



## The Anthropological Rise of Palestine

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### ABSTRACT

This article traces the rise of anthropological scholarship on Palestine and/or Palestinians from 2011 through the present, providing readers with a comprehensive bibliography of anthropological publications related to Palestine over that period. Drawing upon the author's experience as a scholar of Palestine and a publicly engaged anthropologist, it accounts for the factors fueling the proliferation of this domain of knowledge production and the implications this has for representations of individual and collective Palestinian human conditions. The article argues that contemporary anthropological research and writing provide Palestinians with intellectual tools for discursive enfranchisement. Such anthropological engagement also makes possible global solidarity wherein Palestinians are recognized as epistemic equals, rendering legible the heterogeneity and complexities of Palestinian lived experiences.

### KEYWORDS

anthropology;  
ethnography;  
epistemology; academia;  
research; solidarity;  
Palestine; Palestinians

TEN YEARS HAVE PASSED since the publication of anthropologists Khaled Furani and Dan Rabinowitz's widely read "The Ethnographic Arriving of Palestine," in which the authors identified four modes of ethnographic engagement with Palestinians in the English language. First came European writing on "Biblical Palestine" rooted in Christian theology in the nineteenth century. This was followed by writing on "Oriental Palestine" rooted in secularized and scientific approaches in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Then came "Absent Palestine" in the aftermath of the 1948 Nakba and the creation of the State of Israel, when ethnographies by and large silenced Palestinians with occasional interruptions. And finally, "The Poststructural" mode emerged from the 1980s on, with anthropologists questioning the Israeli state's oppression of Palestinians and affirming the existence of Palestinians as national subjects. Furani and Rabinowitz argued that Palestine was "admissible" as an ethnographic subject in the 1980s "at a time when Israel's unassailable position in the West was beginning to falter."<sup>1</sup>

They noted that "the West [was increasingly] losing confidence in its established structures of power," and spaces for critical discourse on Israel/Palestine had emerged.<sup>2</sup> While Furani and Rabinowitz did not explicitly define what they meant by "arriving," the term is clearly linked to the notion of the admissibility of Palestine in anthropology and Western academia more broadly as a legitimate and recognizable domain of intellectual inquiry.

This article draws upon the literature review and arguments advanced by Furani and Rabinowitz to survey anthropological work on Palestine starting from 2011. I argue that the field has moved beyond the "arrival" described by the two scholars to a discernible "rise" in the present. I link this rise to a proliferation of scholarship where Palestine is not only

admissible to domains of anthropological inquiry but is now welcome and expanding, thereby allowing us to get closer to understanding the many “Palestines” that shape the world. As I will demonstrate, indicators of this rise include factors such as the treatment of Palestinians as epistemic equals, thereby de-exceptionalizing Palestine; the expanding intellectual boundaries of the field; the establishment of associations like *Insaniyyat*; and the evisceration of compulsory Zionism hurdles.

Because of this enormous expansion of ethnographic engagement related to Palestine in the last decade, this article adopts an examination of scholarship that is self-consciously anthropological. Furani and Rabinowitz integrated ethnographic works advanced by non-anthropologists as well, but because so many scholars from different disciplines have since integrated ethnographic methods into their analysis of Palestine and/or Palestinians, this article is concerned solely with contributions made by anthropologists. The criteria for the work I reviewed were as follows: intellectual engagement in the English language by self-identified sociocultural anthropologists (versus archeologists and biological anthropologists) on Palestine and/or Palestinians from 2011 through the present.

In accounting for the factors that have fueled the proliferation of this domain of knowledge production and its implications for representations of the collective Palestinian human condition, I argue that contemporary anthropological research and writing provide Palestinians with intellectual tools for empowerment. Palestinians are identifying entry points to membership in the field of anthropology and opportunities to reshape the field itself. Furthermore, this anthropological engagement also makes possible global solidarity where Palestinians are recognized as epistemic equals, rendering legible the complexities and heterogeneity of Palestinian lived experiences.

With the assistance of colleagues in the field, I assembled a database of 117 anthropologists who have worked on the question of Palestine over the past decade. A finding of this research is that there is an even gender breakdown among the anthropologists in the field (between women and men). It also became clear that the majority of these anthropologists were trained in doctoral anthropology programs in the United States and are now based at U.S. institutions of higher education. A minority were trained or are based outside the United States and/or are not working in academia. A growing cohort of these anthropologists are at British, Canadian, and European institutions, with a significant subgroup of them at Israeli universities and a smaller cohort at Palestinian and Arab universities. Scholarship in the field includes robust representation of the West Bank, Israel, and refugee communities; yet ethnographic engagement is lacking in the Gaza Strip and many diaspora communities. The range of themes explored in the literature over the past decade is even broader than the spectrum of topics identified by Furani and Rabinowitz at the time of their publication. Finally, nearly half of the total number of anthropologists in the field are of Palestinian heritage.

