Chapter 1

2. McDonald, “Geographies of the Body.”
3. Averill, A Day for the Hunter, a Day for the Prey, 3.
5. Ibid., 42.
6. Ibid., 53.
7. Ibid.
9. The ethnomusicological literature on nationalism is substantial. However, several key sources have been influential in my approach. Among these are Turino, “The State and Andean Musical Production in Peru,” Moving Away from Silence, and Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe; Stokes, Ethnicity; Danforth, The Macedonian Conflict; Moore, Nationalizing Blackness; Sugarman, “Imagining the Homeland”; and Buchanan, Performing Democracy.
11. In a roundtable discussion with various historians Perry Anderson publicly called for a “relational history” (“Agendas for Radical History”). Other scholars have sought to uncover the historical relationships between the Jewish and Arab worlds. See especially Beinin, Was the Red Flag Flying There? and The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry. For a musicological study of the relationalities between Jewish and Arab communities, see Kaschl, Dance and Authenticity in Israel and Palestine.
13. Parmenter, Giving Voice to Stones; Swedenburg, “The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier” and Memories of Revolt; R. Davis, Palestinian Village Histories; Slyomovics, The Object of Memory; Petet, “The Writing on the Walls”; Oliver and Steinberg, “Popular Music of the Intifada.”
15. The parallel concepts of “communitas” and “locality” were developed by Victor Turner (The Forest of Symbols, 93–111); and Arjun Appadurai (Modernity at Large,
to underscore the processes governing ephemeral moments of intense community and belonging among social actors.

Chapter 2

1. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S9039]

2. The reference made here is to the heroic deeds of the martyr. The sacrifice of the Palestinian martyr is so admirable that the martyr is in effect teaching death how to die.

3. Over the course of my research I saw “Yama Mawil al-Hawa” performed by a variety of Palestinian ensembles throughout the region. Wedding bands invariably included it in their set lists. Folkloric dance troupes commonly used the song as the basis for their more contemplative routines, a Palestinian classical art music ensemble used it as the foundation for a larger composition and improvisation, and a student ensemble at the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music (ESNMC) adapted it into their program of Arabesque jazz.

4. See Sugarman, Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings; Askew, Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania; and Buchanan, Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition.


7. The significance, structures, and meanings of sung poetry in Palestine have been studied extensively in the fields of folklore and ethnomusicology. See Caspi, Weavers of the Songs; Elmessiri, The Palestinian Wedding; Jayyusi, Modern Arabic Poetry; Sbait, “The Improvised-Sung Folk Poetry of the Palestinians”; Sbeyhat, “The Zajal of Northern Palestine”; Yaqub, Pens, Swords, and the Springs of Art. For early sources on pre-1948 Palestinian poetry and poet-singers, see Dalman, Palastinischer Diwan; Sirhan, Musu’a al-Fulkler al-Filastiniya; Saarisalo, Songs of the Druzes; al-Sawafiri, Al-Sha’r al-‘Arabi al-Hadith fi Ma’sat Filastin min sanat 1917 ila sanat 1955; Barghouti, Al-Adab al-Sha’bi al-Filastini; Hijab, Al-Aghniya al-Sha’biya fi Shmal Filastin; Malham, Al-Aghniya al-Sha’biya fi Shmal Filastin Qabl Aam 1948; as well as the many articles published by the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.

8. Two different histories of the Great Arab Revolt are worthy of citation here: Porath, The Palestinian Arab National Movement; and Swedenburg, Memories of Revolt. Each of these texts provides an interesting counterbalance of political history and popular memory. Especially important for the purposes of this study is the last-
ing legacy of Sheikh ʿIzz al-din al-Qassam as a catalyst and folk hero for the resistance movement.


10. Today ‘Akka Prison is a landmark of the British presence in Israel as it was the site of the holding and execution of both Jewish and Palestinian prisoners. For Palestinians ‘Akka Prison holds great significance as the symbolic birthplace of the resistance movement against British colonialism, and by extension, the Jewish presence in Palestine.

11. Sirhan, Musuʿa al-Fulkur al-Filastiniya, 520.


15. Ibid., 100.

16. Steve Caton’s “Peaks of Yemen I Summon” (1990) offers a unique analysis of the forms of competitive poetic recitation very similar to the forms of poetic discussions common in Israel/Palestine. Likewise Dwight Reynolds’s Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes (1995) offers rich insight into the performative aspects of poetry in the Arab world.

