

THE BEDOUIN OF PALESTINE: BETWEEN TRADITION AND OCCUPATION
HISTORY

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty in partial fulfillment requirements for the
degree of
MASTERS OF HISTORY

University of Central Oklahoma

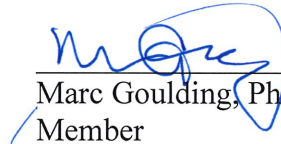
2018

The abstract and thesis of Hanan Awad for Masters of History was submitted to the graduate college on November 28th, 2018 and approved by the undersigned committee.

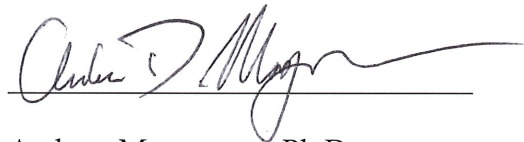
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Abstract

Palestinian Bedouins have been unfavorably affected by occupation policies of forced resettlement, urbanization, and demolition of their homes. This thesis examines the social and cultural change that transformed the Bedouins in the West Bank of Palestine. My research is based on a case study of the al Jahalin tribe who were expelled from their original land al-Naqab after the 1948 war and the birth of Israel. The Bedouins became refugees in scattered areas in the West Bank and after the 1993 Oslo Accord they represented an obstacle for the expansion of illegal settlements in the occupied territory and faced expulsion for the second time. As a result of the Israeli occupation displacement policy, the Bedouins in the West Bank were forcibly displaced in small villages. This research is based on interviews, which I conducted with Bedouin sheikhs, men, women and children in the West Bank as well as a direct observation between the years 2012-2018. I argue that despite Bedouin women being subjected to patriarchal rule and tradition, the military rule and occupation of the West Bank played a dominant role in oppressing, marginalizing, harassing, and humiliating the Bedouin women in the West Bank. This thesis also explores the gendered nature of occupation and the loss of identity, livelihood, and changing roles concerning household power structures.

Acknowledgments

I would love to thank Dr. Lindsey Churchill for her support as my committee chair. After learning about my annual trips to Palestine and my visits to the Bedouin communities in the West Bank she encouraged me to make the Bedouin conflict as a major topic for my thesis. Dr. Marc Goulding, also on my committee, has shown an interest in my research. I appreciate his knowledge and guidance. My thanks go especially to professor Andrew Magnusson, also on my committee. The door to his office at the UCO History Department was always open and welcoming whenever I needed him, or had a question about my research. I could not have imagined having a better mentor for my thesis research.

I am also very grateful for valuable suggestions and advice on this topic by Dr. Salim Tamari.

I am thankful for the financial support provided by Student Research, Creative, and Scholarly Activities (RCSA) Award, 2016.

Special thanks go to Alexis Orgera for reading, editing and for her valuable comments on my thesis.

My greatest debt, of course, is to the Jahalin Bedouins themselves. I was lucky to meet the Jahalin Bedouin men and women who opened their hearts and told me their stories. Their personal testimonies helped me to understand their hardship surviving the life between occupation and tradition. I owe a great deal to Fatima Abu Dahouk from the

Jahalin tribe. If it were not for her the multiple interviews with the Jahalin Bedouin would not have been possible.

Finally, but not least, I like to thank my beloved family, my husband Jamal, my sons, Muhammad, Hamzah and Yezen, my sister Shonara, my niece Raja; without their unconditional love and support this research which required so much time away from home could not have been possible.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Route 181, Fragments of a Journey in Palestine-Israel, a 2003 documentary by Palestinian filmmaker Michel Khleifi and Israeli filmmaker Eyal Sivan details an old man's testimony of how he took part in a 1948 operation that expelled Palestinian Bedouins from their homes in North Palestine. Aaron Greenberg, born in Tel Aviv to Russian and Lithuanian parents, was seventy years old during the 2003 interview. This film includes an interview with seventy-year old Aaron Greenberg who as a young man expelled Bedouin from northern Palestine. According to Greenberg, the Palestinian Bedouins blocked the way to the Arab villages during the operation of Matateh; therefore, they were chased away. "We chased them to Jordan. You fire in the air, and they scam. We swept them out. We needed them out of the region to create a Jewish territorial continuity. We were armed. When they saw us coming they fled."¹ Without hesitation about his participation in expelling and killing the Bedouins and the Palestinians, Greenberg states that once the Bedouins were pushed towards Jordan, they were not allowed to return to their homes. During the interview, Greenberg is asked why this particular operation was called "Matateh," and he says that in Hebrew, "Matateh means a broom, to clean the earth, because we swept out the Arabs, especially the nomads. We had to

¹ Greenberg, Aaron. *Route 181, Fragments of a Journey in Palestine- Israel*. You tube. Directed by Eyal Sivan and Michel Khleife. France, 2003.

chase them. The aim was to get rid of them for Jewish settlements and kibbutz. The land went to kibbutz and moshavs.”²

The Matateh operation is one example of many operations that took place in Palestine in 1948, prior to 1948, and currently that fit the definition of “settler colonialism.” In settler colonialism, the colonizers operate as if the country is empty despite the fact that an indigenous population occupies it. As the Australian scholar Patrick Wolf says, “Settler colonialism is a form that is exclusive, settler colonialism destroys to replace.”³ This primary motive for the elimination and expulsion of the Bedouins explains the territory’s occupation and the replacement of the indigenous with new settlers.

Israeli settlements in the West Bank remain illegal under international law. These illegal settlements violate Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the transfer of occupying power’s civilian population into the occupied territory. Despite Israel becoming a signatory in 1951, Israel continues to displace Palestinians from their ancestral land in order replace them with Jewish settlers.⁴

Whether inspired by religion or secular nationalism, the State of Israel is a settler colonialist project. As a settler colonialist project, the settlers must depopulate the land from its people to sustain their colonialist project. The 1948 Negev Brigade harassed the Negev Bedouins and carried out a full-scale clearing operation in the area. This operation sought to demolish the town of Beersheba. Bedouins from the town were expelled, leaving by foot and in busses. They left towards Hebron, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem following repeated IAF bombing. Immediately after the war of 1948, they forced Bedouins into reservations that Israel defined as

² Ibid.,

³ Patrick Wolf, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 (2006): 387-409.

⁴ International committee of the Red Cross, Treaties, States Parties and commentaries.

“closed military areas.” The Bedouins lived under restriction of movement, preventing them from returning to or cultivating their land.⁵

In 1953, after the mass displacement of the Bedouins from their land, Israeli law declared that any unsettled land or any uncultivated land as of April 1, 1952 would be considered “expropriate.” This law conveniently coincided with the removal of most of the Bedouins in the Naqab (or Negev in Hebrew). According to a report by Adalah, (“justice” in Arabic) is the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel the Naqab desert was allocated to the district of Bi’r al-Saba’. Despite the Bedouins’ rights and their ownership documents, the Israeli government enforced the law and classified all Bedouin land in the Naqab as state-owned land. In Spring 2016, I decided to visit the unrecognized village of Al Araqib and see myself the situation after the village was demolished and rebuilt 95 times between the years 1999 to 2016. The village inhabitants were displaced in 1951 by the Israeli authorities and were promised their return after few months. Between the year of 1950 and 1953, Israel passed two laws, which legalized the displacement of the Bedouins and the confiscation of their land.

The first law was the Absentees’ Property Law and the second law was called the Land Acquisition Law. These laws declared the Bedouins land to be confiscated by the State for Jewish use only. During this time many Bedouin villages including the village of Al-Araqib were declared illegal, unrecognized and “state land.” Adalah, explained that in 1972 Israeli allowed citizens to submit land registration applications under the Land Registration Ordinance.⁶ The families of al-Araqib submitted their land claims, but were denied the ability to return to their land. In 1998 a couple of the families who hold documents proving the

⁵ Mansour Nasasra , *The Naqab Bedouins: A Century of Politics and Resistance*.(New York: Columbia University Press, 2017) 120.

⁶ Ibid.,

ownership of the land moved back to their village. Al- Araqib is a Bedouin village in the Negev that existed prior to 1948 in the southern part of historical Palestine.

In 1965 Israel declared a law claiming that the Bedouin villages in the Negev, including al-Araqib, are illegal. The villages' unrecognized status according to the State of Israel means that the Bedouin families living in these villages face house demolition and denial of basic services that are available to only Jewish Israeli citizens, such as state infrastructure including water, electricity, sewerage, roads, schools and health care.

I met the spokesperson of Al- Araqib village, Sheikh Sayyah Al Turi. He stated, "How can the Israeli authority accuse us of being invaders and squatters when our village al- Araqib existed before the creation of the Israeli state? On the contrary, they are the invaders and the colonizers. There are 35 Bedouin villages that are declared as 'unrecognized'. We have the right to stay on our land. We were 75 families. Look at us now! We ended up with a few families and the rest were forcibly displaced to small towns that are not even equipped for our Bedouin lifestyle or for a modern life. They displaced us just for them to build new Jewish settlements."

The Bedouins who were forced to leave the Naqab moved to the West Bank around Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jericho. The Jahalin Bedouins settled around villages such as Nabi Musa, Abu Dis, al- Eizariya, and Khan al- Ahmar. These new areas were spacious and were distinguished by many pastures and water sources nearby, which allowed the Bedouins to resume their way of life. Today many Bedouin communities are scattered in Az Zaayem, al- Jib, Zaatreh Az Zaim, Jabal al Baba, Beit Iksa, and Nabi Samuel in the West Bank and East Jerusalem who are known as the Arab Jahalin. Although these areas are part of village land, and owned by the nearby villagers, the Bedouins settled with their tents and animals. The

Jahalin had open access to the markets in Jerusalem and became very dependent on these markets to sell their products, which included meat, cheeses, and yogurt.

After the occupation of the West Bank in 1967, the Jahalin Bedouins were exposed to another wave of ethnic cleansing. Occupation forces started to restrict the land inhabited by the refugee Bedouins. In 1963, former Minister of Israeli military leader Moshe Dayan said:

We should transform the Bedouins into an urban proletariat- industry, services, construction, and agriculture. 88% of the Israeli population are not farmers, let the Bedouins be like them. Indeed, this will be a radical move, which means that the Bedouin would not live on his land with his herds, but would become an urban person who comes home in the afternoon and puts his slippers on. His children will get used to a father who wears pants, without a dagger, and who does not pick up their nits in public. They will go to school, their hair combed and parted. This will be a revolution, but it can be achieved on two generations. Without coercion but with government direction... this phenomenon of the Bedouins will disappear.⁷

The primary focus of Israeli demographic policies was to concentrate the Bedouins in one area. Under this policy, the Bedouins suffered harsh military procedures that restricted their movements. They became unable to enter or leave their own area without army permission. The Israeli forced displacement and urbanization policies against the Bedouins can be seen as a cultural cleansing against the marginalized minorities. I argue in this thesis that the systematic Israel's policy to destroy the Jahalin Bedouin culture under the guise of urbanization is in fact an organized demographic policy intent on cultural cleansing of the Bedouin's centuries old unique way of life and removing the Bedouins from Area C of the West Bank.

For over sixty years, Bedouins have lived as refugees and suffered extreme poverty, food insecurity, unemployment, regular home demolitions, forced displacement, and most importantly loss of their customary way of life. According to a 2013 United Nations

⁷ Mansour Nasasra, *The Naqab Bedouins: A Century of Politics and Resistance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 202.

Development Program report, there are around 40,000 Bedouins in the occupied territory, most of which are refugees and displaced.⁸ Seventy years after the birth of the Israeli state, the Bedouin problem remains unresolved, and Israeli policy continues to violate the indigenous rights of the Bedouins.

On the morning of April 2, 2015, I was visiting the Bedouin communities in the West Bank with a friend; during my visit I witnessed the confiscation of the Bedouin land called Jabel West in the West Bank. The Israeli authorities claimed that Jabel West was a military zone known as “Area C.” As a military zone, the Israelis deemed it illegal for Palestinians to live on this land. This prohibition only applies to non-Jews inasmuch as a Jewish settlement was constructed few meters away.

We spent almost an hour trying to convince the soldiers, without any success, that it is a crime against humanity to displace and depopulate the area of its inhabitants. Then we traveled about twenty minutes west to visit Khan al Ahmar, another Bedouin village. Khan al-Ahmar was a larger problem. Upon arrival, I noticed an inordinate number of Israeli soldiers and policemen with their military tanks. That meant there was unrest. The Israeli military prevented NGOs and media from entering Khan al-Ahmar. One of the many protestors, Arik Ascherman, the president of Rabbis for Human Rights (an NGO made up of rabbis who oppose the demolition of homes and displacement of villages) stood out from the crowd with his loud recitation of verses from the Old Testament that oppose such unlawful confiscations. The Israeli authorities used the designation of Khan al- Ahmar as Area C as an excuse to force the Bedouins off their land.

⁸ UNDP, September, 2013. In focus: Bedouins in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

The purpose of this particular attack was to confiscate twelve solar panels that had been installed a few weeks earlier. These panels, the sole source of electricity in the community of Khan al Ahmar, gave the small village a few hours of electricity daily. The neighboring Israeli settlement of Ma'ale Adumim, does not suffer from any lack of electricity or water. Comparing these settlements, it is very clear that Israeli policy denies the Jahalin Bedouins, one of the largest tribes that originated from the Naqab and became refugees in the West Bank after 1950, access to the power grid and prevents any possibility for construction.

While watching the demonstration against the confiscation of the panels a United Nations official said, Israel wanted to expel the Bedouins from Khan al Ahmar in order to connect the Israeli settlement Ma'ale Adumim to Jerusalem. The connection of the settlement to Jerusalem is part of what Israel calls the E1 Plan, which aims to divide the West Bank into two. According to PM Palestine Monitor news, to achieve the E1 Plan is to destroy twenty-three Palestinian Bedouin villages and transfer some 2,300 men, women, and children to Abu Dis, which is next to a garbage dump.⁹ Not only will they lose their land, the forced relocation next to a garbage dump would not permit them to continue to live their traditional nomadic lifestyle.

Ma'ale Adumim is the third largest illegal Israeli settlement in the West Bank, established in 1979 on confiscated land from the Palestinian village of 'Anata. According to a B'Tselem and Bimkom report between 1975 and 1977 Israeli authorities confiscated more than three thousand hectares of the village of al-'Azariya, al-Tur, al-'Isawiyya, 'Anata, Abu Dis, Khan al-Ahmar, and Nabi Musa to build Ma'ale Adumim. While its population consists of a mix of religious and secular Jews, Ma'ale Adumim remains a Jewish –only settlement

⁹ Fatima Masri, "Bedouins in Anata and Abu Dis Face Physical Assault and threat of Forceful Eviction," Palestine Monitor, June 4, 2013, accessed October 21, 2018, Palestinemonitor.org.

and achieved status as a city in 1991¹⁰ Despite the presence of many NGOs, media, and outside observers protesting against the confiscation of the solar panels in Khan al Ahmar, the Israelis removed the panels forcibly and pressured the Bedouins to leave their small village.

In 2015, Eid Abu Khamis from Khan al-Ahmar, the spokesperson for his community, explained to our group that the confiscation of the solar panels would not pressure him and his family to leave his home. “My tent is my freedom, and the open space is my culture. I will not leave my tent.” Despite the multiple threats to demolish their homes and school from the Israeli authorities, he and his community remained steadfast and remained on their land. Khamis explained that he had previously lived with his family in a place called Khirbet al-Murssas, east of al-’Azariya and a few kilometers from Jerusalem. His family raised flocks and farmed the land until the establishment of the settlement of Ma’ale Adumim: “My family was displaced to a nearby site, and we lost most of the land that had wells and water.” Khamis and his family were then expelled to a nearby location where the Israeli forces began sending them more demolition orders and forcing them to move again in order to expand the illegal Israeli settlement.

In May 2018, the Israeli High Court ruled against the Khan al-Ahmar and all the Bedouin communities in Area C. Khan al-Ahmar’s school and homes may be demolished at any time due to the Israeli High Court rule. This Israeli policy aims to clear the area of any Palestinian presence. On July 4, 2018, the Israeli Civil Administration, escorted by Israeli police, paved a road through Khan al-Ahmar to expel the Jahalin Bedouins. During the forced transfer, multiple Bedouins were injured. Israel is forcibly assimilating this once-mobile,

¹⁰ Bimkom and B’Tselem, “The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma’ale Adumim and their Human Rights Ramifications” (December 2009), online at www.btselem.org/download/200912_maale_adummim_eng.pdf(accessed 23 October 2018).

pastoral people from their social, economic, and cultural roots, resulting in social disintegration and increased mortality, morbidity, domestic violence, and instability.

Since 1967, Israel has occupied the West Bank, including Eastern Jerusalem. Under international law, occupation should be temporary, and the occupying power is prohibited from establishing any permanent residence on the occupied territory. The fourth Geneva Convention forbids the occupying power to transfer its civilian population to the occupied territory. This has been confirmed by the International Court of Justice, the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention and the United Nations Security Council.¹¹ This includes the establishment of Jewish settlements on privately owned Palestinian land. The occupying power also has the duty to protect public and private property, but Israel continually breaches this duty by establishing more illegal settlements and confiscating more land. For instance, the struggles of the Jahalin Bedouins did not end with displacement and expulsion.

The Israeli “ethnic cleansing” tactics brought social and economic crises, psychological and identity problems, and environmental health-related violence. According to B’Tselem’s newsletter (B’Tselem, a Jerusalem- based non-profit organization that documents human rights violation in the Israeli-occupied territories), life next to one ton of garbage that is only 300 meters away from the Bedouins relocated homes involves several serious problems for the Bedouins. It is liable to cause severe environmental damage and endanger lives. In addition, the displacement prevents the Bedouins from maintaining their traditional

¹¹United Nations Office For the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs occupied Palestinian Territory. *The Humanitarian Impact of Israeli Settlement Policies*, December 2012.

way of life, which depends on spacious pasturelands for raising their livestock.¹² The Israeli policy to ethnically cleanse the land of Palestinians is working albeit by gradual death.

The Bedouins became refugees in scattered areas in the West Bank, Sinai, and Naqab. After the 1993 Oslo Accord, they became the obstacle for the expansion of illegal settlements in the occupied territory and faced expulsion for the second time. My research examines the main change in the Bedouins' cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic landscapes through the loss of their way of life.

My research is based on a case study of the Al Jahalin tribe, who were expelled from their original land, Naqab, after the 1948 war. I discuss the tactics and strategies that the Israeli forces use against the Bedouins in Palestine. I argue that "ethnic cleansing" and its violent outcomes can be seen through the psychological, economic, social, and environmental health-related violence. Despite many Bedouins achieving a higher education, they still struggle to find their place between an urbanized lifestyle, traditional Bedouin lifestyle, and life under occupation. This thesis also explores the gendered nature of occupation and the loss of identity, livelihood, and changing roles concerning household power structure. Gender roles in Bedouin life have been severely affected by forced displacement and urbanization.

The Jahalin Bedouins were forced to what Israel called "urban life", but in reality the Israeli urban model next to garbage dump was a superficial one and did not have the basic needs for a developed town. Bedouin identity has been reshaped due to the rapid change in Bedouin livelihood. Today the Jahalin are the marginalized group and most effected by the forced displacement and the Israeli occupation amongst the Palestinian within Area C. My work is built around the Jahalin Bedouins through personal interviews and fieldwork, which add to the discussion of gender and identity issues.

¹² Ibid.,

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two is a short historiography, an overview of the history of the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 war. It examines Palestinian expulsion in general in addition to focusing on the Bedouins who originated from the Naqab in historical Palestine. Additionally, this chapter examines how historians through time have written about the Bedouins but primarily only mention them briefly. The second chapter presents the New Historians' approach, which not only challenges the Zionist Israeli traditional narrative regarding the expulsion and displacement of the Palestinians during the 1948 war but creates a conflict within the field. After reviewing multiple scholars on the historiography of the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948, I found that the Palestinians voice was not included. There is no Palestinian archive, but that does not mean that Palestinians did not write about the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948. The writing of it was in different style than the West. The Palestinians oral history and memoirs were and still available. These memoirs and recorded history were not taken seriously by the West and did not make it in the scholarly word. This is in part because they were not written by professional historians and were written in Arabic. This can explain why the Arab Palestinian Bedouins have been ignored in the scholarly literature and why they have not been mentioned as part of the Palestinian struggle.

Chapter Three illustrates the Bedouin role in historical Palestine during the Ottoman Period, the English Mandate to the creation of Israel in 1948. After reviewing the history of the Palestinian Bedouin I argue that the current situation with the Israeli displacement polices against the Jahalin Bedouins in eastern Jerusalem is a continuation of an ethnic cleansing that started during the creation of Israel. After the establishment of the Israeli State, the Naqab desert became part of the Israeli territory, which dramatically transformed the life of the

indigenous people and disrupted their source of livelihood. Since 1948, as with other indigenous minorities, the Bedouins continue the struggle for equality, recognition, and preservation of their culture and way of life. In order to understand the current situation of the Jahalin displaced from Area C, it is important to look back sixty-five years and understand what brought them to this situation.

Chapter Four examines the Arab Jahalin tribe and its second expulsion for expansion of a Jewish settlement in the Occupied West Bank. The policy of ethnic cleansing has been implemented against the Palestinian Bedouins since the creation of the Israeli state in 1948 and continued throughout the Oslo accord in 1993. This chapter focuses on the six communities from the Jahalin tribe in Palestine: Al Jib, Jabal al Baba, Beit Iksa , Nabi Samuel , Khan al- Ahmar, and Sateh al -Baher in the West Bank and East Jerusalem

The Fifth and Sixth chapters focus on the identity of the Palestinian Arab Bedouins and what it means to be Palestinian Bedouin in the state of Israel and in the occupied territories. In addition, these chapters aim to examine the gendered aspect of Bedouin life and culture. The association between occupation, displacement, urbanization, patriarchy, and the status of the Bedouin women has received little attention within the scholarly world. I will explore the significant changes in gender roles in the Bedouin society and modification in their way of life. These gender roles transformed due to the impact of occupation, expansion of Jewish settlements, and forced urbanization American anthropologist, Donald P. Cole explains, “Bedouin is not defined as an occupation that is recorded on national identity cards or passports.”¹³

The Seventh chapter is my conclusion. These chapters are based on my fieldwork with the Jahalin Bedouins, which spanned six years in the West Bank from 2012-2018. Most

¹³ Donald P. Cole, “Where Have the Bedouin Gone?” *Anthropological Quarterly* 76, no. 2 (2003): 235-67.

of the Bedouins I have met have said that despite the changes that they have had to endure—
socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural—they still identify themselves as
Bedouins and “Bedouin-ness” is an identity that they inherited from their parents and
grandparents.