## Epistemic Equals

The anthropology of Palestine and Palestinians is often situated within the larger subfield of the anthropology of the Middle East. In their book, *Anthropology's Politics: Disciplining the Middle East*, Lara Deeb and Jessica Winegar discuss the “compulsory Zionism” that many Palestinian anthropologists and other scholars of Palestine have reported within U.S. academia.<sup>3</sup> This compulsory Zionism is evident in the challenges that scholars experience in accessing space for public critiques of the Israeli state. The book captures the alienation that

these academics face and the ways they navigate this terrain to affirm the dignity and rights of the Palestinian people while remaining true to anti-Zionist principles. Despite the hegemonic nature of Zionist influences on U.S. institutions of higher education, solidarity with Palestine has nonetheless found a stronghold in many anthropological spaces. Yet Palestinian anthropologists cannot escape suspicion and the questioning of their rationality and scholarly authority in Western academia, or the structural racism of anti-Arab sentiments and Islamophobia.

Within U.S. academia, Palestinian anthropologist Amahl Bishara has become a prominent figure, with a robust publication record that has covered topics ranging from Christian minorities in Palestine, to fragmentation between the West Bank and Israel, to water politics.<sup>4</sup> In her book, *Back Stories: U.S. News Production and Palestinian Politics*, Bishara discusses how Palestinian journalists (including fixers, photojournalists, camerapeople, reporters, and producers) are viewed and treated as “epistemic others” by mainstream Western news outlets. The international journalists often see their local Palestinian counterparts, on whom they depend, as “unable to be objective.”<sup>5</sup> Bishara’s work not only renders visible the invisible Palestinian contributions to journalism in the eyes of so many Western readers and viewers, her ethnography reveals the epistemic agency of Palestinians. Bishara recognizes that Palestinians are fully capable of epistemological work, of theorizing their local moral worlds. The field of anthropology is much more open than journalism to critical interrogations of objectivity and bias. Nonetheless, anthropological scholarly networks are also not immune to treating their Palestinian scholars as “epistemic others.” Anthropologists such as Bishara, who are open about their Palestinian backgrounds, have over the past decade played an invaluable role in furthering the treatment of Palestinians as epistemic equals, be they anthropologists or research subjects themselves. Anthropological engagement as an intellectual tool for solidarity with Palestine from non-Palestinian allies has also become salient. The transformation from “epistemic others” to epistemic equals exemplifies the cumulative efforts of Palestinian anthropologists, and their anthropologist allies, in shaping this field.

A primary concern of my own anthropological scholarship has been what I call the discursive disenfranchisement of Palestinians—specifically lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer Palestinians.<sup>6</sup> My research has revealed how queer Palestinians face suspicion, and also discursive attacks, from across the political spectrum regarding their ability to self-identify and name their own lived experiences. Bishara’s work demonstrates how anthropological engagements can empower Palestinians to overcome such suspicion and attacks. In a recent interview, Bishara reflected, “I think anthropology ... has been a good way for me to think about a kind of praxis of living, of engaging with people, listening to people, expanding who one considers to be knowledgeable, and that has been absolutely crucial to my own thinking about Palestine and what liberation could mean.”<sup>7</sup> Bishara’s words reflect how anthropology has equipped her and other Palestinian anthropologists with resources that advance *discursive enfranchisement*, both for themselves and their Palestinian interlocutors.

It is noteworthy to observe the rise of an influential critical mass of Palestinian anthropologists who are citizens of Israel, mobilizing anthropology as a mode of knowledge production and community empowerment. While their epistemic standing is systematically marginalized because of their status as an Indigenous minority confronting the oppressive settler-colonial state, these Palestinian anthropologists nevertheless navigate Israeli academia to help preserve their communal life. For instance, Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder is a pioneer of scholarship on the economies of Palestinian Bedouin women in Israel;<sup>8</sup> Nadeem Karkabi is an authority on

language, culture, and politics among Palestinian citizen of Israel (PCIs);<sup>9</sup> and Furani has emerged as one of the preeminent anthropologists of Palestine/Israel. Furani's work on Arabic poetry and the cumulative nature of his sophisticated theoretical insights are profoundly shaping anthropological intellectual thought more broadly.<sup>10</sup>

