



MEMORIES OF HOME AND STORIES OF DISPLACEMENT: THE WOMEN OF ARTAS AND THE “PEASANT PAST”

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This article deals with the memory narratives of women from the West Bank village of Artas who were displaced as a result of the 1967 war and are today living in working-class neighborhoods of eastern Amman. Imbued with nostalgia, their narratives extol the values that had governed life in the village before their dispersal, values that have proved to be important for survival in exile. The “peasant past” remembered by these women is examined in the dual context of the history of Artas and the migratory itineraries of the women, many of whom were displaced for a second time during the Gulf War of 1990-91.

WHAT ROLE DOES THE MEMORY of the homeland play in refugees' lives in exile, and what are the main themes of this memory? Rosemary Sayigh has emphasized the importance of the “peasant past” as a social framework for the collective memory and identity of Palestinian refugees, arguing that peasant social relations helped refugees survive in exile and develop a culture of resistance.¹ Although her work has mainly focused on refugees living in camps, her conclusions have relevance to other situations.

This article will delve into memory narratives of the peasant past by women from the West Bank village of Artas, most of whom, while not “refugees” under legal definitions,² were first displaced in the 1950s and 1960s by the political and economic pressures caused by the creation of Israel in 1948. The case of Artas is interesting because, in contrast to Palestinian memory narratives focused on villages destroyed in 1948, Artas still exists and until relatively recently was accessible to those who had left, allowing for reflections on how this difference might affect the nature of their memories. Moreover, Artas is a particularly rich example of Palestinian “ethno-history,”³ being one of the most documented Palestinian villages and the subject of ethnographic writings from pre-Mandate times to the present. The pioneering anthropologist Hilma Granqvist, for example, produced an unequalled study of the “human biography”⁴ in Artas in the 1920s and 1930s that provides an important

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testimony about the peasant past in general, and about rural family and community life in the Mandate period in particular.

For the women of Artas (*Artasiyat*) in exile, the native village represents hope for a dignified life in the future, while their past way of life there provides them with a moral framework for the present. The moral values of the peasant past are particularly important away from the village, offering a safe haven in the midst of the uncertainties of life in exile. In the absence of concrete hope for return, Artas has become what Liisa Malkki has called a “moral destination.”⁵

ARTAS AND ITS ÉMIGRÉS

Historians and villagers agree on the etymological origin of Artas: the name comes from the Latin *hortus conclusus*, which signifies “closed garden” and is believed to refer to King Solomon’s pleasure gardens. The inhabitants of Artas render this name by the Arabic *al-janna al-muqfala*, which can be understood either as “closed garden” or “closed paradise.” Located three kilometers south of Bethlehem, Artas has long been famous for its abundant waters. It is directly adjacent to what are called “Solomon’s Pools,” three large basins built during the reign of Herod to collect water for Jerusalem. Because of its link with the hydraulic infrastructure of Jerusalem, the village enjoyed a special status under Roman, Byzantine, early Muslim caliphate, Crusader, Mamluk, and Ottoman rule. All of these left traces on Artas’s “cultural landscape,”⁶ and the village’s “privileged” past⁷ has become part of village lore. The valley’s fertility, its richness in water, and its biblical association played an important role in attracting European and American millenarian settlers to the village in the nineteenth century, making Artas the first Palestinian village to know such a presence.⁸ The association with King Solomon’s pleasure gardens likewise attracted biblical researchers, folklorists, orientalists, and anthropologists to the village from the early nineteenth century onward. In the Mandate years, Jewish and Zionist settlements were established south of Artas, the last and most durable being those of Gush Etzion.⁹

The 1948 war forever changed Artas. Located in the West Bank annexed by Jordan, the village was subject to no physical damage, but the post-1948 political and economic upheaval prompted villagers to leave Palestine in search of better economic opportunities. In the 1950s and 1960s, some went to Amman, but most went to Kuwait, which was experiencing a major economic boom and a need for immigrant labor. The majority of the men left their families behind in Artas, but when Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, they brought their wives and children to join them. Other villagers from Artas (known as *Ratasna*) left as families for Amman at the same time. The *Ratasna* in Kuwait lived there until they were expelled, as were hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in the Gulf, following Iraq’s invasion of the emirate and the subsequent Gulf War in 1990–91.