Chapter Two

Historiography of Bedouin in Palestine

I examine the work of numerous historians through time who have written about the Bedouins. This Chapter surveys the New Historian's approach. This approach not only challenges the Zionist Israeli traditional narrative regarding the expulsion and displacement of the Palestinians during the 1948 war, but has transformed the field altogether. My review of the most prominent scholars on the historiography of the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948, I discovered that the voice of Palestinian Bedouins was not included; in fact, it was totally ignored.

NGOs have heavily influenced the history about the Naqab Bedouins. Since the NGO's focus on the impact of the Israeli state and the occupation on the pressing current economic and social facing Bedouins, they do not devote any resources to study and understand conditions of the Bedouins before 1948. My study and research focuses on the Bedouin in the West Bank who have been significantly underrepresented in history books and scholarly research.

The declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 was complicated by religion and colonialism. According to Illan Pappé, it was a mix between those who regard the Bible as a fundamental historical account and believe in the redemption of the land that God promised them with, and those who took similar steps of the colonial movements of Europeans who had colonized the two Americas, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁴ Whether it was religion or colonialism, the aim was to depopulate the land from its people.

¹⁴ Illan Pappé, *Ten Myths About Israel* (London: Verso, 2017), 41.

The scholarly literature overall ignores the expulsion of the Palestinian Arab Bedouins. Middle Eastern historians do not focus on marginalized Bedouins in Palestine during the Nakba¹⁵ and the occupation of historical Palestine in 1948. Historians of the Middle East write about the 1948-1967 wars and the partition that began prior to 1948, ignoring the minorities of the region. Why were the Arab Bedouins in Palestine ignored through the scholarly research on Palestine-Israel in the twentieth century? This question relates to the Ottoman Empire, and the English Mandate, and the Israeli occupation. Although my focus is on the Bedouins in Palestine, most historians today and in the past that wrote about Palestine-Israel only mention the Bedouins in passing. During the Ottoman period, the Arab Bedouins in the Naqab were administratively segregated from the rest of the Palestinian population, being romantically thought of as socially and culturally distinctive.¹⁶ During the creation of the Israeli State, 750,000 Palestinians were expelled and became refugees, and amongst these Palestinian refugees there were 75,000 Bedouins.¹⁷

Writers prior to the twentieth century ignored the Bedouins because they were marginalized and defined as not civilized people. Anthropologist Richard Ratcliffe, Mansour Nasara, Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder, and Sophie Richter-Devroe, all agree that “European travelers and writers such as J.L. Bakhard and Alois Musil had quite different and often transient reasons for their interest. Their view of the Bedouins was often bucolic, resonant with Rousseau’s idea of the noble savage or biblical shepherded, guided by the imputed purity

¹⁵ Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa’di, “Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 3. Nakba (the Arabic word for catastrophe: “The 1948 war that led to the creation of Israel also resulted in the expulsion of at least 80 percent of the Palestinian people.

¹⁶ Nasara, Mansour and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 3.

¹⁷ Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of “Transfer” in the Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington D.C.:1992) 173.

and honor of their life. This work was outside the context of formal academic production.”¹⁸

My review of these historians and my own research proves that the Palestinian narrative was accurate regarding the 1948 expulsion. I will examine the Palestinian narrative, the old Zionist narrative, and the New Historian narrative. In addition, I will add my own narrative about the expulsion of the Palestinian Bedouins and the forced displacement that is taking place today. The 1948 war and the question of the expulsion of the Palestinians brought bigger controversy than any other period of the Palestine-Israel discourse.

Although my focus is on the question of the Bedouins, it is necessary to go through the written history of the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 war in order to understand the role of the minorities, which in this case are the Bedouins.

Israeli traditional narrative in general regarding the periods from 1948 until the 1980s lacked the research, observation, and oral testimonies and instead utilized romanticism. This romanticism was influenced by patriotism for their nation-state and admiration for national heroes. Although the history of the Palestinian refugees presented by Palestinian scholars prior to the Israeli New Historian perspective, the oral history and testimonies from survivors have largely been ignored.

It was not until 1988, that Israeli historians brought a new perspective that was in opposition to the traditional Israeli point of view. Israeli scholars used the Israeli archives, made available by the Israeli government in the late 80s, to develop this new perspective regarding the making of the Israeli state. Leading scholars on the topic became known as “the New Historians.” The New Historians sought to reexamine the Zionist policy of the making of the state of Israel. The well known, leading New Historian scholars are Benny Morris, a professor of history at Ben-Gurion University. His publications include *The Birth of the*

¹⁸ Nasara Mansour, *The Naqab Bedouin*, 4.

Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949; The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited, and *One State, Two States*.

Illan Pappé, a professor of History at the Institute of Arab And Islamic Studies at the College of Social Sciences and International Studies and Director of the European Center for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter; his publications include *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* and *The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories*, Avi Shlaim, a fellow of St. Antony's College and a professor of international relations at the University of Oxford. His books include *The Iran Wall: Israel and the Arab World* and *Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations*, and Tom Segev, columnist for Ha'aretz, Israel's leading newspaper, and the author of *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*. They all revised the political ideology of the Zionist movement prior to and after the creation of the Israeli state, and they all have a different conclusion about how the Palestinian Exodus in 1948 took place, some of which contradict the old narrative.

In *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Pappé illustrates that ethnic cleansing was planned against the Palestinians to empty the land for the new Jewish comers. Pappé looks at the ethnic cleansing as a crime against humanity. Whereas Morris looks at the expulsion as a necessary attempt in order to have a nation state called Israel. Despite the distinct perspectives, they agree that the Palestinian refugees in 1948 were chased out and expelled through violence and massacres.

Despite certain disagreements, they all agreed on the forced displacement and the terror used by the Zionists against the Palestinians in order to pave the way for the new Jewish arrivals. This was not just the biggest challenge to the traditional Israeli narrative about the

1948 war, but it stirred up more controversy than any other event that took place in the making of the Israeli State. An example of the old traditional Zionist narrative comes from David Ben-Gurion, the first Israeli Prime Minister, in 1961. According to William James Martin, Professor at the University of Florida, in 1961 Prime Minister David Ben Gurion declared in the Israeli Knesset the myth that became known as the Zionist narrative. The declaration states: “The Arabs’ exit from Palestine ...began immediately after the UN Resolution, from the areas earmarked for Jewish state. And we have explicit documents testifying that they left Palestine following instructions by the Arab leaders, with the Mufti at their head, under the assumption that the invasion of the Arab armies at the expiration of the Mandate will destroy the Jewish state and push all the Jews into the sea, dead or alive.”¹⁹ In 1987, Simha Flapan which argues that, “The Palestinian Exodus of 1948” where he illustrates the Zionist narrative and how after thousands of documents in the Zionist archives became available, and the diaries of Ben Gurion show that there is no evidence supporting the Israeli claim of the Palestinians leaving their land and homes voluntary.²⁰

In *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Pappé explains that the Zionists used religion to colonize Palestine, that Eretz Israel is the name of Palestine in the Jewish religion, and that Palestine was the holy pilgrimage for the Jewish people and never a homeland. His approach to the making of the state of Israel in 1948 takes us to the Old Testament where the “Jewish tradition and religion clearly instruct Jews to await the coming of the promised Messiah at the ‘end of times’ before they can return to Eretz Israel as a sovereign people in a Jewish theocracy, that is, as the obedient servants of God this is why today several streams of Ultra-Orthodox Jews are either non or anti-Zionist.”

¹⁹ William James Martin. “Ben Gurion: “We Must Expel the Arabs and Take Their Place” CounterPunch (2005) 1-10.

²⁰ Samha Flapan. “The Palestinian Exodus of 1948.” Journal of Palestine Studies Vol. 16 (1987) 3-26.

²¹ Ismael Abu Saad, the founding director of the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, agrees with Pappé. Abu Saad has authored and edited over one hundred publications including the book *The Future of Indigenous Peoples: Strategies for Survival and Development* in 2003. He explains that the Zionist movement during the Ottoman period and the British mandate were nothing but colonial ventures, a policy that began in Europe in the late 1800s with the goal of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine. ²² During this period, the Zionists portrayed Palestine as “land without people, for a people without land.” This was another myth used against the Palestinians.

On December 19, 1948, Ben-Gurion said, “We adopt the system of aggressive defense, with every Arab attack we must respond with a decisive blow: the destruction of the place or the expulsion of the residents along with the seizure of the place.”²³ This contradicts his quote in 1961, that the Palestinians left their homes and villages following instructions by Arab leaders. Ofer Aderet wrote a review in *Haaretz* newspaper about a biography of Ben-Gurion written by an Israeli historian, Tom Segev. In the biography, explains that when Ben-Gurion established the Unity of Labor Party in 1919, reassert in many ways that there was no chance for peace with the Arabs. Moreover, in 1930, Ben-Gurion stated, “I am in favor of a forced transfer. I do not see anything immoral about it.”²⁴ These quotes by Zionists contradict their traditional narrative that Palestinians fled their country because Arab leaders told them to do so.

²¹ Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford, One World, 2007), 10.

²² Ahmad Amara, Abu-Saad Ismael and Yiftachel Oren, Ed. *Indigenous (In) justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 22.

²³ Nur Masallah, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of “Transfer” in Zionist Political thought, 1882-1948* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), 157-177.

²⁴ *Haaretz* news by Ofer Aderet Feb 22, 2018.

Simha Flapan's 1987 book, *The Birth of Israel, Myths and Realities* calls this narrative what it is: a myth. Flapan, who did not use the Israeli archives and wrote his book prior to the birth of the New Historians (Benny Morris, Avi Shlaim and Illan Pappé) illustrated seven myths that the old narrative used to justify the existence of the Jewish State. The seven myths served the Israeli nationalist agenda. The third myth was that "the flight of the Palestinians from the country, both before and after the establishment of the state of Israel, came in response to a call by the Arab leaders to leave temporarily, in order to return with the victorious Arab armies. They fled despite the efforts of the Jewish leadership to persuade them to stay."²⁵

These myths have largely shaped the traditional Israeli narrative and only in the late 1980s did the New Historians have the opportunity to use the Israeli archives, because there is a 40-year-rule on the declassification of official documents. They did not just challenge the traditional Israeli narrative regarding the "myths" as Flapan puts it, but they also opened themselves to conflict with their own Israeli state. According to Flapan, the Zionists planned the transfer of the Palestinians, as it was part of their colonialist policy of expulsion.²⁶

How did the old narrative develop?

According to Walid Khalidi, founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies formerly at Oxford University states that in the 1950s, the story was all over the British media. By this time, Khalidi explains, the predominant Israeli version was that the orders had been broadcasted by the top Palestinian leadership.²⁷ According to Ahmad H. Sa'di, the mainstream Western media played a role in developing the old Zionist narrative and spread the myths of

²⁵ Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel Myths and Realities* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 82.

²⁶ Richard Bernstein, "Birth of Israel: A History Is Revisited," *The New York Times*, 1988.

²⁷ Ibid.

how the European Jews became a nation. Sa'di said, "The story presented was the standard narrative of glorious rebirth, a story of exile and return after millennia."²⁸ This old narrative ignored the essence of the Zionist project that was based on the removal of the Palestinians.

In *Ten Myths About Israel*, Pappé explains that historical disinformation promoted oppression and protected a regime of colonialism and occupation. He argues that "the Western mainstream media and political elites accept this set of myths as a given truth, as well as the justification for Israeli actions across the last sixty or so years."²⁹

Urban Palestinians were not the only ones expelled by the Israelis. Palestinian Bedouins suffered the same fate. Morris shows how the Palestinian Bedouins experienced discrimination, by the Zionists. He illustrates that there existed a split in Palestinian society, between settled communities and the Bedouins. He states that each looked down upon the other. According to Morris, the Zionists faced a problem in South Palestine in 1948: as seen from the Israeli perspective, "there were two basic approaches...the Bedouin were congenitally unreliable and unruly, had sided with the Arabs during the war...as well as they were "incorrigible smugglers and thieves. It was best that they clear or be cleared out of the area."³⁰

The Negev Brigade in 1948 harassed the Negev Bedouins and carried out a full-scale clearing operation in the area. Morris explains that the Negev Brigade demolished the town of Beersheba, and residents were expelled, leaving town by foot and in busses. They left towards Hebron following repeated IAF bombing. According to Morris, the Bedouins in the

²⁸ Ahmad H. Saidi and Lila Abu-Lughod. *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press 2007), 285-286.

²⁹ Ilan Pappé, *Ten Myths About Israel* (London, Verso, 2017), preface.

³⁰ Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 525.

Negev area were dispersed and expelled; in addition, their homes were blown up.³¹ In *The Birth of Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*, Morris shows the violence that was creating the violence to force the Bedouins to flee. By proving the expulsion of Palestinians during the making of the Israeli State, Morris contrasted the traditional Israeli narrative, which explains that the neighboring Arab countries were responsible for the Palestinian flight. Morris was dependent on archival material for his analysis and avoided the oral history that is still available through Palestinian refugees.

In 1896, Theodor Herzl, a Hungarian journalist who is known as the father of modern political Zionism, wrote *Der Judenstaat* or *The State of the Jews*. Herzl's book became the manifesto for the Zionist movement. Herzl believed that the best place for a Jewish homeland would be in Palestine.³² Pappé mentions that in 1897, the socialist Zionist, Nahman Syrkin said, "Palestine must be evacuated for the Jews." Regarding the Bedouins, the Ottoman Empire not only oppressed the Bedouins, but the reality he argues can be best understood when put into a wider historical perspective that started in 1882 with the arrival of the first Zionist settlers in Palestine.³³ After 1900, the Ottoman regime of land and ownership rights allowed Bedouin tribes to own land, regulate the grazing area, and systematize water access and rights

According to Pappé, Bedouin life did not change much in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. He claims that the main event in the Palestinian Bedouin history had been during the Egyptian rule of Palestine between the years 1831-1840. Pappé explains that this period allowed the Bedouins to frequent Palestine from bases in the

³¹ Morris, *The Birth of The Palestinian*, 25 and 446.

³² Ilan Pappé, *Ten Myths About Israel* (London, Verso, 2017), 24.

³³ Mansour Nasasra and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed., *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 54.

Sinai Peninsula, and they continued to make their presence felt, especially after the Ottomans returned to power in 1840. The Ottomans set the boundaries of tribal territories, which began the process of “sedentarization” that continued during the British Mandate. However, his approach to the history of the Bedouins differs from the other scholars; he explains that such a historical myth exposes the ideological context in which the Zionist attitudes and later Israeli policies towards the Bedouins in the Negev after the creation of Israel in 1948. In 1896, Theodor Herzl, Hungarian Journalist who is known as the father of modern political Zionism wrote “Der Judenstaat” or “The State of the Jews.” Herzl’s book became the manifesto for the Zionist movement. Herzl sought for a Jewish homeland and he believed that since the last time a Jewish kingdom existed in Jerusalem, Palestine could be the homeland for the Jewish people.³⁴ Pappé mentions that in 1897, the socialist Zionist, Nahman Syrkin said, “Palestine must be evacuated for the Jews.”³⁵ In 1905, The British author who was in a close associate of Theodor Herzl said, “Jews must drive out the Arabs.”³⁶

According to Israeli historian Pappé, since the birth of the Jewish state in 1948, the Palestinian people have suffered from the Zionist policy of “ethnic cleansing” and the subsequent colonization and settlement of their land. The Zionist movement established a Jewish State in Palestine at the expense of the indigenous population.³⁷ In addition, he argues that the Israeli government’s policy aimed to Judaize the land of Palestine and provide housing for the influx of new Jewish immigrants from Europe.³⁸ The first waves of Zionist settlers came between 1882-1900, and the second wave arrived between 1905-1918. Pappé

³⁴ *1913 Seeds of Conflict*, directed by Ben Loeterman (2014 Ben Loeterman Production, Inc.) accessed September 27, 2018, <http://www.1913SeedsOfConflict.com>.

³⁵ Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford :Oneworld, 2006), 282.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 282.

³⁷ Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing*, 44.

³⁸ Pappé, *The Forgotten Palestinian*, 18.

explains, “[T]hey did not come to exploit, they came to redeem what they considered to be an ancient homeland.”³⁹ The ethnic cleansing came in different forms.

During and following the 1948 war, Israel imposed military government on the Palestine and the Palestinians. For over 65 years, the Bedouins witnessed massacres, destruction and displacement. After the eviction of most of the cities and villages in the Naqab, the Israeli forces turned the land into recreation parks and Jewish settlements.⁴⁰ Similar to Pappé and Morris, Shlaim has also concentrated on challenging the old Zionist narrative of the making of the Israeli state. He focuses on the kings of Jordan and goes in depth into their role in the making of Israel, challenging the old narrative myth that states the Palestinians left their homes voluntarily. Although, Morris, Shlaim, and Pappé challenged the traditional Israeli narrative, they all represent three distinct perspectives best described by a Palestinian historian Nur Masalha, “The right wing racist colonizer, the liberal colonizer, and the anti-Zionist de-colonizer.”⁴¹ Masalha, is a Palestinian historian. Currently a member of the Center for Palestine Studies, SOAS, University of London. His books include *A Land without People, The Expulsion of the Palestinians*, and *Palestine: A Four Thousand-Year History*. According to Masalha, Morris’s challenge to the Israeli Myths regarding the forced expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948 “ended up by providing a neocolonial moral rational for the dispossession of the Palestinians.”⁴²

Although the New Historians brought a challenge to the old Israeli narrative and proved their point with the archival material that they had their hands on only in the end of the

³⁹Nasara, Mansour and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 59.

⁴⁰ Pappé, *The Forgotten Palestinians*, 19.

⁴¹ Nur Masalha. *The Palestine Nakba: The Decolonizing History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London: Zed Books 1988) 191

⁴² Nur Masalha. *The Palestine Nakba: The Decolonizing History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London: Zed Books 1988)Ibids., 204.

1980s, their narrative was not new to the Palestinian scholars and historians who wrote about the expulsion of the Palestinians. In 1987, Khalidi in his “*All That Remains: The Palestinians Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948.*” documented the history of Palestine and the depopulation of 418 Palestinian villages.

Palestinian Scholar, Salman Abu Sitta, born in 1937, in al Naqab spent forty years of his life documenting the 1948 Palestinians; his work illustrates that the return of the refugees to their home is not only sacred, but legal and possible. The mass expulsion of Palestinians in 1948 forced him and his family to leave their home in Beersheba, Negev, and Abu Sitta writes about his personal experiences, which allows us to understand what really took place during the 1948 war.

Edward Said, a Palestinian American was a professor of literature at Columbia University, a public intellectual, and a founder of academic field of post- colonial studies. In 1979. Said wrote *The question of Palestine* where he mentions the Zionists terror against the Palestinians in 1948. He explains that Menachen Begin who was the leader of Zionist militant group Irgun admitted in his book *the Revolt* that he was part of the Deir Yassin village massacre. Said said, “Begin in his book, described his terrorism- including the whole sale massacre of innocent women and children- in righteous (and chilling) profusion. He admits to being responsible for the April 1948 massacre of 250 women and children in the Arab village of Deir Yassin.”⁴³

Nur Masalha new book, *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* adds to the new historian narrative and reveals in his book that the concept of Palestine and its history is rooted firmly in ancient time and the old Zionist narrative is an invention.

⁴³ Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books 1979), 44.

Despite the scholarly work by the New Historians, the Palestinian oral history seems to be absent in the scholarly historical records. There are many reasons for the absence of Palestinian archives, and Palestinian voices in scholarly work. During the 1948 war, soldiers robbed numerous bookstores and documents from homes⁴⁴. In 1982 Israeli troops looted the research center of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut. According to a New York Times article, the Israelis looted an entire library, which consisted of 25,000 volumes in Arabic, English and Hebrew; in addition, microfilms, manuscripts and archives.⁴⁵ Salim Tamari, professor of sociology at Birzeit University and the director of the Institute of Jerusalem Studies explained that there is no Palestinian archives because they have been subjugated and controlled. He explained that the Arab culture concept of writing history has a different style than the West. The Arab historiography was not based on archival material but mostly depends on oral sources. Tamari explained that although Palestinians are out of the historical record they have independent researchers not necessary professional historians. For example, village history books written in Arabic are available and published by formal resident, but they don't make it into the global academy.⁴⁶

The Palestinian scholars and historians relied heavily on memories and oral history through testimonies from refugees in the diaspora. The reason the Palestinian historians did not use archival material in their earlier studies of the 1948 war and the Palestinian expulsion was because Palestinians lacked archival material. In addition, the history of the Palestinian Bedouins, is still absent from their scholarly books.

⁴⁴ Khelil Bouarrouj, "Looted & Hidden: Israel's Futile Attempts to Erase Palestinian History," Palestine Square, October 5, 2017, accessed October 22, 2018, Institute For Palestinian Studies.

⁴⁵ Ihsan A. Hijazi, "Israeli Looted Archives of P.L.O Officials Say, "The New York Times, October, 1, 1982, accessed October 20, 2018, <https://nytimes.com/29QSaaa>.

⁴⁶ *1913 Seeds of Conflict*, directed by Ben Loeterman (2014 Ben Loeterman Production, Inc.) DVD

Like the Israeli New Historians and other scholars, my research and findings challenge the Zionist narrative regarding the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948. I do so using oral history. Unlike previous scholars who worked in archives, I interviewed Palestinians who are now living in the West Bank after being expelled from the Naqab by the Zionist in 1948. I collected their stories over the six years of field work- 2012-2018.

My aim is to hear the voice of the minorities, the Bedouins, to understand and examine the reality that took place in the lives of the colonized. The oral history is needed to add marginalized voices and perspectives to this narrative regarding the ongoing forced expulsion. Palestinian Bedouins have been unfavorably affected by occupation policies of forced resettlement, urbanization, and demolition of their homes by the state of Israel. Despite the similarities that the New Historians and the Palestinian historians have in bringing new material and new perspectives from archival documents and oral histories to challenge the traditional, the story of the Palestinian Bedouins has not been told. This is my unique contribution to the literature: I document and record a new voice, the voice of the Palestinian Bedouins.