## Identity Politics

Anthropology has provided a modality for non-Palestinian scholars to amplify the voices of Palestinians and to provide rigorous analysis of Palestinian society and politics. There is a long history of anthropological solidarity, with figures in this domain who have maintained active ethnographic engagements and publications for decades through the contemporary period. Key examples include Glenn Bowman, whose most recent work centers on religion, space, and politics in Palestine;<sup>11</sup> Julie Peteet, who writes on language, space, and temporality;<sup>12</sup> and Ted Swedenburg, with his research on Palestinian culture, history, and politics.<sup>13</sup> Among the longest-serving ethnographers of Palestine are British anthropologist Rosemary Sayigh, whose recent scholarship focuses on dispossession, memory, and identity<sup>14</sup> and Palestinian anthropologist Sharif Kanaana, who has an edited volume titled *The Future of Palestinian Identity*.<sup>15</sup> Palestine-based Rema Hammami is also a crucial voice in the field; her decades-long intellectual labor has distinguished her in Palestinian anthropology.<sup>16</sup>

A new generation of anthropologists, such as Diana Allan and Chiara De Cesari, are producing scholarship that is enriching knowledge of Palestinian communities and charting a path for future ethnographies on Palestine. Allan has produced a vast record of publications that examines the intersections of Palestinian refugee life, visual culture, and memory studies.<sup>17</sup> De Cesari's scholarship positions her as an authority on heritage studies and Palestinian nationalism.<sup>18</sup>

The work of Jewish and Israeli anthropologists has helped catalyze solidarity with Palestine. In her public intellectual work, U.S. anthropologist Susan Slyomovics discusses her experiences coming from a Holocaust survivor family. Her scholarship on history and memory in Palestine<sup>19</sup> is explicit in recognizing Israel's settler-colonial nature, and her book on reparations acknowledges Palestinians as victims of Israeli oppression and imagines Palestinians as rightful subjects of future reparations.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, U.S. anthropologist Rebecca Stein has had a long track record of critical scholarship on the Israeli occupation, visual and media politics, and Palestinian human rights.<sup>21</sup>

In centering Palestinian voices, Israeli anthropologist Daniel Monterescu's work destabilizes hegemonic conceptions of Israeli coexistence or democracy.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, Guy Shalev's scholarship on Palestinian physicians in the Israeli medical system reveals the profound asymmetries of power that govern Palestinian life in Israel and the myths about the neutrality of health care encounters between Israelis and Palestinians.<sup>23</sup> With a faculty position at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as his base, Shalev serves as a volunteer coordinator with Academia for Equality, a social justice organization including anthropologists and other scholars in Israel who publicly advocate for Palestinian rights and an end to Israeli educational institutions' complicity in Israeli state oppression. Academia for Equality has emerged alongside the rise of Israeli anthropological attention to Palestinian life. The work of Efrat Ben Zeev, Omri Grinberg, Natalia Gutkowski, Assaf Harel, Matan Kaminer, Smadar Lavie, Eilat Maoz, Regev Nathanson, Amalia Sa'ar, and Rabinowitz is furthering Jewish-Israeli anthropological solidarity with Palestine and helping to break the taboo of interrogating Zionism in Israeli academia. Such scholars are

moving further in the direction of honestly contending with privilege and authority in knowledge production and beyond.

Still, Zionist hegemony persists among many Israeli anthropologists and anthropologists of Israel. Some older Israeli anthropologists such as Clinton Bailey<sup>24</sup> and Henry Rosenfeld<sup>25</sup> continue to publish work with reified Orientalist conceptions of “Bedouins,” “peasants,” and “kinsmen.” In other Israeli contexts, there is a widespread illusion that the anthropology of Israel can be separated from the anthropology of Palestine, as if Palestinians and Israelis were not inextricably linked to one another, in the past as well as the present. For instance, in her 2015 book providing an overview of Israeli anthropology, Orit Abuhav makes such a distinction, briefly referencing the Furani and Rabinowitz article as a separate domain for readers who are interested in Palestinian society. The book only briefly addresses the relationship between colonialism and Israeli anthropology.<sup>26</sup> Many Israeli anthropologists do not analyze the existence of Palestinian society in a robust manner, even when it comes to PCIs, who in Orientalist fashion continue to be described as “Israeli Arabs.” The anthropology of Israel has also largely failed to properly address the complicity of Israeli academia in Israel’s systematic oppression of Palestinians. In 2018, the Israeli Anthropological Association decided not to cooperate with Israeli academic institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt) because of their roles in the process of annexation; yet there was no recognition of how universities within the Green Line are also implicated in these oppressive realities.<sup>27</sup>

Contemporary anthropological scholarship on Palestine now overwhelmingly affirms the dignity of the Palestinian people notwithstanding the remnants of Orientalist and Zionist strains in anthropological representations of Palestinians. This affirmation can be seen in the recognition of the regimes of domination that Palestinians confront and the forms of resistance and resilience that animate their everyday lives. The subfield has been hospitable to Palestinian scholars invested in decolonizing anthropology and academia more broadly, leading to robust representation of Palestinians. The equal numbers of non-Palestinians in the field have maintained their spirit of allyship and solidarity. Considering anthropology’s own colonial itinerary, the anthropology of Palestinians is critical in that it demonstrates the potential for decolonial methodologies and epistemologies to further solidarity with the colonized.