Since the Gulf War, virtually all the *Ratasna* outside Artas live in Amman, where they number more than 1,500, compared with the 3,000 villagers still

living in Artas itself. Most of the Ratasna in exile do not possess Israeli-issued ID cards, since the vast majority had already left when the Israeli occupation authorities conducted their first census in September 1967, which established residency rights in the West Bank.¹⁰ However, using their Jordanian passports, the Ratasna for some years were able to make extended visits to Artas to see their relatives and friends under three-month visitor permits issued by Israel. As for their eventual return to Artas, from the start of the "peace process" in the early 1990s, this depended on the multilateral negotiations concerning the fate of the 1967 displaced (which has been dealt with separately from the right of return of the 1948 refugees); theoretically, the displaced of 1967 would be able to resettle in the Palestinian state that was expected to emerge in the occupied territories as a result of the Oslo Accord.¹¹ The outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada and the stalemate in the negotiations ended not only any prospect of their return for the foreseeable future but also the possibility of obtaining permits from Israel to visit the West Bank.¹² This forced separation from their natal village makes their situation in Jordan more akin to that of the 1948 refugees who had never been able to visit their villages, most of which had in any case already been destroyed.

IMAGES OF ARTAS

My mother died when she was 90 years old. . . . Her mind was clear until the end. She was at a hospital in Kuwait. She wanted to return to Palestine. She said, "Take me to Palestine. I want to die there." She stood up with the perfusion in her arm and took her bag in order to leave for Palestine.¹³

The majority of the women I interviewed had lived in Kuwait before settling in Amman; others moved directly to Amman either after 1948 or in the second half of the 1960s, some immediately after the 1967 war. All of the Artasiyat now in Amman wanted to retire in the village. This circle linking the place of birth with the place of retirement and, ultimately, the grave, has been interrupted, as we have seen, by the political events since 1967. The Artasiyat tell of feeling cut off from Artas since 2001 and experience this situation as a major change in their lives.¹⁴

For those who have left, the image of Artas's lush gardens—*al-basatin*—stands in stark contrast with what they see around them: Eastern Amman's working-class neighborhoods where most of them live are gray and lack green space. In their memory narratives, life in Artas followed the rhythm of nature and agriculture, whereas they see life in Amman as dominated by the struggle for survival in a highly stratified urban environment. It is not surprising that in their mind's eye, the gardens of Artas come close to the image of a paradise lost. Indeed, the remark "We lived in paradise" heard by Sayigh in Lebanon's refugee camps is also heard in Amman's working-class neighborhoods, and there, as

in Lebanon, it cannot be dismissed out of hand as mere sentimentality. As Sayigh writes, “It is true that these dispossessed peasants have recalled their homes in Palestine from a present so bleak that their poverty and class oppression there tend to be blurred. But there is truth in their view of peasant life as good, for, in spite of poverty, ‘our land provided us with all our needs’.”¹⁵

The relationship between peasants and their land is particularly strong because they subsist on the produce of their land, and the memory narratives show that this relationship involves all the senses. Umm Shukri, a woman in her fifties, said, “Before, cabbage had an incredible smell and taste; today,

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you can’t find this anymore. The cucumbers they cultivated then—I remember that you opened them and their smell made you want to eat them!”¹⁶ For these women, reimagining life in their village from the distance of decades and with the nostalgia this distance implies, it was the “most beautiful life possible” despite the hardships due to poverty. Umm Murad even used a term related to *baraka* (blessing, grace, favor) to describe life in Artas: “The gardens were our lives. The one who had a garden had everything all fresh. Life was

not as it is today. I swear to God it was full of blessings (*abrak*), not like today.”¹⁷ In these memory narratives, the gardens of Artas appear as a divine blessing, as a place full of *baraka*, because they nourished the bodies—and spirits—of the villagers. The gardens—symbols of fertility—are also the ground on which the Artasiyat’s memories of home flourish and the cornerstone of their social identity as peasants.¹⁸

