

'RECREATING' GAZA: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION IN GAZA

by

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Abstract

This project addresses the contemporary and competing non-state governmentalities in the Gaza Strip through an analysis of the 1948-1967 period. During this period the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) constructed early notions of non-state 'governance' and quasi-citizenship in Gaza. The majority of this research focuses on these organizations in the 1948-1967 period, however, there is a case study that addresses the way in which these competing models of non-sovereign administration impacted the approaches used since 2007 by Hamas. The distinct histories and experiences of administration under each organization has created competing notions of what components constitute an assembled notion of citizenship in Gaza. Specifically, the bureaucratic categorization preferred by UNRWA conflicts with Hamas' focus on individualized service based on the tradition of *shura* (consultation) and youth training, in particular. Several approaches to governance in Gaza are common to the three major faith-based organizations discussed here (the AFSC, the YMCA, and the Hamas). Notably, these organizations create sacred spaces and processes as a mechanism of governance, allowing them to exert control over the population. In particular, the manner in which two distinct international organizations – UNRWA and Hamas – came to operate parallel state structures in the Gaza Strip, and the way that these two organizations imbue citizenship like rights and responsibilities on the populations that they serve is of particular interest. In this way governance in the Gaza Strip has completed a circuit: from the faith-based Friends to the faith-based Hamas, with UNRWA as the constant secular parallel authority. Through an examination of organizational archives, memoirs, and interviews this project links these events, arguing that the institutional records of these organizations provide an illuminating path to better understand the situation of governance in Gaza today.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Finding Gaza in the archives is a challenge – not quite on par with physically accessing the territory, but a distinct challenge of its own. In part this has to do with the organizational bureaucracy of gaining permission to access the archives, but more generally with the historical political realities surrounding Gaza. Not only are there regularly no folders labeled “the Gaza Strip” in archival collections, there are also substantial difficulties in locating documents pertaining to activities, trips, and day-to-day accounts of life in Gaza. Much of this relates to each organization’s struggle with how to classify the records related to this 12kmx42km piece of land. Often times the files are held with the boxes labeled “Israel,” because of post-1967 Occupation. Occasionally, documents appear in the boxes of Jordanian work, mixed in amongst the papers pertaining to the organizations work in Jordanian-administered Palestine. There are papers filed in the Egypt boxes, which makes sense given Egypt’s administration of the territory. But these papers are mostly requests for travel permits and visas, and occasionally letters. Oddly, a great deal of the papers are filed in the folders on Lebanon, in large part because most organizations maintained their field head quarters in Beirut, at least prior to 1975. Finding the few folders of interest amongst the dozens of boxes from the records pertaining to four different countries is a challenge. But the rewards are the off-handed comments in the margins of meeting minutes filed with headquarters in Beirut, the hand written paragraph augmenting the 3-sentence report on Gaza (which was already an endnote in a West Bank report) to include insight and commentary on population needs, programmatic innovation, and the real-life impacts of a harsh winter storm. Situating Gaza in the archives remains a challenge, but excavating the hidden

gems buried across various country files helps to locate Gaza as it is and has been historically: a crossroads of life in the Middle East.

The research question that motivates this dissertation addresses the historical context behind the contemporary competing governmentalities in the Gaza Strip.¹ Through a nuanced examination of the archival records of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), three key international organizations² that operated in the Gaza Strip between 1948-1967. This dissertation asks the question: how did the distinct histories and experiences of each organization impact their administration of facets of life in the Gaza Strip during this time period. Most broadly this project argues for the inclusion of international organizations as primary actors when interrogating questions of governance and identity construction, especially in occupied or contested territorial spaces. This particular project presents the experience of three international organizations in the Gaza Strip as a case study to show the relevance of including these non-state actors in such an analysis. The 'closed' nature of the Gaza Strip has dramatically impacted the development of local leadership structures; in lieu of this development many international organizations have stepped in to fill this gap, including the organizations studied here. Notably, the antagonism between the three different models of power addressed here showcases how subsequent structures and institutions of

¹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979* edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 66-69. Governmentality is a term coined by Michel Foucault, it is used here to discuss the way that the organizations discussed in this research, faith-based or secular, implement mechanisms of biopower, which sometimes (but not in all cases) grow to become an organizational governmentality (associated with a non-state actor), that then uses as its operational ethos one of these moral humanitarianisms, allowing them to create a quasi-citizenship status through these approaches.

² In this work "international organization" or IO is used to refer to both common types of these type of organizations: non-governmental organizations with an international presence (or INGOs) and inter-governmental organizations (or IGOs).

governance in Gaza were impacted by the actions of these organizations during this period in its history.

Throughout the 1948-1967 period these organizations were essential to the construction of early notions of non-state ‘governance’ and quasi-citizenship constructions in the Gaza Strip.³ The rise of the PLO in the 1960s and Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip beginning in 1967 compounded and expanded the impact of the activities performed by these organizations.⁴ The culmination came in 2006 with the electoral victory of Hamas and the subsequent sectioning off of Gaza in 2007 as a closed entity. While an examination of these organizational archives, memoirs, and interviews cannot concretely link these events, this research argues that the institutional records of these organizations provide an illuminating path to better understand the situation of governance in Gaza today.

This argument moves forward from the premise that since the division of Palestine in 1948, the newly created Gaza Strip has inhabited a unique space in the Palestine experience, one that has become more segregated since the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords, and in particular following the 2007-interfactual violence. The roots of this separation are in the 1948-1967 period of Egyptian administration of Gaza, and the

³ This notion of a Gazan quasi-citizenship is adapted from Aihwa Ong, “Mutations in Citizenship,” *Theory, Culture, & Society* 23 (2006): 499-531, in which Ong addresses the “mutations of citizenship,” and argues that the traditional notion of citizenship that is “tied to the terrain” is one on which we need to expand, and at times, move beyond in order to understand citizenship as a collection of rights that can be packaged (or assembled) in many ways and are not always tied to territorial sovereignty, Ong, “Mutations,” 499. This notion of non-state governance is tied both to this understanding of a quasi-citizenship, but also to Foucault’s presentation of biopower, and the manner in which organizations can wield control over populations, and organize a population in their own image, despite not being an elected or recognized state power. See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population (Lectures at the College De France, 1977-76)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 17, 37, 478 and Michel Foucault and James Faubio eds. *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3 (New York: New York Press, 2000), 95-96, but also for a general overview of bio-power.

⁴ Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: the Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997): 246-261.

particular position that was ascribed to the international organizations operating there during this time period. Through extensive use of archival material from the AFSC, UNRWA, and YMCA, the above research question is addressed. The significance of the archival records, its strengths and weaknesses – as well as the gaps – will be discussed in this section. Similarly, the need to include Gazan voices is absolute, but the ability to travel to Gaza for in-person interviews is limited. However, it is first necessary to address the question of why Gaza.

Why Gaza?

This is a question that has been asked of this project on a near weekly basis since its conception; the reasons for focusing on Gaza are both academic and personal. At many points this question was quickly followed by the advice to consider focusing on the West Bank instead – after all ‘it’s all Palestine.’ While there is a substantial amount of column-space and airtime devoted to discussing the Gaza Strip, this analysis generally focuses on the conflict with Israel, the human plight of Gazans, or Hamas’ alleged associations to just about every Islamic group in the Middle East. True scholarship and study of the Gaza Strip is sadly limited to just a handful of scholars, notable amongst them are Sara Roy,⁵ Ilana Feldman,⁶ and Jean-Pierre Filiu.⁷ These scholars have

⁵ Sara Roy is a prolific researcher on issues related to the Middle East, in particular her work on Gaza is ground breaking. Some of the key publications in this area include: *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development* (Cairo: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995); “Gaza: New Dynamics of Civic Disintegration” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22 (1993): 20-31; *Hamas and the Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); *Failing Peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

⁶ Ilana Feldman is another prominent researcher on Gaza, her key contributions (in particular for this research) include: *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917-1967* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); “Difficult Distinctions: Refugee Law, Humanitarian Practice, and Political Identification in Gaza,” *Cultural Anthropology* 22 (2007): 129-169; “The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief,” *American Ethnologist* 34 (2007): 689-705; “Gaza’s Humanitarianism Problem,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* (2009); “Waiting for Palestine: Refracted Citizenship and Latent Sovereignty in Gaza,” *Citizenship Studies* 12 (2008): 447-463.

dedicated substantial time to the study of the Gaza Strip specifically. There are a slew of additional publications that focus specifically on Hamas, but these works seldom delve into the history of the territory and its population. For many, to focus research solely on the Gaza Strip emphasizes the geographic dislocation of “the occupied Palestinian territory,” arguably exoticizing the Gaza Strip and presenting a challenge to the two-state solution. Practically, the split between the West Bank and Gaza has been the reality since the 2007 conflict between Hamas and Fatah and the establishment of two distinct Palestinian leaderships. There is also concern, amongst policy makers in particular, that to address the specifics of structures of governance in the Gaza Strip is to legitimize the authority of Hamas.

Whilst these concerns are valid, they do not mean that academics, policy makers, and practitioners can simply ignore the reality that the current situation in the Gaza Strip presents a unique position within the international realm. To understand the current context we must look backward through the history of this territory that was created so recently. To understand the position of the people in Gaza – both native-born and refugee – we must look even further through the various millennia that the seaport of Gaza has been a hub of activity on the Mediterranean. This is the history that Gazans remember, proudly so, and re-tell at any given opportunity. These narratives of history that remember the place of various conquering armies, the movement of new religions, and the establishment of state-systems through this territory are significant in a study of structures of governance.

⁷ Jean-Pierre Filiu is a prominent French academic, much of his work on Gaza and Hamas has been translated into English and proved useful in this research, including: *Gaza: A History*, trans. John King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); “The Origins of Hamas: Militant Legacy or Israeli Tool?” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41 (2012): 54-70; “The Twelve Wars on Gaza,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 44(2014): 52-60.

The question of why Gaza has also proved a tricky one in the area of available sources, which has been the most frequent reason that others have suggested a focus on the West Bank instead. There are limited options in accessing archival and written records of Palestinian history. While pre-1948 documentation is mostly available through the British Foreign and Commonwealth archives, post-1948 governance related documents are all but inaccessible. Any documents regarding governance, institutions and bureaucracy in Gaza post-1948 that do exist are held by the Egyptian military administrative offices that oversaw the administration of Gaza from 1948-1967 or by the Israeli Foreign Ministerial archives, following Israeli occupation of Gaza since 1967. While some scholars were able to access some of these documents from the early occupation era,⁸ access to these papers held by the Israeli MFA has subsequently been suspended. As such, it is necessary to undertake this study through alternative sources.

At its core, this study is rooted in academic curiosity to better understand through analysis the specific history of the Gaza Strip, its population and the impact on the struggle for a Palestinian state. It is also, however, motivated by the personal experience of having lived and worked in Gaza for a period of just over two years during 2007-2009 for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Access to Gaza is not an easy matter; even with a press card or the correct work-visa with an international organization access is never guaranteed. Access is a primary reason that there is not more work available on the Gaza Strip and another reason why I am committed to addressing this imbalance. I am fully aware of the position of privilege that I occupy and have occupied, both in working for an international organization while living in Gaza, but also

⁸ In her book *Governing Gaza*, Feldman received permission to access the Israeli State Archives for documents relating to the Gaza Strip.

by simply being in a position to live and work in Gaza, while moving in and out of the enclave with moderate freedom.

Methods

Throughout the history of the Gaza Strip, many of the services traditionally considered as the responsibility of a sovereign government, such as education, healthcare, food assistance, housing assistance, job training and placement, are performed by a variety of different organizations. During the early years in Gaza, between 1948-67, various international organizations were responsible for providing government-like services to the population of over 200,000 refugees that had been displaced into the Gaza Strip by the 1948 War.⁹ Primary amongst these organizations are the three examined in this study: the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).¹⁰ There is a bias within these organizations: all three are western, none of them used Arabic as an official organizational language at this time,¹¹ and two of them are Christian faith-based organizations. This case selection does not imply that no regional or Islamic faith-based organizations were involved in this early relief and development work in Gaza. Nor do these three organizations constitute an exhaustive list of those organizations operating

⁹ This is a substantial point of discussion in chapter 3.

¹⁰ The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was only officially formed in May 1950, following the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 302 to form the agency. Prior to this, the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR) was the organization that was responsible for coordinating relief efforts to Palestine refugees throughout the Middle East, including in the Gaza Strip.

¹¹ The UN only added Arabic as an official and working language of the General Assembly in 1973, see GA resolution 3190 (XXVIII) and as an official and working language of the subsidiary organs of the GA in 1980, see resolution 35/219 A. The Security Council only included Arabic as an official and working language in 1982, see Security Council resolution 528 (1982)

in the Gaza Strip. However, due to practical considerations these three organizations were chosen.¹²

The aforementioned three organizations, hereafter AFSC, YMCA, and UNRWA, were the most active international organizations operating in the Gaza Strip from 1948-1967. While other organizations were present in Gaza – including various Red Crescent branches – their focus was more on displaced Palestinian populations in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Various social services were provided by branches of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza, which laid the groundwork for significant later ties. However, there are no centrally located or accessible collection of any kind of documentary record of Muslim Brotherhood activities during this time period in Gaza. Because of the limited archival sources accessible in the region, the choice was made to work from the UNRWA, AFSC, and YMCA archives, while acknowledging the deficits of the information accessed and adding a note to expand the research to include these resources as such as extension becomes possible.

To bring in some local voices, and supplement the organizational focus of the archives, memoirs formed an important complementary source of material for this research. The recollections of Salman Abu Sitta¹³ and Abdel Bari Atwan¹⁴ who, in part,

¹² In the late 1940s through until the late 1960s the international organization scene was dominated by the growing United Nations and its many agencies. These organizations proved to be some of the strongest actors throughout Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, particularly when the organizations efforts were related to humanitarian aid and responses to conflict. This scene also hosted a large number of faith-based, mostly Christian, organizations. These organizations pursued a variety of agendas that were largely differentiated by the degree to which their religious orientation impacted their program interests and abilities. Most of these faith-based organizations had a more limited reach than the UN, and they were mostly funded through private donations rather than in partnership with state-based development and aid efforts. While there were Islamic charitable organizations present and active, particular in the Middle East and North Africa, these organizations were standardized to the same degree that the Christian organizations were.

¹³ Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016).

grew up in UNRWA camps in the Gaza Strip provide historical contextualization of what growing up in the Gaza Strip during the 1950s was actually like. The experience of older, more politically involved individuals, like Mu'in Bseiso,¹⁵ were also significant in understanding the way in which these international operations were viewed. The recollections of Ibrahim Ghushah, a spokesman for Hamas in Jordan,¹⁶ provided insight into the birth of Hamas and the internal view regarding the organizations links to the Muslim Brotherhood. While full archives are not available for the Muslim Brotherhood or most of the local organizations that were active in Gaza, a surprising number of documents have been preserved and made available online. Sources, such as the *Jaridat Ikhwan al-Muslimin* and *Majalat Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, are available online and were used to assess this organizations view point and activities during this time period.¹⁷ More contemporary literature from the region, in particular publishing houses in Cairo and Beirut, were critical for the insight offered, in particular during the 1967-1990s time period. Another important resource, *Shu'un Filastin*,¹⁸ is also available online, all of the back editions are accessible through the organization's website and these extensive records provided critical information for understanding this era in Gaza, and the territories more broadly.

Despite intentions at the outset of this project to include an ethnographic component, the realities of accessing Gaza precluded this undertaking and so this

¹⁴ Abdel Bari Atwan, *A Country of Words: A Palestinian Journey from the Refugee Camp to the Front Page* (London: SAQI, 2008).

¹⁵ Mu'in Bseiso. *Yawmiyat Gaza (Gaza Diary)* (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Authority, 1971).

¹⁶ Ibrahim Ghushah, *al-Mi'dhanah al-Hamra': Sirah Dhatiyah (The Red Minaret: An Autobiography)* (Beirut: Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, 2013).

¹⁷ *Al-Majalat Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* (The Muslim Brotherhood Magazine):

http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=الإخوان_جريدة, Some of Hasan al Bana's speeches are also available online and were useful in chapter 5 of this research project.

¹⁸ *Shu'un Filastin*, www.shuun.ps, 1971-2014: <https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/0B-bKayOQFM4na0czX0xEckl3Tm8>

research is primarily conducted through archival research. While in person interviews in Gaza would have been the ideal, this archival research was instead supplemented with interviews with Gazans conducted over Skype and organized via email, SMS and Skype messenger. Although this was not the ideal case scenario, this technology-based approach retains credibility as an appropriate methodological approach.¹⁹ The ability for video Skype calls allows for enhanced person-to-person interaction and facial and body-language reading, which can be lost during telephone interviews. The use of Skype and other proprietary VoIP is not an uncommon practice in the IGO and NGO world, where similar security, bureaucracy and finical constraints are common. Ultimately, the ten interviews conducted for this project yielded a wealth of information that has actually become its own, separate project for future publication and instead this project has found itself solidly situated within the archival research conducted.

This access issue only highlights how space and spatiality is so important when analyzing the Gaza Strip. The physical territory ascribed to Gaza, first the *eyalet*, then the *sanjak*, and finally the Gaza Strip, has evolved over time culminating in the rigidly defined territory that we today call the Gaza Strip.²⁰ As such addressing space and issues of accessibility and connectivity to the broader area is significant in building a full model of the Gaza Strip that goes beyond a purely textual analysis. Throughout this research key spaces of collaboration, interaction, and splintering are focal points for understanding

¹⁹ Skype, and other VoIP programs, have been in use as a valid data collection method for the last several years. In particular, this methodology has been popular in the medical sciences and in for qualitative research in Europe. For some excellent discussions of this approach and its validity see: Rokhsana Janghorban, Robab Roudsari, and Ali Taghipour, "Skype Interviewing: The New Generation of Online Synchronous Interview in Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being* 9(2014); A Aldawsari, "Skype Interviews in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 15 (2016); Sally Seitz, "Pixelated Partnerships, Overcoming Obstacles in Qualitative Interviews via Skype: a Research Note," *Qualitative Research* 16 (2015); S. Winzenburg, "How Skype is changing the interview process." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2011): 3-10.

²⁰ For a full discussion of this progression see chapter 2.

how pivotal communal spaces are constructed, defined, and used on a daily basis. Reification of historical soap-making traditions is apparent in the example of soap-making projects introduced by Quaker local employees in 1949.²¹ The link here marks a space in which tradition and humanitarian response come together to create a new space of collaboration and interaction. The experience of Israeli settlements divided the territory, physically splintering the space and the community and forcing the local communities to redefine themselves and how they interacted.²² As a final example, the Islamic Center in Gaza created a sacred space in which a newly idealized Palestinian identity was conceived, fostered and put into practice.²³ This paved the way for the re-envisioning of the spatiality of the Gaza Strip itself. All of these conceptualizations of and mutations in the understanding of space in the Gaza Strip complicate and make real the information gleaned from these organizational archives.

Theoretical Approaches

This research project brings together several distinct theoretical approaches, all of which are relevant in addressing questions of citizenship, governance, religion, and international organizations in the Gaza Strip. The overarching theoretical framework through which this project focuses is Michel Foucault's biopower.²⁴ In particular this project addresses the evolutionary progression from biopower to biopolitics to governmentality through case studies of specific programs and progressions of population oversight and molding undertaken by the AFSC, UNRWA, the YMCA and Hamas. The programs and initiatives led by these international organizations should not be read as

²¹ This is the subject of a significant case study in chapter 3.

²² Israeli settlements and their role in the de-development of the Gaza Strip are discussed in chapter 6.

²³ Hamas and the role of the Islamic Center in Gaza are the focus of chapter 6.

²⁴ Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 66-69.

overt efforts of control and discipline guided by Foucauldian framework. Rather they are symptomatic of the techniques of modernity widely utilized by sovereign governments during this time period.²⁵

A second theory of interest regards the creation and definition of sacred and profane spaces, as they relate to spaces and process created by the international organizations in question. This work builds from Durkheim's dichotomy, complicating this binary approach by weaving in Talal Asad and Saba Mahmood's arguments on secularism. Asad's approach to viewing the secular as neither continuous nor a break with religion, but rather as building "on a particular conception of the world" is essential to understanding the way in which secular and religious components are understood and defined in the modern nation-state, an idea interrogated in this project.²⁶ In particular this definition of the modern nation state, and its relationship to the notion of citizenship, falls within the purview of a 'sacred' component in this understanding of the secular nation state model.²⁷

In particular, the project's overall examination of the relationship and role of international organizations engaging in state-like behavior means that the role of secularism in defining the modern nation state and its powers to define and bestow citizenship rights on a population must be examined through the lens of non-state actors

²⁵ This further marker of sovereign-like powers assumed by these international organizations and a marker of why they should be analyzed and assessed as independent actors in this analysis.

²⁶ Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003): 25.

²⁷ Asad, *Formations*, 36, and Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 3. Mahmood's subsequent linking of these efforts of political secularism with governmentality (3) become significant components of the discussion in chapter 6. This manifests itself through a study of created masculinity in Chapter 5, and the relationship of this identity to the creation of a national identity and subsequently an independent nation-state.

and their capacity for action in this area.²⁸ These approaches to constructing and defining the state and citizenship are applied to actions taken by international organizations in Gaza, to understand the role that these actors play in construction quasi-citizenships, parallel state systems, and a model of humanitarianisms.²⁹

Foucault's work on biopower³⁰ has typically been studied in connection with sovereign governments and as a concerted effort (biopolitics) to control the structure and shape of populations and society. This project is building on Foucault's framework and exploring the ways in which these concepts can be applied to populations that are administered by non-state actors, in particular by international organizations.³¹ Here, this is applied to the work by the Quakers, the YMCA, UNRWA and Hamas, to analyze and assess the points at which their administrative programs move from simple biopower, to constructed biopolitics, before finally evolving into an organized governmentality regime. The application here is quite particular, as it assesses the historicity of these models, working to understand if and when Foucault's approaches can be applied to historical studies of governance.

²⁸ While some of these organizations view themselves in a binary fashion (profane work or sacred work), this does not work in reality because of the mutual coproduction between these religious efforts at sacred labor and the efforts to define a Palestinian state.

²⁹ This is a term coined by the author that builds on Didier Fassin's arguments regarding a humanitarian governmentality. Here, it is argued that instead of one humanitarianism, there are plural moral humanitarianisms, in particular as they relate to actions undertaken by faith-based organizations. Presented throughout this project are case studies of these different models (by the Quakers, UNRWA and the YMCA), which build on earlier models of 'moral labor' by Anne-Meike Fechter, 'moral responsibility' from Liisa Malkki and Didier Fassin's humanitarian governmentality, to contest that a plurality of humanitarianisms exist that are linked to the operational ethos, goals, and approaches of distinct organizations.

³⁰ The means by which institutions (usually the government) organize a population in their own image, usually through controlling and implementing social policies that encourage the creation and reproduction of this idealized citizen.

³¹ This is a growing area of interest and study, for another example see Sophia Hoffman, "International Humanitarian Agencies and Iraqi Migration in Preconflict Syria," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48 (2), 2016: 339-355.

In this research case studies of food distribution, population categorization, schooling, job training, and youth camps are all offered as examples of how and when international organization (non-state actors) are able to and in fact enact models of biopower, biopolitics, and governmentality to achieve their ideal administrative standard. Through an analysis of the Quaker ethos resisting the use of food aid as a weapon to the eventual deployment (with some amendments) of this model, the administrative model of the AFSC in Gaza moves from an implicit position of biopower to one of biopolitical action (chapter 3). The discussion of UNRWA's dairy-focused job training program shows the agency's movement in the early 1960s from a position of biopolitics to an overtly developing governmentality (chapter 4). The experience of the YMCA in creating and implementing programs of physical training and discipline build on a tradition of similar scouting and other youth activity through the region,³² and culminate in a distinct approach to creating a Gazan quasi-citizenship, modeled after an idealized masculinity that evolves from similar youth programs in other arenas (chapter 5). Finally, more recent experience in Gaza shows how UNRWA's early governmentality (tracing back to the 1960s) has developed into a parallel state structure that symbiotically challenges and reinforces a locally-developed governmentality enshrined in Hamas' current tenure in the Gaza Strip (Chapter 6).

Overlaying this study in governmentality is an effort to understand how questions of sacred (and profane) spaces and process are created and used by the international

³² In particular this builds on work conducted by Chako Jacob (*Working out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011)), Julie Peteet (*Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)), and Keith Watenpaugh (*Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.)) who all address the role that discipline and social construction have on these youth programs, in particular scouting programs, that are built to support a certain conception of the state and citizen.

organizations studied here to further their efforts at creating systems of administration. This study begins by using Emile Durkheim's approach to the sacred and profane as a dichotomous relationship, and progresses throughout the project to an understanding that complicates that binary-based approach to one that recognizes the manner in which the construction of a modern nation-state challenges and refines this approach to one that is more nuanced.³³ In particular, through understanding the manner in which human action, in this instance guided and directed through these international organizations, can be used to create sacred spaces and processes.³⁴ These sacred spaces and processes are not inherently related to religion, but rather are the product of human activity directed through a moral and community oriented group to transcend the mundane and create an idealized space or process.³⁵ These efforts at 'moral labor' are key to critically assessing and understanding the Quakers' efforts in Gaza (chapter 4).

Moral labor is a term coined by Anne-Meike Fechter and derived from work on immaterial labor, which assess the production of intangible products, such as knowledge, service or communication.³⁶ Thus, in their daily work aid workers' are "required to make visible a kind of act or activity which is evident in aid workers everyday lives," it is about the "discrepancies between aspirations and ideas, and achieved- or achievable-realities."³⁷ Implicit within this approach to aid as a moral labor, is the Quakers' specific

³³ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), 44; Asad, *Formations*, 191; Mahmood, *Religious*, 10.

³⁴ This human role is intrinsic within Durkheim's definition of religion, it is also discussed and explain by Peter Berger in a most relatable manner in *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967).

³⁵ "Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism," in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, eds. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 12-15.

³⁶ Anne-Meike Fechter, "Aid work as moral labour," *Critique of Anthropology* 36(2016): 230, for further information on immaterial labor see Michael Hardt, "Affective Labor," *Boundary* 26 (1999): 89-100.

³⁷ Fechter, "Aid work," 230-231.

practice of performing one's moral responsibility.³⁸ The Quaker belief that their humanitarian aid efforts go beyond the provision of aid and shelter to encompass seeking socially just resolutions for all parties to a conflict. This belief and approach elevates their moral labor to a sacred plane; through their efforts the Quakers create sacred spaces and process in seeking to perform their moral responsibility. To not perform this labor to a suitable level (i.e. to fail in the higher-level objectives of their labor and to solely provide aid) leads to the Quaker perception of profaning their moral responsibility and thus the labor performed in its name. For the Quakers it is a dichotomous relationships of either achieving this idealized sacred process or not, and if this sacred process is not achieved then these spaces and processes and profaned by not achieving a true moral labor.

This dichotomous approach to understanding the creation of sacred spaces and processes, and their profaning, is complicated, however, by analysis of the work of the YMCA, UNRWA, and Hamas. In particular, the combined efforts of the YMCA and UNRWA to create recreation and training programs for refugee youth, especially their scouting and leadership training initiatives discussed above, create a specific disciplinary order which effectively creates an idealized masculinity linked to future self-governance (chapter 5).³⁹ This disciplinary order makes clear the practices necessary to make 'sacred' the process of creating this idealized masculinity and achieving this idealized notion of future self-governance.⁴⁰ Here we see a departure from the solely dichotomous

³⁸ Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

³⁹ For a full discussion of this project, see chapter 5. It is also linked to Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, 75, 94, and the disciplinary order he examines in the case of Egypt.

⁴⁰ Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003): 36, for a discussion of how through specifying the practices necessary to sacralize a process we can understand sacred and profane as "the object not only of religious thought, but of secular practice

relationship between sacred and profane spaces and processes, as proposed by Durkheim and epitomized in the Quakers' work, to a place closer to the proposed continuum between the two concepts that appears in Talal Asad's work. However, this understanding of creating sacred and profane spaces and processes in relationship to citizenship and governance norms is one that is solidly linked to the secular nation-state and its construction of citizenship identities.⁴¹ In particular, Saba Mahmood's contestation of this link between the secular nation-state and citizenship construction affirms the argument made here that an organization – faith-based or secular – could take similar action and sacralize the process by which a Palestinian identity, and more specifically an idealized masculine identity, is created.⁴²

The construction of an idealized Palestinian masculinity and its links to a self-governance and a quasi-citizenship are mirrored in the efforts of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) throughout the later 1960s and 1970s and subsequently the work of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin for the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza in the 1970s and later for Hamas. The culmination of these efforts came in 1973 with the creation of the Islamic Center of Gaza, which served the purpose of an Islamic Community center available to all inhabitants of the Gaza Strip (chapter 6).⁴³ The Islamic Center of Gaza was not solely a religious space, but rather provided a space for the practice of the

too," meaning that the sacralization of space and process can occur through actions taken by a secular agency as much as faith-based one.

⁴¹ As per current understanding of political secularism and its connection to the modern nation-state, see Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 2-3.

⁴² Of interest here is Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), particularly as this example presents itself as an alternate construction to those 'imagined communities' presented by Anderson, where the community is very real, but the manner in which it is created around particular attributes and activities as mediated by and through these organizations.

⁴³ Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994): 15.

community: sports training, kindergarten, women's classes, and Quranic study, to name a few purposes. Through these activities and community involvement, the Islamic Center created a sacred space as it worked to elevate these mundane daily activities to something more, with the purpose of creating an idealized, Islamized Gaza. This idealized, Islamized, Gazan would then in turn work to transform the broader community to the best, Islamic version of itself. The Islamic Center allowed for the benefits of a membership-based citizenship, and created its own administrative governmentality that, at that time, did not require Palestinian independence for success.

Before moving into the third area of theoretical interest to this work it is necessary to add a quick note on terminology. In this work "international organization" or IO is used to refer to both common types of these organizations: non-governmental organizations with an international presence (or INGOs) and inter-governmental organizations (or IGOs). The INGOs that are the subject of this research include the AFSC, YMCA, and Hamas,⁴⁴ and IGO that is the focus of this research is UNRWA. At times faith-based organizations (FBOs) will be discussed; faith-based organizations are a subset of (I)NGOs that are based in a specific faith tradition. In this study, the three INGOs involved are all faith-based, two are Christian and one is Islamic. At times the phrase civil society organizations (or CSOs) is also used. CSO is a term that is, broadly, used interchangeably with NGO, both here and in the wider literature surrounding the issue of INGOs. CSO here is defined to include all non-market and non-state

⁴⁴ In this work the focus is on the political and charitable wings of Hamas, which are here discussed and defined as a civil society organization. This approach is supported by substantial precedence in the academic literature, in particular by the work of Sara Roy (*Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamic Society Sector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)) and of Glenn Robinson ("Hamas as Social Movement," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003)).

organizations outside of the family in which people organize themselves to pursue shared interests in the public domain,” this includes faith based organizations.⁴⁵

A third theoretical lens through which this research must be viewed is that of international organizational theory, in particular as it relates to these organizations operating as agents in their own right within the international system.⁴⁶ The manner in which two distinct international organizations – UNRWA and Hamas – came to operate parallel state structures in the Gaza Strip, and the way in which these two organizations imbue citizenship-like rights and responsibilities on the populations that they serve is of particular interest. The argument regarding the construction of quasi-citizenships by these organizations continues from the discussion related to creating sacred spaces that offer a place in and through which to construct these identities. That international organizations rather than sovereign state governments could even think to undertake such a process is a significant challenge to our current understanding of how and when citizenship can and should be formulated. This is inherently related to our discussion and understanding of the status of refugee as a state of being.

⁴⁵ Brian Tomlinson, “Annex 1: NGOs and CSOs: A Note on Terminology,” in “Working with Civil Society in Foreign Aid: Possibilities for South-South Cooperation,” *UNDP China* (2013): 123.

⁴⁶ Martha Finnemore, “International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and science policy,” *International Organization* 47 (1993): 566. In particular this is a constructivist perspective presented here by Finnemore, but also more generally throughout this piece. While Finnemore’s specific study relates to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), arguably similar conclusions can be extended to other, impartial inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), such as UNRWA. While other international organizations studied here (international non-governmental or civil-society organizations, such as the AFSC, YMCA and Hamas) can not be included in this same category, in the instance of their administrative efforts in the Gaza Strip, it will be argued that they did act as agents in their own right within the international system. See also John Boli and George Thomas “INGOs and the Organization of World Culture,” in *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* edited by John Boli and George Thomas (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1999).

This research moves beyond the ‘bare life’ approach to refugee-ness used by Giorgio Agamben,⁴⁷ and instead focuses on discussions of refugee-ness through the lenses provided by Victoria Redclift and Liisa Malkki, in particular as this status applies to the holding and practice of citizenship. In this newer understanding of citizenship as it applies to refugees the work of Aihwa Ong and her “bundles” of rights and responsibilities to create a citizenship is of great significance.⁴⁸ Ong addresses the “mutations of citizenship,” arguing that the traditional notion of citizenship “tied to the terrain” is one upon which we need to expand, and at times move beyond in order to understand citizenship as a collection of rights that can be assembled in many ways that are not always tied to territorial sovereignty.⁴⁹

Redclift in particular situates her research and findings with awareness of how the status of refugee presents a challenge to the existence of the nation-state standard, arguing that the rights of citizenship can be either “real” or “formal.”⁵⁰ This approach argues that constructions of citizenship are embedded in a given local politics and public culture and permit only one particular interpretation of society.⁵¹ Malkki offers a similar argument stating that while the “refugee camp does not encourage such expectations” of citizenship, there is always an expectation within the nation-state and city that often

⁴⁷ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998): 66.

⁴⁸ Aihwa Ong, “Mutations in Citizenship,” *Theory, Culture, & Society* 23 (2006): 499-531.

⁴⁹ Ong, “Mutations,” 499.

⁵⁰ Victoria Redclift, *Statelessness and Citizenship: Camps and the Creation of Political Space* (London: Routledge, 2013): 86 and 50; in particular this discusses the claim that one might have to a citizenship that does not actually afford the individual any protections or access (formal) versus the real and lived experience of “real citizenship.”

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

“formal refugee status can function as a socially salient legal status.”⁵² This is largely because the status of refugee exists in an “unstable social world of other statuses” often entailing “various amalgams of formal and substantive citizenship.”⁵³ The argument here is that the social and political conditions surrounding the work conducted by UNRWA for Palestine refugees, and by Hamas more broadly for all Gazans, is embedded in historically specific experiences and situations which have allowed these two international organizations to develop a “Gazan citizenship” without the concomitant requirement of a sovereign state being met.

While not a theoretical theme running throughout this research, Didier Fassin’s work on humanitarian reason has been significant in inspiring and elucidating a theoretical contribution that comes to fruition in chapter 6 of this work. Fassin’s discussion and critique of humanitarian reason, and in particular the manner and depth with which he contrasts humanitarian morals and humanitarian politics⁵⁴ has led this project to apply such an approach to the experience of humanitarianism in Gaza, as embodied by the four international organizations studied here. Through an analysis of the experience and operations of these organizations, this research argues that there are in fact plural humanitarianisms borne out of the distinct approaches used by the Quakers, the YMCA, UNRWA, and Hamas through their operations in the Gaza Strip. There are multiple humanitarianisms because they develop in isolated and layered processes, through which certain practices are elevated into modes of being the ideal. These

⁵² Liisa Malkki, “News From Nowhere: Mass Displacement and Globalized ‘Problems of Organization,’” *Ethnography* 3 (2002): 353; this builds on a discussion of the work by James Holston and Arjun Appadurai in “Cities and Citizenship,” *Public Culture* 8(2): 187-204.

⁵³ Malkki, “News from Nowhere,” 358

⁵⁴ Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, Translated by Rachel Gomme (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 223, for full discussion: 223-235;

organizations, faith-based or secular, implement mechanisms of biopower, which sometimes (but not in all cases) grow to become an organizational governmentality, associated with a non-state actor), that then uses as its operational ethos one of these moral humanitarianisms, allowing them to create a quasi-citizenship status through these approaches.

Overall, these four strands of theoretical inquiry join to interrogate and analyze how the four international organizations at the center of this study used various mechanisms of biopower, biopolitics and governmentality to control and shape the refugee population in the Gaza Strip. The majority of this research focuses on these efforts by the AFSC, YMCA, and UNRWA between 1948-1967, however there is also a case study that addresses the way in which these traditions of administration impacted the approaches used by Hamas, culminating in 2007 when Hamas asserted its control over the Gaza Strip. The distinct histories and experiences of administration under each organization have created competing notions of what components constitute an assembled notion of citizenship in Gaza.⁵⁵ Specifically, the bureaucratic categorization preferred by UNRWA conflicts with Hamas' focus on individualized service based on the tradition of *shura* (consultation) and youth training. Several approaches to governance in Gaza are common to the three major faith-based organizations discussed here (the AFSC, the YMCA, and the Hamas). Notably, these organizations created sacred spaces and processes as mechanisms of governance, allowing them to exert control over the population. Overlaying this analysis is the continuing perception of a global secular order that stands in contrast to faith-based identity of Hamas, the one-time elected leadership of the Palestinian people, and UNRWA, the international secular organization that operates

⁵⁵ Ong, "Mutations," 499-500.

as a parallel state in Gaza. In this way governance in the Gaza Strip has completed a circuit: from the faith-based Friends to the faith-based Hamas, with UNRWA as the constant secular parallel authority.

Chapter 2 – Gaza In the Literature

While entering Gaza is an exercise in bureaucratic perseverance, exiting Gaza requires patience and fortitude. Upon arriving at Khamsa Khamsa, the Palestinian coordination post, it was discovered that I did not have an important piece of identification: a bright yellow ID card issued by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) to all foreign workers in Israel. That I did not actually work in Israel was beside the point. Without this special card I was not allowed to cross through the check-point in a vehicle. I would have to walk through the checkpoint, as was required of any Palestinian granted permission to leave Gaza. I took this in stride, realizing that it was an opportunity to understand a small piece of what my Palestinian colleagues were required to endure at any time when they did receive permission to leave Gaza. But the looks on the faces of the Palestinians who coordinated the crossing activity with the Israelis scared me, to the point that I was eternally grateful that another member of our group would also be walking with me. After some negotiation between the Palestinian coordinators and the Israelis at the crossing – all accomplished via VHF radio and in Hebrew – we received permission to be driven to the mouth of the tunnel, rather than having to walk the 1km. This was very special. Everyone else who had to walk had to walk the entire distance through the buffer zone to the tunnel; through 1km of destruction, along a dusty dirt road to the mouth of the tunnel. The Palestinian coordinators at Khamsa Khamsa were concerned; they did not want us walking this 1km. It was dangerous. It was another marker of privilege, but one for which I was grateful. Even the 1km car ride, along the rubble-strewn dirt road towards the blast wall surrounded fortress that was the Eretz checkpoint was scary; to have to walk towards it all must be terrifying.

We arrived a scant 5 meters from the tunnel entrance. The car sat for a moment, all of us in silence staring at the edifice before us. It was like the gaping mouth of a giant prehistoric beast waiting to eat us. By now we were well into twilight, the entire interior of the tunnel in shadows; too early for the floodlights that lit the checkpoint at night, but without enough natural light to see anything. We exited the car and walked to the mouth of the tunnel. To this day, it continues to be one of the scariest, most surreal and disturbing experiences of my life. I felt a bit like a cow being led to slaughter. The initial tunnel was about 50 meters and ended in a gate. You go through the gate and enter another tunnel. This tunnel is smaller, only about 2.5 meters tall, and is made entirely of thick wire mesh composed of 2inch squares. The top of the tunnel is covered with shade cloth, the ground is cement and one side is the blast wall that runs the length of the checkpoint and the Gaza Strip. You walk for about 150 meters along the side of the checkpoints fortifications. You look out through the mesh at the buffer zone and Khamsa Khamsa in the distance. You are completely vulnerable. Were something to happen – and it did on various occasions, once when I was stuck in this section of the tunnel – you are stuck waiting for a gate to open to let you go either forwards or backwards.

At the end of this tunnel you come to a small area, facing five shut doors. There are no handles on the doors; they are metal and slide open and closed. The ones on each end have a sign that says “no entry” above them. You stand and wait. A Palestinian man works here as a porter, carrying the bags of those who receive permission to leave Gaza: family reunification in the West Bank, a medical transfer to Jordan. He explains that the

light above a door will go green and that is our permission to enter the terminal, until then you wait. When the light goes green and in a manner similar to a science-fiction movie, the metal door slides open and you continue through to an area of concrete floors, thick-metal walls, and a tin roof – a bit like a high-security livestock barn. You walk forward towards a line of turnstiles. And you wait for another green light. The light changes green and you move forward, an eerie 50m walk up a concrete floor to the actual terminal. A giant, echoing space reminds you that hundreds of people used to cross every morning on their way to work and every evening on their way home. Now there are just two of us moving through this terminal. From here you enter the building and are assaulted by the air conditioning. You move through another set of turnstiles with the green light. There is not another person in sight. You look up and see them, rows of people sitting behind bulletproof glass windows, 6 meters in the air, staring down upon the inner workings of the terminal.

Now you are at the x-ray machine. You empty out your pockets, you give up your phones, your passport, your ID, and they disappear into the twisting guts of the x-ray machine. You hope you see them again on the other side. You wait for a green light above a set of doors and then walk into the vestibule. Once the doors behind you close those in front of you open. You move into a holding pen. You wait for the green light. The doors open and you move into a tube. “Place your feet on the yellow marks,” they are the first words that have been uttered to you in this place. You move your feet accordingly. “Raise your hands above your head.” You do so and are treated to the whirring as you are scanned. The doors open in front of you and you walk out into another holding pen, looking out at three stalls. The doors behind you shut and the light above one door flashes green, you enter that stall. And wait. There is an intercom speaker, but with no buttons for you to push. You are directly below the glass control booth now, you crane your head to look up and see if anyone is paying you any attention. No one is looking at you. You wait. You hear a click and the door unlocks, this time there is no green light. You move forward and there is your pile of passport, ID and phone. You walk through one more set of doors and enter the passport control part of the terminal. After the experiences of the last hour, waiting for a passport stamp and answering a few questions about your return date leaves you unfazed. You exit the terminal, walk through the parking lot, show your passport and stamp to the border guard in the front booth and exit to the outside parking lot where your colleagues who drove through are waiting for you. And still at the back of my mind is this worm of a thought. It was awful and scary and dehumanizing. And still, I know I was lucky, that I am privileged and received preferential treatment, because I am not a Palestinian.¹

The Gaza Strip is both a unique entity in the international system, and yet at the same time exhibits similar political and social constructs as those found in any entity engaged in long-term conflict. The double-edged sword of studying Palestine, its history, politics, and culture, is that in trying to understand and explain the intricate nuisances

¹ Taken from my personal papers from October 2007, during which time I was working for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in the Gaza Strip.

surrounding daily life we focus only on the unique markers of the Palestinian experience, ignoring how Palestine is both connected to and vested in the history and politics of the region.² Yet the uniqueness of the Palestinian experience, and in particular that of the Gaza Strip, must be acknowledged. A former Ottoman province encapsulating a territory substantially larger than the one we identify with this name today, the Gaza Strip did not actually come into existence as a territorial unit until 1948 with the ending of the British mandate and the formation of the state of Israel. Gaza is often referenced in the historical literature as a cross-roads; this is borne out by the archaeological finds throughout the contemporary Gaza Strip that indicate that Gaza City was a major thoroughfare for the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard.³ The strategic significance of the area of Gaza, which provided both a safe port and land access south to Egypt, north to current day Lebanon and Syria, and East to Jordan and Iraq, meant that control of the area changed hands with frequency. The population of Gaza was thus accustomed to various foreign militaries moving through their territory, and with this movement of population came exposure to new and varied cultures and belief systems and gained reputation for astute business acumen.

The literature that focuses on the history of Gaza can be broken into a few categories. There is a niche group of publications from between 1880-1925 that focus on

² For a selection of excellent discussions of the place of Palestine in the broader Ottoman Empire and the region as a whole, see: Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): in particular chapters 1 and 2; Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in transformation, 1856-1882: studies in social, economic, and political development* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993); Muhammad Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988): chapters 1, 2, and 4; Bruce Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

³ Discussion of Gaza City as a cross-roads historically are emphasized by Jean-Pierre Filiu, *Gaza: A History*, trans John King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Nathan Shachar, *The Gaza Strip: Its history and politics, From the Pharaohs to the Israeli invasion of 2009* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); and Gerald Butt, *Life at the Crossroads: A History of Gaza* (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 1995).

the history of Gaza in a ‘Biblical’ context. These pieces address the movement of Empire through the area and the significance of holding the province of Gaza. Many of these authors had religious connections to the area, as one-time missionaries or supporters of the Zionist project to build a Jewish homeland in the general area of Palestine, or had served in the area prior to and during the First World War⁴. These contributions, as is often the case with publications from this era, must be read critically. However, they give an interesting glimpse into an affluent province that seemed to always play second fiddle, a story that continues today when studying the Gaza Strip. These general histories frequently cover two or three thousand years worth of history, and serve primarily as general readers that provide their audience with a surface level overview of the movement of Empire through the area, with some discussion of the influence of this movement of people over the religious and cultural norms of the area.

The literature that addresses mandatory era Palestine and in particular the Gaza Strip is encapsulated in the landmark work of Ilana Feldman,⁵ with a few other personal memoirs rounding out this category.⁶ Yet, overall, there is minimal work addressing the Gaza Strip during the Mandatory period.⁷ There is a little more work that focuses on the Gaza Strip from 1948 to present. Again, Feldman’s works form the most significant

⁴ Such as Martin A Meyer, *History of the City of Gaza, from the earliest times to the present day* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1907).

⁵ Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority and the Work of Rule, 1917-1967* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁶ Izzat Tannous, *The Palestinians: Eyewitness History of Palestine under British Mandate* (New York: I.G.T. Company, 1988); Sami Hadawi, *The Palestine Diary*, trans. Robert John (New York: New World Press, 1972).

⁷ Gaza appears in some discussions about broader thematic issues, for example, there is discussion of Gaza as part of the broader 1936 Palestine Revolt which the Muslim Brotherhood support as discussed in Abd Al-Fattah Muhammad El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine Question, 1928-1947* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998)

historical pieces regarding this time period.⁸ As well as work by Sara Roy, who focuses more on the economic and political development, or de-development, of the Gaza Strip in the post-1948 era.⁹ Memoirs from this time period, including by Abdel Bari Atwan and Mu'in Bseiso, provide insight into the political and social situation of the Gaza Strip immediately following its creation, and in particular to the refugee experience.¹⁰ A final author who focuses on Gaza during the post-1948 period is the Israeli journalist Amira Haas. Haas' focus is more contemporary, in particular on the post-Oslo period, and presents a more personal account of life in the Gaza Strip as she lived there for several years between 1993-1997.¹¹ There are also a few academics who attempt to bridge this periodization and instead provide grand histories looking at Gaza from the Biblical to contemporary eras. Such authors include the French academic Jean-Pierre Filiu and Swedish journalist Nathan Shachar.¹²

This dearth of literature on the Gaza Strip is largely confined to the Western academic sphere. In the Arabic-language literature there is a profusion of publications that discuss Gaza, the majority of which focus on the post-1948 Gaza Strip. The

⁸ Including the aforementioned *Governing Gaza*, but also: Ilana Feldman, *Police Encounters: Security and Surveillance in Gaza under Egyptian Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), "The Humanitarian Circuit: Relief Work, Development Assistance, and CARE in Gaza, 1955-67," in *Forces of compassion: humanitarianism between ethics and politics*, eds. Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield (School for Advanced Research Press: Santa Fe, 2010) 203 – 226; and Nancy Gallagher, "The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief," *American Ethnologist* 34(2007): 689-705.

"Mercy Trains and Ration Rolls: Between Government and Humanitarianism in Gaza," in *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, eds. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Nefissa Naguib (Leiden: Brill Press, 2008): 175-194.

⁹ Sarah Roy, *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development* (London: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995).

¹⁰ Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016); Abdel Bari Atwan, *A Country of Words: A Palestinian Journey from the Refugee Camp to the Front Page* (London: SAQI, 2008); Mu'in Bseiso, *Yawmiyat Gaza (Gaza Diary)* (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Authority, 1971).

¹¹ Amira Haas, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999).

¹² Filiu, *Gaza*, Filiu has also published some interesting research on Hamas; and Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*.

abundance of this literature defies easy categorization, as these publications cover topics spanning from political to economic and social issues. There are some similarities in the periodization between the English and Arabic literature, as the majority of pieces focus on the post-1948 Gaza Strip, through a political lens, rather than many of the earlier histories. There are also some interesting crossover works, typically originally published in Arabic and translated into English. These publications form the basis of the evidence used in many of the substantial historical tomes on Gaza that have been published in the West.¹³

Similarly, while the number of academic publications discussing the history of Gaza are more substantial in Arabic than in English, their total numbers are still slight in the grand scheme, and certainly when compared to the number that have been written about the contemporary West Bank (or eastern portion of historic Palestine). For all of its historical relevance, Gaza has not been a focus of study within the academy; and while it has enjoyed periods of notoriety within the international arena most programs, agencies and governments have focused their Palestine endeavors primarily in the West Bank. Most who have written about the Gaza Strip typically use Gaza as a contrast in studies focused on the West Bank.¹⁴ There are exceptions, including a small cohort of dedicated academics and journalists who have focused their careers on the Gaza Strip, as mentioned earlier.

¹³ The core of these texts include: Abdallah Ahmad Al-Horani, *Qita' Ghaza: 19 a'aman min al-Ihtilal* (Amman: Dar al-Karmel Publishing and Distribution, 1987); Husain Abu-Naml, *Qitā' Ġazza 1948-1967: taṭawwūrāt iqtisādīya wa-siyāsīya wa-ḡtimā'īya wa-'askarīya* (Beirut: Center for Palestinian Research, 1979); and Ghazi Sourani, *Qita Gaza 1948-1993* (Damascus: Centre for Popular Studies, 1993).

¹⁴ For example: Loren Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Gaza: A Brief History

It cannot be overstated that literature of any category that focuses on Gaza is sadly limited. However, the quality of the material that is available is heartening and provides an excellent cornerstone on which to build. The province of Gaza, a much larger territory than the Gaza Strip, dates back thousands of years. Excavated archaeological finds now displayed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, show that small communities of farmers and hunters lived in the area of the current-day Gaza Strip as long ago as 3,300 BC¹⁵. The archaeological record, as with the archival records of Gaza, is patchy, with various pieces falling to foreign looters throughout the centuries. Still thousands of other pieces lay hidden under the dunes surrounding Deir al-Balah and Maghazi and lost to the encroaching Mediterranean, as was the historic Gaza City seaport.¹⁶



Figure 1: Floor Mosaics from Ancient Monestary, St Hilarion, in Gaza.¹⁷

¹⁵ Butt, *Crossroads*, 18.

¹⁶ Based on my personal experience various ancient items are frequently found between Deir al-Balah and Khan Younis, some of the larger items (like columns) are covered and uncovered during winter storms, but smaller items (like coins) are both collected by local historians attempting to protect Gaza's history and sold by those trying to make some money. For discussion of this, and some the impact of Israeli occupation on both the looting and preservation of this heritage see: Asmaa al-Ghoul, "Pillaging of Gaza Antiquities an Archaeological Tragedy," *Al-Monitor*, 12 February 2013: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/palestinians-rich-archeological-heritage-risk-531473587#>.

¹⁷ Mohammed Omer, "Palestinians' rich archaeological heritage at risk," *Middle East Eye*, 14 April 2015: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/palestinians-rich-archeological-heritage-risk-531473587#>.

More significantly, the territory of Gaza, and in particular the seaport of Gaza City, has long been a contested space. Gaza City has passed from the hands of local rulers to foreign invaders and served as an essential lifeline for supplies throughout the centuries,¹⁸ dating back to Egyptian Pharaonic control there between 3,000 to 1,200BCE.¹⁹ The most prominent rulers of antiquity in Gaza were the Philistines, from which the subsequent name Palestine is derived. The Philistines claimed Gaza as one of the capitals of their state and held the territory until they disappeared from history in the 6th century BCE.²⁰ One consistent characteristic from the historical record is Gaza's record of resistance. When the Persians attempted to invade in the 5th century BCE, Alexander the Great in the 3rd century BCE, and King Alexander Yannay in the 1st century BCE were all met by substantial local resistance and forced to embark on long sieges of the fortified city²¹.