17. Performances of this particular song were common among contemporary Palestinian protest singers. In each of these performances slight nuances or changes in the lyrics were common so as to reflect current issues. In particular, performers would routinely modify some of the stanzas to reflect the agendas of various political organizations. However, despite these subtle performative changes, the overall structure and progression of the story remained intact. The lyrics presented here were published in a collection of Nuh Ibrahim’s poetry in the 1930s and reprinted by folklorist Nimr Sirhan in his encyclopedia of Palestinian folklore (1978), 520–21.


20. Sirhan, Musuʿa al-Fulkur al-Filastiniya, vol. 3; and Shabeeb, “Poetry of Rebellion.”

21. This is not to be confused with the Ibrahim Touqan qaṣīda of the same title. Touqan’s commemorative qasida emerged at roughly the same time, yet it never had the same impact among the people. Among Palestinian artists and activists very few knew of this song and none that I talked to could recall any of the lyrics. Nuh Ibrahim’s tribute to these three martyrs, in contrast, was well known by virtually every performer I worked with. Verses of the song were easily recalled and sung in our interviews and conversations. This is most likely due to the efforts of al-ʿAshiqin maintaining its prominence in their live performances and recordings.

22. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S2070]

23. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-A0876]
24. For initial research into the origins of this song I must acknowledge Ted Swedenburg and Rochelle Davis for pointing me toward several Arabic sources, most important of which was ‘Awda, *Min Ruwwad al-Nidal fi Filastin 1929–1948*, 87–90.


29. Estimates vary considerably on both the number of refugees and the manner of their displacement. Upon studying Israeli, British, Arab, and international demographic sources, Benny Morris (2004) puts the number at approximately 760,000 Palestinian refugees. His data is the most often cited in the literature. However there is considerable disagreement over the manner of displacement, ranging between premeditated ethnic cleansing and voluntary mass exodus. Illan Pappe presents a fascinating analysis of Jewish demographic strategies during the 1948 war in *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006).


34. Personal communication with Sharif Kanaaneh and Abd Al-Aziz Abu Hudba (2004).


37. However rare, it is possible for the jinās to be identical in all four hemistiches, producing the rhyme scheme (aaaa ). In these cases each of the four hemistiches usually ends in the long syllable “āb,” maintaining the prescribed cadential rhyme scheme.

38. Arab music theory, based in a complex system of melodic (maqām) and rhythmic (īqāʿ) modes, has been extensively studied in the field of ethnomusicology. For an authoritative yet accessible introduction to this literature, see Marcus, *Music in Egypt* (2007).


40. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-A1093]

41. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-A6184]

42. Barghouti, “Arab Folk Songs from Jordan,” 67.

43. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-A5646]


45. In March 1949 Syrian colonel Husni Za‘im ousted President Shukri al-Qawatli in a violent coup. Jordan’s King Abdullah was the next to fall by an assassin’s bullet, outside the al-Aqṣa mosque in 1951. Two years later the Free Officers overthrew
Egyptian king Faruq. And finally in July 1958 the Hashemite regime of king Faisal II was overthrown in a violent coup by Iraqi brigadier Abd al-Karim Qasim. While only one of these events, the assassination of Jordan’s King Abdullah, could be directly linked to Palestinian militants, the widespread change in political topography speaks to the widespread political transformation taking place throughout the region.

46. Such sentiments of hope in Nasser’s leadership were far less prevalent among Palestinian refugees displaced into Egypt and the Egyptian-administered Gaza Strip. For these young nationalists, including Yasser Arafat, Salah Khalaf, Khalil Al-Wazir, and others, Nasser’s regime symbolized tyranny and opposition to Palestinian nationalist ideals. Rashid Khalidi (1989) writes of the dynamics of Nasser’s relationship with Palestinian political dissidents at the time of the Suez crisis and further sheds light on the Palestinian nationalist movement in Gaza in the years following 1948.

48. Ibid., 42.
49. Armbrust, Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt.
51. The original Egyptian state broadcast performance of “Al-Watan al-Akbar” became popular among Palestinians protesting the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in 2002. Digitally enhanced copies of the performance were packaged with other nationalist videos on cheaply produced vcds sold in street-side kiosks in Jordan and the West Bank. It was also common to see rebroadcasts of this piece on Palestinian state television and the litany of music-oriented satellite channels.
52. Turino, Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe, 16.
53. Armbrust, Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt, 89.
54. Stories of the diwānīn were common among my interviews with first-generation refugees in Jordan, especially the older generation of zajjālīn working to preserve indigenous Palestinian folklore.