Anthropological engagement with Palestine also reveals that the excesses of identity politics are not as pronounced in the anthropology of Palestine as in some other fields. The diversity of anthropologists of Palestine and Palestinians signals the value of an intersectional approach to identity politics in academia as well as to the potential for coalitions of differently positioned intellectuals to contribute to a shared purpose of scholarship and liberation. The deeply intersectional nature of contemporary ethnographic work on Palestine and Palestinians has collectively accounted for the forces of colonialism, race, class, religion, gender, sexuality, ability, health, migration, and other positionalities. Anthropology enables understanding of how humans make meaning but also how it is that our intellectual engagements can be deployed in service of the alleviation of human suffering.

## De-exceptionalizing Palestine

Anthropological engagement on Palestine often aims to balance explicating the particularities of contemporary Palestinian conditions while situating Palestine/Israel within the context of transnational processes. For instance, recent anthropological research has focused on situating Palestine at the heart of the global military-industrial and prison-industrial complexes.

Comparative analyses that place Israel in relation to other settler-colonial states also enrich ethnographic exploration of Palestinian experiences under Israeli domination and within the accompanying contexts of displacement and dispossession.

Another notable trend is the growing number of influential anthropologists who after establishing their credentials and contributing to knowledge production in other contexts have subsequently turned their anthropological attention to Palestine and/or Palestinians. The intellectual trajectories of Lila Abu-Lughod, Didier Fassin, Ghassan Hage, and Ann Stoler are a case in point. For instance, in her 2013 book, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, Abu-Lughod includes voices of Palestinian women alongside those of women from other Muslim-majority contexts.<sup>28</sup> Her recent article on the Palestinian Museum in the West Bank brings together settler colonialism, museums, and imaginations of Palestinian futures, on the one hand, with North American and Australian Indigeneity, on the other.<sup>29</sup>

One year after his keynote address at the Geographies of Aid Intervention conference at Birzeit University, Fassin published an article in *Anthropological Theory* placing his prior research on Palestine in conversation with his research in the Ecuadorian Andes, Venezuela, and South Africa to explicate an anthropological “critique of moral reason.”<sup>30</sup> Fassin later edited a volume, *If Truth Be Told: The Politics of Public Ethnography*, featuring insights from leading anthropologists working on five continents. Three of the volume’s contributors, Nadia Abu El-Haj, Hage, and Sherine Hamdy, included meaningful discussions of Palestine in their respective chapters. Hage examines issues surrounding public interventions, truth, and oppression; Hamdy examines publics, ethnography, and divided audiences; and Abu El-Haj examines scholarly texts and academic freedom.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, in her book on Jewish genetic history and the anthropology and cultural study of science, Abu El-Haj reveals how the figure of the Palestinian often emerges when analyzing Jewish (and Israeli) identities.<sup>32</sup>

In 2013, Hage visited Palestine (from his base in Australia) to deliver the keynote address at a conference at Birzeit’s Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies. Three years later, in his critical examination of global anti-racism discourses and political projects, Hage wrote, “Most importantly, we are seeing a massive rise in virulently racist and intolerant forms of ethno-religious nationalism, with Zionist nationalism in Israel being an extreme case of what is fast becoming the rule rather than the exception.”<sup>33</sup> Stoler’s work also de-exceptionalizes Palestine. In an article in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, she draws upon her anthropological engagements with Palestine to imagine “how a collective might go about shaping the imaginative geography of a Palestinian archive.”<sup>34</sup> In reflecting on her 2015 trip to Palestine, where she was invited to consult on how to manage the archive of the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute, Stoler links Palestine to U.S. empire and Indigenous struggles around the world.

All four of these preeminent anthropologists—Abu-Lughod, Fassin, Hage, and Stoler—turned to Palestine later in their careers, and invitations from Palestine, particularly to visit Birzeit University, became tremendously formative intellectual experiences. As they continue to integrate Palestine into their scholarly imaginations, they contribute in significant ways to the de-exceptionalizing of Palestine within anthropology and academia more broadly. The invitations from Birzeit matter because of the marginalization of Palestinian universities in global hierarchies of power. In defying Israeli controls over Palestinian lives and organizations, influential scholars challenge the power asymmetries that exist between Global North institutions and oppressed Palestinians. By making Palestine more intellectually stimulating to



wider audiences, the anthropology of Palestinians becomes increasingly mainstream, and Palestine is de-exceptionalized as it is placed in conversation with other salient social and political contexts in the global sphere.