By 60BCE, Gaza City and the surrounding environs came under the control of the Roman Empire²², and with this change of empire came a change of religion. By the end of the 4th century CE, all Pagan worship had been banned throughout the Byzantine Empire, including in Gaza where the temples of Pagan worship were destroyed.²³ Two centuries later, Islam came to Gaza along the already established trade lines between the Arabian Peninsula and the Mediterranean Sea; in fact the Prophet Mohammed's great-grandfather, Hashim, is said to have died in Gaza.²⁴ While his death predates the advent of Islam, his tomb was commemorated, and with the adoption of Islam throughout the

¹⁸ Filiu, *Gaza*: 3.

¹⁹ Butt, *Crossroads*, 19-21 and Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 18-21.

²⁰ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 22.

²¹ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 22-23; Butt, *Crossroads*, 53-54, 58-59; Filiu, *Gaza*, 7.

²² Butt, *Crossroads*, 59; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 23

²³ Butt, *Crossroads*, 66-7; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 25-6.

²⁴ Filiu, *Gaza*, 17, 30.

region, a mosque was subsequently built in Gaza City to commemorate his passing.²⁵ In 634CE Gaza City was captured by invading Arab forces, and became part of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates, until becoming a pawn in the Crusades.²⁶ By 1100CE Gaza was seized by the Frankish Crusaders, only to be traded back and forth as Salah ad-Din and King Richard I both won and lost territory in the area.²⁷ Following the Crusades, the Mongols invaded Gaza in the build-up to an attack on Egypt, only to be beaten back by the Mamluks²⁸. Thus began the first period of Egyptian control over Gaza in the modern era. Mamluk rule in Gaza continued for the next several centuries; Gaza was declared one of the nine principalities of Syria, with Gaza City as its capital.²⁹ However, by 1516 the Ottoman Sultan Selim I had conquered Aleppo and marched south through Gaza on his way to conquer Cairo. From this point on Gaza was part of the Ottoman Empire.³⁰



Figure 2: The Gaza Strip as an *eyalet* of the Ottoman province of Damascus, 1851.³¹

²⁵ Butt, *Crossroads*, 76; Filiu, *Gaza*, 17.

²⁶ Butt, *Crossroads*, 80; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 28 – Filiu, *Gaza*, dates this take over to 637, 19.

²⁷ Butt, *Crossroads*, 89-95

²⁸ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 34-36

²⁹ Filou, *Gaza*, 24.

³⁰ Butt, *Crossroads*, 100; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, p 37

³¹ R.M. Martin and J. and F. Tullis, "Turkey in Asia," (New York: J. and F. Tullis, 1851), from the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Reference P804, List No. 0466.038:

Here begins the time period from which point Gaza operates as a semi-independent recognized territory through until 1948. While different texts refer to Gaza as an either a *eyalet* or *sancak* (*sanjak*), it continues to be recognized as some form of a sub-district within the Damascus province of the Ottoman Empire until the *tanzimat* reforms of 1864.³² After this point, Gaza is referred to only as a *sanjak* within the *vilayat* Beirut. This downgrading of its status not only makes Gaza subordinate within this structure, but it also coincides with the increasing competition from the port city of Jaffa. The diminishing status of the territory continues into the Mandatory period, which marks a dramatic severing of the Gaza Strip from its southern border limits that fluctuate between Rafah and El Arish. In Figure 2 the southern border of the *eyalet* of Gaza dips just south of El Arish, this is common in many of the maps both of the *eyalet* and the *sanjak* of Gaza.

The area ascribed to Gaza's control varied from the typical southern border at El Arish or Rafah, the northern border at Ramle and the western border at Beit Jimal (on the slopes of the Hebron hills), a substantially larger space than the 1948 definition of the Gaza Strip.³³ When the British occupied Egypt in 1882, the prevalence of foreigners living, trading, and travelling through Gaza as a means to pass from Jerusalem down to Cairo, increased dramatically. With this influx of individuals came an increase in missionaries, including those who founded the Christian Missionary Society hospital in

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~815~60120:Turkey-In-Asia--The-Illustrations-b>

³² Butt, *Crossroads*, 101; see also Naim Kapucu and Hamit Palabiyik, *Turkish Public Administration: From Tradition to the Modern Age* (Ankara: USAK Books, 2008): 164 and Bruce Masters, *The Arabs and the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 177.

³³ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 38

1882, which is still in operation today.³⁴ During this period, even with increased Jewish migration to Palestine, there were minimal Jewish land-purchases and settlement in the Gaza area. In fact, by 1914 there were only two Jewish settlements in the entire Gaza sub-district (far larger than today's Gaza Strip) out of 93 villages and towns.³⁵

During the First World War, Gaza was the site of two major battles between the British and the German-Ottoman alliance. The first battle for Gaza took place on 26-27 March, 1917 and was a failure for the British Imperial troops. The second battle for Gaza occurred between 17-19 April 1917 and was a disaster: more than 6,000 commonwealth troops were killed during the second battle for Gaza.³⁶ The loss of life was mostly confined to foreign troops as most inhabitants of the city had already been forced to flee the fighting. Upon returning to their homes, the inhabitant found little left, many of the homes and other buildings had been completely destroyed.³⁷ There was a third battle for Gaza in November, in which the British finally succeeded in capturing the area. However, the cost of the victory on the infrastructure and agriculture of Gaza was immense. With the British military camps firmly established in Khan Younis and Deir al-Balah, Gaza was to become part of the larger Palestine mandate given to the British in the wake of the War.

³⁴ Butt, *Crossroads*, 106; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 42. The hospital survives to today as the Al-Ahli Arab hospital in Gaza City.

³⁵ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 43; Filiu, *Gaza*, 32, including much discussion that as Gaza was not part of the historical religious land of Israel that Jewish migration and settlement there was not key to the creation of a Jewish homeland.

³⁶ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 44; the deaths of these soldiers are commemorated every year on both Remembrance Day and ANZAC at the Gaza Commonwealth War Cemetery, colloquially referred to as the British Cemetery, where many of these soldiers are buried. The Cemetery is administered and maintained by a local Palestinian man who has refused to leave the Cemetery during several contemporary Israeli invasions for fear of the graves he tends being desecrated. See also James Kitchen, *The British Imperial Army in the Middle East* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014) for a full discussion of each campaign.

³⁷ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 44; Filiu, *Gaza*, 36-37.

As mentioned earlier, there is very little written specifically about Gaza during the British Mandate. The handful of pieces that address Gaza during the mandatory period do so through very specific lenses. Feldman's *Governing Gaza* is a study of governance and bureaucracy focused on the Gaza Strip during the British, Egyptian and early-Israeli administrations of the Gaza Strip. This history is pivotal in providing an understanding of the establishment of and similarities and differences between the structures of governance in Gaza. The other signature study in this category is El-Awasi's work addressing the place of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza in the pre-1948 period. This study shows us that there were substantial ties – popular, administrative, and religious – between Gaza and Egypt. It also provides a nuanced understanding of the role that Islam and organized religious participation played in both the Gazan population's fight for Palestinian independence and the social support networks that existed within an Islamic Social Movement context, pre-dating the Egyptian Administration of Gaza.

The League of Nations approved a mandate for British administration of Palestine beginning 3 November 1920.³⁸ The British Mandatory powers initially maintained Ottoman administrative practices, before passing the Palestine Order in Council in 1922.³⁹ This order established the structures of British executive rule in Palestine, putting in place the British High Commissioner for Palestine as the administrator of British rule in there.⁴⁰ However, throughout the British mandatory rule in Gaza the Ottoman legal system, which separated civic and religious legal proceedings, was

³⁸ Butt, *Crossroads*, 124.

³⁹ Filiu, *Gaza*, 40.

⁴⁰ Filiu, *Gaza*, 40 – the first High Commissioner was Sir Herbert Samuel, appointed in July 1920.

maintained.⁴¹ British rule in Gaza was contested, predominantly through strike actions and the Arab Uprising of 1936.⁴² These strike actions and uprisings were largely against British rule over Palestine and focused on the right of self-rule, rather than manifesting as anti-Zionist protests.⁴³ In part, this was because there was not much Jewish settlement in Gaza, because of the high number of small landowners who worked their own land and



the lack of historic religious sites.⁴⁴ While Gaza was not a central point of British policy in mandatory Palestine, it was not forgotten either and was recognized as its own sub-district in many documents.

Figure 3: The British Mandate in Palestine, 1936.⁴⁵

The seaport in Gaza City was reconstructed, as were the textile factories, and the economy in the area began to slowly recover.⁴⁶ However,

⁴¹ Norman Bentwich, “The Legal System of Palestine under the Mandate,” *Middle East Journal* 2(1948): 33-46.

⁴² Filiu, *Gaza*, 44-47.

⁴³ Matthew Highes, “The Banality of Brutality: British Armed Forces and the Repression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39,” *The English Historical Review* 124(2009): 313-354.

⁴⁴ Filiu, *Gaza*, 32; see discussion of working their own land in Abu-Sitta, *Mapping My Return*.

⁴⁵ Sandy Tolan, *Children of the Stone: The Power of Music in a Hard Land* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2015).

⁴⁶ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 49-50.

Gaza never managed to move out of the periphery into which it had been consigned by the destruction wrought by the First World War.

WWI was a turning point for Gaza. The near complete destruction of Gaza City during the war and the subsequent disintegration of the Ottoman Empire left a chasm in local allegiances to any one national identity. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries forced a nation-state structure onto the Middle Eastern region, through the creation of new nation-states and the implementation of international alliances. These new nation-states created new identities for their populations based on western citizenship norms linked to a national identity.⁴⁷ Competing administrative narratives reached a boiling point during the mandatory period, and following the creation of the Gaza Strip new and evolving narratives emerged.

The Egyptian Administration of Gaza, beginning in 1948, and the subsequent Israeli occupation from 1967 are the most studied periods of Gaza's history. However, this overview of four thousand years of history in Gaza is important to this project, as it shows Gaza's strategic significance. Gaza City's seaport was historically lucrative and a reason for many of the earlier invasions.⁴⁸ This bustling port of commerce made Gaza a pivotal point on the trading paths, both nautical and overland, between the Arabia deserts to the east, bustling Syria to the north, a nautical short cut for Europeans in the West, and both a trading and conquest route towards Egypt in the South. To hold Gaza was a sign of great power as it was the perfect staging ground for subsequent invasion either south to

⁴⁷ For a detail case study of this phenomenon see Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

⁴⁸ For discussion of the Gaza City seaport's historical significance see: Glen Warren Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Graber eds., *Late Antiquity: A Guides to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 553; Butt, *Crossroads*, 9; and Bruria Bitton-Ashkelony and Arie Kofsky, *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity* (Boston: Brill, 2004): 3.

Egypt or north into whichever Empire held Arabia, Persia, or Syria. The population of Gaza was flexible about the arrangements of its administration, provided that they were permitted to continue their livelihoods through trade and practice their religion of choice.⁴⁹ The historical record indicates that the population was largely permitted to live as they chose, provided that they paid taxes to the authorities of the time.⁵⁰ The first real challenge to this lifestyle came with WWI and the tensions between British-occupied Egypt and the Ottoman Empire.

The Gaza Strip, as a defined territorial entity came into existence in May 1948 with the declaration of an independent Israeli state. Gaza as a named area had existed prior to this time, but without strictly defined borders.⁵¹ Following the 1948 creation of Israel, the Gaza Strip became the home of 200,000-250,000 Palestinian refugees, in addition to the original 80,000 inhabitants of the area, and a defined territory administered by Egypt.⁵² The high ratio of refugees to the local population, roughly 2.5 refugees for every one native Gazan, made the integration of the refugee population into local social structures almost impossible. This flawed integration hampered efforts to establish legitimate leadership within the refugee camps and communities, which further reinforced the otherness of the refugee community in Gaza.⁵³

The changes in the territory ascribed to Gaza are significant to the later understanding of space and spatiality there. Gaza has existed for well-over one thousand years as a named territorial entity. Yet, the boundaries and administrative status of this

⁴⁹ Butt, *Crossroads*, 9; Filiu, *Gaza*, 32.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Sarah Roy, *Failing Peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2007): 14-15.

⁵² Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 562.

⁵³ Roy, *De-Development*, 23-4.

area have waxed and waned throughout that time. A semi-independent *eyalet* under the province of Damascus in the early Ottoman Empire, Gaza's administrative independence was curtailed with the *tanzimat* reforms in 1864 when it became a *sanjak*.⁵⁴ Throughout these changes to administrative status, Gaza continued to be a much larger territorial entity than we understand it to be today. Under the British Mandate, while Gaza was a recognized sub-district within Palestine, the expanse of its territory was already beginning to shrink, with the border now set firmly at Rafah, and not El Arish.⁵⁵ Following the 1948 War and the beginning of Egyptian administration, Gaza became a distinct and defined territorial entity: the Gaza Strip. The borders of which were substantially different than those that had previously be recognized of the Gaza sub-district, *sanjak*, or *eyalet*.

Refugees: Specifics of the Palestinian Situation

Refugee studies has, since the end of WWII, become an area of immense interest.⁵⁶ Following the end of the Cold War and the decade of interventions during the 1990s, there has been even more interest in the subject of displaced persons and refugees.⁵⁷ There is a second and equally deep field of study that addresses specifically the case of Palestine refugees. While there is some overlap in this literature, by and large the study of Palestine refugees has become a distinct field of its own. In part this reflects the real-world divorce of the situation of Palestine refugees from that of other refugees –

⁵⁴ Butt, *Crossroads*, 101; Kapucu and Palabiyik, *Turkish Public Administration*, 164 and Masters, *The Arabs*, 177.

⁵⁵ See the British Census of 1922, "1922 British Census," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Box 17, File: Palestine Jerusalem, Census 1922 Table IV.

⁵⁶ Early work in this area focused, in particular, on persons displaced by WWII and often Jewish refugees, for one such striking piece see Hannah Arendt. "We Refugees," in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, edited by Marc Robinson (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994): 110-119.

⁵⁷ Mary Kaldor, "A Decade of Humanitarian Intervention: The Role of Global Civil Society," in *Global Civil Society 2001*, edited by Helmut Anheir, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 109-143.

to the extent that a unique UN agency exists to provide services to Palestine refugees (UNRWA), in contrast the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN agency that works with all other refugees. The case of Palestine refugees in the academic literature has been interrogated through three main strands: the role of UNRWA, the Agency tasked with providing services to this group,⁵⁸ the question of Palestine refugees access to state and citizenship rights,⁵⁹ and the issue of protection and access to services, particularly in the post-1967 period of Israeli occupation.⁶⁰ Many similar issues are addressed in the broader refugee literature, including the impact and role of the UNHCR (and other refugee agencies) on the refugee experience,⁶¹ the refugee rights to citizenship and a state,⁶² and broader questions of the protection and rights of refugees as a distinct and separate category of being.⁶³

⁵⁸ Husein Abdul-Hamid, Harry Patrinos, Joel Reyes, Jo Kelcey, and Andrea Varela, *Learning in the Face of Adversity: The UNRWA Education Program for Palestine Refugees* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2016); Ilana Feldman, "The Challenge of Categories: UNRWA and the Definition fo a 'Palestine Refugee,'" *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25 (2012): 387-406; Paul McCann, "The Role of UNRWA and the Palestine Refugees," *Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, 15/16 (2008/2009): 83-89.

⁵⁹ "Waiting for Palestine: Refracted Citizenship and Latent Sovereignty in Gaza," *Citizenship Studies* 12 (2008): 447-463; Are Knudsen, "Widening the Protection Gap: The 'Politics of Citizenship' for Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, 1948-2008," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22 (2009): 51-73; Elizabeth Mavroudi, "Palestinians and Pragmatic Citizenship: Negotiating relationships between Citizenship and National Identity in Diaspora," *Geoforum*, 39 (2008): 307-318; Abbas Shiblak, "Residency Status and Civil Rights of Palestinian Refugees in Arab Countries," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 25 (1996): 36-45.

⁶⁰ Ilana Feldman, "Difficult Distinctions: Refugee Law, Humanitarian Practice, and Political Identification in Gaza," *Cultural Anthropology* 22 (2007): 129-169; Lex Takkenberg, "The Protection of Palestine Refugees in the Territories Occupied by Israel," *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 3 (1991): 414-434; Brenda Goddard, "UNHCR and the International Protection of Palestinian Refugees," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28 (2009): 475-510.

⁶¹ Patricia Ward, "Refugee Cities: Reflections on the Development and Impact of UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy in the Middle East," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 33 (2014): 77-93; James Simeon, *UNHCR and the Supervision of International Refugee Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Niklaus Steiner, Mark Gibney and Gil Loescher, eds., *Problems of Protection: the UNHCR, refugees, and human rights* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁶² Victoria Redclift, *Statelessness and Citizenship: Camps and the Creation of Political Space* (London: Routledge, 2013); Liisa Malkki, "Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 3(1994): 41-68; Liisa Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1995): 495-523.

⁶³ Liisa Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology* 11(1996): 377-404; Alice Edwards, "Human Security and the Rights of Refugees:

Egyptian Administration of the Gaza Strip

Egypt had no interest in incorporating the Palestinian population into the Egyptian system, nor did the Egyptian government want to see Gaza incorporated into Egypt. This largely stemmed from the belief that to incorporate the Gaza Strip into the Egyptian state would negate international efforts to create an independent Palestinian state.⁶⁴ The Egyptian government needed to maintain Gaza as a Palestinian space if there was any hope of a future Palestinian state.⁶⁵ This meant that Egypt maintained Gaza by providing “service in crisis” putting out the necessary fires, but did not undertake, or allow others to undertake, any kind of long-term planning that would have ensured that such fires were never set in the first place.⁶⁶ The experience of Gaza under Egyptian administration was the basic maintenance of an imagined status quo, and stands in stark contrast to the administration offered by Jordan in the West Bank. While authorities in Gaza muddled along forestalling development and long-term planning, the Jordanian administration of the West Bank fully incorporated the West Bank as a part of Jordan.⁶⁷

Refugees to the West Bank were largely resettled within Jordan or the West Bank, relieving the burden on mal-established refugee camps and integrating the refugee

Transcending Territorial and Disciplinary Borders,” *Michigan Journal of International Law* 30 (2009): 763-808; Zachary Lomo, “The Struggle for Protection of the Rights of Refugees and IDPs in Africa: Making the Existing International Legal Regime Work,” *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 18 (2000): 268-284. Claudia Tazreiter, “Local to Global Activism: The Movement to Protect the Rights of Refugees and Asylum Seekers,” *Social Movement Studies* 9(2010): 201-214.

⁶⁴ Roy, *De-Development*, 66-8.

⁶⁵ Feldman, *Governing Gaza*, 19

⁶⁶ Feldman, *Governing Gaza*, 20-21

⁶⁷ Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 226-7. This also proved to be quite controversial as the Jordanian monarch was seen as usurping Palestinian land and identity by so fully integrating the West Bank population into the Jordanian state. See also Asher Susser, “Jordan, the PLO and the Palestine Question,” in *Jordan in the Middle East, 1948-1988: The Making of a Pivotal State*, edited by Joseph Nevo and Ilan Pappé: (Portland: France Cass, 1994): 211-228; and Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: the Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

population into the broader population.⁶⁸ This also meant that the territory that would become the West Bank was a site of economic, political and social development.⁶⁹ Initially, this integration was due to attempted peace negotiations between the Jordanian monarch and the new Israeli government. King Abdullah was more interested in

increasing his territorial reach during the Arab Cold War, than holding out for the possible creation of a Palestinian state⁷⁰. The contrast in administrative styles deployed in Palestine was significant in the early isolation of the Gaza Strip. Under Egyptian administration the basic needs of Gaza were taken care of by the Egyptian government, yet there were no attempts at long-term development of economic or internal administrative capabilities within Gaza.⁷¹

Figure 4: Administration of Palestine, 1949.⁷²



⁶⁸ Avi Plascov, *The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, 1948-1957* (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1981): especially 32-36, but all of chapter 2.
⁶⁹ Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 222-233, also Ziad Abu-Amr *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994): 7, 4-5, provides a good example of the differences between the two administrators in working with and incorporating the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine, in the case of Jordan, and completely destroying any similar group structure in the case of Egypt
⁷⁰ Charles Smith, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents, Sixth Edition* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007): 236-7; Roy, *De-Development*, 24-5.
⁷¹ Ilana Feldman, "Mercy Trains and Ration Rolls: Between Government and Humanitarianism in Gaza (1948-1967)," in *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, edited by Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (Boston: Brill, 2007): 175-194.
⁷² "The Rhodes Armistice Line, 1949," Palestine Maps, *Palestine Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs*, 26 July 2007: http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/MAPS/0_pal_facts_MAPS.htm

Another important factor in these conflicting administrative styles were the geographic traits of each of the territories in question, as well as the over-arching regional political dynamics during the midst of the Arab Cold-War. Due to its geographic isolation, wedged between Israel on the north and east, the Mediterranean sea (largely controlled by Israel) to the west, and sharing a roughly eight mile border with the Egyptian Sinai to the south, the Gaza Strip and its inhabitants had few options for movement or assistance outside of Egypt. Given Egypt's reluctance to fully absorb the territory, Palestinians in Gaza were forced to exist in limbo, waiting for their fate to be decided by international negotiations and agreements.⁷³ In contrast, the West Bank shares an almost equal amount of its 250-mile border between Israel and Jordan, and as discussed above, the Jordanian monarch had hoped to annex the territory in its entirety and as such actively relocated and integrated Palestinian populations within Jordan. This land-grab was politically significant, during the ongoing Arab Cold War, which saw General Gamal Abd Al-Nasr of Egypt with grand visions of a united Pan-Arab entity that would consist of the territories of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq.⁷⁴ In this regard, the West Bank was far more important to Jordan's territorial integrity than the Gaza Strip was to Egypt. These differences in strategic value of the two territories, as well as the two nations diametrically opposed approaches to administering the two territories set the early stage for the isolation of Gaza.

⁷³Roy, *De-Development*, 75, 79; Ilana Feldman, "Waiting for Palestine: refracted citizenship and latent sovereignty in Gaza, *Citizenship Studies*, 12 (2008): 447-463.

⁷⁴Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his rivals, 1958-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971)

The First Israeli Occupation of Gaza

The first Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip occurred between 2 November 1956 and 7 March 1957, following the Suez Canal Crisis.⁷⁵ While this is a significant episode in both the interlinked Arab Cold War discussed above and the global Cold War of this era, it is not a period oft written about in the history of Gaza. This four-month period of occupation quite negatively impacted future relations between the population of Gaza and their Egyptian administrators.⁷⁶ Nasr's nationalization of the Suez Canal on 26 July 1956, and the subsequent denial of passage to vessels bearing the Israeli flag, was the culmination of various incidents that had taken place between the two countries since February 1955. Paramount amongst these incidents was the training and arming of a Palestinian *Fedayeen* force in the Gaza Strip by the Egyptian army.⁷⁷ This move came in response to public pressure in Gaza following several Israeli raids on Egyptian military installations in the Strip that also killed Palestinians.⁷⁸ The Israeli strikes and retaliatory raids by the Egyptian trained *Fedayeen* forces continued in a tit-for-tat manner until October 1956. It was in October that the French British, and Israel's launched an offensive to retake the Suez Canal.⁷⁹ At this time, the Israeli forces moved through the Gaza Strip to secure the northern Sinai for their European allies.

The offensive began on 29 October and by 2 November the Israelis had occupied and held control of the Gaza Strip. By 5 November the British and French held the Suez Canal. It was clear from the beginning that the Israeli government, which had ceded to

⁷⁵ Butt, *Crossroads*, 149.

⁷⁶ Feldman, "Waiting for Palestine," for a discussion of the negative impact of Israeli occupation on Egypt's relationship with Gaza, see also a case study in Chapter 5.

⁷⁷ Butt, *Crossroads*, 148; Sayigh, *Armed Struggle*, part one.

⁷⁸ Including a 28 February, 1955, Israeli night raid on Gaza City that killed between 22 and 38 Egyptian soldiers and Palestinians, the casualty figures differ by source; Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 61 and Butt, *Crossroads*, 147.

⁷⁹ Butt, *Crossroads*, 149.

US pressure in 1948 to turn the Gaza Strip over to Egypt, this time intended to retain the territory.⁸⁰ From the first day of this occupation the Israeli military issued proclamations on everything from banking and mail procedures in Gaza to setting food prices.⁸¹ The military occupation also worked quickly to coopt elements of the al-Shawa family, a prominent local Gazan clan, that had been side-lined by the Egyptian administration. This included appointing Rushdi al-Shawa as the mayor of Gaza City.⁸² This co-optation proved lethal for the al-Shawa family, with several members imprisoned and allegedly killed following Israel's return of the Gaza Strip to Egypt.⁸³

While the al-Shawa family were some of the more prominent individuals targeted by the returning Egyptian administrative forces, there was also a general sense amongst the Egyptian administrators that the Palestinian population of Gaza had by and large collaborated with the Israelis during this four-month period. Following the Israeli occupation there were substantially fewer opportunities for Gazans in study and work placement programs in Egypt.⁸⁴ The post-conflict agreement also changed the complex governance situation in Gaza. While Egypt was once again administering the territory following the forced Israeli withdrawal, the peace agreement stipulated that Egyptian military forces could not be garrisoned in Gaza and that the nascent Palestinian units had to be disbanded.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the border between Gaza and Israel was controlled by the

⁸⁰ Nur Masalha, "The 1956-57 Occupation of the Gaza Strip: Israeli Proposals to Resettle the Palestinian Refugees," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 23 (1996): 55-68.

⁸¹ Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 62.

⁸² *Ibid*, 63.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 63.

⁸⁴ Feldman, "Waiting for Palestine," 456-8.

⁸⁵ Sayigh, *Armed Struggle*, chapters 2 and 3 discuss this in depth.

United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), the first attempt by the United Nations Security Council at creating and deploying a peacekeeping mission.⁸⁶

The De-Development of the Gaza Strip

Gaza's economic isolation continued and expanded with the Israeli occupation of 1967. While the West Bank had undergone some development under Jordanian administration, the Gaza Strip had experience almost no enhancement to its economy of infrastructure.⁸⁷ When Israel became the occupying power in 1967, the Gaza Strip's economy was "woefully underdeveloped and fragile," it was already aid dependent, relying on the United Nation's Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to provide about 20% of the territory's annual income.⁸⁸ Egypt had tried to promote the development of an agricultural sphere over that of industry, as such Agriculture accounted for 35-40% of employment and 90% of exported products.⁸⁹ In the long run, this would prove to be disastrous for Gaza: between 1967-1986 Israel took over 50% of Gaza's land and built settlements on the most arable portions.⁹⁰ By destroying the largest element of Gaza's economy, the agricultural sector, Israel ensured that Gaza would become completely dependent on industrial jobs available in Israel, an approach that Sara Roy has termed as "de-development."⁹¹

Roy argues that these steps taken by the Israeli occupation in Gaza de-developed Gaza through a multi-pronged process. First, through a process of expropriation and dispossession of, for example, the land for settlements, which destroyed Gaza's

⁸⁶ Butt, *Crossroads*, 149 and Shachar, *The Gaza Strip*, 63.

⁸⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this issue of development in Gaza under Egyptian Administration, see chapters 3, 4, and 5.

⁸⁸ Roy, *De-Development*, 81, 92

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 85, 86, 89.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 143, 175, 219-234; and Joyce Dalsheim, *Unsettling Gaza: Secular Liberalism, Radical Religion, and the Israeli Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2011): particularly chapter 4.

⁹¹ Roy, *De-Development*, 137-8, and chapter 8, 209-219; this is discussed in more depth in chapter 6.

agricultural industry. Then through a process of integration and externalization, by forcing Gazans to work in Israel as the only means of earning an income. Finally, through deinstitutionalization, by halting or forbidding investment in and creation of a viable Gazan economy, which resulted in Gaza's economic isolation.⁹² In short, Israel's economic and political policies pursuing access to land and resources severed the connection of Palestinians to their own land. This, in turn, compelled Palestinians to work in Israel in order to earn a wage. Through this two-pronged effort, Israel attained the economic isolation of the Gaza Strip. The economic marginalization of Gaza ensured that the territory would be almost entirely dependent on Israel for all of its imports, as a market for any exports, and as the only venue for employment. This status quo was legitimated through the Oslo Accords, which will be addressed shortly.

Another element of the isolation of Gaza that needs to be addressed is the assertion that Gaza has a more 'traditional' and 'religious' cultural outlook than that found in the West Bank. This claim is frequently made and is usually supported through arguments that address the rise and prominence of Hamas in Gaza. The few academics who focus their studies on Gaza, typically reduce these cultural differences between the West Bank and Gaza to one of "traditional," which is explained in various ways as limited exposure to foreigners,⁹³ or that Gaza is more 'Islamic.'⁹⁴ There is certainly literature to support this aspect of Gaza's cultural isolation, but it is perhaps interesting that a contrasting opinion to this is found in the Israeli journalist Amira Haas's writings. While Haas acknowledges the extensive role and importance of piety in the lives of Gazans, she also discusses the role that religion and observance play in bringing hope to

⁹² Ibid, 161.

⁹³ Roy, *De-Development*, 23.

⁹⁴ Lybarger, *Identity and Religion*, 179.

people there.⁹⁵ This perspective recognizes the importance of religion within Gazans lives – and a potential reason for its significant hold of the population, without reducing the argument to one of “tradition,” and implying a lack of piety in the West Bank.

The Oslo Accords’ Impact on Gaza

Under the Oslo Accord process, negotiations took place to initiate an exercise in Palestinian self-governance. The original terms offered by Israel to the PNA included an exercise in practicing self-rule in Gaza. However, concerns over “Gaza First” becoming “Gaza Only” lead to negotiations to add Jericho to this self-governance experiment.⁹⁶ The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) had a vested interest in maintaining a claim to as much territory as possible, yet, significantly, neither party to the Oslo negotiations was particularly interested in being responsible for controlling the Gaza Strip.⁹⁷ The political isolation of Gaza continued under the Oslo Accords, with few Gazans placed in senior leadership positions. As such, much of the population favored local political groups, such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas, as they found themselves largely marginalized from the Palestinian political process. The burgeoning inter-factional conflict between Fatah (enshrined in the PNA establishment) and Hamas came to play a key role in the delegitimization of the Oslo Accords throughout the mid- and late-1990s.⁹⁸

The strong connections between the political party Fatah and the PNA proved to be a boon for Fatah supporters and their families, but also began to undermine the perceived legitimacy of the developing system of self-governance.⁹⁹ Intertwined with the

⁹⁵Haas, *Drinking the Sea*, chapter 5 contains an eloquent discussion of this issue.

⁹⁶ Daivd Makovsky, *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government’s Road to the Oslo Accord* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996): 34-35

⁹⁷Makovsky, *Making Peace*, 35-36.

⁹⁸ Brynjar Lia, *A Police Force without a State: A History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 2006): 136-137.

⁹⁹ Michael Broning, *Political Parties in Palestine* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013):57-96.

general nepotism displayed by senior PNA officials to their Fatah-affiliated comrades, was an emphasis on the PNA's use of the newly created Palestinian Security Forces (PSF) to target members of the political opposition in Hamas and Islamic Jihad.¹⁰⁰ Both Islamist groups had boycotted the Oslo Accords, refusing to recognize the existence of Israel and submit to Israeli political demands.¹⁰¹ As the Palestinian populace became more and more disheartened by the concessions made to Israel and the non-existence of an actual self-governing experience in either the West Bank or Gaza, support for Islamic Jihad and Hamas flourished.¹⁰² This support was largely based on the two groups' identities as Palestinian nationalist resistance groups.¹⁰³ However, support for these two political entities threatened Fatah's hegemony through the PNA.

By becoming part of the Israeli security apparatus in the territories, the PNA and the PSF completely undermined their legitimacy in the eyes of most of the Palestinian population. At the same time, they alienated themselves from the general population of the Gaza Strip, and further cemented popular support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad (in both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank), as the only Palestinian groups willing to continue to struggle for true Palestinian statehood.¹⁰⁴ This was the beginning of what would become a continual, low-scale conflict between the two main Palestinian parties, before it erupted in outright conflict in the summer of 2007.¹⁰⁵ Through the upheaval of the first *intifada*, the hope of the Oslo Accords, and the subsequent dismay as they failed,

¹⁰⁰ Brynjar Lia, *Building Arafat's Police: The Politics of International Police Assistance in the Palestinian Territories after the Oslo Agreement* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 2007):107, 140, 170.

¹⁰¹ Are Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005): 1381.

¹⁰² Beverley Milton-Edwards and Alastair Crooke, "Elusive Ingredient: Hamas and the Peace Process," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 33 (2004): 40.

¹⁰³ Roy, *Failing Peace*, 167-8.

¹⁰⁴ Lia, *Police Force*, 337-8 and 380-1.

¹⁰⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council elections, the victory of Hamas, and subsequent conflict between Fatah and Hamas, see chapter 6.

international organizations continued to play a key role in providing many of the proto-state services to Palestinians. In particular in the Gaza Strip, the dependence on international organizations as one of the primary social services providers has been true since the creation of the territory in 1948. Understanding the history of these organizations, particularly as it relates to the Christian-religious and missionary tradition, is important to understanding their role and impact on the development of administrative and governance norms in the Gaza Strip.

International Organizations and Religious Charitable Groups

International organizations, as they are understood in the twenty-first century, are relatively new political and social phenomena. Neither formal non-governmental organizations (NGOs) nor inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) have much history prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to this time period, there was a rich tradition of religious charity. In particular, Christian religious charitable groups came to play a significant role in the development of non-governmental organizations in the nineteenth century. However, Islamic charity and *zakat* organizations have also played a significant role in the creation of a growing Islamic Aid sector.

The subject of Islamic charity has become a highly politicized one since September 2011. In the wake of the terrorist attacks on New York City, much has been written to contextualize the history and place of charity both with the legal and social traditions of Islam.¹⁰⁶ In particular, Amy Singer's noteworthy piece on Islamic Charity operates as a wonderful introduction to the historical traditions of charity in Islam, but more specifically as an introduction to the definitions, terminologies and institutions –

¹⁰⁶ Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 27

and their evolution.¹⁰⁷ Singer's introduction is a good point from which to start before delving into the more highly politicized literature regarding the current state of Islamic Charity, particularly those institutions involved in Palestine. Significantly, while Islamic Charity has an historic, institutional record, it differs in some important ways from Christian charity, in particular as Christian charity came to be practiced in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁰⁸ While small-scale (personal level) giving in the Islamic charity tradition was at times organized through an infrastructure, often it took place much more directly (to neighbors or someone you knew was in need).¹⁰⁹

In contrast, by the 19th and 20th centuries, Christian giving had become highly organized and bureaucratized in part through the practice of missions. While some organizations came to emulate many of these approaches,¹¹⁰ there still was not whole-scale organization of Islamic charitable organizations in the same manner that such groups were developing in the Western and Christian spheres.¹¹¹ More recently there has been a spate of literature, particularly coming out of the practice and legal arenas, that specifically addresses the development of charitable Islamic organizations. Much of this literature is produced by the organizations that provide services, such as Islamic Relief, and seek to historicize the tradition of charity in Islam, and link it to themes of social

¹⁰⁷ Singer, *Charity*, chapter 1 in particular provides an excellent overview.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, "Introduction: the Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism," in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, edited by Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 8-9.

¹⁰⁹ Singer, *Charity*, example given on pages 30-31. The exception to this comes in the 20th century with the creation of state ministries of *waqf*, in countries such as Jordan, Libya, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen, and Oman, which have institutionalized the state collection of zakat, see Mamoun Abuarqub and Isabel Phillips, "A Brief History of Humanitarianism in the Muslim World," *Islamic Relief* (Birmingham: Islamic Relief Worldwide, July 2009): 8.

¹¹⁰ YMMA and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in particular emulated many of the organization and funding techniques used by the Christian missions there, for a discussion see Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal*, chapter 5.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth Ferris, "Faith and Humanitarianism: It's Complicated," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24 (2011): 608.

justice and human responsibility.¹¹² Much of the literature notes that, with the rise of western NGOs and state aid in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a concomitant increase in the founding and organization of Islamic faith-based organizations, arguably in a bid to counter the hegemonic western discourse espoused by these non-Islamic organizations.¹¹³

The majority of these organizations are local operations, however some do have an international presence, but are headquartered in a Muslim-majority country. The exception to this norm is Islamic Relief, with its headquarters in London and substantial operations throughout the Islamic world.¹¹⁴ A key element of this more contemporary literature on Islamic charity has also sought to contextualize the way in which these organizations operate in order to ensure anxious donors and governments that the funds given are going to those in need and not to support nefarious acts.¹¹⁵ One such example in the instance of Palestine is the British charity InterPal, which has been accused by the US government of funding and supporting terrorism in the occupied Palestinian territories. While none of these accusations has been substantiated, and InterPal continues to operate in the UK with permission from the British Charity Commission, anyone supporting the organization from the US would be found in violation of anti-terrorism laws.¹¹⁶ This has proven to be a particular issue for organizations working in the Gaza Strip.

¹¹² Abuarqub and Phillips, "A Brief History," 3.

¹¹³ Jonathan Benthall, "Islamic Charities, Faith-Based Organizations, and the International Aid system," in *Understanding Islamic Charities* (Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007): 3-4.

¹¹⁴ Karin von Hippel, "Aid Effectiveness: Improving Relations with Islamic Charities," in *Understanding Islamic Charities* (Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007): 32.

¹¹⁵ Jonathan Benthall, *Islamic Charities and Islamic Humanism in Troubled Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 81-98; Johnathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *The Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World* (London: IB Tauris, 2003): 69-84.

¹¹⁶ For further discussion and information see: "About Us," *InterPal*: <http://www.interpal.org>; "Terrorism: What you need to know about US Sanctions," US Department of the Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control: <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Programs/Documents/terror.pdf>; and Paul Jump, "InterPal did not fund terrorist groups," *Third Sector Online*, 27 February, 2009:

Many of the organizations that were formed in the mid-nineteenth century were Christian-based organizations that were interested in work that built on the premises of missionary work and met the spiritual needs of populations on the move.¹¹⁷ Early international organizations were largely based on and oriented by Christian moral and ethical concerns, in part in response to the wars of Empire and Colonialism. One such example that is still a prominent international actor today is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Founded in 1863 by Henry Dunant, the ICRC's initial concerns were the treatment of soldiers and prisoners of war during periods of conflict.¹¹⁸

The ICRC worked both to provide care to these individuals, but also to codify an internationally accepted set of rights and obligations to be observed and practiced during wartime. The rights and obligations practiced and promoted by Dunant and the nascent ICRC became the Geneva Conventions, one of the most profound contributions to international law and norms since the adoption of the nation-state system. Since its founding, the ICRC has moved beyond its Christian identity to designate itself as an “impartial, neutral, and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict.”¹¹⁹ While many originally Christian charitable aid organizations have undertaken a similar evolution, there are some organizations that continue to operate as faith-based organizations

<http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/charity-commission-criticises-interpal-response/communications/article/886383>

¹¹⁷ This is particularly true of the YMCA, see “History – Founding,” 2015:

<http://www.ymca.net/history/founding.html>. See also Elizabeth Ferris, “Faith based and secular humanitarian organizations,” *International Review of the Red Cross*, 85(2005): 316-317 and Thomas Davies *A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014): 20-23 and 58-60.

¹¹⁸ “Founding and early years of the ICRC (1863-1914), *Founding*, last updated 29 September 2010: <https://www.icrc.org/eng/who-we-are/history/founding/overview-section-founding.htm>

¹¹⁹ “Mandate and Mission,” *International Committee of the Red Cross*: <https://www.icrc.org/en/who-we-are/mandate>

(FBOs), and in fact organizations classified as such have been growing in numbers in recent years.¹²⁰

Over the past century and a half the status, scope, and orientation of international organizations has evolved, both changing the international system and the regime of international organizations.¹²¹ International Organizations continued to function primarily in conflict areas, ensuring the Geneva Conventions were upheld, working to settle those displaced by war, oversight of the protection offered to these populations, and providing any necessary, basic assistance.¹²² However, during this time period more and more international organizations were created. Most were still focused on the provision of basic aid to those in need and many were of a religious nature. In the era of decolonization and the Cold War, many of international organizations were viewed as, and at times were, creations of Western imperialism and were thus unable to function effectively in the international arena.¹²³

Following its creation, the United Nations appeared to be the ideal response to general global unrest. It provided a forum that balanced the competing Western, Soviet and Chinese interests through the creation of the Security Council. In the General

¹²⁰ For an overview of this field see Michael Barnett Michael and Janice Gross Stein, eds, *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, eds, *Development, Civil Society, and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), in particular Gerard Clarke, "Faith-Based Organizations and International Development: An Overview," 17-45, in particular 32-22, which introduces a classification scheme that creates an ordering to decide how faith-based an organization might act based on its self-identification.

¹²¹ Ernest Hass, "Regime Decay: Conflict Management and International Organizations, 1945-1981," *International Organization* 37 (1983): 189-256; Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53 (1999): 699-732; Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

¹²² Kenneth Abbot and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1998): 3-32; Davies, *NGOs*, 81-84; Laura Barnett, "Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugee Regime," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 14(20020): 238-262.

¹²³ Davies, *NGOs*, 76.

Assembly, its one country-one vote approach was welcomed as it provided a sense of national equality. The many subsidiary organs were also able to address the most pressing international issues of the day.¹²⁴ This evolution began the process of staff professionalization and movement away from the belief that such organizational efforts were a moral or religious obligation.¹²⁵ Instead, employment with these organizations was seen as civil service, the same way one might work for one's national government. There was, however, during these early years substantial crossover in terms of staffing between those who had been working for FBOs prior to the UNs creation and subsequently came to work for the UN.¹²⁶

While it is not the time period of focus for this project it is important to note that there was a second substantial evolution in the scope and nature of International Organizations in the 1990s. Following the end of the Cold War there was substantial growth in the number of NGOs.¹²⁷ This growth was seen in both domestic and

¹²⁴ Of particular interest to this paper are the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, formed in 1949 to serve Palestine refugees, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, formed in 1950 to protect and serve refugees, with an initial focus on European refugees in the post-WWII era. Although other specialized agencies include the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), all of which took over the mantle of various earlier international organizations that had worked to address similar issues.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the view of FBOs, see Julia Berger, "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations: An Exploratory Analysis," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 14(2003): 15-39; Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), in particular chapter 1 discusses this professionalization and chapter 6 discusses some of the perils therein.

¹²⁶ This is certainly true of the case study here, the Gaza Strip, and the continuous employment of certain individuals, as will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in sequential terms by multiple organizations during their tenure in Gaza.

¹²⁷ David Lewis and Nazeen Kanji, *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development* (London: Routledge, 2009): chapters 2, 3 and 7 discuss both the growth, the creation of their own 'jargon,' and the subsequent backlash against the NGO-ification of development initiatives.

international NGOs. In fact, for many the 1990s was known as the decade of the NGOs.¹²⁸

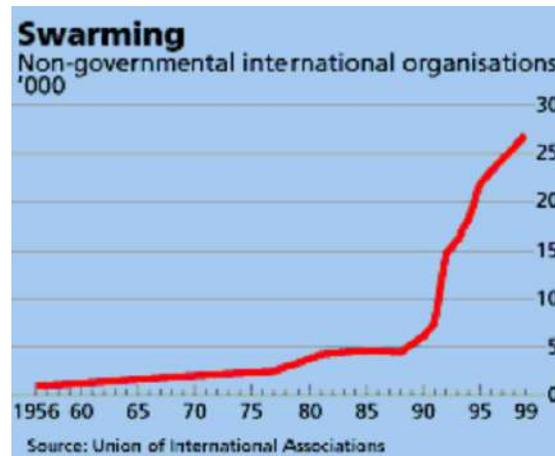


Figure 5: Chart of NGO Growth from 1956-2000.¹²⁹

With this growth in numbers, the breadth and scope of the humanitarian aid and development network was impressively far reaching, but there were also faults to the system. Most of the criticism leveled against humanitarian aid agencies, as well as that specific to aid work in Palestine, focused on issues of aid dependency. Aid dependency is the argument that the provision of aid without commensurate development of the local systems of governance, infrastructure and the economy will lead the population to depend on what is provided to them by the aid agencies, rather than working to create a self-sustaining system.¹³⁰ This argument, while not pioneered in the 1990s, became popular at the time, leading to counter-arguments, that the assumption of aid provision leading to dependency ignored the agency of the population, as well as to the backlash against these

¹²⁸ Mary Kaldor, "A Decade of Humanitarian Intervention: The Role of Global Civil Society," in *Global Civil Society 2001*, edited by Helmut Anheir, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 109-143.

¹²⁹ "The Non-Governmental Order: Will NGOs democratize, or merely disrupt, global governance?" *The Economist*, 9 December 1999: <http://www.economist.com/node/266250>

¹³⁰ Lewis & Kangi, *Non-Governmental*, xx and see practitioner and policy perspective of Paul Harvey and Jeremy Lind "Dependency and humanitarian relief: A critical analysis" *Humanitarian Policy Group Report* 19, July 2005: 9.

development-focused “solutions” as Western-centric, inauthentic, and without local support or buy-in.

This is where there begins a substantial rift in the academic versus the practitioner and policy oriented and produced material. Academic publications have continued to focus on the issues surrounding aid and development activities in a critical manner. These critiques offer important insight into why oft well-intentioned development programs fail. For example, James Ferguson’s work in Lesotho addresses why hyper-focused, scientific driven efforts to reform local farming approaches for greater efficiency and output failed.¹³¹ In large part, it was because there was no local acceptance of the project because none of the local farmers, villages, or leaders had been involved in the project’s development. Such an understanding is monumentally important to best practices guidelines in the NGO world. However, where the academic literature has failed is by not situating itself as an effective or meaningful critique. Rather than being able to learn from these critiques, policy makers and practitioners see themselves as being doomed to failure in much of the academic literature. The assumed zero-sum nature of this relationship has benefitted no one and contributed significantly to the schism between academia and the policy and practitioner community.¹³²

In the more immediately specific context of Palestine, there is a clear divide between the pre-1990s/pre-Oslo literature and what follows. Most of the literature

¹³¹ James Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine: “development,” depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*” (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹³² There is minimal cross over between these categories of academic, policy maker and practitioner. Some of those who wear multiple hats are cited here, in particular David Lewis, however the majority of the literature found in peer reviewed journals and books tends to be written by academics with limited (if at all) experience working with or in international organizations. Those policy makers and practitioner who do produce research from their experiences in the field and reflections tend to do so through organizational reports. In part this project seeks to understand this divide through a historicizing lens, and offer effective means by which this divide can be overcome.

discussed here focuses either on the “Palestinian problem” in a quite general scope or specifically on the West Bank. The exceptions, as discussed earlier, are those contributions of Sara Roy and Ilana Feldman. The literature on aid to Palestine from the pre-1990s/Oslo period focuses predominantly on the question of refugees¹³³ and material and financial aid to these refugees.¹³⁴ Literature on aid in Palestine post-Oslo introduces a critique of aid and development practices and questions of aid dependency.¹³⁵ Criticism focuses, in particular, on the division of a political solution and process for peace from economic growth and development projects.¹³⁶ In many of these works, the US-led peace initiatives are seen as collaboration between the US government and many aid and development agencies at the expense of Palestinians and of a future peace agreement.¹³⁷

While all of these criticisms and critiques are born of research based on the Palestinian experience, the experience in question is drawn almost exclusively from interviews conducted in the West Bank and does not highlight the experience of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.¹³⁸ While not seeking to exoticize or make unique the

¹³³ For example see: Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Robert Bowker *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the search for peace* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003) and Richard Locke and Anthony Stewart, *Bantustan Gaza* (London: Zed Books, 1985).

¹³⁴ For example see: Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg, eds. *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: from Relief and Works to Human Development* (Routledge: London, 2014).

¹³⁵ In particular see Anne Le More’s *International Assistance to the Palestinians after Oslo: Political Guilt, Wasted Money* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Sahar Taghdisi-Rad, *The Political Economy of Aid in Palestine: Relief from Conflict or Development Delayed?* (New York: Routledge, 2011)

¹³⁶ Emma Murphy, “Buying Poverty: International Aid and the Peace Process,” in the *The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005* eds. Joel Beinin and Rebecca Stein (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006): 54 and Yezid Sayigh “Inducing a Failed State in Palestine,” *Survival* 49(2007): 7-40.

¹³⁷ Murphy, “Buying Poverty;” Le More, *International Assistance*; Sayigh “Failed State;” and Rex Brynen “A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza” (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000).

¹³⁸ It is not with a light hand or heart that I reinforce this divide through choosing to refer to “Gazans” rather than Palestinians of the Gaza Strip. The truth is that this divide has existed both in Academic writing and in practice since at least Oslo, and arguable since the division in the administration of the territories following the 1948 war. While the political solution continues to advocate for one, unified Palestine, the reality of a divide house –far outside the political real already exists, and by focusing only on the

Gazan experience there are important historical and contemporary factors that require a closer examination and understanding of Gaza.¹³⁹

UNRWA: The Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

The most often targeted aid agency, and also the largest in the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt), is the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, UNRWA. UNRWA was established in 1949 by General Assembly Resolution 302 to respond to the Palestinian refugee crisis.¹⁴⁰ The resolution instructed that UNRWA would begin work in May 1950, taking over the responsibilities of the earlier United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees.¹⁴¹ Upon its initial creation UNRWA was given a mandate for 3 years and charged with the provision of basic services and supplies to the Palestinian refugee populations in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt, including the Gaza Strip. As well as its mandate from the General Assembly, UNRWA was obliged to enter into a Memorandum of Understanding with each of the countries hosting a population of Palestine refugees.¹⁴² This was complicated for the Agency and refugees alike, as different host governments offered differing rights, obligations, and opportunities to the Palestinian refugees residing in their territories.

Upon its establishment, UNRWA provided services to more than 700,000 refugees through emergency food assistance, health, and shelter programs, as well as

experience and realities of Palestinians of the West Bank we the researchers, practitioners, and policy makers do a disservice to the fortitude, creativity and experience of Gazans.

¹³⁹ This is another reason why this project that interrogates the archival record of aid work and experience in Gaza and the Gazan memory and perception of this work is so significant.

¹⁴⁰ General Assembly resolution 302 (IV), *Assistance to Palestine Refugees*, (8 December 1949), available from <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/051/21/IMG/NR005121.pdf?OpenElement>. See points 7A, 7B and 12, pages 23-25.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid, see points 7 and 17

subsequent elementary and secondary schooling programs.¹⁴³ When its mandate was first renewed in 1953, and every three years thereafter, it became clear that a quick political solution was unlikely. Thus, much of the focus of UNRWA's work during the late 1950s and early 1960s was on vocational and agricultural training centers, as well as women's classes in embroidery, typing, and cooking to encourage female employment.¹⁴⁴ This emphasis on skills, or works, training was an attempt to improve the employment numbers, the local economies, and the general quality of life for Palestine refugees. After more than sixty-five years of operation, UNRWA continues to operate 58 camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, serving a population of approximately 5 million refugees, about a quarter of whom, more than 1.2 million, live in the Gaza Strip.¹⁴⁵

UNRWA has faced criticism and critiques in both the policy and academic arenas.¹⁴⁶ Most publications focus on one aspect of UNRWAs operations, such as its place in international law, shelter provision, schooling, human rights, and its political orientation.¹⁴⁷ There are a few publications that provide a history of the organization, either covering the duration of its existence or focusing instead on one specific time

¹⁴³ "Palestine Refugees," *UNRWA*, <http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees>

¹⁴⁴ This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, but based on documents accessed in the UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs RE250, Welfare General, January 1964 – December 1975, Part II which discuss the efforts (mostly through quantitative data based reports) for vocational training for women.