Chapter 3
1. Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East.
3. Armbrust, Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt, 40.
5. The student riots were in response to the infamous “Rules of Aviation” investigation in which many Egyptian politicians and military officers were ultimately cleared of any responsibility in the 1967 war.
7. “Kalb al-Sitt” was originally composed as a satirical response to the great Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum’s pet poodle. Rumor has it that one of Umm Kulthum’s neighbors complained to the police about the poodle’s constant barking. The police
then responded by sending out a dispatch of officers to convince the neighbor that it was he who needed to keep silent. The “lady’s dog” appeared to have more rights and freedoms than the disgruntled neighbor. Similar to the Egyptian proverb that speaks of the kalb al-wazīr (the governor’s dog), Sheikh Imam used this story as the basis for composing a powerful song protesting social privilege and Egyptian aristocracy. See Burkhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* for a translation and analysis of the famous Egyptian fable.

8. McDonald, “Performing Palestine.”


11. Ibid., 144.

12. Ibid., 146.


14. Bailey, *Jordan’s Palestinian Challenge*, 35–42. Many times these checkpoints were mere fronts for the confiscation of vehicles, extortion of taxes, and intimidation of local Jordanian residents. See also Cooley, *Green March, Black September*, 87–111; Schiff and Rothstein, *Fedayeen*.


16. Each of the following political histories provides interesting commentary on the underpinnings of the Jordanian-Palestinian confrontation. Regarding the nature of this conflict as an outright civil war, Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians* offers a fascinating portrayal of the various militants participating in the conflict. Native Jordanians fought on the side of the PLO, and many Palestinian Jordanians allied themselves with the king. For further reading see Cooley, *Green March, Black September*; Bailey, *Jordan’s Palestinian Challenge*; and Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*.

17. The transfer of control of the camps to the PLO was solidified a year before Black September in a 1969 agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese government. In the agreement the Lebanese government officially relinquished control over the administration of the refugee camps in return for the PLO’s pledge to seek government consent for any future armed incursions into Israeli-controlled territory. For more commentary on the rise of the PLO and its relations with the Arab governments, see Cobban, *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation*.


19. Official numbers of killed and wounded vary considerably. The Israeli army reported three hundred dead while Lebanese and Palestinian aid workers counted over two thousand. The International Red Cross documented eight hundred confirmed bodies found in mass graves inside the camps.

20. Working as a correspondent for the *New York Times*, journalist David K. Shipler skillfully documented both the Israeli and Palestinian reactions to the Sabra and Shatilla massacres in his *Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land*.

22. Firqa Baladna and the life of its famed lead singer, Kamal Khalil, are the subjects of chapters 6 and 7.


24. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S6760]

25. The use of the two Palestinian villages here, 'Akka and al-Tira, is significant. 'Akka is a prominent symbol of Palestinian resistance going back to the poetry of Nuh Ibrahim and the Great Revolt of 1936. Al-Tira is also significant because of the many different villages carrying this name. To cite al-Tira casts a very wide net. Members of the ensemble recounted to me that since there are so many al-Tira villages it is much easier to make an impression on the audience, as the chances are good that many in the audience are familiar with at least one of them.


27. The battle of Karama and its significance to both Palestinian and Jordanian national constructs is discussed further in chapter 5.

28. McDonald, “Poetics and the Performance of Violence in Israel/Palestine” and “Geographies of the Body.”

29. McDonald, “Geographies of the Body.”

30. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S0768]

Chapter 4

1. This rumor was attributed to a local Fatah leader, Abu Husa, who concocted the idea of linking the accident with the previous stabbing as a way of instigating demonstrations against the occupation. The tactic succeeded; by the next day the murder conspiracy was the lead story in the Palestinian newspaper Al-Fajr. For a truly fascinating ethnographic look at the formation of the intifada, see Hass, Drinking the Sea, 48–50.


5. Nassar and Heacock, Intifada, 322.

6. Lockman and Beinin, Intifada, 317–26. The editors document the name, age, residence, and date of every Palestinian fatality during the first year of the intifada categorized by cause of death (shooting, beating, burning, electrocution, stoning, teargas, and other suspicious circumstances).