CHAPTER THREE

Bedouins in Historical Palestine

Most of the extensive scholarly literature on the Israel-Palestine conflict does not focus on or even mention the Palestinian Bedouins in the West Bank. This chapter examines and illustrates what various scholars who are considered experts in the modern history of the Naqab Bedouin wrote. I will review the different approaches and conceptualizations adopted by researchers as they have engaged with the Bedouins in the Naqab. NGO's have carried out research on the Naqab Bedouins, but focused on studies that dealt with current events and the Israeli occupation. Since they only focused on current issues they did not aim to be comprehensive works and did not enter into a detailed discussion of the Bedouin conditions before 1948. This chapter looks particularly at the history of Bedouins in historical Palestine during the Ottoman period, English mandate to the creation of the Israeli state. I argue that these three periods played a role in reshaping the Bedouin society. In order to adequately understand the current situation of Area C and the Bedouin forced displacement, it is crucial to start the story from the beginning- sixty-five years ago- when destruction and cultural cleansing of a way of life that lasted for centuries started and still continues today.

Bedouins in Palestine: During Ottoman Empire

Although the Ottoman Empire controlled Palestine from 1516 until the end of World War I, not much was written or found in archives regarding the Bedouins in the Naqab until 1900. However, Mansour Nasasra, a scholar of Middle East politics and international relations at the Department of Politics at the University of Exeter explains that the Ottoman era in Palestine (1516-1917) is remembered by the Naqab Bedouins as a tough

and oppressive. It left them antagonistic towards Istanbul because of Ottoman policies against them that affected their way of life. Nasasra based his research on Israeli and British archives, interviews with Israeli officials who governed the Bedouins during the 1950s and 1960s, and also deep interviews with Bedouins from the Naqab. He argues that during the late Ottoman period the Bedouins clashed with the Ottoman officials because of land ownership and taxes. The harsh treatment of the Bedouins in the Naqab by the Ottomans led to complaints and protests.⁴⁷

Contrary to what Nasasra explains, Ismael Abu Saad, professor of education policy and administration in the Department of Education and founding director of the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development at Ben-Gurion University, and Cosette Creamer, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, argue that the Bedouins in the Naqab during the control of the Ottomans from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century enjoyed their relative autonomy, freedom of movement, and use of land; in addition, they say that the Bedouin tribes spread throughout the territory where they grazed their flocks, covering hundreds of square miles, which the Bedouin tribes controlled, and each tribe selected its own sheikh.⁴⁸

According to Israeli historian Ilan Pappé Bedouin life did not change much in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Similar to Pappé, Oren Yiftachel, professor of urban studies and political geography at Gurion University explains that for decades the Ottoman land laws did not impact the lifestyle of the Bedouins living in Palestine. He explains that the traditional forms of Bedouin Arab land possession and

⁴⁷ Mansour Nasasra, Sophie Richter-Devroe, Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder, Richard Ratclffe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015) 42.

⁴⁸ Ahmad Amara, Abu-Saad Ismael and Yiftachel Oren, ed. *Indigenous (In) justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 21.

ownership was usually agreed upon verbally or through documents signed by neighboring tribes.

I met Sheikh Abu Fahed from al Jahalin tribe in Beit Iksa in October 2016. He explained that he was displaced from Al Naqab with his family in 1950. He expressed his wishes to go back in time when the Bedouins lived like sultans during the Ottomans despite that difficulties they felt at the time. He explained regardless of the oppression during the Ottoman period it does not compare with today's situation. He said, " My family, the Al Dahouk family, has Turkish documents that prove that my family owned 360,000 dunams in al Negev.

Bedouins farmed their land, and they milked their goats. They were too far from the urban areas and did not need them anyway. In 1950, when the Bedouins were expelled and displaced from al Negev, they settled in the West Bank. UNRWA did not care for them and treated them as third-class citizens. Although Sheikh Abu Fahed explained that the Bedouin culture was not under threat during the Ottoman Empire many scholars expressed other way. The Ottoman Empire viewed the Bedouins as a threat to state control. For example, one Turkish governor said, "On many occasions they abused the trust that the state placed in them, they stole state money, and they unlawfully seized public property, and thus they enriched themselves at the expense of peasantry and the state."⁴⁹ This is an example that the sultans used to justify their control and suppression of the Bedouins.

Focusing on the period from 1900 until 1917, Nasasra explains how the late Ottoman era in Palestine marked a new era in Turkish attempts to integrate and control the Naqab Bedouins.⁵⁰ Because of the difficulties of controlling the Bedouin societies, the

⁴⁹ Ibid.,5.

⁵⁰ Nasasra and Richter-Devroe, ed., *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism*, 42.

Ottomans started to put more effort into settling the Bedouins around a new administrative center. In 1900, the Ottoman government purchased land in the Naqab from the Azazmah tribe to build the city of Beersheba.⁵¹ The government established the city of Beersheba as a small urban service center in order to better control the Bedouin tribes and to strengthen its presence. According to Yiftachel, Beersheba remained a small Arab town of 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants until 1948. The town became a target for Israeli efforts to settle, develop, and Judaize the desert after the creation of the state of Israel.⁵²

Other scholars such as Richard Ratcliffe, an anthropologist, and Mansour Abu Rabia, professor of Middle East politics at Exeter University argue that the reason for the Ottomans to establish the city of Bir' as-Saba,' as a permanent administrative city was to put an end to inter-tribal confrontation and to benefit from tax collection from the Bedouin tribes.⁵³ Communal tribal codes and rights were oral agreements.⁵⁴ By agreeing on their borders through oral agreements with their neighboring tribes, Bedouins knew their borders and what belonged to them. For this reason, some Bedouins did not register for land deeds. In 1856, the Ottomans enacted a land law as part of the Tanzimat, a modernization program, that classified the land into five categories: *mulk* or private land, *miri* or land for agriculture or pasturage, *waqf* or lands of the Muslim religious institutions, *matruka* or land for public purposes such as public roads, and *mawat* or waste lands ("dead" or uncultivated

⁵¹ Amara, Abu-Saad, Yiftachel Oren, ed. *Indigenous (In) justice*, 21.

⁵² Champagne and Abu Saad, *The Future of Indigenous*, 30.

⁵³ Chapter one Richard Ratcliffe, Mansour Nasasra, Sarab Abu-rabia-Queder and Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Introduction," in *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective*," ed, Mansour Nasasra and S Richter-Devroe, Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder, and Richard Ratcliffe(New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 4.

⁵⁴ Emily McKee, *Dwelling in Conflict: Negev Landscapes and the Boundaries of Belonging* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 48.

land) which no one owned.⁵⁵ The only owner of the mawat would be the sultan, who retained its ownership. The majority of land in the Naqab was considered to be mawat. The roots of this classification are found in the Ottoman Land Code of 1858.⁵⁶ The lands taken by the Ottoman government were considered to be government property or under its control and administration. Ottoman rule permitted those using the land to work it according to laws that included paying taxes and receiving permission from the state for every transaction.⁵⁷

According to Abu Saad and Creamer, the Ottomans set the boundaries of tribal territories, which began the process of “sedentarization” that continued during the British Mandate.⁵⁸ Seth Frantzman, a Jerusalem-based commentator on Middle East politics and Ruth Kark, Israeli scholar and professor of geography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, argue that “the Ottoman land law, the penetration of the country by other groups, modernization of agriculture, the use of Ottoman and mandatory state policing powers, and the extension of new technologies curtailed greatly the presence and influence of the Bedouin.”⁵⁹ Frantzman and Kark argue that many poems and the oral history of the Bedouins in the Naqab express the complaints about the British taxation and Zionist land purchases. For example, one of the poems states, “wall surrounds all the land we’ve been on. Already they’re taxing our land everywhere, even figs, watermelon.” Another poem

⁵⁵ Arif Abu Rabia. *The Negev Bedouin and Livestock Rearing: Social, Economic and Political Aspects* (Oxford: Berg Publishing Limited, 1994), 15.

⁵⁶ Champagne and Abu Saad, *The Future of Indigenous*, 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁸ Ahmad Amara, Abu-Saad Ismael and Yiftachel Oren, ed. *Indigenous (In) justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 22.

⁵⁹ Seth Frantzman and Ruth Kark, “Bedouin Settlement in Late Ottoman and British Mandatory Palestine: Influence on the Cultural and Environmental Landscape, 1870-1948.” *New Middle Eastern Studies*. no. 1 (June 2011): 21, accessed September 2017, <http://www.brismes.ac.uk/nmes/archives/268>.

expresses the anger over the sale of Bedouin land for Jewish settlement.⁶⁰ One poem recited in 1970s explains what the Bedouins viewed as invasion of their land by the British and the Zionists; the Bedouins hoped that the intrusions would be temporary, speaking of “the Lord who lets strangers go back to their land, like the waves he lets roll to and fro.”⁶¹ What the poems present is typical of what the Bedouins viewed as intrusion in their landscape by the Ottomans, British and the Zionists prior to the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948.

A documentary film by Ben Loeterman titled, *1913: Seeds of Conflict* explores the divergent social forces growing in Palestine before World War I. The film starts by showing the first dispute between the newly arrived European Jews, who were part of the first Aliyah (Jewish immigration to Historical Palestine)(1881-1903). This group of European Jews created small villages of independent farmers called *moshauot* twenty-five kilometers south of Jaffa. The moshauot were built on land inhabited by Palestinian Bedouins who cultivated the land for centuries. The thirty-two families that lived on the land were loyal subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The Russian settlers claimed the land and asked the Bedouins to leave. The Bedouins pleaded their case to the sultan in Turkey; however, this was insignificant. The Ottoman Empire’s concern was receiving taxes, and if the Russian Jews paid taxes to them they saw no problem. The Ottoman Empire ignored the Bedouins’ rights of the land that they lived on for centuries.⁶²

The Ottomans argued that clashes and small battles between the Bedouin tribes caused poverty and a decrease in government revenue. This gave the Ottomans the right to

⁶⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁶¹ Ibid., 11.

⁶² *1913 Seeds of Conflict* by Ben Loeterman (Humanities, 2015), accessed September 27,2018, <http://www.1913SeedsOfConflict.com>.

remedy the lack of state power and what they viewed as theft of government resources. Unfortunately, few scholars have written about the Bedouins' perspective. Several Bedouin poems written down over the years describe the Turks as foreigners to the land. In the poetry, the Ottomans are criticized for being severe; government by bayonet (*hukm be-sanja*) is still a common phrase that the Bedouins use to describe the Ottoman period.⁶³ Further, Frantzman and Kark focus on the later years of the Ottoman rule in Palestine. They argue that the Ottoman policies during that time affected the Bedouin inhabitants who went from being dominant players in the rural environment to a totally marginalized group.

According to Frantzman and Kark, “the extension of Ottoman government power and changes strove to mitigate strife between clans and groups in order to keep the settled population at peace and the environment agriculturally productive.”⁶⁴ Frantzman and Kark agree that the “discrimination against the Bedouins proved inherent in the system and did not necessarily come from capriciousness by the local officials.”⁶⁵ Most of the scholars argue that the Ottomans controlled the Bedouins through oppression; however, in certain cases they failed to achieve any significant control over the Bedouins in the Naqab.

Bedouins in Palestine under the British Mandate

Although the Bedouins lived on the land in the Naqab for centuries, some of them did not own the land. During the British mandate in Palestine, the government reissued the Ottoman Land Code as the Mawat Land Ordinance in 1921. According to Yiftachel, the intention of reissuing of the mawat law was different than how the Ottomans viewed it. The British law did not have the same intent as the Ottomans. Instead of encouraging land

⁶³ Nasasra and S Richter-Devroe, ed., *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism*, 11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 .

⁶⁵ *ibid.*,16.

reclamation and acquisition by the cultivator, it served to consolidate land in the hands of the government. The British gave the Bedouin landholders and cultivators of mawat two months to register cultivated mawat land in their names. However, at the end of the given period, holders who did not register lost their right to cultivate their land. This land became classified as “state land.”⁶⁶ During the period of the British Mandate, many of the Bedouins in the Naqab settled in small villages or towns. And “the value of land rose as farming increased and tribal sheikhs bought land on which they employed tribesmen as sharecroppers.”⁶⁷ Abu-Saad and Creamer state that the total number of Bedouins in the Naqab during the British mandate ranged from 65,000 to 100,000 with tribes recognizing each other’s land.⁶⁸

The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 established that mawat lands were not owned by anyone because they were considered wastelands. The British authorities recognized ownership of land by the Bedouins, and collected taxes from them.⁶⁹ But since most of the Bedouin lands during the British Mandate were not registered at the land registry office, the government classified the land as mawat land. The Bedouins had not registered because the fear of the burden of government taxes coupled with the fear of revealing details of private property. There were several longstanding reasons for not registering land: the old Bedouin tradition of not cooperating with a foreign government authorities, the lack of education or knowledge of the importance of registering their land, to stay away from taxation and

⁶⁶ Champagne and Abu Saad, *The Future of the Indigenous*, 32.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹ Abu Rabia, Aref. *The Negev Bedouin and Livestock Rearing*, 15.

military conscription, indifference towards administrative process, and the feelings of having been marginalized.⁷⁰

However, during the British Mandate, some of the Bedouins in the Naqab continued with their lifestyle and cultivated their lands almost without interference. “The British saw the Bedouins in the Naqab as a problem in their administrative framework, even as some British officials worked with the intentions to defend the Bedouin land claims.”⁷¹ Beersheba remained the main economic center for the settled Bedouins in the Naqab. Nasasra argues that the British recognized the traditional power structure, and British policies towards the tribes relied heavily on strengthening the role of traditional tribal leaders.⁷² The British tried to avoid enforcing their laws and allowed Bedouins to continue with their norms and customs; in addition, a common British policy was to encourage the Bedouins to be part of the Beersheba administrative system. For example, by employing the Bedouins on advisory councils, appointing them into police forces and establishing tribal courts, the British indirectly ruled the Bedouin communities in the Naqab.⁷³

Bedouins in Palestine after 1948

Emily McKee, who based her research on extensive fieldwork, explains that many Jewish Israelis claim that the Bedouins are lawbreakers and unincorporated members of the

⁷⁰ Champagne and Abu Saad, *The Future of the Indigenous*, 32.

⁷¹ Seth Frantzman and Ruth Kark, “Bedouin Settlement in Late Ottoman and British Mandatory Palestine: Influence on the Cultural and Environmental Landscape, 1870-1948. (New Middle Eastern Studies, 192011), 21.

⁷² Nasara, Mansour and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2015), 44.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 52.

nation-state because they are not Jewish.⁷⁴ Yiftachel, whose main research explores the links between ethno-national politics and urban and regional politics, explains that the control over minorities such as the Bedouins in the Naqab is often associated with a relatively firm territorial order of exclusion, segregation, and ghettoization, with extreme control over what the state claims to be state land. In 1950, thousands of the Azazmeh tribesmen were forced to leave Israel for the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. In 1952, the Israeli army expelled 850 members of the Al-Sani tribe from northern Naqab, driving them into the West Bank and Jordan. The notorious Unit 1 of the Israeli army, under the chief of staff Moshe Dayan, massacred the Azazmeh tribe, including women and children, in 1953. These expulsions reduced the Bedouin population from 65,000-95,000 at the end of the British Mandate to 13,000 by 1951.⁷⁵

The Israeli government enacted a number of laws and military regulations to enable the State to confiscate land previously owned or used by the Bedouins. By concentrating the Bedouins in closed areas and reducing their land base, and registering their land as State property the Bedouins lost their livelihood.⁷⁶ Safa Aburabia states that immediately after the 1948 war, the Bedouins were transferred onto reservations that Israel defined as closed military areas. The Bedouins lived under restriction of movement, which severed them from their land by preventing them from returning to it or cultivating it.⁷⁷

Due to the Israeli military rules imposed on the Bedouins in the Negev in the early 1950s, once the Bedouins were displaced and expelled and could not return to their

⁷⁴ Mckee, Emily. *Dwelling In Conflict: Negev Landscape*, 3.

⁷⁵ Nur Masallah, *A Land Without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949-1996* (London, Faber and Faber Limited, 1997), 11.

⁷⁶ Amara, Ahmad. Ismael, Abu Saad. Oren, Yiftache. ed. *Indigenous (In) justice*, 28.

⁷⁷ Nasara, Mansour Nasasra. Richter-Devroe, Sophie. Abu Rabia Queder Sarab. Ratcliffe, Richard. ed. *The Naqab Bedouin*, 95.

land, they were isolated from the Palestinian population that lived in Israel. If they needed to work or visit a family member, they needed special permits to leave the restricted area. Masalha explains that in May 1950, the Israeli army transported Palestinians from their villages in crowded trucks to a point near Wadi Araba, a hot desert between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. The Palestinians were ordered to cross to Jordan, with the soldiers firing bursts over their heads to make them go forward and not return to their homes.⁷⁸ According to Ismael Abu- Saad and Cosette Creamer, “In 1953, the Land Acquisition Law retroactively endorsed expropriations undertaken directly after the 1948 conflict.”⁷⁹ This Law came into being after the removal of most of the Bedouin in the Negev.

Creamer and Abu Saad argue that this law provided the Israeli state with the right to register previously confiscated land. Despite the Bedouins’ rights and some of the ownership documents they possessed, the Israeli government forced the law and classified all Bedouin land as uncultivated and, hence, state-owned. This gave a legal justification to Israel to nationalize the land. In addition, Creamer and Abu Saad explain that of the original ninety-five Bedouin tribes in the Negev, only nineteen tribes remained and received official recognition. However, as a result of the Israeli land law, the Israeli authorities took full control of the Bedouin land and deprived the Bedouins of the freedom to migrate seasonally with their herds, and it became impossible for the Bedouins to cultivate their land. As a result twelve of the remaining nineteen Negev Bedouin tribes left their land, and the entire population of the Bedouins was confined to a specially designated, restricted area in the northeastern Negev.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Masallah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 7.

⁷⁹ Amara, Ahmad. Ismael, Abu Saad. Oren, Yiftache. ed. *Indigenous (In) justice*, 28.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 25.

As late as 1959, Bedouin tribes were expelled from the Negev to Sinai in Egypt and Jordan. Some tribes were expelled to the West Bank in areas near Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron. It is also important to note that the thousands of the expelled Bedouins who became refugees in the West Bank couldn't return, in part because two new laws legalized the displacement of the Bedouins and the confiscation of their land. The 1950 Absentee Property Law and the 1953 Land Acquisition Law justified the land confiscation. Salman Abu Sitta, best known for his crucial mapping work on Palestine and his work on the Palestinian Right of Return, explains that the other factor that made it hard for the 1948 Palestinian refugees in the West Bank to go back to their homes and land was that the refugees did not have freedom under Jordanian rule. Abu Sitta explains that the Palestinian who were expelled to the West Bank during the 1948 war "were absorbed into the expanded Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The Jordanian regime harshly suppressed any political movement by the refugees to claim back their homes in Palestine, although (Jordanian) official media trumpeted adherence to the "sacred Arab rights" in Palestine."⁸¹

Amnon Neumann, an Israeli veteran who fought in the Negev during the 1948 war said in a 2015 interview for the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* magazine, "The Bedouins in the Naqab had put up almost no resistance to advancing Jewish forces because they lacked "a military capacity" and had no weapons. The Israeli army terrified the Bedouin villages out of their homes by shooting either at them, or above their heads. We drove them out, women and children went to Gaza, by the morning there was nobody there. We burned their houses."⁸² The Palestinians were completely unprepared for war. Masalha

⁸¹ Salaman, Abu Sitta. *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016), 120.

⁸² Jonathan, Cook "Israeli Veterans, Palestinian survivors testify at First 1948 "" Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, April 2015, 18-19.

explains that the Palestinian leadership during the 1948 war was still in disarray and largely unarmed as a result of the 1936-39 rebellion.

This continuation of expulsion was part of the Zionist agenda to de-Arabize the region and to Judaize it.⁸³ In addition to passing new laws such as the Land Seizure Law of 1950 and the Absentee Properties Law of 1953, the Israeli authorities adopted two laws practiced during the Ottoman period and the British mandate. These laws worked in Israel's favor: the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 defined most of the Naqab as state land, and the British mandatory land law of 1921, denied the Bedouins their land due to their failure to register. These laws classified all Bedouin lands in the Negev as uncultivated and consequently State owned.⁸⁴ According to Masalha, in 1970, Moshe Dayan, Minister of Defense at the time, and Ariel Sharon, military officer at the time, established a program to evict the Bedouins who had settled in northern Sinai. Thousands of Bedouins were evicted from their land and replaced by new Jewish settlements. The Bedouins in Sinai appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court in 1972 to be able to return to their homes and called for a stop to the eviction and displacement by police, but the court rejected their appeal. The eviction of the Bedouins was justified as a national security issue.⁸⁵ During this time, Dayan was also working on evicting thousands of Bedouin farmers from Gaza Strip. Masalha states that the "forcible eviction of the Bedouin communities and the replacement of the Jewish settlements represented one example of the ideology of force, which reached its apogee between the 1967 war and the October war of 1973."⁸⁶

⁸³ Masallah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 7.

⁸⁴ Nasara, Mansour Nasasra. Richter-Devroe, Sophie. Abu Rabia Queder Sarab. Ratcliffe, Richard. ed. *The Naqab Bedouin*, 95.

⁸⁵ Masallah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 96.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

Similar to Pappé, Noam Chomsky, an American philosopher, linguist, and historian, explains that in 1972, the Israeli military forces under General Ariel Sharon, “drove off some ten thousand farmers and Bedouins, bulldozed or dynamited their homes, pulled down their tents, destroyed their crops and filled in their wells, to prepare the ground for the establishment of six kibbutzim, nine villages, and the city of Yamit.”⁸⁷ The creation of a new map of the Negev was possible only after the ethnic cleansing of the Bedouins took place. Just after the 1948 war, Israeli archaeologists and members of the Israeli Exploration Society focused on creating the new map of the occupied Negev. The first thing they did was to change all the Arabic names of the towns, areas, and landscape to Hebrew names. According to Masalha, 561 different geographical features in the Negev—mountains, valleys, springs, and waterholes that once had Arabic Palestinian names were changed to biblical Hebrew names. For example, Seil Imran became Nahal Amran and Jabal Dibba (Hump Hill) became Har Dla’at (Mount Pumplein).⁸⁸ Nasasra explains that the Israeli attempts at modernization and development were predominantly a policy aimed at the Bedouins. Bedouins resisted the government plans by continuing to live in their historical land.⁸⁹

Similar to Nasasra Israeli scholars of the Naqab Bedouin, Yuval Karplus and Avinoam Meri, argue that Bedouin urbanization commenced during the late 1960s as the Israeli government started an extensive project to resettle the Bedouins in a number of small towns in order to enhance modernization and social change to encourage

⁸⁷ Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, (Cambridge: South End Press, 1999), 106.