¹⁴⁵ "UNRWA in Figures: 2015," *UNRWA*, 1 January 2015:

http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/unrwa_in_figures_2015.pdf

¹⁴⁶ See Benjamin Schiff, *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

¹⁴⁷ For a few examples see: Lex Takkenberg, *The status of Palestinian refugees in international law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Philipp Misselwitz and Sari Hanafi, "Testing a new Paradigm: UNRWAs camp Improvement Program" *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28(2009): 360-388; and Ghassan Shabaneh, "Education and Identity: The Role of UNRWA's Education Programmes in the Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25 (2012): 491-513.

period.¹⁴⁸ Many of these historical publications are written by former or current employees and most often utilize the authors area of employment as the lens through which the organization is studied. A notable exception is Rex Brynen, who has produced several books and articles that examine the history and place of UNRWA in the Palestine refugee question, yet he has never worked for the organization.¹⁴⁹ There is limited literature that addresses the role of other international organizations in the Palestinian territories. Since the 1948 war and the administration of the Gaza Strip by Egypt and the subsequent occupation by Israel, UNRWA was one of the few venues that provided Palestinian refugees with a forum through which they could lead and manage their own affairs, to a certain degree. While this is not and has not always been true, the three organizations studied here: UNRWA, YMCA, and AFSC, all have histories of local leadership in the Gaza Strip.

Another small area of research on UNRWA as an institution has focused on the place of UNRWA in providing a structure of governance in the territories and the camps it administers. Aside from the police or security services, UNRWA provides all of the hallmark services of government to its constituents.¹⁵⁰ The literature regarding the

¹⁴⁸ Robert Bowker *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the search for peace* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003) and Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg, eds. *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: from Relief and Works to Human Development* (Routledge: London, 2014).

¹⁴⁹ See Rex Brynen “A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza” (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000), Rex Brynen 1996. “Buying peace? A critical assessment of international aid to the West Bank and Gaza” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25 (1996): 79-92; Rex Brynen, 1996. “International aid to the West Bank and Gaza: A primer” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25 (1996): 46-53; and Rex Brynen “UNRWA as avatar: Current debates on the agency – and their implications,” in *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: from Relief and Works to Human Development* eds. Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg (Routledge: London, 2014).

¹⁵⁰ See Riccardo Bocco, “UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees: A History within History” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28(201): 2-24; Jalal al-Husseini, “UNRWA and the Palestinian Nation Building Process,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29(2000): 51-64; and Sari Hanafi, “UNRWA as a “phantom sovereign:” Governance Practices in Lebanon” in *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: from Relief and Works to Human Development* eds. Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg (Routledge: London, 2014).

parallel-state-like attributes of UNRWA is quite unique.¹⁵¹ Much of the literature leveled against UNRWA is difficult to address, because it does not recognize or discuss the strictly apolitical and bureaucratic culture, approach, and mandate of the organization. Much of this approach is entailed in the creation of UNRWA. For example, UNRWA is frequently criticized from one side for not working towards a political solution for Palestinian refugees¹⁵² and on the other for being too political in its work.¹⁵³ But in fact, UNRWA was and still is mandated to provide for the material needs of Palestinian refugees, without engaging in political activities.¹⁵⁴ Following the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN did not have a direct organizational link to the Israel-Palestine peace process until the creation of the UN office of the Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (UNSCO) in 1994 as part of the Oslo Accords. To this day, UNRWA works to exempt itself from the political processes of the peace process and instead fulfill its General Assembly-approved and -funded mandate to provide relief services and work training to Palestine refugees, in spite of the multiplicity of criticism that such endeavors bring.

While UNRWA is the largest humanitarian organization operating in the oPt, there are many other UN agencies and service-oriented NGO's working in the Gaza Strip

¹⁵¹ I have not found any similar literature regarding any other UN agency or NGO in any other context.

¹⁵² Leila Hilal, "Business as usual? The role of UNRWA in resolving the Palestine Refugee Issue," in *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development* edited by Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg (New York: Routledge, 2014): 284-292; Rex Brynen, "UNRWA as avatar: current debates on the agency – and their implications," in *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development* edited by Sari Hanafi, Leila Hilal and Lex Takkenberg (New York: Routledge, 2014): 263-283; Benjamin Schiff, "Assisting the Palestinian Refugees: Progress in Human Rights?" in *Progress in Post-War International Relations*, edited by Emanuel Adler and Beverly Crawford: 359-402 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991): 365-66

¹⁵³ Asaf Romirowsky and Alexander Joffe, *Religion, Politics, and the Origins of Palestine Refugee Relief* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013): 173-175; Bowker, *Palestinian Refugees*, 123-154.

¹⁵⁴ Lance Bartholomeusz, "The Mandate of UNRWA at Sixty," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28(2010): 470, 473.

and West Bank.¹⁵⁵ As discussed earlier, the influx of NGOs occurred during the late 1980s and early 1990s, following the Oslo Accords. Yet during the 1950s and 1960s, the period of interest in this study, the majority of organizations providing services to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip were religious organizations and UN agencies. While UNRWA served the largest number of individuals, many of their programs were undertaken in conjunction with other faith-based organizations (FBOs) and secular civil society organizations (CSOs). In the Gaza Strip these organizations included the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)¹⁵⁶ and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).¹⁵⁷ UNRWA, AFSC, and the YMCA will be the focus of this

¹⁵⁵ In fact UNRWA is the largest UN Agency, with 30,718 employees, 99.4% of whom are local Palestinian employees and the bulk of whom, 41% are employed in the Gaza Strip. See "UNRWA in Figures 2015," 1 January 2015: http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/unrwa_in_figures_2015.pdf

¹⁵⁶ The American Friends Service Committee was founded in 1917 as a way for Quakers, and other pacifists, to serve in the First (and subsequently Second) World War. However, the organization had a secondary purpose which was to reconcile the various divided Quaker factions (Dan McKanan, *Prophetic Encounters: Religion and the American Radical Tradition* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011): 177-8). In the twentieth century, the Quaker community in America could broadly be broken in five distinct communities: the Orthodox, the Hicksite, the Wilburites (Conservative), the Gurnseyites (Evangelical), and the Friends General Conference (Liberal). The Hicksite split occurred in 1827-8, with a split of the agrarian, generally less affluent Quaker community from the urban, affluent Orthodox Quaker community (Peter Furtado, *Quakers* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2013): 24-25; and Glenn Crothers, *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 145). A second set of splits occurred in 1952/3 when the conservative Wilburite branch was formed and the evangelical Gurnseyites, who form the largest branch today (Furtado, *Quakers*, 24-25; Margaret Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: the Story of the Quakers in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1969): 6). For an interesting overview of earlier Quaker history in America, in particular in Pennsylvania, see Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government: History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania, 1682-1783* (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1902).

¹⁵⁷ The YMCA is part of the broader American Evangelical missionary trend of the late 1800s and early 1900s (For discussion of this see Pierce Beaver, "Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries," in *Reinterpretation in American Church History*, edited by Jerald Brauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968)). While the YMCA did not actively send missions to the Middle East, it did have operations in various Middle Eastern countries from the late 1890s onwards, the majority of the YMCA international work was focused on promoting Christian familial lifestyles, in particular through physical activity and scouting projects were a major emphasis for the organization (Daniel Bays, "The Foreign Missionary Movement in the 19th and early 20th Centuries," *National Humanities Center*: <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/nineteen/nkeyinfo/fmmovement.htm>). There were, however, individuals affiliated with the YMCA who participated as missionaries with other, broader missions in the area (Sharkey, Heather. *American Evangelicals in Egypt: missionary encounters in an age of empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). In particular, and as relates to this study, the experience of evangelical missionaries and missions in Egypt is of utmost importance. Throughout the early 1900's there was, at times, outright conflict between the missionaries' efforts and local Islamist groups. For a full

dissertation. These three organizations are arguably the most significant service contributors in the Gaza Strip between 1948-1967. Also, and rather significantly, the organizational records of each organization's work in Gaza during this time are accessible through their archives.

There were several other Christian and Muslim organizations working in Gaza during this time, including CARE, Near East Council of Churches Committee for Refugee Work (NECCC), and the Muslim Brotherhood. Future research would ideally expand to include records from these organizations. It would have been beneficial to have included information on the Muslim Brotherhood's social service activities in the Gaza Strip in this work. However, the current political situation in Egypt precludes conducting such interviews, and as there are no official archives for the Muslim Brotherhood this project instead relies on primary sources available online.¹⁵⁸ There is also some earlier work, largely based on interviews, that does address the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine, particularly during the pre-1948 time period.¹⁵⁹ The period studied, 1948-1967, also presents its own difficulties, as Gaza was administered by the Egyptian military government, which had declared the Muslim Brotherhood illegal in 1954, following an attempt on Gamal Abdel Nasser's life that was alleged to have been orchestrated by the Muslim Brotherhood.

discussion of this issue, see chapter 5. Also, Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), in particular chapter 5, 117-134.

¹⁵⁸ Such as *Al-Majalat Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* and *Jaridat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=جريدة_ال_اخوان_جريدة.

¹⁵⁹ El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers*

Chapter 3 – Using Food as a Weapon: Quakers and the Politics of Food Aid

Using food as a weapon was against the Quaker ethos and the team in Gaza was frustrated by the new demand from the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR) in the fall of 1949 that they cut 20,000 names from their aid roster.¹ The situation was only made more problematic for the Friends by the difficulty in reaching Egyptian occupied Gaza: physically, telephonically, or by mail. The mail arrived infrequently, squashed into a freight train car with the relief supplies sent up from Port Said through the various Egyptian military checkpoints. But the slightest dust or winter rainstorm – which started from November onwards – would delay the arrival of the train nearly indefinitely. There was the airport, but only UN planes were permitted to land there and even then only with express permission from the Egyptian military, which took anywhere from two days to two weeks to process. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the Quakers had to distribute food every two weeks and could barely keep enough supplies on hand to cover one month at a time.

There was concern amongst the team members over how to cut the rolls; a question that they discussed for “a good many hours” in meetings spanning two days in October 1949.² The only suggested outcome was “to use pressure and to try to get information from people who can give it to us, regarding the accurate and false names on our lists.”³ However, the team in Gaza was not comfortable using such coercive measures, stating:

¹ Letter from Charlie Read to AFSC Executive Committee, unnumbered and date 15 October 1949. Box 3 Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24, FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Project: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d.

² Ibid

³ Ibid.

if we stop the rations until the Mukhtar [village elder or head] corrects the lists, we are using food as a weapon to enforce honesty. If we do not take this extreme stand, we have no way in which we can hope to secure an accurate list, but many Friends feel that this method, even as a last resort, is entirely contrary to what Friends should do.⁴

This use of food as a weapon was anathema to the Friends' mission in Gaza, the core nineteen-points governing their activities, and the Quakerly way as a whole. However, they had been given a task by the UNRPR, which was responsible for the administration of relief to the entire Palestinian refugee population spread throughout the region, including in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. If the Quakers did not succeed in cutting 20,000 names from the roster they risked jeopardizing the entire mission providing relief to all Palestinian refugees.

At the heart of this matter are the operating principles of these two competing organizational identities. For the Friends, to exert any form of bio-power⁵ through the operationalization of food as a weapon would not only de-legitimize their approaches based as they are in Quaker ideals but it would also ignore the historicity of the struggles of the Quakers against such similar mechanisms of bio-political⁶ control. In contrast, for UNRPR - and subsequently UNRWA - each organization was built within and on the assumption of the supremacy of these frameworks of power. The basis of this is clear in the works-based mandate of UNRWA, which emphasizes the need for trainings and

⁴ Letter from Charlie Read to AFSC Executive Committee, unnumbered and date 15 October 1949. Box 3 Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24, FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Project: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d.

⁵ See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population (Lectures at the College De France, 1977-76)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 17, 37, 478 and Michel Foucault and James Faubio eds. *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3 (New York: New York Press, 2000), 95-96, but also for a general overview of bio-power.

⁶ I distinguish between bio-power and bio-politics, with bio-politics being the operationalization of mechanisms of bio-power by and in the (primarily economic) interests of the 'sovereign,' which in the case of Gaza is an assortment of different non-governmental actors that exert sovereign-like control over the Gazan population, refugee and native Gaza alike.

employment to create a productive and self-sustaining population from this refugee status. This premise, particularly as it is applied in the context of the Gaza Strip, could have been lifted from Foucault's own lectures addressing the elements of bio-power as the sovereign enacting change on "a multiplicity of individuals who are and fundamentally and essentially only exist biologically bound to the materiality within which they live."⁷ The exertion of such bio-power by the various UN operations in Gaza, in order to achieve a set of standardized traits amongst the refugee population, emulates the organization of power over life in the West and is at odds with the Quaker way.

Debating Need: Who is a Refugee?

The United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East⁸ was issued in November 1949 following the arrival of over 200,000 refugees to the Gaza Strip. The core complaint and challenge of the Clapp Commission Report was that the Quakers and the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) who were administering aid to Palestinians in Jordan, were providing aid to too many "ineligible recipients."⁹ Those deemed ineligible by UNRPR did not meet the UN-agreed definition of refugee for the Palestine context: "persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict."¹⁰ This distinction created and exacerbated the fissure between the local Gazan

⁷ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 37

⁸ The report is most frequently referred to as the Clapp Commission or Report for its Chairman Gordon Clapp, who was an official at the US State Department.

⁹ Page 3, "United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, First Interim Report," November 1949, Gordon Clapp. Box 2: Foreign Service Country – Palestine Refugee Project Administration through Correspondence: Cairo 1949. Folder #157 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Comms; Orgs, General. Accessed 2 November 2015.

¹⁰ This definition was only agreed upon in 1952. Here is it quoted in its entirety from the UNRWA "About Us" website: <http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees>. This definition remains in use until today, although there has been an expansion in the list of 'approved documentation' that one might use when registering for refugee status.

population and the newly arrived refugee population; it also highlights a new era of administration based on divisive categorization.¹¹ This particular issue became a battleground between the Friends'¹² mission in Gaza and the UN – both during the era of the UNRPR and subsequently for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) following the handover. Significantly, it is during 1949 and the negotiations between the Friends and UNRPR/UNRWA about the specifics of food aid for all, the politics of the transition from the AFSC to UNRWA, and extent and limits of control over the population that the internationally accepted definition of refugee and the protection associated with such status was designated by the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Friends, both the mission in Gaza and their leadership in Philadelphia, believed in aiding those in need, including all of those people who had been displaced and impacted by the displaced population following the 1948 War. Until today UNRWA maintains 'Special Gaza Rules' that are the legacy of the Friends' insistence on aiding all persons in need in the Gaza Strip. The population of the area that became the Gaza Strip prior to the refugee crisis of 1948 was about 70,000 individuals. These are the "native Gazans" referred to in many reports and were not considered refugees under the UNs classification; they were ineligible to receive aid.¹³ Most of this population was dependent on an income derived from menial farm labor, an economic area that was

¹¹ Throughout this chapter and dissertation this politics of categorization is linked to Foucault's bio-power, see Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population (Lectures at the College De France, 1977-76)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and Michel Foucault and James Faubio eds. *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3 (New York: New York Press, 2000).

¹² The American Friends Service Committee will be referred to through the chapter as AFSC, Friends' and Quakers. The Friends' shortening of the AFSC is taken from internal documents and is reflective of the consultative approach that seeks an organizational consensus endorsed by all organizational members.

¹³ This is taken from page 3 of the Clapp Report, although there are other references that note a local population as high as 80,000. "United Nations Economic Survey Mission For the Middle East, First Interim Report," November 1949, Gordon Clapp. Box 2: Foreign Service Country – Palestine Refugee Project Administration through Correspondence: Cairo 1949. Folder #157 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Comms; Orgs, General. Accessed 2 November 2015.

almost completely destroyed when the population centers of Gaza (Gaza City, Deir al-Balah, Khan Younis, and Rafah) were severed from the farmland surrounding them by the creation of the new Israeli state in 1948. The 200,000¹⁴ refugees, who were the intended recipients of the UN aid, had been displaced from the Arab areas surrounding Gaza. It was noted by Dr. Descoedres of UNICEF during his visit to the Gaza Strip in November 1948 that “the refugees are obliged to find fuel where they can, and it is a sad sight to see the few trees of this desert area being chopped down systematically by the refugees,”¹⁵ as a means of creating shelter and fires for cooking food the refugees were destroying what little remaining agricultural industry there was in Gaza. This loss of the local agrarian economy also devastated the income derived from this sector by the native Gazan population.¹⁶ The Quakers were tasked by UNRPR with providing the basic necessities for the new refugees; they also perceived a ‘moral responsibility’¹⁷ to aid the

¹⁴ Refugee counts from this time period are notoriously inaccurate and have become highly politicized over the years. 200,000 refugees is an accepted estimate, and quite a low one in the eyes of many of the immediate responders to the refugee crisis.

¹⁵ See report from the visit of Dr. Descoedres of UNICEF to the Gaza Strip on 11-12 November 1948, Box 1 – Foreign Service, Country – Palestine (Gaza) 1948; Folder #84 FS Sect Palestine 1948, Refugee Proj: Administration Exploration.

¹⁶ For further discussion of the conditions of refugees in the early years and the impact this had in particular on the agricultural potential of Gaza see Hussein Abu Al Namei, *Qita’ Gaza 1948-1967: tatawwarat iqtisadiyah wa-siyasiah wa-ijtima’iya wa-‘askariya (Gaza Strip 1948-1967: Economic, Political, Social, and Military Developments)* (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1979): 33-47.

¹⁷ Taken from Liisa Malkki’s *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), this addresses the idea of a perceived moral responsibility on the part of the Quaker unit to, here specifically, provide aid to all Gazan’s in need. This is central to the ethos of the Quaker method, focused as it is on social justice and equitable resolutions to conflict that build on a consultative tradition, which should be critically assessed. Building on Malkki’s work with Finnish Red Cross workers and Anne-Meiki Fechter’s “Aid work as moral labour,” *Critique of Anthropology* 36(2016): 228-243, this chapter lays the ground work for the analysis taking place in chapter 4 that interrogates the sacred/profane dynamic that grounds and motivates Quaker efforts in achieving socially just resolutions to conflicts in which they are involved. This ‘moral responsibility’ is a Quaker construction that is very much grounded in both their faith but also their perception (much as in the case of Malkki) that their privileged position (in the international order) in combination with their faith makes it their responsibility to serve those in need and speak on their behalf in fora where the voices of those in need might not otherwise be heard (for example, see the letter from the field team to the AFSC HQ on page 13-14 of chapter 4). The Quaker moral responsibility, based in their faith, is in contrast to the UNRWA approach based as it is in Foucault’s bio-power and Weberian ‘Administrative Neutrality’ (See Gregory Huber, *The Craft of*

newly urban poor in Gaza City, Deir al-Balah and Rafah. Even though this population had not been explicitly displaced by the 1948 conflict, their livelihoods had been destroyed by the conflict and the influx of the displaced population.



Figure 6: Refugee family in Khan Younis in a makeshift shelter they built, 1948/9.¹⁸

Aside from the mission emphasis on assistance to those in need,¹⁹ there was also a belief within the Quaker mission that a true and good faith effort was being made at resettlement and other political solutions to the conflict, which would mitigate any dependence by the urban poor on their aid. Instead, the general view was that the displaced population would quickly be resettled, allowing the urban poor to resume their income through the local formal and informal economies, without their position and buying power being threatened by the displaced population.²⁰ It was this kind of moral

Bureaucratic Neutrality: Interests and Influence in Government Regulation of Occupational Safety (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ AFSC Bulletin No. 3, May 1949, 2. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

¹⁹ Minutes from the Foreign Service Executive Committee dated 17 November 1948, Box 1: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine (Gaza) 1948. Folder #174 FS Sect Palestine 1948: Administration 19 Points. Accessed 2 November 2015.

²⁰ Letter and report, from James Baster, chief economist of the Clapp mission to Stanton Griffis, cc’d to AFSC. Box 4 – Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project; Projects: Medical through Reports:

equivocating and inability to compromise on personal relationships with the population that resulted in the short tenure of the Friends' mission in Gaza.

The Origins of Gaza Special Rules

However, before the Friends left Gaza, they did put in place the framework for what became the “Gaza Special Rules.” This provision of aid to individuals beyond the subsequently agreed upon definition of Palestinian refugee²¹ met the moral and ethical approval of the Quaker mission. This provision of aid to all those in need was clearly articulated in AFSC Memorandum of Understanding with UNRPR, better known as the ‘Nineteen Points’ document.²² In particular, it was point seven of the nineteen-points document that stated: “the nature of our [AFSC] activities would be that of emergency relief – attempting to preserve life and health and provide shelter for those whose destitution arises from the present troubles, without any discrimination except that of human need.”²³ However, when viewed by the Economic Survey Mission and the Executive Directors of various UN Agencies in both New York and Beirut, it was seen as an overstep from the mandate given by the UN and a financial burden. The “Gaza Special Rules” that continue until today date back to the inception of the AFSC mission in Gaza. The basis of these “rules” is in the nineteen-point manifesto laid out by the Friends,

Clapp Mission 1949, Folder #123 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Reports, UN Economic Survey Mission.

²¹ This definition was not agreed until 1952, RG Records Control, Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III, from UNRWA Archives

²² This Memorandum of Understanding between the two organizations is more commonly referred to as the “Nineteen-Points” document. Box 1: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine (Gaza) 1948. Folder #174 FS Sect Palestine 1948: Administration 19 Points. Accessed 2 November 2015

²³ Minutes, Foreign Service Executive Committee, 17 November 1948 in Box 1, Folder #174, accessed 2 November 2015.

which guided their collaboration with the UNRPR in providing services to those in the newly created Gaza Strip.²⁴

The nineteen points that formed the basis of the Friends' negotiations with UNRPR were articulated to ensure that the mission was appropriately oriented by and grounded in Quaker ideals and approaches and not the bio-political approaches preferred by the emerging UN Agencies. The nineteen points also served to satisfy the Friends' concerns that they would not be used as a pawn to enact political arrangements with



which they did not agree. As such, point one of the agreement indicates, “our [AFSC] identity and autonomy must be preserved. All concerned must understand that we are not acting as an agency of the U.N., but as a private agency at the invitation of U.N. and drawing upon U.N. monetary and other support. Such actions does not identify us with any political decision taken by U.N. in respect of Palestine.”²⁵

Figure 7: AFSC Milk Distribution at Bureij Camp, 1949.²⁶

²⁴ While the Gaza province in southern Palestine had long been recognized in Ottoman legal and taxation documents, the Gaza Strip as the explicit territorial entity that we discuss today was solely a creation of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.

²⁵ Minutes, Foreign Service Executive Committee, 17 November 1948 in Box 1, Folder #174, accessed 2 November 2015.

²⁶ AFSC Bulletin No. 1, March 1949, 2. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

This point is important in contrasting the meta-level administrative distinctions between the two organizations, where the Friends focused on ‘moral responsibility’²⁷ and UNRWA focused on the ‘politics of managing life.’²⁸ However, it is point seven, cited above, that speaks most clearly to the origins of the Gaza Rules. What becomes clear from this discussion point is that the focus is on helping those in need, regardless of their categorization.

This focus on need beyond categories is exemplified in the story of Khalil Oweida. Oweida was a native of Gaza, a Gazawi, and a schoolteacher in pre-War Palestine. Following the displacement of massive numbers of refugees to Gaza, Oweida found work with the Friends and became a camp leader in the middle areas of the Gaza Strip. Oweida bridged the divide between the Gazawi and the refugees and, because of his employment with the Quakers, he was viewed by the Gazawi community as someone who could advocate on their behalf. Oweida approached the Quakers and explained that there were 20-25,000 Gazawi living in worse conditions than the refugees. He showed the Quakers the “hovels” in which this population lived, subsisting on food given to them by the refugees from their AFSC rations. Together, Oweida and the Friends created a village: *Muharamin*,²⁹ or the woebegone, the deprived. They registered 15,000 people to *Muharamin* to ensure that they would receive food rations. While doing so was strictly

²⁷ See Malkki, *The Need to Help* and Fechter “Aid work as moral labour,” 228-243, and footnote 16 for greater discussion.

²⁸ For a discussion of this approach in the context of Iraq refugees in Syria post-2003, see Sophia Hoffman, “International Humanitarian Agencies and Iraqi Migration in Preconflict Syria,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48 (2), 2016: 339. The example of UNRWA given here is an early indication of this evolving norm of humanitarianism to construct a “way of doing things” informed by a liberal conception of politics within a framework of Foucault’s biopower and its focus on power over life.

²⁹ The name of the village given in the original oral histories is Muhamin, but the translation offered is that of deprived or destitute, and so it is my corrected translation of Muharmin. It is also possible that this was incorrectly transliterated by the interviewer of the oral histories, as she did not speak Arabic, however, the interviewee did.

against the rules set up UNRPR, it was viewed as a necessary component of the AFSC mission's moral responsibility to the population.³⁰

The creation of a village to feed those deemed in need was quintessential of the Quaker mission.³¹ Classification and categorization were not of interest to the group, rather meeting the immediate need of the entire population and working towards a swift and just settlement. The need to categorize, introduced by UNRPR and reaffirmed in the Clapp Report, became the biggest issue for the Friends in undertaking the mission in Gaza. In particular, the labeling of the local population as without need versus the refugee population as in need would ultimately lead to the Quakers' decision to not renew their mission in Gaza and work to remove themselves from the situation.

Beyond Definitions: Meeting Need without Being Naïve

Stories from late 1948 and early 1949 indicate that one of the biggest issues the new refugee population was facing, possibly even above access to food, was access to clean water. In Maghazi there were reports of stories that indicated issues between the refugees and the native Gazans, as the refugees descended on the water sources in the area depleting the water reserves and the aquifer.³² This had a run-on impact for the

³⁰ Taken from the Oral History given by Al Holtz on 19 September 1992 as part of the AFSC Oral History Project, Interview #604, pages 75-76 of the transcript.

³¹ The creation of a village as a means to provide for this population follows the logic of the aid distribution of the time: Palestinian refugees were ordered and registered in accordance with their village of origin. *Muharamin* would mean nothing to those financial administrators auditing the records. However, in light of Timothy Mitchell's, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), discussion of "the Middle Eastern town" (54), the "native town" and the "Arab town" (163-164) and the disconnect of the 'materiality' of the building and the 'ideality' of the structures, this particular story takes on a new place within this discussion of and evolution through bio-power and the role it comes to play for the Friends and UNRWA. While this would a 'soft-approach' to bio-power, nonetheless, it is one of the first examples of the Friend's movement towards working within this framework of bio-power to achieve 'good' for a forgotten segment of the population in need. This has direct bearing on the coming discussion in chapter four that addresses such lapses as the sacred space and acts of the Quakers become profaned.

³² See report from the visit of Dr. Descoedres of UNICEF to the Gaza Strip on 11-12 November 1948, Box 1 – Foreign Service, Country – Palestine (Gaza) 1948; Folder #84 FS Sect Palestine 1948, Refugee Proj: Administration Exploration

native Gazans both for access to water, but it also derailed any local farming as the water was being diverted to people and not for use on crops. The longer the refugee population remained in Gaza, the more the local economic interests and initiatives of the native Gaza population suffered. The issue of the non-refugee population of Gaza is raised in an AFSC report, noting that “it is becoming increasingly difficult to make a legitimate distinction on the basis of food need as between the refugees and inhabitants of the area.”³³ Further discussion of the situation shows that the discrepancy in recognizing and responding to the general need is adding a layer of conflict between the refugees and the local population, while adding that helping the most food poor of the local Gazan population could easily mitigate the unrest.³⁴



Figure 8: Women using a solar pumping station installed by the Quakers, Middle areas (Bureij/Maghazi), 1949.³⁵

³³ Confidential Report from Howard Wriggins, AFSC liaison in Geneva, to Foreign Service Executive Committee, 13 March 1949. Box 3 Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS Sect Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: letters Un#d from. Accessed 3 November 2015.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ AFSC Bulletin No. 4, June-July 1949, 2. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

The increasingly dire predicament of the non-refugee population was a problem that would simply not go away. Upon its creation in 1948, the Gaza Strip was widely recognized as “an economic curiosity,”³⁶ largely because it became home to “over five times its normal [pre-war] population,” and “the influx of refugees produced an economic catastrophe.”³⁷ The large scale loss of farmland used to produce cash-crops such as citrus and barley proved to be catastrophic for the local economy, with a run-on effect of destroying the limited local industry.³⁸ With the influx of the refugee population, the wage for unskilled labor in the Gaza area fell from 30 piastres a day to 10-12 piastres a day.³⁹ This meant that “for everybody in the Gaza Strip except a small body of property owners, the immigration of the refugees was a calamity because wages have been driven down below the subsistence level by competition from refugees receiving rations.”⁴⁰ Those people “at the bottom of the income pyramid,” were “not the refugees at all but the resident workers,” or the native Gazans.⁴¹ This population was “in real danger of starvation,” because they “receive only the going wage and cannot qualify for Quaker rations.”⁴² While the economic problems in Gaza were, at the time, common throughout the region, “they occur[ed] in such an acute form in the Gaza Strip that this area is clearly a special case, to which the recommendations of the Clapp Interim Report will have to be

³⁶ “An economic note on the Gaza Strip,” by James Baster, the chief economist of the Clapp Commission 7 December 1949, Box 4 Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project; Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission 1949. Folder #55: FS Sect Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Reports, General. Accessed 4 November 2015.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid, pages 3-5.

³⁹ “An economic note on the Gaza Strip,” by James Baster, the chief economist of the Clapp Commission 7 December 1949, Box 4 Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project; Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission 1949. Folder #55: FS Sect Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Reports, General. Accessed 4 November 2015, page 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid, pages 9

⁴¹ Ibid, pages 9

⁴² Ibid, pages 9

applied with considerable elasticity.”⁴³ Implementing the ration cut required by the Clapp report would likely “produce a serious threat to public order in the area if its effect was to condemn anything like 30,000 people to conditions of near starvation.”⁴⁴ This contradictory narrative, coming as it does from the chief economist of the Clapp Commission, is particularly troubling as it indicates that even at the UN and donor level there were concerns about limiting the distribution of food aid to only refugee populations and what this could mean for the security of the mission and the area.

Aiding those in need, but not registered refugees was not the only issues that the Quakers faced in their aid distribution in Gaza. The number of registered refugees was deemed by the Clapp report to be excessive, and the Quakers were told to strike 20,000 names from the food aid roster.⁴⁵ The registration list from the village of Kanfaka presented a particular problem for the Quakers. The Kanfaka registration list indicated a 400% margin of error, based on the Mandate population figures provided by the British. This margin of error corresponded to cutting 800 rations from the lists. However, without the support and participation of the village *mukhtar* and no concrete and verifiable list of names the Quakers were unable to take any action outside of threatening to cut off all food rations. Such use of “food as a weapon to enforce honesty” was seen as a most un-Quakerly method and the team resisted its use at all costs.⁴⁶ While there was consensus amongst the Quaker team that there were likely 20,000 non-refugees or double

⁴³ Page 14, “An economic note on the Gaza Strip,” 7 December 1949, Box 4 Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project; Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission 1949. Folder #55: FS Sect Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Reports, General. Accessed 4 November 2015.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, page 13.

⁴⁵ Letter from Charlie Read to the Foreign Service Executive Committee in Philadelphia, dated 15 October, 1949 and unnumbered. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

registrations on the aid roster, the consensus was that in order to properly investigate and reconcile the lists would take approximately 5 years.⁴⁷ The push and pull between the legal obligation to meet the enforced 20,000 ration cuts and the moral imperative not to weaponize food indicates the team's level of moral trepidation regarding their obligation to feed those in need versus or somehow in tandem with abiding by the rules and guidance set by UNRPR.

The Bio-Power of Food: An Humanitarian Conundrum

The Quaker antipathy towards the use of food as a weapon came into direct conflict with the perception within the organization's leadership regarding their obligation to operate within the UN bureaucratic system and the strictures that this system imposed. This schism was in large part due to the fact that in Gaza the Quakers were "acting virtually as a semi-governmental body," an approach with which the group was both unfamiliar and uncomfortable.⁴⁸ Typically the Friends were invited to mediate with the parties at conflict, working on the ground with individuals from each side to create a socially just resolution that was acceptable to both sides. However, in the instance of Gaza there were no tangible efforts to create a permanent solution, despite the Friends' best efforts and wishes. Rather, the Quakers found themselves being pulled into a situation that was compelling them to implement approaches rooted in bio-power and

⁴⁷ Letter from Charlie Read to the Foreign Service Executive Committee in Philadelphia, dated 15 October, 1949 and unnumbered. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from

⁴⁸ From an unnumbered letter dated October 15, 1949, from Charlie Read to the Foreign Service Executive Committee. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from. Accessed 3 November.

ultimately reshaping the identity of the AFSC in Gaza.⁴⁹ In order to “do a conscientious job through the United Nations,” it was believed that “we [the AFSC]: must do some things in which our consciences will be troubled,” namely with hold food from those in need in order to correctly order and structure the aid registration rosters.

This slippage from a principled stance of neutrality to one that saw that AFSC moving into a position of wielding bio-politics approaches against the population was deeply problematic for the organization as a whole. There was an awareness, however, that such actions threatened the central operating principles of the organization, and this self-reflection and self-awareness is unlike anything found in the UNRWA archives. On the contrary, UNRPR, and subsequently UNRWA, were built on the use of biopower to create structures to control the population and implement programs aimed at ordering individuals who would contribute to and reinforce a system of economic excellence. The Friends were willing to acknowledge that not only were they out of their depth providing such government-like services to such a large population, but that continuing such an approach threatened the very rationale of the organization as whole. This continued awareness of the human aspect is at the heart of the Quaker refusal to hand over the ration lists to any other group involved. The general feeling was that if the Quakers “handle the corrections, they will be better done and more fairly done that if we try to turn them over to another group.”⁵⁰ In particular it was the Egyptian Army that was “trying very hard to get this out of our hands,” by bringing “great pressure” on the

⁴⁹ This appears to have been recognized by some Gazan intellectuals, including renowned Gazan poet (and communist activist) Mu’in Bseiso who in his published diary from the period consistently refers to the “Quaker Men” and linking them to an American agenda in Gaza, Mu’in Bseiso, *Yawmiyat Gaza (Gaza Diary)* (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Authority, 1971): 23-25, in particular, but 15-25.

⁵⁰ From an unnumbered letter dated October 15, 1949, from Charlie Read to the Foreign Service Executive Committee. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from. Accessed 3 November.

Quaker representatives “to let them do the corrections. They have a great stake in this matter and it is not a transparent altruism.”⁵¹ This concern over the role and motivations of the Egyptian Army is indicative that even though the Quaker team exhibited a certain naiveté in their approaches to such a highly politicized endeavor that they are aware of the inherently political field within which they were working.⁵²



Figure 9: Food Distribution of dried beans in Rafah, 1949.⁵³

There is a striking story that clearly shows the difference between the person-based and category based approaches of these two organizations. In the memoirs of the Palestinian researcher and advocate Salman Abu Sitta, he recalls his time in the Khan Younis refugee camp. As part of his reflection Abu Sitta comments “I will never forget

⁵¹ From an unnumbered letter dated October 15, 1949, from Charlie Read to the Foreign Service Executive Committee. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from. Accessed 3 November.

⁵² This pitting of the mission against the Egyptian military is in part the Quaker pacifism that finds it reprehensible that a military would be involved in such a humanitarian undertaking. But it is also because the Friends truly feel that the Egyptian military will not act in the best interest of the refugees. By contrast, one of the Oral Histories, by Al Holtz, states that when the handover occurred his replacement (now working for UNRWA) came down with “a case of scotch” and “was told to get along with the Egyptians,” in contrast with the Quakers who worked quite independently of the Egyptian military. See the AFSC Oral History Project, Interview #604, page 87 of the transcript.

⁵³ “Quaker Work Among Arab Refugees Undertaken for the United Nations,” *American Friends Service Committee* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1950), 12.

‘Mr. Marshall,’ [Marshall Sutton of the AFSC mission] as everybody called him. Marshall was adept at this task [as distribution officer in Khan Younis], but he was also aware of the dimension of this unprecedented tragedy. It was remarkable that Marshall and his colleagues so quickly grasped the essence of Palestinian suffering.”⁵⁴ Abu Sitta goes on to retell how he telephoned Marshall Sutton in February 2002 to thank him for his efforts in Gaza back in 1949. Abu Sitta was amazed to know that Sutton remembered him and his family, and was still actively working to inform and alter US policy towards Gaza.⁵⁵ This account is reflective of the soul of the Friends’ mission in Gaza: the Quakers were there for the people of Gaza, to work with them towards a long-term solution. They were not there to simply hand out food, blankets and tents, even if this is how the mission ended. In his oral history interview for the AFSC archives recorded a decade earlier in September 1992, Sutton recalls his relationship with the Abu Sitta family.⁵⁶ The Abu Sittas feature prominently throughout Sutton’s recollections, as do another dozen Palestinian workers in the recorded interviews of his colleagues.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016), 96-97.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 97, Sutton had been in Washington DC the day prior to Abu Sitta’s phone call, speaking before Congress to encourage them to actively seek a peace agreement that would recognize Palestinian losses and needs.

⁵⁶ In the transcripts it is transcribed as “Abbasita,” Sutton recalls working with Salman’s cousin Hussein in the Khan Younis camp, see AFSC Oral History Interview #608 with Marshall Sutton, 21 September 1992, pages 185-194 of the transcript.

⁵⁷ I have not come across any similar recollections about UNRWA staff in the memoirs I have reviewed, which instead have focused in particular on legal case studies. For publications in the legal area see: Alex Takkenberg, *The status of Palestinian refugees in international law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and with Sari Hanafi and Leila Hilal, *UNRWA and Palestinian refugees: from relief and works to human development* (2014); Leila Hilal “Peace Prospects and Implications for UNRWA’s Future: An International Law Perspective,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28(2009): 607-622; and Lance Bartholomeusz, “The Mandate of UNRWA at Sixty,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28(2009): 453-474. A more politically oriented volume is Robert Bowker *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

This back and forth over food rations, and the push and pull between moral responsibility⁵⁸ and obligation and standardized regulations is in contrast with the narrative in the UNRWA archival papers. There is a handbook in the UNRWA Archives dated October 1955, which is entitled “Eligibility and Registration, UNRWA Gaza, Compiled Local Rules.”⁵⁹ These “local rules” constitute an agreement between the UNRWA Director of Social Affairs and Refugees in the area under the Egyptian administration and the Egyptian administrators. This last piece is important to note, as when UNRPR directed the Quakers to cut 20,000 recipients from the aid roles, the Egyptian administration in Gaza were displeased and wanted to oversee the process of correcting the registration rosters themselves.⁶⁰ The Friends resisted such attempts due to concerns that the rosters would become a political weapon yielded by the Egyptian military, whereby “the corrections would be done on the basis of patronage.”⁶¹

Too many Cooks for the *Zibdiyat Gambari*: The Egyptian Military in Gaza

It is important to understand the degree of involvement and power maintained by the Egyptian military administration in Gaza. Neither the Egyptian government nor the military were interested in long-term usurpation and administration of the territory or responsibility for the population, in contrast to the West Bank’s relationship with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. However, neither the Egyptian government nor the military administration in Gaza wanted to see an exodus or resettlement of the population

⁵⁸ See Malkki, *The Need to Help* and Fechter “Aid work as moral labour,” 228-243, and footnote 16 for greater discussion.

⁵⁹ UNRWA Archives, RG1 Records Control, Box RE 11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III.

⁶⁰ AFSC Archives, Unnumbered note from Charlie (Charles) Read, AFSC Director in Gaza, to the Foreign Service Executive Committee dated 15 October 1949, page 3. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo: Letters Un#d from.

⁶¹ Ibid

out of Palestinian lands. Any type of large-scale resettlement was seen as politically detrimental to the long-term Arab nationalist goal of the creation of an independent Palestinian state. As such, residents of Gaza were by and large refused permission to resettle in Egypt, whether for job or schooling reasons. Only those families with significant connections were able to send their children to school and university in Egypt. Even then it was a long process to request and receive permission from the Egyptian military (which controlled the Sinai), successful candidates then had to register with and receive permits from their local police station in Cairo, as well as from the Ministry of Education.⁶² This partisanship spilled over to the relations between the Egyptian military and the refugees in Gaza,⁶³ and muddied the waters on more than one occasion in their dealings with the Quakers.

In truth, this bad blood between the Quakers and the Egyptian military resulted in the halting of food aid distribution services for a period due to the jailing of one of the Friends. The Friends used to set-up complaint resolution tents in front of their food distribution centers in order to sit with refugees and work to resolve their complaints. On this particular in day, the complaint resolution was taking place in Deir al-Balah, when Joseph Kachadourian heard an uproar at the near-by distribution center. Upon exiting the tent Kachadourian, in the company of AFSC representative Al Holtz, saw Lieutenant Radik, the Egyptian military liaison officer to the Quaker mission, in front of the distribution center shouting at the workers in the center. Lt. Radik was telling the workers

⁶² This process is recounted in Salman Abu Sitta's memoir, where by he and his cousins were initially jailed in Cairo upon their return by train from Gaza. Once finally receiving all necessary permissions they were released from jailed and permitted to return to school; Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return*: 73-81.

⁶³ While much is made of this in the literature, in interviews that I conducted with former colleagues and friends in Gaza when asked about their own relationship to Egypt and their view on the general relationships between Gaza and Egypt there were mostly positive views and stories. Much of this, however, related to family members or friends living in Egypt, mostly in the north Sinai, but also to non-governmental institutions and opportunities, such as universities.

employed by the Quakers to stop distributing the food, and that the Egyptian military was taking over the operation. The thought of the Egyptian military taking over the operations of a pacifist organization was anathema to the team. Holtz and Kachadourian had a quick conversations about the logistics and the options open to them before Kachadourian “stood up on the top of the porch and told them [the refugees], ‘The Quakers are not having anything to do with this. This is the Egyptian army officer who is stopping this whole distribution!’ And the soldiers came and grabbed Joseph” and walked him down the road to jail. The next day, after springing Kachadourian from jail, Holtz, Kachadourian, and Emmett Gully, the head of the AFSC mission at the time, met with the Egyptian commanding officer and made clear that any such future stunt would swiftly end all Quaker food distributions in the Strip, permanently. Lieutenant Radik was replaced within the week.⁶⁴

The replacement of Lieutenant Radik made clear that the Egyptian military understood the balance of power in Gaza. While grasping for some pieces of power, the Egyptian military understood their limitations and knew that they would not be able to provide food, blankets, tents, and fuel for 200,000 refugees. This was in large part because the Egyptian military did not have the financial or political backing of the Egyptian government to take over such a large-scale relief effort. As discussed above, there simply wasn't the political will or interest on the part of the Egyptian government to undertake such a relief effort. Additionally, the international community was reluctant to give any financial or in-kind aid directly to the Egyptian military without substantial safeguards in place to ensure that all aid provided would make it the refugees in Gaza.

⁶⁴ From AFSC Oral History Interview #604 with Alwin Holtz, 19 September 1992, pages 64-65 of the transcript.

Gaza Special Rules: Rations and Defining the Family

The “Gaza Special Rules”⁶⁵ are distinct from those rules in place in the other fields of UNRWA operations (West Bank, Lebanon, Syria). There are two specific differences that can be found in the UNRWA eligibility and registration guidelines specific to Gaza. The first is in the definition of family: in the Gaza rules there is no reference to the family having to share a home in order to retain rations for all members on the ration card.⁶⁶ This means that one ration card can be used to support multiple sub-units of one family, all living in separate homes. In a system where people live in such fluid networks, this is a significant distinction, as it is difficult to strike people from the register and the one family home caveat is a common way of doing this in other fields. In other fields the definition of family requires that all members of the household who are listed on the family ration card reside in a single dwelling in order to retain those rations. Should a family member move out, they would be required to apply for their own familial registration card, a lengthy and difficult process. While this is a minute and quite technical detail, these distinct rules have paved the way for some differentiation in how food aid in Gaza is assigned and distributed, which is a legacy of the Quaker insistence of not using food as a weapon and the manner in which such a declaration resonated with the local population. Until today the ration levels in Gaza remain capped at 200,000,⁶⁷ which is the highest level of rations accorded to any one field. It is also the same as those numbers decided upon in 1949/50, indicating the stagnant nature of the situation in Gaza.

⁶⁵ Letter from General Counsel to Director of UNRWA Operations, Gaza (DUO/G), dated 15 June 1968, Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs RE210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III.

⁶⁶ Letter from General Counsel to Director of UNRWA Operations, Gaza (DUO/G), dated 15 June 1968, Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs RE210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III

⁶⁷ Page 2, “Compiled Local Rules,” UNRWA Archives, RG1 Records Control, Box RE 11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III.

This specificity of detail and focus on the absolute supremacy of the rules indicates that UNRWA’s approach to administering aid in Gaza was embedded within a bio-power framework. Such an approach is a distinct evolution from the Quaker process of aid distribution. UNRWA’s emphasis on categorization, including minutiae such as defining eligibility on the basis of family living arrangements, is an early manifestation of what some recent scholarship has addressed as the “politics of managing life” through humanitarian aid.⁶⁸ A variety of documents within the Quaker archives detail the process of aid, including a focus on the ration distribution schedule, the number of employees required to assist in distribution, and the manner in which a ration card should be stamped in order to make clear a recipient had collected their aid.⁶⁹ In contrast, the UNRWA archives yielded a number of documents that laid out algorithms for bio-power processing.

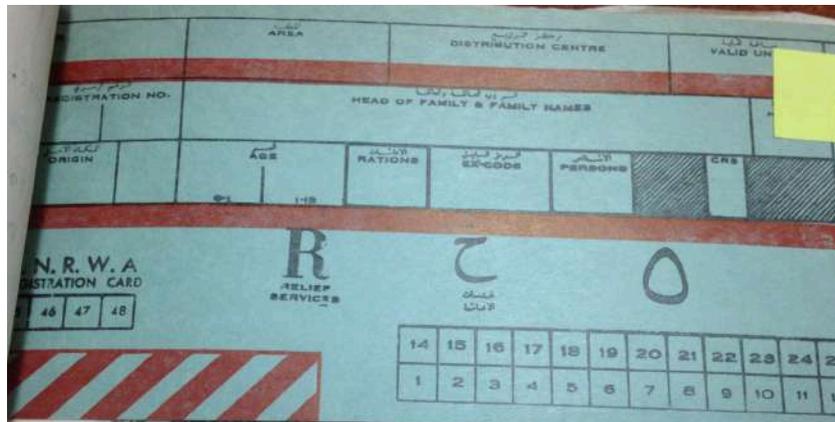


Figure 10: UNRWA Ration Card.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Hoffman, “International Humanitarian Agencies,” 339.

⁶⁹ An example of this can be seen on pages 3-6 of the AFSC contribution to a Field Manual, attached as part of a memorandum from Al Holtz to James Keen, future UNRWA field director, in January 1950. Box 5 Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project Reports to Country – Poland, 1949. Folder #200 FS SECT Palestine, 1950; Refugee Proj: Comms & Orgs UN-UNRPR. A second such example comes from the Kautz Family archives’ holdings of the K. Brooke Anderson papers, Y.USA.27, Box 1, File 3, Correspondence 1950-1959, which details the 10-step daily process that all worker at the AFSC distribution centres must follow.

⁷⁰ UNRWA Ration Card, UNRWA Archives, Records Control RG 1 Box RE 4, Folder RE 210, Eligibility and Registration, Part II

Refugee Categorization: UNRWA's Algorithms of Need

The first example, and focus of this case study, is the ten-page agreement approved by the Egyptian authorities that outlines the compiled Gaza Local Rules.⁷¹ This document repeats the UN-accepted definition of Palestine refugee, the list of required documents to register as a refugee, the situations in which new registrations (that do not exceed the 200,000 ration ceiling) will be considered, the rules for forming and staffing a committee to review such applications, the registration of births and deaths, and the deletion of eligibility on the basis of income.⁷² This emphasis on structures of control is both fascinating and morbid when understanding its application to human beings.⁷³ A second compendium dated 9 July 1961, entitled the "Final draft of Eligibility Manual" by the Director of Relief Programs Louis P. Gendron, discusses the categories of refugees: R, RR, RWR, CRS, E, M and N.⁷⁴ The report details the specific eligibility requirements of each category. These requirements focus on registration as a refugee, marital status and partner classification, in order to clarify the services for which persons in each

⁷¹ "Compiled Local Rules," Eligibility and Registration UNRWA Gaza, Box RE 11, Folder 210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III.

⁷² Pages 2-5, "Compiled Local Rules," Eligibility and Registration UNRWA Gaza, Box RE 11, Folder 210/9, Eligibility Instructions, January 1963-1970, Part III.

⁷³ There is a variety of literature that addresses the power and politics of refugee registration. Ilana Feldman, "The Humanitarian Condition: Palestinian Refugees and the Politics of Living," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 3(2012): 164, discusses the agency that it can lend to those displaced, by choosing not to register one refuses to identify oneself as a refugee. This is very particular to the case of Palestinian refugees, and is in a sense mirrored in the discussion by Julie Peteet, *Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005): 73, when she describes registration as "proof of Palestinian identity in the only legal sense available." These approaches are in stark contrast to the literature that deals with refugees more broadly, in particular the more recent literature on Iraqi and Syrian refugees, where registration is seen as a means to controlling and stopping movement, see Mark F N Franke, "Refugee Registration as foreclosure of the freedom to move: the virtualisation of refugees' rights within maps of international protection," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27(2009): 352-369. As well as questions of privacy and control of these populations with the implementation of bio-metric registration, see: Katja Lindskov Jacobsen, "UNHCR, accountability and refugee biometrics," in *UNHCR and the Struggle for Accountability: Technology, Law and results-based management*, ed. Kristin Bergtora Sandvik and Katja Lindskov Jacobsen, 159-179 (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁷⁴ Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE210/9 Eligibility Instructions, Part I, June 1960-July 1961, Chapter 2, page 1.

category do and do not qualify. These services include: basic rations, education, medical services, shelter, and limited assistance.⁷⁵ Below is an overview of each of these categories, the definitions of individuals classified in these groups and the services they receive. Despite its length and the barrage of acronyms it is still not a complete accounting of all categories, services, and restrictions. The near-absurdity of grouping humans in such a manner is not discussed, rather there is only laser-like focus on ensuring that each individual only receives those services and status to which they are permitted.

The various categories are defined by the services received. The most sought after is the R category, which includes “Families with some or all members eligible for Basic Rations and any other UNRWA Assistance;” RR registered refugees receive basic rations; and RWR registered refugees are members of an R Family registered on the same card but not eligible for basic rations.⁷⁶ Those registered as CRS are children above 1 year of age registered for services only. The E category are “families with all members eligible for General Education and some UNRWA assistance, but specifically not for Basic Rations”⁷⁷ and the M category is “Families with all members eligible for medical services and some other UNRWA assistance, but specifically not for Basic Rations and General Education.”⁷⁸ There are even categories for registered refugee women who have married a non-refugee and so neither they nor their children from that marriage are eligible for service. One such sub-category in this section is the N category, where

⁷⁵ Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE210/9 Eligibility Instructions, Part I, June 1960-July 1961, Chapter 4, page 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid, Chapter 2, page 1. This would likely include someone who has a job with UNRWA or who has left the Gaza Strip (for work or education), the classification indicates that they are a registered refugee (and so entitled to any kind of settlements agreed upon in a final agreement), but they do not receive rations – the most sought after type of refugee classification.

⁷⁷ Ibid, Chapter 2, page 1.

⁷⁸ Ibid, Chapter 2 page 1.