7. Abed-Rabbo and Safie, The Palestinian Uprising; Bennis, From Stones to Statehood; Hass, Drinking the Sea; Hiltermann, Behind the Intifada; Lockman and Beinin, Intifada; Nassar and Heacock, Intifada; Oliver and Steinberg, “Popular Music of the Intifada”; Peteet, “The Writing on the Walls”; Steinberg and Oliver, The Graffiti of the Intifada.

8. Hiltermann, Behind the Intifada, 211.


11. The most important historical references to Palestinian resistance at this time were the 1834 rebellion against the Ottoman/Egyptian occupation of Ibrahim Pasha and the Great Revolt of 1936 against the British colonial administration. For more on these revolts and their influence on the development of an indigenous Palestinian nationalism, see Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*.


13. Ibid., 7.


15. Hiltermann, *Behind the Intifada*.


18. Ibid.


20. The use of the word “song” to describe this repertory is perhaps inappropriate given that for many of its performers anashid is conceptualized as an extension of the divine revelation. Terms such as “music” and “song” are not used to describe Qur’anic recitation (tajwīd), anashid, or other religious-themed recitation.


26. See Rasmussen, “Theory and Practice at the ‘Arabic org.’”

27. It should be noted that both of these concessions were inspired by a promised, and much-needed, ten-billion-dollar loan guarantee by the Bush administration in 1992. Additionally Rabin’s promise to freeze settlement activity applied only to settlements not yet under construction. All other settlements already under construction were completed as planned.


30. The basis for this treaty was actually formalized seven years earlier when Shimon Peres and King Hussein initialed a draft of a potential peace treaty. Then Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir later refused to endorse the negotiations and the draft was deserted. For further insightful discussion of the Jordanian-Israeli peace process, including its social and political effects on the Jordanian public sphere, see Lynch,
State Interests and Public Spheres, 166–97. On the motivations and limitations of King Hussein to pursue a formal peace treaty, see Lynch, State Interests and Public Spheres; and Abu-Odeh, Jordanians, Palestinians.

31. The return of the PLO to Gaza marked the first time a Palestinian political party was allowed to operate inside the Occupied Territories and the first time many of its officials were allowed to return to their ancestral homeland. Among Palestinians in the territories, PLO officials were colloquially called “the Tunisians,” signifying the estrangement and perceived cultural distance between the wandering politicians and the people. For more information on the return of the PLO, see Hass, Drinking the Sea.

32. Sentiments such as these were common in my many interviews with refugees and political officials in the territories. Published accounts of reactions to the Oslo accords can be found in Hass, Drinking the Sea; and Rubenberg, The Palestinians.


35. Sabreen, Here Come the Doves.

36. Ibid.


39. Sabreen, Here Come the Doves.

40. Hass, Drinking the Sea, 103.

41. Ibid., 102–4.

42. Al-Taee, “Voices of Peace”; Brinner, Playing across a Divide.

Chapter 5

1. Ariel Sharon’s comments to the media following his visit to the holy sites in total are as follows. “I can tell you that what I was really more affected than anything was by the hatred, and that of course creates a very hard feeling about what’s going to be in the future if Barak, the prime minister, will manage to divide the city of Jerusalem. Because if you saw all those forces today, not to forget to thank them all, because they are working very hard, just imagine what will be the sizes of the forces that will be needed if Jerusalem will be divided as the prime minister wants. Therefore, we will make every effort to replace his government as early as possible, and I believe that’s going to happen. It should happen very early, because many, many problems will be caused here. Again, I came here not as a provocation, but I came here in order really to bring a message of peace.” Transcript of this interview published by the British Broadcasting Corporation (London and Jerusalem), September 30, 2000.


5. Lyrics were written by Dr. Madhath al-ʿAdl; the song was composed by Riyad Al-Hamshara. Participants were Nadia Latfa, Samiha Abwab, Anar al-Hakim, Asa’d Bubis, Hanan Nark, Muna Zaka, Munaliza, Mahmoud Yassin, Faruq al-Fashawi, Samer al-ʿAdl, Mohammad Hanidi, Ahmad al-Safa, Khalid al-Nabwa, Sharif Munir, Hani Ramzi, Hani Salama, Karim abd al-ʿAziz, Ḥida Sultan, Madhath Salah, Ḥida Amar, Riyad al-Hamshari, Yasra, Hisham ʿAbbas, Muna abd al-Ghani, Mohammad Hamafi, Lina, Talʿat Zain, Sabreen, Abhab Tawfiq, Shima Saʿid, Mohammad Mahbi, Miriam Nuh, Tariq Fuʿad, Dalia, Khalid ʿAjaj, Maha al-Badri, Hakim, Anoushka, and ʿAla abd al-Khalaq.