⁸⁸ Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba :Decolonizing History, Narrating the subaltern, Reclaiming Memory*. (London: Zed Books, 2012), 106

⁸⁹ Nasara, Mansour and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective*, (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2015), 52.

urbanization.⁹⁰ According to Pappé “what Israel calls urban planning is actually ethnic cleansing.”⁹¹ Masalha explains that in 1976 the Israeli authorities had removed more than thirty Bedouin settlements. A few years later, in 1978, Ariel Sharon, then the Agriculture Minister, declared the entire area as a protected nature reserve. The Bedouins became strangers in their own land and were forbidden to graze their sheep and goats.⁹²

⁹⁰ Ibid., 74.

⁹¹ Illan Pappé. *The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories*(London: Oneworld, 2017, 80.

⁹² Masallah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 139.

CHAPTER FOUR

Bedouins: Between the Green Line and the E1 Plan

Traditionally the Bedouins have subsisted by farming and raising herds, but Bedouin social life dramatically shifted due to Israeli military rule. As Pappé argues, against the tactics of “ethnic cleansing,” the Bedouins struggled for equality, recognition, and social justice. “The Israeli state forced urban plans upon the Bedouin communities and the formation of urban Bedouin spaces was planned by the Israeli state to serve “hegemonic spatial interests that were in collision with Bedouin traditional agro-pastoral semi-nomadic tribal spatiality.”⁹³ Their livelihood was broken once the Israelis displaced them from their land and gathered them in a closed military area northeast of Beer-Sheva called the “Siyag,” or fence. There was no return to the homes and villages that they had lived in for centuries. The Siyag was on land that was known for its low agricultural fertility. Twelve Bedouin tribes were relocated to the Siyag, joining six tribes who already lived there. The Bedouins in the Siyag were under military control until 1966. They were not allowed to build any stone or concrete homes or buildings. The Bedouins ended up living in shacks and tents. Because of the lack of fertile land space for grazing in the Siyag, Bedouins began to seek unfamiliar employment and jobs in Israel.⁹⁴

This Chapter examines the Bedouins in Historical Palestine and focusing on the Jahalin Bedouin tribe in Eastern Jerusalem. The Israeli policy of ethnic cleansing has been

⁹³ Yuval Karplus and Avinoam Meir, “Past and Present in the Discourse of Naqab/Negev Bedouin Geography and Space: A Critical Review,” *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective*, ed. M-ansour Nasasra, Sophie Richter-Devroe, Sarab Abu Rabia-Queder, and Richard Ratcliffe (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 75.

⁹⁴ Isamael Abu- Saad and Cosette Creamer, “Socio-Political Upheaval and Current Conditions of the Naqab Bedouin Arabs,” *Indigenous (In) Justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev*, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 27.

implemented against the Palestinian Bedouins since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. I argue that the Israeli displacement plan in the name of urbanization in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem, the Oslo accord agreement between the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the E1-Plan are the continuation of ethnic and culture cleansing of the Bedouins of Palestine. Moreover, After meeting with many Bedouins from the Jahalin tribe, I found that the Israeli plan is to de-Arabize and empty the land of its inhabitants and in this case the Jahalin tribe in eastern Jerusalem to allow the expansion of illegal Jewish settlements in addition to build new ones.

The Israeli displacement plan against the Jahalin Bedouins in the name of urbanization displaced the Jahalin to Abu Dis, a nearby village that is next to the garbage dump just to allow the expansion of Mal'e Adumim settlement. I argue that the expansion of Male Adumim and connecting it to Jerusalem dashes hope for the two state solution and the Palestinian right for self-determination.

This Chapter focuses on interviews I conducted between the years 2012-2018 with six Bedouin communities that all belong to al Jahalin tribe: Al Jib, Jabal al Baba, Khan al Ahmar, Abu Dis, Nabi Samuel, Beit Iksa, and Sateh Al Bather. Although the Jahalin Bedouins opposed the displacement plan they were forced to move next to a garbage dump in Abu Dis. The forced urbanization on the Bedouins ended a way of life that survived for centuries.

The Green Line

The 1967 border known as the Green Line is the former Jordanian-Israeli armistice line separates the West Bank from Israel. On both sides of the line two Palestinian Bedouin

communities, al Jahalin Bedouin tribe and al Turi Bedouin tribe. Although, originated from the Naqab in historical Palestine a “Green Line” sometimes visible and sometimes is not visible on the maps, separates them. In an article published in the *New York Times* on September 6, 2011, Isabel Kershner states that the Green Line was named for the green marker with which it was drawn on the map during the 1948 Armistice agreement. It refers to the border that separates the occupied Palestinian territory (the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip) from the State of Israel. Despite the reality of the existence of the Green Line for many years, and still recognized in treaties with Jordan and Egypt as the Israeli boundary, Israel continued colonizing the West Bank. In 1967 Israel occupied the West Bank from the Jordanians who occupied the West Bank from 1948-1967.

Although Jordan relinquished claim on the West Bank in 1974 when the Arab League recognized the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the representative of the Palestinian people. The West Bank was still occupied by Israel and the Israelis did not recognize the PLO, nor the existence of the Palestinians, until 1993. Since 1967 the West Bank has been under the Israeli military occupation. Nazmi al-Jubeh, a Palestinian historian explained that “if the Israelis do not recognize this line, it means that they do not recognize the territory beyond it as occupied.” Pappé says that the Green Line is slowly disappearing because Israeli policies of ethnic cleansing.⁹⁵

According to the United Nations Commission, ethnic cleansing is a crime against humanity. In *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Pappé defined Ethnic Cleansing as “An effort to render an ethnically mixed country homogenous by expelling a particular group of people and turning them into refugees while demolishing the homes they were driven out from. There may well be a master plan, but most of the troops engaged in ethnic cleansing

⁹⁵ Noam Chomsky and Illan Pappé, *On Palestine* (Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2015), 18.

do not need direct order: they know beforehand what is expected of them. Massacres accompany the operation, but where they occur they are not part of a genocidal plan: they are a key tactic to accelerate the flight of population earmarked for expulsion.”⁹⁶ Pappé suggests that the Ethnic Cleansing is not about planned idea, but an operation that at in the end of which one ethnic group is displaced and replaced with another.

The ethnic cleansing came in different forms and actions such as massacres, destruction and displacement. The Green Line not only separates the Palestinians from Palestinians, but it created different classes of Palestinians. Al-Araqib, located in the Naqab, is one of many unrecognized villages that do not appear on Israeli maps or government planning documents. On the other side of the Green Line are the Jahalin Bedouin communities in the West Bank who originated from the Naqab prior to 1948. Both Bedouin tribes share the same story of struggle against displacement and home demolition. The Israeli authorities have threatened both communities to leave their land by constantly sending demolishing orders to their doors. While the threat is constant and the demolition of their homes has taken place multiple times, both communities continue to demonstrate against the displacement and express their steadfastness through peaceful demonstrations, rebuilding their homes, and continuing to live on their land despite the threats and the violence they endure from the Israeli authorities.

In a short documentary called *From Al Araqib to Susiya, Adalah* (The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel) captures the stories of two Palestinian villages, Al-Araqib and Susiya. A young Bedouin from Al-Araqib said, “We were surprised one day in 1999 to wake up at 4 am to the sound of the airplanes sweeping over our village and spraying all crops and the entire village with a toxic substance called “Round Up,” a

⁹⁶ Illan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford, Oneworld, 2006), 3.

chemical that kills all plants and living things. Most of our sheep died and my uncle also died because he inhaled the poison.”⁹⁷ The Israeli government frequently demolished homes and sprayed toxic pesticides onto crops in the unrecognized villages in the Negev.⁹⁸ These villages do not have access to basic sanitation infrastructure so waste accumulates outside of Bedouin villages. These garbage piles became home to disease carrying pests, such as mosquitos, flies, dogs, and more. Some Bedouins choose to burn their waste and because they burn organic and inorganic waste together, a range of potent toxic chemicals cause major problems for the Bedouins including cancer and birth defects.⁹⁹

On July 2010, the Israeli police destroyed the village just to make way for a Jewish National Fund forest. Masalha explains that the destruction of Al-Araqib was carried out by a 1,300 strong contingent of security forces, police, and civilian guards equipped with guns, stun grenades, and bulldozers. Masalha stated that even students from Jewish high schools participated in the destruction of Al-Araqib.¹⁰⁰ In an *Aljazeera* article on the Al-Araqib demolishing (April 15, 2015), Jillian Kestler-D’Amours reported that hundreds of Israeli soldiers and police officers demolished dozens of homes and animal pens and uprooted thousands of olive trees in Al-Araqib. This Bedouin community is an example of the continuation of the ethnic cleansing in the Naqab. What happened to the Al-Araqib community and other Bedouins from the Naqab is similar to the process of expelling Native Americans from their land and putting them into reservations. Masalha explains that, “for Palestinians, mourning sixty-three years of Al Nakba is not just about

⁹⁷ “From Al- to Susiya” (documentary), directed by Adalah, posted May 14, 2013, accessed September 10, 2017 https://youtu.be/HtF3rOdSbr4_

⁹⁸ Jess Russel and Cohn Ronald, *Negev Bedouin*, (Bookvika Publishing ,2012),8.

⁹⁹ Dukium, *The Indigenous Bedouins of the Nagab-Negev Desert in Israel* (Report 2006) www.dukium.org

¹⁰⁰ Nur Msalha, *The Palestine Nakba* Books, 134.

remembering the ethnic cleansing of 1948; it is also about marking the ongoing dispossession.”¹⁰¹

In March 2016, I met with Sheikh Sayyah Al Turi in his village al Araqib in Naqab. His children were playing around the rubbish and leftovers of their demolished houses. I had my camera and took some pictures while Shiekh Sayyah was on his phone. I saw the steadfastness of his family and their determination to stay on their land. Despite multiple demolitions and the daily harassment, they endure from the Israeli policy of displacement they continue to stay. This is what Sheikh Sayyah said to me: “We have the right to stay on this land; we own it; I have documents to show you.” He pointed to the wall in the guest tent where I was welcomed to sit with him and his family. He said “Look at all theses documents on this wall. They are legal and showing that I am on my land and no one can take this right away from me.” The documents were tax papers and proving his family’s ownership of the land since the Ottoman era. Sheikh Sayyah had made copies and prints, filling his guest room wall with all the documents like wallpaper, and he said that he made tens of copies of each to give his children and grandchildren for the future.

After the interview, Sheikh Sayyah walked with me around Al Araqib, and he pointed at the cemetery and said “Look at our cemetery. It is older than the state of Israel, dated from 1914.” Sheikh Sayyah believes that the Israeli ethnic cleansing began to move out non-Jews from particular areas in order to give the land to new Jewish settlements. He expressed his steadfastness and determination to stay on his land and vowed to continue to rebuild his village every time it is destroyed. He stated that the discrimination they endure from Israeli policy is just because they are Bedouins and Palestinians. They displaced us just for them to build new Jewish settlements.” As a settler colonialist project, the settlers

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 254.

must depopulate the land from its people to sustain their colonialist project. Al Araqib village, is denied all infrastructure and adequate basic services; meanwhile, the new Jewish settlements on Bedouin land that was confiscated live with no problems. According to Masalha, “Today there are 155,000 Palestinian Bedouins in the Naqab, many of whom have been repeatedly displaced since 1948; 83,000 of them live in “unrecognized villages” without electricity or running water and with no access of municipal or government assistance.”¹⁰²

Similar to Al Araqib in Naqab, Khan Al Ahmar in the West Bank is facing similar threats and expulsions by the Israeli forces in order to de-Arabize the land. Israel’s planning and urbanization policy in the West Bank is aimed to prevent the Bedouins of Khan Al Ahmar from developing and cultivating their land. In both cases—at Al Araqib, the Bedouin village in the Naqab, and Khan Al Ahmar, the Bedouin village in the West Bank—Israel set its laws to prohibit any permanent structures and farming. Several Bedouin explained to me from both communities that if caught farming or building a stone house they would be risking fines and home demolition. The Khan Al Ahmar village is a home for the Jahalin tribe, which was expelled from its home in the Naqab to the West Bank in 1950. Whether the Bedouin villages were inside the Green Line or outside of it, the villages were demolished multiple times to make way for the establishment of new Jewish settlements.

Since 1967, Israel has occupied the West Bank including Eastern Jerusalem. Under international law, occupation should be temporary, and the occupying power is prohibited from establishing any permanent facts on the occupied territory. The Fourth Geneva Convention forbids the occupying power to transfer its civilian population to the occupied

¹⁰² Ibid., 134.

territory. This includes the establishment of Jewish settlements on privately owned Palestinian land. In addition, as part of the Geneva Convention, the occupying power has the duty to protect public and private property, but Israel breaches this duty by establishing more settlements and confiscating more land.

Chomsky states that all of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Eastern Jerusalem are illegal, as determined by the Security Council's advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice."¹⁰³ "Land expropriation is probably the most significant aspect of the policy of deprivation pursued by Israel against the Palestinian minority."¹⁰⁴

Pappé explains that ever since 1967, Israel has searched for a way to keep the West Bank under their occupation without granting rights to Palestinians. The expansion of the Israeli settlements and the continuous of occupation of the West Bank and Eastern Jerusalem took place while Israel participated in a "Peace Process" talks. I 1993. ¹⁰⁵ Peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis will remain difficult as long as Israel's approach to Palestinians' property in the West Bank and Eastern Jerusalem continues to be confiscating privately owned land and expanding Jewish settlements.

The Oslo Accords: Vanishing of a Culture and State

The Oslo agreement signed by Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat in September 1993 failed to resolve the essence of the Palestinian question. Although the majority of the Palestinians who were in exile or under occupation in the West Bank at a certain time claimed loyalty to what the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) stood for, the PLO changed its direction in terms of ending the occupation and solving the refugee question.

¹⁰³ Noam Chomsky and Illan Pappé, *On Palestine*, 202.

¹⁰⁴ Masallah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 135.

¹⁰⁵ Noam Chomsky and Illan Pappé, *On Palestine*, 149.

To the occupied Palestinians, the PLO meant national unity towards a common objective, the achievement of an independent statehood. During the Oslo Accords negotiations, Ghassan Khatib explains that the PLO's concern shifted towards leadership status, and gaining the Israeli acceptance to negotiate with them. "To the Oslo negotiators, the PLO meant the individual leaders, status, and role of the organization."¹⁰⁶ The dilemma was that the outside leadership embarked on a peace process that gave them the opportunity to gain international awareness ignoring the reality inside the colonized West Bank and Gaza. The Oslo Accords ignored the essence and purpose of the Palestinian struggle.

The Israeli government recognized the PLO during the Oslo Accords without recognizing the Palestinians' goal of ending ongoing occupation in the West Bank, achieving an independent Palestinian state; ensuring the right of return of refugees; and stopping the expansion of the illegal settlements, land annexation, and human rights violations. Instead the Oslo Accords focused on symbols, control, and raising the status of the PLO in personal and institutional respects¹⁰⁷

According to Masalha, discrimination against the Palestinians inside the state of Israel and in the Palestinian occupied territories (the West Bank) has "remained blatant and institutionalized."¹⁰⁸ What the Oslo Accords achieved was the division of what was already divided. The agreement divided the West Bank into three areas: A, B, and C. According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' Occupied Palestinian Territory Report, over 60 percent of the West Bank is considered

¹⁰⁶ Ghassan Khatib, *Palestinian Politics and the Middle East Peace Process: Consensus and Competition in the Palestinian Negotiating Team* (London: Routledge, 2010), 91

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 91

¹⁰⁸ Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba*, 243.

Area C, where Israel retains near exclusive control, including over law enforcement, planning, and construction.¹⁰⁹

What followed the Oslo Accords in 1993-1995 was the expansion of Jewish settlements, which displaced Palestinians. Just five months after the Oslo agreement, the Israeli authorities continued with expansion of the settlements; construction for the settlement bypass roads for Jewish settlers continued, and expropriation of land did not stop. The construction of the Israeli settlements, housing, and infrastructure (in the occupied territories) has accelerated since Oslo I Accord was signed in September 1993, using funds provided by the US taxpayers with the agreement of the Bush and Clinton administrations.¹¹⁰

Between September 1994 and Spring 1995, the Israeli government approved seven hundred new homes at the Giva at Tal settlement and eight thousand new homes at the Ma'ale Adumim settlement in the West Bank near Jerusalem.¹¹¹ According to a 2012 United Nations Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' Occupied Palestine Territory Report, "Since 1967, Israel has established about 150 settlements (residential and others) in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, in addition to some 100 "outposts" erected by settlers without official authorization."¹¹² In 1996, the Bedouin Jahalin tribe lost most of their land for the expansion of Ma'ale Adumim

In October 2015, I met Eid Abu Ghalia and his family at his house in the village of Abu Dis. Abu Ghalia and his family were displaced from Khan Al Ahmar where Ma'ale

¹⁰⁹ United Nations Office For the Coordination of humanitarian Affairs Occupied Palestinian Territory. Report of *Area C of The West Bank: Key Humanitarian Concerns*, August 2014.

¹¹⁰ Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 545.

¹¹¹ Masalah, Nur. *A Land Without A People*, 227.

¹¹² United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Occupied Palestine Territory. Report of *The Humanitarian Impact of Israeli Settlement Policies*, December 2012.

Adumim sits today. In the winter of 1997, the Israeli army and soldiers bulldozed Abu Ghalia's and his family's shelters. In an interview conducted with him, he explained that the displacement of the Jahalin Bedouins took place before, during, and after the Oslo agreement. He stated, "In 1979 the Israelis started building the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. The Israelis started an individual displacement plan. The reason was to make it less obvious to the Palestinian communities and the near by villagers as well as the media. The land was spacious and small families live in it, they went to them one by one and said, 'We want to build here. Just move a little like 100 or 200 meters away that's all'. They kept up these tactics and strategies of displacing the Bedouins until 1993." According to Abu Ghalia, the Israeli authorities discriminated against the Bedouins and protected the settlements. He stated,

When the confrontations started between the settlers and the Bedouins, the Bedouins protested against the shrinking of their land. I remember living in an area called Um Al Ghaleen and it is in the middle of the Ma'ale Adumim. We used have around 200 goats. We did not need to be workers and search for jobs. Most of the Bedouins lived off of the livestock they owned. They were happy, but unfortunately, when the land started to shrink on them, and the Israelis forced them to leave the area, they went to the Israeli courts, but the Israeli courts were always on the settlers' side. The courts ruled against the Bedouins and supported the displacement policy against the Bedouins." According to Abu Ghalia, the forced displacement brought poverty and family stress because of the increase of unemployment. He believes that the policy of displacement destroyed their culture and livelihood. The Bedouin lifestyle relies on raising livestock that needs pasture land to graze. The Jahalin Bedouin's life is vanishing through the Israeli policies of displacement and urbanization leading to loss of their tradition and culture that has been in practice for centuries. Abu Ghalia said, "They did offer an alternative, but what alternatives? God knows. Families who used to live on 40 to 50 dunums were offered an exchange of land that was 500 meters. The 500 meters will not accommodate 200 goats. If you just put the goats by themselves this size will not be enough. In 1997 the Israeli court decided that even if it is by force the Bedouins needed to leave the land. In fact, one day the Israeli soldiers came with bulldozers, early morning, around 8 am to displace us by force. Around 3000 soldiers surrounded the area

and divided us into three groups. They started with the first group I was in. They loaded everything, goats, food, flour, and all of our belongings and put everything in a container that is about 6m x 2m. Everything was on top of each other including the goats; they destroyed most of our belongings. They brought us here and threw everything in the container on a hill nearby. Then they did the same to the second group and to the third group.¹¹³

Abu Ghalia explained to me that the Bedouin culture is under threat of altogether vanishing. He said, “Now here is the problem: they changed our lifestyle. I never needed to learn a craft or needed to be professional in any job. I always was a Bedouin who relied on livestock, dairy products, and animal meat. The first problem we faced in the village was unemployment so we had to sell 80% of our livestock.” The home demolition and forced displacement affects the social, cultural, and economic system of the Bedouins, which forces the abandonment of a nomadic lifestyle and a search for alternative sources of income.

Bedouins: Between Displacement and the Expansion of Settlements in Occupied Palestine

In 1948, the Jahalin Bedouins were forced to leave their home, Tel Ard, in the Naqab. Expelled from their land, the Jahalin developed a permanent community on land belonging to Palestinian villagers in the West Bank. According to a 2015 Norwegian Refugee Council Report, there are 30,000 Bedouins who live in different areas in the West Bank, near Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jericho, Khan Al Ahmar, Wadi Abu Hindi, Jordan Valley, Anata, Beir Nabala, and Abu Dis. These communities are known as *Arab al Jahalin*. Although the land in these areas are owned by the nearby villagers, the Bedouins

¹¹³ Eid abu Ghalia, interviewed by Hanan Awad, October 28th, 2015

settled with their tents and animals and made a home on the basis of lease agreements with local Palestinian landowners. Abu Fahed, who lives in Beit Iksa with his family, explained to me that after the Jahalin were expelled from the Naqab, they became refugees and settled on privately owned Palestinian land. He said, “The land is owned by a Palestinian family, the Al Shear family. We have an agreement with them to live on their land.” The Jahalin had open access to the markets in Jerusalem and became very dependent on them to sell their products, which included meat, cheese, and yogurt. After the occupation of the West Bank in 1967, the Jahalin Bedouins were exposed to another wave of displacement. The Occupation forces started to restrict the land inhabited by the refugee Bedouins.