“women registered on separate Index Cards due to marriage to unregistered non-refugees” are “ineligible for UNRWA Assistance during marriage.”⁷⁹ Similarly, non-refugee women who are married to refugees (Married non-Refugee, MNR) do not qualify for services, but their husband and children do. The exception for these MNR’s, is for pre- and post-natal care, as while the mother is not eligible for refugee services, the child she is bearing is eligible and so the mother can receive these services on behalf of the child.⁸⁰

While these categories, in particular the gender based ones, were never indicated as an issue by my interviewees they do raise interesting gender-specific questions about the control of women’s bodies and marital choices on the basis of services received. A refugee woman marrying a non-refugee man loses access to all UNRWA services (health care, medical care, job placement, and food aid) for the duration of her marriage.⁸¹ This issue is not a focus of this research, however, it is a point on which further research should be conducted. There then follows five pages that discuss 35 points categorizing the types and extent of services for which registered refugees of each category qualify. The discussion covers everything from blanket and kerosene rations (points 2 & 3, which those in categories R and CRS receive), to medical care (TB specific, point 7, neo-natal, point 6, and general, point 5, which those in categories R, E, and M receive), to extra food rations for children (points 11-14, which those in categories R, E and M receive)

⁷⁹ The full definition of Category N is “for families with all members eligible only for restricted UNRWA assistance; Individuals or families with all members permanently uneligible [sic] for UNRWA Assistance; Women registered on separate Index Cards due to marriage to unregistered non-refugees; ineligible for UNRWA Assistance during marriage,” Ibid, Chapter 2, page 1. This topic is actually discussed in much greater detail in an inter-office memorandum dated 11 July 1962, from the Special Assistant of the Director of Relief Programs to the Director of Relief Programs on the Eligibility of Registered Women who Marry non-Refugees, Box RE4, Folder 210, Eligibility and Registration, Part II. Accessed 14 September 2015.

⁸⁰ Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE210/9 Eligibility Instructions, Part I, June 1960-July 1961, Chapter 1, page 2-3.

⁸¹ Ibid, Chapter 1, page 2

and pregnant and nursing mothers (point 15, those women in R, E, M, and MNR receive), to vocational training (point 30, admitted by priority: R, E, M and then N) and emigration travel grants (point 34).⁸² This discussion of classification and categorization as mechanisms of control is the crux of the difference between AFSC and UNRWA administration of aid operations in Gaza.

Whether AFSC was operating from a position of naiveté or not, its focus during its eighteen-month tenure in Gaza was on aiding those in need from a base of moral responsibility.⁸³ There was a distinct “need to help” amongst the AFSC delegation in Gaza: it was seen not only as their responsibility, but one that was required of them both as world citizens and as Quakers. This does not mean that their provision of services and duties was only out of religious obligation nor that it was without professionalization or organizational standards. It also stands in contrast to the provision of services by UNRWA, which was first and foremost governed by the creation of and reliance on a professionalized bureaucracy. UNRWA’s focus was not on need, but on ensuring that provisions were only distributed to rightfully registered recipients. Such a contrast is important to study and understand as it had had significant impacts on the way that Gazans classify themselves. Some impacts are very real, there are families registered in the RR category who will refuse marriage opportunities for their daughters if it means marrying a non-refugee or someone in a lower category, choosing to instead keep their daughter on the familial card until a better match can be found. These classifications also impact dowry prices, with families registered as RR having the pick of partners for their

⁸² Box RE11, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE210/9 Eligibility Instructions, Part I, June 1960-July 1961, Chapter 1, pages 2-5.

⁸³ See Malkki, *The Need to Help* and Fechter “Aid work as moral labour,” 228-243, and footnote 16 for greater discussion.

sons, because even though the women would be classified as MNR their children would receive all of the UNRWA services for refugees and their family would be guaranteed rations for all registered members.

UNRWA would not explicitly recognize their efforts at categorization as bio-political, however, the real effect of such a system does exert controls over issues such as marriage, family planning, and even efforts to search for jobs. Several of these hallmarks of UNRWA's approach to controlling the population are mirrored in the work of Hamas; such as charitable distribution of food, educational opportunities, summer camps, monetary and in-kind assistance for building (and rebuilding) homes etc. While this assistance is not structured along the same system of categorization, it is linked in a similar way to bio-power: families who accept charitable aid from Hamas are expected to attend Mosque (even if only to receive the aid), to tithe back to the charitable funds when able to do so (through *zakat*), and to send their children to the religious schools and day camps run through Hamas. None of this is required, but it is expected by the charitable arm of Hamas and social pressure is exerted upon families to comply with these efforts. While a clear line of learning between the two organizations cannot be asserted, the similar approaches and potential for learning must be addressed and discussed; this is the focus of chapter seven.

Chapter 4 – Local Enterprise Projects: the Product of Moral Labor

At the end of a long day working in the field to distribute food, kerosene, and blankets, staff come together for a weekly meeting. Greeting calls of “salamtak” and “kifak” fill the meeting hall as tea is distributed and people move to take their seats. The meeting begins, as is the Quaker way, with a moment of silence; and then moves quickly to the matters at hand: local camp leaders and their assistants report on the ongoing distributions and issues in the camp and surrounding operations. Should sugar be issued to the clinics for tea and coffee making? A discussion ensues; the importance of providing small comforts to those seeking medical assistance – or even a warm space to sit – is mentioned. A vote is called and those present decide in favor. One kilogram of sugar, specifically for tea and coffee making, will be provided to each clinic, and clinic assistants or administrative staff can retrieve sugar during daily distributions. The discussion moves on to the issuing of kerosene and whether it should be distributed at the same time as the food rations. A debate occurs: Jawdat argues for minimizing the number of visits to centers by families, but Yusuf feels that multiple visits to the distribution centers would give the staff greater control over the ration lists, and aid them in monitoring and deleting fraudulent and duplicate information. With some input from the Quakers, the camp leaders discuss when supplies will arrive and the logistics of worker support for undertaking multiple or single distribution rounds. Following the discussion, another vote: kerosene will be delivered on the same day as rations and recipients can retrieve both in one visit. The meeting moves on to the next issue, with discussion and voting into the evening hours and the coming dusk of a winter’s evening in Gaza¹.

To fully understand the motivations of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)² and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and their impact on Gaza from 1948, it is necessary to look deeper into the backgrounds and organizational cultures of each group.³ In particular, each organization’s approach to supporting and cultivating local enterprise practices provides important clues to their

¹ Summarized from a series of meeting minutes from various camp leaders meetings, including the one specifically referenced on 14 February, 1950. See Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project (Gaza) (Continued) 1950, Folder: #152 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Minutes – Camp Leader Meeting, AFSC Archives. Accessed 5 November 2015.

² The American Friends Service Committee will be referred to through the chapter as AFSC, Friends’ and Quakers. Referenceing the group as the Friends’ is taken from internal documents and is reflective of the consensus based and community-oriented nature of the organization.

³ See chapter three for more specific discussion, but the application by UNRWA of Foucauldian bio-power permitted the Agency to structure and organize a population on the basis of access to food. In contrast, the moral responsibility-oriented approach of the Quakers viewed the use of food as a weapon as a moral failing and obliged the Friends’ to provide food aid to all of those in need and not only those who feel into the ‘correct’ categories.

motivations, long-term goals, and views on Gaza. While both organizations provided large-scale social services in place of those provided by a state government, their unique histories, missions, and organizational cultures had a significant impact on the political culture of the Gaza Strip between 1948-1967. The differences are rooted in the external and supranational nature of UNRWA in contrast to the more grassroots and religious orientation of the Friends: this is exemplified by the above meeting minutes that discuss the importance of clinics providing tea and coffee to their patients, a small local courtesy favored by the Quakers in the midst of a generally chaotic background.

The hand-over of responsibility for administering aid to the refugee population in Gaza occurred in May 1950, when the Friends handed over operations to UNRWA. This hand-over also established a precedent of mass bureaucracy over individual consultation and representation for the population of the Gaza Strip.⁴ It would be simplistic to base a comparative analysis of the two organizations solely on their religious versus secular identities. However, the faith-based versus secular component is a significant element in analyzing the two institutions because it informed their organizational identities and impacted their practices and methods. Through a close reading of the archival material from the Friends' and UNRWA archives, two models of "works" projects implemented by civil society organizations acting in the place of a sovereign authority become apparent.⁵ These models are linked to the history, values, and scale of each organization, in contrast to the scope of services provided; but they are also specific to the case of the

⁴ This precedent of faceless bureaucratic organization of the population versus personal relationships is also indicative of the growing influence of methods of biopower in administering these government-like services.

⁵ This contrasts with and builds upon the work of Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population (Lectures at the College De France, 1977-76)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), and its focus on the role of a sovereign government in directing social projects, such as the ones discussed here, in an effort to cultivate a certain attitude and demeanor in their population.

Gaza Strip. The Friends' model, based on a consultative process that encouraged consensus-based decision making with registration of dissent, advocated local innovation and leadership. In contrast, UNRWA's highly structured bureaucratic methods stifled innovation and relied on a top-down hierarchy that implemented externally conceived and funded projects to re-train Palestine refugees for future work placement.

Understanding the distinction between "religion" and "sacred" in the operations of both faith-based and secular organizations working in Gaza is essential. In discussing this distinction it is important to contemplate the work of Emile Durkheim and later scholars who have adapted and modified Durkheim's approaches, in particular the sacred/profane dichotomy.⁶ Durkheim defines religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions – beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community."⁷ The significance here is that religion is not dependent on a god, but on the human creation of spaces and actions that are "sacred." Those actions that are "sacred" stand in contrast to those that are "profane;" in this context, "profane" does not necessarily mean evil or bad, but rather everyday actions that are not in some way moving the community forward.⁸ This discussion is modified and expanded by Peter

⁶ Talal Asad's 'theory of secularization,' especially as it is presented through his collection of essays in *Formations of the Secular*, challenges this dichotomous view of the religion/secularism relationship, in particular as it relates to the creation and observation of sacred and profane spaces and practices that were so essential to the early UN operations. More significantly, Asad's approach provides an alternative means to address the place of religion and secularism in the operations of these organizations that is much more in line with those approaches favored by the YMCA, and as such will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. Contemplating the applicability of each approach as it applies to the two distinct faith-based organizations studied here (the AFSC and the YMCA) is critical to understanding the variety of approaches favored by FBOs as well as the evolving internationalized governmentality in the Gaza Strip.

⁷ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), 44.

⁸ "Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism," in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, eds. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012):

Berger as he discusses both the emphasis of human process in creating religion, as well as how sacred spaces, processes and actions are a product of human activity.⁹ Through the creation of sacred spaces and processes, a more moral and community oriented group is created – this is what links these theological discussions to humanitarianism and humanitarian organizations.¹⁰ By doing more than the mundane and everyday, by crossing boundaries of what is expected (of a government or authority) and providing more within this human-to-human, community-to-community model, these organizations create sacred spaces and processes.¹¹ Thus when discussing “sacred spaces” and “sacred processes” in this realm of humanitarianism, it is not necessarily about physical religious spaces, but those actions and processes that create something more than quotidian everyday-ness and instead labor in an elevated plane. The maintenance of a true moral labor through the creation of such sacred processes was of particular importance to the Friends, imbued as their work and operations were by the Quaker faith.

Works projects, or local enterprises, are one way in which this religious/secular divide can be addressed. Of particular interest is the creation by these organizations of “sacred spaces,”¹² and, building on this, “sacred processes” within humanitarianism, by both faith-based and non-faith-based organizations. In tandem with this creation of the sacred is the potential for “profaning” these sacred processes, activities, and spaces. Some specific examples of the creation and profaning of these “sacred processes” are discussed here in specific case studies. One such example is the evolution of the Quaker

⁹ Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967).

¹⁰ Barnett and Gross Stein, “Introduction,” 12-13.

¹¹ Barnett and Gross Stein, “Introduction,” 12.

¹² Ibid, 3-36, especially 14-18 and 24-27.

mission from ‘moral labor’¹³ to the perceived profaning of such values when forced to compromise their approach to governance in Gaza, in particular through the enforced adoption of blunt bureaucratic methods rather than individualized encounters.¹⁴ The Quakers perceived moral responsibility to provide aid to all Gazans in need is central to the ethos of the Quaker method. This method is focused on social justice and equitable resolutions to conflict that build on a consultative tradition, and needs to be critically assessed. This ‘moral responsibility’ is a Quaker construction that is grounded both in the Quaker faith but also in the AFSC team’s perception that their privileged position in the international order, in combination with their faith, makes it their responsibility to serve those in need and speak on their behalf in fora where the voices of those in need might not otherwise be heard.¹⁵

The perceived profaning of their moral labor is serialized through the Friends’ meeting minutes that detail the group’s consultation and the dissent that is registered as the mission progresses.¹⁶ The reasons for this dissent are directly linked to a perceived

¹³ Anne-Meiki Fechter’s “Aid work as moral labour,” *Critique of Anthropology* 36(2016): 228-243, linked as it is to Liisa Malkii’s moral responsibility, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁴ In addressing these distinct approaches of Durkheim and his successors and Asad, there are elements of each approach that are important to this argument. For the Quakers, theirs is a living faith in the sense of a “pre-modern” approach to religion. In contrast, UNRWA exists and operates in a purely “secular” environment, believing religion to be a private affair.

¹⁵ For an example, see the letter from the field team to the AFSC HQ on page 13-14 of this chapter. This approach has not been without criticism, both in Gaza and in other areas in which the Quakers operated. For some critical analysis of the Quaker methods of approach and operations see: Jenny Carson, “The Quakers Internationalist Tradition in Displaced Person Camps, 1945-8,” in *Warlands: Population Resettlement and State Reconstruction in the Soviet-East European Borderlands, 1945-50*, edited by Peter Gatrell and Nick Baron (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 67-86 (on Quaker operations in Germany); Farah Mendlesohn, *Quaker Relief Work in the Spanish Civil War* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellon Press, 2002) (on impartial distribution of food aid during the civil war); Lydon Back, “The Quaker Mission in Poland: Relief, Reconstruction, and Religion,” *Quaker History* 101 (2012): 1-23 (on local concerns of religious approaches); and Nancy Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007).

¹⁶ One such example comes from an unnamed staff member who cited in AFSC minutes as stating “If asked to take responsibility for a greater area than at present, I hope we will refuse. If asked to continue our present responsibilities, I do not think we should accept because to accept a “third term” would be to

departure from Quaker values and methods – a profaning of this moral labor. The manner in which a highly secular agency, here UNRWA, is able to create “sacred” processes through its emphasis on and elevation of bureaucratic mechanisms above all other approaches is also a point of interest discussed here. The AFSC schooling program and the UNRWA dairy training scheme exemplify the contrasting “business models” used by each organization. These models are directly linked to each organization’s creation and profaning of the sacred spaces discussed above.

The Friends in Context: “Draft Dodgers” to Nobel Laureates

By the time the AFSC began its operations in the Gaza Strip, it had over thirty years of experience working with refugee populations in an effort to create socially just resolutions to global issues. Founded in 1917 following the end of the First World War, the Friends work to “promote lasting peace with justice.”¹⁷ At the core of its founding and ethos was a commitment to non-violence and resistance against the state’s use of militarized violence and the requirement of the population to support this approach. During WWI, AFSC volunteers primarily served as ambulance drivers, providing medical assistance to those in need, as well as coordinating food aid and reconstruction programs.¹⁸ The Friends’ work with both parties to the conflict during the Spanish Civil War is of note,¹⁹ as bringing together those populations affected by conflict to find a mutually agreeable solution is a hallmark of the Friends’ work.

commit ourselves indefinitely to a relief program until there was no more need or no more money. However, I do not think we can refuse bluntly without putting up alternative proposals” from “Possible AFSC Activities in the Palestine Area After 1949”, Box 2: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Administration through Correspondence: Cairo 1949 Folder: #131 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949, Refugee Proj: Administration, exploration for post-relief work

¹⁷ “About AFSC: Who we are,” AFSC, <http://www.afsc.org/about>

¹⁸ Mary Hoxie Jones *Swords Into Ploughshares: An Account of The American Friends Service Committee, 1917-1937*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971. Pp. 16-17.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 293-301

During WWII the Friends once again provided an opportunity for conscientious objectors to serve without participating in military service. This was the most public facet of AFSC work. Both the general population and the US government viewed the Quakers resistance to military service as unpatriotic and defiant.²⁰ While the Friends' efforts in Europe towards the end of WWII garnered significant attention from the American political establishment, this was not always the case. Various government documents, in particular the WWII draft board papers, are highly critical of the non-Quaker pacifists who accounted for the largest number of volunteers for the AFSC relief efforts both during and after the war.²¹ Several AFSC team members recount their experiences in the Civilian Public Service (CPS) in subsequently published memoirs.²² While these memoirs highlight individual experiences and personal satisfaction working on projects of national importance and with refugee populations in Europe and the Middle East, they also recount stories of how their families were treated due to their sons' "unpatriotic" and "delinquent" behavior in refusing to serve in the military.²³

In 1947 the American Friends and the British Friends Service Council were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in European relief and reconstruction efforts in the wake of WWII.²⁴ This Nobel Peace Prize brought the AFSC into the mainstream, endowing the organization with a respectability that assisted in

²⁰ Allan W. Austin, *Quaker Brotherhood: Interracial Activism and the American Friends Service Committee, 1917-1950* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012) and Brad E. Lucas *Radicals, Rhetoric, and the War: The University of Nevada in the Wake of Kent State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

²¹ Thomas D. Hamm et al "The Decline of Quaker Pacifism in the Twentieth Century: Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends as a Case Study," *Indiana Magazine of History* 96 (2000): 44-71.

²² Including Howard Wriggins publication which is most well known: *Picking up the Pieces from Portugal to Palestine: Quaker Refugee Relief in World War II* (Lanham: University Press America, 2004)

²³ Wriggins, *Picking up the Pieces*, also, AFSC Oral Histories, in particular those of Marshall Sutton and Alwin Holtz.

²⁴ "Nobel Peace Prize," AFSC, www.afsc.org/nobel-peace-prize

fostering a positive and productive relationship with the Roosevelts, especially First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.²⁵ The unwavering commitment to Quaker principles and the place of these principles in the moral labor approach of the AFSC made for strange bedfellows. While the AFSC had been successful in its pursuit of non-violent approaches to aiding those involved with the conflict during WWII, the end of the war presented some difficulties to the Quakers continuing to pursue this resistance to state-sponsored violence. The AFSC refused to allow its independence to be usurped by either the UN or American governmental interests, and at the same time the UN and the American government found it impossible to wrangle the Quakers. However, each group needed the other: the AFSC could not aid Gaza without UN financial assistance and the UN had no one else willing, able and politically acceptable to undertake the work in Gaza. Despite fierce disagreements, the AFSC believed in the idea and goals of the UN and as such established an office at the newly formed United Nations, the Quakers United Nations Office (QUNO), which continues to promote Quakers programs and approaches today.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Friends were closely involved in the American civil rights movement through efforts to desegregate schools, educate new voters, and provide training on non-violent protest methods.²⁶ In the 1970s, AFSC's focus evolved to include work in support of more humane treatment of prisoners, to abolish the death penalty, in aid of immigration policy reform, and against overarching government surveillance policies.²⁷ In the Middle East, the AFSC continued to work towards reconciliation of the Arab and Jewish populations in Haifa. The AFSC maintains these connections until today with offices in both Israel and the occupied Palestinian

²⁵ "The Eleanor Roosevelt connection," AFSC, www.afsc.org/story/afsc-and-eleanor-roosevelt-connection

²⁶ "Archives," AFSC, <https://www.afsc.org/project/archives>

²⁷ Ibid

territory. While AFSC undertakes direct programming initiatives in the West Bank, including a continuing role in the Ramallah Friends Boy's School, their work in Israel is primarily through partnership arrangements. These partnerships, with Jewish, Druze, and Palestinian NGOs, focus on programs aimed at demilitarizing Israeli society and promoting learning through experience sharing opportunities, primarily amongst youth populations aged 16-22. Many of these efforts continue today as the Friends maintain 37 offices in 27 US states and the District of Columbia, as well as 15 offices around the world, including in Israel and the Palestinian territories.²⁸

All overseas missions and domestic activities undertaken by any Friends' branch office were and are conducted in accordance with Quaker values and ethics. Services provided are in no way limited to Quakers; likewise, volunteers and employees need not be practicing Quakers. All volunteers and employees must, however, have an understanding of and be in sympathy with the values that guide the Friends' practices. This is clearly encapsulated in the Friends' mission statement, that AFSC is "a Quaker organization that promotes lasting peace with justice, as a practical expression of faith in action. Drawing on continuing spiritual insights and working with people of many backgrounds we nurture the seeds of change and respect for human life that transforms social relations and systems."²⁹ All Friends' programs and initiatives emphasize themes of social justice, integrity, the power of nonviolent activism, and, most significantly for this research, the need for partnership with the communities in which they work.³⁰ The

²⁸ They have other offices in Central and South America (El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Mexico), in Asia (Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Myanmar (Burma), and North Korea) and in Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Somalia and Zimbabwe). They also have a standing representatives office at the UN. American Friends Service Committee "Where we Work," www.afsc.org/where-we-work

²⁹ Mission Statement from the "About Us" section, <http://www.afsc.org/about>

³⁰ As highlighted in the values section of the About Us section on the AFSC website: "We work in partnership with people in communities around the world, respecting their wisdom about how to change

creation of sacred processes and spaces is inherently related to the Quaker emphasis on achieving socially just resolutions to conflict through their non-violent activism. When unable to enact change in such a manner, their moral labor becomes instead a profaned space or practice.

The Need to Stay True to Oneself: AFSC in Gaza

While the Friends continue to be involved in a variety of locally focused peace building and reconciliation projects, their efforts in Gaza remain one of the organization's largest outright aid efforts to this day. The AFSC was one of the first organizations on the ground in Gaza following the 1948 war.³¹ UN and US government administrators felt that the Friends, with three decades of experience working with refugees, their emphasis on socially just solutions to conflict, and substantial international recognition following their reception of the Nobel Peace Prize, were ideally suited for this task. Initially, the Friends' mission sought reconciliation between Palestinians and Jews at a personal level, which they believed would lead to the formation of a Palestinian state and the return of refugees to their homes. As such, the Friends worked both in the Palestinian territories administered by Jordan and Egypt as well as in Israel.³² The all-volunteer staff was

their circumstance and offering our own insights with humility.” This is also significant when understanding how some of the pre-existing culture elements of consultation and consensus (through the privileging of elder voices and traditional Islamic notions of *shura*) were respected and built upon by the Quakers.

³¹ AFSC began this effort at the invitation of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees agency, the precursor of UNRWA, who divided the Palestinian refugee population to be served in those in three groups, splitting the responsibilities for provision of services between AFSC, ICRC and the League of Red Cross agencies.

³² Their offices in Israel were located in Haifa. See *Quaker Work Among Arab Refugees: Undertaken for the United Nations*, AFSC, 1950, pp. 31

initially twenty-one persons in December 1948/January 1949, and this grew to fifty-nine persons at the height of the mission in 1949.³³

The volunteers quickly realized that swift resolution of the refugee issue was unlikely and in truth the Friends' mission was being used to simply provide aid rather than working to a just and long-term solution to the daily problems faced by Palestinians. This realization prompted the team in Gaza to petition the AFSC Executive Committee to pass on its concerns and desire to suspend the mission:

The AFSC wishes to withdraw from direct refugee relief in the Gaza Strip at the earliest possible moment compatible with the fulfillment of its moral obligations to the refugee population. It is obvious that prolonged direct relief contributes to the moral degeneration³⁴ of the refugees: and that it may also by its palliative effects militate against a swift political settlement of the problem.³⁵

The mission ultimately lasted approximately 18 months, from December 1948 until April 30, 1950; this included three contract extensions from the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR).³⁶ The mission in Gaza represented a distinct departure for the Friends from their usual independence. While all participants were volunteers (receiving the same travel, insurance, and living stipends, regardless of position), the

³³ Channing Report, pg 51, Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project (Gaza)(Continued), 1950. Folder #168 FS Sect Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Publicity, General. AFSC Archives, accessed 5 November 2015.

³⁴ While 'degeneration' has an extremely negative connotation, particular currently, based on a reading of the entire document from which this quote was taken, the word is used here as it is defined by Merriam-Webster, as "lowering of effective power, vitality, or essential quality to an enfeebled and worsened kind or state; intellectual, moral, or artistic decline."

³⁵ From the AFSC archives, Box 2: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Proj. Administration through correspondence, Cairo 1949. Folder 5: FS SECT PALESTINE 1949, Refugee Proj: Comms & Orgs, UN-UNRPR, dated 2 December 1949. Draft letter from AFSC to UN Secretary General about continued AFSC work in Gaza. This was not only the sentiment in the field, but also in the headquarters, and from the middle of 1949 the Quakers were trying to extricate themselves from Gaza as they felt that they had been betrayed by assurances of a long term political solution that was never forthcoming.

³⁶ The UNRPR was established in 1948 to provide aid to Palestine refugee's displaced by war. UNRPR was ultimately replaced by UNRWA. During its tenure, UNRPR contracted the League of Red Cross societies to provide aid to refugees in Trans-Jordan (what became the West Bank and the Kingdom of Jordan) and the AFSC to provide aid to refugees in the newly created Gaza Strip.

mission was funded by the UN rather than locally through the Quaker community.³⁷ This left a distinctly uneasy feeling for the Friends, who viewed themselves as an apolitical organization working to build a more socially just world. The concern was that by agreeing to work under contract for the UN to aid Palestine refugees the AFSC would also be required to endorse and uphold UN political resolutions. The potential for cooptation of the AFSC operations was unacceptable to the Board and resulted in a Memorandum of Understanding in the form of the Nineteen Points.³⁸ This agreement built on a long history of the AFSC positioning itself as an alternative voice and approach to that of the establishment. It also ensured, at least initially, that the Quaker pursuit of moral labor would continue.

Community Innovation and Involvement: From Soap-Making to Schooling

The Quaker approach in Gaza emphasized the need for “harmonious relations” with local organizations and the “active assistance” of local participants to create a successful program that met the needs of the refugee population.³⁹ The Friends’ emphasis on consultation of local notables and involvement of local stakeholders in directing both their programming efforts and political positions is unique, especially during this time period. To find local voices and concerns represented in correspondence at an international level is uncommon. While there were some Palestinian voices from an elite, educated class that were prominent in the international arena, the voices represented by the Quakers were those of their camp leaders – like Khalid Oweida – or those of the village *Mukhtars* who might not otherwise be offered a platform.

³⁷ Minutes from the Foreign Service Executive Committee dated 17 November 1948, Box 1: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine (Gaza) 1948. Folder #174 FS Sect Palestine 1948: Administration 19 Points. Accessed 2 November 2015.

³⁸ Ibid, this nineteen points document was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

³⁹ Ibid, point 13, page 2.



Figure 11: Here Palestinian refugees work in a Quaker carpentry shop in Rimaal near what is now Beach, or Shati, refugee camp in Gaza City.⁴⁰

Information from the AFSC archives show several examples of refugee-conceived and -administered projects, including: the founding of a carpentry shop, the construction of a laundry and bathing facility, a loom-weaving program, and the traditional production of soap.⁴¹



Figure 12: Mothers use the bathhouse and laundry facilities, set up in April 1949 by a Gazan Quaker worker.⁴²

The moral labor⁴³ component of Quaker aid, in conjunction with prioritizing local voices, made the AFSC's approach to administering Gaza unique. It also stands in stark contrast to UNRWA's hierarchy-oriented and headquarters-directed approach. Several case

⁴⁰ AFSC Bulletin No. 5, August, 1949, 2. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

⁴¹ This traditional method used olive oil remnants in tandem with other local ingredients to make soap. See “Soap Factories in Nablus: Palestinian Heritage (Turath) at the Local Level,” Veronique Bontemps, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 14 (2012): 279-295;

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Fechter, “Aid work as moral labour,” 228-229.

studies are presented here to address how each organization's distinct administrative approaches and cultures impacted the type and value of their offered programs. The AFSC approach focused on refugee-initiated and -led programs, such as a soap-making program and schooling program. UNRWA's programs, in contrast, were mostly donor driven, such as the dairy training program funded by the Swiss International Development Agency (SIDA). The Quakers gave each district supervisor "a considerable amount of freedom in planning their program and...special projects which might provide service for the refugees"⁴⁴ in what could be termed a 'help-your-neighbor' model. Whereas UNRWA allowed its programs to be driven largely by external and donor funding in more of a 'money-as-the-solution' model.

Soap-Making: Tradition, Luxury, and Control

The AFSC soap project is a particularly interesting local enterprise project because of the historic links to the traditional production of soap in historic Palestine, as well as the biopolitical links between soap and control over and regulation of the refugee body; what could be termed the prescription of essential versus luxury items. Nablus, to the north-east of Gaza, is recognized as one of the historic producers of luxury soap, which in turn became a symbol of local Nablusi economic power.⁴⁵ Traditional Nablusi soap was made from left over olive oil and a few other local ingredients, and at one time Nablus boasted 30 soap factories.⁴⁶ In particular, Nablusi soap was popular in Egypt and

⁴⁴ Excerpt from report by EC Bryant on "Visit to the American Friends Service Committee Area," dated 27 May 1949. Box 2: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Administration through Correspondence: Cairo 1949 (con't); Folder #46 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 REFUGEE PROJ: COMMS & ORGS, Red Cross.

⁴⁵ Bontemps, "Soap Factories in Nablus," 280

⁴⁶ Ibid, 280-81.

was one of the primary exports from Mandate Palestine to both Syria and Egypt.⁴⁷ Much of the scholarship on soap production in Nablus, and the West Bank, has focused on the post-Occupation era, rather than the historic roots of this activity. This creates an image of Palestinian soap making as both an activity of resistance and one that depicts Palestinian unity, moving from the interior outwards.⁴⁸

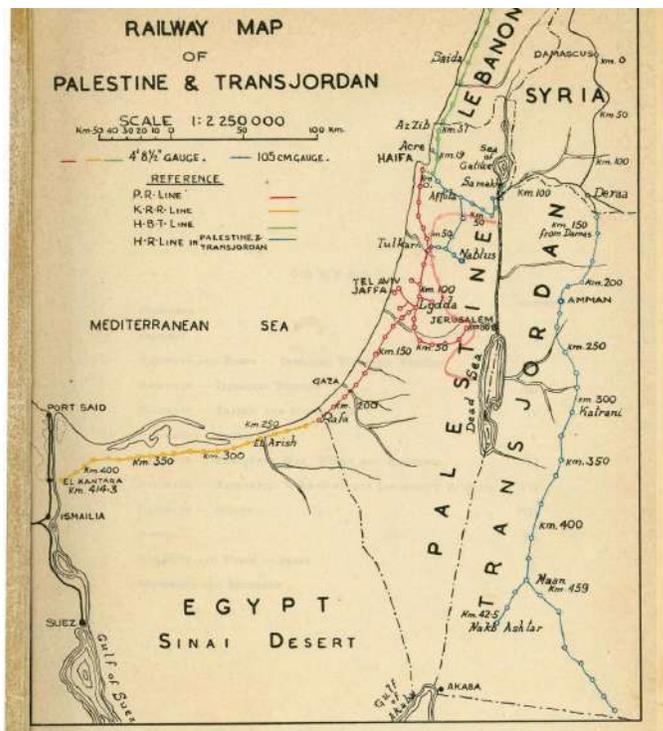


Figure 13: Map of the railroad lines in Mandate Palestine, 1925.⁴⁹

Historically, Gaza’s economy was primarily export based. The primary exports, leaving through either the ports of Gaza or Jaffa or overland through the Sinai, were grains and citrus, additionally some handicrafts, such as weaving, pottery and soap, were

⁴⁷ Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 71, 24. Doumani states that three-quarters of Nablusi soap was exported to Egypt and that almost three-fifths of all soap produced in Palestine found its way to Egypt.

⁴⁸ Bontemps, “Soap Factories in Nablus,” here Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine* is the exception.

⁴⁹ “Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordan, circa 1925,” *Historical Maps of Israel and Palestine*, https://www.edmaps.com/html/israel_and_palestine.html.

other major exports.⁵⁰ There are records dating back to the mid-1880s that detail that three Gazan merchants, two Muslim and one Christian, opened three soap factories to cater to the local need, but also to export traditional Palestinian soap to Egypt.⁵¹ These soap factories operated only during the winter months – processing grain during the summer months – but could produce up to 200,000kg of soap per season.⁵² The ‘factories’ were in truth large, “solid” buildings with facades made of chalasa stones, which are known for their beauty.⁵³



Figure 14: The interior of a soap factory in Nablus and drying soap, circa 1936.⁵⁴

The interiors of each factory looked the same: big, cavernous spaces used for grain storage in the summers and soap making and storage in the winters. This dual-purpose for such large spaces was logical in an era dominated by seasonal production: grain did not need to be stored in the winter months and so it was necessary to find an alternate use for these spaces. Similarly, olive oil based

⁵⁰ Alexander Schölch, “European Penetration and the Economic Development of Palestine, 1856-82,” in *Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Roger Owen (London, MacMillan Press Ltd, 1982), 53.

⁵¹ von Gatt, G. “Industrielles aus Gaza.” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 8 (1885): 76.

⁵² Schölch, “European Penetration,” 54.

⁵³ Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 77. Chalasa stone is a type of limestone, mined near current-day Beersheba, it was a sought after type of stone for building homes and business.

⁵⁴ “Various types, etc Nablus soap, stacked for drying,” 1936, The G. Eric and Edith Matson Photography Collection, Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-matpc-05648. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.05648>

soap could only be made in the winter, as it required the cooler temperatures to set.⁵⁵ According to the Christian-centric report by the German orientalist von Gatt, the soap-making season began “at Christmas time” and ran “through until Easter” of the following year.⁵⁶ Each interior was dominated by a “big copper cauldron fixed to the ground;” each cauldron could hold 200-300 jars of olive oil, and was heated by a fire fueled by “smashed olive pits.”⁵⁷

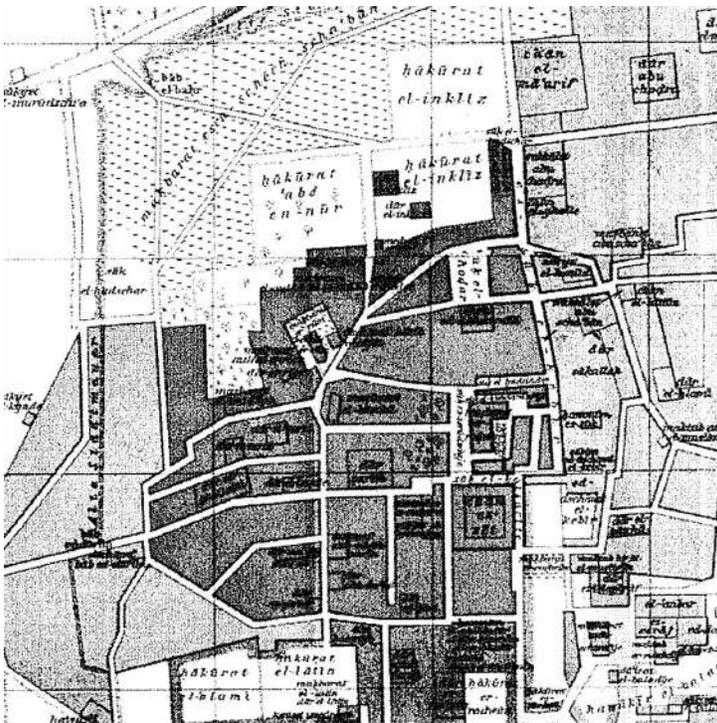


Figure 15: The soap factories in Gaza City, circa 1885.⁵⁸

The soap was made from local olive oil, but also required calcium carbonate, which came from farmers in the Judean mountains, and potash (kali-asche), which came

⁵⁵ Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 79.

⁵⁶ Ibid, this juxtaposition of the Christian holidays as a marker of when the soap making took place, yet the soap making teams in Gaza were all Muslim, is due to this information coming from a German researcher who visited Gaza.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 77.

⁵⁸ G. Von Gatt, “Legende zum Plane von Gaza,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*, 11 (1888): 149-152.

from the Bedouins who lived in-land from Gaza City. The ‘oil’ used was a “thick, green, mushy, non-transparent mass, which doesn’t deserve the name of oil,” as it was the remnants left over after the edible oil had been pressed and stored.⁵⁹ The soap was made by a team of experts who moved from one factory to the next. All of the soap makers in Gaza were Muslim, and each team was led by one master soap maker, a *re’is* (a head).⁶⁰ The soap makers received as payment a percentage of the final product, which they usually sold on to exporters at a profit. The entire *tabkha* (cooking) process, one ‘boiling’ cycle of the oil, took between six to eight days. This made one batch of soap, which would then be scooped out of the cauldron and spread on the floor to dry for an additional one to two days. The soap was then cut into individual cubic pieces and branded with the soap makers mark.⁶¹ Local families would pool together their excess olive oil following the harvest, bring it to the factories, and share the cost of processing it into soap. In payment, the factory owners received a percentage of the soap processed, which could then be exported for a profit. The families each received a share of soap proportional to the amount of oil they had contributed to the batch.

The three factories in Gaza could not compete with the quantity of soap produced in Lydda, Nablus or Ramle. However, the quality of Gaza’s soap was “as good as other cities in the Holy Land.”⁶² While the majority of the soap produced in Nablus, around three-quarters, was exported to Egypt, most of the soap produced in Gaza was exported to the Sudan.⁶³ Only a small portion of Gaza’s soap was exported to Egypt. Much like the soap exported from Nablus, Gaza’s soap exports travelled by land, through the Sinai, to

⁵⁹ Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 78.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 78.

⁶¹ Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 78.

⁶² Ibid, 76.

⁶³ Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine*, 71 and Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 79.

Egypt. However, after around 1860 most of the soap exported from Gaza was transported by sea from the port at Jaffa.⁶⁴

Another facet of interest is how access to and the distribution, or not, of soap links to this larger discussion of biopolitics and the use of such to create and control populations, and, significantly, the images of these populations that are presented to the larger world. Early relief distribution by the Friends consisted only of the declared ‘essentials’: food, blankets, and tents. By early 1949, there were some clothing distributions, although most of the clothes were ill fitting and inappropriate for both the climate and local norms of modesty.⁶⁵ Soap, however, was rarely distributed, nor is it recorded in the archival papers as being a concern. This relates to larger questions of how the refugee problem was imagined and presented to the world. It was presented as an emergency situation requiring food aid, blankets, and clothes. The right to hygiene, as embodied by access to bathing facilities and soap, was not a concern nor seen as a responsibility of those agencies tasked with the responsibility for the care of the refugee population. Rather, it was viewed and presented as a responsibility to stem a public health crisis, with a focus on general pest control (of mosquitos, rats, lice, etc.) and basic public facilities such as latrines, to stem the festering and spreading of any endemic diseases.

The importance of soap and access to it is address by Mu’in Bseiso, a noted critic of both the Quaker efforts and of UNRWA. Yet in one of his more positive commentaries on the Quaker efforts he notes that the teachers in the early schools were paid with

⁶⁴ Von Gatt, “Industrielles,” 79.

⁶⁵ In their memoirs, both Abdel Bari Atwan and Salman Abu Sitta recount stories of themselves, siblings or friends receive oddly colored (bright pink) or styled clothing from these distributions. Both mention that they were frequent sources of amusement to the youth in the camps.

soap.⁶⁶ Bseiso is both critical that the Quakers would believe it okay to pay teachers in the form of soap alone and not monetary remuneration, but he also concedes the usefulness and value of soap when there is such limited access to such a necessary item. A passage from Gazan refugee Abdel Bari Atwan's memoir also recalls the importance of the small pieces of soap received and how it was carefully shared by the entire family:

The other great event was our monthly visit to the *hammam* (public baths). UNRWA used to give us one piece of soap to share. I often think about this when I run a bath at home in London, and it saddens me to think that our poverty was so severe that just one little sliver of soap seemed such a great luxury to us in the refugee camp.⁶⁷

While DDT was frequently sprayed and used to control infestations and pest problems,⁶⁸ soap was viewed as more than was necessary to maintain the 'bare life'⁶⁹ of the refugee camp and so it was not regularly available. Some enterprising camp leaders, initially under the AFSC, established systems whereby refugees without work were recruited to make soap, which could then be provided to those in the broader camp community.⁷⁰

The economic history of soap production in Gaza was based in the community: production was equally dependent on local resources and community wide participation

⁶⁶ Mu'in Bseiso, *Yawmiyat Gaza (Gaza Diary)* (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Authority, 1971): 17.

⁶⁷ Abdel Bari Atwan, *A Country of Words: A Palestinian Journey from the Refugee Camp to the Front Page* (London: SAQI, 2008), 39

⁶⁸ This is recollected in AFSC reports and project papers, usually by Vern Pings who was in charge of DDT spraying, latrine building, and ensuring access to clean water. These reports, and Ping's interview in the oral history series, recollect the importance of pest control given the substantial number of people in such a confined area. These reports and David Walker's interview also tell of the difficulties of securing the AFSC's DDT supplies, as the Egyptian Army constantly treated them as their own, using the DDT as they pleased. Speaking out about this impropriety ultimately led to Walker's expulsion from the Gaza Strip in 1949. See Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder #106 FS Sect Palestine Refugee Proj: Projects, reports – Sanitation; and AFSC Oral History Interview Series, David Walker, 20 September 1992, #609, pg 218; and Vern Pings, 19 September 1992, #612, pg. 258.

⁶⁹ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁷⁰ Box 5: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project Reports to Country – Poland, 1949; Folder #195 FS Sect Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Comms & Orgs, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (ACVA), "Memorandum in Regard to Work Possibilities in the Gaza Area," 17 February, 1950, page 2



in the process. As such, the production of soap in Gaza was much more than simply an economic undertaking: the process itself created a communal cultural history

Figure 16: DDT spraying as part of the medical-sanitation program of the AFSC.⁷¹

The introduction of soap production under the auspices of the Friends aid relief bought into and built on this communal historical identity. In respecting this local history and responding to the refugee communities needs, the Quakers embedded their work as part of this communal history. By enacting this process in a time of such upheaval the Quakers made sacred this traditional process: moving soap making beyond a mundane, daily chore and imbuing it with ritual-like status as it reclaimed this historic space.

By Request: Education as Resistance

The above example shows the Friends' emphasis on meeting both the needs of the community that they served as well as their own moral convictions; these characteristics are further exemplified by the creation of schools for the refugee children. The lack of scholastic opportunities had been identified as a problem by the refugee population and as a moral failing of the mission by the Friends' unit in Gaza.⁷² In response, the mission

⁷¹ AFSC Bulletin No. 3, May 1949, 3. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

⁷² There is a plethora of research on refugee schooling and manner in which schools as institutions define and construct the refugee experience and identity. For some examples of this literature see: Tony Waters and Kim LeBlanc, “Refugees and Education: Mass Public Schooling without a Nation-State,” *Comparative Education Review* 49 (2005): 129-147; Jacqueline Mosselson, “Roots & Routes: A re-imagining of refugee identity constructions and the implications for schooling,” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 9

in Gaza created this basic school system, dating to July 1949.⁷³ These schools were about meeting refugee needs and had an open-ended view as to the place and purpose of education. While rudimentary in supplies and setting, the school system met the criteria set out by the Egyptian administrators⁷⁴ and promised the refugee children in Gaza that it could accommodate the opportunity to maintain and enhance their education.

Early reports described the efforts involved in creating the schools, noting that the “AFSC has felt a responsibility to develop a program of basic schooling for refugee children. 16,000 refugee children out of an eligible total of 80,000, are now attending improvised schools, established in half built buildings or in tents.”⁷⁵ The schoolrooms were each kitted out with a blackboard and the children sat on old mats or sacks stuffed with straw. Over 400 teachers were recruited, some from the refugee population and others were local teachers willing to donate their time.⁷⁶ The program ran, essentially, on the goodwill of all those involved – no funding had been provided by UNRPR or from UNESCO, which had long-promised “very insufficient” funds that had “been delayed in appropriation and transfer.”⁷⁷ These funds would have covered the cost of basic classroom equipment and provided a “token” salary for one third of the teachers.⁷⁸

(2006); Eds. Leah D. Adams and Anna Kirova, *Global Migration and Education: Schools, Children, and Families* (New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), especially chapters 14, 15 and 16.

⁷³ “Draft of Letter perhaps to be sent from AFSC to U.N.” from Howard Wriggins to Charles Read, page 3, 18 July 1949. Box 3, Folder #43 FS Sect Palestine 1949 Refugee Proj.: Correspondence, Geneva – Letters #d from (B) June thru Aug).

⁷⁴ Ibid, page 3. There were no Egyptian schools or teachers, but as Gaza was under Egyptian administration in order for the schools and the education they were providing to be recognized, the curriculum had to meet Egyptian standards.

⁷⁵ Ibid, page 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid, page 3.

⁷⁷ “Draft of Letter perhaps to be sent from AFSC to U.N.” from Howard Wriggins to Charles Read, page 3, 18 July 1949. Box 3, Folder #43 FS Sect Palestine 1949 Refugee Proj.: Correspondence, Geneva – Letters #d from (B) June thru Aug), page 3.

⁷⁸ Ibid, page 3.

The Friends started these schools out of a sense of “moral responsibility” and at the request of the local community. The schools were also a means of resistance against UN authority, the UNRPR,⁷⁹ as the organizations leadership felt that the schools were a step beyond the mandate given to AFSC, in particular as there was no guarantee of funding.⁸⁰

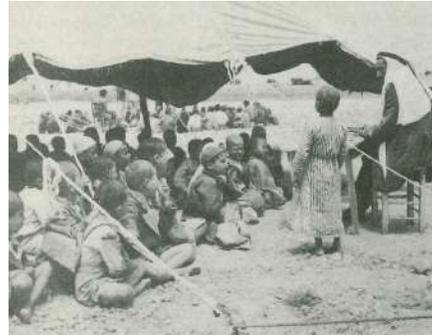


Figure 17: Children at Quaker-run schools in the Gaza Strip.⁸¹

The refugee population was concerned that their children did not have the opportunity to pursue an education. On this basis, and through the goodwill of the refugee teacher population to volunteer their time at only the promise of possible future recompense, a school system was constructed to serve just over 20% of the refugee child population.

The Quaker business model that becomes apparent through these two program examples is one that exemplifies a help-your-neighbor approach, but also moves beyond this to one of “standing-up for your neighbor”. This model is based on the moral labor approach, as it calls on all persons involved, both those requesting services and goods and

⁷⁹ United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, the precursor to UNRWA and the organizations that held the Friends’ contract for operations in Gaza.

⁸⁰ “Draft of Letter perhaps to be sent from AFSC to U.N.” from Howard Wriggins to Charles Read, page 3, 18 July 1949. Box 3, Folder #43 FS Sect Palestine 1949 Refugee Proj.: Correspondence, Geneva – Letters #d from (B) June thru Aug).

⁸¹ AFSC Bulletin No. 4, June-July, 1949, 1. Box 4: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Projects: Medical through Reports: Clapp Mission, 1949, Folder: #118 FS SECT PALESTINE 1949 Refugee Proj: Publicity “Palestine Refugee Relief” AFSC Bulletins.

those providing them, to provide assistance where and when they can, on the basis of good will. Teachers were recompensed with some additional rations and those involved in soap production received soap, but this was not a monetary based system. Rather, it was about communal betterment through large-scale community activation and participation. There was also a nod to the spirit of Quaker resistance: the introduction of schools was not a responsibility assigned to the Friends and UNRPR was unsure of the efforts, largely as there were no funds available for schools. The Quakers, however, resisted the warnings from UNRPR and the naysayers, as these schools were important to the refugee community they were there to serve.⁸² It is essential to note that the Friends' schools, unlike many earlier Christian missionary schools, were not Christian in their approach, methods, or material taught. The schools were not an opportunity for proselytization. All material was taught by Palestinian school teachers, the Quakers were only the bureaucratic administrators who oversaw their establishment and the sourcing of materials.

This also speaks to a larger theme of Quakerism, as practiced by the AFSC, as a disposition. This disposition-approach demanded action on the basis of conscience. Most often these actions manifested as assistance to others in need (here the basis of the help-your-neighbor model), but this action was also embodied in resistance. Resistance to what was perceived as illegitimate or morally wrong actions and decisions by the government, or other authority, when they enacted policies that were in fundamental

⁸² While not a reflection on the schooling system established and run by the Quakers, most Palestinian families of means who could afford to do so sent their son's to Egypt for schooling. Atwan and Abu Sitta are examples of this.

disagreement with Quakerism.⁸³ This was not the first occurrence of such resistance; but rather this resistance is rooted in Quaker history: working within the abolitionist movement, refusal of military service during times of war, work with Japanese-Americans and in opposition of American governmental policies that interned this population.

Function and Expertise: Education as Job-Training

There were several differences between the more ad hoc Quaker model of education and that of the school system established by UNRWA after the handover of power in May 1950. Upon its creation, UNRWA provided a “normal school education for boys between the ages of 8-15.”⁸⁴ However, the UNRWA education program is listed as performing a “function,” whereby boys are prepared to receive vocational training as part of “the responsibility of the Education branch as long as they are under 15 years of age; the only exception will be boys who, although under 15, are actually apprenticed to craftsmen.”⁸⁵ The view of an education program as performing a “function” to prepare boys for subsequent vocational training is completely at odds with the educational system introduced by the Quakers. It is also indicative of the business model practiced by UNRWA

⁸³ This also links to the Friends’ resistance against transferring lists of refugee names and information to outside parties, such as the Egyptian Army, as discussed in Chapter 3. This surveillance function associated with governing was one that was strongly resisted by the Friends.

⁸⁴ “United Nations Palestine Relief Agencies: Survey,” Part III, page 6. Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project (Gaza) (Continued) 1950, Folder #168 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Publicity, General, Folder Box 7, Folder #235 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Report, Survey of UNRPR Agencies.

⁸⁵ “United Nations Palestine Relief Agencies: Survey,” Part III, page 6. Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project (Gaza) (Continued) 1950, Folder #168 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Publicity, General, Folder Box 7, Folder #235 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Report, Survey of UNRPR Agencies.

Similarly, the specificity of gender is another stark contrast. The Quaker documents lack any specific reference to the gender of the schoolchildren; the neutral term of “refugee children” is used instead, and both boys and girls were welcomed in the schools.⁸⁶ However, in the UNRWA Education report girls are only mentioned in relation to being provided with “suitable occupation such as assisting in the supplementary feeding centres, the mixing and distributing of milk, maternal and child welfare etc.”⁸⁷ There is a subsequent provision that it would be the department’s responsibility “to train older girls (that is above 18) to sew; when proficient they will take part in the production of garments for distribution.”⁸⁸ This separation of education and job-training for boys and girls is likely rooted in a perception on the part of UNRWA as recognizing and respecting the “local” gender norms. One of the problems with this approach is that it was based on the perception of these local norms made by the international staff with little experience in the area, rather than in consultation with the local community. This entrenchment of gendered roles by an avowedly secular organization in contrast with the more open

⁸⁶ Letter dated 2 June 1949, from Howard Wriggins to Colin Bell discussing the Educational Programme in Gaza, which references 5,000 girls in attendance at Friends’ schools. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #43 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence, Geneva Letters #d from – (B) June thru Aug. Another important example of this Quaker tradition of education is the Ramallah Girls Schools, established in 1889, and the related Ramallah Boys School, which was opened in 1901. “School History,” *Ramallah Friends School*, <http://www.rfs.edu.ps/en/page/school-history?p=school-history>, as well as two books published on the schools: Betsy Brinson and Gordon Davies, *Sumoud: Voices and Images of the Ramallah Friends School* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 2009), and Patricia Edwards-Knoic, *Enduring Hope: The Impact of the Ramallah Friends Schools* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 2008)

⁸⁷ “United Nations Palestine Relief Agencies: Survey,” Part III, Section B – Districts, pg. 10. Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine, Refugee Project (Gaza) (Continued) 1950, Folder #168 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Publicity, General. Also, Box 7, Folder #235 FS SECT Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Report, Survey of UNRPR Agencies

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* This is no longer the case: UNRWA provides educational opportunities to more than 240,000 girls and boys in the Gaza Strip. Over 9,420 teachers are employed to educate these children, making this the single biggest “works” project operated by UNRWA in the Gaza Strip. Importantly, while the Gaza Strip has a history of greater religiosity than the West Bank, this has not, historically or contemporarily, impacted the education of girls. Within Palestinian culture education is prized and emphasized and girls are not routinely barred from accessing schools; see Loren Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

approach of a faith-based organization is significant. Likewise, as was the focus of all operations of the newly created UNRWA, the emphasis was on training refugees for jobs, to create an economy that was not aid dependent. At its core, these two serious operational distinctions not only had repercussions on the method and overall education of refugee children, but are also exemplary of the two distinct styles of local enterprise that each organization supported. UNRWA's works mandate was not only the Agency's primary driver, but came to underwrite all projects undertaken by UNRWA, including its education program.