## Breadth

Anthropologists have raised concerns about “the problem of over-research” in particular Palestinian contexts, specifically “as articulated by the residents of the Shatila Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut, Lebanon” in Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock’s seminal article.<sup>35</sup> The authors conclude, “It is imperative to recognise that sometimes conducting no new research at all is the most appropriate response to community concerns of over-research. Serious engagement with the issues that afflict marginalised and impoverished communities often requires activities other than conducting further research studies on the lives of the marginal and poor.”<sup>36</sup> Sukarieh and Tannock make compelling interventions regarding the need for vigilance with respect to anthropological engagements that may be superfluous or even harmful.

My reading of much of the work from the past decade reveals the potential for the anthropology of Palestine and Palestinians to contribute to knowledge production, the expansion of methodological and theoretical frontiers of the discipline and beyond, the affirmation of the epistemic agency of Palestinians, and the advancement of solidarity. Additionally, the breadth of themes that this field has covered in recent years is remarkable. In this section, I synthesize key examples that reveal the range of themes and domains with which Palestinian anthropology overlaps.

George Bisharat’s scholarship anchors Palestine in political anthropology and the anthropology of law;<sup>37</sup> Lotte Buch Segal has written on affect, violence, and politics;<sup>38</sup> Rochelle Davis on the politics of commemoration;<sup>39</sup> Yara El-Ghadban on popular music and globalization;<sup>40</sup> Honaida Ghanim on history and nationalism;<sup>41</sup> Nina Gren on refugees in the oPt;<sup>42</sup> Andreas Hackl on exile and minority status;<sup>43</sup> Maria Holt on women, memory, and dissent;<sup>44</sup> Laura Junka-Aikio on occupation, aesthetics, and neoliberalism;<sup>45</sup> Moslih Kanaaneh on music and identity;<sup>46</sup> Rhoda Kanaaneh on citizenship and political subjectivity;<sup>47</sup> Bard Kartveit on Palestinian Christians;<sup>48</sup> Laurie King on film and solidarity;<sup>49</sup> Nisreen Mazzawi on ecoanthropology;<sup>50</sup> Emily McKee on the environment and the Negev;<sup>51</sup> Anne Meneley on the environment and cultural life;<sup>52</sup> Ethan Morton-Jerome on settlement labor;<sup>53</sup> Khalil Nakhleh on development and neocolonialism;<sup>54</sup> Esmail Nashif on art and culture; Victor Nygren on space, representation, and resistance;<sup>55</sup> Simone Popperl on geology and settler colonialism;<sup>56</sup> Caitlin Procter on mobility, youth, and the Covid-19 pandemic;<sup>57</sup> Omar Qassis on sociocide;<sup>58</sup> Sophie Richter-Devroe on women’s political activism;<sup>59</sup> Ruba Salih on refugees, gender, and human rights;<sup>60</sup> Leonardo Schiocchet on refugees and critical theory;<sup>61</sup> Siri Schwabe on Palestinian-Chileans;<sup>62</sup> Ilana Webster-Kogen on hip-hop;<sup>63</sup> Jeremy Siegman on humor and settlement labor;<sup>64</sup> Jake Silver on colonialism, gender, sexuality, and visual politics;<sup>65</sup> and Dina Zbeidy on marriage.<sup>66</sup>

Scholarship on the anthropology of gender in Palestine is prominent, with Suhad Daher-Nashif’s<sup>67</sup> and Sarah Ihmoud’s<sup>68</sup> bodies of work offering some of the most astute analyses of gendered politics in the field. Daher-Nashif and Ihmoud’s collaborations with one another, in addition to their collaborations with Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, are striking. While Shalhoub-Kevorkian is a sociologist, her deep ethnographic research on women and the family

in Palestine is breathtaking, and it comes as no surprise that she has worked so closely with anthropologists. These collaborations are not as common in the field, given the anthropological tendency to pursue individualized fieldwork and sole-authored publications.