In her book *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*, Rosemary Sayigh cites Artas as an “illustration of village cohesiveness”¹⁹ because its people returned after “several decades” of uprooting in the nineteenth century to rebuild their ruined village once regional stability had been restored. Indeed, the cohesiveness of the village community is yet another recurring theme in the memory narratives of refugees from Artas. The Artasiyat evoke with a certain pride the village’s history of successive “catastrophes.” During the interviews, the women would declare grimly, “*Artas indabhat sab’a dabbat*” (Artas was massacred seven times). What the villagers call massacres were undoubtedly mostly violent feuds and conflicts between Artas and the neighboring villages. Hilma Granqvist was given specifics about only two of these “catastrophes,”²⁰ and there is no way of knowing how many such events the village has actually known. Certainly, the most important such episode—well documented in recorded history—was the invasion of Palestine in the 1830s by Ibrahim Pasha’s army from Egypt.²¹ The Artas villagers, like the rest of the region’s population, had sided with the ousted Ottoman governor and paid the price for their participation in the peasants’ uprising against the foreign occupiers; they were expelled from their village and their homes were destroyed.

The episodes of destruction and dispersion followed by the villagers' eventual return to their land to rebuild their homes after months or even years of refuge in the surrounding area have become an essential part of village lore. In the context of exile, these stories inspire hope. Indeed, for the exiles from Artas, the example of their ancestors' repeated expulsion and stubborn return is a promising one. If Artas had been massacred seven times, rebuilt seven times, and seen the return of the villages' sons and daughters seven times, why would their own return be impossible?

ARTAS, KUWAIT, AMMAN

Before the events of 1990-91, Kuwait had about 400,000 Palestinian residents (40 percent of the emirate's population). The emirate offered many professional opportunities for Palestinians, and almost 40 percent of them worked in Kuwaiti public services.²² Their residency rights, however, were entirely linked to their jobs; they had to leave the country at the end of their working contract.²³ From the end of the 1960s onward, the Kuwaiti state introduced increasingly discriminatory measures vis-à-vis all categories of immigrant laborers, particularly in the areas of education, and limited opportunities for advancement in government institutions.²⁴ Nonetheless, the most lasting scars of the Kuwaiti experience for Palestinians resulted from the months of Iraqi occupation and the ensuing campaign of blind "revenge" against supposed Palestinian "traitors," which ravaged the country after its liberation, followed by the collective expulsion of Palestinians.²⁵ It is estimated that about 320,000 of those expelled settled in Jordan.²⁶

The narratives of the Artasiyat from Kuwait are enlightening when it comes to the process of becoming a refugee.²⁷ Most of my interview partners did not see themselves as "refugees" until recently. In many cases, their husbands had left the West Bank before 1967 to become migrant laborers in the emirate. Those who left in or after 1967 have an itinerary that fits more neatly into the category of displacement, but even for them, the line between migrant laborer and displaced person is often blurred. What Malkki observed about Hutu refugees from Burundi in Tanzania also holds for those Palestinians who were living abroad when the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza stripped them of their residency rights in 1967: "Refugeeness entailed a process of becoming. It was a gradual transformation, not an automatic result of the crossing of a national border."²⁸

For the Artasiyat from Kuwait, who had never imagined that they would one day settle in Amman, life in the Jordanian capital was a double exile. As was the case for many West Bankers who worked in Kuwait, displacement acquired a new reality in 1990-91 when they were forced to leave the emirate. Whereas migrant workers in general can return home, for these Palestinians it was a moment of truth, showing that they were in fact refugees with no choice but to stay in the country whose papers they carried—Jordan. The

life story of Umm As'ad, a widow in her sixties, is a perfect example of this process. She had joined her husband in Kuwait four months before the war of 1967.

On the fifth of June we lost our country; this was *al-Naksa* [setback; this term refers to the 1967 war]. What could we do? We stayed in Kuwait. We stayed there until 1990 . . . in the hope of returning to Palestine. In the end, Saddam came to Kuwait and we left. We couldn't go to Palestine, so we stayed here and rented an apartment. We realized that we couldn't return to Palestine, so we eventually bought land and built this house. Of course, there were the problems of life, of exile, the pressure. . . . Abu As'ad didn't have any work anymore. . . . Someone who had his work and income, all of a sudden at home, without work, without anything. This pressure made him ill and he had a first heart attack, all of a sudden. In 1998, he died. And here we are. . . . We live in the hope, God knows, that one day we will return to our country, like most Palestinians.