The lesson from this example is that while the Friends were not contracted to school the refugee children in their care – nor did they receive funds to do so – they initiated such projects in consultation with the community and because of a presumed moral obligation. In contrast, many works projects undertaken by UNRWA between 1950 and 1967 were driven by donor funding and goals, rather than by need or popular demand.⁸⁹ These external drivers are the crux of the contrast between AFSC and UNRWA's approaches, but also form the core of the UNRWA money-as-the-solution business model. UNRWA's business model at the time was based on creating function and purpose for the refugee community, primarily through 'job-training' schemes. This was driven by imported Western "expertise,"⁹⁰ that purported to create meaning and a place for the refugee community of Gaza. The UNRWA business model focused on

⁸⁹ Other examples are of a smaller scale, such as the carpentry program at the Beit Hanoun Vocational Training Center. The carpentry courses were often cancelled or only operated with 1-2 participants, because there were no materials to build with and limited tools available. Box 32, Folder: Refugee Affairs RE 230/3(1) ATC – Gaza, Beit Hanoun, March 1960-December 1961, Part I

⁹⁰ Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2002), 211, 15. Much of Mitchell's analysis focuses on inter-governmental organizations (IMF) and government aid agencies (USAID), but focuses on the 1970s onward, here I argue that such norms and approaches were in effect substantially earlier as we see with the emphasis on UN Agencies in international development approaches.

creating a self-sustaining refugee community that no longer relied on ‘handouts.’ In order to do this, foreign “expertise” and funding were solicited to train the refugees – all without any consultation or input from the local community. This foreign “expertise” continued the practices of gendered assignment of job training that was not traditionally the local norm, but became the norm through these operations.

Form Without Substance: Dairy Training in Gaza

This business model is exemplified by the second program examined: to train Gazan refugees in dairy technologies, as was suggested and funded by the Swiss International Development Agency.⁹¹ This skills-based training was administered without tangible future employment possibilities and so was counterproductive, particularly in the context of the Gaza Strip. While the economy of the historic Gaza was largely agricultural, it was based primarily on crops, such as grains and citrus.⁹² Animal husbandry was somewhat popular in Gaza, although typically it was a private, familial endeavor, rather than a commercial scale one. Following the creation of the Gaza Strip in 1948, by virtue of necessity animal husbandry in the Gaza Strip has become more popular. However, it has focused on poultry and fishing, with dairy products primarily coming from sheep and goats.

In 1962 there were over 12,000 cattle in the Gaza Strip under UNRWA’s remit of agricultural training; one-third of these cattle were Freesian cows, one-third baladi cows, and one-third calves and heifers.⁹³ Today there are no more than 1,500 cows in Gaza,⁹⁴

⁹¹ See report by S.T. Farouky, the Regional Agricultural Adviser for the Near East, FAO, dated July 1962, “Future Development of Beit Hanoun Agricultural Training Center in Gaza Strip, Box RE 33, Folder RE 230/3(1), ATC – Gaza, Beit Hanoun, January 1962-November 1962, Part II.

⁹² Ibid, Gatt “Industrielles,” and Schölch, “European Penetration.”

⁹³ S.T. Farouky, “Future Development of Beit-Hanoun Agricultural Training Center in Gaza Strip,” July 1962, p. 11. UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 33, File: Refugee Affairs, RE 230/3 (1),

and no significant dairy operations. The focus is instead on small scale ‘farms,’ usually an individual who owns one or two cows and produces milk for their own personal consumption, rather than as a commercial venture.⁹⁵ Until today there is still a preference for sheep and goats milk and dairy products over those produced with cows milk.⁹⁶ Even then, there is a limited role for fresh dairy in traditional Palestinian cooking, with yogurt being the most used dairy product and usually more as a side dish or element added to a finished dish rather than during the cooking. This is in part due to the climate and limited access to consistent refrigeration even contemporarily, due to the constant electricity cuts and shortages.

Traditional yogurt (live culture yogurt) has a long history in eastern Mediterranean region, and Palestine is noted as a “tradition[al] yogurt producing area.”⁹⁷ Yogurt originated by chance as milk curdled in the animal skin bags used by Bedouin to store milk, usually sheep, goat or camel milk. The nutritional benefits of dairy are many, however, storing and transporting fresh dairy in the climes of the Middle East is almost impossible without electricity and refrigeration. As such, yogurt became an important way to preserve this nutrition in such hot climes.⁹⁸ Even this traditionally made yogurt

ATC-Gaza Beit Hanoun, January 1962-Nov 1962, Part II. Compare to these 12,000 cattle, there were almost 61,000 sheep and 123,000 poultry birds.

⁹⁴ These numbers come from “Dairy value chain Report,” published by the Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and food security (RUAF) Foundation in conjunction with Oxfam and the Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, (2015), 4. This report indicates 400 of the 518 “dairy farms” recorded are individuals who own one or two cows and use their milk for personal consumption. Since 2006 there have been no imports of cattle for dairy purposes from Israel (this is corroborated by reports issued by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - OCHA), however, during the period leading up to Eid al Adha some cattle are permitted into Gaza for slaughtering. Some of these animals are likely kept and form the basis of some of these “dairy” projects, however, the majority of these dairy cattle have been smuggled into Gaza through the tunnels under Rafah.

⁹⁵ Dairy value chain Report,” published by the Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and food security (RUAF) Foundation in conjunction with Oxfam and the Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, (2015), 4.

⁹⁶ Eric Hansen, “Of Yogurt and Yörüks,” *Saudi Aramco World* 59 (2008): 37-38.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Hansen, “Of Yogurt,” 37-38.

does have a finite life, and from this was developed kishik, which is often used in traditional Palestinian recipes. Kishik is “a sun-dried mixture of fermented yoghurt and grain or flour, hand shaped into cakes or ground into powder.”⁹⁹ It is an innovative way to store dairy without requiring refrigeration. When ready to use, the cakes of kishik are reconstituted with water or olive oil and blended until smooth and the desired consistency. The kishik is then used in a variety of dishes, including mutton stews, as a dip or spread, or the dried cake can be crumbled directly over vegetables or a salad.¹⁰⁰

Yet in the early 1960s several thousands of cows were imported for agricultural training programs. This was because of UNRWA’s emphasis on agricultural training and the agency’s work placement for refugee men in neighboring countries.¹⁰¹ Agricultural training for refugee men was seen as an opportunity for work placement in Egypt or Syria, and there were a variety of notes in the UNRWA archives that addressed various agreements and understandings with the Egyptian government regarding the training and employment of Gazans in the Egyptian agricultural sector. This indicates a certain acknowledgement, by both the Egyptian authorities and UNRWA, that, despite the best agricultural training in the world, Gazan agricultural graduates would not find agricultural work in Gaza and would have to be placed abroad.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ “Tangy Kishik Stew,” *The Gaza Kitchen*, 1 May 2012,

<https://gazakitchens.wordpress.com/2012/05/01/tangy-kishik-stew/>

¹⁰⁰ Each of these styles is preferred in a different area of the Gaza Strip: the stew in the north, in Beit Lahia; the paste and dip in the south, Kahn Younis; and the dry crumble in the middle areas, in Deir al-Balah.

¹⁰¹ See report by S.T. Farouky, the Regional Agricultural Adviser for the Near East, FAO, dated July 1962, “Future Development of Beit Hanoun Agricultural Training Center in Gaza Strip, Box RE 33, Folder RE 230/3(1), ATC – Gaza, Beit Hanoun, January 1962-November 1962, Part II. Agricultural training for refugee men was seen as an opportunity for work placement in Egypt or Syria. Various reports discuss that Syria did not have many men trained in agricultural studies and so there was a push to train agriculturalists who could be re-settled there and perform these roles.

¹⁰² The aforementioned report notes that “two-thirds of the land area is sand dunes” leaving approximately 150,000 (out of 350,000) donums as cultivable land. This corresponds to roughly 87,500 acres, of which approximately 37,000 acres were cultivable – and of which some was privately owned land. *Ibid*, page 10.

Dairy farming, while more popular and profitable today, was not practiced on a large scale in the majority of the Middle East during the early 1960s. In the few areas with commercial dairy farming, more traditional hand-milking methods were used. However, at the time, the Swiss were using some of the world's most advanced mechanized milking technologies.¹⁰³ A Swiss dairy expert, many cows, and all of the necessary machinery were sent to Gaza, by train through the Sinai, in order to provide the best training facilities to those refugees enrolled in the program. Five trainees graduated from the program, only to discover that they could not find employment in Gaza.¹⁰⁴ The five graduates were also unable to find placement in the region, primarily because those dairy farms in neighboring Arab countries did not use the Swiss technology in which the refugees had been trained. While four of the trainees were sent for a one-year placement on a Swiss dairy farm, they did not receive full time employment in Switzerland following the placement and returned to Gaza to pursue careers in other areas.¹⁰⁵

The above dairy training program was both a real success and a complete failure. The five refugees who graduated from the program were exceptionally well trained in a growing field. However, because the program was driven by donor funding and goals rather than workforce needs in Gaza or the region, the graduates were ultimately unemployable. The one-year additional training placement in Switzerland only reinforced this notion. The graduates' skillset may have been honed by real world application, but

¹⁰³ Box RE 33, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE: 230/3(1) ATC – Gaza, Beit Hanoun, December 1962-May 1966, Part III

¹⁰⁴ One trainee who had left the program quite early in the program did become employed locally at a small-holding dairy that used the traditional hand milking method, Box RE 33, Folder RE230/3(1), part III.

¹⁰⁵ Cabinet Memo No. 54/64, 22 August 1964, "Training Courses Outside UNRWA Centres," Appendix, pg. 2, point 8. Box RE 32, Folder 230/2, Teacher Training, April 1960-September 1965, Part I.

they were ultimately unable to be placed for long-term work in Switzerland and instead returned to the Gaza Strip without work prospects in their field of training.

This divide in support of local enterprise was partly driven by the administrative styles and organizational culture of each organization. The Friends saw their mission in Gaza as a conduit to make change happen and adopted a help your neighbor model. The Quaker mission was highly decentralized and governed by a fierce ideological drive towards equality and fairness: a moral obligation to meet the human needs of the population they served. The Friends relied on their Palestinian colleagues to provide guidance on what projects were most meaningful to the population and then they strove to implement those projects. Ultimately, the personal relationships and connections to the refugee population hobbled the Friends' ability to provide such large-scale relief. In contrast, the UNRWA model was a predecessor of today's aid approach, focused on clean inputs and outcomes. Unfortunately, these outcomes were not always immediately useful or at all relevant to the population. In large part, this was because UNRWA was entirely hierarchy-based: the organizational culture required a top-down approach, whereby projects coming from Geneva, New York, and Beirut were prioritized and implemented with little local consultation. UNRWA also showed no willingness to acknowledge the distinct attributes of operations in the various fields; a project that worked well in Lebanon might not be appropriate or particularly effective in Gaza, and vice versa. This was a serious stumbling block that was long unacknowledged due to the extraordinary emphasis on hierarchy and organizational uniformity as cornerstones of the organizational culture.

Governance through Conscious Resistance

The above discussion and examples show the Friends' and UNRWA's contrasting administrative styles and processes. Not only are the differences apparent through the archival record and with the benefit of historical reflection, but they were also frequently discussed in the early years following the transition from the Friends leadership to UNRWA. One such commentary comes from a report by the new UNRWA Finance and Administrative Officer in Gaza, stating that:

Although the Quaker Group is completely broken up, its spirit still persists, especially among the key employees trained by the group. In this fact lies an important criticism of the Group in general. I believe that there was no district "set-up" more popular with the refugees and acceptable to the local Government in the U.N.R.P.R. days than that of the Quaker Group. Today, the U.N. office is continually confronted with statements such as: "it is not like in the old days of the Quakers." Consequently, U.N.R.W.A. must not only overcome the physical problems of the Strip, but must also combat this mental block of disapproval on the part of the local staff and the refugees in general.¹⁰⁶

While presented as a criticism of the Quaker effort, this report speaks to the heart of the difference between the two administrative approaches. The Friends' aid effort in the Gaza Strip worked within the local context, involving and empowering its recipients as employees and interlocutors to guide the AFSC's efforts. This was anathema to the early UNRWA mission in Gaza – which was emblematic of the general international organization approach to aid in this era. Recipients were expected to be grateful and not complain. This contrast, while recognized here through these documents and in the stories recounted by Quaker Gazan employees, was not universally recognized. Noted

¹⁰⁶ The report is dated 15 October 1950, but was found in the AFSC archives under cover of a November 1950 letter from James Keen, the UNRWA Deputy Director, to Clarence Pickett, the Executive Secretary of AFSC, Box 7: Foreign Service Country – Palestine Refugee Project (Gaza)(Continued) 1950, Folder #247 FS Sect Palestine 1950, Refugee Proj: Reports, Evaluative, page 2. Accessed 15 November 2015.

Gazan poet Mu'in Bseiso¹⁰⁷ quite forcefully associated both the Quaker relief efforts and the subsequent UNRWA efforts as being part of an American agenda to keep the Palestinians stateless.¹⁰⁸

This shift occurred, quite literally, overnight. On April 30, 1950, the Friends were still the organization in charge of aid operations in Gaza. However, on 1 May, 1950, UNRWA officially took over operations in Gaza. Some of this change was only a case of showmanship: the Quaker armbands came off and the UN flag was raised over the various office sites.¹⁰⁹ Several of the AFSC team remained in Gaza to work with the new UNRWA agency. Some of this was motivated by the extraordinarily generous salaries provided by UNRWA,¹¹⁰ however, many of the team recollect that they felt a responsibility to remain to ensure a smooth handover of operations to UNRWA, introducing the refugees with whom they had worked and processes observed. By and large, within the first three months all of the previous Quaker team had left Gaza, some voluntarily and some under duress.¹¹¹ Some of the language in these 'handover' documents makes quite clear that there was a divergence in the views of the role, place, and purpose of the services being provided to the refugees.

Like many other UN Agencies and international NGOs, UNRWA acted on the basis of an implicit hierarchy in which international aid workers were at the top of the

¹⁰⁷ A noted activist, Bseiso was part of resistance efforts to halt any kind of resettlement of Gazan refugees in the Sinai, during which he took part in burning UNRWA supply stores and was arrested and imprisoned by the Egyptian authorities for either years, see Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return*, 120 for a discussion.

¹⁰⁸ Bseiso, *Yawmiyat Gaza (Gaza Diary)*: 15-25, especially 23-25.

¹⁰⁹ The Quaker team had been famously resistant to the use of any flag at any facilities, noting in the Oral Histories that at one time they used the UN flag as a tablecloth.

¹¹⁰ This is commented on by many team members, particularly as it contrasts with their maintenance allowances paid by AFSC.

¹¹¹ This includes the former AFSC team leader who was briefly the head of operations in Gaza, Paul Johnson, who left and his deputy, Henry Wriggins, who left under duress after not receiving the director position. There was also the case of Vern Pings, who was forced to essentially "flee" after being accused of inappropriate acts with an employee, nothing was ever substantiated, but it was well documented the Pings had been a "thorn" in the side of the new Agency.

pyramid and those they served were below them in a descending hierarchy of local social status and need. This hierarchy stands in stark contrast to the Quaker approach, which “held that all men are “friends”. In conformity with this practiced spirit of brotherhood, the simplest manual worker little by little accustomed himself to addressing the CDO [Chief District Officer] by his first name.”¹¹² The consternation over the abrogation of this assumed hierarchy is clear in early UNRWA reports. It was also clear in the way the Friends’ mission represented itself to the United Nations system as a whole, with various different levels of the missions (field, liaison office in Geneva, and headquarters in Philadelphia) directly contacting the Secretary General’s office with complaints and concerns at various points throughout the mission.

Such direct contact, particularly from the field level to the Secretary General’s office was unprecedented and again challenged the strict hierarchy maintained by the UN. There is one particularly noteworthy instance when the Friends in Gaza attempted to use their position as bridges to the outside world. The team sent a letter to represent the voices of their frustrated Gazan colleagues “since it is very difficult for refugees here to communicate with the outside world.”¹¹³ They felt it was an obligation to notify the UN, given the Friends access to both the refugee population and communication means that could reach outside of Gaza that:

They [the refugees] feel strongly that the United Nations is responsible for their plight, and therefore has the total responsibility to feed, house, clothe, and repatriate them. Above all else, they desire to go home – back to their lands and villages. They recognize the erosion of the soul which

¹¹² Report by UNRWA Finance and Administrative Officer, 15 October 1950, under cover of a letter from James Keen to Clarence Pickett, dated November 1950. Page 1, Box 7, Folder #247. Accessed 15 November 2015.

¹¹³ Letter from the Gaza Unit to Clarence Pickett, October 12 1949. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo Letters un#d from. Accessed 3 November 2015.

their situation is fostering. No daily run of reports can adequately convey the harm and injury done to family life, to young people with no normal hope of work or school.¹¹⁴

In challenging once again the assumed and accepted UN hierarchies, the Friends placed themselves outside of the UN system. These actions did not make them friends in the halls of Turtle Bay, but it did win them respect and acceptance amongst the population with whom they worked.

Yet, the Friends would have been unable to continue their efforts indefinitely. Above and beyond the moral conundrums presented by the requirements to cut ration rosters and other services, it was not feasible for an organization the size of the AFSC to maintain the staffing levels required by the mission in Gaza.¹¹⁵ However, this snippet of Quaker influence left an indelible mark on Gaza that significantly impacted future UNRWA services and relationships with the refugee population, above and beyond the Special Gaza Rules.

The distinct hierarchical structure is not unusual amongst both international and indigenous organizations in the Gaza Strip. Instead, the “brotherhood” structure of the Quakers is the unusual element. There was a “soft hierarchy” within the Friends mission focusing on a consultative process and, when possible, decision making by consensus. This structure meant that everyone was represented and invested in the mission. However, it did mean that staff meetings could turn into marathon sessions of five-plus hours without coming to any clear conclusions. The consultative nature of these meetings

¹¹⁴ Letter from the Gaza Unit to Clarence Pickett, October 12 1949. Box 3: Foreign Service, Country – Palestine, Refugee Project, Correspondence: Cairo through individuals, 1949. Folder #24 FS SECT Palestine 1949, Refugee Proj: Correspondence Cairo Letters un#d from. Accessed 3 November 2015.

¹¹⁵ Importantly, while this organization divide was distinct in the early 1950’s this has changed. UNRWA is the largest employer in the Gaza Strip and relies heavily on the experience and expertise of its senior Palestinian staff. These staff members are invaluable resources who maintain the mantle, despite the consistent rotations of international staff in and out of the Strip. See staffing tables: http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/unrwa_in_figures_2015.pdf

was popular with Gazan employees who were involved and called upon to express their voices and opinions. The shift from this approach to that used by UNRWA provided a stark contrast for both the local employees and the refugee population. Not only was the transition between the two organizations distinct in Gaza, but also at the HQ level. The Friends' decision-making was driven by those on the ground reporting back to HQ in Philadelphia, whereas UNRWA decision-making was driven by decisions made in, and informed by, the situation in Beirut. This struggle between informed, on-the-ground field office leadership and that of headquarters staff continues to today.¹¹⁶ This emphasis on hierarchy, form and finance has in turn become the core of UNRWA's own production of sacred spaces, processes, and actions. By elevating the 'correct' practice of bureaucracy through strictly enforced centrality of actions, verticality in staffing, and privileging of financial security over practicality, UNRWA has enshrined the requisite markers of its own sacred process and spaces. These sacred spaces and processes in turn push UNRWA to refine and deploy its own methods of biopolitical influence over the refugee population through its programmatic activities.

¹¹⁶ These structures of control are also indicative of the ongoing internal organizational processes within UNRWA that mark the evolution of the organization's approach from one rooted in biopower to a structured biopolitical approach.

Chapter 5 – Play & Training: YMCA Efforts to Create Self-Governing Palestinian Bodies

A second important relationship cultivated by UNRWA was with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), another faith-based organization active in Gaza with an interest in organizing activities programs for young men and boys. In particular, the YMCA, in conjunction with UNRWA, focused on providing activity programs for refugee youth during the 1950s and 1960s. Their collaboration effectively created an idealized Palestinian masculinity, which would become linked to idealized attributes of a quasi-citizenship, which was perpetuated through these youth training programs. Due to the emphasis placed on employment training under UNRWA's works mandate, there were few programs that focused on organized play for children and youth operated by UNRWA. As such, in 1959 formal collaboration between UNRWA and the YMCA began to provide scouting, camping, organized play, and leadership training opportunities to Palestinian refugees.¹ The agreement between the YMCA and UNRWA came about both because of personal relationships at the executive level, and because the YMCA was able to meet a programming need that the Quakers had previously met and that UNRWA felt was beyond its work's mandate. These collaborative programs encompassed all of the fields in which UNRWA operated: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan/the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, and were focused on building leadership skills that could be re-integrated into the

¹ "Letter 2 June 1959," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, 7.USA.9-2-55, YMCA International Work in Lebanon, Box 2 File: Lebanon, 1959 and "1965 Report on YmCA Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East," UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 54, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/121, Youth Activities Program, YMCA Programs & Agreement, July 1963-October 1965, Part II. This is also linked to the efforts by UNRWA, and somewhat the YMCA, to create a Palestinian childhood. UNRWA was very active in this area through its categorization of the refugee population into age brackets that were eligible for different types of work and job training programs, see chapter 3 and 4 for additional discussion of how these age and gender categories impacted the programs available to refugee youth. For additional discussion of the "ideal child" in the Ottoman period see Atakan Atakan, *A Teacher, Agitator and Guide: Talebe Defteri and Formation of an Ideal Child* (Istanbul: Libra Yayinevi, 2016).

organized play and other physical activities of the local YMCA. The YMCA's operational premise was that by building a physically sound body and a community oriented spirit, it would lead to a constructive Palestinian work force that would be ready to lead itself upon the agreement of a peace settlement. This premise continues to be reflect in the YMCA Gaza's vision statement that it works to "empower Palestinian youth to be leaders of change."²

By discussing specific leadership and organized recreation training opportunities in the Gaza Strip and external training opportunities held in Cairo and Beirut,³ this analysis builds on earlier arguments rooted in Foucault's biopolitics and the ensuing construct of governmentality.⁴ Earlier discussion focused on the regulation and control exerted over the refugee body by the UNRWA money-as-the-solution model and the AFSC's help-your-neighbor model,⁵ here we see the adoption by the YMCA of a 'sustaining-bodies-through-play' model. This biopolitical approach evolved over the ensuing years to a governmentality⁶ implement by UNRWA and supported by the YMCA, whereby earlier biopolitically based approaches became an organized practice

² "About Us," YMCA Gaza, http://ymcagaza.org/?page_id=4 - additionally the Mission Statement reads: "YMCA Gaza works towards empowering the Palestinian youth in Gaza through implementing various programs in the social, economic, technology, and sports domains for the advancement of youth spiritually, mentally, and physically promoting openness and nondiscrimination on the basis of political affiliation, religious beliefs, cultural background or gender."

³ The YMCAs training regimes are distinct of those provided by UNRWA, which focused solely on job training and often at the expense of local needs, as exemplifies by the dairy training project in Chapter 4.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979* edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 190-207.

⁵ As discussed in chapter 4 through the categorization of aid recipients, the designation of access to soap, and the general routinization of refugee life

⁶ Here the governmentality is taken as a coherent and cohesive set of biopolitical actions favored by a given organization that are implemented with the purposes of producing a population that confirms to the organizations preferred system of ordering, and in turn this population seeks to recreate this system through partaking of implementation of programs aimed at perpetuating the created system.

through which Gazans were produced and governed.⁷ The specific training opportunities formulated by the YMCA and UNRWA included sports camps, scouting endeavors, and “leadership training” programs, all aimed at refugee boys and youths.⁸ The methods of control and discipline that were present in these collaborative youth ‘training’ activities offer insight into UNRWA’s emergence as a parallel state structure, and the emergence of a governmentality as practiced by a non-sovereign governing entity.⁹ Overlaying all of this is the perspective that the programs aimed at Gazan youth had the goal of creating an idealized Palestinian masculinity¹⁰ that would place the population of Gaza as future leaders of an independent Palestinian state.¹¹

Through installation of their own specific “disciplinary order,” the YMCA/UNRWA collaboration effectively created an idealized Palestinian masculine subject in Gaza. This “disciplinary order” sought to implement a non-state actor’s governmentality in the Gaza Strip by means of youth activities. This emphasis on young

⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979* edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁸ These training camps were predominantly leadership training courses, to train youth in everything from individual leadership attributes, to specific training courses to referee soccer games or coach sporting teams. Some of the training programs were also used to identify specific youth who might make good future YMCA employees, and were used to training the youth in how to run YMCA activities. Please note that the use of the word training does not in any way refer to any kind of military or arms training.

⁹ Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: 190-207*; this ascription of governmentality to a non-state actor represents a significant and new understanding of how Foucault’s work can be applied to better understand these non-state actors and the ways in which they manage the populations in their care.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the role that secular UNRWA schools played in creating a distinct post-Nakba Palestinian masculinity see Julie Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005): 89; Peteet’s argument focuses on the place of a secular education as means of creating a Palestinian masculinity in the post-Nakba era. This approach does not take into account the specificities of Gaza, in particular its religiosity, nor does it address the significance of this physicality and discipline as it relates to the Fedayeen resistance fighters and their status in society.

¹¹ It is very important to remember that while Egypt was administering Gaza, the Jordanian King had usurped the territory that becomes the West Bank in 1967 as part of Jordan, granting Jordanian citizenship and all of the ensuing rights to the Palestinians displaced in 1948 who were living in that area. This is in stark contrast to those Palestinians who were living in Gaza and were not seen or treated of citizens of anywhere, but as a truly displaced Palestinian population. This left the Gazans ideally placed to be the future leadership of an independent Palestinian state.

men, their training, physicality, and discipline as a key element of nation-state formation and citizenship rights, is an area of substantial research by Joseph Massad,¹² Keith Watenpaugh,¹³ Julie Peteet,¹⁴ and Chako Jacob.¹⁵ Of particular interest is Chako Jacob's "effendi masculinity," which is inherently tied to a type of Foucauldian biopolitical control of populations, has been significant in understanding the methods of control and discipline used by the British in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of particular interest in building on these arguments is the relationship between the British and the Egyptians. Jacob addresses the British colonial interest in shaping and molding Egyptians through sporting events and physical and scholastic rigor in a bid to create a modern Egyptian capable of self-governance.¹⁶ In turn, this relationship is imitated by the Egyptian administration during its dealings with Gazans in the 1948-1967 period, in particular, the Egyptian YMCA undertakes a similar approach to managing the Gazan YMCA board for the same purposes. Jacob's arguments focus on youth and the

¹² Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), in particular his discussion of masculinity and the military, similar discussion of discipline and physicality are central to this ethos of constructing a national identity through the military and particular his focus on Jordan and the legacy of British colonial interest there.

¹³ Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), in particular his discussion of scouting, but also the more general placing of gender and class within the construction of citizenship identities and narratives. Watenpaugh's focus on Syria, with its shared Ottoman history with Palestine, is important to understanding how the place of gender, masculinity, and religion influence the formation of citizenships in newly formed states at the same time that Palestinian refugees were experiencing similar governance without a state.

¹⁴ Peteet, *Landscape*.

¹⁵ Wilson Chako Jacob, *Working out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) and Dylan Baun, "Constructing Identity: Life, History, Ritual and Practice in Lebanon's Popular Organizations, 1924-1949," unpublished, Baun's focus on Lebanon and the place of civil society organizations in influencing the development of group identities that reinforced and challenged nation-state supremacy and Lebanese identity has significance when address similar issues in the instance of Palestinians.

¹⁶ Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, this is discussed through the work, but in particular, the example of games played with rules and supervision as being necessary to inculcate the correct disciplinary order (75), the relationship of masculinity to nationalist pedagogy as enacted through physical culture and the care of the body (65) and its contribution to creating a subject capable of self-governance (66). This stands in contrast to Peteet's work, which focuses on the role of education in defining a secular, Palestinian masculinity in her study of camps in Lebanon.

construction of a ‘subject capable of self-governance,’ as shaped and created by the implementation of a program of physical culture.¹⁷

This understanding of physicality and its link to discipline is key to studying and critiquing the programs offered by the YMCA.¹⁸ These programs – scouting, camping, leadership training, and organized sports – epitomize the disciplinary order that Jacob discusses as being indispensable to produce the nation.¹⁹ Jacob focuses on three components in defining this Middle East masculinity in a nationalist mode: physicality, competition and a team orientation.²⁰ The physicality manifests through daily calisthenics,²¹ but is also combined with efforts to engage the population in constructive competition and team-building efforts.²² This focus on physicality is aimed at creating a health body to accompany the sound mind honed through the national school system.²³ Constructive competition had a dual purpose: both to show that hard work yields ‘wins’ and that through this model these young men could and would become fit leaders.²⁴ But it also serves to homogenize the population, by defining only certain outcomes as ‘wins’ the training and performance is incentivized towards achieving these wins and the awards

¹⁷ Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, 66.

¹⁸ For other scholarship on this issue of youth movements/organizations and the use of discipline and physicality as it relates to larger themes of governmentality see Jacob, *Working out Egypt* and Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*, particularly his discussion of scouting.

¹⁹ Jacob, *Effendi Masculinity*, 75, 94, discussion of place and purpose of scouting. Here Jacob’s work is specifically chosen because of its relationship to the physicality of the YMCA’s approach and the linking of biopolitical tactics of power and discipline. Other scholars, like Julie Peteet, have instead focused on the place of a secular education as means of creating a Palestinian masculinity in the post-Nakhba era. Significant to the larger argument in this chapter, this disciplinary order made clear the practices necessary to make ‘sacred’ such a process (Asad 36).

²⁰ This model is influenced and informed by British colonial policy and activities in the Middle East.

²¹ One prime such example is presented in Jacob, *Effendi Masculinity*, 63 through a schedule taken from memoirs which details from 6am until midnight the daily routine including daily walks as “daily exercise.”

²² Jacob, *Effendi masculinity*, 67.

²³ Ibid, 65: “care of the body” as a new regime.

²⁴ Ibid, 67 through the use of an anecdote by a colonial administrator about one soccer team that played on to win, showing that perseverance would yield favorable outcomes.

associated with them.²⁵ Finally, all of these activities were conducted in groups in an effort to create a team-orientation; this team represented the future nation, thus engaging all participants to their best for the team/nation.²⁶ Several of these components are shared with the YMCA approach in Gaza, however, the priority and focus is a little different. The YMCA focus is on civic duty first and physicality second. In particular, the YMCA programs focused on constructing a community-oriented mindset, and then using this to enact programs to construct the community.²⁷ This civic mindset was complemented with programs of physicality, such as calisthenics, organized sports teams and scouting. The culmination of these two approaches and their application across all areas of UNRWA operation, effectively created a Palestinian masculinity discussed in this chapter. Yet, the implementation of a sacred process of ordering that creates a subject identity is supposed to only fall within the purview of the modern nation-state, as modeled in Asad's understanding of the way in which the modern state assembles a state oriented common identity based on "certain behaviors, knowledges, and sensibilities."²⁸ That an organization – faith-based or secular – could take such action and sacralize the process by which a Palestinian masculinity is created/conceived is problematic and bears further discussion and clarification through the analysis of specific examples.

Throughout this case study is the theme of youth as a target audience who will ensure the longevity of an organization through adopting, maintaining, and securing the

²⁵ Jacob, *Effendi Masculinity*, 75: "Games played without rules and supervision ended up being pointless and in fact counterproductive to the goal of establishing the disciplinary order sought by the institution."

²⁶ *Ibid*, 84, 180, 127-130.

²⁷ With the view that this 'community' would become the future nation.

²⁸ Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003): 25. As per current understanding of political secularism and its connection to the modern nation-state, see Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 2-3.

identity of the organization.²⁹ In the instance of Gaza, there is no independent state, only an administered territory, and there is no independent government, and so here the YMCA and UNRWA become placeholders for a functional state government. As such, these organizations undertake, to differing extents, roles that are reminiscent of those performed by a state government: providing health care, education, food aid, and job training and placement. By implementing programs aimed at ‘rehabilitating’ the refugees and creating productive denizens of Gaza, UNRWA and the YMCA create identities associated with their organizations, in particular through membership and registration mandates that focus on men.

The emphasis on men and male youth, both for organized recreation and for job training purposes, creates a highly gendered atmosphere within these organizations. In turn, this gendered atmosphere becomes a key element of the organization’s identity, creating a kind of masculine sacrality, whereby sacred spaces are carved out and kept for men only. Through the ritualization of certain practices,³⁰ organizational identities, and the rights and obligations enshrined within these, begin to transform into rudimentary notions of citizenship, and the rights and obligations enshrined within citizenship. This contrasts with Agamben’s notions of “bare life” of the refugee camp,³¹ instead complicating this notion by examining the rights and access that are offered and embodied within certain citizenship norms.³² In particular the idea that the rights of

²⁹ This focus on youth, religious space, and physicality builds to a discussion in chapter six that addresses the manner in which Hamas has evolved to attract youth to the organization through similar activities and programs.

³⁰ Such as who is eligible for UNRWA rations or services (see chapter 3) or the physical fitness regimes implemented by the YMCA sports camps and necessary for advancement in the organization

³¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

³² Victoria Redclift, *Statelessness and citizenship: Camps and the creation of political space* (London: Routledge, 2013) and Peteet, *Landscapes*, 69 in the discussion of the reforming of Palestinian subjectivities

citizenship can be “real” or formal³³ becomes an important distinction, made clear here by the access and opportunities offered by UNRWA and the YMCA. These rights have been influenced in particular by the role that the YMCA, in its many iterations, played in Gaza. As such it is necessary to examine the history of the YMCA, in particular its evolution from a proselytizing, evangelical Christian organization to a Christian organization with an open membership policy that focuses on physicality and discipline. Understanding this history is key to recognizing how the YMCA has been instrumental in constructing a rudimentary notion of citizenship in Gaza.

History of the YMCA: Evangelical Beginnings

The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) was founded in London in 1844.³⁴ The YMCA was founded in part to provide a Christian venue to meet the social and spiritual needs of young men as they moved from rural parts of the country to the industrial hub that was London.³⁵ The YMCA began its organizational life as a distinctly Evangelical Christian organization that worked to spread the Christian faith through proselytization. In this time of social transition, the YMCA positioned itself as a safe, Christian environment in which young men could seek leisure pursuits through a physical regime program. Much of the YMCA prominence and social role during its early years came through their gym and physical fitness programs. These programs were initiated in the 1860s and continue to today, although the nature of the organization has changed in

through just such actions and deprivations as citizenship-oriented rights and access. See also Liisa Malkki, “Refugee and Exile: From ‘Refugee Studies’ to the National Order of Things,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 495-523, for a discussion of these distinctions of rights and access between those refugee populations who are camp versus town inhabitants.

³³ Redclift, *Statelessness and citizenship*, 86.

³⁴ “History – Founding,” YMCA, 2015: <http://www.ymca.net/history/founding.html> ; there is very little research which focuses on the YMCA in an international context. There are a few publications addressing its activities in Soviet Union and China, but most publications look at the place of the YMCA in America during various time periods and particular in relation to race.

³⁵ “History – Founding,” YMCA, 2015: <http://www.ymca.net/history/founding.html>

many other ways, these physical fitness programs have remained a constant.³⁶ During the early years these physical fitness programs and campaigns focused on creating a sound physical body as a means to express and place a moral and pious Christian disposition in a constantly changing society.

Prior to the First World War, most YMCA branches were only active in their domestic territory. However, individual members from various branches throughout the Anglo-world were involved in missions to Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. While members did not receive financial backing from their home chapter, such missionary efforts were lauded by their communities, as missions and proselytizing were viewed as a core function of the YMCA's evangelical grounding.³⁷ In particular, members of various YMCA (and YWCA) chapters were involved in Christian missionary activities in Egypt during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These early initiatives focused on promoting the educational and professional opportunities of the already established Christian community in Egypt, and on converting local Copts to Protestant Christianity through adult baptisms.³⁸ This was quite controversial in Egypt, as the local Coptic Church is Orthodox and the YMCA, as well as most other Western Christian organizations, are Protestant Evangelical organizations.³⁹ Most Christian missions to

³⁶ "History – 1800s to 1860s" YMCA, 2015: <http://www.ymca.net/history/1800-1860s.html>

³⁷ This critique is not only valid regarding the YMCAs activities in the Middle East, but one of several that is presented regarding a variety of work undertaken by the YMCA. One such volume that addresses critiques of the early YMCA in the US: Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, editors, *Men and Women Adrift: the YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 1997) and Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: Architecture and the Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) regarding YMCA work in Russia: Michael D. Carter, "The Crusade for God and Country: The Role of the YMCA in Europe and Russia, 1915-1920," *Fides et historia* 26 (1994): 58-70.

³⁸ Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013): 83.

³⁹ This Christian 'competition' was part of the reason for the Coptic Revival that took place starting from the 1890s with the reinvigoration of the Coptic Sunday School and regular schooling programs. 284. At one point the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem issued a patriarchal order forbidding Arab Latins from joining the YMCA, for a greater discussion of these intricacies read Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians*.

Egypt met with substantial local resistance from both the Christian and the Muslim communities; by 1930 there were more than 450 foreign missionaries active in Egypt.⁴⁰

Several missionaries were well known for their aggressive proselytization efforts, including the handing out of leaflets at al-Azhar University in Cairo. This particular incident caused an uproar and led to the deportation of an American missionary in Egypt.⁴¹ This resulted in the founding in 1927 of the Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA), which provided an Islamic alternative to the YMCA and other proselytizing Christian organizations active in Egypt.⁴² In addition to founding social organizations to counter the 'missionary threat,' several local newspapers became active in publishing messages that purported to tell readers the truth about the missionaries, including al-Balagh, al-Jihad al Siyasa, al-Kashkul, and Kawkab al-Sharq.⁴³ In particular, al-Jihad al Siyasa and al-Kashkul took the lead in publishing a series of stories that identified alleged instances of kidnapping of young girls who were forcible baptized in Christianity.⁴⁴ The public outcry surrounding these events was enormous and fed the membership of organizations like the YMMA and the Muslim Brotherhood.

⁴⁰ B. L. Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness: The Political Problem of Missionaries in Egypt in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 20 (1984), 20. Several missionaries were well known for its aggressive proselytization efforts, including the handing out of leaflets at al-Azhar university in Cairo. This particular incident caused an uproar and led to the deportation of an American missionary in Egypt.

⁴¹ Umar Ryad, "Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt: With a Special Reference to the Al-Azhar High Corp of 'Ulama (1925-1935)" pp 281-307 in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Studies in Christian Mission)* Ed. Heleen Murre-Van Den Berg (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006) and Heather Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: missionary encounters in an age of empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008): 113-114

⁴² Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928-1942* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998) 29-30. Hasan al-Bana was actually involved with the YMMA from its founding, until he founded the Muslim Brotherhood.

⁴³ Ryad, "Muslim Response," 283-4.

⁴⁴ M Sulayman, *Al-Ajanib fi Misr: 1922-1952* (Cairo, 1996) and Khalid Muhammad Na'im, *Al-Judhur al-Tarikhyya li Irsaliyyat al-Tansir al-Ajnabiyya fi Misr 1756-1986: Dirasah Wathaiqiyya* (Cairo, 1988).

The YMMA was formed by a group of respected scholars, businessmen, and even a Nationalist Party Parliamentarian with close ties to the Egyptian Royal Family, in particular Prince Umar Tusun.⁴⁵ This placed the YMMA as one of the premier anti-colonial and anti-British organizations in Egypt.⁴⁶ From the beginning of the YMMA, Hasan al-Bana, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, was involved with the organization, giving several important speeches at prominent YMMA events.⁴⁷ However, the YMMA's prominence was quite short lived, as it followed a trend that would subsequently beset the YMCA. Al-Bana and others were highly critical of the YMMA for being too much a social club and not Islamic enough.⁴⁸ Al-Bana would go so far as to criticize the YMMCA in one of his lectures to the association in Cairo, noting that while the YMMA's stated goal was to "form a generation of virtuous Muslim youth," the YMMA had not achieved this goal, nor would they until they implemented a program for the education of young men "in the spirit of Islam."⁴⁹ In particular, by holding lottery events as a fundraiser at their monthly meetings, the YMMA came under heavy criticism from several of its more religious-minded members for promoting gambling. Likewise, the unwillingness of the leadership to speak out against "un-Islamic" acts taken by the groups benefactor, the Egyptian royal family, led to substantial push-back by members

⁴⁵ Also known as Prince 'Omar Tousson, a noted Egyptian scholar in a variety of fields, including archaeology, history, and geography, his most well known work was written in French, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*. He is also the subject of a biography: *Omar Toussoun: Prince of Alexandria*, by Sahr Hamoud (Alexandria, Alex Med, 2005).

⁴⁶ This linking between Christian organizations and British colonialism is also very important, and one of the reasons that Egyptian Copts were so opposed to many of the efforts of these Christian organizations, as the Copts did not want to be conflated with British colonizers. See Lia, *The Society*, 29.

⁴⁷ Lia, *The Society*, 30.

⁴⁸ Lia, *The Society*, 55-58.

⁴⁹ Hasan al-Bana 'Anja al-wasa'il fi tarbiyat al-nash' – tarbiya islamiyya khalisa', 227, quoted in Lia, *The Society*, 56.

and other religious community groups.⁵⁰ Early relations between the YMMA and the Muslim Brotherhood, following its founding in 1929, were harmonious. However, Hasan al-Bana's movement quickly usurped the YMMA's prominence and membership roster (and dues), siphoning off any remaining religious energy to the Muslim Brotherhood and leaving the YMMA defunct.⁵¹

The YMCA in Egypt

During WWI the YMCA formed the United War Work Council as a forum through which its members could volunteer to assist in civilian medical and works projects abroad in support of the war.⁵² The YMCA has been active in Egypt since 1896, when it opened the first Egyptian only club in Assiut.⁵³ The first YMCA facility for expatriates was opened in Cairo in 1909, and during the First World War, YMCA volunteers from the facility formed the United War Work Council, to provide religious programs and facilities to the soldiers stationed in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) camps.⁵⁴ These camps were specifically for Antipodean soldiers.

These programs were Christian-oriented, providing religious services and Bible study, as well as game nights, physical fitness programs, and other connections to 'home' for the soldiers stationed in Egypt. All services and Bible study programs were strictly non-denominational, which led to criticism of the YMCA's work for not being genuine

⁵⁰ Ibid, 28-29.

⁵¹ The Muslim Brotherhood was much more aggressive in its campaign against Christian missions in the early 1930s, which was a major reason for its early popularity at the local levels. One such example is an "inflammatory" press campaign to counter the efforts of the Missionaries, as well as sending numerous petitions to the government, Lia, *The Society*, 112-113 and Ryad, "Muslim Response," 304

⁵² Kenneth Steuer, *Pursuit of an "Unparalleled Opportunity: " American YMCA and Prisoner of War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations during World War I, 1914-1923* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2009).

⁵³ "Survey of the YMCA in Egypt," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22 YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 5, Volume I.

⁵⁴ Ibid, and James E. Kitchen, *The British Imperial Army in the Middle East* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014): 87-88. The Cairo facilities were subsequently opened to Egyptian nationals in 1923.

and true to its evangelical roots. This early work with the EEF and with military forces in general is quintessential to the work of the YMCA with young men designated ‘at risk’ of violating or endangering their Christian morals when placed in a foreign environment. This was the beginning of the end of the YMCA’s work as an explicitly proselytizing organization, which stands in stark contrast to the Quaker mode that did not endorse proselytization or require membership or fees. While the YMCA provided a service, the goal was always about recruitment and growing the community, even without a majority Christian population. The Quaker position, in contrast, was also about personal service to

the community, rather than modeling the community in its own image.



Figure 18: Image of EEF soldiers with a YMCA banner in Egypt during the First World War.⁵⁵

During and following the Second World War, the YMCA was involved in administering medical assistance to Prisoners of War (POWs) and monitoring their treatment.⁵⁶ Many YMCA volunteers and delegates who became involved in the YMCA mission in Palestine participated in these programs and brought with them these experiences.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ “The YMCA with the Egyptian soldiers. Over thirty countries now know the YMCA in their own language,” circa 1914-1918, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, ymca00546, p1207.

⁵⁶ Kitchen, *The British Imperial Army*, 87-88.

⁵⁷ Two of these prominent participants included Lee Dinesmore, who worked with the AFSC in Gaza in 1948 and 1949, and later returned to his post with the YMCA in Cairo, and Archibald Harte, who was the international fraternal secretary at the YMCA in East Jerusalem.

During WWII the YMCA continued its work providing programs to British and Antipodean soldiers stationed in Egypt.⁵⁸

The YMCA comes to Gaza

While the YMCA came to Egypt as part of British colonialism, it remained in Egypt as part of the local civil society. Egyptian Copts had a complicated relationship with foreign Christian missionaries in the early years. However, as the YMCA moved away from its roots in proselytization, it found broader acceptance within the Egyptian Christian community. It is difficult to place an exact date for the founding of the local Egyptian YMCA branch, which grew out of the above British war work. The facilities in Cairo, a YMCA building and hostel, have been owned by the YMCA since 1916.⁵⁹ However, it was only from 1923 that Egyptians were permitted to attend the YMCA facilities in Cairo.⁶⁰ These facilities in Cairo became a place to attend evening lectures and concerts for middle and upper class Cairenes.



Figure 19: The YMCA meeting hall and hostel in Cairo, circa WWI.⁶¹

⁵⁸ While several American YMCA delegates were involved in the YMCA work with POW's, there is much less information about YMCA work with US soldiers stationed abroad. In part this appears to be because many of the young persons involved with the American YMCA were soldiers in the US military and not working in alternative service positions

⁵⁹ Kitchen, *The British Imperial Army*, 88.

⁶⁰ "Survey of the YMCA in Egypt," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22
YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 5, Volume I.

⁶¹ "Cairo Egypt Y.M.C.A.," circa 1914-1918, Cliff Smith YMCA Postcard Collection, 14089, Springfield College Archives and Special Collections, Box 13900-14249.

The Cairo YMCA chapter started at the behest of some prominent Egyptian Christians and was sponsored by the World Alliance of YMCAs,⁶² before becoming a self-sustaining operation and opening branches in several other Egyptian cities.⁶³ The programs offered by the Cairo YMCA included lecture series by visiting and local academics, very few of which were strictly religious in their focus, team sports opportunities for youth, and scouting and camping opportunities for young boys.

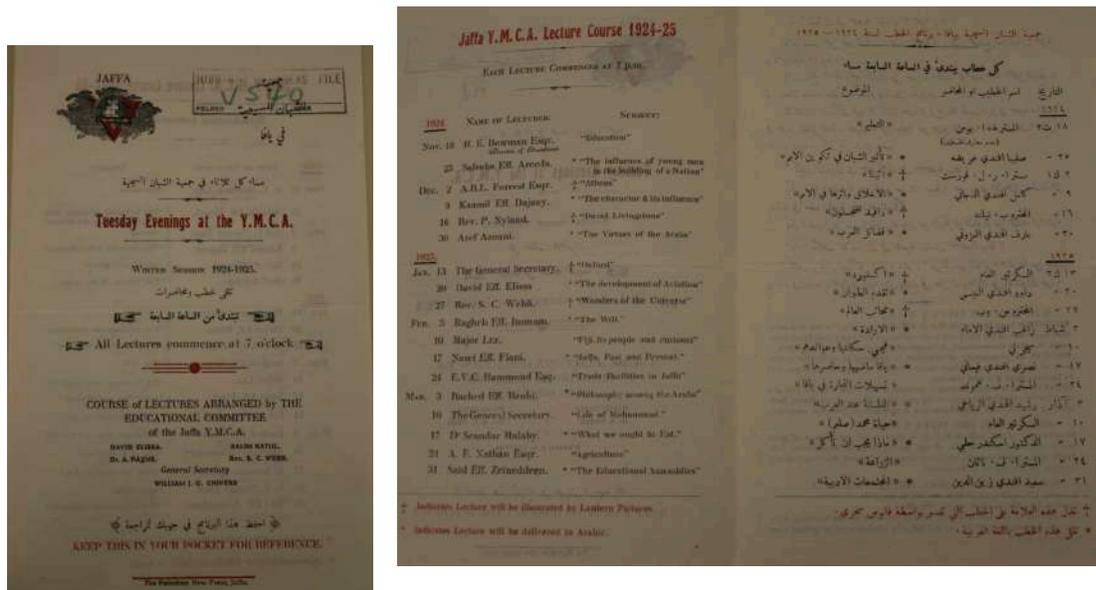


Figure 20: Flyer from the Winter 1924/5 evening lecture program, YMCA Jaffa.⁶⁴

⁶² The YMCA organizational structure is a little confusing, with a larger, international secretariat called the World Alliance of YMCA's (originally the Central International Committee) that was founded in 1855 at the first YMCA World Conference, at the behest of Henry Dunant. The committee built a headquarters in Geneva in 1878, where it is still headquartered today. There are also National Councils of YMCA's in over 119 countries ("Structure" World YMCA, 2013: <http://www.ymca.int/who-we-are/structure/> . The archival documents utilized in the study are from the American YMCA National Council, which are housed at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Some additional resources). It was common for representatives of the World Alliance to be invited by newly formed local chapters and to become involved in establishing programmatic and other activities, and this was the case in Egyptian administered Gaza. These individuals are referred to as 'fraternal secretaries;' Lee Dinesmore was a fraternal secretary in the Cairo YMCA following WWII and was loaned to the Friends in 1948/9 in order to assist with the establishment of initial programs in Gaza. There were, also second tier relationships between the Gaza YMCA and both the YMCA of Jerusalem and the YMCA of Beirut.

⁶³ Including in Port Said, Minya, Alexandria, and Assiut, see "YMCA Work in the Middle East for Staff Review," May 13, 1958. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-2 - International Work in Palestine/Israel, Box #27, File: Middle East, General Information, 1958-75.

⁶⁴ Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Box 17, File: Palestine, Jaffa, Misc Print 1924. Pamphlet of speakers series in Jaffa, 1924-25. Lectures covered topics from education and David Livingston to the role of young men in the building of a nation

The official YMCA office opened in Gaza in 1953.⁶⁵ Prior to this there was a collection of prominent Christian Gazans who formed their own, non-official, YMCA association. The majority of these men had experienced activities and events at one of the many branches of the Egyptian YMCA, and had brought the idea back to Gaza. Even from these modest beginnings, the activities and lectures offered were not limited to the Christian population of Gaza – which was never more than 1% of the total population of Gaza.⁶⁶ With the acceptance of this group’s request for formal YMCA branch status, they were eligible to apply for national and international grants to fund their activities.

There has been a Christian community in Gaza since the introduction of Christianity to the region. In the Bible, Gaza is noted as the place where Samson is said to have destroyed the pagan temple and died.⁶⁷ The size of the Christian community has waxed and waned, but comparison between historic and contemporary figures is difficult, because it would be comparing figures for the Gaza district to those with the Gaza Strip.⁶⁸ The majority of Christians have historically congregated in Gaza City, towards the north of what is today the Gaza Strip. Today there are three churches in Gaza, the Roman Catholic Holy Family Church, the Orthodox Church of Saint Porphyrius⁶⁹ and the Gaza

⁶⁵ There are internal communications that date the initial, locally organized and led meetings to 1952, but the opening of an office is only indicated in communications dated to 1953, as is the recognition of this Gaza branch. The construction and opening of a dedicated, YMCA owned building in Gaza is 1954-1955, including the negotiations with the Egyptian military to purchase the land.

⁶⁶“Palestinian Christians in the Holy Land,” Institute for Middle East Understanding, 17 December 2012: <http://imeu.org/article/palestinian-christians-in-the-holy-land>.

⁶⁷ See Judges 16:28-30.