## Expanding Boundaries

Over the past decade, other fields have devoted more analytical space to methodological and theoretical insights from the anthropology of Palestine. The work of anthropologists of Palestinian experiences that has significantly expanded the frontiers of broader fields include Lori Allen's scholarship on political anthropology, commissions, and human rights in Palestine;<sup>69</sup> Ilana Feldman's historical ethnographies and contemporary work on Palestinian refugees that have made her one of the most widely recognized anthropologists of humanitarianism more generally;<sup>70</sup> Nicola Perugini's analytical insights on Palestine, which have critically interrogated conventional understandings of human rights, human shields, humanitarian law, and other concepts that are taken for granted in the social sciences;<sup>71</sup> and Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins has not only substantially shaped environmental anthropology and the anthropology of infrastructure but has also catalyzed the mainstreaming of Palestine in these burgeoning subfields.<sup>72</sup>

Even when such anthropological engagements build upon themes and domains that have long histories, in recent years innovative research has been a key feature of the anthropology of Palestine. Such innovation is evident in Nayrouz Abu Hatoum's research on Jerusalem and visual anthropology,<sup>73</sup> Nadia Abu El-Haj's work on the politics of archeology,<sup>74</sup> Aref Abu-Rabia's scholarship on Bedouins and Indigenous medicine,<sup>75</sup> Miriyam Aouragh's examinations of online activism,<sup>76</sup> and Khaldun Bshara's work on art, architecture, and space.<sup>77</sup>

Nell Gabiam's foregrounding of Syria as a site for Palestinian refugee encounters with humanitarianism and other forms of governance, alongside the *longue durée* of her engagement on the question of Palestine, has been original in approach.<sup>78</sup> Gren's work on Palestinians in Sweden,<sup>79</sup> Anja Kublitz's on Palestinians in Denmark,<sup>80</sup> and my coauthored work with Katharina Galor on Palestinians in Germany<sup>81</sup> have also helped fill gaps in scholarship on the Palestinian diasporas in Europe. Natalia Gutkowski's scholarship on the environment and agriculture has brought analytical insights from sustainability studies to the anthropology of Palestine.<sup>82</sup> Emanuel Schaeublin's long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Palestine has made important contributions to the anthropology of ethics, religion, and Islam.<sup>83</sup> Kiven Strohms work on Palestinian art and music has enriched the anthropology of culture and politics.<sup>84</sup> Luigi Achilli's ethnographic research has revealed the power of quotidian Palestinian life, particularly through the prisms of migration and nationalism.<sup>85</sup> Achilli's article on Palestinian refugee masculinity in Jordan,<sup>86</sup> coupled with Gustavo Barbosa's book on Palestinian refugee masculinity in Lebanon (forthcoming),<sup>87</sup> expand the anthropology of gender to considerations of masculinity in Palestine studies.

Kareem Rabie has just published his book on the political economy of the West Bank, titled *Palestine Is Throwing a Party and the Whole World Is Invited: Capital and State Building in the West Bank*.<sup>88</sup> One leading scholar notes, "Drawing on his exceptional knowledge and understanding of Palestine, along with a considerable amount of original, innovative, and detailed fieldwork, Kareem Rabie presents thought-provoking insights on the question of urbanism in Palestine."<sup>89</sup> The innovative nature of so much work on the anthropology of Palestine and Palestinians is increasingly moving the field in *interdisciplinary* directions.



The anthropology of Palestine is also adopting *intersectional* approaches to engagement on questions of solidarity, particularly in the realm of Black-Palestinian relations. For instance, Safa Abu-Rabia's article on Bedouin women in the Negev ethnographically examines how these Palestinian women navigate understandings of, and experiences with, their own Blackness and whiteness.<sup>90</sup> My coauthored article with Darnell Moore explores the history of Black, Palestinian, and queer reciprocal solidarity.<sup>91</sup> Arguably the most popularly recognized anthropologist of Palestine in the English language is Marc Lamont Hill. His coauthored article with Noura Erakat, in the 2019 Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity special issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies* (JPS), refers to what the two authors call "renewal, returns, and practice."<sup>92</sup> Lamont Hill is a leading U.S. Black intellectual who has taken public positions in support of Palestinian rights, culminating in his 2021 coauthored book with Mitchell Plitnick, *Except for Palestine: The Limits of Progressive Politics*.<sup>93</sup> He has been conducting research in recent years on the Afro-Palestinian community in Jerusalem, and he is finalizing a film currently titled *Black in the Holy Land*.<sup>94</sup> In 2018, CNN fired Lamont Hill as one of their political commentators in the context of the backlash to his speech at the United Nations International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.<sup>95</sup> Yet he has maintained his public advocacy for Palestine.

