusier-inspired machine for living” (Bunkše, 2004, 6). The experience led Bunkše to conclude that “home is sometimes a state of mind” (Bunkše, 2004, 103).

Home is also defined as “being close to self... a second body” (Porteous, 2001, 48). And if home is a body, a part of self, then even those Palestinians that left Palestine can be said to carry a part of that home with them. But while home’s emotional element must be emphasized, it cannot be wholly stripped of place and locality. Home remains spatial in that a feeling of home is always directed at some geography. “Home is a relation between material and imaginative realms and processes, whereby physical location and materiality, feelings and ideas, are bound together and influence each other, rather than [being] separate and distinct” (Blunt, 2006, 14).

Palestine remains a place in the geography of Palestinian identity, emphasizing the fact that, though stateless, Palestinians are not placeless. Relph describes placelessness as a condition of a landscape, an “environment without significant places”

(Castree et al, 2013). In that sense, Palestine, with no shortage of historical and present gravity, is far from placeless. But placelessness is also associated with a human condition, “a lack of attachment to place.” It is a “loss of place, of not belonging or not having a place in the world” (Relph, 1976, 287). According to the modern logic of belonging, of nations and states, people left stateless and diasporic should express an attitude of placelessness. Placelessness however, is more than statelessness. It is a force that turns every landscape into ‘a flatscape,’ providing possibilities only for commonplace and meaningless experiences (Norberg-Schulz, 2000, 7). It “encourages insensitivity towards the particularities of place and separates human beings from ground, or context.” (Relph, 1976, 287). The Palestinian is far from insensitive to the particularities of place. Palestine is to him particular, deserving of his attention. There is virtually no expression of placelessness in the general Palestinian narrative, nor did it emerge in my interviews. Rather, a heightened and extended sense of home and identity is prevalent.

Relevant to the Palestinian experience is research that focuses on the resulting effects of a loss of home. Douglas Porteous calls it Domicide, the “deliberate destruction of home against the will of the home-dweller” (Porteous, 2001, 3). Mostly observing home loss in the form of government land seizures, Porteous discusses its effects on the identity of the home-dweller. Those effects are overwhelmingly negative. But one moment expresses a kind of positive position that I find conducive to the development of a politics around the notion of home.

Home shapes you and, in turn, is shaped in your image. Home may change you against your will or without your knowledge. Ironically, the strong sense of self created by a strong sense of home may also be the factor that preserves you when home is lost. (Porteous, 2001, 48)

Of the various reactions to the loss of home, the strongest sense of identity was exhibited by those whose identities had been most shaped by that home. At least among those people I interviewed, Palestinian identity was ultimately undiminished, and in some cases invigorated, by the official rejection of their claim to the land they call Palestine.

That manner of place-based identity is usually associated with being in place.

There is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security, a point of departure from which we orient ourselves in the world. (Relph, 1976, 43)

But many Palestinians born elsewhere express the same degree of attachment to Palestine as those born and raised there. For, while home is personal, it is also communal. Just as placelessness can be seen as a human condition, place too is “an attitude, a part of a modern way of life, a way of thinking, doing, and communicating that is learned.” (Birkeland, 2008, 292). Home is not only preserving of identity but productive of it. In the landscape of Palestinian resistance, family is a dominant feature and critical to the formation of a kind of politics of home.

Much research on the issue of Palestine are in fact studies of its Israeli occupation. The Nakbah of 1948 and the events of 1967, the Oslo and Camp David Accords, the macro-politics of Palestine—all are undeniably important moments, but moments nonetheless that have overshadowed discussion of that place for nearly 70 years. Recently, however, scholars have begun to focus work on questions of Palestinian life and society, within which home and family figure significantly, work that “apprehends Palestinian spaces as complexities that bear a relation to, but are not fully determined by, the Israeli Occupation” (Harker, 2009, 320). Lisa Taraki of Birzeit

University has been a key advocate for this shift in academic attention for more than a decade. “A preoccupation with Palestinian political economy and political institutions has precluded a serious study of social and cultural issues” (Taraki, 2006, ii).