⁶⁸ As discussed earlier, the Gaza Strip as a territorial entity was only formed in 1948, earlier discussion of ‘Gaza’ refers to the old Ottoman province. As a case in point, the 1922 British Census indicates that 812 Christians lived in the sub-district of Gaza at the time (see Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Box 17, File: Palestine Jerusalem, Census 1922 Table IV), as compared with 3,000 in 2009 and 1,200 more currently.

⁶⁹ Named for Saint Porphyrius, whose tomb is in the church, this is the oldest active church in Gaza. For an overview see Michael Dumper and Bruce E Stanley, “Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia,” (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc, 2007):119

Baptist Church,⁷⁰ there is even a Catholic school in Gaza, run by the Holy Family Church, that educates 1,000 children, the majority of whom are Muslim.⁷¹ These three churches minister to a total Christian population of approximately 1,200 as compared with reports of 3,000 in 2009.⁷² Significantly, the British Mandatory census carried out in 1922 found only 812 Christians living in the subdistrict of Gaza at the time.⁷³ This recent reduction in numbers of Christian in Gaza is mostly due to emigration and is not an ahistorical event. During the late-1920s and throughout the 1930, many Christians felt targeted by increasing Islamic rhetoric and some found opportunities to emigrate.⁷⁴ While many Christians were involved in the Palestinian nationalist movement, the increasing factionalism between the Husayni and Nashashibi families began to capitalize on religious differentiation in Palestinian Arab nationalist unity and this led some Christian families to leave the area.⁷⁵

The Gaza YMCA branch began operations in 1952⁷⁶ and was recognized as a subsidiary branch of the Egyptian YMCA national association in 1954.⁷⁷ Earliest

⁷⁰ This was founded in 1950s and has a congregation of a few hundred.

⁷¹ There are 968 students in attendance at the school, only 113 of whom are Christian, Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, "Holy Family School in Gaza is Growing," 7 March 2013, <http://en.lpj.org/2013/03/07/holy-family-school-in-gaza-is-growing/>

⁷² Numbers are difficult to verify, as it is not something that is easily verified; earlier figures from 2009 indicate that closer to 3,000 Christians were living in Gaza at the time, however, local newsletters from the Latin Patriarchate in Gaza and local scholars verify similar numbers by indicating a 40% decline in Christians in recent years. See Bernard Sabella, "Society: Identity at a transitional Time" *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture* 20/21 (2015): 53-59 and the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, <http://en.lpj.org>.

⁷³ "1922 British Census," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Box 17, File: Palestine Jerusalem, Census 1922 Table IV.

⁷⁴ Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians*, 70-71.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 60-62, in particular chapters 2, 3 and 4 focus on this issue.

⁷⁶ Based on correspondence that indicates that "A number of leaders in this latter community established an infant YMCA in Gaza in 1952," in "Letter from Wilson Hume to Millard Collins," 13 July 1954, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt Box 4, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954. This is confirmed by the YMCA Gaza website "About Us" section: http://ymcagaza.org/?page_id=9

⁷⁷ Documents dated to 1955 indicated that the YMCA in Gaza officially opened "last year" (i.e. 1954), see *The Arab World* October 1955, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in

membership records indicate a membership of 294 individuals in 1956, “one fifth of whom are Muslims.”⁷⁸ In large part the organizations official relationship to the Egyptian national branch of the YMCA is what permitted the YMCA in Gaza to purchase three acres of land on which to build their center and sports facilities. As Gaza at the time was designated as an essential security area by the Egyptian military, this sale and any subsequent construction had to be submitted to the Egyptian military for permission and approval.⁷⁹ This process indicates that, at the very least, the leadership of both the Egyptian and the Gazan YMCA were on good terms with and respected by the Egyptian military, and that the military leadership gave at least tacit approval to their programmatic work with refugee children.⁸⁰



Figure 21: Workmen putting the roof on the YMCA building in Gaza, 1956.⁸¹

Palestine/Israel, Box #25 – Senior Secretary (Jordan) 6 files (1958-1967); East Jerusalem, File: East Jerusalem – Misc Reports and Report letters, 1949, 1950, 1955-1969.

⁷⁸ “Report from Gaza visit,” 15 February 1957, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, International Work in Egypt, Box 7, File: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61, some 82% of these members are refugees.

⁷⁹ Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, Letter dated 4 June 1954 from Wilson Hume to Herb Lansdale (Executive Secretary of International Committee of YMCAs and Letter date 15 June 1954, from Wilson Hume to Herb Lansdale, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954, Kautz Family YMCA Archives.

⁸⁰ As discussed in the relationship between the Quakers and the Egyptian military, without the Egyptian military governors approval it was almost impossible to accomplish anything in Gaza during this time period.

⁸¹ “Putting on the Roof,” 1956, K Brooke Anderson Collection, YMCA Photo Archives, Foreign Work, Israel/Palestine – Gaza Strip 1

The guidance and assistance from the Egyptian YMCA national board was acceptable to the new YMCA in Gaza in the initial period. However, in time it became more problematic as local members (both Board and general members) came to view the Egyptian oversight as a cooptation of Palestinian identity with elements of Egyptian identity. In part, this intra-group conflict also stems from local Gaza politics and the 1956/7 occupation of the Gaza Strip by Israel during the Suez Crisis. While the UNRWA/YMCA partnership did not come into full effect until after the first Israeli occupation of Gaza in 1956/1957, UNRWA actively assisted the YMCA with its construction efforts in early 1956 and spoke in favor of the project on the YMCA's behalf.⁸² In part, it was following the scandal of 1956/57, regarding alleged YMCA and Christian collaboration with the Israeli occupation, that there was an increase in collaboration between UNRWA and the YMCA in Gaza.⁸³

YMCA Power Dynamics in Gaza: The 1956/57 Israeli Collaboration Scandal

From the internal YMCA documents there is a fascinating picture of the power dynamics within the organization, at the local, 'national,' and international levels. While the top level of authority sits with the International YMCA in Geneva, the emphasis is always on the cultivation and retention of local leaders for any and all business at the

⁸² See "Letter 15 May 1954" 15 January 1954, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954 and "Letter of May 29, 1954 Kelada to Millard Collins" Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954.

⁸³ This was also likely due to the personal connections between various YMCA leaders and UNRWA leadership, in particular the Director of UNRWA between 1954-1958, Henry Labouisse, was an active member of the YMCA (See Kautz Family YMCA Archives, YMCA Biographical files, Y.USA.12, box 116, folder: Henry Richardson Labouisse). This connection was continued by Constantin Vlachopoulos, the Agency's Public Information Officer in Beirut, who had a friendly relationship with the YMCA International Fraternal Secretary in Beirut. These personal connections were key to implementing or destroying various programs in these early years.

national level.⁸⁴ The inequity between these various levels of leadership and the infighting is particularly apparent in the files relating to the Lebanese and Egyptian national branches of the YMCA – which are also particularly tinged with local politics.⁸⁵ The local politics within these Christian populations in both Lebanon and Egypt⁸⁶ had a substantial impact on the composition of the national YMCA boards, as well as much of the intra-organizational conflict that occurred. At one point there were actually two sitting national boards of the Lebanese national YMCA: one that favored working with the International YMCA delegates and one that did not.⁸⁷ These local intrigues are significant because of their impact on the regional dynamics within the greater YMCA organization, and the subsequent impact on the manner in which the Gaza Board was formed and the Board's relationships to the other regional Boards and the international Alliance of YMCAs.

⁸⁴ See "Minutes from Panel on What it takes to be an effective Fraternal Secretary," April 19, 1967, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Box #27, File:Middle East, General Information, 1958-75. Also, "YMCA Work in the Middle East for Staff Review," May 13, 1958, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Box #27, File:Middle East, General Information, 1958-75. Also, "YMCA Work in the Middle East for Staff Review," May 13, 1958,

⁸⁵ As recounted in the opening vignette in chapter 2, it was in the YMCA archives that I first encountered this dynamic of situating Gaza's bureaucracy within an assortment of other national files.

⁸⁶ While not conflating the situation of Christians in Egypt and Lebanon, the other two major YMCA centers in the Middle Eastern region were in Cairo and Beirut. The situation and political position of Christians in Egypt and Lebanon were, however, quite distinct. At this time, and historically, Christians in Egypt have been a minority of the population, making up no more 10-20% of the population – detailed population figures are almost impossible to verify. The majority of Egypt's Christians are, and historically have been, Coptic. In contrast, in Lebanon the Christian population is much more diverse, including seven or more distinct Christian sects, and historically constituted a majority of the population.

⁸⁷ See in particular File: Lebanon, 1949,1950-1958, in Kautz Family YMCA Archives Y.USA.9-2-55, YMCA International Work in Lebanon, Box 2, although this runs throughout the correspondence in this box. There is also an entire box devoted to the infighting in the Cairo national committee and the alleged embezzlement trial of Naguid Kelada, see Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 5.

From the beginning the YMCA in Gaza was led by local Gazan Christians.⁸⁸ While the services of the YMCA came to primarily serve the Muslim refugee population, the YMCA leadership board was always Christian.⁸⁹ The initial board was staffed by local Christians, whose families had a long history in Gaza. Each local YMCA had a General Secretary who lead and oversaw day-to-day activities, and then a Board of Directors, composed of eminent local elites who oversaw longer-term planning and goals of the organization.⁹⁰ The first General-Secretary of the Gaza YMCA discussed in the records, is Afif Shuhaiber, an Orthodox (Greek) refugee whose family had fled to the Gaza Strip in 1948.⁹¹ While the Board of Directors was composed mostly of native Gazans, the majority of the members of the organization were refugees.⁹² Afif Shuhaibar, despite being quite young, was nominated and elected as the first General Secretary of the official Gaza YMCA in 1955, in large part because of his connections to the Christian community and the YMCA in Egypt.⁹³ Initially, Shuhaibar's leadership of the Gaza YMCA was without serious issue.⁹⁴ However, following the 1956 Suez offensive and the subsequent Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip during 1956 and 1957, there was tension

⁸⁸ "Letter from Wilson Hume to Millard Collins," 13 July 1954, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt Box 4, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954.

⁸⁹ This was the case for all YMCA Board's, even though organizational activities were open to members of all faiths organizational bylaws required that board members be Christian, see Mayer Zald and Patricia Denton, "From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 8 (1963): 219.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 216.

⁹¹ "Report from Gaza visit," 15 February 1957, pg 2. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, International Work in Egypt, Box 7, File: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61, some 82% of these members are refugees.

⁹² *Ibid*, different estimates place refugee membership at between 82%-100%.

⁹³ Afif Shuhaibar had also been part of the YMCA youth leadership training in Cairo. "Note from Jack Barber," 10 December 1955, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt, Reports and Correspondence, June-Dec 1955

⁹⁴ There are several letters that are concerned about Shuhaibars profligate spending habits with providing receipts or receiving permission from the Treasurer for such expenditures, see "Letter to Jack Barber," 18 March 1957, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt, Reports and Correspondence, June-Dec 1955

between the members of the Board of Directors and the General Secretary, culminating in all parties refusing to work together and the resignation of the President of the Board of Directors, Mr. Victor Bishara.⁹⁵

The scandal that had caused such a problem was the alleged collaboration of Afif Shuhaibar with Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip in 1956/57 and the potential for this to color relations between the majority Muslim population and the minority Christian population. During the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip in 1956/7 reports were made



Figure 22: Young men at YMCA meeting hall, including Afif Shuhaibar, 1956.⁹⁶

by YMCA board members that Afif Shuhaibar not only allowed Israeli soldiers to remain in the YMCA building, but had approached the Israelis and offered the facilities for their use.⁹⁷ In some reports, Shuhaibar participated in mixed parties, including dancing with Israeli soldiers at the YMCA facilities in Gaza.⁹⁸ This was quite scandalous for the YMCA and upon the return of the Gaza Strip to Egypt there was a significant rift between the Gaza office and the main national YMCA office in Egypt. The primary

⁹⁵ Ibid. The returning Egyptian military also refused to work with Shuhaibar. See also, "Letter 1 May, 1957," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt, Reports and Correspondence, June-Dec 1955

⁹⁶ "About Us: History of YMCA Gaza," *YMCA Gaza*, http://ymcagaza.org/?page_id=9

⁹⁷ "Letter date 1 May 1957," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 7, Folder: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61. Not that this was reported by the President of the Board of Directors, Victor Bishara.

⁹⁸ Ibid

concern was that this alleged collaboration by Shuhaibar with the occupying Israeli forces threatened the broader Christian community in Gaza, the general social standing of the Gaza YMCA and any future approval from the Egyptian authorities for YMCA programming in Gaza. The Egyptian military governor general was adamant that the YMCA played an important role in the Gaza Strip and the facility and its programming needed to be re-instated.⁹⁹

This rift was furthered as portions of the Gaza Board of Directors resigned in protest and other members refused to corroborate stories because of their support for the Shuhaibar clan.¹⁰⁰ As a majority of the Board refused to work with Shuhaibar his ‘resignation’ became necessary. Afif Shuhaibar was ultimately removed from his position, with the consent of the YMCA board in Gaza, and replaced with a YMCA-trained national secretary from Egypt. The International Alliance of YMCA’s secured a position for Shuhaibar at the American University in Beirut to complete his graduate studies, at which time he agreed to resign from his position.¹⁰¹ While the remainder of the Gaza General Board would be composed of Gazan Christians, it was decided that external leadership, in the form of an Egyptian national, would be best for the

⁹⁹ See “Report of Naguib Kelada,” 4 April 1957 Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 7, Folder: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61. At this point, Afif Shuhaibar had also signed an agreement with the Norwegian medical contingent of the UNEF leasing the YMCA premises to them for 6 months. This was not approved or agreed by the Board and the Governor General was concerned about what this would mean for recreational opportunities for refugee youth in Gaza.

¹⁰⁰ This included the Treasurer of the Board, Fouad Shuhaibar, the uncle of Afif Shuhaibar. See the differing accounts offered by Naguib Kelada in “Report of Naguib Kelada,” 4 April 1957 and John Barber, “Letter of 1 May 1957,” and “Comments of John Barber on his trip to Gaza,” 2-4 April 1957, in Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 7, Folder: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61.

¹⁰¹ “Letter June 15, 1957,” Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 7, Folder: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61.

organization.¹⁰² This was contentious and it was not until after 1967 that a Palestinian Christian was once again General Secretary of the YMCA Gaza Office.¹⁰³ These questions of local leadership and autonomy of the Gaza YMCA parallel the broader Palestinian community's demand for representation and the creation an autonomous state.

This intrigue of leadership is indicative of the organizational approach to and treatment of Gaza and Gazans. Whilst it was essential that the YMCA was an indigenous Gazan institution, so that it would be accepted by the broader (i.e., Muslim) community, the antics of Afif Shuhaibar had made clear, in the eyes of the Cairo-based leadership, that the community could not lead itself. As such, an outside, Cairo-based and trained leader would need to be approved and appointed for the position. This paternalistic approach was not solely the doing of Western Secretaries based in Cairo, but was also advocated by the Cairo board. This is Jacob's "effendi masculinity" in action. The Cairo national Board had been suitably 'molded' by the biopolitical machinations of power and discipline, as wielded – in this instance – by the International Alliance of YMCA and their training regime. This approach resonated with the Cairo national Board, which chose to reinforce it by appointing one of their own to oversee 'training' of the refugee population in Gaza in a move evocative of the Mandatory mindset. That such actions would be taken to suitably 'train' a sister Board has implication for the scope and role of such techniques of management undertaken by the YMCA in Gaza through its training programs for refugees. It is also problematic because of the inherent contradiction within

¹⁰² Two names were put forward by the Egyptian chapter: Michael Wassef and Tawfik Wissa. Ultimately Tawfik Wissa was chosen and sent from Cairo to Gaza in order to lead the programs and the YMCA chapter there. See "Letter from 8 April 1957," Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 7, Folder: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61.

¹⁰³ This came about following the 1967 War and the occupation of the Gaza Strip by Israel, at this time the Gaza YMCA became a subsidiary branch of the Israeli YMCAs, including in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Jaffa. It also became impossible for an Egyptian national to travel between the Gaza Strip and Egypt, making the transfer of leadership to a Gazan necessary.

these actions: the focus of all of the training initiatives was ultimately on self-governance, yet even limited self-governance (in the form of leading a civil society organization) never materialized.¹⁰⁴

Work & Play: Biopolitics and Bare Life

While YMCA efforts in Gaza were locally led, much of the funding and the drive for the programming came from the International Fraternal Secretaries to the National Egyptian Chapter and from the International Alliance of the YMCA regional offices in Beirut. Leadership from each of these offices were called upon to visit Gaza, both to assess the capacity of the local leadership to undertake such large scale programming¹⁰⁵ initiatives with UNRWA, and to assess the situation and need in Gaza. The final say on programming specifics ultimately lay with the Board of Directors at the Gaza YMCA. However much of the funding for programs was dependent on those international representatives from Egypt and Lebanon and so it was in the Gaza YMCA's financial interest to host these representatives and listen to their plans. Similarly, most of the international representatives from Beirut had very close ties to UNRWA international staff headquartered in Beirut, which facilitated the local partnership in Gaza.

Those YMCA international representatives who visited Gaza were stunned that even after nearly ten years since the refugee exodus to Gaza the situation remained not only completely unresolved, but completely untenable:

¹⁰⁴ This is also linked to the discussion earlier in the chapter related to the attributes of citizenship and the links to the formation of a secular nation-state; this dysfunction that voided access to self-governance at this local level was indicative of the lack of access to self-governance at a higher – state – level.

¹⁰⁵ An example of this is the budget for 1964, which was stated at \$55,000, an enormous sum for the time period (approximately \$500,000 in today's currency. "YMCA Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East Report on Activities 1964," 8, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12 (3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

Gaza is a most hopeless place. There are 220,000 persons there on a strip of sand 3 1/2 miles wide by 25 miles long. They can go nowhere. There is very little work. 140,000 of these people are refugees from Israel. Half are below 16 years of age. I believe the YMCA can render a unique, constructive service to the most needy, bitter, antagonistic boys imaginable.¹⁰⁶

This view that the programs and services of the YMCA were not only necessary but could make a real difference in Gaza was one of the reasons that the organization agreed to such a large scale contract with UNRWA for youth activity programs and leadership training with a virtually unproven local leadership. The contract stipulated a four year agreement to work for the “rehabilitation of refugee youth,” and detailed the split in the responsibility of duties. The YMCA would use its premises and trainers, and UNRWA would be responsible for selecting the participants from amongst the refugee population. The cost would be split evenly between the parties, with the YMCA local offices providing reports every four months that detailed the expenditures. Included in the Annex of one such contract is a detailed budget, replicable across each field, as well as a detailed training schedule that provided a ‘year-at-a-glance’ of all trainings, including the dates, locations, number of attendees and topics of each training session.¹⁰⁷ In this way sport and leadership training were to become a means to channel young male energies into something productive.

The UNRWA/YMCA Agreement came into being in 1959, formalizing a relationship that had previously existed.¹⁰⁸ The agreement followed the nominal return of

¹⁰⁶ Box 7, File: Egypt, Gaza, 1956, Letter from Harper Sibley to Millard Collins regarding his trip to Gaza, sent on 31 Ma 1956

¹⁰⁷ “Agreement between World Alliance and UNRWA,” 8 January 1964, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs Welfare, Folder RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General, December 1963-June 1964, Part III. This included 7 training sessions in Gaza, working with 224 individuals.

¹⁰⁸ “Letter 2 June 1959,” Kautz Family YMCA Archives, 7.USA.9-2-55, YMCA International Work in Lebanon, Box 2 File: Lebanon, 1959 and “1965 Report on YMCA Leadership Training Programme for

the Gaza Strip from Israeli occupation to Egyptian administration in 1957, when the YMCA entered into a contract with UNRWA's Department of Welfare and Placement Division to provide activities to the boys and youth of the Gaza Strip. Prior to 1959, the Gaza YMCA had carried out a variety of sports and youth programming activities that were targeted to the refugee youth population.¹⁰⁹ In particular, the YMCA benefitted both financially and from the exposure offered by such opportunities. These collaborations focused on youth sporting activities, scouting, camping, and leadership training: all activities to promote individual virtue. The formal collaboration between the two organizations continued until at least 1985,¹¹⁰ and there is still some collaboration in youth activities until today.¹¹¹ This relationship was not without its shortcomings, and at various times both the collaboration and the funding was threatened.¹¹² The culmination of this collaboration appears to have been 1966, when, the Youth Activities Program in the Gaza District offered their most varied programming, including: providing access to a children's playground, boys' recreational programs, social, cultural, sport and recreational activities for young adults, hostel accommodations, vocational training in

Palestine Refugees in the Middle East," UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 54, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/121, Youth Activities Program, YMCA Programs & Agreement, July 1963-October 1965, Part II.

¹⁰⁹ In particular, the Gaza YMCA – in conjunction with the Egyptian YMCA – began summer camp opportunities in Rafah and El Arish (then considered part of Gaza), in 1954. These summer camps served about 240 campers each summer, including about 80 from Gazan refugees. See "Letter of May 29, 1954 Kelada to Millard Collins" YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 4, File: Egypt Reports and Correspondence, 1954; numbers updated in letter 15 June 1954

¹¹⁰ UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 54, continuing files through 1985, potentially further but did not have access to these newer boxes under my access agreement to the archives

¹¹¹ The current leadership of the Gaza YMCA, Musa Saba, is involved in many of the youth art and theatre programming initiatives that are part of UNRWA-Gaza's 'Summer Games.'

¹¹² UNRWA had an intended dissolution date of 1966, in an effort to save money to be spent on other programs (see Letter dated 13 March 1965, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs, Welfare RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General. July 1964-October 1966, Part IV), however, the programs ultimately continued to run, through the summer of 1966 with youth leadership training.

shorthand and typing, and leadership training for both girl guides and scouts, including twelve courses for boys and youth activities leaders.¹¹³

Governing Through Play

While the YMCA provided recreational and training opportunities for refugee youth in Gaza prior to its relationship with UNRWA, as detailed in the above example of camping, their reach was far greater because of their cooperation with UNRWA. These local level collaborations between the YMCA and UNRWA Gaza Office were the most prolific and reached the largest number of refugees. By some estimates this included over 16,000 refugee youth reached through the UNRWA-YMCA collaboration during the 1964 year of programming.¹¹⁴ The final tier of collaboration came at the HQ level between UNRWA and the International Alliance of YMCA offices in Beirut. These collaborations typically involved large-scale leadership training or leadership conferences held at the YMCA training facility in Broummana that was purpose-built for training.¹¹⁵

The collaboration between UNRWA and the YMCA was by-and-large based on meeting the needs of the refugee youth population and the limitations of UNRWA's mandate. During the 1950s and 1960s, UNRWA programming was driven almost exclusively by its works-based mandate, as discussed in chapter four. This meant that while UNRWA offered an assortment of vocational training classes, there were almost no UNRWA-run recreational activities, with the exception of the UNRWA movie nights.¹¹⁶

The vocational training offered by UNRWA took place in a consistent and structured

¹¹³ "Report on Youth activities program in Gaza district, from April 1966-October 1966," p 5. UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 54, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/121, Youth Activities Program, YMCA Programs and Agreement, Part III – billed as reaching several thousands of refugees.

¹¹⁴ Page 5, "Administrative Report" 1965, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, YMCA International Work in Egypt, Box 6, File: Egypt, Cairo, Admin Report E Torrance, 1963-66

¹¹⁵ One such example of this collaboration is discussed below.

¹¹⁶ See "Monthly report for July," UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare – General, March 1960-December 1963, Part I

environment, albeit sometimes driven by sponsor goals rather than refugee needs, other non-work oriented programs and activities took place in a most ad hoc manner. This deficit in organized play and recreation opportunities is not only linked to UNRWA's works mandate that focused on skills training for employment (i.e., resettlement in the region), but also to the overall biopolitical rationale of the organization as a whole.¹¹⁷

A second contract was signed between the two organizations in 1963 to cover the details related to construction to expand the YMCA hostel to host participants to the YMCA leadership training program in Gaza.¹¹⁸ The YMCA in Gaza also continued its own programming, offering membership options to the population of the Gaza Strip, Christian and Muslim alike. These membership options provided access to the sporting activities, playgrounds, vocational training and social activities that included lecture series. Membership figures are only available for 1956, 1960-61, and 1963-64. These figures indicate a steady membership of on average 290 Gazans each year.¹¹⁹ While these may not come across as exceptional numbers given the total population of the Gaza Strip at this time was about 300,000, it is notable because it represents a fee-based membership. Such fee-based services would have been considered a luxury at this time of

¹¹⁷ Such notions as regarded responsibility for the refugee population of Gaza, the minimum that must be provided for this population, as well as what constituted 'frivolous' or 'unnecessary support,' melds Redcleft's notions of citizenship in the camp dynamic with the core responsibilities of world citizenship that Malkki isolates in her Finnish aid workers. The rights that are ascribed to refugees tend to be quite different than those rights offered to the citizens of the countries in which these refugees reside.

¹¹⁸ "Inter-office Memo" 27 March, 1963, UNRWA archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs Welfare, RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General. February 1962-November 1963, Part II

¹¹⁹ For 1956: 294 members (see "Report from Gaza visit," 15 February 1957, pg 2. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-22, International Work in Egypt, Box 7, File: Egypt, Gaza Correspondence, 1956-61); For 1960: 200 members (see "Note from 1 June 1960," YMCA International Work Country: Supplemental Files: Egypt Y.USA.9-2-22, Box S15, File: International Division, Egypt, 1958-1963); 1961: 298 members (see "Note from 10 June 1961," YMCA International Work Country: Supplemental Files: Egypt Y.USA.9-2-22, Box S15, File: International Division, Egypt, 1958-1963); and for 1963: 416 members and 1964: 248 members (see "Some statistics From the 1964 Annual Report," p 5, YMCA Archives, Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Box 27, Folder Middle East, General Info 1958-75).

economic hardship. Opting in to such a membership is also linked to notions of citizenship and the rights (and obligations) associated with this nascent citizenship.

Additionally, the consistency in membership figures indicates a loyal following within the local community. While much of the funding came from external YMCA grants and UNRWA funding, some of the Gaza programs were funded by the Gaza YMCA by the membership fees. This is a unique example of activities organized and coordinated by Gazans for Gazans and funded – in part – by Gazans.¹²⁰ These locally organized and funded activities by the Gaza YMCA were, however, the minority of the events operated by the YMCA, as the bulk of its work was in partnership with UNRWA.

Scouts, Sport, and Leadership Training: Methods of Governance

While UNRWA focused primarily on vocational training for young men, ages 16+, the YMCA focused on physical activity programs and leadership training. This distinction is significant as the need for complementary sporting and recreational activities, and their productive purpose, is frequently commented upon in UNRWA reports.¹²¹ Many of these official reports note the need for organized recreational youth programs to provide these young men with a productive space outside of the workplace or school. However, these reports are clear that administrative level officials do not see such recreational activities as the responsibility of UNRWA. This view is rooted in the Agency's mandate to provide works training and placement and limited direct relief. Other reports find the support of such recreation programs to be unnecessary,¹²² however,

¹²⁰ Even local work by the Muslim Brotherhood in the charitable and educational spheres relied heavily on Egyptian funds and leadership within the organization.

¹²¹ For an example see "Inter-office Memorandum," 16 January 1963, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare – General, March 1960-December 1963, Part I

¹²² See "Letter, 20 December 1966," UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 52, Folder Refugee Affairs, Welfare RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General, November 1966 – April 1975, Part V.

at the field level it was felt that the agency had a responsibility for ensuring the mental health and well being of the refugees as much as their physical health.

This distinction is a fascinating view into the perspectives of early relief provision: that providing clothing, food rations, and medical care constituted a fulfillment of the humanitarian obligation. The addition of a works component as UNRWA's core mandate – in distinction of UNRPR – is more a commentary on the international geopolitical climate and realities of the early 1950's: that the guild of donor nations would be assuaged by providing funding to train Palestinians in vocations that would provide them with a skillset, allowing for resettlement in the region and stable employment, as it became clear by the early 1950s that no kind of large scale resettlement of Palestine refugees in the new nation-state of Israel would ever take place.

The most prominent of the YMCA activities, undertaken in conjunction with UNRWA in Gaza, were the scouting troops, sports tournaments, and leadership training opportunities. It is through these YMCA training programs and organized play activities (in conjunction with UNRWA basic schooling) that the organizations strove to inculcate in their all male Palestinian refugee participants a desire to “work together for the good of the community.”¹²³ Enacted in all five fields of operations (i.e., in UNRWA refugee camps throughout Gaza, West Bank/Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria), these programs worked to strengthen the spirit while honing the physical body through their sports and scouting programs. The view was that this ‘spiritual’ training, in conjunction with the physical training and UNRWA's education program, would create Palestinian subjects able and

¹²³ “YMCA Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East Report on Activities 1964,” 2, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12 (3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

willing to lead a future nation state.¹²⁴ This capacity for state-building was tested and refined through participation in voluntary civic duties (i.e., unpaid labor) to physically construct the nation: planting trees, building roads, cleaning public spaces, and building sanitary installations, to name a few. Through these shared experiences and trainings a communal identity that (ideally) would inform a future national identity was created (across the entirety of the Palestinian population served by the YMCA/UNRWA partnership). When the programs subsequently became self-sustaining this “local ownership and direction” indicated that a tipping point had been reached: the community had assumed the activities in their own understanding and enacting of Palestinian-ness.

These findings complement and contrast with other work on this topic. Many publications focus on only a single refugee population, usually camp based, however, because of the time period studied here (pre-Occupation), the YMCA was essentially able to enact the same programs and standards throughout the five fields of operation, creating a more encompassing baseline for these efforts that created an idealized Palestinian subject. These programs exclusively catered to men, encouraging an environment of (secular) brotherhood through this community rooted and oriented approach. As such, this nation-wide project allowed only for male participation and defined the future through these male bonds and a distinctly male identity that had to be performed on behalf of the community, termed here as an idealized Palestinian masculinity.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Anderson discusses at length the relationship between the nationalism of the modern nation-state and masculinity, that nation-state based nationalism imbues the modern man with a distinct masculinity that recognizes this global order, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006): 11.

¹²⁵ For further discussion of this link between a distinct national masculinity see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, and specific to the Palestinian experience see Joseph Massad, “Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism,” *Middle East Journal* 14 (1995): 467-483, especially 476. This contrasts with Julie Peteet’s focus on education as a means through which this identity was constructed, to argue instead for a three part construction of identity through these programs catering to the spiritual, the

The scouting activities offered by the YMCA and UNRWA were fascinating because of the external politics that directed so many of the actions and activities. Despite an agreement between UNRWA and the YMCA to create scouting troops, the activity was delayed by almost a year because they had to receive permission from the Egyptian Governor General in Gaza.¹²⁶ Much of this was due to the political nature of scouting in Egypt and the history of different scouting unions belonging to and supporting different political narratives there.¹²⁷ The requirement to receive approval for such activities as scouting is another indicator of the dysfunctional contradiction discussed earlier: while scouting activities were one of the elements that worked to create local Palestinian leadership through both its physical regime and its mental discipline, these same activities were subject to ‘approval.’ This contradiction between a secular, western, modern leadership scheme and the emerging local leadership from the ‘notable’ families is notable for the barriers that it presents to the emerging citizenship norms enacted by UNRWA and the YMCA.

After receiving approval to begin forming its scouting troops in 1961, UNRWA and the YMCA began to collaborate on the training of scout leadership and the formation of various troops throughout the Gaza Strip. Given Gaza’s access to the sea, the decision was made to create “Sea Scout Crews” that would teach both the virtues of scouting and

physical, and the mental. This is complemented by more recent work on the manifestation of a distinctly Gazan masculinity through the football leagues in Gaza, which discusses the only opportunities to define one’s masculinity through identifying either as a martyr, as a political prisoner, or as a footballer, see Gerd von der Lippe, “Football, war and masculinities on the Palestinian, Gaza Strip: A nation without a proper state,” in *Sport in Islam and in Muslim Communities*, edited by Alberto Testa and Mahfoud Amra (New York: Routledge, 2016.):7

¹²⁶ “Inter Office Memo, August 28 1961,” UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder RE 250, Welfare-General, March 1960-December 1963, Part I and “Letter from Chief, Welfare and Placement Division,” 26 February 1963, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12(3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

¹²⁷ For a full discussion of this see Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, chapter 4.

the basics of maritime training.¹²⁸ The oversight for the training and the ‘crews’ themselves came from the Arab Office of the International Boy Scout Movement in Cairo. This office was led by a Mr. Kashaba, who visited Gaza several times to check on the progress of the scout crews. During his visits, Mr. Kashaba was responsible for providing reports to the Governor General regarding the progress of the crews and ensuring that the Gaza Scouting Council had appropriate oversight over the activities and lectures given.¹²⁹

The first of the crews was the Sea Scout crew at Beach Camp (al-Shati) in Gaza City. The troop consisted of 26 members in mid-1962, all between the ages of 17-25. These young men would have monthly meetings, which were more like activity-based lectures that addressed the history of the world scouting movement, the history of the sea-scouting movement, scout laws, duties of scouts, group life and solidarity.¹³⁰ The crew was issued uniforms and they were expected to wear them to their monthly meetings, as well as when undertaking activities on behalf of the group.¹³¹ By January 1964 there were six crews in the Gaza Strip, totaling 95 members, and there plans to create two new ‘crews,’ adding another 40-50 members. The crews were located at Beach Camp, Gaza City, Deir al-Balah, Bureij, Khan Younis and at the Vocational Training Center.¹³²

¹²⁸ “Letter from Chief, Welfare and Placement Division,” 26 February 1963, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12(3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

¹²⁹ “Inter Office Memo, August 28 1961,” UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder RE 250, Welfare-General, March 1960-December 1963, Part I.

¹³⁰ “Note from Field Welfare and Placement Officer,” 16 May, 1962, UNRWA Archives, RG. 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12(3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

¹³¹ “Quarterly Report, August 1961,” UNRWA Archives, RG1 Records Control, Box RE 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare – General, March 1960-December 1963. The uniform and the group centric nature of the activities undertaken were a key part of the collective ritual of the scouting program, and the general approach of the YMCA and UNRWA in Gaza.

¹³² “Inter Office Memo from Chief of Welfare and Placement,” 3 August 1963, UNRWA Archives, RG. 1 Records Control, Box RE 52 Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE: 250/12(3), Youth Activities, Boy Scouts, July

The use of uniforms, a strict regime of physical training activities, and monthly lectures (to feed and build the intellect) are all indicative of the efforts to produce an idealized masculinity, based in part on personal virtue, within the population. This masculinity focused on emulating and reinforcing ‘appropriate’ manners of action and dress that fit within the approved political narrative of the time.



Figure 23: Sea Scouts practicing knot tying in the Gaza YMCA Courtyard¹³³

The scouting crews offer a fascinating view into how different political entities (the Egyptian government and military, UNRWA, and the YMCA) were attempting to control and mold the youth refugee population of Gaza. The politics surrounding the approval of even creating a scouting crew is indicative of the subsequent oversight regimes and evolving political alliances. None of this is unique, similar histories of scouting as a political tool are clear in the cases of Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon.¹³⁴ In Gaza, however, these histories take on added significance when linked with broader

1963-August 1966, Part II; “Letter from Chief, Welfare and Placement Division,” 26 February 1963, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12(3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I. The vocational training center was at this time in the North of the Gaza Strip.

¹³³ “YMCA Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East Report on Activities 1964,” 8, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12 (3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

¹³⁴ Watenpugh, *Being Modern*; Jacob, *Working out Egypt*; Baun “Constructing Identity.”

developments, such as the formation of the PLO in 1964. The molding and training, both physical and mental, of young men through these scouting program, coupled with the particular political narratives that were permitted in these spaces have created interesting dynamics for future relations with the organizational sponsors.¹³⁵

The sports tournaments organized by the YMCA and UNRWA were some of the largest projects undertaken by the YMCA in Gaza. These tournaments and sports leagues covered a variety of sports, including volleyball, basketball, ping-pong, and soccer. The sporting programs emerged with the same goals as those in the scouting and leadership training: to create an idealized Palestinian masculinity within the refugee population. Through the use of team sports, the YMCA and UNRWA implemented disciplinary regimes to form these youth in such a manner. The importance of team sports was key, as the sports were a means to creating a community that supported itself.¹³⁶ By introducing elements of competition through sporting tournaments and sports leagues, the teams found a suitable incentive to be disciplined and win, their identity and masculinity were threatened by defeat. The team-oriented nature of these tournaments, and the importance of team uniforms or identifiers, were also significant components in the ritualization of these events.

¹³⁵ Following the creation of the PLO, both UNRWA and the YMCA struggled to guarantee that none of their employees or members were part of the terrorist organization (which would have jeopardized their funding, in particular any received from the US government). However, the organization emphasis on discipline and control, and molding of idealized Palestinian masculinities through programs such as the Sea Scout Crews essentially became a self-fulfilling legacy.

¹³⁶ Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, 75

Palestinian Masculine Identity in Practice in the Gaza Strip

One of the earliest examples of the emergence of a distinct masculinity¹³⁷ based in this organizational collaboration comes from the summer of 1961, during which time the YMCA and UNRWA organized a ‘fete sportive’ for the male refugee youth. During this project, the General Secretary of the YMCA was actually employed by UNRWA to serve as the director of sporting activities.¹³⁸ This ‘fete’ involved tournaments in basketball, volleyball and football, and used various open spaces in many of the UNRWA camps, rather than the YMCA facilities. It also attracted teams from Cairo, Alexandria, Assiut, Minah, and Qosna.¹³⁹ Significantly, there are YMCA branches in four of the five cities that fielded teams to participate in this ‘fete.’ By encouraging participation of multiple YMCA branches, it ensured that the ‘spirit’ of the event would be one governed by the norms of the YMCA itself. As well as encouraging competition between the branches that would, ideally, continue into the daily operations of each branch and encourage them to out-do one another in other areas, such as fundraising.

Another example of the cooperation between the two organizations in the area of sporting activities comes from 1966. During a period between April to October of 1966, there were over 50 matches held in an array of sporting areas, including basketball, soccer, and ping-pong.¹⁴⁰ These sporting ventures provided an opportunity for interaction, taking youth from one camp to another in the Gaza Strip for various matches,

¹³⁷ Focused on civic-minded communal work and efforts to hone a physically sound body in the service of the creating a nation.

¹³⁸ “1961 Report on YMCA Services with Refugees and Migrants,” pg. 8. RG 1 Records Control, Box 53, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE: 250/121, Youth Activities Program, YMCA Programs and Agreement, January 1960-April 1963, Part I,

¹³⁹ “1961 Report on YMCA Services with Refugees and Migrants,” pg. 8. RG 1 Records Control, Box 53, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE: 250/121, Youth Activities Program, YMCA Programs and Agreement, January 1960-April 1963, Part I,

¹⁴⁰ “Report on Youth Activities Program in Gaza District,” 29 October 1966, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 54, Folder RE 250/(2), Part III.

as well as for travel outside of Gaza, such as to the Arab Games in Damascus or a sporting tournament in Cambodia.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, these sporting endeavors proved an ideal employment opportunity for those youth who had graduated from the YMCA leadership schemes, as well as an ideal recruiting ground for future participants in these training programs.



Figure 24: YMCA-led physical fitness training, 1963.¹⁴²

Under the YMCA leadership training programs, the older boys (18-26) were trained to provide organized play opportunities for the younger boys (8-18).¹⁴³ In the same way that UNRWAs vocational training program categorize boys and young men as eligible for distinct opportunities based on their age, the YMCA also introduce age as a category to delineate access to programs and opportunities. These leadership training programs were at the heart of the partnership between the YMCA and UNRWA in Gaza, however, it is only from 1960 that specific details of the programs are really kept. These training programs seemed to have been a cross-over point between the work of UNRWA

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Physical fitness training course, led by YMCA trainees, from “YMCA Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East Report on Activities 1964,” 8, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box RE 52, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 250/12 (3), Youth Activities Boy Scouts, Feb 1960-June 1963, Part I

¹⁴³ “Inter Office Memo, W/533(G),” dated 25 May, 1962. UNRWA Archives, Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs Welfare, RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General. February 1962-November 1963, Part II

and the YMCA, where the training became a vocational training program that could offer credentials for future employment. The figures from 1961 until 1966 indicate that approximately 300 young refugee men were trained as leaders each year in Gaza.¹⁴⁴ By 1962 the training programs had “been whole-heartedly accepted by the refugee communities,” and were “carried on with the endorsement and participation of the Elders, Mukhtars, Government Officials, and Education Officers.”¹⁴⁵ With estimates that some 25% of the 17-25 year old men living in the camps were using the facilities in some way, even if they were not officially enrolled in a leadership training program.

The training programs themselves were operated through the YMCA building in Gaza City. The training brought in instructors to give lectures on topics of significance and lead the trainees through various activities in their given field of experience.¹⁴⁶ The majority of these instructors were themselves employees of UNRWA or the YMCA, with a few government (i.e., Egyptian government) employees and representatives of other NGOs added to the mix.¹⁴⁷ This leadership training focused on leadership in educational activities, such as sports and singing, with half of the instructors listed as recreation

¹⁴⁴ The files indicate that 6 sessions were held each year to train these young men, as was the norm with YMCA leadership training in other areas. The basic training and certification took place at the local branch level, but advanced leadership training took place only in Beirut at the Broummana training facility.

¹⁴⁵ “Inter Office Memo, W/533(G),” dated 25 May, 1962. UNRWA Archives, Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs Welfare, RE 250/12, Youth Activities Program, General. February 1962-November 1963, Part II

¹⁴⁶ The leadership training programs offered by the YMCA are inherently linked to an emerging citizenship in Gaza during this time period; the regime of the training – the uniforms, the strict schedule etc – were akin to the responsibilities of citizenship that were key to creating an individual, a citizen, who was capable of fully participating in public life and contributing, in turn, to the betterment of society. All of this took place under the aegis of what the YMCA and UNRWA defined as most beneficial for Palestinian representative and conducive to the cause.

¹⁴⁷ “Leadership Training Programme for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East, Report on Activities in 1963.” Appendix 3. UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control Box 52, Folder: Refugee Affairs RE: 250/12(1), Youth Activities Program, YMCA leadership training centre (Broummana), October 1960-April 1962, Part II. Of the 22 speakers listed, 3 work for the YMCA, 12 work for UNRWA, 3 are listed as ‘Sports Instructor,’ 1 works for another FBO in Gaza, and three are government representatives, including the Egyptian military General-Secretary of Youth Patronage in Gaza.

educational specialists.¹⁴⁸ These leadership training programs created a reinforcing cycle, whereby the trainees were brought into the cycle of control and discipline and then themselves reinforced it through their work with youth in organized play. By creating a constantly growing pool of candidates, the training program not only ensured the continued collaboration between UNRWA and the YMCA, but also reinforced their constructed Palestinian masculinity, focused as it was on creating a sovereign state administered in accordance with these traits and goals.

A primary distinction between the YMCA and UNRWA programs, beyond the general focus of organized play as an important element of youth development, is the idea that the YMCA did not set out to, nor was it interested to govern territory in Gaza outright. Rather, the focus of the YMCA community based efforts was to work with youth and to create where they could grow and develop the elements of their lives and personalities that were ignored by the employment-centric focus of UNRWA. One of the problems here, despite the local leadership, was that these activities aimed to construct a very specific masculine leadership identity, based on models and norms borrowed from a Western, Christian model. While the YMCA as an organization did not seek to govern Gaza, it exerted a similar level of biopolitical control as UNRWA, by shaping and molding youth in this idealized image of Western-based masculine leadership.

By effectively creating this masculine identity through these regimes of physicality and discipline, the UNRWA/YMCA collaboration also challenged the state-centric nature of citizenship formations. These two non-state actors were primary participants in creating a western, masculine oriented construct of Palestinian identity.

¹⁴⁸ This is logical, as teaching was one of the few vocations open to refugees and would allow them to leave Gaza and take on a teaching position elsewhere in the Arab world.

Yet young Palestinian men ascribing to this identity did not find themselves in ownership of or protected by any particular set of rights. The process through which this identity was achieved placed an emphasis on individual virtue and collective ritual, as embodied by the mental discipline that was reached through the collective involvement in and repetition of regimes of physical activity. The addition of membership and leadership requirements to advance within the structure of the organization were also key to this process of creation. All of these elements together were something more than the mundane, they strove to create and strengthen a community to the point where it could govern itself. Together these elements created a sacred process – and in truth a sacred space within the environs of the YMCA grounds – that both were within the purview of and rose above the limitations of the international mandate given to the organizations operating in Gaza. But without sovereignty or a sovereign state, this process was incomplete and unable to reach a conclusion. Despite sacralizing the process through which this idealized Palestinian masculine identity was achieved, bearers were still without the rights and protections of citizenship. Ultimately what should have served as a safety valve instead created a pressure cooker-like scenario, where young men molded in this nature became disenfranchised and sought alternate means of representation.

Gendered Training Opportunities: Secretarial School in Beirut

As discussed earlier, UNRWA's mission as a works agency meant that it focused on providing vocational training for subsequent job placement.¹⁴⁹ While some of these vocational training programs were linked to particular donors, the majority of UNRWA's works projects were focused on more domestically relevant trades, such as carpentry,

¹⁴⁹ The example of the dairy training program in Chapter four was one such example of a vocational training project.

mechanics, and agriculture for men and sewing, cooking and secretarial training for women. This strict emphasis on gendered roles and training specialties is interesting, as historically in Palestine it was neither uncommon nor seen as challenging gender roles or Islam for women to work in agriculture.¹⁵⁰ Yet the training courses offered to women – sewing, cooking, and secretarial training – are very traditional Western notions of appropriate work for women.¹⁵¹ As there was no local YWCA (Young Women’s Christian Association), there were no local training opportunities for women in Gaza, outside of those offered by UNRWA. The only active YWCA branch was based in Beirut and all of their training opportunities for women were run out of Beirut. These training sessions required women to spend several months in Beirut, which was, at times, complicated in the more conservative Gazan society.

The YMCA in Gaza was a smaller office limited in the opportunities that it could offer. However, it enjoyed strong ties to the two major national offices in Cairo and Beirut, as well as the International Alliance of YMCA’s regional office in Beirut. The relationship to the regional head office of the International Alliance of YMCAs was essential, as it was through this office’s connection with UNRWA that most training in Lebanon took place. The interactions between members of the National YMCA leadership and the delegates from the International YMCA were often quite fraught. This was particularly the case in Beirut, where at one point there were two competing National

¹⁵⁰ Two such examples that discuss this are Annelies Moors, *Women, Property and Islam: Palestinian Experiences, 1920-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 164, 169, 228, and Ted Swedenburg, “The Palestinian Peasant as National Signified,” *Anthropological Quarterly*, 63 (1990): 18-30.

¹⁵¹ These gender specific training opportunities are concretely linked to the over-arching themes of biopolitics that are apparent throughout this chapter. This gender-specificity is tied to Jacob’s *Working out Egypt* (chapter 6, 156): the power exerted by UNRWA and YMCA (two Western aid organizations) emulated the gendered of society that occurred during the British colonization of Egypt. By only providing training opportunities in these ‘approved’ areas, UNRWA and the YMCA were able to implement a system of biopolitics (a governmentality) that recreated their own ideology and structures.

leadership councils: one that favored working with the International YMCA delegates and one that did not.¹⁵²

The International Alliance of YMCAs in Beirut was in charge of the dedicated training center at Broumanna, where a majority of the training activities for the entire Middle Eastern region took place.¹⁵³ One of the most popular of these courses was the secretarial training course held at the Broumanna training facility by the YWCA.¹⁵⁴ However, other vocational training courses offered by the YWCA included dressmaking, hairdressing and home management courses.¹⁵⁵ Over the course of one year approximately 180 young women attended the secretarial training courses, which ran for one year.¹⁵⁶ The attendees were disproportionately from Jordan and Lebanon, however a few Gazan women attended these courses.¹⁵⁷ The secretarial courses required that the young women travel to Beirut for a period of at least one year and that they live in the women's dorms at the YWCA facility. This was particularly difficult for the young

¹⁵² One such example is File: Lebanon, 1949,1950-1958, in Kautz Family YMCA Archives Y.USA.9-2-55, YMCA International Work in Lebanon, Box 2, although correspondence relating to this rift is the majority of the material in this box.

¹⁵³ These training activities were mostly focused on leadership training for young refugee men, as per the International Alliance of YMCA's contract with UNRWA, however, they also included specific vocational training opportunities, such as secretarial training for women.

¹⁵⁴ "YWCA Annual Report," 1964, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 31, File: RE 230/1 (8) Vocational Training YWCA.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, the opportunities offered reinforce the biopolitical goals of these international organizations, further shaping this emerging non-sovereign governmentality that, in part, is based on explicitly defined gender roles.

¹⁵⁶ "Cabinet Memo 54/64," Appendix, UNRWA Archives, Records Control, Box RE 32, Folder Refugee Affairs, RE 230/2, Teacher Training, April 1960-September 1965, Part I

¹⁵⁷ There are references in additional correspondence to thirty young women from Gaza attending these courses, however, these women are not referred to by name, only as a number of designated attendees from Gaza. This was a constant in all three archives consulted, where numbers and statistics were the most important means of proving program effectiveness and success and very little or no personal information was given. This is both a precursor of the current input/outcomes modeling of humanitarian work, but this depersonalization of these efforts mitigates the local voices and presence from the record. See, "Training Courses Outside UAR Centers," 22 August 1964, Cabinet Memo No 54/64, UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 32, File: Refugee Affairs RE 230/2 Teacher Training, April 1960-September 1965, Part I

women from Gaza, not only because of the extensive travel burden,¹⁵⁸ but there was also a social stigma attached to sending one's daughter to Beirut on her own.¹⁵⁹ However, the training programs at Broumanna represented the only opportunities for subsidized professional vocational training programs for refugee women from Gaza.¹⁶⁰

There were, however, opportunities for 'informal' training for women in the Gaza Strip. These opportunities tended to be extraordinarily ad hoc. One such example is a sewing program that aimed to produce garments for sale throughout the Gaza Strip, and even, potentially, in Egypt and beyond.¹⁶¹ These opportunities occurred as part of the "Women's Activities Centres," noting that they were not seen as training or work programs but activities to keep women busy and productive.¹⁶² These centers were "sponsored" by the wives of men working for UNRWA and United Nations Emergency Force.¹⁶³ The refugee women are referred to as "girls" throughout the reports, with one particular note that the women's committee should introduce "competitions between the

¹⁵⁸ These young women would have to travel by train from Rafah in the south of the Gaza Strip, through the Sinai to Cairo before they were able to continue on to Beirut, by either ship or plane. This was both an enormous financial burden that was only sometimes covered by YWCA scholarship, but also a 'dangerous' route for young women as the trains were used primarily by the Egyptian military to move troops in and out of Gaza and by Gazan businessmen travelling to Cairo. No young woman could be sent on her own, which meant that the travel costs (even when covered by the YWCA) were still great because a chaperone also had to travel with her to Cairo.

¹⁵⁹ In particular the requirement to live in the YWCA women's dormitories at the training facility was a problem for many families. They would have felt more comfortable with their daughters staying with extended family in the area, but this was the general method of operation for the YWCA – a nod at preserving female chastity as the dorms had strict curfews and no men were allowed into the building.

¹⁶⁰ This is no longer the case, UNRWA did begin to add formal vocational training programs for women, which in part grew out of these informal programs. Today there are no rules about which courses women and girls may or may take, however, social norms still tend to preserve gender-segregated classrooms, even at the vocational training centers.

¹⁶¹ "Notes on Field Trip to Gaza, 27.4 – 2.5.66" UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare General, January 1964 – December 1975, Part II

¹⁶² This is part of the developing governmentality of UNRWA, where, at this time, it was the important for women to be competent in the domestic arts, but not necessarily to look to these skills as a means to make a living. These refugee women were not paid for the garments that they produced, rather the income from any sales went back into the operating costs of the centers. Similarly, this system of skills training to keep one occupied rather than as an occupation was reinforced by the wives of the international men working for UNRWA and UNEF in the Gaza Strip.