In the words of Umm As'ad, "Jordan was a point of passage (*ma'bar*) for us, nothing more."²⁹ Not only did the Ratasna not choose their new place of residence, they also did not always feel welcome in Jordan. Moreover, for the vast majority of the Artasiyat, the expulsion from Kuwait had a significant impact on their economic situation, and their quality of life was often significantly reduced. Many Palestinians were unable to take their possessions and their savings when they left Kuwait. Many have had to take jobs in lower-paid sectors, and in general, Jordan offers significantly fewer social services than Kuwait.³⁰ The physical displacement thus went hand in hand with an economic displacement. The expulsion from Kuwait signified the loss of a relatively good quality of life, but it was also—and most importantly—experienced as an act of betrayal. As the Artasiyat see it, the Palestinians had built up Kuwait and been loyal to the emirate. The expulsion left a bitter taste about their experiences in Kuwait, even while they regret the loss of their material situation there.

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND?

Despite prolonged absence and the uncertainty looming over the question of their return, Artas continues to occupy a central place in the lives of the exiles. When they meet, they exchange the latest news about the village itself and about their fellow Ratasna living in Amman. There are many friendships between women from Artas who live in the same Amman neighborhood, although they have also developed friendships with neighbors from other parts of Palestine.

Traditionally, one of the most important ties to the village was financial; like economic migrants everywhere, the Ratasna sent money to their families back home and were thus materially involved in their lives.³¹ Until 2001, the Artasiyat could also spend vacations in the village, witness its development, and get to know the new members of their families by birth or marriage. Since 2001, they can no longer visit Artas and rarely have visitors from the village because of the severe restrictions on Palestinian mobility in the West Bank. Under these circumstances, the principal social tie that remains is marriage across borders.

All the Artasiyat I met in Amman had formed matrimonial ties with the village before 2001: Either young women from Artas were asked to come to Amman to marry their sons, or daughters were sent to the village to be married there, often with a man from the same *hamula* (clan). Since many of the marriages are cousin marriages, most of the future couples had already seen each other during vacations in Artas before 2001. Even so, the mothers often play an important role in the choice of the mate; they are the ones who gather information about single women who would make a good wife for their son, just as they are also the ones who take the first step by visiting the family of the potential future wife.

Cross-border marriages have reinforced social ties between village families and have helped preserve the village community in the face of geographic dispersion. The marriage strategies described above, which are typical of many Palestinian communities in exile, may be the most feminine³² expression of the social and memorial activities of the Artasiyat in Amman. In theory, the Ratasna have a strong preference for endogamous marriages, and a notion of a common origin has to exist in order to make a marriage possible. Well over half a century ago, Hilma Granqvist noted that "the common origin is not enough, but people must be clearly conscious of it. As soon as the memory of the common ancestors becomes dim, the bond by which blood relationship is conditioned begins to loosen."³³ The matrimonial strategies of the Artasiyat thus imply the mobilization of genealogical memory while creating new ties meant to maintain village genealogies despite exile.³⁴

The Artasiyat's investment in their village is also clear in the way they sometimes write it into the larger framework of the nationalist metanarrative, establishing links between their village and the collective struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom. A good example of this is the vivid recounting by Umm Shukri—after decades of exile—of events in Artas during the first intifada, which she followed closely from Kuwait, where she was living at the time. She was particularly shocked by what happened in Artas on 12 July 1988:

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On that day, 450 persons from the village had to be hospitalized, because the entire village was full of tear gas. . . . We were in Kuwait and heard this on the news . . . and read it on the first pages of the newspapers. . . . Yasir Arafat, may God grant him His mercy, said before the United Nations: “Save Artas”. . . . I kept all the newspaper articles in Kuwait, everything about the first intifada, the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, all that I kept.³⁵