That focus on the micro over the macro, the minor and the major, is now prominent in geography, and steadily gains ground in studies of Palestine. “A focus on domestic practices is crucial since it allows the elucidation of some of the complex social and cultural geographies in Palestine” (Harker, 2009, 321). Its relevance here is that it helps us toward a better understanding of the political potential of home and family in the context of family. Placelessness is most often resisted in Palestinian identity by a kind of intergenerational instruction in sensitivity toward the meaningfulness of even distant places. As exhibited by my participants, family relations and storytelling are key mediators in the relationship to Palestine of those Palestinians who spent little to no time within its geographic borders.

Within the modern logics of sovereignty and territory all relationships to place are mediated by the state. But Palestinian identity, while very much caught up in issues of state sovereignty, exists outside that domain. Following the recent censure of Israel by the United Nations, pro-Zionist writers (Harris, 2016; Feldscher, 2016; Mitnick, 2016) argued that Palestinians do not want a state, referencing various, changing, and often conflicting statements by Palestinians regarding one and two-state solutions, and a lack of organized, concerted effort to build a Palestinian state. Here there is a grain of truth. Many, possibly most Palestinians want a state, some in one fashion, some in another. But the real fight that has consumed Palestinians these past seven decades is a fight for identity, for a name and a place to reference. What a Palestinian entity might look like, or

what Palestinian freedom will bring is secondary to the preservation of a community and a sense of belonging—not the memory of Palestine but its lived reality.

The last three generations of Palestinians have grown up surrounded by the hustle of geopolitical world order created by a modern, Western conceptual soup of place and time and power, and have often been the focus of it. Rather than build a “national homeland,” unconscious as the choice may have been, Palestinians met that world with a home, a sense of being and belonging that did not grant them sovereignty but did empower them to hold out for justice. Massey alludes to this counter-notion.

Some argue that, in the middle of all this flux, people desperately need a bit of peace and quiet—and that a strong sense of place, or locality, can form one kind of refuge from the hubbub. A ‘sense of place,’ of rootedness, can provide—in this form and on this interpretation—stability and a source of identity. It seems as though ‘time’ is equated with movement and progress while ‘space’/‘place’ is equated with stasis and reaction. (Massey, 1994, 150).

Ironically the place in which Palestinians have sought this stasis is considered one of the most contested in the world. But to them, it is home, “sometimes a state of mind,” personal, like “a second body.” It is, therefore, uncontested in that the contest occurs on another field, over state and sovereignty. One person’s sense of home is not diminished by another’s. In this way, the 14 Palestinians in America, the interviewees of this research, can, and emphatically do, still call Palestine home—a stateless people of a stateless place that does not officially exist.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: A Politics of Home

There is no such state as Palestine. But nearly 70 years after the termination of the British mandate for Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel, Palestine remains a home for the Palestinian. It is an identity not dependent on the existence of a Palestinian state, nor arrested by the presence of an Israeli one. Palestinians have a home relationship with Palestine. While stateless they are not placeless. They retain a sensitivity to the particularities of the place they call Palestine, and continue to derive identity from that relationship.

I have pursued the idea of home for most of my time in higher education. It began as an attempt to define home. To understand and exact the precise dimensions of what could and could not be home and arrive at a universal explanation of belonging to place. It was an exploration in cultural geography, notions of experience, of heartland, of place against placelessness. But the question was necessarily a political one for me affected as I was by generational inscriptions of exile, diaspora, and home upon the Palestinian identity. And so I find my work somewhere in between cultural geography, with its focus on the personal and phenomenal, and political geography, with questions of difference, and movement, and belonging.