¹⁶³ "Notes on Field Trip to Gaza, 27.4 – 2.5.66" UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare General, January 1964 – December 1975, Part II

centers” to “act as a stimulus.”¹⁶⁴ This infantilization of the refugee women is concerning especially in its implications that women’s activities and training are not worthy of full-time employment or real supervision, but should only be seen as a hobby. The intentions behind the program are genuine and it is clear that the women’s committee felt that it was aiding “the girls” by insisting that “the girls should participate in the running and continuance of their centres.”¹⁶⁵ This is another example of the imposed gender norms and structures that were part of the purview of UNRWA’s emerging internationalized governmentality.

The emphasis on youth training and highly gendered spaces is reminiscent of the biopolitical methods of control and discipline currently in use by Hamas. UNRWA’s developing governmentality in Gaza was not without cost or challengers, particularly as the cycle of “citizenship training” remained unfulfilled with no independent state nor the attendant rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Following the first *intifada* and throughout the 1990s, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), and later Hamas, presented challenges to UNRWA’s biopolitical hold on the Gaza Strip. In particular, Hamas in Gaza has come to embody an alternate governmentality to that of UNRWA. Yet, elements of the Friends’ tradition of consensus and consultation are mirrored in the Islamic tradition of *shura* that is favored by Hamas. And the highly gendered spaces of the YMCA, with its emphasis on spiritual and physical discipline and communitarianism, to produce a Palestinian masculinity, are also shared components of Hamas’ success as a faith-based organization. Understanding and historicizing these connections is key to analyzing the governmentalities at play in Gaza, the role of religious and secular

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ “Notes on Field Trip to Gaza, 27.4 – 2.5.66” UNRWA Archives, RG 1 Records Control, Box 43, Folder: Refugee Affairs, RE 250, Welfare General, January 1964 – December 1975, Part II

organizations in impacting the creation of sacred spaces, activities, and identities, and, ultimately, the future of governance in Gaza.

Chapter 6 – Secular Development and Shadowy Sacred Spaces

The War of 1967 irrevocably changed the landscape of the Middle East, including the continuing occupation by Israel of the Palestinian territories. The war resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and, for a time, the Sinai Peninsula. A further 250-300,000 Palestinian refugees were displaced by the war, which also resulted in a more aggressive settlement policy pursued by the Israeli government in all of the aforementioned territories.¹ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) continued to develop and established itself as a new type of non-state actor. Formed in exile, the PLO actively sought a sovereign state through the use of both violent and non-violent means. The organization's status in exile and its use of violence internationalized the conflict to a new degree.

The Israeli government's continued emphasis on establishing settlements in the occupied territories would ultimately lead to the first intifada, in 1988, and subsequently the Oslo Accords, in 1993. The limited implementation of these Accords was interrupted by the assassination of Yitzak Rabni and the series of terror attacks carried out by Hamas throughout Israel, which ultimately culminated in the second intifada. International interest in, involvement with, and influence over these events waxed and waned as a certain degree of conflict fatigue afflicted not only those at the leadership level, but also the majority of the population on each side of the conflict. This left the scene ripe for

¹ Wendy Pearlman, "The Palestinian National Movement," in *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences*, edited by Wm. Roger Louis and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 128

change with the 2005 Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) elections, which resulted in the surprise electoral victory of Hamas.²

In the post-2006 period, the Gaza Strip and its denizens have been the subject of two competing governmentalities:³ a secular, internationalized one under the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and a religious, nationalist one under Hamas.⁴ Through a nuanced examination of the history of Hamas and how it came to be, this chapter examines some of the evolving norms of non-state ‘governance’ in Gaza, in particular as they relate to faith-based and secular civil society organizations (CSOs).⁵ UNRWA, the PLO, and the Israeli occupation have acted as controls for the development of layered moral humanitarianisms created by the faith based CSOs working in Gaza.⁶

Through a continuing examination of Foucault’s biopolitics, the methods of control and

² This period following the 1967 war requires an additional chapter in any future publication of this work based on research in the PLO archives to further develop this discussion of the multiple and competing secular Palestinian masculinities during this period.

³ “Governmentality” is a term taken from Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979* edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 66-69. Here it is used to discuss the manner in which non-governmental organizations, such as UNRWA, the YMCA, or Hamas, exercise control over the population under their responsibility, and in turn how the population comes to self-regulate to maintain itself.

⁴ This religious-nationalism is particularly apparent in Hamas’ Charter, whereby Hamas differentiates itself from other Palestinian resistance organizations by relating its authority to God, that “it is faithful to God and views Islam as a way of life, seeking to raise the name of God in every inch of Palestine,” Article 6, *Mithaq Hamas (Hamas Charter)* (1988): <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/0b4f24e4-7c14-4f50-a831-ea2b6e73217d>. Furthermore, Article 12 states that “Nationalism... is a part of our religious belief,” *Ibid.*

⁵ This chapter, and dissertation, addresses the work and methods of the political wing of Hamas, and as such addresses the organization as a civil society organization, as defined by the 2007-2008 Advisory Groups on CSOs and Aid Effectiveness, which is used by both the Organization for Economic Cooperations and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) as “CSOs can be defined to include all non-market and non-state organizations outside of the family in which people organize themselves to pursue shared interests in the public domain,” this includes faith based organizations; Brian Tomlinson, “Annex 1: NGOs and CSOs: A Note on Terminology,” in “Working with Civil Society in Foreign Aid: Possibilities for South-South Cooperation,” *UNDP China* (2013): 123. There is also substantial academic literature that discusses Hamas as such, including: Gerard Clarke, “Faith Matters: Faith-Based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development,” *Journal of International Development* 18 (2006): 840, 844-45, as “faith based illegal or terrorist” on the given scale. And Glenn E. Robinson, “Hamas as Social Movement,” in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

⁶ For further discussion of moral humanitarianisms, its basis in Gaza, and its relationship to Didier Fassin’s work on humanitarian reason see page 4.

discipline used by the various civil society organizations active in Gaza are examined to better understand their impact on the development of these distinct governmentalities. Of particular interest is the manner in which Hamas has evolved by becoming one of the primary wielders of biopower in the Gaza Strip – a distinction it shares only with UNRWA.⁷

Additionally, the discussion of the creation of sacred and profane spaces is brought full circle through an examination of the rights and responsibilities that are entailed in this developing “Gazan citizenship.”⁸ By specifically addressing the ‘citizenship’ model⁹ that Hamas has brought about in the Gaza Strip, this discussion shows how a Gazan citizenry has been “bundled”¹⁰ without the concomitant requirement of a sovereign state being met. Overlaying this analysis is the continuing perception of a global secular order that stands in contrast to faith-based identity of Hamas, the one-time elected leadership of the Palestinian people, and UNRWA, the international secular organization that operates as a parallel state in Gaza. In this way governance in the Gaza Strip has completed a circuit: from the faith-based Friends to the faith-based Hamas, with UNRWA as the constant secular parallel authority.¹¹

⁷ The Israeli occupation is another major actor in understanding the implications and impact of competing biopolitical interests in the Gaza Strip. However, the occupation is the extension of a sovereign state actor, here is the Israeli state, and as such is an important component but outside of the interest here in civil-society organizations and their role in creating, shaping, and influencing methods of governance that have traditionally been the sole purview of sovereign state actors.

⁸ Aihwa Ong, “Mutations in Citizenship,” *Theory, Culture, & Society* 23 (2006): 499-531. Ong addresses the “mutations of citizenship,” which argues that the traditional notion of citizenship that is “tied to the terrain” is one which we need to expand upon, and at times, move beyond in order to understand citizenship as a collection of rights that can be packaged (or assembled) in many ways and are not always tied to territorial sovereignty, Ong, “Mutations,” 499.

⁹ Here meaning the assemblage of rights and responsibilities that Hamas has denoted as part of a citizenship that it is working to construct – much the same way that it would issue passports without their being a sovereign and independent Palestine.

¹⁰ Ong, “Mutations,” 499-500.

¹¹ Initially, from 1948, it was the United National Relief for Palestine Refugees, which became UNRWA in May 1950.

Faith-Based Governance: A History in Gaza

Outright comparisons of the various organizations involved cannot be made, because the histories of each organization and their histories in Gaza are unique. However, understanding the interconnection between UNRWA and Hamas as the primary actors in Gaza and how this in turn is impacted by – and impacts – the historical record is key to understanding what we see in Gaza today, and what it means for a future independent Palestinian state. The distinct histories and experiences of administration under each organization has created competing notions of what components constitute an assembled notion of citizenship in Gaza.¹² Specifically, the bureaucratic categorization preferred by UNRWA conflicts with Hamas’ focus on individualized service based on the tradition of *shura* (consultation) and youth training, in particular. Several approaches to governance in Gaza are common to the three major faith-based organizations discussed here (the AFSC, the YMCA, and the Hamas). Notably, these organizations created sacred spaces and processes as a mechanism of governance, allowing them to exert control over the population.¹³

Each group drew upon their faith-based organizational ethos to create and implement a means of control (subtle as it might have been) over the population of Gaza. The artificial creation of the Gaza Strip as a named territory created a space and a population that became a field for the practice of different models of administration. For the Friends this meant establishing a consultative system to put into practice local enterprise projects based on a help your neighbor model. This codification of moral

¹² Ong, “Mutations,” 499-500.

¹³ This is the culmination of earlier discussions of Durkheim, Asad, Mahmood and Foucault in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Through the argument constructed, it allows for a secular organizations to be able to sacralize a space or process.

labor¹⁴ encouraged an atmosphere of moral resistance to achieve the group's goals. While not quite becoming a governmentality,¹⁵ this system did reinforce itself by rewarding those who participated. For example, those who volunteered as teachers in the ad hoc schools received extra rations as payment for their part in further the help your neighbor model. This indicates a certain level of proto-biopower (through food or soap) exercised by the Quakers. For the YMCA this control came through instilling a structured physical program that both created a Gazan masculinity and reinforced this creation by rewarding those who participated in the trainings and the camps with future employment. Didier Fassin presents this evolution of humanitarianism from a moral to a political endeavor as inevitable.¹⁶

The above approaches create moral humanitarianisms.¹⁷ These practices are not moral solely because they were enacted by faith-based organizations, but because they isolated, layered and elevated certain processes and modes of being to a status of ideal.¹⁸

¹⁴ Anne-Meike Fechter, "Aid Work As Moral Labour," *Critique of Anthropology* 36 (2016): 228-243.

¹⁵ Building on Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 66-69, the administrative approach of the Quakers does not quite cross from basic biopolitics into the area of governmentality, mostly because the Quakers don't see themselves as present in Gaza to administer the population, but as present to facilitate a socially just outcome to conflict that is acceptable to both parties. This self-awareness, their limited time in Gaza, is what halts the missions evolution from simply using biopolitical approaches and means to actually creating their own governmentality.

¹⁶ Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, Translated by Rachel Gomme (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 223-225.

¹⁷ This term stems from my reading of Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason* and his discussion and critique of humanitarian reason, and in particular his contrasting of humanitarian morals and humanitarian politics (7-8). I argue here that there are plural humanitarianisms that are borne out of the distinct approaches used by the Quakers, the YMCA, UNRWA, and Hamas, in the particular instance of Gaza. These organizations, faith based or secular, implement mechanisms of biopower, which sometimes (but not in all cases) grow to become an organizational governmentality (associated with a non-state actor), that then uses as its operational ethos one of these moral humanitarianisms, allowing them to create a quasi-citizenship status through these approaches.

¹⁸ I am here borrowing the language of the 'sacred/profane' dynamic to extend this to include and expand to one of morality and its place in the evolution of humanitarianism. By Looking to Didier Fassin's discussion of Michel Foucault's 'pastoral power,' we see the linking and exchange that takes place between moral and sacred acts – that those actions that are "fundamentally beneficent," are both sacred and invoke the moral purity associated with humanitarianism in the pre-humanitarian governmentality sense. Didier Fassin,

In turn, these idealized practices were rewarded, both materially and emotionally, which encouraged others to participate in replicating this system.¹⁹ However, through efforts at standardization, in order to make these approaches applicable across the board, these moral humanitarianisms²⁰ become a politicized endeavor and, particularly in the case of the Gaza Strip, are coopted by the efforts to create a state and citizenship. This politicization is subsequently internalized by each organization, creating an humanitarian governmentality.²¹ In turn, this humanitarian governmentality guides the techniques and values of humanitarian action taken by these organizations. As the Quakers perceived the profaning of their efforts in Gaza due to the inability and lack of will to enact real political resolution, therein emerges a humanitarian governmentality.

Historical Parallels

The Gaza Strip is an artificially created territory that was the byproduct of the 1948 War. As such, understanding the history of these primary administrators in the Gaza Strip is key to understanding their impact on the development of Hamas. In particular, the Egyptian military administration, the Muslim Brotherhood's social work and influence, UNRWA sustained presence, the PLO's parastatal features,²² and the Israeli Occupation

Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present, Translated by Rachel Gomme (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 223, for full discussion: 223-235; and "Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism," in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, eds. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 12-15; building on Berger and Durkheim, not as a binary, but as a constructed space/process.

¹⁹ This hand off between organizational control over molding a population and indicating their desired actions of this population, to the population reinforcing and choosing to take on the replication of these actions as their own that we see this shift from biopolitics to governmentality.

²⁰ Through the sacralization of certain practices and processes.

²¹ "The new language of humanitarianism produces a distinct intelligibility regarding world affairs and a particular form of collective experience," Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason*, 223.

²² Yezid Sayigh (*Armed Struggle and the Sear for State: the Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), introduces the concept of parastatal in relationship to the PLO is introduced in the preface of the book (vii-xii). In particular Sayigh discusses the formation of institutions as a marker of the PLOs "stateness." The idea of PLO "stateness" is severely qualified, as the PLO lacked sovereign authority over a territory, but it did encourage group formation, collective political actions, and

are the primary influencers that must be addressed. These entities created the framework in which the earlier discussed western faith-based organization operated and evolved their approaches to aid provision. Several of these approaches are echoed in the activities of Hamas. In particular, the Quaker's approach to consultation and the YMCA's physical programming for youth are notable echoes. Additionally, the parastatal nature of both UNRWA and the PLO directly influence the development of similar features and approaches within Hamas' operations.

These actors are each associated with particular periods between the 1948-2006 time period, as well as broader themes of parastate(ness) and quasi-citizenship. Within this periodization (1948-1967, 1967-1987/88, 1988-2006, 2006-) three overarching attributes describe Gaza. First, Gaza was and continues to be an occupied territory.²³ Secondly, the population was categorized and labeled as 'refugee' or 'local,' creating internal competition and friction. Finally, local Gazan leadership, either refugee or local, was curtailed in their access to power and the manner in which they could impact and lead the community.

the emergence of a distinct political class. Significantly, the bid for and ultimate international recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian population is also a significant marker of the parastatality of the PLO.

²³ Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area," Cairo, 4 May 1994. Article II and II, did discuss the withdrawal of Israeli forces and transfer of power to Palestinian Authorities in Gaza and Jericho – while still permitting for the free movement of Israelis living there (and the Israeli military as necessary). This never really happened however, as discussed by: *The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005*, edited by Joel Beinin and Rebecca Stein (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Sara Roy, *Failing Peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict Part III* (London: Pluto Press, 2007); Nathan Brown, *Palestinian Politics After the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine* (London: University of California Press, 2003), *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process* Edited by Tamara Wittes (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005) (Especially Chapter 2), Peter Weinberger, *Co-opting the PLO: A Critical Reconstruction of the Oslo Accords, 1993-1995* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006). As will be discussed a little later in the development sub-section, even while some areas of the Gaza Strip were technically under Palestinian administration (for example Gaza City), the Israeli settlements throughout the Gaza Strip didn't allow for freedom of movement throughout the Gaza Strip, which was, in reality, divided into three almost separate areas.

Throughout the 1948-1967 time period Gaza was administered by the Egyptian military and the population was subject to Egyptian military law, but enjoyed none of the rights or responsibilities of Egyptian citizenship. During this period the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood movement was the most prominent local organization, reaching its pinnacle of power in Gaza in 1954 with 1,000 registered members.²⁴ A branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine was only founded in 1945,²⁵ however membership in the organization had grown in Gaza following calls in *Jaridat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* for participation in and support of the 1936 Palestine Revolt.²⁶ The historical popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gaza Strip, and the population's openness to Islamic movements is not surprising: "The strength of Islamism is rooted in the territory's extreme poverty, isolation, and traditional social structure, and its growth has been nourished by a profound sense of popular despair over the steady disintegration of daily life."²⁷ This observation applies to the Gaza Strip in the post-1948 and post-1967 periods, as much as it does to the period in the 1990s in which it was written. Since the creation of the Gaza Strip its population has experienced extreme poverty and isolation from a

²⁴ Ziad Abu-Amr, *Guthur al-Harakat al-Siyasia fi Qita' Gaza, 1948-1967 (The Roots of the Political Movement in the Gaza Strip)* (Acre: Dar al-Aswar, 1987): 52 and 116, but for a full discussion of the early history of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza see 61-84. This was despite the Egyptian government making membership in the organization illegal in 1952 following the Egyptian Revolution, see Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994): 7, 4-5.

²⁵ For Gaza specifically *Al-Majalat Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* (The Muslim Brotherhood Magazine), 5 October 1946, 19 and 17 April 1948, 13:

http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=جريدة_الاخوان_المسلمين, and for an overview of Muslim Brotherhood operations in all of Palestine see Abd Al-Fattah Muhammad El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine Question, 1928-1947* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998): 152-154;

²⁶ "Min Ajli Filastin al-Mujahida al-Basila," ("For the Valiant Palestine Mujahid,") *Jaridat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, 19 May 1936, 19-20 (28 Safar, 1355):

http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=جريدة_الاخوان_المسلمين. For a full discussion of the evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood to support the Palestine Revolt of 1936, and the broader Palestine cause (and in particular the involvement of the youth movements), see Abd Al-Fattah Muhammad El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers*, 36-46; and Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998): 164, discusses the fundraising efforts led by the Muslim Brotherhood to support the 1936 Revolt in Palestine.

²⁷ Sara Roy, *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995): 22

broader Palestinian entity, which has encouraged the continuity of traditional social structures. Similarly while the various international organizations active in Gaza have attempted agendas of modernization and development of the limited infrastructure, these have been met with a policy of systematic de-development since the Israeli occupation began in 1967.²⁸

Prominent Palestinian researchers, including Jamal Amal, Yezid Sayigh, and Muhammad Khalid Al-Aza'ar, have theorized that because of the Egyptian administration of Gaza and Nasser's zero-sum view of competing political viewpoints, political involvement and activism in Gaza has historically been greater than in the territories that became the West Bank.²⁹ In part they attribute this to the more pressurized atmosphere in Gaza: more was at stake for the population and as such it was necessary to respond through political involvement and action.³⁰ This continued into the 1967-1988 period as the Israeli state focused on destroying and dismantling the secular Palestine Liberation Organization, leaving the political arena open for the growth of Islamic

²⁸ De-development is a term coined by Sara Roy specific to the systematic destruction of Gaza's economy by the Israeli occupation. For further discussion see the section "Understanding the Complications of a Development Paradigm" later in this chapter.

²⁹ Not all of this political involvement was Islamic in nature, much of it was communist and some other secular movements as well. Palestinian researchers, such as Jamal Amal (*The Palestinian National Movement: Politics of Contention, 1967-2005* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005): 36), Sayigh (*Armed Struggle*, 52-54), and Muhammad Khalid Al-Aza'ar (*Al-Maqawama fi Qita' Gaza: 1967-1985 (The Resistance in the Gaza Strip: 1967-1985)* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi, 1986): 20), link this increased political activism in Gaza to Nasser's regime in Egypt and his stifling of any and all dissent. While Gaza was under Egyptian administration it was on the periphery, allowing slightly more flexibility, and it learned from the other suppressed movements that were active in Egypt. By comparison, the Jordanian monarch co-opted many of the Palestinian focused movements in the territories that became the West Bank, making it unnecessary for these movements to differentiate themselves from the state authorities.

³⁰ By contrast, in Jordanian administered Palestine, people were offered Jordanian citizenship, places at university, jobs and state funded assistance. For further discussion of the place and treatment of Palestinians under Egyptian administration see Oroub El-Abed, *Unprotected: Palestinians in Egypt Since 1948* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009): 19-23, 37-40; and for a discussion of the treatment of Palestinians in Transjordan see Marawn D. Hanania, "The Impact of the Palestinian Refugee Crisis on the Development of Amman, 1947-1958," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 41(2014): 461-482 and Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2001): 233-239, 263-66, 271, 275.

charities in Gaza.³¹ As a result of this, following the Israeli occupation of Gaza in 1967 the number of mosques in Gaza tripled, from 200 to 600.³² Yet one of the most important Islamic institutions in Gaza was not a mosque, but the Islamic Center, which was founded by Sheikh Ahmed Yasin, an active member of the Muslim Brotherhood, in 1973.³³ The Islamic Center became a central gathering place in the Gaza Strip, including providing a safe and Islamic space for youth activities. Following the founding of Hamas in 1987, the Islamic Center would prove to be an important resource in aiding the organization's growth. In 1979, the Israeli military authorities in Gaza³⁴ even went so far as to issue an official operating permit for the Islamic Center in Gaza in 1979.³⁵

Al-Mujamma' al-Islami

The Islamic Center in Gaza, while an important physical space in which Hamas developed as a movement, is also a significant transition space in this research. The Islamic Center itself predates Hamas, but the space was key in the birth and evolution of

³¹ Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006): 31-33; Hillel Frisch, "Palestinians," in *Guide to Islamist Movements Volume 2* Edited by Barry Rubin: 361-362; Richard Davis, *Hamas, Popular Support and War in the Middle East: Insurgency in the Holy Land* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 36-37. This is also frequently commented upon in interviews with current and former Israeli officials, yet not as often written about in formal academic literature. Interviews with diverse Israeli officials, such as Efraim Halevy, a veteran Mossad officer, Israeli Brigadier General Yitzhak Segev, who was a former military governor of Gaza in 1979, and Avner Cohen, former head of religious affairs in Gaza until 1994, all spoke of the tacit support that Shaikh Ahmed Yassin and the Islamic Center in Gaza received to promote it as an alternative to the PLO and Fatah, which were the focus of Israeli's military efforts during the time. For an example of interviews see Andrew Higgins, "How Israel Helped to Spawn Hamas," *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 January 2009: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB123275572295011847>. Former Israeli Shin Bet officer, Roni Shaked is one of the few to have written a book addressing early Israeli support of Islamic charity in Gaza and the subsequent growth of Hamas in *Hamas: MiAmonah BiAllah Liderch Haterror (From Faith in Allah the Path to Terrorism)* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1994)

³² Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 15.

³³ *Ibid*, 16.

³⁴ Which subsequently became the "Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories" or COGAT in 1981, "History," COGAT, <http://www.cogat.idf.il/1348-he/Cogat.aspx> - they site is also very clear that they do not coordinate or work in connection with Hamas, post-2006.

³⁵ Ziad Abu-Amr, "Shaykh Ahmad Yasin: The Origins of Hamas" in *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*, ed. R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 233.

the movement. Both the legitimacy conveyed by broader social use and acceptance of the space and its programs, and the legal standing of receiving an Israeli operating permit are important components. While parts of the facility were used for some religious purposes,³⁶ more importantly the site was a community center used by a broad and inclusive portion of the community. The Islamic Center compound included a medical clinic, sports facilities, a nursing school, a festival hall, offices for the local zakat committee, a center for women's activities, and a kindergarten.³⁷ All of these components were very much in line with the Muslim Brotherhood approach of reforming and Islamizing society through daily life, but also became the backbone of the social and charity services offered by Hamas in civil-society organization formation.³⁸ As the Islamic Center proved to be so successful in its blending of religious and social services and reached such a large portion of the community, the model was expanded upon and exported throughout the Gaza Strip by the Muslim Brotherhood branches active there, with the establishment of Quranic and other schools at several mosques throughout the Strip under the guise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza.³⁹ The Islamic Center was an important institution in Gaza because of these basic, and free, services that it offered. These services in turn allowed it to focus on reshaping the community served in its own image.⁴⁰

³⁶ These included meetings of the Zakat committee, Ramadan dinners, some prayer services etc.

³⁷ Abu Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 16.

³⁸ The physical set-up of the Islamic Center in Gaza mirrors the historical set-up of the Muslim Brotherhood Branch House in Gaza (as well as the standard set-up of Muslim Brotherhood Branch Houses). The Branch House in Gaza, established in 1946, included a library, an office for administration, a room for training and Rovers (Scouting) leadership, a restaurant and a large lecture hall. See El Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers*, 156.

³⁹ Mohammed K Shadid, "The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the West Bank and Gaza," *Third World Quarterly*, 10 (1998): 674.

⁴⁰ Shaul Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective," *Armed Forces and Security* 29(2003): 575.

The Islamic Center in Gaza was founded by Sheikh Ahmed Yasin in 1973, Yasin would ultimately become a central figure in the founding of Hamas in 1987.⁴¹ Yasin was born north of the Gaza Strip, but following the 1948 War, he and his family fled to Gaza, becoming refugees.⁴² Following an accident as a young man in which he broke his back, Yasin became very involved with the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gaza Strip.⁴³ At the same time, the 1952 Egyptian Revolution led to a clampdown on the Brotherhood's activities in Gaza and Yasin's eventual arrest in 1966.⁴⁴ On the eve of war in 1967, Yasin was released from prison by the Egyptians, and continued his mission of *da'wa* in Gaza.⁴⁵ When asked why it took so long for the development of an Islamic Movement in Gaza, Yasin is quoted as saying that

The Islamic Movement was in a weak place because of Egyptian pressure and the Egyptian attack in 1965 and before 1965, and the arrests and executions in 1967. The people were afraid (*takhaf*) and alienated (*tanfar*) and the situation of Islam in the Gaza Strip was very weak, it is not possible now to even imagine, we did not even have Islamic books that we could use to fight against them. Of course we would have liked to have a weapon at that time, but it was not a possibility then.⁴⁶

While not formally trained, Yasin considered himself a student of Hasan al-Banna and made this connection between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in an interview stating: "I am a Muslim man and my thoughts (*tafkiri*) follow those that were pursued by the Imam Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, in his letters and

⁴¹ Schanzer, *Hamas vs. Fatah*, 20.

⁴² Abu-Amr, "Shaykh Ahmad Yasin," 226.

⁴³ Abu-Amr, "Shaykh Ahmad Yasin," 227.

⁴⁴ Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 9.

⁴⁵ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: politics, charity and terrorism in the service of jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 22.

⁴⁶ Ahmed Mansour, *Al-Shaykh Ahmed Yasin Shahid a'la A'sur al-Intifada (Sheikh Ahmed Yasin: Witness to the Era of Uprising (the Intifada))* (Cairo: Almaktab Almasry Alhadith, 2004): 66-67, translation by author.

books.”⁴⁷ This connection is important as it denotes a link between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in the young movement’s conception, but as Hamas developed into its own power this connection was challenged and superseded by Hamas’ commitment to a Palestinian nationalism.

Through these efforts Hamas created sacred spaces that transcended being solely religious spaces. The Islamic Center was a Community Center first and foremost. It was an Islamic Community Center – but it was not exclusivist, any one could use its premises as long as they abided by the religiously informed gender norms – but it was not a solely religious space, and in fact its most substantial communal contributions were through its work with the community, rather than its religious contributions. Through these activities and communal involvement, the Islamic Center created a sacred space through its elevation of the mundane to something more. This sacred space in turn promoted, through the various activities and programs, an idealized, Islamized, Gazan who would in turn work to transform the broader community to the best, Islamic version of itself. The Islamic Center allowed for the benefits of a membership-citizenship, and created its own administrative governmentality that, at that time, did not require Palestinian independence for success, and so was not based on a ‘dangerous’ desire for sovereignty, the way that the PLO was.

A large part of this is based on the social and legal legitimacy that the Islamic Center derived from its Israeli license and from the Israeli focus on destroying the PLO. This is an oft-discussed point by Israeli officials, as the former religious affairs adviser

⁴⁷ Quoted in Mansour, *Al-Shaykh Ahmed Yasin* (Sheikh Ahmed Yasin), 41, translation by author.

for Gaza, Avner Cohen noted: “ Hamas, to my great regret, is Israel’s creation.”⁴⁸ This support, by-and-large came to pass because Israeli officials of the time, including the former Israeli military governor of Gaza Brigadier General Itzhak Segev, believed that “our main enemy was Fatah,” and that Sheikh Yassin “was still 100% peaceful” towards Israel and so support of his project was not a danger to the state.⁴⁹ Claims that “ Hamas was set-up by us [Israel]” are exaggerated, however this thought process exists and has been mentioned at the higher levels of the peace process.⁵⁰ While Hamas came to embody a distinct enemy for the State of Israel, its origins were certainly not viewed this way. The broad administrative ambivalence to the growth of Islamic charity and activism in Gaza during the 1967-1988 period paved the way for the birth of Hamas.

Occupation and Cooptation

When Israeli troops invaded the Gaza Strip in June 1967, they occupied the YMCA offices in Gaza and initially limited the United Nations Relief and Works Agency’s (UNRWA) full operations to emergency food aid and health care provision. During the course of the war Israeli troops also occupied the Sinai Peninsula, which was ultimately returned to Egypt by Israel in 1982.⁵¹ The Gaza Strip, however, remains

⁴⁸ Quoted in Higgins, “How Israel Helped to Spawn Hamas,” <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB123275572295011847>

⁴⁹ Ibid, see also Ziad Abu-Amr, “ Hamas: A Historical and Political Background,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22 (1993): 7-8.

⁵⁰ See discussion in Glenn Robinson, “ Hamas as Social Movement,” in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz: 112-139 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003): pages 119-120, 124, and in particular footnote 12, from which this quote is taken, made by former IDF Commander in Gaza Zvi Poleg, *Mideast Mirror*, December 15, 1994, 5-6.

⁵¹ Baring Taba, which was returned to Egypt in 1989. For further discussion of the 1967 War see: Jesse Ferris, *Nasser’s Gamble: How intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power* (Princeton University Press, 2013); Roland Popp, “ Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War,” *The Middle East Journal* 60 (2006): 281-209; Avi Schlaim and Roger Louis *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jeremy Bowen, *Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003).

occupied until this day.⁵² One of the first acts undertaken by the Israeli military in Gaza was to conduct a census – without consultation or involvement of UNRWA. The census was conducted by Israeli military forces and recorded in Hebrew. As well as UNRWA not being involved in the census taking, the recording of this information in Hebrew also meant that UNRWA was unable to vet the questions or responses prior to receiving a translation from the Israeli military. In December 1967 UNRWA received a translated copy of the census, which assessed the family unit (including names, address, religion, birthplace and identity card numbers) and their home: was there electricity, a kitchen, a bathroom, and the source of the households' water.⁵³ The questionnaire continued to catalogue the number of family members and where they were currently living,⁵⁴ if they were registered with UNRWA, grew their own food and held their own land.⁵⁵ Interestingly, the survey also asked if those surveyed owned “a television, radio or refrigerator.”⁵⁶ In total the survey was ten pages and was completed for each family member over the age the age of 15 living in the household. The Israelis were interested in reinforcing and refining the categorization of the population implemented by UNRWA.⁵⁷ The implication was clear: the Israelis were taking control of the Gaza Strip and had no intention of leaving anytime soon.

The three above attributes – foreign occupation and administration, the role and place of local leadership, and categorization of the population – continued through the

⁵² While there are not Israeli settlements physically present in the Gaza Strip since 2005, Israel still controls access to the territory, including the movement of people, the flow of goods, and the sea access for Gazan fishing boats.

⁵³ “Census of Population 1967 in the Gaza Strip,” UNRWA Archives Records Control, RG1, Box RE 43, Folder RE 140/1(21) Part I.

⁵⁴ Including if “outside of the territories held by Israel,” and for how long, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid*

⁵⁶ *Ibid*

⁵⁷ For further discussion of UNRWA's categorization see chapter 3.

next period of 1967-1988. During which time the Israeli military occupied the Gaza Strip, and the population was subject to Israeli military law and enjoyed no rights or responsibilities of Israeli citizenship. Any local leadership was quickly co-opted by either the Israeli occupiers or by UNRWA. The exception to this rule were the Islamic movements developing within the territory and some of the efforts of secularist groups, largely under the umbrella of the PLO and PFLP, who were both targeted by the Israeli military forces. The population's status as refugee or local was reinforced through the Israeli occupation. As indicated by the census discussed previously, the Israeli occupation sought to make its own assessment of who were proper refugees and who were locals making use of the UNRWA resources.

The PLO and Proto-Nationalism

The Israeli government and military did not want responsibility for the refugee population, but they also wanted oversight of the breadth and scope of UNRWA's operations.⁵⁸ While the Egyptian military administration of Gaza had presented difficulties for UNRWA's work in Gaza at times, the Israeli occupation was stifling. From this point onwards UNRWA's operations were essentially frozen at the point to which they had developed by 1967, and remained as such until 2005/2006.⁵⁹ In contrast to the ossification of UNRWA, the PLO became the primary actor representing Palestinian resistance in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza, and globally.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See discussion by Rex Brynen, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2000) and Don Peretz, *Palestinians, Refugees, and the Middle East Peace Process* (Washington D.C.: United State Institute of Peace, 1993).

⁵⁹ Israel withdrew from Gaza in 2005 when the military forcibly removed all of the Israeli settlers in the Gaza Strip. From this point onwards there was relatively freedom of movement for both Palestinians and UNRWA employees in Gaza

⁶⁰ For discussion of some of the issues facing UNRWA, and limiting its growth during this period, see: Riccardo Bocco, "UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees: A History within a History," *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28 (2010): 239-240, 245-24-9; Terry Rempel, "UNRWA and the Palestine Refugees: A

Founded in the 1950s by Yasir Arafat, Fatah came to be the secular Palestinian political movement, operating in counterpoint to the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood, and in competition with the Popular Liberation Front for Palestine (PFLP). Fatah was avowedly proto-nationalist, which presented a distinct threat to the long-term goals of General Gamal Abd al-Nasser in Egypt.⁶¹ To disrupt the activities of Fatah, and in an attempt to bring the Palestinian struggle under his own control, Nasser led the other Arab nations in founding the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. Arafat, and the members of Fatah, contested the notion that the PLO represented Palestinians, and instead undertook political and military action in a bid to win the support of Palestinians. These tactics worked, and in February of 1969 Arafat was elected chairman of the PLO, and retained the title until his death in 2004.⁶²

Once Arafat came to lead the PLO, there was a certain conflation of Fatah's ideology with that of the PLO, including the proto-nationalist intentions. Fatah, and subsequently the PLO, was focused on armed struggle to defend and uphold their ideology that Palestine would encompass "all the land, not just the West Bank and Gaza," was well received by the Palestinian population.⁶³ This led the PLO to develop a certain parastatal structure, that included the provision of health care, supplementary school programs, youth activities, and a social safety net.⁶⁴ This included the establishment in

Genealogy of "Participatory" Development," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28 (2010): 422, 424, 429; Mick Dumper "The return of Palestinian refugees and displaced persons: the evolution of a European Union policy on the Middle East Peace Process," 88-89 and Sari Hanafi, "Social Capital, transnational kinship and refugee repatriation process: some elements for a Palestinian sociology of return," 67 both in *The Palestine Refugee Problem: The Search for a Resolution*, edited by Rex Brynen and Roula El-Rifai (London: International Development Research Centre, 2007).

⁶¹ Sayigh, *Armed Struggles*, 217.

⁶² Barry Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994): 7, 16.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 15.

⁶⁴ Sayigh, *Armed Struggles*, 220-221.

1968 of the ‘Society for the Care of the Families of Martyrs and Prisoners,’⁶⁵ the establishment of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society to provide free medical care, including building 7 clinics to serve Palestinians in Jordan,⁶⁶ and youth programs like the ‘Lions Club’ (*Mu’assasat Al-Ashbal*) and the ‘Flowers Institution’ (*Mu’assasat Al-Zahrat*) for boys and girls aged 8-15.⁶⁷

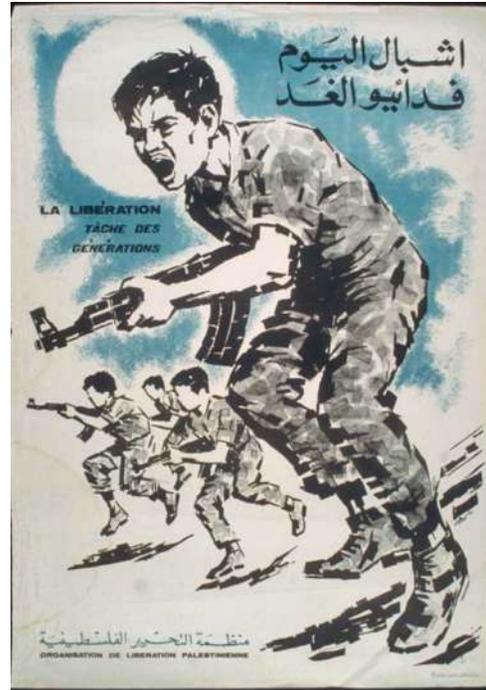


Figure 25: “The Cubs of today are the Commandos of Tomorrow,” PLO Poster, circa 1969.⁶⁸

The majority of these facilities and activities were available in Jordan, where Arafat and the PLO headquartered themselves until their expulsion by the Jordanian King in 1970.⁶⁹ The PLO relocated to Beirut, but was expelled in 1982, and finally ended up in Tunisia.⁷⁰ These expulsions were related to the PLOs parastatal development, which

⁶⁵ This evolved from an earlier fund, the Palestine Mujahidin and Martyrs Fund,” which was founded in 1964. Yusuf ‘Adb-al-Haq, “The Martyrs Families’ Institution: Social Protection for the Palestinian Struggle,” *Samid al-Iqtisadi*, 12: 79, quoted in Sayigh, *Armed Struggles*, 225.

⁶⁶ Sayigh, *Armed Struggles*, 225.

⁶⁷ Naji ‘Allush, “Harakat Al-Tahrir Al-Watani Al-Filistini w-Al-‘amal Al-Jomaheri” (“The Palestinian National Liberation Movement and Mass Action,”) *Shu’un Filastiniyya* 17 (1973): 17-18 (<https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/0B-bKayOQFM4na0czX0xEckl3Tm8> , available through <http://www.shuun.ps>)

⁶⁸ “The Cubs of Today are the Commandos of Tomorrow,” Palestine Liberation Organization, 1969. The Palestine Poster Project Archive, Original Copy Number 1283, <https://palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-cubs-of-today-are-the-commandos-of-tomorrow>

⁶⁹ The PLO was ostensibly expelled from Jordan for mounting attacks on Israel from Jordanian territory. However, the development of these proto-state institutions were of concern to the Jordanian monarch, who was not pleased with the “duality of control” that Arafat was trying to establish. For additional discussion see Sayigh, *Armed Struggles*, 246-261.

⁷⁰ Rubin, *Revolution*, 66.

threatened the state structure of these states hosting the PLO.⁷¹ The difficulties encountered by the PLO throughout the 1970's and 1980's weighed heavily on the minds of the Palestinian public. Allegations of corruption and institutional inefficiency were also worrisome to the public perception of the organization. Yet it was the frequent changes in political opinion and goals espoused by the PLO that ultimately alienated many Palestinians. Moves by the PLO to compromise on what lands would constitute a final Palestinian state were seized upon by burgeoning Islamic groups in the occupied territories to color perceptions of the PLO.⁷²

Secular versus Religious Nationalisms: Assembling a 'Citizenship'

This initial period, between 1967-1987 was characterized by two distinct secular-nationalisms as endorsed by UNRWA and the PLO in their work with Palestine refugees. UNRWA was and continues to be a staunchly secular organization that has historically operated as a parallel state structure in the occupied Palestinian territories, as endorsed and funded by the international community. The PLO, from its founding, has been a predominantly secular organization influenced both by Nasserist and notions of Western secularism. It has sought to create an independent Palestinian state in its own image. The PLO and UNRWA, while competitors with one another, were also the two primary sources of authority and influence over Palestinian refugees, both in the occupied territories and without, between 1967-1987.⁷³ Within these avowedly secular environments, a Palestinian nationalism emerged that was, in part, based on ideals and notions of citizenship and the state that were borrowed from the Western European and

⁷¹ For an interesting discussion of this as relates to Jordan, see Massa, *Colonial Effects*, 236-340.

⁷² Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, in particular 13-15

⁷³ For a more detail discussion of this time period and the particular influences in Gaza see Yusra Raghb Sharab, *Qita' Gaza min al-ihtilal ila al-thowra (The Gaza Strip: from occupation to revolution)* (Cairo: El-Zoghby Printing Press, 2005): 40-46 for a brief history of Gaza, and 96-114 on the occupation

American experience and understanding of modern citizenship and the nation-state.⁷⁴

This secular nationalism was in stark contrast to the religious nationalism offered by Hamas upon its emergence in late 1987.

The emergence of Hamas and its linking of Palestinian nationalism with Islam was not a new phenomenon. Following the Arab defeat in the 1967 War, there were the beginnings of a new religious nationalism.⁷⁵ While the roots of this current surge of religious nationalism are traced back to the 1960s and 1970s, most of the literature comes from the later 1990s and early 2000s. This resurgence of religious nationalism was first addressed by sociologist Mark Juergensmeyer in relation to Sikh religious-nationalism in northern India. Juergensmeyer sets up a binary relationship whereby religious nationalism can only exist in opposition to a secular nationalism that is devoid of moral grounding in the local context.⁷⁶ This binary relationship is problematic and weak, in particular as it relates to leaders of nominally secular-nationalisms that coopt religion to

⁷⁴ Important work has addressed the birth of Palestinian nationalist movements in the 1920s and early 1930s, this tended to be mostly secular in nature as well, with an emphasis on the inclusion of Palestinian Christians, but a distinct Palestinian rather than Arab nature. Significant work on this topic includes: Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of a Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Adnan Mohammad Abu Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine During the British Mandate* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973). Here I am referring specifically to the overtly secular Palestinian nationalism that was epitomized and promoted by the PLO, particularly from the 1960s onwards. For a discussion of this movement and time period see: Sayigh, *Armed Struggle*; Jamal, *The Palestinian National Movement*; Edward Said, *The Politics of Dispossession: the Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994); Loren Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Helena Lindholm Schulz, *Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism: Between Revolution and Statehood* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Wendy Perlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Helena Cobban, *The Palestine Liberation Organisation: People, Power, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

⁷⁵ In particular, the 1979 Iranian Revolution conveyed the success that religious nationalism could experience, with necessary organization and activism.

⁷⁶ Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (London: University of California Press, 1994); for many this opposition is also framed in terms of secular nationalism being a Western (and therefore inherently Christian) construct.

reinforce their own political legitimacy.⁷⁷ Egypt is a prime example of this, particularly during the rule of Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, both of whom used Islamic narratives and introduced elements of Islamic law to the nominally secular Egyptian-nationalism. Similarly, such a binary relationship presupposes that the two ideologies exist in a mutually exclusive manner. Yet secular nationalism seeks to control religious narrative, by making it solely the purview of the private sphere, in order to create social equality and mitigate divisions on the basis of religious affiliation. But secular nationalism defines itself as much in opposition to social-others, creating an exclusive dynamic – the very element for which secular-nationalists critique religious nationalism.⁷⁸ Finally there are those proponents of the ‘nationalism as a religion’ framework.⁷⁹ The evolution of sacred spaces and processes to encompass areas in which these abstract notions of nationalism were honed and practiced meant that, realistically, these nationalisms could coexist in various forms of competition with one another. A synthesis that views religious nationalisms as rooted in the local, non-Western purview is key to this analysis. Hamas views their mission as twofold: creating an independent Palestinian state and doing so through the Islamization of society, arguing that one is not possible without also achieving the other. In this manner, Hamas begins to break the framework discussed above, by becoming the only form of local leadership that is not co-opted by some outside source.

⁷⁷ Scott Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India, and the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010): 12.

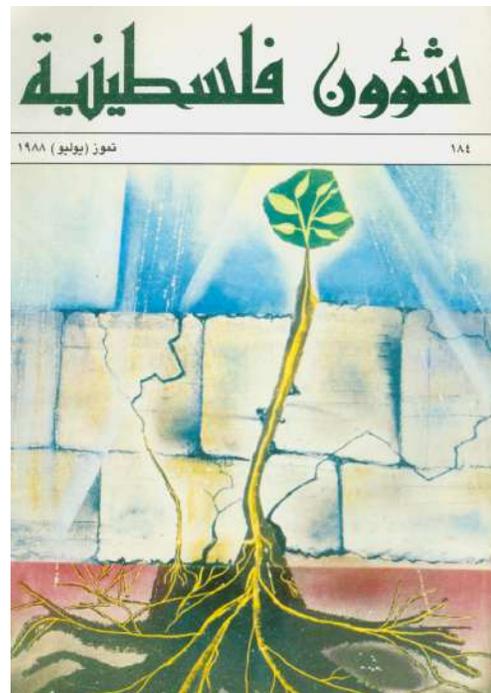
⁷⁸ Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

⁷⁹ Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 18, nationalism as “a form of sacred communion.”

Intertwined Histories: Hamas and Gaza

HAMAS is an acronym meaning *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya*, or the Islamic Resistance Movement.⁸⁰ Viewed as a religious movement by many, Hamas' founder Sheikh Ahmed Yasin argued "Hamas was basically a political movement with its primary goal being to secure the legitimate and natural rights of the Palestinian people."⁸¹ Hamas emerged from the embers of the *intifada* in 1988, however, the historical context in Gaza since the 1930's set the stage. In particular, the Muslim Brotherhood's popularity in the Gaza Strip, the space and services provided by the Islamic Center, and the waning popularity of the secular PLOs were pivotal to the emergence of Hamas.

Figure 26: Cover from the July 1988 edition of *Shu'un Filastin*.⁸²



Throughout the 1993-2006 period, the local

leadership of Hamas evolved and developed to slowly usurp the place of the PLO in the

⁸⁰ In this work the focus is on the political and charitable wings of Hamas, which are discussed as a civil society organization, building on work by Glenn Robinson ("Hamas as Social Movement," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003)), Sara Roy (*Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamic Society Sector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)), and Tristan Dunning (*Hamas, Jihad, and Popular Legitimacy: Reinterpreting Resistance in Palestine* (New York: Routledge, 2016)). This stands in contrast to another body of literature that only views the organization as a terrorist organization.

⁸¹ Interview with Zia Abu-Amr, taken from Abu-Amr, "Shaykh Ahmad Yasin," 235. Hamas also provided the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood with a way to support the first Palestinian *intifada* without being directly involved in violent tactics, which had the possibility of exposing the movement and its institutions to Israeli retaliation, see Jeroen Gunning, "Peace with Hamas? The transforming potential of political participation," *International Affairs* 80 (2004): 24-6.

⁸² *Shu'un Filastin*, July 1988, www.shuun.ps, File 184.

view of many, as the resistance movement representing Palestinians in the occupied territories. Ultimately, Hamas' electoral victory in the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) election was the turning point at which the movement became the leadership of the resistance by showcasing its flexibility and pragmatism in the face of changing social conditions, while staying true to its social contract with the population.⁸³

During the 1988-2006 time period, Hamas emerged not only a competitor to the PLO and UNRWA, but also as a threat to the norm of modern secular-citizenship as linked to the nation-state. In particular, Hamas' success built on the ability of the Islamic Center in Gaza to construct an idealized Islamic Palestinian identity through the services and programs that it offered.⁸⁴ This idealized Islamic Palestinian identity is enshrined in Article 12 of Hamas' Charter, which states "Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is a part and parcel of religious ideology. There is no higher or deeper peak in nationalism nor depth in devotion than waging Jihad."⁸⁵ This nicely illustrates Saba Mahmood's observation that "political secularism as the modern state's sovereign power to reorganize substantive features of religious life, stipulating what religion is or ought to be, assigning its proper content, and disseminating

⁸³ This pragmatism is not unique to Hamas' leadership in Gaza, as has been shown through the previous three chapters that discussed the means and ways in which other civil society organizations have enacted mechanisms of control and discipline over the population of Gaza.

⁸⁴ This relates to the earlier discussion about how the center created a sacred space, outside of the confines of a mosque, through its efforts to mold the population through its youth and women's education, training and play programs

⁸⁵ Article 12, *Mithaq Hamas (Hamas Charter)* (1988):

<http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/0b4f24e4-7c14-4f50-a831-ea2b6e73217d> Hamas' charter is a very problematic document that has been disowned by many leaders in the organization. It is unavowedly anti-Semitic, and this is the language of the charter that is most often cited not only in criticism of the organization, but also as a reason to discount Hamas' as a member of any significance in the Israel-Palestine conflict. While an official 'amendment' to the charter has never been offered, the charter does not appear on the organization website, nor is it referenced in speeches. Rather, the political bureau and Yasin himself in later years, discuss what is in the interests of the Palestinian people as the core concerns that guide Hamas' actions and doctrine.

concomitant subjectivities, ethical frameworks, and quotidian practices.’⁸⁶ While the ‘secular national order’ was attempting to “reorder” and “remake” religious life, religious life (here embodied by Hamas) was usurping previously ‘secular’ spaces, such as community centers, summer camps, and kindergartens, to create a new system through which the nation could be ordered and imagined.⁸⁷ By establishing itself as both a Palestinian nationalist organization and as an Islamic organization, Hamas created a paradox within the basic understanding of ‘modern’/secular norms of citizenship and state sovereignty. The culmination of this paradox came with Hamas’ victory in the 2006 PLC election. Following the outcome of the elections, there was violence between Hamas and Fatah, which ultimately resulted in the splitting in two of the two occupied Palestinian territories, with Hamas as the authorities in the Gaza Strip and Fatah as the authorities in the West Bank. One of the ways in which we can understand this paradox is through the strictly secular framing of the development agenda.

Understanding the Complications of a ‘Development’ Paradigm

Development initiatives have been a priority of international organizations working in Gaza since the territory was created in 1948. The destruction of much of the infrastructure during the Second World War, followed so quickly by the War of 1948, and subsequent Egyptian military oversight in Gaza, meant that very few improvements had been made to critical infrastructure in the territory. Likewise, the cutting off of the population from the arable land surrounding the Gaza Strip, which had also accounted for the livelihoods of the population, meant a high level of unemployment and poverty. The Quakers implemented small-scale local enterprise projects to address unemployment, and

⁸⁶ Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 3.

⁸⁷ Mahmood, *Religious Difference*, 21.

employed locals to dig latrines, spray DDT, and build communal bathhouses and laundry facilities.⁸⁸ UNRWA, the largest of the international organizations active in Gaza, implemented primarily works training projects, but also worked with local engineers and the local community to build shelters and basic public health systems.⁸⁹ Yet Gaza today is, in many ways, much as it was in the early 1950s, simply more overcrowded. James Ferguson's critical work on development made clear the competing factors when studying and discussing any kind of development based on or funded by international aid and donor interests. There was a dual meaning to the term that first sought to implement a "process of transition or transformation toward a modern, capitalist, industrial economy."⁹⁰ While the second, more vogue, interpretation took on a moral approach whereby development was undertaken to enhance the "quality of life" and "standard of living," towards the end goal that, somehow, "development" would extinguish poverty.⁹¹ The conflation of "modernization with the elimination or alleviation of poverty" was then and continues now to be problematic.⁹²

Particularly as it relates to aid work and interests in non-Western contexts, where most often it is Western understandings of "modernization" that are implemented, regardless of local history, tradition, culture, or religion. Much as Ferguson characterized development as the "anti-politics machine," international development, particularly in Gaza, was construed also as an 'anti-religion machine.' Here, in particular, the second more vogue interpretation of development (that the implementation of some kind of

⁸⁸ See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

⁸⁹ See discussion in chapter 4, but also "What We Do: Infrastructure and Camp Improvement," *UNRWA*, <https://www.unrwa.org/what-we-do/infrastructure-camp-improvement>

⁹⁰ James Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine: "Development," depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994): 15

⁹¹ Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine*, 15

⁹² *Ibid*, 15.

moral order will enhance the quality of life of locals and thusly eliminate poverty) is of most significance to this study. In part, this is because of the history of largely Western, and predominantly Christian, aid organizations operating in the Gaza Strip – and more broadly the Palestinian territories. Also, the moral agenda implemented by these organizations through their work and leadership training programs that were aimed at counter-acting the local poverty and “refugee” problems by creating self-motivated and sustaining individuals to better themselves and the local situation. This approach, in particular, was tied to the ‘modernization’ of Gaza: the instilling of a secular status quo that would ensure forward moment in the local community through these job training and placement activities. That ‘success’ in these endeavors often meant relocation and an absolving of one’s refugee-ness/status was not understood as problematic for those implementing and sustaining the programs. The Islamic Center in Gaza existed, however, on the fringes of this process, as a sacred space providing similar social services, but ignored by the development process.