## Ecosystem

The anthropology of Palestine and Palestinians is now supported by an ecosystem that has grown increasingly robust in recent years. This was partly catalyzed by the 2015 establishment of Insaniyyat, the Society of Palestinian Anthropologists. In his *American Anthropologist* article reflecting on Insaniyyat, Furani writes: "Insaniyyat is a new way to say 'anthropology' in Arabic. *Insan* means 'person' or 'human,' which in Arabic is contrasted to *jinn*, meaning 'demonic.' It also emerges from the verb *anasa* meaning 'offering affable company that dispels loneliness.' To be 'human' is therefore to be a congenial companion. We combine *insan* with the suffix *iyat* to indicate a subject of study, hence Insaniyyat."<sup>96</sup> Since 2016, Insaniyyat has held conferences in Palestine and abroad.<sup>97</sup> They maintain additional activities, including expanding the membership base, running an email listserv, a podcast, an online bibliography, and fundraising. Their current strategic projects are also focused on anthropological knowledge in the Arabic language, fostering anthropology and community engagement, developing the organization's bylaws, and nurturing publications.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) has played a critical role in the ecosystem of Palestinian anthropology. In 2016, a group of anthropologists identified with the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) Palestinian solidarity movement, went through a rigorous process and obtained a clear mandate to introduce a resolution calling on the AAA to boycott Israeli academic institutions. The resolution failed by a mere 39 votes, with 2,423 AAA members voting against the resolution and 2,384 voting in favor.<sup>98</sup> A vigorous debate preceded the vote, with anthropologists writing and lobbying in favor of BDS and a countermovement of groups lobbying against. The resolution succeeded in raising awareness about the Palestinian freedom struggle, normalizing Palestine-centered discourse in the most hegemonic of anthropological spaces. And the vote revealed some of the fault lines of Western anthropology, with the vast majority of people of color and younger anthropologists supporting the resolution in solidarity with Palestinians. This has had a significant impact on anthropologists who have added Palestine to their research, syllabi, university politics, activism, and public engagement. And the AAA has increased its resources and support for Palestinian anthropology, including

funds for scholars from Palestine to present at AAA meetings and greater attention to panel proposals related to Palestine.

*JPS* has also contributed to the Palestinian anthropology ecosystem in meaningful ways. On this, *JPS*'s fiftieth anniversary year, it is clear that the Editorial Board and team have fully embraced anthropology in recent years, whether by including anthropologists in key positions, publishing peer-reviewed anthropological articles, reviewing anthropological books, or affirming anthropological theories and methods. An example of *JPS*'s important interventions in anthropology is a three-part "Special Document File" published in 2015. It is comprised of an article by Yugoslav anthropologist Nina Seferović, and translated by U.S. anthropologist Darryl Li, titled "The Herzegovinian Muslim Colony in Caesarea, Palestine,"<sup>99</sup> which traces the history of the "Bushnaqs" ("Palestinians whose ancestors hail from the territory of present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina"); a preface by Li titled "A Note on Settler Colonialism";<sup>100</sup> and an appendix on "Balkan Migration to the Middle East."<sup>101</sup> Besides the compelling nature of such a dossier, the *Journal*'s wide reach has helped to increase the circulation of anthropological work of this kind. *JPS*'s interdisciplinary nature has also made it an invaluable resource for knowledge on history, economy, politics, society, and other spheres for anthropologists and other scholars.

Additional publications, both online and print, such as the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (*IJMES*), *Jadaliyya*, and the *Middle East Research and Information Project* (*MERIP*) have facilitated the proliferation of anthropological discourse on Palestine in the public domain. Palestine-related articles have also appeared in each of the major cultural anthropology journals over the past decade, including *American Anthropologist*; *American Ethnologist*; *Annual Review of Anthropology*; *Anthropological Quarterly*; *Anthropological Theory*; *Cultural Anthropology*; *Current Anthropology*; *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*; and *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*. Furthermore, Palestine-related research projects have been funded in each of the major grant agencies supporting cultural anthropology research or engagements, including the Ford Foundation, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Social Science Research Council, National Science Foundation, Open Society Foundations, and Wenner-Gren Foundation.

The Palestinian American Research Center (PARC), which has offices in both the United States and Palestine, has been at the forefront of supporting anthropological research on Palestine and/or Palestinians. With anthropologists represented on its board, a history of grants to Palestinian researchers (including anthropologists), and grants to American scholars conducting research on Palestinians (also including anthropologists), PARC is one of the very few funding bodies focused on Palestinian research. It has also led annual faculty development seminars for U.S. scholars in Palestine and has funded and supported *Insaniyyat* events. PARC relies on private donations, institutional sponsorships, member dues, and external grants.