Belonging is a key moment in this pursuit of home. As I began this thesis, Ó Tuathail claims that “geography is about power” (Ó Tuathail, 1996, 1). I think also that all of human geography can be written as the study of the relationships of people to place. Belonging is so significant a notion of geography. It is a person-place relationship laden

with power. Power that, as I hope I have shown, can have its genesis in the individual but always overflows the personal. The power that comes from belonging, from the person and the place, also runs along the lines that make peoples out of persons and all things are relationships.

The relationship too is a notion critical to geography. It situates multiplicity within the dimension of space and harbors the productivity of difference. As so effectually argued for in my education by Massey (2004) and Massumi (2002) space and difference are necessarily conjoined and understandings of difference are crucial to the application of justice. But the relationship is complex. It calls out for definition but each engagement further expands its potential rather than contracting it to definition. It is the assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 2014) the in-between (Braidotti, 2011), it is difference and multiplicity, a rupturing of dichotomies. It is complex and uncaptured and freeing. The near bottom line of this thesis then, is that home is a relationship and as such is complex, impossibly varied, and undefinable by one writer upon the innumerable individuals who experience it. I have failed to define home. But for that failure I think I now better understand, Palestine, geography, and home. I better understand myself.

Home is personal, and as such each home relationship is unique and the presence of one relationship does not exclude the possibility of another. One hundred years ago the Balfour Declaration promised to create a “Jewish national home” (Knesset.gov) but instead resulted in a “Jewish nation-state.” The difference being in the attachment of people to place. Where home is an intensely personal attachment with effects that vary between individuals, the state creates a matrix relationship between nations and territories that defines those who belong to the exclusion of all others.

John Locke, that father of liberalism and the social contract, conceptualized this state that would exclude people from place. He claimed that when a man claims a part of the earth it is his in its entirety. “It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it. That excludes the common right of other Men” (Locke, 2012, 27). This is not here a critique of the right to private property, but a critique of the claim to exclusive attachment. As a result of the 1917 declaration there must exist Jewish home relationships with the place in question. But there also exist Palestinian home relationships with it. The existence of a Jewish state however, prevents the possibility of a Palestinian state.

This is the foundation of a politics of home in a nation-state world order that necessitates the creation and persistence of stateless communities. A politics of home is an argument against the strict relegation of certain peoples to certain places, and the notion that a relationship between person and place is simply geographic, political, or territorial. To understand home as a personal relationship of people to place, self-defined, is to take a stand against the claim of the state to an exclusive right to mediate all such attachments.

In Palestine the intimacy of home is contrasted with the logic of sovereignty in a space defined by an absence of justice. And the enduring presence and effect of Palestine as a home on 14 Palestinians in America bears witness to the lie of the natural sovereignty of the nation over the territory. The state is said to be established over territory to give voice to the nation. But the voice, the territory, the state, and even the nation, are concocted to give shape to a world order that attempts to distribute people in space by race and ethnicity. And to arrange the spaces of the world unevenly along a

single trajectory, so that some people and their native spaces are always behind and subservient to others. The nation-state is a colonial and racist project. But home, as a feeling between people and places is not defined by the nation-state. And if given credence home can stand argument against the state, and free the stateless from waiting.