Attalah Mazarah, who lives in Jebel Al Baba, explained that the land his family settled on after their expulsion from the Naqab is owned by Palestinian families. Attalah’s family made an agreement with the villagers to live on it. He said, “Palestinians privately own Jabal al Baba land. The owners are from a town called Al Azariah. The owners are still here and live in al-Azariah. The family names are Faroun, Khateeb, and Khalef. Some land is still under Jordanian rule.” The Bedouins lived a normal Bedouin life, their animals were well grazed, the land was farmed, and their movement was not interrupted until the late 1970s and the early 1980s, Attalah explained, when the Israelis started to build the second largest settlement in the West Bank, called Ma’ale Adumim. Building this settlement and the roads to connect it took so much from the Jabal al Baba land. Most of the land the Bedouins had for grazing was gone, which made it hard for them to maintain their livestock. Livestock is a major tradition for Bedouins, and they depend on it economically. According to a 2014 United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Palestine Territory (OCHA) report “most of Area C

has been allocated for the benefit of Israeli settlements, which receive preferential treatment at the expense of Palestinian communities.”

The movement of the Jahalin Bedouins in area C is controlled, restricted, and considered under military rule, including the barrier wall and checkpoints. In 2002, the Israeli government approved construction of the segregation wall on land requisitioned from Palestinian landowners by the Israeli Ministry of Defense through military orders.¹¹⁴ According to a 2014 OCHA report, 85% of the wall’s route runs inside the West Bank, and 9.4% of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, will be isolated by the wall, and 150 Palestinian communities have land located between the barrier and the Green Line.¹¹⁵

By the early 1950s the Jahalin Bedouins had settled and continued their traditional pastoral lifestyle. However, after the occupation of the West Bank in 1967 their life changed. The Israeli government planned the removal of Bedouins from the area. In the late 1970s, the Israeli-built settlements covered the green hill where the Bedouin livestock used to graze. The Bedouins were forced to leave the land and empty it for the expansion of the settlements. Settlements such as Ma’ale Adumim, located in Area C, were included in the Israeli E1 plan. Khan Al Ahmar and Jabel al Baba are just two Bedouin communities in the West Bank. During my visits to the Jahalin communities between the years 2012-2018, I learned about the forced displacement and the Israeli settlement construction in E1 (E1 is short for East 1). The E1 plan is an Israeli policy to expand the Israeli settlement of Ma’ale Adumim in the West Bank in order to connect it with Jerusalem. The E 1 Plan seeks to cut off the narrow land corridor east of Jerusalem in order to divide and split the West Bank into two parts. This plan would not allow the Palestinians to have their contiguous state.

¹¹⁴ OCHA Report “10 Years Since the International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinion.” July 9, 2014.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 2.

Despite the proof of Palestinian land ownership, the Israelis used the term “state land” as an excuse to expel the Bedouins.

According to a 2009 Bimkom and B’tselem report titled, “The Hidden Agenda: the Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma’ale Adumim and their Human Rights Ramifications,” in 1975 the Israeli ministerial committee authorized the expropriation of 3,000 hectares of the village land of Al Eizariyah, at-Tur, Issawiya, Anata, Khan al Ahmar, and Nabi Musa to build the Israeli settlement Ma’ale Adumim. The ownership of the confiscated land switched from individual Palestinians to the state forever.¹¹⁶ In October 2015, I visited the Jahalin communities again only to learn that Bedouin communities in the Jerusalem area face daily assaults by the Israeli army and police. I met with Eid Abu Ghalia, a Jahalin. He was displaced from Khan al Ahmar and relocated to Abu Dis next to the garbage dump. Eid Abu Ghalia summarized the predicament of the Jahalin in this area:

During the Six-Day War [1967], half of the Jahalin tribe moved to Jordan and the other half stayed in Khan al Ahmar where now Ma’ale Adumim sits. The site is named after a Byzantine monastery, and you can still see the ruins of Deir al Murssas; it’s in the middle of Ma’ale Adumim. Arab Jahalin are divided into three clans: Abu Dahuk clan, Salamat clan, and Sreah clan. They lived in areas that stretch between Jerusalem and Jericho. The clan that was affected and faced forcible displacement and pressure to leave was the Salamat clan. The Salamat clan lived in the Murassas area. In 1979, the Israelis started building the Ma’ale Adumim settlement. The Israelis started the displacement plan for individual families, so as not to make it obvious to the Palestinian communities and the media. In this they succeeded because the land was spacious and small number of families lived in it. They kept up this strategy of displacing the Bedouins until 1993, when the eastern side became a military zone, and three-fourths of the land came under the domain of the Ma’ale Adumim administrative area. The Jahalin Bedouins ended up without land. The confrontations started between the settlers and the Bedouins. The Bedouins protested against the shrinking of their land. I remember living in an area called Um Al Ghaleen, in the middle of the Ma’ale Adumim. We used have around 200 goats; we did not need to be

¹¹⁶ Bimkom and B’Tselem, “The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma’ale Adumim and their Human Rights Ramifications” (December 2009), online at www.btselem.org/download/200912_maale_adummim_eng.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).

workers and search for jobs. Most of the Bedouins lived off of the livestock they owned. They were happy, but unfortunately, when the land started to shrink on them, and the Israelis forced them to leave the area, they went to the Israeli courts, but the Israeli courts were always on the settlers' side. The courts ruled against the Bedouins and supported the displacement policy against the Bedouins. They did offer an alternative, but what alternatives? God knows. Families who used to live on 40 to 50 dunams [one dunam of land is roughly equivalent to 1,000 square meters] were offered an exchange of land that was 500 meters, and next to a garbage dump.¹¹⁷

According to a 2013 B'Tselem report, in 1994, the Civil Administration displaced dozens of Jahalin Bedouins from Khan Al Ahmar to a site near the municipal garbage dump where approximately more than 1,500 tons of garbage is trucked daily, mostly from Jerusalem. The garbage dump in Abu Dis began operation in the early 1980s, shortly after the village land was confiscated from its Palestinian owners.

The Israeli authority continued land confiscation from Palestinians' privately owned land for the expansion of the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. Since the 1980s, and during the construction of Ma'ale Adumim, Israel demolished tents and homes of the Jahalin Bedouins. The 2009 Bimkom and B'Tselem report states, "the establishment of Ma'ale Adumim entails three levels of violation of Palestinians' rights: infringement of the right of individual Palestinians, whose lands were expropriated or who were expelled from their place of residence; infringement of the rights of entire Palestinian communities, whose development needs were severely compromised; and infringement of the collective right of the Palestinian people to viable state, with reasonable territorial contiguity."¹¹⁸ According to Ilan Pape, "Ma'ale Adumim, a colony that attracted the less fortunate Jewish dwellers of Jerusalem, and grew to such a size that has strangled Abu Dis and other neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. The Israel plans in 2012 to extend this sprawl from East Jerusalem to the

¹¹⁷ Eid abu Ghaliya, interviewed by Hanan Awad, October 28th, 2015

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 47 .

Dead Sea, and in so doing cut the West Bank into two inaccessible parts.”¹¹⁹ The Ma’ale Adumim settlement is a unique case. Israel not only confiscated farmland to build the settlement, but expelled the Palestinians who were living on the land in order to replace it with other people.

In an interview I conducted earlier this year (March, 2018), Abu Fahed, who now lives in Beit Iksa, said,

The reason behind all of this is that Israel wants to empty the land of the Palestinians in order to replace them with new Jewish settlers. These sheep that you are seeing are part of our tradition; it’s part of our connection with this land. We inherited this land and this lifestyle from our grandparents and ancestors. This land was rich and it was the land of honey; today it’s the land of onions due to the occupation. The occupation aims to empty this land of villages, deserts, and cities in order for new settlements and newcomers to take over. In 1981, I built a house and it was registered and legal, but the occupation demolished it. Even now, I am not allowed to visit my land or to build anything. The Israeli authorities demolished it. Even the tent that I am living in now with my family is under threat to be demolished. I don’t know when, but we live with the fear of not knowing what our fate is. I dream of going back to the Naqab to live in a tent and stay poor all my life but with dignity and with a homeland. [Here] I feel as a stranger.¹²⁰

According to Pappé “in order to establish settlements in the Occupied areas, Israel used the same legal practices it had employed in Israel itself from 1948 to 1967.”¹²¹ Just like other settlements in the West Bank, the Ma’ale Adummim settlement was built on Palestinian privately owned land that was requisitioned under military orders for security reasons. Three cases mentioned in the 2009 report illustrated how The Israeli High Court of Justice approved requisition orders issued to enable the establishment of settlements. However, in 1979, the Israeli Court held that the requisition order issued for the Orthodox Jewish Israeli settlement, Elon Moreh in the city of Nablus, was illegal since it was

¹¹⁹ Ilan Pappé, *The Biggest Prison on earth: A History of The Occupied Territories* (London: Oneworld 2017), 97.

¹²⁰ Sheikh Aby Fahed, interviewed by Hanan Awad, Beit Iksa, March 27th, 2018.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

intended for a civilian settlement and had nothing to do with security reasons. Elon Moreh is built on confiscated land from two Palestinian villages, Azmut and Deir al-Hatab. After this judgment, the Israeli authority stopped using requisition orders to confiscate land, but instead they declared 90,000 hectares of the West Bank land as state land.

In 1993, the Israeli Civil Administration's plan was to empty the land of its inhabitants to allow the expansion of the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. According to the 2009 Bimkom report, "The Prohibited Zone," 200 Bedouins from the Jahalin tribe were forced to leave and relocate inside the village of Abu Dis. "The principal goal of these plans was to transfer the Jahalin living close to the settlement to the Palestinian side of the barrier in order to ensure that the Ma'ale Adummim enclave created by the barrier would be free of Palestinian residents."¹²²

Over the past decades, the Bedouins in the Naqab and in the West Bank have gone from being ignored in the scholarly context of the Palestine-Israel conflict to being increasingly significant. After the Oslo Accord, several NGOs and human rights activists such as Adalah, ("justice" in Arabic) an independent human rights organization, B'tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) all played a role in bringing awareness of the Bedouins and recognizing the role of the Naqab in their lives. These examples of NGOs became prominent political professionals nationally and internationally, and raised the question of the Bedouins and why they remained marginalized. Adalah reported that the Israeli government in 2011 approved a law called the "Prawer Plan." The Prawer Plan took place without the consultation of the Bedouins. Adalah elaborated further

¹²² Bimkom and B'Tselem, "The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma'ale Adumim and their Human Rights Ramifications" (December 2009), online at www.btselem.org/download/200912_maale_adummim_eng.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).

that the plan was a gross violation of the constitutional rights of the Arab Bedouin citizens of the freedom to choose their own residence.

Since the Praver plan, Israel's government announced more plans that will displace over 10,000 Bedouins to plant forests, build military centers, and establish new Jewish settlements in their place.¹²³ Mohammad Abd El Hassan, a former resident of Lajoun, comes from a Bedouin village that does not exist anymore; in 1948, Israel demolished his village and replaced it with trees. Mohammad Abd El Hassan told Adalah in an interview, "I was born in the year 1924 in Lajoun before the establishment of the Israeli State. We had the nicest life here, but now when I visit my old village and I see how they replaced humans with trees and I see the remains of what was one day my village I feel shocked."¹²⁴

According to Paapé, "The JNF (The Jewish National Fund) has built national parks made up primarily of European style conifers, instead of trees indigenous to the area, over destroyed Palestinian villages since the creation of Israel in 1948."¹²⁵ Suad Bisharah, head of the Legal Department of Adalah, explains that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 17, "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others; in addition, no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."¹²⁶

Mansour Nasasra, a scholar of Middle East Politics and International Relations teaches at University of Exeter explains that the Bedouins saw very clearly that the Praver Plan with its aim for the destruction and demolition of the Bedouin homes would mean

¹²³ Adalah ("Justice" in Arabic) is an independent human rights organization and legal center. Established in November 1996, it works to promote and defend the rights of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel, 1.2 million people, or 20% of the population, as well as Palestinians living in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT). <http://www.adalah.org/en>.

¹²⁴ Adalah. *Forbidden Land*. YouTube. Directed by Oren Yakobovich and Yoav Gross. Haifa, Israel, 2008. https://youtu.be/M_6ujxFfmOU.

¹²⁵ D'amours, *Bulldozers Flatten Bedouin Village 49 times*, Aljazeera News, April 15, 2013.

¹²⁶ Adalah. *Targeted Citizen: Israel Railways Case*, Feb 11, 2011. <http://www.adalah.org/en>.

another catastrophe, or Nakhba, for them.¹²⁷ In addition, NGOs such as the Regional Council of Unrecognized Villages and the local newspaper, *Akhbar al Naqab*, attempted to develop an archive of materials and interviews of various tribal Sheikhs for the purpose of establishing their own documentary archives.¹²⁸

According to Masalha, for the million of Palestinian refugees since the 1948, the past is still present.¹²⁹ The expulsion and displacement of the Palestinians, whether in the West Bank or in the state of Israel, became more intense with the E1 plan, and the Israeli ethnic cleansing policy continues today. The displacement and forced urbanization of the Jahalin Bedouins in the West Bank and East Jerusalem is more than expansion of settlements and occupation of the West Bank. It is also a cultural cleansing of a way of life that survived for thousands of years. Urbanized Bedouins will not be Bedouins anymore. The Bedouins who for centuries used to freely herd their livestock in the Naqab desert before the creation of Israel in 1948, were forced to leave their land. Despite the 1948 expulsion, their steadfastness and determination to continue their way of life did not stop until the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967. Unfortunately, this time their life is vanishing through displacement and change of tradition and culture. In addition to the cultural cleansing, the E1 plan dashes hope for the right of the Palestinian state and for self-determination.

¹²⁷ Nasara, Mansour and Sophie Richter-Devroe, ed. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspective*, (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2015), 50.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁹ Nur The Palestine Nakhba page 251

CHAPTER FIVE

Bedouin Women: Between Militarized Occupation and Tradition

Palestinian Bedouins in the West Bank are a unique case. For centuries, Bedouins in historical Palestine were organized into tribes and obtained their livelihood from herding their livestock, making dairy products, and in some cases growing crops. Today, and since the birth of Israel in 1948, Bedouins have undergone forced displacement in the name of urbanization. The rapid change in their way of life entailed the loss of culture, tradition, and rights. Today, Bedouins in the West Bank are caught between occupation and tradition. Palestinian Bedouin women have been unfavorably affected by occupation policies of forced resettlement, urbanization, and demolition of their homes. This chapter the social and cultural changes that transformed the life of the Bedouin women in the West Bank of Palestine. My research is based on a case study of the Jahalin tribe who were expelled from their original land, al Naqab, after the creation of Israel in 1948. The Bedouins became refugees in scattered areas in the West Bank next to East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, and Jericho. After the 1993 Oslo Accord, Israelis considered Bedouins to be an obstacle for the expansion of illegal settlements in the occupied territory and faced expulsion for the second time. As a result of the Israeli occupation's policy of displacement, the Bedouins in the West Bank were forcibly displaced to resettle in small towns that lacked essential characteristics of what an urban set up should look like. Three East Jerusalem Palestinian villages are clear examples. Beit Iksa is surrounded by a segregation wall. It has one entrance, a military checkpoint that no one can leave or enter without a permit from the Israeli authorities. Abu Dis is located next to the garbage

dump. And al Jib village has a military checkpoint dividing it in half. According to B'TSELEM, the Israeli information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, Israel built the segregation wall to isolate the Palestinians from their neighborhoods, to make it impossible for the farmers to reach their agricultural areas, and Jerusalem, in order for Israel to have a strict military control over the Palestinians and their land. Tens of thousands of hectares, including pastureland and farmland, have been seized from Palestinians over the years and generously allocated to settlements, build the segregation wall, to build hundreds of kilometers of bypass roads for settlers, and checkpoints.¹³⁰ Despite Bedouin women being subjected to patriarchal rule and tradition, the military rule and occupation of the West Bank played a dominant role in oppressing, marginalizing, harassing, and humiliating the Bedouin women in the West Bank. Moreover, Bedouin women once played a dominant role in the household by working in agriculture, looking after the livestock and making dairy products; the forced displacement, in the name of urbanization, limited the social and economic opportunities for Bedouin women.

Between 2014-2016 I conducted multiple in-depth interviews with Jahalin women who lived in East Jerusalem in the villages of Beit Ikhsa, Nabi Samuel, al Jib, Khan al-Ahmar, and Abu Dis. These interviews give voice to the Jahalin Bedouin women as they tell their own stories. Through the Bedouin women's voice, I examine the impact on Bedouin women of living a daily life under patriarchal rule and traditional Bedouin way of life, forced displacement and the expansions of the illegal settlements, and Israel's

¹³⁰ B'Tselem, "Reality Check, Almost Fifty Years of Occupation" (June 2016) online at www.btsleme.org/publications/201606_reality_check (accessed on December 6 2018).

militarized occupation. All of these factors demonstrate the multiple and complex social, cultural, and economic challenges experienced by Bedouin women.

The Impact Of The Segregation Wall, Checkpoints, and Permits

According to the testimony of many Bedouin women, the aspects of the Israeli occupation that most severely constrain the daily movement of the Palestinians are the segregation wall, checkpoints, and permits. Beit Iksa lies northwest of Jerusalem. It is considered to be within the West Bank. Most of the village's land was confiscated by the Israeli authorities. According to B'Tselem's 2016 Report, the land owned by villagers was seized for the establishment of the Ramot Alon settlement. The settlement functions as a neighborhood of East Jerusalem and also was needed to build the Tel Aviv railway.¹³¹ Beit Iksa is surrounded by the segregation wall and Ramot Alon, which separates the village from its Palestinian neighbors and from Jerusalem.

The segregation wall consists of fences made out of concrete, ditches, razor wire, groomed sand paths, an electronic monitoring system, patrol roads, and a buffer zone. Israel's justification for building the wall was to stop the suicide bombings that were associated with the second Intifada , circa 2000-2005 that targeted Israel and for general security. Thousands of Palestinians pass through the wall daily for work. The confiscations of Palestinian land for Israeli settlements increased as a result of the segregation wall. According to a 2014 United Nations Office for The Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Report, 85% of the wall's route runs inside the West

¹³¹ B'Tselem, "Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank" (May 2002), online at www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/20160817_isolation_of_beit_iksa (accessed 10 November 2018).

Bank, and 9.4% of the West Bank and East Jerusalem will be isolated by the Barrier.¹³²

Meaning the segregation wall resulted in an increasing fragmentation of the West Bank, including the isolation of East Jerusalem from the remainder of the West Bank. From 1967 through 2016, over 200 Israeli settlements were built in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Today, over half a million Jewish settlers live in illegal settlements built on privately owned Palestinian land

In 2010, Israel installed a permanent checkpoint in order to control the only entrance into Beit Iksa. Most of the Bedouin women I interviewed explained that only the village residents are allowed to enter their village and only with an identity card and a special permit. The permits are issued through Israeli security and are only given to residents of the village or to people who work in the village, like teachers and medical assistants. A permit may also be obtained for funerals and mourning rituals. Many supplies such as Rice, flour or gas jar for cooking are not permitted to enter the village, so the residents have to coordinate ahead of time with the Israeli authorities through the village council. The village council must let the Israeli authority know if a villager wants to bring in, for example, a bag of flour or a gas jar for their stove. The villager needs to be registered at the checkpoint in order to pass through.

During my trip, my friend Fatima was my guide through many villages in East Jerusalem. “First we have to go to a village called Beit Iksa,” Fatima tells me. We take a taxi to Bedu to search for a car or a bus that is registered, with a driver who has the permit for entering the village. We travel to Beit Iksa four times, and each time we reach the village, the only entrance is the military checkpoint. The driver stops a few meters

¹³² OCHA Report “10 Years Since the International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinion.” July 9, 2014. Page 2.

away from the checkpoint until one of the soldiers' waves as a sign to drive closer to the inspection point. If we are in a bus the soldier comes inside and checks the passengers one by one; if we are in a car they ask us to show our IDs from the window, and if they feel like bringing us all down, they will ask us all to step out of the car or the bus and ask all the passengers to line up outside. In addition to armed soldiers standing at the entrance to the checkpoints, sometimes they are guarded with tanks. Fatima shows her ID and a permit that explains that she has family members in Beit Iksa. Although I am from a Palestinian background, I have nothing in documents to prove that I am. I show my American passport, and they always ask me why I am visiting the village. I say that I am an old friend of Fatima's family. The soldier takes my passport and leaves for few minutes. After, he or she returns just to say I cannot enter without coordination with the village council. With Fatima's connections and her family there, we manage to call the village council, and either he comes to us and takes us from the checkpoint or he calls the soldiers and asks them to allow me in with Fatima. I feel I was lucky those four times because it wouldn't be unheard of for the Israeli soldiers on the checkpoint to deny me entrance despite the village council connection and Fatima's friendship. Many people who try to visit the village are often detained or denied entry. Sometimes people are held at the checkpoints for hours if they are not registered as residents of Beit Iksa. According to BIMKON and B'TSEME 2009 Report, the restriction and the military checkpoint only serves Israel and its settlements' interests while isolating the villagers and the Bedouin community who live in Beit Iksa from any social life and family ties outside the village. The establishment of the settlements in the West Bank involved expulsion of a Bedouin

population that had lived on the land before the settlements was built.¹³³ Moreover, it restricts Palestinian travel between and within their cities and towns.

Um Ahmad is a widow and mother of six children, one of whom is severely disabled and wheelchair bound. Um Ahmad is from the Abu Dahouk family of the Jahalin tribe. She lives just inside the entrance to Beit Iksa in a small tent, a small house made from Zinco (corrugated metal), and a small animal pen where Um Ahmad keeps her goats, dog, and donkey. The area lacks basic services such as paved roads, running water, and electricity. The Israeli authorities prohibit the Bedouins from building homes from stones or developing their communities. They face the constant fear that their homes might be demolished and that the Israeli authority will expel them again to an unknown place. Um Ahmad described the hardships that Bedouin face under military rule. “My daughter got married to someone who lives outside Beit Iksa. She is no longer registered at the checkpoint. When she comes to visit me she needs permission ahead of time. My brother and sister are in a similar situation; they cannot visit me for the same reason. If they [Israeli forces] would just remove the checkpoint for us to be able to see our families. One time my sister, who lives in Jericho, took a chance to visit me and she was stopped on the checkpoint and denied entrance. I did not know about it until a week later.”