While few in number, Palestine studies centers in the Western academy have a disproportionate intellectual weight and impact. Columbia University's Center for Palestine Studies, Brown University's New Directions in Palestinian Studies initiative, and the University of Exeter's European Centre for Palestine Studies all have administrators, faculty, postdocs, staff, and students who include a significant representation of anthropologists. Their conferences, events, and initiatives regularly include anthropological modalities of engagement with the question of Palestine.

The ecosystem of Palestinian anthropology also now includes Stanford University Press (SUP) as a critical pillar. SUP is historic, having been established in 1892, and it has emerged

as one of the most selective academic presses (they reject more than 95 percent of the book proposals they receive each year).<sup>102</sup> Renowned for subjects including anthropology, Jewish studies, and security studies, it has also become the leading press in Middle East Studies, a portfolio developed under the leadership of Editor-in-Chief Kate Wahl. Within the Middle East list, Palestine is a major focus. The percentage of influential books in the anthropology of Palestine that are published by SUP is astounding. SUP's reputation, marketing, and circulation networks have ensured that these books have been able to reach libraries and classrooms widely, raising consciousness about anthropological insights on Palestinian humanity.

A potential future addition to this ecosystem could be Al-Shabaka, the Palestinian Policy Network. Al-Shabaka has published the work of some anthropologists, including Randa Farah's 2012 policy brief on Palestinian refugees and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and her 2014 pieces on the right of return for Palestinian refugees and on political forces in the Gaza Strip.<sup>103</sup> Al-Shabaka would benefit from embracing the anthropology of policy. Anthropology's deep commitment to ethnography would offer additional human-centered approaches to their policy analysis.

## Future Horizons

There is a nascent public conversation on the place of teaching and pedagogy related to the anthropology of Palestine. Farah's recent article, "Taboo Narratives: Teaching Palestine and the Palestinians,"<sup>104</sup> Maura Finkelstein's "What Is a Classroom For? Teaching the Anthropology of Palestine,"<sup>105</sup> and Daniel Segal's "Teaching Palestine-Israel: A Pedagogy of Delay and Suspension,"<sup>106</sup> provide important points of departure. Additionally, Thea Abu El-Haj's book on educating Palestinian-American children is illuminating<sup>107</sup> alongside Nadia Abu El-Haj's reflections on navigating anti-Palestinian repression in U.S. higher education.<sup>108</sup>

As we look to the future, there is an urgent need to address the dearth of intellectual spaces and resources for anthropological and ethnographic training in the oPt. The overwhelming absence of anthropology from the Gaza Strip is one of countless travesties resulting from Israel's brutal siege on the territory's two million residents. In the West Bank—in addition to Hammami—Ala Alazzeh, Lena Meari, and Rami Salameh are working tirelessly at Birzeit to maintain their research and scholarship, anthropological teaching, and public intellectual engagements. Alazzeh's writing engages critically with themes of Palestinian resistance,<sup>109</sup> Meari's work on colonialism, gender, and resistance are ethnographically rich,<sup>110</sup> and Salameh advances an intimate understanding of quotidian life in Palestine.<sup>111</sup> As I have written elsewhere, Palestinian intellectuals in the oPt face systematic assaults on their academic freedom.<sup>112</sup> Unlike diaspora Palestinian intellectuals in the West, their bodies interface directly with the coercive apparatus of the Israeli state. In envisioning the potentialities of anthropology for theory and praxis, it is Palestine-based anthropologists and intellectuals whose leads we must follow.

In the meantime, attention to the work of rising scholars in North America provides a horizon for what lies ahead in terms of the anthropology of Palestine. Current graduate students in anthropology doctoral programs (or 2021 graduates of such programs) are emerging voices in the field with promising research agendas. They include Columbia University's Hadeel Assali on science and settler colonialism and Aamer Ibraheem on Druze communities in the occupied Golan; Duke University's Jake Silver on the anthropology of astronomy; Brown University's Samee Sulaiman on political violence and disability; University of Chicago's Hadeel

Badarni on agricultural and military technologies; Harvard University's Randa Wahbe on bodies and prisons; Johns Hopkins University's Arpan Roy on culture and ethnic difference; McGill University's Ramzi Nimr on mental health; and Yale University's Dina Omar on surveillance and psychology.

Anthropology is uniquely poised to provide human-centric epistemic and ontological tools to imagine and build a decolonized Palestine that is free from carceral and militarized regimes of segregation, oppression, and domination. As Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Angela Davis have respectively written, "Abolition is about presence, not absence. It's about building life-affirming institutions,"<sup>113</sup> and it "is not only, or not even primarily, about abolition as a negative process of tearing down, but it is also about building up, about creating new institutions."<sup>114</sup> As Palestine has shifted from ethnographic arrival to rise, may its next chapter be the building of this abolitionist future.

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