Bibliography

- Abelson, Meir. 1991. *The Elephant And The Palestinian Problem*. Jerusalem Post, Feb 01, 1991. <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/321018765?accountid=11836> (accessed December 15, 2016).
- Agnew, John A., Katharyne Mitchell, and Gerard Toal. *A companion to political geography*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2009.
- Ahmet, Akile. "Home Sites: The Locations for Home of Young Men." *Urban Studies* 50 (2013): 621. PDF.
- Arendt, Hannah, and Hannah Arendt. *Imperialism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968.
- Atwan, Robert, and Joyce Carol Oates. *Best American essays 1991*. Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
- "Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy." Avalon Project – Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Accessed December 6, 2016. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp.
- Balfour Declaration. Accessed September 10, 2016. https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/BalfourDeclaration_eng.htm.
- Bar-Illan, David. 1992. "The Great Identity Fraud." *Jerusalem Post*, Jun 19, 1992. <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/321067865?accountid=11836> (accessed November 14, 2016).
- Biger, Gideon. "The Boundaries of Israel—Palestine, Past, Present and Future: A Critical Geographical View." *Israel Studies* 13, no. 1 (2008): 68-93.
- Birkeland, Inger. "Cultural Sustainability: Industrialism, Placelessness and the Re-animation of Place." 283-297. *Ethics, Place & Environment: A Journal of Philosophy & Geography*. Volume 11, Issue 3, 2008 (292).
- Blunt, Alison, and Robyn M. Dowling. *Home*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Bowman, Isaiah. *The New World: Problems in Political Geography*. 4th ed. Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1928.
- Braidotti, Rosi. *Nomadic subjects Embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Bunkše, Edmunds Valdemārs. *Geography and the art of life*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

- Castree, Noel, Alisdair Rogers, and Rob Kitchin. *A Dictionary of human geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Culcasi, Karen. *Cartographic Constructions of the Middle East*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 2008.
- Culcasi, Karen. "Warm nationalism: Mapping and imagining the Jordanian nation." *Political Geography* 54 (2016): 7-20. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.05.002.
- Dahl, Roald. *Going Solo*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986.
- Davis, Rochelle. *Palestinian village histories: geographies of the displaced*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.
- "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography." (1854) William Smith, LLD, Ed. *Perseus Project*. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0064>.
- "Diplomatic Relations." State of Palestine Mission to the United Nations. Accessed April 14, 2016. <http://palestineun.org/about-palestine/diplomatic-relations/>.
- Dominian, Leon. *The frontiers of language and nationality in Europe*: Publ. for the American Geographical Society of New York. (Rahway, N.J.): Henry Holt, 1917.
- Elden, Stuart. *Terror and territory: the spatial extent of sovereignty*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Elden, Stuart. "Land, Terrain, Territory." *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 6 (2010): 799-817. doi:10.1177/0309132510362603.
- Elden, Stuart. *The birth of territory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Fassin, Didier. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Foster, Zachary J. "Was Jerusalem Part of Palestine? The Forgotten City of Ramla, 900–1900." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (2016): 575-89.
- Frost, Robert. *Robert Frost: Collected Poems, Prose, and Plays*. New York: Library of America, 1995.
- Foucault, Michel, Michel Senellart, François Ewald, and Alessandro Fontana. *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Gatrell, Peter. *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

- Gregory, Derek. *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004.
- Guttman, Allen. *The games must go on: Avery Brundage and the Olympic movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Hallaq, Wael B. *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Ḥammād, Aḥmad Zakī Maṣṣūr, trans. *The Gracious Quran: A Modern-phrased Interpretation in English*. Lisle, IL: Lucent Interpretations, 2008.
- Harker, Christopher. "Spacing Palestine through the Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34.3 (2009): 320-32.
- Hilton, Christopher. *Hitler's Olympics: the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games*. Stroud: Sutton, 2008.
- Hobbes, Thomas, Richard Tuck, Raymond Geuss, and Quentin Skinner. *Hobbes: Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Horwitz, Herbert. 2002. Local column: *War of Words Over 'Palestine'*. The Virgin Islands Daily News, Aug 22, 2002. <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/607245639?accountid=11836> (accessed December 15, 2016).
- Hunter, James M. *Perspectives on Ratzel's Political Geography*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983. Jean-Baptiste, Michel et.al. and Google Books Team "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books." *Science* (Published online ahead of print: 12/16/2010).
- "Jerusalem - Consulate General of the United States." *Entering and Exiting Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza*. Accessed April 14, 2016. <http://jerusalem.usconsulate.gov/entering.html>.
- Kohn, Moshe. 1991. *The Arabs' 'Lie' of the Land*. Jerusalem Post, Oct 18, 1991. <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/321046821?accountid=11836> (accessed December 15, 2016).
- Locke, John, and Peter Laslett. *Two treatises of government*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012.
- Massey, Doreen. "A global sense of place" *Space, place and gender*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994, pp.146-156
- Massey, Doreen B. *For Space*. London: SAGE, 2005.
- Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the virtual: movement, affect, sensation*. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2002.