I visited al Jib multiple times, and each time I went with Fatima. Fatima is twenty-seven years old and lives in Al Jib village with her husband and two kids. After the Oslo Accord in 1993, al Jib was divided into two areas, B and C. According to al

¹³³ Bimkom and B’Tselem, “The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma’ale Adumim and their Human Rights Ramifications” (December 2009), online at www.btselem.org/download/200912_maale_adummim_eng.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).

Jib village's profile, 92.5% of the village is classified as area C, which is under total Israeli military control, while in area B, civil matters are under the watch of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), but Israel has control over the security of the entire village.¹³⁴ Fatima's parents live on the other side of al Jib, and to reach her parents' house, she must cross the checkpoint. When I visited Aziza (Fatima's mother), who lives next to Giv'at Ze'ev settlement, I was told by Fatima Dahouk, that the Israeli soldiers would not allow me to enter even if I had my American passport. I heard from Fatima that the al -Jib checkpoint is more difficult than the Beit Iksa checkpoint. I wanted to go and visit Aziza so I asked if there was any other way to enter, and Fatima said yes, but we'd have to walk through hills and go between trees, pass in front of Giv'at Ze'ev settlement, and cross a main highway road. If we were lucky no one would see us. I asked her what would happen if we got caught. She laughed and said, "We will be in trouble, but because we are women they might only threaten us and tell us not to do it again."¹³⁵ I was willing to take the chance, and I visited the other side of al-Jib three times between the years 2012-2018. When I visited Aziza in her small house in al- (Area C) where she lives with her husband, I could see the Giv'at Ze'ev settlement on my right from the porch of Aziza's house. I asked her if the settlers bother her she said, "Sometimes we hear gunfire from the settlers. We know they are trying to scare us so we will move. Other times, they come and start talking to my sons and we get worried." Giv'at Ze'ev is only five kilometers from Jerusalem, and it was built in 1977 on confiscated land from al Jib and Biddu villages. People from al Jib

¹³⁴ Page 17

¹³⁵ Fatima Dahouk , interview by Hanan Awad, al- Jib, March 2018.

village cannot get to their land without a permit. If anyone is caught without a permit, they will be imprisoned and fined.

Fatima, whom I came to know very well, expressed that she experienced harassment and humiliation multiple times crossing the checkpoints. I found that checkpoint obstacles are more than just having the permit to cross; these women go through daily harassment and humiliation that affects them emotionally and psychologically. Fatima has to cross a checkpoint that separates the village to visit her parents. Most of the time she walks through an inspection device to check if she is carrying any weapons. Fatima explained that the soldiers on the checkpoint already know her because she crosses the checkpoint often. She said, “One of the biggest challenges that I faced at the checkpoints was when I used be stopped while walking to get to my parents’ house. According to policy, in order to go through the checkpoint on foot, I had to go the inspection room and walk through an inspection device. If you have any metal or weapons, the device will make noise. One time I passed, and the device rang because under my Abaya [a full-length, sleeveless outer garment worn by some Muslim women], I was wearing a shirt with buttons. I guess the buttons were made of metal. The soldiers came to me and wanted to search me. I got so scared. I did not want them to touch me. I opened my Abaya with fear and said I have nothing—it’s the shirt I am wearing with the buttons. They all started to laugh at me and were staring at me. I will never forget that day and the way I felt.

Twenty-three-year-old Samah from al Jib said, “I have to go through a checkpoint everyday to go help my mother. A few years ago when I was twenty-one, while walking back home, I was stopped at the checkpoint, and I showed my documents

and they let me pass, but then I noticed an Israeli jeep following me. I looked around, and it was the soldier who had been standing on the checkpoint. He was Druze¹³⁶ and spoke fluent Arabic. He stopped the jeep and asked me where I was going. I said home and that my dad was waiting for me. He said, 'Come with me'. I was shivering from fear while I was talking to him. It was not comfortable. I knew he was not trying to arrest me, just harass me. He continued driving slowly next to me saying things like 'you are beautiful' and 'just come with me' until I entered my house. I told my mother about what happened, and after that incident I never walked by myself. I couldn't tell my father because I was afraid he would be very angry and would not allow me to leave the house again. The al-Jib checkpoint is not easy to pass. I used to get up early in the morning, around seven o'clock, to be at the checkpoint. Sometimes they stop me at the checkpoint, and I spend hours there while they are investigating, sometimes telling me to just go back home. It is you and your luck. There is no assurance, and this is what our entire life is like. We live without assurance of what the next hour will bring. The Israeli soldiers purposely humiliate us at the checkpoints because they are looking for trouble. It affects us emotionally and mentally. My parents' house is too close to Giv'at Ze'ev. I suffered psychologically when I used to see, every morning, the workers waiting in line to get through the checkpoint to go work and the Israeli soldiers humiliating them and trying to provoke them. The Israeli soldiers look for weapons, but we don't have any. Sometimes a soldier thinks someone has a weapon, and he or she starts the search to the extreme and leaves us all waiting on the checkpoint. This makes a big line for the workers, students

¹³⁶ "The Druze are religious sect , an offshoot of Shiite Islam . During the 1948 war, the elders of the Druze community, signed a pact of allegiance with Israel and the Druze serve in the Israeli army as a cooperation with Israel." Illan Pappé, *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 62.

going to school, and someone like me. Sometimes they call for more soldiers and security just to make a big scene—in the end no one has weapons or anything like that.”

Fatima’s mother, Aziza Ayoub Barakat, known as Um Saif, is married to a Bedouin man from al Jahalin and also lives next to Giv’at Ze’ev. She explained that each member of her family has a number at the Israeli checkpoint and has a West Bank ID card. They explained that the West Bank Card is issued by the Palestinian Authority are nearly identical to the Israeli card. The ID number on the West Bank ID is linked with the Israeli computer system on the checkpoints. Without them, no one can go in and out of the village. “This makes it hard for our family members who live in a nearby village but are not registered on the checkpoint to visit us,” she said. Even if they want to buy certain things for the household, it must be coordinated with the Israeli authorities at the checkpoint in advance: “When my husband buys gas for our stove or goods for the house such as flour, he needs a permission for the goods to go through the checkpoint. My life is always a gamble here, with a feeling of unrest as if we do not know what tomorrow will be like. I will never forget the day my older son was beaten and taken to prison. It was two years ago during the Eid. He was going from al Jib to the nearby village Nabi Samuel to visit his friend. The Israeli soldiers stopped my son at the checkpoint. He was interrogated and asked to put his hands up and down couple of times; they kept searching him and harassing him, and he was unhappy but kept quiet until they touched him below the belt near his crotch. That is when he really got humiliated and frustrated. He ended up punching the soldier in his face. Right away they sprayed his eyes with some gas and beat him up. He ended up in prison and was sentenced for two months. It would have been longer, but we paid two lawyers seven

thousand shekels to get him out. My son is still not allowed to get a permit to work in Israel.”

Nabi Samuel is located in Area C in the West Bank. Area C is under full military control, and the residents who privately own land in the village are not allowed to build anything new. If they do, their homes will be demolished by the Israeli authorities. Nabi Samuel is known as the “invisible cage.” From the east and the west, the village is surrounded by the segregation wall. From the north, it is blocked by an Israeli-only highway that leads to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and on the east, the Ramot settlement. The village has only one point of access: a road that leads to the military checkpoint built on al Jib land nearby. Similar to Beit Iksa, one needs a permit and a registered car in order to enter Nabi Samuel, which is located beyond the Green Line in the West Bank. Israeli settlements are built inside the village on annexed Palestinian land. The Israelis have their own roads and highways. Their license plates are yellow in color, which means they are allowed to enter Jerusalem. The settlements are part of the Israeli Greater Jerusalem plan. According to the United Nations Office for Coordination on Humanitarian Affairs’ Occupied Palestine Territory Report 2011, the protection of Israeli settlements throughout the West Bank and East Jerusalem is one of the main factors determining the route of the segregation wall and its deviation from the Green Line.

Bedouin women and forced urbanization: Abu Dis and Al Jib (Area C)

She said, “Our story is long. It started when we lived in what is today Male Adumim. We call it Um Murasras or al Juora. I was born there, my mom was born there, and my mom’s mom was born there. I spent my childhood there, all my memories are there. I lived there until I was nine years old. One morning in 1997, the Israeli Authority came to us and told us we must leave. I remember this day very well, because it was during the Eid days. It was the fourth day of Eid al-Adha. They deprived us of the joy of Eid. They took our land from us, took our freedom, and brought us here to a place that lacks anything to do with beauty. To a rocky land, away from everything—and not just that, near a garbage dump. It was difficult for us to adjust and adapt. One day you were living in a spacious green pasture land, and then you open your eyes just to see that you are living in a small, rocky land near the garbage dump.”¹³⁷

Within weeks of Mariam’s forced transfer in the winter of 1997, the expansion of the illegal settlement of Ma’ale Adumim involved expulsion of a Bedouin population that had lived on the land before the settlement was built.¹³⁸ Mariam explained that it was not an easy relocation for her and to her family. She prefers to live in a tent. She said,

“In a tent, the culture is different. For example, my eleven-year-old sister, who was born here in Al Jebel next to al Azariah, lives a totally different life than the eleven-year-old who lives in a tent in Khan al-Ahmar. Although we are Bedouins, our tradition was taken away by displacing us. For example, my sister cannot go milk the goats and take care of the livestock because we live in a town, in a house. An eleven year old in

¹³⁷ Mariam Abu Ghalia, interviewed by Hanan Awad, October 28th, 2015.

¹³⁸ Bimkom, “Al Jabal: A Study on the Transfer of Bedouin Palestine Refugees” (May 29th, 2013), online at www.unrwa.org/ (accessed 1 November 2018).

Khan Al Ahmar learned from her mother how to help in the household, take care of the livestock, and continue the tradition of making the dairy products. This way I lost my tradition and culture. Now there are conditions for modernization. I am not against modernization, but I am against losing my tradition. I will never forget that day. It was raining and cold. There were thirteen of us in the family, our belongings—whether it was clothing, furniture or kitchen utensils—were put in the same caravan. One week in the rain, and we couldn't even cook or go anywhere. We became homeless, receiving humanitarian aid from UNRWA or NGOs. After living on our land with dignity and pride, we became refugees waiting for humanitarian aid. This was our biggest tragedy. Al Jabel was full of white tents. This reminds me of the 1948 Nakba. It was a Bedouin Nakba. With all this suffering that we had to endure, we also suffered from the Palestinians. We experienced discrimination that is still going on today. The Israelis displaced us to areas that were already owned by Palestinians, but what could we do? We found ourselves caught between the Palestinians who own the land and the Israelis who occupy it.”

By relocating the Bedouins to a semi-urbanized area against their will and separating them from their land and livestock, Bedouin women do not just lose freedom to practice their traditions as Bedouin women, but also their socioeconomic status. The displacement and the military occupation have left the Bedouin women with no sustainable economic assets and, at the same time, no access to rebuild their lives in the new “urban” areas

Aziza, who strives to continue the tradition of making dairy products, faces many challenges from the occupation. Aziza explained that dairy production is seasonal. From March until June, Aziza works to produce cheese, butter, and yogurt. Marketing it is not easy, she explains, because of the restriction of movement due to the segregation wall and the checkpoints. The Bedouin women used to go to Jerusalem where all their buyers waited for them during the season. Jerusalem was the main market, and today they are not allowed to enter the city. Aziza has a few private buyers from the neighborhood and nearby villages. She said, “I make the cheese and hard yogurt; it takes so much time. I sell the dairy products, and it helps us financially. I make good money selling the dairy products, but my husband takes everything. He deals with the financial matters at home. I make around six to ten kilos of cheese every day during the spring. This makes about 200 shekels (about \$50). We have electricity and we pay for it, but it is very weak. We bought a refrigerator to store my dairy products, but sometimes I lose everything because of the weak electricity. In the old days, we had better mobility. We used to go to Jerusalem and sell fresh cheese and milk in the market—we didn’t have to store it. Now it is impossible to reach the market with the checkpoints and the military control in the Jerusalem market. The season was from February until June. That was the time for the fresh products.”

The Bedouin women face challenges of cultural adaptation within Israel’s strategies of displacement, home destruction, and the denial of access to their land. The military occupation in the West Bank jeopardizes the continuation of their traditional way of life and their distinct culture as well as forcing them to endure rapid economic decline. With the transition from their traditional land to a semi-urbanized one, the Bedouin women’s role has become less productive socially and economically. The Bedouin

women's lack of skills to work outside the house has left them without any jobs and only the roles of wife and mother.

Bedouin women and health under occupation:

Bedouins in general, whether the displaced in semi-urban areas or those who still live in the traditional land, suffer from neglect in healthcare services. Their communities lack health centers or clinics. The closest hospitals are in nearby towns or cities, which require time and money to reach. The military checkpoints and the segregation wall isolate them from the main cities and village centers. Aziza said,

“Clinics and hospitals are not close to us because we live behind the separation wall. If we have an emergency they will not allow us to transfer the patient unless the car is registered on the checkpoint. We don't have health insurance. Sometimes we have to save money before we get treated. I suffer from poor vision in my eyes; I get migraine headaches from it. I went to a nearby doctor, and he said I needed to see a specialist in Jerusalem. But I didn't have a permit (Tasreah) to enter Jerusalem. I went to Ramallah Hospital, and I asked them to give me a referral saying it was urgent to see the eye doctor in Jerusalem. This way, I could submit for a tasreah. After that, I got permission for me and for my mom so she could go with me. It takes about a week to ten days to receive the permit. The doctor in Jerusalem said I needed special glasses, but before that I needed a surgery because I have a retinal disease. My parents did not have the

money for the surgery so I had to wait until they saved the cost of the surgery to do it. But we had to go through the tasreah issue again.”¹³⁹

Regarding access to hospitals and clinics, Aziza explained that sometimes the checkpoints would not allow an ambulance carrying the sick to pass. Clinics are not far from the al Jib, but the checkpoints are the problem. Aziza explained, “We don’t have a clinic in our village, but we need to go to the nearby clinic, which is not that far, but because of the checkpoints we cannot enter unless the car is registered. Even a funeral can’t go through if the car is not registered so that’s why it takes time and sometimes it’s difficult to get to the closest clinic or hospital. For example, our friend had her baby at the checkpoint, because the car that was driving her to the hospital was not registered. This makes it hard to reach a clinic or a hospital. It is easier to go to Amman, which takes you a day to reach but is easier than going to a Jerusalem hospital, which is next door.”

In addition to the checkpoint at the entrance of Beit Iksa, the Israeli authorities closed off the road leading to Jerusalem, even for people who have permits to enter Jerusalem for medical issues or work. This extended the travel time. What used to take twenty minutes to reach the city now takes hours, if all goes well. The villagers who need to travel to Jerusalem have to drive to Ramallah and from there drive to another checkpoint at Qalandia in order to pass through and enter Jerusalem.

Bedouin women and the psychological warfare of forced displacement in Khan al-Ahmar

¹³⁹ Aziza Ayoub, interview by Hanan Awad, Al Jib-Nabi Samuel, March 28th, 2018.

The association between forced displacement and psychological conditions within the Bedouin communities has received little notice. According to United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) report, since 2000, the Israeli authorities have demolished some, 1400 houses and other structures in East Jerusalem. At least a third of all Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem lack Israeli- issued building permits, which are difficult to obtain.¹⁴⁰ Demolishing homes and Israeli displacement policies for the expansion of Israeli settlements brought psychological distress to Bedouin women and children. Bedouin women are particularly impacted by living under constant threat of demolished homes.

Khadra Abu Dahouk lives in Khan-al Ahmar and said,

“Israeli soldiers came to al Khan al-Ahmar and tried to convince us to destroy our homes by our own hands. They said that they were willing to pay us for doing so. The soldiers explained that they could even provide us with special trucks to move our things and even our Zinco metal homes and belongings. Of course, we would never agree to such a thing or move from Khan al-Ahmar. After the Bedouin men stood in the faces of the soldiers and refused to demolish their own homes, the Israeli ¹⁴¹soldiers gave them a deadline and threatened fines and prison if they did not cooperate. Today, October 16th 2018, the deadline passed. We all live in fear not knowing our fate. We all live with stress. We cannot sleep during the day or during the night fearing the soldiers will come with their

¹⁴⁰ United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “ West Bank- East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns” (December 2017), online at www.ochaopt/content/west-bank-east-jerusalem--key-humanitarian-concern (accessed 8thDecember 2018).

¹⁴¹ Kharda Abu Dahouk, interview by Hanan Awad, Khan-al Ahmar, March28th, 2018.

bulldozers and tanks and demolish everything in our village on top of our heads.”

The real reason behind Israeli authorities forcibly removing the Bedouins from Khan al-Ahmar and their plan to erase Khan al-Ahmar is to expand Israeli settlements and connect them to Jerusalem. Israel calls the connection to Jerusalem the E1 Plan, which aims to divide the West Bank into two parts. To achieve the E1 Plan, twenty-three Palestinian Bedouin villages will be destroyed and some hundreds of Bedouins, including children, will be displaced and resettled in Abu Dis next to a municipal garbage dump.

Khadra explained that seeing her children psychologically affected by the daily threats of displacement breaks her heart the most. She said,

“My four children live in a constant fear. In the beginning they used to ask why the soldiers keep coming to our homes and village. When they used to see the soldiers coming closer to our Zinco home, they would run inside and hide. They understand that the soldiers come to displace us because they used to hear us as adults speak in front of them. But they continue to ask why. My twelve-year-old girl, Amani, said to me once, ‘Mom, was I born here?’ I said yes. She asked, ‘Is this our house?’ I said yes, and then she asked, ‘Then why do they want to take it away from us?’ I told her not to worry and that we would stay in our village and in our house. Amani is very sensitive; she has some dolls and toys, and she sits to play and starts speaking to her dolls about keeping school books and clothes and toys all in one bag so when the soldiers come, they cannot take them from us. As a mother I worry about her, and I don’t like to see her living in fear; it seems it is everyday fear and that hurts

me. On the other hand, my son, Mahmoud, who is thirteen, got used to the situation, and he doesn't show his emotions. He shows his steadfastness like his father and believes that the Bedouins must resist the occupation. When Mahmoud hears the soldiers arrive, he runs out with his father and the Bedouin men to resist the displacement and demolition. He will tell his sisters to stay home and not worry, that 'we will not allow the soldiers to hurt you. The soldiers are cowards. It's their weapons that make them confident; otherwise they are nothing to fear'. He speaks like an adult, not like a thirteen-year-old. He says we have the right to fight for our rights and land. As a mother I fear he will get hurt and I am always worried. When soldiers come with their tanks and weapons, my little ones cry and hold on to me for long time from fear.”¹⁴²

Bedouin women and mothers act as the main caregivers in their family. Living under daily demolition threats and military rule causes stress and worries about their children. As seen with Khadra's daughter, the impact on the displacement includes psychological disruption.

Bedouin women between patriarchal rule, and marginalization within their own society

Stereotypes and misconceptions among non-Bedouin Palestinian people towards the lifestyle and tradition of the Bedouins can be seen in many popular TV series. Since the 1980s as I was growing up in Palestine, I remember the *muslsalat al Badawia* or the

¹⁴² Khadra Abu Dahouk, interview by Hanan Awad, Khan al- Ahmar, March 28th, 2018.

Bedouin soap operas. The Bedouin soap operas were famous during the month of Ramadan. I recall my grandparents getting hooked on these soap operas. Watching these shows you would think that the Bedouin woman was a princess whose only tasks were to go get the water from the spring and meet her prince on the white horse. In these shows, love poetry becomes the communication between the Bedouin woman and the Bedouin man. Watching these soap operas, one would think that the Bedouin life is all about romance. I asked Aziza and her daughter Huda about their thoughts about the Bedouin soap operas and what they think about the rapid increase of production in Bedouin TV series; they were offended by how the shows are not authentic and how they do not represent the Bedouin lifestyle, specifically the Bedouin women.

Aziza said, “The Bedouin movies are just propaganda about the Bedouins. They don’t look like us at all. You see most of them are sheikhs, and their tents are well furnished. It’s very different; they don’t represent us. In the movies you see that they have workers, and housemaids to do everything, and all they do is look good and have love stories. In the movies you see young women meeting their lovers at the spring. This is not true in the real Bedouin life. Actually, if the father of the girl finds out that she is meeting someone, she will not get married to him. In reality, Bedouin women do most of the house chores, and it is part of the women’s duty to milk the goats and makes the cheese for income. Bedouin men depend on Bedouin women in almost all the house work and the production of the dairy.”

Aziza and Huda both agree that the classical stereotype in the Bedouin TV series romanticizes the Bedouin women and attempts to offer an image of the Bedouin women as living a comfortable life. They explained that these TV series misrepresent the

traditionally Bedouin women. Huda said, “The TV series about the life of Bedouins are fake. These movies do not represent the real life of the Bedouins. They show girls dressed up with beautiful colorful cloth, with someone taking care of them. The household has maids, and they have workers to milk the goats. Someone gathers and brings the wood, and always there is a love story going on. This is not true as Bedouin women work hard and take responsibility for the household in cleaning, cooking, gathering the wood, and making the dairy products. The picture that these TV series about the life of Bedouins are not true at all.”

The *muslsalat al Badawia* misrepresent the Bedouin women, who once played a dominant role in the household by looking after the livestock, taking care of the house chores, and being experts in producing dairy products. In addition, in reality, it is considered a taboo and romantic relationships outside of marriage are forbidden in the Bedouin culture.

Bedouin women and polygamy

The traditional practice of polygamy in the Bedouin life can be explained in different ways. Due to the patriarchal nature of Bedouin culture and traditional norms, Bedouin women are caught in the traditional ways of life, including marrying a married man. Having many wives traditionally enhanced the chance of having more children in order to increase the number of the kinship. This is considered to be an honor, and at the same time an economic advantage in having a big family. I met with sheikh Abu Fahed from Bietr Iksa, who is married to two wives. From talking to him, I found that

polygamy is associated with prestige and power; Islam allows polygamy only in certain conditions, Bedouin acceptance of polygamy is justified as a religious practice. I interviewed two women from Beit Iksa married to one man at the same time, Um Ahmad and Um Suliman, and Aziza from Al Jib, who wishes her husband would remarry because she needs help in taking care of the livestock and in the making of the dairy products.