Umm Shukri’s account demonstrates, as did the memory narratives of my other interview partners, how closely Palestinians in exile follow the events of Palestine as a whole. But while Arafat’s speech at the UN General Assembly meeting in Geneva dealt with the effects of the Israeli army’s intensive use of tear gas—including spontaneous abortion³⁶—he did not mention the name of Artas or allude to the events of 12 July in the village. But Umm Shukri was so moved by his speech and by all the events since the outbreak of the intifada in 1987 that it was *as if* Arafat had mentioned her village. Even if her claim was historically untrue, Umm Shukri expressed an important truth about the role of the imagination in the construction of nationalist sentiment. Furthermore, the fact that Umm Shukri speaks about the events in Artas in the context not only of the intifada but also of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila shows that in her mind the references of local and national collective memory are intrinsically linked. Far from being mutually exclusive, the local and national references are complementary in the creation of a “sense universe” for the Palestinian cause.

VALUES AS MOBILE HERITAGE

Because the Artasiyat in Amman, unlike Palestinian refugees displaced in 1948, had until relatively recently been able to visit their village and witness its change and evolution, their image of Artas is not fixed the way the image of a village in the Galilee may be fixed in the memory of a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon. Nonetheless, the Artasiyat’s memory narratives produce an essentialized image of Artas and of the village community. In fact, the Artasiyat consciously set aside the contemporary reality of the village because in their mind it no longer represents an ideal society. From the past they extract an idealized image not only of the village’s gardens and orchards, as discussed above, but also of the *characteristics* of the village community. Their memory is of “a morally superior social order”³⁷ that is part and parcel of the nostalgic memory of the homeland. At the same time, the exaltation of essential values is a reaction to the host societies the Artasiyat have known, which in their eyes often lack those values. Last but not least, living by these values has been a way to survive in exile.

In his book on the Palestinian community in Kuwait, Shafeeq Ghabra writes that “the village, like Palestine, has become for the exiled Palestinians a state of mind.”³⁸ This observation is very pertinent for the Artasiyat living in Amman. Yet the idealized image of Artas as *al-janna al-muqfala*—the closed garden or

paradise—and as an ideal community does not mean the Ratasna have forgotten the harshness of life in the village before dispersion. My interviews began with a general prompt, such as, "Tell me about your life in Artas. How was life before?" Of course, all the answers pointed to the central role of agriculture in their lives and also to the extreme difficulty of the work. But the narratives, like that of Umm Jibril, a seventy-five-year-old widow, below, also emphasize the satisfactions of that life:

Life was hard, very, very, very hard. We used to walk barefoot. Today, we walk on carpets with slippers. . . . Yes, my child, people used to know bitterness. Today, they have everything in their refrigerator. . . . But today, the mind never has a rest. Before, we used to be well. Today, there are so many worries. We used to be tired, but we didn't have worries before.³⁹

Several other Artasiyat drew a similar comparison with life today, emphasizing the simplicity of life "before." Simplicity here means both a life without much comfort and a life with few problems. It is interesting to consider the context in which Umm Jibril made these remarks. During the interview, she was in the presence of her daughters and daughters-in-law, and it seems reasonable to think that what she said was also meant for the young generation. Simplicity and contentment are virtues that the older generation wants to encourage in young people born in Kuwait or Amman, societies in which the wealthier classes imitate American consumer society. But since most of the Ratasna who used to live in Kuwait experienced a brutal social downgrading as a result of their expulsion, simplicity in this context is also a way of life they have been *forced* to adopt.

Another key value that emerges from the memory narratives of the Artasiyat is solidarity, a quality required in all circumstances in Artas, happy or sad. In exile, solidarity has become even more important, because of the fear that inevitably accompanied leaving the known world for a different society, different lifestyles, and often a degree of isolation. Umm 'Adnan, who settled in Amman in 1967, recalls how terrified she was during her first year in the Jordanian capital. When she was alone at home, she did not open the door, even to the neighbor's child who came to bring her milk.⁴⁰

As Sayigh has pointed out, village solidarity is very closely linked to family solidarity, since a village can be seen as "a family of families."⁴¹ The story of Umm Shukri's arrival in Kuwait is a good illustration of this point. When she arrived alone at the Kuwaiti airport in 1967, her husband was not waiting for her, as he had not received her telegram. Not knowing how to contact him, she was desperate until she remembered that a man from Artas worked at the airport. Palestinian airport employees, seeing her distress, tried to find him. They even offered to drive her to her husband's house, but she refused. Finally, they managed to contact the man from Artas. Umm Shukri remembers the moment she saw him:

So he arrived in his car. When he saw me, he exclaimed: "It's you?" Of course we knew each other, we had grown up in the same neighborhood (*awlad al-bara*). I said to him: "Yes, you see what happened to me!" And I began to cry. *Subhan Allah*, with a son of the village (*ibn al-balad*), everything was different. It was as if I had touched the bottom of the sea and then someone lifted me up. He said: "Come on, I will take you to your husband's house." He took my suitcase and we left.⁴²

Thus, while Umm Shukri refused to ride with the Palestinian airport employees who had tried to help her, because, although they were Palestinians, they were strangers to her, she immediately got into the car of the man from Artas. Although he was not directly related to her, the kinship ties linking the families of Artas to one another made her trust him the way she would trust a relative. Her life in exile was just beginning, and she could not yet imagine trusting anyone not from her village. And although her subsequent experience in exile gradually broadened her social horizons and taught her that people from outside of her village could be important sources of support and solidarity, village ties often remained stronger than other ties.

Solidarity, simplicity, and contentment are the values that characterize the village society as remembered by the Artasiyat in Amman. In exile, these values have acquired a different meaning, becoming even more vital and also more encompassing, going beyond the limits of village and kinship ties. Furthermore, every value exalted by the Artasiyat is also a reaction to the host societies. Simplicity and contentment have helped them survive economic hardship and resist the costly temptation of consumer societies.

CONCLUSION

The memory of the homeland is important for all migrants, forced or voluntary, and it is often difficult to separate the nostalgia for the "good old days" from that for the homeland. Physical displacement, however, tends to hide temporal displacement, and often what is longed for is not only the homeland but also the time of one's childhood and youth. For refugees and forced migrants, the political context of their exile adds another layer of complexity to the analysis of their memory of the homeland. When return to the homeland seems impossible, the memory of the homeland is consecrated as that of a paradise lost. The exaltation of essential values governing life "back home" goes hand in hand with the paradiselike image of the homeland, moral purity being an important feature of any paradise.

The collective memory of the Artasiyat in Amman obviously has many aspects typical of the collective memory of migrants and refugees. The Artasiyat idealize the peasant past of their village and have extracted essential values from their past way of life to guide them in their lives in exile. These values—simplicity, contentment, and solidarity—have helped them survive difficult

situations. Solidarity, in particular, has reinforced the social ties between the Ratasna in exile and has maintained the social cohesion of the community.

The villagers at home and in exile share the mythical image of Artas, the village that has survived "seven massacres" and been rebuilt "seven times." Oral history paints the image of the village as a phoenix that rises from the flames. And while the documented history only corroborates two or three violent events in Artas that led to the inhabitants' dispersal, it can nonetheless be said that the village has known an important demographic continuity. For every time the Ratasna were dispersed, they returned and rebuilt the village. This demographic continuity makes for strong social ties between the families of the village that remain strong in exile. For the Ratasna in Amman, these stories are beacons of hope.

Since the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in 2000, the Ratasna in Amman find themselves cut off from their village for the first time. Several Artasiyat I interviewed ended their narratives about their lives in exile by recalling their last visit to the Israeli embassy in a vain attempt to obtain a visitor's permit or a visa for the West Bank. Artas seems more than ever beyond the reach of its exiles, who continue to reproduce the social universe of the village by maintaining its values and perpetuating its collective memory, the only parts of village life that cannot be taken away from them.

NOTES

1. Rosemary Sayigh, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London: Zed Books, 2007), pp. 1-2.

2. The internationally accepted definition of a Palestinian refugee is the one devised by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1949: a person "whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict."

3. Sayigh, *Palestinians*, p. xxiv.

4. Hilma Granqvist, *Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1965), p. 9.

5. Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 35.

6. Nazmi al-Ju'ba, ed., *Al-Masbhad al-badari fi Artas* (Ramallah: Riwaq, 2000).

7. Artas did indeed have a central role in the agricultural and hydraulic organization of the surrounding area, but

this role changed from one period to another and cannot be translated as a position of privilege. Rather, the villagers had certain responsibilities—at times collectively and at other times individually—that were related to the hydraulic infrastructure of Solomon's Pools and the aqueduct bringing water to Jerusalem. See al-Ju'ba, *Al-Masbhad*, pp. 46-55.

8. Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol. I (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931), pp. 13-14.

9. The four settlements that made up Gush Etzion were dismantled when the West Bank came under Jordanian rule after the war of 1948, but Kefar Etzion was reestablished almost immediately after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967.

10. Only those Palestinians who have an Israeli-issued ID card or a number from the Israeli 1967 census have West Bank or Gaza residency rights.

11. The very definition of the category of the displaced of 1967, however,

constituted a major issue of contention at the multilateral negotiations; see Falestin Naïli, "Les déplacés de 1967: des réfugiés en devenir?" in A. Signoles and J. al-Husseini, eds., *Entre Etat-nation et Diaspora: Les Palestiniens face à l'incertitude* (Paris: IISMM/Karthala, forthcoming, Winter 2009).

12. See Manal Jamal and Buthaina Darwish, "Exposed Realities: Palestinian Residency Rights in the Self Rule Areas Three Years after Partial Israeli Redeployment" (A.I.C. Project for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, November 1997).

13. Author interview with Umm Shukri and Umm Jibril (pseudonyms), Amman, January 2006.

14. See Naïli, "Les déplacés de 1967."

15. Sayigh, *Palestinians*, p. 1.

16. Author interview with Umm Shukri, Umm Murad, and Umm Dawud (pseudonyms), Amman, October 2005.

17. Author interview with Umm Shukri, Umm Murad, and Umm Dawud, Amman, October 2005.

18. Although the Ratasna in exile have become urbanites, those who were born in Artas still consider themselves peasants.

19. Sayigh, *Palestinians*, p. 14.

20. Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions*, pp. 13-14.

21. Unpublished manuscript by Musa Sanad, without title, in Arabic, written between 1975 and 2005, pp. 20-21.

22. Lamia Radi, "Les Palestiniens du Koweït en Jordanie: confrontation ou intégration à la société d'accueil?" DEA Analyse du Monde Arabe Contemporain Thesis (Paris: Institut d'Etude Politiques de Paris, 1993), p. 30.

23. Ghada H. Talhami, *Palestinian Refugees: Pawns to Political Actors* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), p. 115.

24. Ann Lesch, "Palestinians in Kuwait," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 20, no. 4 (Summer 1991), pp. 43-45.

25. See Lesch, "Palestinians in Kuwait," and Michael Dumper, "End of an Era," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1991), pp. 120-23.

26. Radi, "Les Palestiniens du Koweït," p. 18.

27. Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, p. 114.

28. Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, p. 114.

29. Author interview with Umm As'ad (pseudonym), Amman, March 2006.

30. Radi, "Les Palestiniens du Koweït," pp. 35-36.

31. Riina Isotalo, *Many Routes to Palestine: The Palestinian Return, Forged Transnationalism and Gender* (Helsinki: Interkont Books, 2005), p. 81.

32. The term *feminine* is understood as a socially constructed category.

33. Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions*, p. 80.

34. Isotalo, *Many Routes*, p. 85. Since the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa intifada, these cross-border marriages have become problematic as many of the young Artasians from Amman who are married to men in Artas were not able to obtain residency rights through family reunification. Having overstayed their initial three-months visitor's permits, they have become illegal residents in the eyes of Israeli authorities; see Naïli, "Les déplacés de 1967."

35. Author interview with Umm Shukri and Umm Jibril, Amman, January 2006.

36. *Le Monde Diplomatique*, online archives, www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/proche-orient/arafat88-fr.

37. Helena Lindholm Schulz and Juliane Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 110.

38. Shafeeq Ghabra, *Palestinians in Kuwait: The Family and the Politics of Survival*, Westview Special Studies on the Middle East (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), p. 133.

39. Author interview with Umm Shukri and Umm Jibril, Amman, January 2006.

40. Author interview with Umm 'Adnan, Amman, February 2006.

41. Sayigh, *Palestinians*, pp. 6, 19.

42. Author interview with Umm Shukri, Amman, December 2005.

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