- Mountain, Tom. 2007. *The Jews are the Real Palestinians*. Jewish Advocate, Oct 26, 2007. <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/205208439?accountid=11836> (accessed December 15, 2016).
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Architecture: presence, language and place*. Milan: Skira Editore, 2000.
- Nguyen, Mimi Thi. *The gift of freedom: war, debt, and other refugee passages*. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2012.
- Ó Tuathail, Gearóid. *Critical geopolitics: the politics of writing global space*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Porteous, J. Douglas, and Sandra Eileen Smith. *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001. Print.
- "ProQuest - News & Newspapers." "Palestine" Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/results/E1AC67F37D594CF3PQ/1?accountid=11836>.
- Relph, Edward. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion, 1976.
- Relph, Edward. "Home." *The Companion Encyclopedia of Geography the environment and humankind*. Edited by Ian Douglas. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Robbins, Paul. *Lawn People How Grasses, Weeds, and Chemicals Make Us Who We Are*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: SAGE, 2001.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Shoshan, M., & Bortolotti, M. (2014). *Village: One Land Two systems and Platform Paradise*. Bologna: Damiani Editore.
- Smith, Neil. *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.
- Taraki, Lisa, ed. Introduction in *Living Palestine: family survival, resistance and mobility under occupation*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2006.
- Tuan, Yi Fu. "Home as Elsewhere." Lecture, Geographies of Place from Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, Santa Barbara, March 9, 2011.
- Tuan, Yi-fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London: Verso, 2007.

Appendix A

Image 1:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 2:



Image 3:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 4:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 5:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 6:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 7:



Source: zamnpress.com

Image 8:



Source: zamnpress.com

Chart of Image Responses:

Name	Image 1	Image 2	Image 3	Image 4	Image 5	Image 6	Image 7	Image 8
Precoding	Positive Agricultural Modern 3 rd World	Positive Natural Symbolic Nostalgic	Negative Separation Violence Inequality	Positive Pastoral Nostalgic Natural	Positive Nationalism Development 3 rd World	Negative Agriculture Violence Inaccessible	Negative Pastoral Undeveloped	Positive Nature Maintenance Peace
Zahra	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Bakriya	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Mixed	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Yasmin	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Nasreen	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Ful	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Raihan	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	Pos/Neg
Dahlia	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Laith	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Haydar	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Wael	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Hamzah	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Abbas	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Pos
Shibel	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Pos/Neg
Harith	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Pos/Neg