Interviewing Um Ahmad and Um Suliman in Abu Dis was more a conversation than an interview. We sat on the floor eating traditional Bedouin breakfast outside their tent, and we opened the polygamy topic. This is what they had to say:

Um Ahmad: I was nineteen when I got married, and I am fifty-five years old now. My husband died three years ago. After he died, Um Suliman and I made sure to stay together. Years ago, after he came out of prison, he got married again, but I stayed with him. We lived in a tent in Nabi Samuel. The reason that he got married again was that he wanted more kids. We each had our own tent.

Um Suliman: I knew he was married and with children, but I had no other choice but to accept the marriage. He asked for my hand from my father, and my father said yes. They read the Fatiha before telling me; I knew about it only after the arrangement.

Um Ahmad: I have three girls and four boys.

Both: Our kids are friends, and they love each other. Abu Ahmad was very good with our children and treated them all the same; that's why today our kids get along with each other.

Um Suliman: I was eighteen when I got married, and I am forty-two years old now. I never went to school and cannot read or write, but I made sure my girls were educated and that they could read and write. In the old days it was not easy to educate girls. Our parents were scared and over protective.

Um Ahmad: My older daughter's husband remarried, and she has five kids. What should I do? Should I let her leave her husband and come stay with me? No, she should just stay with him and stay with her children. You know she will be upset for a month or two, and then she will know that she should stay with her children and not leave him. This is a Bedouin habit, and we are used to it.

Um Suliman: Life is changing; it's very different now. In the old days, the reasons behind marrying more than one wife was because the first wife couldn't handle all the work that was expected from her as a Bedouin woman. Women took care of the livestock and marketing the dairy products. Women always needed the extra hand. That is why it was easy to adapt, except, and welcome the second wife.

Aziza from Al Jib never supported the idea of polygamy especially since she came from a peasant background. She explained just after few years of being married to her Bedouin husband, his family and friends started to pressure him with the idea to

have another wife. Aziza explained that in the Bedouin culture, a man is not complete if he is married to only one woman. She said that many members of his family used to tell him, “Look at your brothers. They all have more than one wife.” “They also told him that I controlled him,” she said. “Today, and after many years of marriage, I finally told him that I agree with him getting married again. I am tired, and I have problems with my back. If he gets married, the new wife can help me. Look at the livestock; this is too much for me. In the old days I used to get mad if he mentioned the idea of another marriage. I was twenty-three when I married him. I have been married to him for thirty-three years. I am fifty-two and he is fifty-six. If he finds someone to marry I don’t mind. His brother got married on the same night as his son; it doesn’t matter to them. Bedouin women usually don’t mind if their husbands bring home a new wife. When I was younger, I used to get upset when my sister-in-law, whose husband remarried, told me, ‘Who do you think you are, refusing to allow your husband to have another wife?’ Now I am really encouraging him to do so. I really need help around the house; I go the doctors, and they tell me that I need to rest, but how can I rest when I have to make the cheese and milk the sheep every day? Dairy products and marketing them is not easy. I make the cheese and hard yogurt; it takes so much time, it will be nice to have the help.”

Bedouin women: between education and tradition

Although the displacement to semi-urbanized areas creates access to education, Bedouin women have limited access to these opportunities due to the occupation *and* traditional patriarchal rule.

Huda, who lives in al Jib said, “I love high school, and I have so many friends. I don’t see any difference between us. I want to be like everyone else and enjoy life. But my father has a temper, and he is overprotective. He doesn’t allow me to meet with my friends or go anywhere but to school. If I go to visit someone, it is family members, and I am with my mom. Every time I say I want to go visit a friend, I have to be with my sister, and if I come late I get lectured, and he will punish me by not letting me go again. I was invited to a friend’s house for iftar during Ramadan. I couldn’t go; meanwhile, my brothers were allowed to go to their friends’. One day, I was alone in Ramadan, and I prepared my iftar by myself and broke my fast alone, because they were invited out, and I was not allowed to go. My father is not getting it that life changed. I want to dress up like my friends when I go to school, but he doesn’t allow it so I have to put on a hijab and look conservative. I hope when I get older and get married that I can find a husband who is the opposite of my father, so I can be free and do what I really like not what the culture and my father like.”

Amani Abu Ghali from Abu Dis said, “I am twenty-one years old and graduated with a sociology degree. My dream is to complete my master’s in international law. When I was a sophomore in college, I was awarded a scholarship to go to Germany to study, but I didn’t accept it. I told my professor that I couldn’t go because our culture and tradition doesn’t allow us, as women, to travel for something like that. But I was dreaming of going, not because of the grant but because I want to travel to Europe to see

the people and learn how they think. It is nice to learn about other people's cultures and way of life. Of course, I couldn't even tell my parents that I refused the grant, but I told my sister. I don't have to tell them because I know what their answer would be."

Mariam Abu Ghalia from Abu Dis said, "The first thing we worry about when we reach twelfth grade is, are we allowed to go to college? Will our parents allow us and give us the opportunity to finish our education? When I was in high school, my friends would ask me, 'What are you going to study?' I didn't know what to answer. I was worried and just wondering if I would be allowed to go to college at all. I thought to myself, if I were allowed, then I would think about what I want to study. I was so lucky to have my father. He was well educated, and he promised me that if I "got good grades I could go to college."

Mariam, who lives in a semi-urbanized environment, has graduated from college, but she was limited in her choice of major or a field of study. She became a teacher because she knew that was the only way she could use her degree within her community. She teaches at the Bedouin elementary school in her neighborhood. According to Jahalin tribe Sheikh, Abu Fahed ,in Bedouin tradition, which is based along patriarchal lines, women are not allowed to work outside their community.¹⁴³

Conclusion

Traditionally, Bedouin women played a huge role in contributing financially to the household through their participation in herding, processing dairy products such as milk, cheese, and butter, and collecting water and wood. The Israeli policies of forced displacement changed the cultural way of life that the Bedouin women experienced for

¹⁴³ Sheikh Abu Fahed, interviewed by Hanan Awad, Beit Iksa, March 27th, 2018.

centuries. Bedouin women were forced to integrate into towns that lack the basic services. The socio-economic changes have led to the change of the women's roles in the Bedouin household. If urbanization means a more developed society in which social changes bring higher standards of living, this did not take place with the forced urbanization of the Jahalin. Occupation degraded a land and its people and excluded Bedouin women, making them second-class citizens. They're forced displacement by Israeli's shattered the Bedouin tribal structure and destroyed their way of life socially and culturally. The settlers who live literally within walking distance of the Bedouin communities in Beit Iksa, Khan al Ahmar, and Nabi Samuel have more rights on this land just because they are Jewish. Israeli polices have made life worse fro Bedouins. In fact, it brought more problems to the Bedouin households, especially to the Bedouin women. One of the most significant values of Bedouin culture and tradition is their connection to their land and the honor of their women.

The restrictions of movement, forced displacement, forced urbanization imposed by the Israeli military rule in the West Bank and east Jerusalem jeopardizes the Bedouin women's livelihood and at the same time does not welcome them to an adequate urbanized set up. The Bedouin women are doubly marginalized as women, living under a patriarchal traditional life and as part of a daily life under Israeli military rule, which plays a dominant role in oppressing, marginalizing, harassing, and humiliating the Bedouin women in the West Bank.

CHAPTER SIX

Occupation and the Destruction of the Bedouin Men Identity

“I have a birth certificate that says I was born in Jordan and a passport indicating I’m from the West Bank. One time, a soldier stopped me at the checkpoint and asked me where I was from. I said I didn’t know. I don’t know who I am anymore.” —Abu Fahed

Rashid Khalidi who teaches history and directs the Middle East Institute of Columbia’s School of International and Public Affairs focuses on modern Palestinian identity. He explains “Borders are a problem for Palestinians since their identity—which is constantly reinforced in myriad positive and negative ways—not only is subject to question by the powers that be, but also is in many contexts suspect almost by definition. As a result, at each of these barriers, which most others take for granted, every Palestinian is exposed to the possibility of harassment, exclusion, and sometimes worse, simply because of his or her identity.”¹⁴⁴ Today, the checkpoints and the barrier polices of the Israeli military occupation are places where identity cards are checked and where Palestinians are constantly reminded about who they are.

How do Bedouin men obtain their unique “Bedouin-ess” when they live under military occupation, expulsion, and forced urbanization? The Palestinian Bedouins have been forced to give up their land and their agro-pastoral way of life while, at the same time, are not offered any adequate economic alternatives. Bedouins in East Jerusalem were

¹⁴⁴ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 2.

forced to relocate to planned, semi-urbanized towns such as Abu Dis that are by no means beneficial to them. Bedouin men remain torn between their identity and forced displacement.

In this chapter, I delve into the Bedouin male identity in relation to tradition, land, and the impact of occupation. After multiple in-depth interviews with Bedouin men from the Jahalin tribe in East Jerusalem, I argue that over 50 years of imposed military rule, restricted movement, and forced urbanization not only changed their way of life, but it caused a friction in the Bedouin man's identity, his role within his family, and with society. Bedouins for centuries sustained their identity as "Bedu" through the unique characteristics that come with their tradition and way of life. Abu Ghalia, who was displaced to Abu Dis said, "The Bedouin life means three things: the tent, the livestock, and the spacious land. If one of these three elements is missing, the meaning of a Bedouin will be vanished."

Historically, the Bedouins adapted to a harsh lifestyle for many generations. Palestinian Bedouins associated with the Naqab desert where they have adopted a way of life and values since pre-Islamic times. Bedouin customs were inherited from generation to generation. Today, this unique culture that survived for centuries seems likely to end. According to Steven C. Dinero, Associate Professor of Human Geography at Philadelphia University, "Nomadism is more than a geographical mechanism of referent solely to be associated with the availability of pasturage for flocks, drinking water, and the like. Rather, nomadism is a complete social, economic, and political system that well supersedes the boundaries of mere geography."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Steven C. Dinero, *Settling For Les : The Planned Resettlement of Israel's Negev Bedouin* (Oxford: Berghahn Books,2010) XIV.

The Bedouin identity is shaped by gender roles, livestock, land, and honor. These characteristics are intertwined in creating the identity of a Bedouin; if one of these characteristics is missing, the whole Bedouin identity will be jeopardized. Although Bedouins are keen to adapt and adjust to modernization—and at the same time keep their Bedouin identity—the forced displacement to underdeveloped and socio-economically deprived towns gives no justice to the Bedouin traditional identity *or* to modernity. The problem, then, is not urbanization or the transition from a desert life to an urban life, but the way traditional economic processes and ways of life have been exchanged for poverty and loss of identity.

Bedouin identity: land and livestock

Abu Fahed from the Jahalin tribe, who lives in Beit Iksa, explained, “After the Oslo Accords and after what they call the Palestinian authority, our life got worse. Israel is pressuring us to leave from every corner we live on. They claim that they have authority and that they should take care of us, that we should move to towns and cities and stay away from Area C.” According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, in occupied Palestinian territory the division of most of the West Bank into Areas A, B and C was agreed in the 1995 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and was intended to last no more than five years.¹⁴⁶ Division continues today.

¹⁴⁶ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: Occupied Palestinian Territory, “Area C” (Summer 2013) online at www.ochaopt.org/location/area-C (accessed 25 November 2018).

Since 1967, the Israeli authorities have sought land control of the West Bank in order to ensure more Jewish settlers on the land. Israel uses the land law and the Oslo accord agreements to justify the forced displacement policies against the Bedouins in East Jerusalem. Over sixty percent of the West Bank is considered Area C, where Israel retains total control over law enforcement and restriction of movement, from people to livestock. This has impacted the livelihood of the Bedouins. In his chapter, “The Old and New Conversations”, Illan Pappé explains that most of Area C has been allocated for the benefit of Israeli settlements or the Israeli military, at the expense of Palestinian communities. He said that the Israeli occupation completed the annexation of Area C in the West Bank and offers the Palestinians in Area A and B incarceration in cages.¹⁴⁷

The Bedouin culture and means of owning livestock, which requires land and grazing ground, is one of the most important elements defining the identity of a Bedouin man. Abu Fahed explained the connection between his sheep and land as part of his identity. He said, “These sheep that you are seeing are part of our tradition, part of our connection with this land. We inherited this land and this lifestyle from our grandparents and ancestors. This land was rich, and it was the land of honey. Today it’s the land of onions due to the occupation. The occupation aims to empty us from villages, deserts, and cities. They want ethnic cleansing in order for new settlements and newcomers to take over.”

The first time I met Abu Fahed was in spring 2014. He is from the Dahouk family, one of the clans of the Jahalin Bedouins. He agreed for us to meet while he was shepherding his livestock. We met on a mountain full of olive trees on the side of Beit

¹⁴⁷ Illan Pappé. 2015. “The Old and New Conversations.” In *On Palestine*, edited by Frank Barat, 41. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Iksa. First, he welcomed me and asked me to visit his tent and meet his family after we were done talking. He started our interview by saying that the Jahalin Bedouins are the Native Americans of Palestine. Abu Fahed explained that fifty Bedouin families from the Jahalin tribe live in Beit Iksa, and all of their houses are under demolition threat. Most of the families own some livestock, and their income depends on dairy products such as butter, cheese, milk, and meat. Some could not keep their livestock due to shrinking of the land and grazing pastures, so they work in nearby settlements, but they have to obtain a permit to enter the settlement. If they are caught working without one they will go to prison for three years and pay a fine. The settlers who come from Russia, Europe, South America, North America, and Italy say they have the right to settle in Palestine and make a homeland for themselves. But the real owners of the land are deprived of their land and cannot visit it or visit any relatives. The checkpoints and the separation wall pressure the Palestinians who stayed on their land. “The Israeli authority is making it hard to live so that we’ll leave and empty the land for them. The Bedouins in al Negev lived a sultan’s life; they used live with dignity, owned livestock and camels.”

The Bedouins view the checkpoint, in particular, as a way of humiliating the Bedouin men and further diminishing their dignity. According to the Adalah Report, 70 percent of the Area C land has been allocated for Jewish settlements.¹⁴⁸ Abu Fahed said,

My family, the al Dahouk family, has Turkish documents that prove that my family owned 360,000 dunams in al Naqab. Our tribe moved from Tel Arad in 1950. We suffer from the Israeli occupation; we cannot move, and we feel as we are in a prison. Second, our economy was affected. We used to have camels and livestock, and it was our source of income. Today, we can’t have camels or sheep. There is no place for them. We are displaced in small areas and limited in mobility. Occupation means oppression of the occupied. Palestinians are suffering from occupation, and no one is helping us. I prefer my Bedouin lifestyle to

¹⁴⁸ Adalah, “From al- Araqib to Susiya: The Forced Displacement of Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line” (May 2013), online at www.adalah.org (accessed 25 November 2018).

moving to a village or a city for so many reasons. First, you are free when you are away from urbanized areas, and you live a private life. Second, when you live in a spacious landscape around nature, you become a thinker and you feel closer to God. You think about yourself. To be alone in nature is the secret of worship, and that plays a great role in the Bedouin life. In 1981, I built a house and it was registered and legal, but the occupation demolished it. Even today, I am not allowed to visit my land or to build anything. The Israeli authority demolished it due to Israeli government orders. Even the tent that I am living in now with my family is under threat of demolition. I don't know when, but we live with fear of not knowing our fate. I dream of going back to al Negev, living in a tent, and staying poor all my life—with dignity and a homeland. I feel like a stranger. The authorities here are not Palestinians, but excellent Israeli security.¹⁴⁹

Abu Fahed's struggle for his identity is primarily a struggle to keep his land. The Israeli occupation controls the land by de-Arabizing the West Bank and Judaizing it instead. What comes with the colonization of the land is the colonization of the indigenous and their identity. The Bedouin identity is about to be cleansed even while the Bedouin, through his tribal memory, resists.

Al Naqab had been inhabited for centuries by Bedouin tribes, mainly semi-nomadic pastoralists. A 1933 British archival report explains that al Naqab was almost entirely inhabited by Bedouin tribes.¹⁵⁰ During the 1948 Nakba, the Jahalin Bedouin were expelled from their original land Tel Ard in al Naqab to the West Bank. In 1967, the Israelis occupied the West Bank and forcibly displaced the Jahalin Bedouins into concentrated semi-urban towns such as Abu Dis and al Eizariya.

Abu Dis represents an example of a failed urbanization plan. The town failed to meet the basic needs of an urbanized society. Israeli authorities used urbanization to confiscate the Jahalin Bedouin land and to restrict their movement, but Abu Dis is socially and economically dysfunctional and under military rule. Through the

¹⁴⁹ Sheikh Abu Fahed, interviewed by Hanan Awad, Biet Iksa, March 27th, 2018.

¹⁵⁰ Mansour Nasasra, *The Naqab Bedouins: A Century of Politics and Resistance* (New York: Columbia University, 2017) 42.

urbanization plan, Israel sought to confiscate more land in order to build Israeli settlements and de-Bedouinze the Jahalin in East Jerusalem. Eid Abu Ghalia explained that more than 2,500 Bedouins reside in 18 residential areas near East Jerusalem, in which most are refugees who were expelled from al Naqab after the birth of Israel. Over 200 families were re-located from East Jerusalem in the 1990s. When I visited Eid Abu Ghalia and his family in 2015 at his house in Abu Dis, I felt that there was something not right in the town. Abu Dis is a semi-urbanized town in the sense that it is not the desert, but it is not a fully urbanized town. There are many unpaved roads; electricity wires hang too close to the pedestrians; the garbage dump sits just up the hill from the town; roads are narrow and condense the population into a small area. It looked like a refugee camp more than an urbanized town. According to the Bimkon report, “The dump is the largest in the West Bank, and the waste from both Israeli settlements and Palestinians towns in the Jerusalem governorate are deposited at a rate of 700 tons per day.”¹⁵¹

Moreover, the Israeli authorities aim to corral the Bedouin population into one area to minimize Bedouin control over land. This policy has affected Bedouin identity, social life, and left the Bedouins economically marginalized. Eid Abu Ghalia originally lived in an area called Um Al Ghaleen, in the middle of the Israeli settlement of Ma’ale Adumim. He used to own around 200 goats. Most of the Bedouins lived off of the livestock they owned. In middle of 1990s, the Israelis forced them to leave their homes and land. The Israeli authority displaced the Jahalin Bedouins and did not offer them an alternative. Eid Abu Ghalia said, “Families who used to live on 40 to 50 dunnum were offered an exchange of land that was 500 meters. The 500 meters will not accommodate

¹⁵¹ Bimkon and B’Tselem, “The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma’ale Adumim and Their Human Rights Ramifications” (December 2009), online at www.btslem.org/download/200912_maale_adummim_eng.pdf (accessed 23 October 2018).

200 goats. If you just put the goats by themselves this size is not even enough.” The Jahalin were forced to settle in Abu Dis in the name of urbanization, but in fact, the transition did not in any way meet the meaning of urbanization or modernization. The displacement impacted the identity and the gender roles in the traditional Bedouin way of life. Abu Ghalia said,

In 1997, the Israeli court decided that even if it is by force, the Bedouins needed to leave the land. In fact, one day Israeli soldiers came with bulldozers in the early morning around eight o’clock to displace us by force. Around 3000 soldiers surrounded the area and divided us into three groups. They started with the first group I was in. They loaded everything—goats, food, flour, and all of our belongings—into a container that was about six by two meters. Everything was on top of each other including the goats; they destroyed most of our belongings. They brought us here and threw everything in the container on a hill nearby. Then they did the same to the second group and to the third group. Now here is the problem. They changed our lifestyle. I never needed to learn a craft or needed to be professional in any job. I always was a Bedouin who relied on livestock, dairy products, and animal meat. The first problem we faced in the village was unemployment so we had to sell 80 percent of our livestock. Land is limited in the village, and Bedouins do not know where to take their animals for grazing. So, the lifestyle of the Bedouins gradually started to change. If Bedouins live in a house with a small space, the lifestyle of the Bedouin will never survive.¹⁵²

Living conditions in Abu Dis contrasted sharply with the traditional Bedouin way of life. Seeking employment was one of the major obstacles Bedouin men faced during the transition from traditional way of life to a semi-urbanized set up. In addition to the tribal connection, land and livestock are a significant aspect of Bedouin identity. Once land and livestock are taken away from the Bedouin man, the traditional masculine identity declines with the decline of the social-economic structure. Occupation has challenged a unique traditional way of life that existed for centuries wherein Bedouin men’s role was to protect the land and to own livestock. However, since the birth of Israel

¹⁵² Eid abu Ghalia, interviewed by Hanan Awad, October 28th, 2015.

in 1948, and the occupation of the West Bank in 1967, Bedouin men have undergone a rapid, forced urbanization process, and Bedouin gender roles have changed dramatically.

Ahamd Hamadien who lives in Sateh al Baher said,

Our life depends on freedom and the livestock. The livestock depends on spacious land for grazing. Unfortunately, we are facing so many obstacles to continuing our Bedouin lifestyle. The Israeli occupation is trying to urbanize the Bedouins. This is contrary to what a Bedouin identity is all about. We rely on seasonal mobility between mountains during the summer and valleys during the winter. The occupation limited our mobility and is forcing us to leave where we are now. The plan is to displace us from here and move us to villages or towns. We are refusing this plan. We cannot live in a limited land. Our livestock is part of our life, and it needs spacious land. We are pressured by the Israelis to move, and they are not allowing us to build. In addition, we do not receive electricity, water, or paved roads. They are planning on displacing us to a place we don't know anything about. If we leave here, our way of life as Bedouins is destroyed and our economy is destroyed.¹⁵³

Ahamad also explained that in addition to being occupied by the Israeli military rule, they are also neglected and marginalized by the Palestinian Authority (PA). Ahmad said, "The Palestinian authority doesn't provide basic needs such as schools and clinics. Also, the college graduates from our Bedouin communities do not get jobs; sometimes they look for a job for eight or ten years before getting hired. So the generation after comes and says, Well look, if the first generation did not get a job with their degrees why should we go to college?" Our children will say, 'If this person graduated with honors and was not hired, why should I even think about finishing my education?' The Bedouins are discriminated against because they are not urbanized, and they are not peasants."