However, from 1967 and the onset of Israeli occupation, this understanding and effort towards such development the Gaza Strip was made impossible. Rather, as identified in Sara Roy’s groundbreaking work, the situation became one of ‘de-development.’ De-development is the “deliberate, systematic and progressive dismemberment of an indigenous economy by a dominant one,” this process “deprives an economy of the mechanisms to pursue rational structural transformation and prevents the emergence of any self-correcting measures.”⁹³ In the instance of the Gaza Strip, the local economy was destroyed of any capacity to produce. This left Gazans dependent on their Israeli occupiers for employment, imports and the potential for any exports. This process

⁹³ Sara Roy, *Failing Peace*: 33

also transformed Palestine refugees into a threat, in particular as characterized by Israel.⁹⁴ Significantly, in this discussion of the role and place of international organizations in advocating an agenda of development, this process of de-development has not been ‘undone’ or countered, despite the massive of amounts and types of international aid deployed in Gaza.⁹⁵

The most effective tool in this de-development was the construction of Israeli settlements on Palestinian land and the cooptation of Palestinian labor to both construct the settlements on Palestinian land as well as to work in other Israeli industries in Israel proper.⁹⁶ In the case of Gaza, small settlements were established immediately following the 1967 war and the occupation of the Gaza Strip by the Israeli military.⁹⁷ The settlements were never as popular with the Israeli settler movement as were those in the West Bank. By contrast, accessing the settlements in Gaza was considered difficult and acted as a block to the growth of these settlements.⁹⁸ In July 2005 Israel began the process of ‘disengaging’ from the Gaza Strip, this meant the removal of all Israeli settlements in Gaza. Immediately prior to the disengagement there were between 8,000 and 8,500⁹⁹ Israeli settlers living in twenty-one settlements throughout the Gaza Strip.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ For discussion see Nadim Rouhana, “Group Identity and Power Asymmetry in Reconciliation Processes: The Israeli-Palestinian case,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 10(2004): 33-52; Herbert Kelman, “The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts,” *Journal of Social Issues* 55(1999): 581-600; Johanna Vollhardt, “The Role of Victim Beliefs in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Risk or Potential for Peace?” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 15 (2009): 135-159.

⁹⁵ Sara Roy, *Political Economy of De-development*, see in particular chapters 8 and 1.

⁹⁶ Roy, *Political Economy of De-development*, 17-18.

⁹⁷ Joyce Dalsheim, *Unsettling Gaza: Secular Liberalism, Radical Religion, and the Israeli Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2011): 11

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Various numbers between this low and high are cited in different places, see Mohammed Samhuri, “Gaza Economic Predicament One Year After Disengagement,” *Middle East Brief* No. 12 (2006): 1 and Rachele Marshall “The Gaza Settlements May Go But The Occupation Remains,” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 24 (2005): 7.

¹⁰⁰ Samhuri, “Gaza Economic Predicament,” 1.

The 1,500 families that had resided in the Gaza Strip were split amongst two major settlement blocks in the North and South, and three smaller settlements along the major north-south road that runs through the Gaza Strip, Salah al-Din Road.¹⁰¹

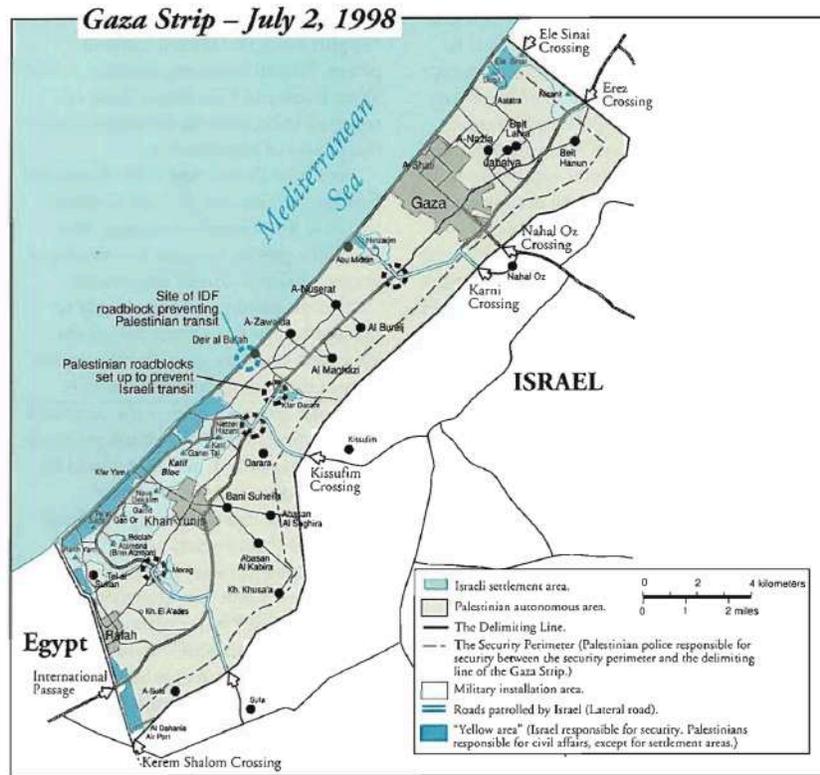


Figure 27: Israeli Settlements in the Gaza Strip, circa 1998.¹⁰²

The Nisanit Block in the northwest corner of the strip and the Katif block just north of Rafah in the south of the strip ensured that there could be no one contiguous Palestinian territory. The three settlements along the Salah al-Din Road, Netzarim in the North, Kfar

¹⁰¹ “Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories,” *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, vol. 14 no. 6 (2004): 5

¹⁰² “Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories,” *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, vol. 8 no. 5 (1998): 2

Darom in the middle, and Morag in the south, further assisted in dividing the Gaza Strip in three sections.¹⁰³

The settlements covered a total of 54km² out of a total area of 365km², which when divided based on population sizes saw an Israeli settler total of 665 people per 1km² and a Gazan Palestinian total of 25,400 people per 1km² in the non-camp areas and in the refugee camps 50,478 people per 1km².¹⁰⁴ The Israeli settlements were in the best agricultural locations, with prime access to the water aquifers and the best growing soil.¹⁰⁵ Gazans could not access the settlements, even for work, and instead had to move through the Erez checkpoint to travel to Israel for employment.¹⁰⁶ Following the Israeli disengagement from Gaza in 2005 there were hopes that the Gazan economy would rebound, however, in the year following unemployment increased from 35% to 40%, and 67% of the total population were living under the poverty level.¹⁰⁷ Much of this decline was due to the increased restrictions on the border of Gaza, in the year following disengagement the movement of people and goods across the borders was one-third that of prior to disengagement, due to Israeli closure of the crossings. Many of these closures were in response to internal Palestinian strife and Hamas' electoral victory.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33 (2004): 169, for more clarification see the attached map. Despite agreements under the Oslo Accords, there was limited Palestinian self-governance in very small areas, often on a city-by-city basis. When I first went to Gaza in 2007, one of the largest public health issues was drowning: children who had lived to the east of Salah ad-Din road had never seen the sea before and did not know how to swim. Disengagement allowed, for the first time since 1967 freedom of movement for Palestinian throughout the 42km of the Gaza Strip.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories," *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, vol. 15 no. 1 (2005): 3.

¹⁰⁶ Only the settlers were permitted to use the Kissufim Crossing.

¹⁰⁷ Samhuri, "Gaza Economic Predicament," 1

¹⁰⁸ Samhuri, "Gaza Economic Predicament," 4-5.

Categorization: Being a Refugee

The third category introduced above, that of labeling and categorizing the population of Gaza, has had the longest lasting impact on the population, and is inherently tied to continuing issues of sovereignty, identity, and self-governance. Upon the creation of the Gaza Strip in 1948 approximately 200,000 of the roughly 280,000 people living in the territory were classified as refugees by the UN. This imbalance continues today with 1.3 million of the 1.9 million residents of the Gaza Strip classified by UNRWA as refugees.¹⁰⁹ The continued classification of such a large proportion of the population as refugees, and their subsequent sub-categorization to detail access to goods and services, is problematic for a variety of reasons. Primary amongst these is the label of ‘refugee,’ which implies a sort of universal non-identity, implicit with the loss of one’s former national identity, traditions, and culture because of separation from the land.¹¹⁰ Not only is the assumption that one’s national identity “can only be whole and well when rooted in a territorial homeland,” but this approach is rife with the “assumption that state sovereignty...is part of a natural or necessary order of things.”¹¹¹ The outcome of which is that the category of refugee, and the refugee herself, is a challenge to this “necessary order of thing.” The refugee, who lives without citizenship or the rights inherent to citizenship,¹¹² is a challenge and danger to the nation-state formulation, the basis of secular global order. This rhetoric is echoed in the Israeli presentation of the refugee as a

¹⁰⁹ “Where we work: Gaza Strip,” *UNRWA*, <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/gaza-strip>. The implication being that not only are they categorized as UNRWA in this way, but the entire UN system and in totality the global community, recognizes this population as refugees. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of how UNRWA categorizes Palestine refugees.

¹¹⁰ Liisa Malkki, “Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization,” *Cultural Anthropology* 11(1996): 378 and Liisa Malkki, “Refugees and Exile: From “Refugee Studies” to the National Order of Things,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24 (1995): 508.

¹¹¹ Malkki, “Refugees and Exile,” 511.

¹¹² Victoria Redclift, *Statelessness and citizenship: Camps and the creation of political space* (London: Routledge, 2013) 50

danger and a threat. This problem is made more complicated in the instance of Gaza, where the local also becomes part of the displaced and excluded from a sovereign Palestine, creating both a conflation of categories, but also a double challenge to the nation-state system.

The implications of this categorization (local versus refugee) on the development of a citizenship, and the subsequent conflation of these categories becomes more problematic as the nature of the development opportunities offered in Gaza becomes clear. All of the activities, trainings, and approaches used by international organizations active in the Gaza Strip are enacted under the guidance of a moral development: to produce productive and responsible citizens, modeled in accordance with the organization's own perception of Palestinian citizenship.¹¹³ The approach is based on the belief that 'refugee' is a transitory category through which one passes prior the final stage where the 'refugee' once again becomes the 'citizen,' not necessarily of their own state or their state of choice, but of a state. These programs, activities and trainings aim to inculcate in the refugee a desire for citizenship on the understanding that the nation-state is the base unit through which all individuals participate on global affairs, and full participation is dependent on a fully realized citizenship. Thus the ultimate realization of sacred space becomes that of full citizenship in the sovereign state, which should be achieved through the realization of a secular global order. Yet the only vehicle that ultimately appears to promise such an outcome is Hamas. Through its creation of a sacred space, in the form of the Islamic Centre, and its use of sacred processes built on local traditions, this religious, Islamist organization challenged the sacred-secular dynamic of

¹¹³ This stands in contrast to the approach and practices of the Islamic Center in Gaza, which admitted any and all to its programs and services. One's origin and categorization, refugee or local, was important in the space created by the Islamic Center: everyone was Palestinian.

the contemporary nation-state system. Hamas also provided an alternative to the secular categorizing and development implemented by UNRWA, the PLO, and the occupation. While these secular operations contested these categories of modernization in the Gaza Strip, Hamas and the Islamic Center focused on individual assistance and tradition in the background, namely through shura and youth training programs.

Shared Local Histories of Consultation and Al-Shura

One of the most significant attributes of Hamas' internal operations is the manner in which they use the Islamic process of *shura*, or mutual consultation, to make decisions. While much has been written throughout the centuries about *al-shura* and its place in Islamic governance, there are few examples showing the concrete application and use of *al-shura* as a mechanism of communal governance following the death of the Prophet Mohammed.¹¹⁴ In recent years, much of the academic writing about *al-shura* and its place in governance has focused on *al-shura* as a means of showing Islam's compatibility with democratic governance.¹¹⁵ There is little discussion of or literature relating to practices of *al-shura* in the historic Gaza province; however, it is a hallmark of Hamas' internal workings and has been important in governing Gaza more recently. This reinvigoration of religious traditions and practices at the local level is an important marker of the Hamas administrative style.¹¹⁶

One of the most striking characteristics of governance used by Hamas' political wing is its consultative apparatus. Hamas is well known for its efforts to consult its three

¹¹⁴ Ahmad Al-Raysuni, *Al-shura the Qur'anic principle of Consultation*, trans. Nancy Roberts (Herdon: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2012), 13-15.

¹¹⁵ For example see: Uriya Shavit, "Is shura a Muslim form of democracy? Roots and systemization of a polemic," *Middle East Studies* 46(2010): 349-374 and Patricia Crone, "Shura as an elective institution," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19(2001): 3-39.

¹¹⁶ "Culture of consultation" is taken from al-Raysuni, page 20, as his prescription for the way forward for the Muslim community and its use of *al-shura*, it is also an apt description of the approaches of the Quakers in Gaza.

major constituencies: Gaza and the West Bank (internal), international (external), and their members in Israeli prisons,¹¹⁷ before undertaking any substantive decision that will change the future character of the movement.¹¹⁸ As such, each of these three constituencies has developed a leadership base, which has led to a rift between the internal and external leadership, particularly as relates to questions of how to govern and how much to compromise in Gaza.¹¹⁹

This consultative process was particularly important in Hamas' decision to participate in the 2006 elections, but not in the Oslo Accords or the 1996 elections, as the decisions regarding participation in each event were reached through the process of *shura*. Sheikh Yasin is quoted as saying "In that it – [participation in] the election – is based on it being a political asset and providing legitimacy to freely enter or not [the elections] as approved by the movement as in the interest of Islam and Muslims," in relation to the movement's decision not to participate in the 1996 elections.¹²⁰ Hamas'

¹¹⁷ Palestinian (political and other) prisoners jailed in Israeli prisons offer a fascinating study of a microcosm of similar social concerns and issues being enacted in a control environment. The prison environment provides a parallel state, in a similar way that we see such an occurrence in the Gaza Strip. In the prisons communities form, and initiatives of health care, education, charity, and other efforts are put into place by these communities. It is, however, a very difficult population to access for research purposes. Some broader themes have been addressed in various areas of the literature including: Avram Bornstein, "Ethnography and Politics of Prisoners in Palestine-Israel," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 30(2001): 546-574; Avram Bornstein, "Palestinian Prison Ontologies," *Dialectical Anthropology*, 34 (2010): 459-472; Esmail Nashif, "Staging the Palestinian Muslim: A Hamas' Manual for Political Prisoners," *Ethnologie Francaise* 45 (2015): 321-332; Sagit Yehoshua, "The Israeli Experience of Terrorist Leaders in Prison: Issues in Radicalisation and de-Radicalisation," in *Prisons, Terrorism, and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management Radicalisation and Reform* edited by Andrew Silke (London: Routledge, 2014):144-156.

¹¹⁸ Menachem Klein, "Against the Consensus: Oppositionist Voices in Hamas," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2009), 881.

¹¹⁹ Klien, "Against Consensus," 886.

¹²⁰ Khalid Al-Hindi, *Fahim Al-Harakat Li-Tabiy'at Al-Sira' ma' Al-mashrua' w-aFalsifat Idaraihi (Understanding the Movement's Nature of Conflict with a Project and its Administrative Philosophy)* (Oman: Middle East Studies Center, 1997): 118-199, quoted in Wail Abdul-Hamid al-Mabhouh, *Al-Ma'aradat fi Al-Fikr Al-Siyasi Li-Harakat Al-Muqawamat Al-Islamiya (HAMAS) (1994-2006): Dirasat Tahliyla (Opposition in Hamas Political Thought (1994-2006): An analytical Study)* (Thesis in Middle East Studies, Al Azhar University): 163, translated by author. There was some internal disagreement amongst the leadership over participation in the elections, with some domestic – particularly West Bank members –

consultative process is exhaustive, drawing on perspectives from its major constituencies: the domestic (or internal) Gaza and West Bank populace, the external populace, and the prison populace.¹²¹ The leadership of each of these three constituencies then formulates a comprehensive decision reflecting the wishes of the movement's overall constituency. This system makes Hamas directly responsible to its constituency, but also adds a large time constraint as it takes a substantial amount of time to consult with these different groups and then consolidate all of the information.¹²² This system has also led to the rise of "powerhouses" within the system – in particular Khalid Mashaal in the external leadership and Ismail Haniyeh in the internal leadership.¹²³

Despite the aforementioned drawbacks, this consultative process presents Hamas as loyal to its charter and its constituency, which in the 1990s stood in stark contrast to the popular perception that the PLO and Fatah had abandoned the Palestinians by allowing so many compromises under the Accord.¹²⁴ In presenting itself as the alternative to the PLO and Fatah during the 1990s, Hamas' Islamic ideology coupled with a pragmatic activist agenda allowed the organization to quickly surpass the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Palestinian territories. In particular, Hamas' substantial opposition to the Oslo Accords was a large driver in its popularity and increased the organizations credibility when the Accords failed.

calling for participation in the elections. After consultation with Sheikh Yasin, a separate, short-lived political party was created to allow these members to participate in the elections. This party was only ever very nominally associated with Hamas, however, it did provide some interesting insight and experience that left the internal leadership better prepared to participate in the 2006 PLC elections. See Mishal and Sela, "Palestinian Hamas," 135-6; Klein, "Oppositionist Voices," 887-8; Are Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: the Hamas enigma," *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005):1380.

¹²¹ Klein, "Oppositionist Voices," 886.

¹²² Paola Cardì, *Hamas: From Resistance to Government*, trans. Andrea Teti (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012): 220.

¹²³ Klein, "Oppositionist Voices," 886.

¹²⁴ Beverley Milton-Edwards and Alastair Crooke, "Elusive Ingredient: Hamas and the Peace Process," *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 33 (2004), 40.

Following Hamas' boycott of the 1996 PLC elections was a period of upheaval for the Palestinian population: the second *intifada* began in 2000, Sheikh Yasin was assassinated in March 2004, and Yasir Arafat died in November 2004. All three of these events had a profound impact on Hamas, and in particular the burgeoning leadership struggle in the wake of Yasin's death. This internal struggle played out through the 2006 PLC elections and the takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007. The transformation of Hamas following the second *intifada* and the death of Yasin played a large role in shaping Hamas' approach to, acceptance of, and participation in the 2006 elections.

A Barometer of Change: Electoral Participation through Consultation

The 2006 PLC elections were truly a pivotal moment in the Palestinian experience. Prior to the elections, Hamas once again undertook its internal consultative process, with the result that its constituencies overwhelmingly supported the movement's participation in the upcoming elections.¹²⁵ The changes leading up to these elections, domestically, regionally, and internationally, left the impression on many Palestinians that the time was ripe for greater involvement on the part of Hamas in the overall Palestinian political scene.¹²⁶ While participation in the elections may seem counter-intuitive given earlier boycotts by Hamas, the organization prides itself both on its consultations of the community and taking action based on their feedback.¹²⁷ As such, these consultations and their results become a binding agreement between the movement and its constituents that Hamas will work to best represent their interest. This was reflected in Hamas' slogan for these elections of "Change and Reform."

¹²⁵ Are Knudsen and Basem Ezbi, "Hamas and Palestinian Statehood," in *Where now for Palestine? The demise of the two-state solution*, ed. Jamil Hilal (London: Zed Books, 2007): 190-91.

¹²⁶ Klein, "Oppositionist Voices," 883-4

¹²⁷ Graham Usher, "Hamas Risen," *Middle East Report*, 238 (2006): 3.

For Hamas, its supporters and their needs were most important, and responding to these changes in public opinion are key.¹²⁸ Similarly, in 2006 the Palestinian populace was suffering from over exertion of armed resistance, and the time was right for Hamas, at the behest of its supporters, to enter mainstream politics.¹²⁹ This emphasis on meeting the needs of its constituents is key to the movement’s ingrained flexibility and pragmatism.¹³⁰ However, Hamas’ participation in the elections was only intended to be

the first step in the movement’s integration into the mainstream. This first step ultimately skyrocketed the movement to become not part of the establishment, but the establishment itself.¹³¹ Hamas’ success in the 2006 elections was unanticipated by all involved in the electoral process.¹³²



Figure 28: “List for Change and Reform,” Hamas Election Poster circa 2006.¹³³

¹²⁸ Commonalities in this attention to ones constituency are reminiscent of the Quakers and the earlier recollections of establishing tent-schools for refugee children: when asked to provide the Quakers felt a moral responsibility to undertake such actions.

¹²⁹ Knudsen and Ezbidi, “Statehood,” 193-4.

¹³⁰ Change and Reform List (Hamas’ 2006 Election Manifesto) in Azzam Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters* (London: Hurst & Company, 2007): 274-294.

¹³¹ Ziad Abu-Amr, “Hamas: From Opposition to rule,” in *Where now for Palestine? The Demise of the Two-State Solution*, ed. Jamil Hilal (London: Zed Books, 2007): 173-75.

¹³² Beverley Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010): 261.

¹³³ “The List for Change and Reform,” Hamas Election Poster, 2006, <https://palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-list-for-change-and-reform>

Hamas leadership seized upon the popular support bestowed by their electoral victory as the necessary mandate to lead.¹³⁴ However, the manner in which they would lead was still to be debated and determined through the movement's patented consultative process. These consultations were unlike any previous consultations and as such took time, which Hamas did not have as Fatah and the international community, led by the US and Israel, rallied to have the election results nullified. The time delay for consultations, while perceived as a necessity by Hamas' leadership to meet its moral responsibility to represent its members and their communities, was instrumental in providing space for the intra-factional conflict of summer 2007. The outcome of this conflict was that Hamas took control through force of the Gaza Strip, solidifying Hamas as the authorities in the Gaza Strip. This was to be a new role for Hamas, which would require greater flexibility and pragmatism than the movement had previously displayed. The Hamas victory in Gaza required the use of force against other Palestinians, which was not universally accepted by the Hamas leadership, in particular the internal, domestic leadership.¹³⁵

Emulation through Play: Summer Camps and Scouting

Like many other organizations, including the YMCA cases examined here, Hamas practiced a policy of training and promoting from within its own ranks. Mishal had been active in Muslim Brotherhood youth organizations throughout his youth, and it was from this background that he was ultimately recruited into Hamas and promoted through the

¹³⁴ Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas*, 263.

¹³⁵ Foremost amongst these dissenters was Gazhi Hamad, the former spokesman in the territories for Hamas. Hamad concluded that the intra-Palestinian violence caused a loss of public support and showed that Hamas needed to redress and update its approach. Hamad contested that the movement was not willing to do this, and gave this as a reason for leaving his position. Beverley Milton-Edwards, "The Ascendance of Political Islam: Hamas and consolidation in the Gaza Strip," *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (2008): 1591.

ranks of the organization.¹³⁶ He was also taken under the wing of Sheikh Yasin, and travelled extensively with Yasin during his tours of the Gulf states.¹³⁷ Similarly, Haniyeh had been an academic dean for the Islamic University of Gaza before becoming the assistant to Sheikh Yasin in 1997, and head of the sports section at *al-Mujamma al-Islami*.¹³⁸ In an interview in 1998 Haniyeh noted that the goal “in the sports department is for us to demonstrate good Islamic behavior and to get the players to set an example of this. It is therefore important that they reflect on the path of Islam in the Personal conduct and that others get to see this.”¹³⁹ Hamas’ organizational emphasis on promotion from within is notable, in particular as the emphasis for future leadership seems to come from early exposure to, participation in, and leadership of youth and education programs.

The earlier discussed work by UNRWA and the YMCA with Gazan youth included programs focused on leadership training, organized play, camping, and scouting activities.¹⁴⁰ Participation in these programs was not dependent on being a refugee (although access to some activities – in particular the leadership training programs – was limited to refugees) nor was it necessary to be Christian to take part in the programs. This model, first implemented in 1959, proved to be highly successful for both UNRWA and the YMCA in engaging and molding youth, in particular in young men and boys. A similar

¹³⁶ Ghushah, *al-Mi'dhanah al-Hamra' (The Red Minaret)*, 140-141.

¹³⁷ Ghushah, *al-Mi'dhanah al-Hamra' (The Red Minaret)*, 226-227.

¹³⁸ Michael Jensen Irving, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grass Roots Perspective* (London: IB Tauris, 2009): 61, Tristan Dunning, *Hamas, Jihad, and Popular Legitimacy*, 192, Haim Malka, “Hamas: Resistance and the Transformations of Palestinian Society,” in *Understanding Islamic Charities*, edited by Jon B Alterman and Karin Von Hippel (Washington DC: CSIS Press, 2007): 105-106

¹³⁹ From an interview conducted by Jensen, 7 July 1998, Jensen, *Political Ideology*, 70-71.

¹⁴⁰ This was reported in the summer of 2016 at one of the summer camps run by Hamas in Gaza and bears further research given the highly politicized nature and history of the scouting movement both in the Middle East as a whole, but particularly in the Gaza Strip and the manner in which it relates to notions and imaginings of a sovereign and independent Palestine. For discussion of the scouting opportunities offered in summer 2016 see: Ahmed Abu Amer, “How Gaza’s summer camps teach youth more than just sports,” *Al-Monitor*, 8 June 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/gaza-children-summer-activities-unrwa-hamas.html>

model has also been used by Hamas, and while a direct connection cannot be made between the two organizations programming agendas, there is a distinct atmosphere of competition between the training opportunities offered by the two organizations. Hamas has a history of offering summer camp and other youth activity options that must be understood through the lens of an ongoing, forty-plus years of military occupation.¹⁴¹ Involvement in these youth activity programs can be traced back to prior to the group's assumption of power in the Gaza Strip in 2006. Some of the earliest discussions of Hamas' efforts to 'train' youth are noted to the early 2000's, when they were offering summer camps such as the *al Aqsa intifada* martyrs' summer camp for children aged 9-16 in the Gaza Strip.¹⁴²



Figure 29: Images from Hamas Summer Camps, 2013.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of what impact this has had on the Gazan psyche see Sharab, *Qita' Gaza (The Gaza Strip)*, 96-114.

¹⁴² Matthew Levitt, *Hamas*, 125-126. The phrasing and sourcing of this information, while likely accurate in terms of numbers and activities, must also be critically assessed as Levitt's access was granted through the Israeli Intelligence and Information Center and has a distinct political purpose and agenda behind it. Regardless of the analysis and purpose of cataloguing this information, however, is the fact that Hamas was organizing and running summer training activities, of a varying nature, for Palestinian youth in Gaza since the early 2000's. For an alternative political perspective see Roy, *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza* and Tristan Dunning, *Hamas, Jihad and Popular Legitimacy*, in particular chapter 5. Much of the difficulty in researching and studying Hamas is this constant pull between the charitable works that it undertakes as a civil society organizations and the militant actions taken as a resistance organization.

¹⁴³ Mohammed Salem, "On Holiday in Gaza's Summer Camps," *Reuters*, 25 June 2013: <http://blogs.reuters.com/photographers-blog/2013/06/25/on-holiday-in-gazas-summer-camps/>

The summer camps offered by Hamas are only one facet of the organization's civil society outreach programs, but they are a prominent and constant outreach effort that are concretely linked to the ongoing occupation and the organizations commitment to resistance.¹⁴⁴ While almost no research has focused solely on these summer camps, there are many works that reference the important role that these programs play in providing a space for youth that offer opportunities to shape and mold these youth in the image of the organization providing these opportunities. The Hamas summer camps seek to create a idealized Palestinian subject in their own image. As noted by the director of the Hamas eastern Gaza camp Kamal El Gazi:

We learn a lot from it [the camps] – manners, how to be good, how to deal with people, how to deal with God, how to deal with our neighbors. It is full of principles and good manners. We try to grow the seeds of nationalism and Islam in the heart of these children. There are so many activities here related to our culture, not brought in from the outside.¹⁴⁵

This common goal has also created problems, as the idealized imagining of Palestine is distinct for each organization, creating two conflicting visions and ideologies that are passed on to the youth.

Since UNRWA reintroduced its youth summer activities program in the Gaza Strip in 2008 under the title of “Summer Games,” the summer programs have been subject to frequent intimidation and targeting by Hamas. The programs are charged as being un-Palestinian and un-Islamic because of the potential for mixed gender events and the encouragement of physical activities programs for young girls, like swimming.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ For another example see Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas*, chapter 9, which discusses the ‘Hill of Islam’ summer camp run in 2009 in the Gaza Strip that attracted over 100,000 children.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Sara A Topo, “Gaza’s Summer Camp War,” *Slate*, July 27 2010:

http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dispatches/2010/07/gazas_summer_camp_war.html

¹⁴⁶ For some examples see: Nidal al-Mugharabi, “Militants Attack U.N. Gaza Summer Camp,” *Reliefweb*, May 23 2010, <http://www.reliefweb.int/node/355448>; “Musala’ on Majhalon Ya’roqun Akbar Al-Mukhayamat Al-Sayfiyaa lil-UNRWA” (unidentified Gunmen burn the biggest UNRWA Summer Camp,”

Similarly, the Hamas summer programs present a difficulty for UNRWA, who has had to require that its staff do not send their children to Hamas-affiliated summer programs for fear of being conflated with such activities (or accused of supporting such activities) in the highly politicized aid climate of Gaza. As commented by Safa'a, a mother of five children in Gaza, "but if nothing else is left [in reference to the UNRWA camps], people will send their kids [to Hamas camps], because there *is* nowhere else."¹⁴⁷ In recent years, however, summer camp and recreation activities have become the near sole purview of Hamas as the constant push and pull of the works mandate demands that UNRWA focus primarily on job training and only emergency relief rather than an expansive mandate. This is primarily demanded by the donors who fund such activities programs.¹⁴⁸ The YMCA in Gaza is still active and offers some opportunities, yet its budget comes primarily from local memberships, allowing it to collaborate with UNRWA on larger projects, but not to fund its own programs.

The summer programs run by Hamas are a direct corollary of those historically offered by UNRWA and the YMCA: it was necessary for Hamas to become involved in offering such programming in order to 'counter' the creation of these organizations idealized and secular Palestinian masculinity. However, in the years that have followed the activity programs offered by Hamas have become distinctly their own, offering a variety of activities and training scenarios, in particular those focused on weapons training, that were never seen at the UNRWA and YMCA summer and training

Arab Today, 23 May 2010,
http://www.arabstoday.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=14924&catid=314&Itemid=111.

¹⁴⁷ Mohammed Omer, "Summer Camp Under Siege," *New York Times*, 30 June 2016,
https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/01/opinion/gaza-summer-camp-under-siege.html?_r=0

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the impact of this on summer activities funding and availability in particular see Omer, "Summer Camp Under Siege," https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/01/opinion/gaza-summer-camp-under-siege.html?_r=0

programs.¹⁴⁹ As such this now presents a different, and competing, conception of what a young Gazan man should be and do. This is also symptomatic of a generational divide between the programs offered throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s and those that are being offered today.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ In particular the distinct militaristic training was never a component of the UNRWA and YMCA training programs. While there was plenty of physical training, this always stopped short of any kind of outright military training, and in particular weapons were never present.

¹⁵⁰ This also relates to the faith based and secular models, and the manner in which this time shift has disproportionately impacted the opportunities presented by each.

Conclusion - Hamas: More than just a Subsidiary Branch

Although most research focuses solely on the ties between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas is a uniquely Gazan and Palestinian organization. To ignore this is to lose an understanding of the unique nature of Hamas and the specific environment and history that influenced the founding of the organization. By becoming the authority in the Gaza Strip following the 2006 elections, Hamas pushed to the background an evolution of its policy positions and instead focused on the reality of governing. Hamas and its leadership sought to consolidate power in the Gaza Strip, and did not look for compromise with any other parties.¹ At this time, a distinct rift between the internal, Gaza-based leadership and the external, at the time Damascus-based, leadership began. In particular, the approach of the external leadership was rooted in an allegiance to the traditional ideology of the movement, which contrasted with the pragmatism and flexibility that guided the internal branch operations.² None of this is a new or unique experience in the administration of the Gaza Strip, and rather reflects and builds on similar experiences by each group that has previously governed Gaza. Yet, what happens in Gaza is not reducible to an analogy of any one group, rather, it is the mixing together of the various experiences within the locally situated history and context that creates this nexus of shared experiences and approaches to governance.

One such example is the significant link between the Quakers and Hamas and the manner in which they conduct their affairs in the Gaza Strip using the Quaker tradition of

¹ Beverley Milton-Edwards, "The Ascendance of Political Islam: Hamas and consolidation in the Gaza Strip," *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (2008):1591.

² Are Knudsen and Basem Ezbadi, "Hamas and Palestinian Statehood," in *Where now for Palestine? The Demise of the Two-State Solution* edited by Jamil Hilal (London: Zed Books, 2007): 203. It should be noted that little is written or discussed about Hamas' consultation process continuing post-2008/2009. It is conceivable that internal competition, in particular between Mishal and Haniyeh has limited this process, but also that, with the assumption of political power, the will to engage in such a laborious process was limited.

consultation and the Islamic process of *shura*. The Quaker tradition of consultation to make a group decision is one that has spurred much academic research, particularly in the fields of mediation and more recently in grass-roots mobilization literature.³ Solidly rooted in Quaker theology, the Quaker method of consensus is to find “a ‘sense of the meeting’ which represents a consensus of those involved.”⁴ The point is not simply to find “unanimity” but a “unity: a higher truth which grows from the consideration of divergent opinions and unites them all.”⁵ When the Friends came to Gaza in 1948 as part of the humanitarian response to *al-nakba*, this approach was not alien to the local and refugee population of Gaza. Instead, the Quaker process of consultation was in accordance with and built on local Islamic traditions of *al-shura*. While not asserting that the Quaker mission brought *al-shura* back to Gaza, the Friends’ emphasis on a “culture of consultation” reinvigorated local religious traditions and practices and must be recognized as a link for further exploration.⁶ The Quakers were able to leave this imprint because of the Islamic tradition of *shura* and the local atmosphere of religiosity. This imprint reinforced notions and methods that were already in practice, and became a

³ In the mediation literature: Meryl Reis Louis, “In the Manner of Friends: Learnings from Quaker Practice for Organizational Renewal,” *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 7 (1994): 42-60; Jeffrey Rubin and Jacob Bercovitch (eds), *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994): 54; and J Michael Grieg and Paul Diehl, *International Mediation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012): 69. In grass-roots mobilization: L.A. Kauffman, “The Theology of Consensus,” in *Occupy! Scenes from Occupied America* (New York: Verso Books, 2011): 46-50; C.T. Lawrence Butley and Amy Rothstein, *On Conflict and Consensus: A Handbook on Formal Consensus Decisionmaking* (Food Not Bombs Publishing, 1987); Barbara Epstein, *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

⁴ A Paul Hare, “Group Decision by Consensus: Reaching Unity in the Society of Friends,” *Sociological Inquiry* 43 (1973): 75 (75-84) and Jane Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism and the Political Thought of John Dickinson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 28-30.

⁵ Hare, “Group Decision,” 75.

⁶ “Culture of consultation” is taken from Ahmad Al-Raysuni, *Al-shura the Qur’anic principle of Consultation*, trans. Nancy Roberts (Herdon: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2012): 20, as his prescription for the way forward for the Muslim community and its use of *al-shura*, it is also an apt description of the approaches of the Quakers in Gaza.

significant marker by which Hamas makes important organizational decisions. When comparing or linking Hamas as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, this reliance on the tradition of *shura* is unique to Hamas.

There is also a similar trajectory of ideological motivation shifting to pragmatic motivation when examining the handover from the Friends to UNRWA and Hamas' own evolution as it asserts its authority in Gaza. Significantly, while UNRWA was highly centralized and driven by a near ruthless bureaucracy-based pragmatism during its early years, this too has evolved.⁷ UNRWA has substantially decentralized to the field offices and, over the past decade, has focused on unique, field-specific projects. "Town Hall" style consultative meetings that are open to all community members, along with invitation-only meetings for elders and stalwarts of a given community, have proved effective in aiding UNRWA's efforts to meet the needs of Gaza's Palestinian refugees.⁸ This particular decentralization and shift in hierarchical nature has taken place during the last 10-15 years. A similar shift is not mirrored in the internal organizational dynamics of Hamas, which challenges the idea that international organizations in Gaza may have impacted local perceptions and practices of governance, as currently embodied by Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

Similarly, both the YMCA and Hamas worked with and molded youth through scouting, physical activity and other training programs. This is not unusual, as youth

⁷ Note that this is related to the newness of the UN and the Agency system, wanting to prove that it can succeed where the League of Nations failed and acknowledging that this *raison d'être* is really important in understanding this initial culture and why it may have mellowed over time.

⁸ One such example includes the consultations held in early 2009 regarding the type of tinned meat that should be provided as part of food aid distributions to refugees. These town hall meetings, with the general public, as well as the various *mukhtars*, were held to provide refugees with a means to express their concerns about the inclusion of appropriate protein sources in the food packages. Of major concern was that the meat would be halal and not include any pork, but holding these town halls and listening to refugees concerns, UNRWA in Gaza was able to combat these fears and ensure that the meat to be distributed meet the communities specifications and was appropriately labeled to avoid any confusion.

activities are an approach used by many organizations. However, that both organizations used very similar program opportunities and both with a goal of creating an idealized Palestinian masculinity that was rational, disciplined and capable of future self-governance is striking. While the idealized character of each organization's program was in stark contrast with the other, these programs were inherently related. Hamas needed to organize programs to provide an alternative narrative and training scheme from those historically provided by the YMCA and UNRWA. As such the two competing approaches have become intertwined as they offer alternative conceptions of Palestinian masculine identity, its role in creating a sovereign Palestine, and the manner in which such should be achieved and governed.

Throughout all of this is UNRWA,⁹ which has endorsed, altered and refused at different times to take part in these internationalist traditions brought to Gaza. Yet throughout this time period UNRWA has remained the default parallel state structure in Gaza, for which it has been roundly criticized from all sides. With the development and rise of Hamas, and its subsequent rule in Gaza, this anti-UNRWA narrative has altered as Hamas now presents itself as the homegrown parallel state structure in Gaza. With the development of mechanisms of biopower, these two organizations have enacted bipolitical approaches in all areas of their operations, including healthcare, schooling, job training and placement, and food aid, which have in turn become two distinct and competing governmentalities. UNRWA's approach to governance is rooted in the internationalist, secular tradition, where through the ritualization of bureaucratic process and norms a sacred space of 'refugee identity' has been carved out for Gazan refugees as a precursor to citizenship. In contrast, Hamas' approach to governance is rooted in the

⁹ Or the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR) in the early years.

religious tradition (of Islam) and a fierce nationalist pride that create sacred spaces from the ritualization of protest and resistance as the basis for Gazan identity, and a stepping stone to citizenship.

Why Gaza, Revisited

The occupied Palestinian territories have long been a subject of interest and study to better understand the impact of humanitarian aid and development agencies. In particular, the academic research has focused on the role of these organizations in creating economies of dependence from which the local population can never break free. Yet, much of the research has focused exclusively on the West Bank, or at best provided the Gaza Strip as a comparative case study. The history and experience of the Gaza Strip since its creation is substantially different than that of the West Bank and as such requires direct study that addresses the unique situation in Gaza. In particular, the ‘closed’ nature of Gaza, under both Egyptian administration and Israeli occupation as a militarized zone, has dramatically impacted the development of local leadership structures. In lieu of this development, many international organizations have stepped in to fill this gap, including the organizations studied here.

This dissertation has addressed the role of three international organizations that have operated in the Gaza Strip since its creation in 1948, and their impact on the development of structures of self-governance in Gaza, as enacted through their creation of layered moral humanitarianisms in the Strip. In particular, the work of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) was assessed. All three of these organizations were substantially involved in defining and refining the social

services sector in Gaza, and establishing the institutional norms on which a future, sovereign state could be built. From its creation in 1948 until 1967 the Gaza Strip was administered by the Egyptian military and as such the population and these organizations had a limited role in the security sector. Yet the Gazan population and the various international organizations operating there were left to administer the social services sector, including food aid, education, local enterprise projects, youth programming and health care. Their control and influence in these areas of social services established a precedent of parastatal institutions that would become an area of contestation with the rise of Islamic Palestinian nationalism in the form of Hamas.

The work of the AFSC, UNRWA, the YMCA and the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza considerably impacted the long-term development of norms and institutions of self-governance in the Gaza Strip. The programming interests and objectives of these three organizations were quite often divergent, reflecting the distinct drivers behind their faith-based and secular operating ideologies. However, these organizations all fell into the pattern of using their mandates and operations to exert their own brand of biopower¹⁰ over the local population. These efforts shaped and reinforced certain existing local traditions and customs that emphasized each organization's operating principles. In particular, these organizations were instrumental in creating and promoting the adoption of a variety of distinct Gazan and Palestinian identities, some of which were complementary, while others came into direct competition with one another. These

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population (Lectures at the College De France, 1977-76)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 17, 37, 478 and Michel Foucault and James Faubio eds. *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3 (New York: New York Press, 2000), 95-96. I distinguish between bio-power and bio-politics, with bio-politics being the operationalization of mechanisms of bio-power by and in the (primarily economic) interests of the 'sovereign,' which in the case of Gaza is an assortment of different non-governmental actors that exert sovereign-like control over the Gazan population, refugee and native Gaza alike

identities were at times Gaza specific (such as the efforts by the Quakers), and at other times broadly Palestinian (UNRWA and the YMCA).¹¹ Ultimately, however, these competing visions and constructions left a long-term imprint on the subsequent development and operations of a uniquely Gazan entity: Hamas. Hamas in turn used these same biopolitical approaches to shape and create its own mechanisms of governance, in turn creating its own governmentality,¹² which came into direct competition with that of UNRWA.

Through an examination of the politics of food and Quaker concerns over the weaponization of food aid, the distinct differences between the Quaker faith-based operations and that of the secular UNRWA became clear (Chapter 3). For the Quakers, service in Gaza was never about aid provision; it was about achieving a socially just resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict. This approach was rooted in the Quaker disposition of moral responsibility¹³ to serve those in need and speak on their behalf as and when necessary, as a component of the moral labor that they perceived themselves performing.¹⁴ In lieu of an immediate political solution, the Friends team worked with the local population to create a system of leadership and programs that reflected the Quaker

¹¹ This is not to argue that Gaza is or should be a distinct territory separate from the West Bank, however, there have historically been competing notions as to the place of the Gaza Strip in a future Palestine, as well as the role that the Gazan population will play in this future state. Since 2006, when the population of Gaza has been separated from the West Bank this notion of a distinct Gazan identity and experience has increased.

¹² “Governmentality” is a term taken from Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979* edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 66-69. Here it is used to discuss the manner in which non-governmental organizations, such as UNRWA, the YMCA, or Hamas, exercise control over the population under their responsibility, and in turn how the population comes to self-regulate to maintain itself.

¹³ Liisa Malkki’s *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁴ Anne-Meiki Fechter’s “Aid work as moral labour,” *Critique of Anthropology* 36(2016): 228-243, this concept of moral labor also encapsulates the early discussion of Durkheim’s sacred/profane dichotomy and the perceptions during the early years of UNRWA and AFSC’s work in Gaza that the Quakers efforts themselves created sacred spaces and processes through this moral labor.

mode of operations: consultation, consensus building, and individualized service. By establishing the ‘Gaza Special Rules’ and ensuring food aid where it was necessary, even if outside of the given population categorization, the Quakers resisted what they considered to be injustice, and left their mark in Gaza.

Yet the realities of the refugee situation in Gaza were too substantial for the Quaker methods. The population could not be neatly categorized into refugees who required aid and locals who could fend for themselves. The success of small-scale local enterprise projects could not easily be scaled up for use throughout the Gaza Strip. And, ultimately, 200,000 refugees needed monthly supplemental food aid and a team of 50 Quakers could only individualize this service to a certain degree. For the Quakers the successful implementation of their local enterprise projects represented successful moral labor that created sacred spaces and processes. Sacred spaces and processes in this realm of moral humanitarianisms are not necessarily about physical religious spaces, but those actions and processes that create something more than quotidian everyday-ness and elevate this labor for the community. The maintenance of a true moral labor through the creation of such sacred processes was of particular importance to the Friends, imbued as their work and operations were by the Quaker faith. However, the failure to achieve a socially just, long-term political solution to the conflict represented the profaning of their moral labor. The weakness of the UNRWA approach – absolute adherence to the rules and regulations governing the mandate, compliance with category definition over individual need, and implementing donor-funded projects even when they did not make sense in the local area – was also without contestation (Chapter 4). And the subsequent

shift of UNRWA's mandate to focus on 'works' training left a gap in the needs of the youth population of Gaza.

In turn, UNRWA sought a partnership with the YMCA, and together the two organizations established a series of summer camps, scouting troops, and leadership training courses (Chapter 5). These activities programs were aimed at boys and young men, and through these endeavors the YMCA, in practice, created an idealized Palestinian masculinity that was the end goal of these programs. In turn, those young men who graduated from the programs returned as employees and continued the cycle of emulation, creating a generation of young Gazan men who fit into this mold. This became an issue as this particular secular identity came into contact with other, Palestinian identities, especially that of the secular Fatah and PLO. Despite continued collaboration and programming initiatives through the 1980s, during the immediate aftermath of the 1967 war, and the subsequent occupation of the Gaza Strip by Israel, much of this momentum was lost.

During the 1967-1988 period, both UNRWA and the PLO emphasized distinct idealized secular-Palestinian identities that were frequently in conflict with one another. In the latter portion of this period an alternative, Islamic-Palestinian identity was offered by Hamas (Chapter 6). In its conception, Hamas was very much a subsidiary branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, yet over time the organization grew to be much more and became uniquely Gazan. Through similar activities to those practiced by the Quakers and the YMCA, such as providing food aid, education, youth programming, and health services, Hamas offered a Palestinian identity – a quasi-citizenship – that rivaled the secular offerings of UNRWA. The methods of achieving this status, through the practice

of consultation and youth training in particular, are reminiscent of the earlier efforts of other faith-based organizations active in Gaza, and build on their layered moral humanitarianisms. The culmination of which, and the starting point for Hamas, came in 1973 with the opening of the Islamic Center in Gaza. The Islamic Center was a sacred space rooted not so much as a religious space, but in the sacred labor of constructing the precursors to an Islamic Palestinian state. From this initial space Hamas was able to create its own parastatal institutions that rivaled those created by UNRWA and the PLO, and successfully competed for popular support from the broader society.

A direct line cannot be drawn from the activities and experiences of the AFSC and the YMCA in Gaza to those currently enacted by Hamas. However, the evidence and analysis presented here complicates the picture that has been painted for the last thirty years. Since its creation, Hamas has only ever been linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. The links between the two organizations, their shared histories, and members are significant. However, to assess Hamas only as a subsidiary of the Muslim Brotherhood – a breakaway branch – is incorrect. Hamas has become its own organization, and while understanding its roots in the Muslim Brotherhood is important, one must also look to the institutional histories of those other organizations that have impacted the structure and status of the Gaza Strip to best comprehend the complicated nature of Hamas. In particular, the layered moral humanitarianisms of the various international organizations that operating in the Gaza Strip have had significant influence over the popular understanding and perceptions of institutional structures and responsibilities and are key to understanding the development and evolution of Hamas.

Theory, Sacred Space, and Practice

While much has been written about Foucault and his work on biopolitics and governmentality as it relates to state actors, the application of his work to non-state, humanitarian actors is relatively new. To date, much of this research is purely theoretical in nature, and so examining his work in relation to specific cases of humanitarian action is important. This project also contributes to historicizing Foucault's theories, arguing that they can be applied to periods dating back to the post-WWII period, a time period that is not often addressed in relation to Foucault's work. By adding additional components, such as faith-based civil society organization, to the matrix, this research also opens doors to addressing whether or not Foucauldian approaches are applicable and act in the same manner in a faith-based organization versus a secular one.

This treatment of IOs (in particular INGOs) also argues that these organizations have an active role within international relations theory and need to be included as actors when studying and applying various state-centric and –based approaches. Through the case studies presented here, the conceptualization of sacred spaces and processes is complicated. In these case studies, there was growth away from the dichotomous approach that was favored by organizations operating in Gaza in the late 1940s and early 1950s,¹⁵ to a more complicated continuum between the two concepts as seen in the work of the YMCA and UNRWA in the later 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁶ Developing from here is a discussion of the manner in which sacred spaces can be created through repeated practices of an identity, and that these spaces do not have to be specifically religious

¹⁵ For a discussion of this dichotomy in its original conception see: Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995), for more discussion of this see chapter 4.

¹⁶ Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), for more discussion of this see chapter 5.

spaces (like a mosque or church). Through the internalization of an idealized Islamic identity, as per the goals and experience of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Centre in Gaza became a sacred space as it elevated daily practices (such as kindergarten, health care, women's centers, etc.) by enshrining these practices with an idealized Islamic character. From this model of practice we see the development of Hamas, which builds on similar practices to create parastatal institutions and a distinct Islamic Palestinian identity that ultimately aids Hamas in being elected to lead the Palestinian Authority. This is significant because it challenges the notion that only sovereign state actors have such capabilities.

A final take-away relates to best practices and operations of international organizations. There is substantial critical literature of the aid and development nexus, in particular as it applies to Palestine.¹⁷ While there is much to criticize, and in many instances we do not know or understand the long-term implications of the work done by these organizations and it is unrealistic to believe that they will ever simply go away. Rather, studying the archival records of these organizations and working to understand the different approaches and rationale behind their operations is valuable, largely because humanitarianism is inherently related to governance, state structures, and social movements. In part, because humanitarianism has become a mechanism used by state governments to exert their power abroad, but also as we begin to see, examine, and treat

¹⁷ Some of which include: George Abed, *The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development Under Prolonged Occupation* (London: Routledge, 1998); Adam Hanieh, "Development as Struggle: Confronting the Reality of Power in Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 45 (2016): 32-47; Anne Le More, *International Assistance to the Palestinians after Oslo: Political Guild, Wasted Money* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Rex Brynen, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza* (Washington DC: United States); Sahar Taghdisi-Rad, *The Political Economy of Aid in Palestine: Relief from Conflict or Development Delayed?* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Sara Roy, *The Gaza Strip: the Political Economy of de-development* (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995); Terry Rempel, "UNRWA and the Palestine Refugees: A Genealogy of "Participatory" Development," *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28 (2009): 412-437.

INGOs as international actors with political agendas as well. Some of this historical relevance relates to the distinction between secular and faith-based civil society organizations, and whether or not the faith component is a distinct characteristic of their operations or more of a defining characteristic of the international staff to these operations. Additionally, the different approaches of these organizations (faith-based or not) yield distinctive results and are received with contrasting levels of acceptance by local communities. By analyzing these person- versus bureaucracy-based models, seeking to understand the influence of a specific organizational religious identification,¹⁸ and how the communities served react to and remember these efforts, we can better assess and recommend the least intrusive and most constructive models of humanitarian practice in various scenarios.

More broadly this furthers the argument here that we must move away from only focusing on the center: the state and how it defines citizenship, usually through a secular lens, and look to the periphery. INGOs, faith, and sacralized spaces have all been marginalized by the mainstream focus on states as not only the primary but also the only actor of significance. To better understanding the evolving way in which citizenship norms are conceived and defined, and the role this can play in the formation of a future Palestinian state, our focus must extend to other examine the role of other institutions outside of state governments. By expanding our focus to include other institutions, such as INGOs and broader civil society, and including faith as a primary category of analysis (rather than assuming a secular basis), we see the historical and contemporary impact,

¹⁸ Particularly when the organizational religious identification represents a local minority faith and has a tumultuous history in the area.

that these institutions have on the formation of citizenship norms and states, particularly in conflict and post-conflict environments.

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