Map 1: Palestine 1948



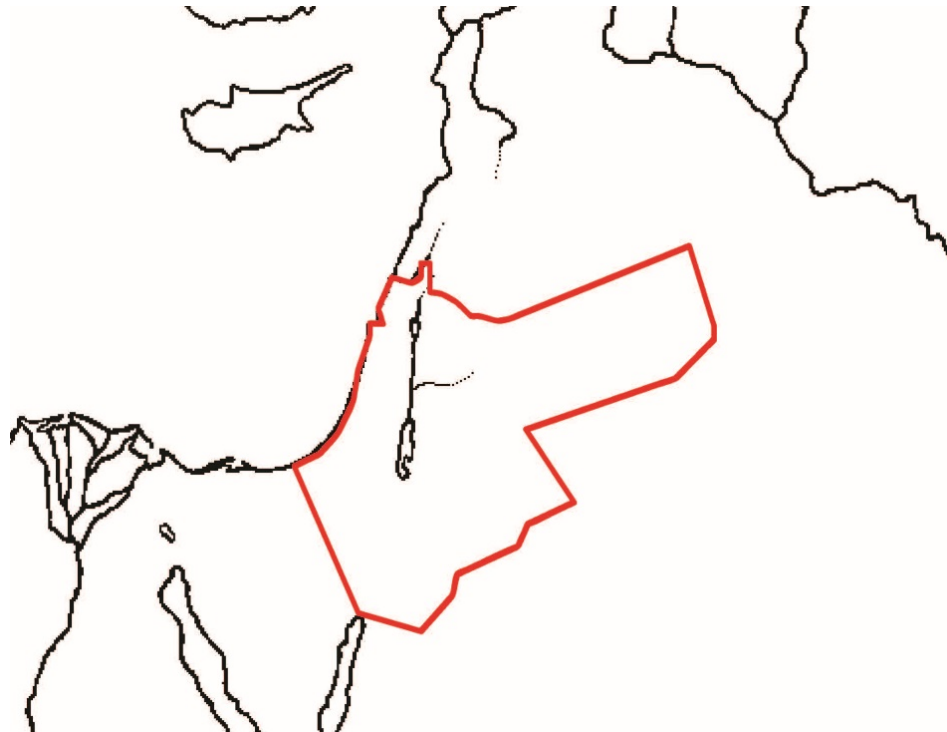
Map 2: West Bank and Gaza



Map 3: Palestine 1948 Small Scale



Map 4: British Mandate for Palestine



Map 5: Palestine without Naqab



VITA

OSAMA ABDL-HALEEM

17658 Forest Lane | Muscoda, WI 53573 | oabdlhaleem@uky.edu | (608) 391-2758

OBJECTIVE

I am a student of language, culture, and geography. I hope to enrich my experiences and abilities in regards to these and other fields, from cartography to woodworking, and to draw from these experiences and abilities in order to teach. Throughout my life I have been inspired by the passion of my teachers. I hope to be such an inspiration to others.

SKILLS PROFILE

- I speak near fluent Arabic (Formal, Palestinian, Egyptian)
- I have been writing, for fun, work and school, for about 8 years now. I have experience writing in a variety of fields.
- I have experience with Cartographic and GIS programs such as ESRI's Arc GIS.
- I am proficient with programs such as Microsoft Word, PowerPoint, Excel, and Adobe Illustrator.
- I have been trained in the safe and proper use of woodworking tools and carpentry techniques.

EDUCATION

University of Kentucky; Masters Present	Fall 2015-
in Geography; Advisor Jeremy Crampton	
University of Wisconsin –Madison; Bachelors Spring 2015	Fall 2012 –
in Geography and Linguistics	
University of Wisconsin – Richland; Associates Spring 2012	Fall 2010 –
of Arts and Science	

UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE

Session Organized

October 2016. "Race, Coloniality, and the Archive of Modernity", 23rd Critical Geography Conference. Lexington, KY.

Accepted for Presentation

February 2017. "The World is a Mosque: Justice and the Landscape of Lexington's Oldest Mosque"
Dimensions of Political Ecology Conference. Lexington, KY.

April 2017. "The Place that is Palestine", Association of American Geographers Conference. Boston,
MA.

Department Service

Facilitator, UK Geography Graduate Student Union Fall 2016 – Spring 2017

RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky Geography Department, FALL 2015 – PRESENT

Library Assistant, UW-Madison Geography Library, FALL 2012 – SPRING 2015

Columnist, Al-Jumuah Magazine, SEP. 2008 – SEP. 2012

AWARDS AND GRANTS

Kohn Scholarship, UW-Madison Geography Department, SPRING 2014

Foreign Language/Area Studies Grant (Arabic), UW-Madison, SUMMER 2013 – SPRING 2015

UW-Richland/UW-Madison Progressive Legacy Scholarship, UW-Richland, SPRING 2012

Future Teacher of the Year, UW-Richland, SPRING 2012