6. “Jerusalem Is Our Land” featured a large-scale music video filmed in the Occupied Territories in 2001. The video was directed by the Egyptian Sherif Sabri and won Best Video at the Arabic Video Clip Festival. That same year Diab began a regional tour through Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan sponsored by Pepsi Cola. Afterward Diab purchased a multimillion-dollar mansion in Beirut and spent the rest of the year on holiday in Europe with his family.

7. I borrow this term from Elliot Colla, who has written an engaging article on the development of pop intifada material culture in Egypt; see Colla, “Sentimentality and Redemption.”


11. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S7686]


Chapter 6

1. This translation comes from Elmessiri, *The Palestinian Wedding*, 55.


5. Ibid., 8.

6. Ibid.

7. Farah, “Popular Memory and Reconstructions of Palestinian Identity.”

8. The official UNRWA definition of a Palestinian refugee is someone whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period June 1, 1946, to May 15, 1948, and who lost both their home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 con-
flict. This definition is applied only to those Palestinians who took refuge in one of the countries where UNRWA services were available.

9. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S6800]


11. McDonald, “Geographies of the Body.”

12. The confiscation of passports or travel documents was a typical tactic of the state to punish activists and other dissenting voices. In taking away one’s passport the state took away the ability to leave the country, virtually imprisoning thousands of Palestinian activists in Jordan. In this particular instance the state wanted desperately to prevent able-bodied Jordanians from fighting for the PLO.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 254.

19. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S0790]


21. Several important studies on the importance of the olive tree in Palestinian folklore and cultural memory are worthy of mentioning here. See Braverman, “Uprooting Identities”; Bardenstein, “Trees, Forests, and the Shaping of Palestinian and Israeli Collective Memory”; and “Threads of Memory and Discourses of Rootedness: Of Trees, Oranges, and the Prickly-Pear Cactus in Israel/Palestine.”

22. The *ka’ba* (sacred house), located in the city of Mecca, is the holiest site in Islam. It represents the *qibla* (the direction Muslims must face in prayer) and is the highest object of worship in the Muslim faith.


24. A copy of this speech was provided to me by the Jordanian historian and professor Ali Muhafaza. See also Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 259.

25. The 1985–89 cabinet included ten Palestinian ministers out of a total of twenty-three. The resumption of parliamentary activities brought back into service the binational confederated parliament, consisting of two separate legislative houses, one Jordanian and the other Palestinian.


27. Ma’an has the reputation as being the most conservative city in Jordan. It is widely known that Ma’an is the center of strict Islamic fundamentalism in the kingdom, where music concerts of any political orientation are often considered morally suspect.
Chapter 7


2. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance.

3. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-S4997]

4. In 2008 Human Rights Watch released a ninety-five-page report documenting the widespread problem of torture in Jordanian prisons. The report finds that credible allegations of ill treatment amounting to torture were found in sixty-six out of 110 Jordanian prisons in 2007 and 2008. Researchers personally found evidence of torture in seven of ten prisons visited. There evidence suggested that five prison directors personally participated in the torture of detainees. For further study, see Christoper Wilke, Torture and Impunity in Jordan’s Prisons: Reforms Fail to Tackle Widespread Abuse.

5. Swaqa prison is infamous for housing some of Jordan’s most high-profile political prisoners, including Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and Mohammad al-Maqdisi. For many Palestinian activists and political prisoners, Swaqa is known as the bayt al-ʾanf (house of violence) for its torture and other mistreatment of political prisoners.

6. One of these two songs by Ibrahim Nasrallah was the wildly popular “ʿAla Jidaʿ Zaytuna.” This song became the title track for Baladna’s second studio recording.

7. Among other things, the price of gas rose 50 percent overnight, causing ripples throughout the Jordanian economy affecting the cost and availability of foodstuffs, transportation, and other necessary commodities.

8. It should be noted that the Ma’an riots were a direct reaction to and political comment on the financial stresses placed on the local community and were not at all directed toward the king himself. In fact before the bank was torched by the angry mob, all of the hanging pictures of the king and royal family were removed from the building so that they would escape the blaze.