The Palestinians are divided according to three classes: town or city dwellers, villagers, and Bedouins. Because of the way of life and tradition, Bedouins are distinguished from urbanized dwellers and villagers by their social structure, which is based on the tribe or *ashira*. Although Bedouins are known to live a nomadic

¹⁵³ Ahmad Hamadien, interview by Hanan Awad, Sateh al Baher, April 2nd, 2016.

way of life, moving from one place to another according to their needs for water and pastoral land, the Palestinian Bedouin tribes became settled and continued a semi-nomadic life and retained their traditional social structure. Ahamd, who struggles to maintain his social Bedouin ways and at the same time accepts education and modernity within his culture, feels marginalized. The Palestinian Authority ignores the fact that Bedouins are Palestinian minorities with different social and economic situations.

Atallah Mazariah from Jebel al Baba said,

Jebel al Baba is the most beautiful place. Its location is strategic. That is why Israel wants to confiscate the land. Jebel al Baba is too close to Jerusalem, and it is in the heart of what they call E1. We refuse to leave despite the demolition threats. Unfortunately, today the minister of the wall, Waleed Asaf, was two kilometers away from Jebel al Baba and did not even think to visit us to see the demolished homes. He is the minister of the wall resistance. I spoke with him, and he knows our situation. We don't need him. This is Palestine and Jerusalem, and it is our land. Livestock is a major tradition for Bedouins, and we depend on it economically. We are struggling today as Palestinian Bedouins to keep this tradition going. Unfortunately, occupation kept pressuring us. Even the spring we used get water from—the occupation came and built an artesian well closer to Ma'ale Adumim in order to pump the water to the settlement and keep it away from us. They also built the wall. When someone wants to enter, there is only one entrance. They closed in everything around us. So in any moment they can close that one entrance and isolate us from the rest of the villages and cities. The wall also was built on land that we used to live on and use.¹⁵⁴

Today, some Bedouin men are well educated and aware of the socio-political, socio-economic inadequacies of their lives, as well as the injustice they face daily under a strict military rule. Bedouin men's identity has been reshaped through the rapid changes, and their biggest challenge under occupation is maintaining a steady job. Unemployment

¹⁵⁴ Atallah Mazariah, interview by Hanan Awad, Jabal al Baba , March 28th, 2018.

remains a major problem Bedouin men face, and is a problem directly related to the military rule and the Israeli displacement policies.

The military occupation rule and its impact on Bedouin masculinity

Strength and courage are considered masculine qualities in Bedouin society.

What were once characteristics that defined a Bedouin man are no longer welcomed within the urban life. The role of sheikhs, leaders, and elderly men have been reduced as a result of the creation of the semi-urban town Abu Dis. Abu Ghalia said,

Our tradition and culture stem from our heart, from our bodies, and it's engraved in our memories. It is not that easy to give up our tradition and culture. It is true that Bedouin tradition and culture can be harsh in ways, but it used to make order for us. For example, if I was walking, and I saw two people fighting, and it might end up with one killing the other, I could go to them and say, 'my face is between you', or I could just name a well-known person or sheikh from the community and say, 'his face is between you'. They would stop the fight out of respect for the person mentioned. Here in the village, this tradition will not work. If I go between two people who are fighting, I just will put myself in trouble, and the fight will get bigger. Things changed, and as I said, despite the harshness of the Bedouin ways, the culture and tradition kept order in our community.¹⁵⁵

Today in Abu Dis the leaders, or the sheikhs, who were the decision makers in their community no longer hold the same status. Traditionally, loyalty was given to the sheikh of the tribe; courage and strength in the sheikh, in particular, were respected by the community. The forced displacement and the loss of a way of life reduced the respect of male leaders that remained part of the culture for centuries. Abu Fahed, a leader of his clan in Beit Iksa, feels that the checkpoints and military rule made it impossible for his role as a leader in his community to survive. He said,

According to Bedouin tribal laws, we inherited all of the tradition from our grandparents and ancestors. And as the saying goes, 'We breast-feed it from

¹⁵⁵ Eid abu Ghalia, interviewed by Hanan Awad, October 28th, 2015.

our mothers'. Our great grandfathers kept this tradition going, and we've used the tribal law to solve some complicated issues in our Bedouin communities. We travel from one place to another to solve certain issues with Bedouins. I was asked many times to travel to the Gulf, North of the West Bank, and Jordan to solve some complicated matters. Today, with the checkpoint and the separation wall, I cannot travel to help solve problems. Some villagers still call me to solve problems. For example, not long ago two people from a village next to Ramallah had a financial conflict, and they couldn't enter Beit Iksa because of the checkpoint. I met them at the gate next to checkpoint and went to al Jeeb, met my brothers in the diwan, and we spoke about their conflict.¹⁵⁶

Abu Fahed said, "There is only one entrance to the village. We suffer indignity just from entering and exiting our village. We cannot even bring food for our livestock, and the separation wall that stops us from going anywhere limits even our sheep. We are living a bitter life under this occupation. The checkpoint at the entrance separates my family, and we cannot even meet. My niece, just two days ago, tried to visit my family, and the soldier stopped her at the checkpoint and did not allow her to enter the village. Also, my nephews, the sons of my brother Mahmoud, tried to visit me. They came from Amman and were not allowed to enter the village." Abu Fahed explained that the reason behind the restriction of movement and isolation demoralizes the people of the Bedouin communities so that Israel can empty the land of the Palestinians in order to replace them with new Jewish settlements.

Seif Abu Dahouk lives in al Jib village. He said, "When I was sixteen, I used to work in the settlements, but it was illegal because I needed a permit to enter so I took a chance. Of course, I was not paid well. Now it is much better for me, because if you are married it is easy to get a permit to get inside the settlement and work. Now I feel safe working, and I get paid 4000 shekels a month (around \$1000). I can't get this amount here working for the Palestinians; anyway, there is no work here to begin with."

¹⁵⁶ Sheikh Abu Fahed, interviewed by Hanan Awad, Beit Iksa, March 27th, 2018.

Seif's brother, Ibrahim Abu Dahouk, who also lives in al Jib, said,

My family lives in Nabi Samuel. I lived with my parents in Nabi Samuel before, but when I got married I had to move to al Jib. The Israeli authority does not allow us to expand our home or to build anything on our land; that was the reason I left. Now I work as a bulldozer driver. In the old days I worked in construction and built homes in the settlements. Palestinians live with humiliation every day. In other words, we live a dog's life. To wait in a long line for hours to get through the checkpoint is by itself humiliation. As workers, we wait until the soldier calls for us to be searched and to show our work permits. The soldier takes his or her time purposely just to make it harder for us, and the line just keeps getting longer. Sometimes the line becomes more than 500 workers long. I was in prison for a year and a half because I was working in a settlement, and my permit was expired. I was going to work at that time, and the soldier tried to stop me to search me and check my permit, but I kept going. The soldiers followed me and beat me up. I tried to defend myself, and I hit them back. On top of the one and a half years in prison, I had a 10,000 shekel fine [about \$2500].¹⁵⁷

Sief and Ibrahim represent examples of how Israeli occupation of the West Bank has destroyed the Bedouin lifestyle through so called urbanization. Israel sought to not only take over the land in the West Bank but also the Bedouin way of life. After multiple interviews with Bedouin men I found that the Bedouin man continues to lose his masculinity and identity through the Israeli military occupation and the expansion of the illegal settlements. The Bedouins continue to suffer from expropriation of their land and exposed daily humiliation at checkpoints, arrest without trial, restricted and forbidden travel to visit family. Occupation is more than land control; it's the identity loss and the struggle for belonging. Sief and Ibrahim's identity was denied and replaced with another. They became strangers to their own land and culture. The urbanization process does not mean they belong to Israel or to a Palestinian nation, but it means that the Bedouin way of life is dominated by the colonial power.

¹⁵⁷ Ibrahim Abu Dhaouk, interview by Hanan Awad, al Jib, March 28th 2018.

Palestinian Bedouins are part of Palestinian society, and they naturally belong to the land physically and economically. The tie between the Bedouin man and the land can be defined as the main characteristic of the Bedouin identity. The loss of the land and the forced urbanization took this essential part of the Bedouin identity. The Bedouin man feels incomplete with this loss. The dispossession of their land and the exclusion from political and cultural power has impacted their identity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Although I grew up in Palestine in a small village called Dier Debwan next to Ramallah, I only started learning about the Jahalin Bedouin communities in the West Bank in 2012. As the years have passed, the life of the Bedouin has gotten harsher not because of their way of life, or culture, or from the weather, but because of occupation. The fifty years of Israeli military rule in the West Bank made it impossible for the Bedouins to continue their way of life. Between 2012 and 2018, I visited Palestine ten times in the spring and winter. During these years, I witnessed how occupation sought to culturally cleanse whatever was left of something called Bedouin.

During my six years of field work in the West Bank, I came to understand that the Jahalin Bedouins will continue to resist the everyday Israeli cultural cleansing policies and show their love for their tradition and identity through family ties and the memory of an all-but-lost identity.

Urbanization is not a solution to many Bedouins. For them, urbanization means giving up a centuries-old cultural inheritance and losing their Bedouin identity. Despite higher education and urbanization their Bedouin blood links their past and their identity.

I was lucky to meet the Jahalin Bedouin men and women who opened their hearts and told me their stories. Their personal testimonies helped me to understand the hardship of surviving the life between occupation and tradition. I was fascinated with how rich the Jahalin Bedouin culture is and how this tradition that intertwined with land, livestock, and the tent are considered the essence of being a Bedouin. Generation after

generation, the Bedouins have kept a culture and a way of life that defines who they are. Despite occupation attempts to uproot the Bedouin culture, the Bedouin memory continues to protect tradition through blood lineage and tribal affiliation.

The 1993-1995 Oslo Accords, or “peace process,” were supposed to lead to the creation of an independent Palestinian state, but instead the agreement failed. The settlements, East Jerusalem’s status, the security borders, the right of return, and the water and natural resources rights became controlled by one side, the Israeli authority. Today, the Palestinians are going through further deterioration politically, economically, and socially. The Jahalin Bedouins are an ethnic minority within the illegal settler society and within the Palestinian society.

After going through a historiography and an overview of the history of the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 war, I conclude that the three narratives regarding the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians was brought to the attention of the scholarly world through the New Historians’ approach. This New Historian approach did not just challenge the traditional Zionist Israeli narrative but brought back the ignored Palestinian narrative to the table.

While New Historians and the Palestinian historians used new material and new perspectives from archival documents and oral histories to challenge the traditional Israeli narrative, I add the unique contribution through a new voice of the minorities: the Palestinian Bedouins. The association between occupation, displacement, urbanization, patriarchy, and the status of Bedouin women has received little attention within the scholarly world.

The Bedouin women are doubly marginalized as women, living under a patriarchal traditional life and as part of a daily life under Israeli military rule, which plays a dominant role in oppressing, marginalizing, harassing, and humiliating the Bedouin women in the West Bank. The connection between the Bedouin man and the land can be defined as the main characteristic of the Bedouin identity. The loss of the land and forced urbanization took this essential part of the Bedouin identity. Bedouin gender tradition has been systematically disrupted by the forced displacement and urbanization. What shapes the current events in Khan al Ahmar whether political, economic, or social is the constant Israeli military occupation that controls the life of the Bedouins.

Unfortunately, this time the Bedouin life is vanishing through displacement and change of tradition and culture. In addition to the cultural cleansing, the E1 plan dashes hope for the right of the Palestinian state and for self-rule. The Bedouin struggle has become more than the name of the land and heritage, more than liberating the tent and the livestock; it has become a struggle to liberate the occupied mind and body. The Bedouins became refugees in their own country, exiles within their own land.

Through their voices, I only hope to preserve and record their story. The Bedouins are resisting the latest systemic displacement from their land. Will their tradition survive? Only time will tell. But I hope my modest study would contribute to raising awareness of their plight. As Palestinian national poet, Mahmoud Darwish said, “All the hearts of the people are my identity—so take away my passport!”

Illustration and Figures

Fig. 1. Jebel West Jahlain Community with Israeli construction for settlement expansion leaving no place for the Bedouins.

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2015).



Fig. 2. Jahalin Bedouin girls from Jebel West community. The girls with their families were evicted by the Israeli authority to expand the Israeli settlements in the West bank.

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2015).



Fig. 3. Khadra, 110 years at the time when the photo was taken. She is originally from al Naqab. She was forcibly displaced with her family to the West Bank after the 1948 war. She died in 2016 dreaming of her return to al Naqab.

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2016).



Fig. 4. Jahalin children from Khan al-Ahmar village witnessing the confiscation of the solar system that once provided electricity for them.

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2015).



Fig. 5. Abu Fahed originally from Tel Arad area in the south Negev, now Israel.

Lives on land that owned to a family named al-Shaer from Beit Iksa village. He explained that he considers the Palestinian Bedouins as the Native Americans of Palestine. More than 30 years he has been living in Beit Iksa. He left al Naqeb by force in 1950 His home is under threat to be demolished any day.

He said, “The Israeli authority started to shoot our sheep. They are not allowing us to graze and if we are caught we have to pay fine.”

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2017).



Fig. 6. Um Ahmad, widow and mother of six children, one of whom is severely disabled and wheelchair bound (Beit Iksa- Jahlain Bedouins)

“My daughter who is married and lives outside Bet Iksa is not allowed to visit me because of the checkpoint. If your name is not registered on the checkpoint you are not allowed to enter here. My brother and my sister cannot even visit me, so I ended up all alone with my boys. They need permission before entering and it takes time to get it approved. If they remove the checkpoint it will be better and easier for me to see my family members. Sometimes my sister who lives in Jericho takes a chance to visit me and they don’t allow her to enter. I don’t know about it until later.”

Picture taken by Hanan Awad (2016).



Fig. 7. Map shows East Jerusalem, Closed and restricted areas, Israeli settlements and West Bank Barrier.

Available from: https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/eastjerusalem_final.pdf

(accessed November 25, 2019).

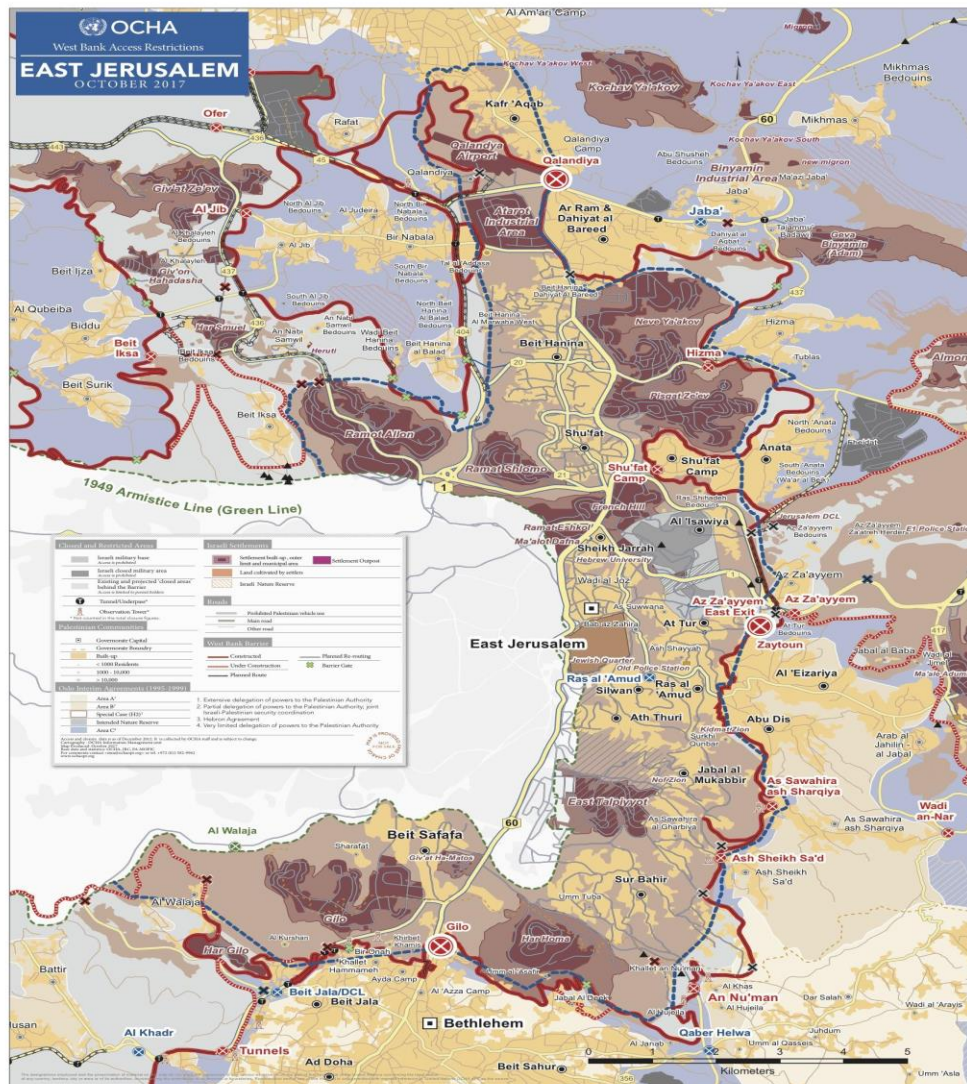


Fig. 8. Map of Historical Palestine shows the Naqab Deseret in the South.

Available from: <https://fasttimesinpalestine.wordpress.com/2009/10/13/maps-of-israel-palestine> (accessed November 25th. 018).



A total of 44 Palestinian schools across the West Bank have pending "stop work" or demolition orders, which place them at risk of being fully or partially demolished, due to lack of building permits which are near impossible to obtain. These include 36 schools in Area C, affecting 3,708 students, and 8 in East Jerusalem, affecting 1,138 students. The orders prevent both the maintenance and expansion of school infrastructure.



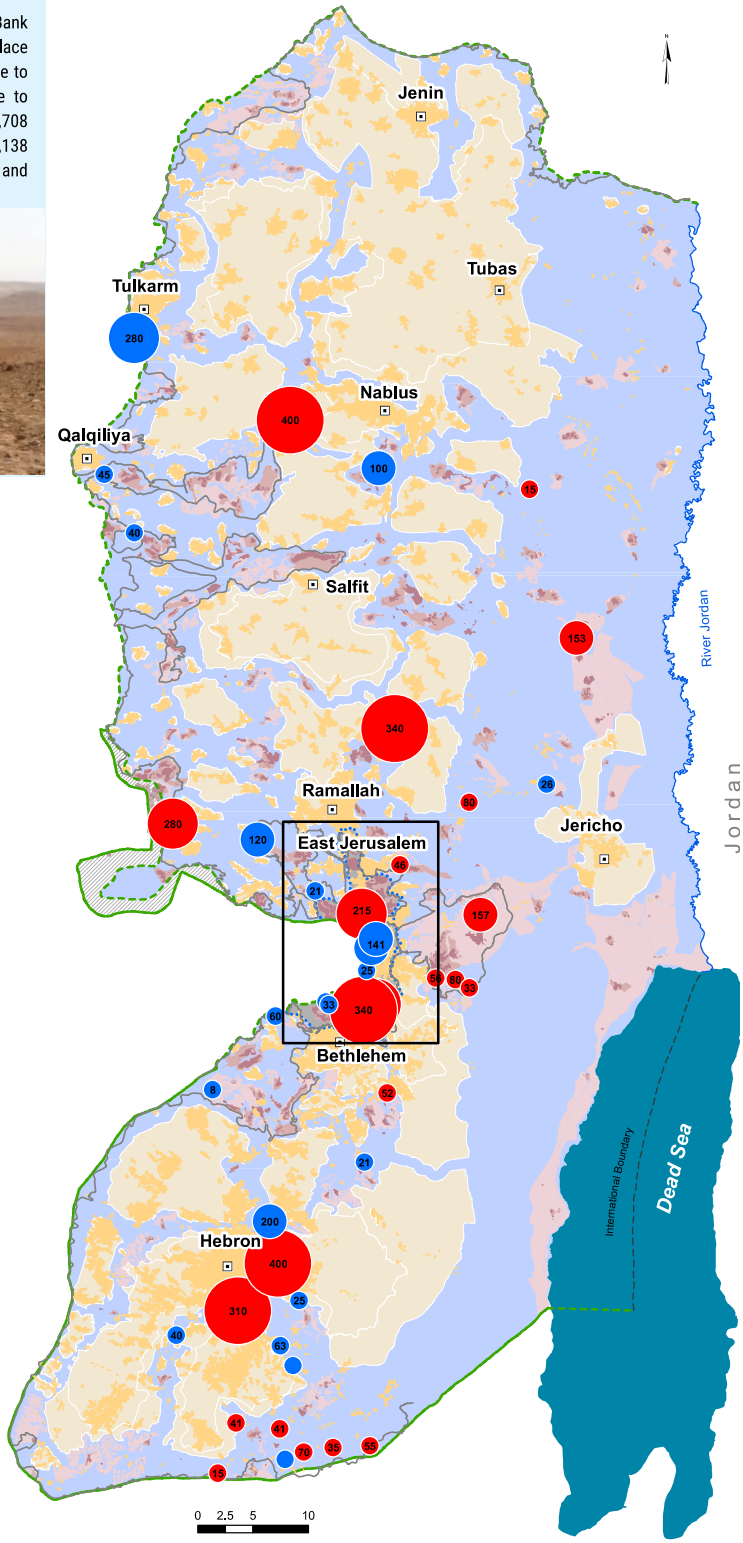
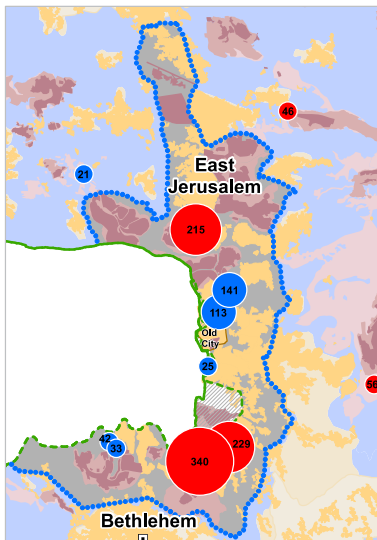
Number of Students Affected by the Orders*

- Full demolition/stop-work order
- Partial demolition/stop-work order

- Governorate capital
- Barrier
- ▭ Israeli unilaterally declared East Jerusalem municipal boundary
- ▭ Palestinian community
- ▭ Settlement built-up, outer-limit and municipal area
- ▭ Oslo Areas A and B
- ▭ Oslo Area C

Data source: Education in Emergencies Working Group (EIE WG)

*The number of affected students in schools at risk of partial demolition does not indicate the overall number of students in these schools.



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