11. Ibid.

12. Royal amnesties such as this are a common practice in Jordan. Usually they are used as a political tactic to gain public support, commemorate public or religious holidays, or otherwise present an image of benevolence and clemency to the people.

13. Queen Noor’s autobiography describes the king’s initial reaction as one of anger and frustration that he was not included in the negotiations; see Queen Noor, Leap of Faith, 361. Likewise a former advisor to King Hussein, Adnan Abu-Odeh, documents the king’s initial surprise and frustration upon learning of the negotiations; see Jordanians, Palestinians and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process, 234.


15. Hass, Drinking the Sea.
Notes to Chapter Eight

18. Two of the most prominent collections of Palestinian poetry to have published Ibrahim Nasrallah’s work are Jayyusi, Modern Arabic Poetry; and Elmessiri, “The Palestinian Wedding.”
19. [http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/eviada/14-A4295]
20. It is worth noting that the salutation Allah ma’chūm was spoken in a noticeably distinct Palestinian dialect emphasizing the ch sound instead of the classically pronounced Allah ma’kūm. Her use of a distinctly rural Palestinian dialect is significant in that it caused Kamal to instinctively respond to her in the same style accent. In its linguistic code switching, their brief yet heartfelt exchange was itself a performance of Palestinian nationalism.

Chapter 8

2. For an interesting social history of Lyd and the relationship between its inhabitants and the Israeli state, see Yacobi, “From Urban Panopticism to Spatial Protest.”
3. Official crime statistics from Lyd at this time are difficult to obtain; however, several articles in Israeli newspapers have documented the problems of drug addiction and drug-related crime in Lyd. For this, see Ori Nir and Lily Galili, “The Jews Can Leave but the Arabs Have Nowhere to Go,” Ha’aretz (Jerusalem), December 3, 2000.
5. Bennett et al., Popular Culture and Social Relations.
6. The literature on Palestinians in Israel is extensive. Regarding issues of religion and citizenship in the Israeli legal system, see Kretzmer, The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel, 77–98; and U. Davis, Israel: An Apartheid State, 13–74. In addition there are important contributions to the literature on Palestinians in Israel by Rouhana, Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State; and Rouhana and Ghanem, “The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States,” 321–46. A fascinating edited collection of essays on Palestinian politics in Israel in the post-October 2000 context was published under the editorship of Alexander Bligh in The Israeli Palestinians. Most recently these issues were the subject of investigation in an volume edited by Daniel Monterescu and Dan Rabinowitz, Mixed Towns, Trapped Communities.
7. Kanaaneh, Birthing the Nation, 9–22. In her analysis Kanaaneh speaks of the “demographic demon” presented by higher birth rates among Palestinians than Jews in Israel.
8. The terms Palestinians of ’48 or Israeli Arabs have their own histories as well as political underpinnings. While it is beyond the scope of this book to engage in the debate as to which is the more appropriate appellation, who benefits from such a name, and who has the power to decide, I have chosen to use Palestinians of ’48 or
Palestinian Israelis simply because these are the most popular way the subjects of this chapter represented themselves to me, and have asked to be represented. 

9. Smooha, “The Advances and Limits of the Israelization of Israel’s Palestinian Citizens,” 16; The Orientation and Politicization of the Arab Minority in Israel; and “Ethnic Democracy.” It should be mentioned that these data were collected in the period directly following the peace process, or during the post-Oslo honeymoon, as it is often called. Thus these data represent a particular historical moment in Palestinian society characterized by optimism and the hope for peace. No such data are available on the general beliefs and attitudes of the Palestinian Israeli population since the beginning of the al-Aqsa intifada. Nevertheless it is safe to assume that political and cultural engagement as a result of the intifada would greatly affect data collected in the present day.


11. Ibid., 16.

12. Ibid., 20.


14. For many, the term Israeli Arab refers to origins in and attachments to the “outside” Arab world. Such a play in meanings serves to deny the uninterrupted link these people have with their homes in Israel and at the same time refashions their native origins in Israel as rooted in the “outside” Arab world. In state discourse this is a deft way of turning an indigenous native population into a “foreign outside other.”


18. In different online news articles written about DAM, there are conflicting accounts as to the meaning of the group’s name. In some instances DAM means only blood, or only immortality, or only “Da Arabic mcs.” There are also articles that state that there is no meaning to the word at all. This particular account, which includes the juxtaposition of all three meanings, was given to me by Suheil Nafar in an interview in summer 2005.

19. Blag Magazine, “Creative Environments” (joint interview of Dave Watts by Tamer Nafar, 2004). This quotation was originally written by Tamer Nafar in a thick urban dialect. For ease of reading I have changed many of his spellings.

20. Naji al-Ali is the famed political cartoonist noted for his criticism of Israel in his works. He drew well over four hundred thousand cartoons, many of which were harshly critical of Israeli, Palestinian, and Arab political leaders.

22. Ibid.

23. Ḥa’aretz (Jerusalem), November 12, 2000; BBC (London), October 11, 2000; Guardian (London), October 6, 2000.

24. On September 15, 2005, the police investigations department concluded its inquiry into the deaths of the twelve Israeli and one Palestinian victims of Black October. Its conclusion was that the killings were not a crime and that no charges would be brought against police responsible for the deaths. Throughout the investigation the commission was highly criticized for its handling of the situation. See, for example, Yoav Stern, “Arab Victim Families: Review of Oct. Probe ‘Stinking Maneuver,’” Ha’aretz (Jerusalem), September 29, 2005.


26. Ibid.

27. This translation was the result of collaboration between the author and DAM. I have made every effort to provide a clear translation that maintains and preserves the artists’ preferences for certain words and phrases. In this example I would not have translated ḥa’ain as renegade. I felt that their intent was more “traitor.” However DAM were clear in their wish that this word be translated as renegade. They felt that renegade had more of an urban hip-hop connotation and better matched their original inspiration.

28. Here it is worth noting the phenomenal documentary by Anat Halachmi, Channels of Rage (2004). This powerful movie chronicles the lives and careers of both Subliminal and Tamer Nafar, beginning with their early friendship as fellow rap artists and their eventual split as each grew more and more politicized.

29. Tamer Nafar stated this to me in one of our first interviews. Aviv Gefen stated in an interview with the Jerusalem Report, dated May 5, 2003, that twelve thousand people had downloaded the song from his ynet website.


31. These comments were a part of a nationally televised interview on the Israeli program Entertainment Tonight shortly after the video for “Innocent Criminals” was broadcast.


33. Ibid.

34. A copy of this interview was given to me by the artists and was also included in Anat Halachmi’s Channels of Rage (2004).

35. A fascinating example of how the discourse of terrorism has been played out in Israeli society is how in September 2005 an off-duty Israeli soldier murdered four Palestinians on a bus in Shfaram. Although Prime Minister Ariel Sharon described the murders as “a despicable act by a blood thirsty terrorist,” the victims’ families were denied state assistance because the state ministry recognizes terrorism only as committed by “organizations hostile to Israel.” See, for example, Chris McGeal, “Jewish Gunman Was No Terrorist, Israel Rules,” Guardian Unlimited (London), September 1, 2005.
Chapter 9

1. Notice the use of “us” for Palestinians under occupation, as opposed to the “them” for Palestinians living as Israeli citizens. One group has rights within the nation-state; the other is under occupation from a foreign government. Many in Ramallah were quick to label Palestinians of ’48 as non-Palestinian based on their enfranchisement in Israeli society, a position that many Palestinians Israelis would disagree with.

2. This slogan is found in varying forms throughout the Palestinian world. Usually the last word of the phrase, the “thing” for which people will sacrifice themselves, is variable. The use of Arafat as the subject of their loyalty is common but not as widespread as the more general “Palestine.”

3. Given that there is no “p” sound in Arabic, words with the letter p such as pizza and Pepsi become bīzza and Babsī. Here rap music becomes rāb in dialect.


5. In certain public situations a Palestinian in Israel is almost guaranteed to be asked to present his or her identity card. Boarding buses; entering bus stations, restaurants, and shopping malls; and walking through public squares and plazas are all instances where Palestinians are requested to stand aside and be searched or questioned. In one particularly telling moment a Palestinian friend was commanded to sit on the curb and show his identity card because we were speaking Arabic in a Jewish neighborhood. After a very tense twenty minutes of waiting and arguing with the Israeli soldier we were allowed to continue on. As we walked away from the scene, my friend turned to me and said that if I wanted to continue working with him I should learn to speak better Hebrew.


7. Foucault, Power/Knowledge, 133.

8. Ibid., 93.

9. Ibid., 98.

10. Ibid.


Epilogue

1. See Laclau and Zac, “Minding the Gap.”

2. I gratefully borrow this concept and its imagery from Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter.