

# Jaffa amid Theoretical Transformations: Demolition as a Research Prism

Yara Sa‘di-Ibraheem

## Abstract

This essay argues that the theories and terminologies deriving from paradigms of “colonial” and “post-colonial” cities marginalize some aspects of the structural violence that Palestinians experience in coastal cities of Palestine within the 1949 Armistice demarcation or Green Line, particularly in Jaffa. These theories often preclude the tracing of power structures and the escalating violence against spaces and society. This results in the literature dealing with the Palestinian city either as a historical space, which often explores Jaffa before the Nakba, or as part of the globalized present without framing it, either historically or politically. Consequently, this essay proposes to use “demolition,” a concept that stems from Jaffa’s reality, as a prism. It focuses on different forms of demolition through micro-geographical research on three houses in various neighborhoods in Jaffa, each embodying different aspects of “demolition.”

## Keywords

Demolition; post-colonial/colonial city; displacement; dispossession; Jaffa.

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Since the beginning of the twentieth century and with the establishment of the colony of Tel Aviv, the city of Jaffa has been framed through the dichotomy of the poor Black city versus Tel Aviv, the modern White city. This binary was articulated in the Arabic and Hebrew press and in political discussions regarding Jaffa before the Nakba.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Yusuf Haykal, Jaffa’s last mayor (1945–48), sought to move beyond

this classification by undertaking several modernization initiatives to develop the city's infrastructure, as well as highlighting the colonial goals of the Zionist movement in Jaffa.<sup>2</sup> Haykal's plans were thwarted by the events of the Nakba and its displacement of approximately 95 percent of the Palestinian population of Jaffa, and the subsequent transformation of Jaffa from a major Palestinian urban space to a part of the administered areas of the Tel Aviv–Jaffa municipality.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the dichotomy between the Black city and the White city has been sustained in references to the relationship between Jaffa and Tel Aviv within dominant and critical discourses alike, in journalism, academic discourse, and political writings.<sup>4</sup> Borrowed from the theory of the “colonial city,” these terms are used to highlight the gap that exists between the wealth of settler cities – which serves as the infrastructural basis to seize natural resources – and Indigenous peoples' cities, structured to serve colonial policies and goals, including turning the Indigenous population into a source of cheap labor.<sup>5</sup> While this discourse may serve as an analytical tool to examine Jaffa's position in certain periods, the Judaization of the city in recent decades and the continued alterations of the space raise questions regarding its relevance to Jaffa's current reality: Is the relationship between the two cities still based on duality and contradiction? Or has the expansion of the “White City's” frontier over decades “whitewashed” Jaffa in various ways? What are the repercussions of using this theory?

In parallel with the “colonial city” framework and in response to neoliberal urban renewal schemes, a discourse emerged describing Jaffa as a “mixed city” that suffers from the crises facing neoliberal cities, such as gentrification. This discourse, which crystallized in the 1990s, shifted the analytical focus from colonizer-colonized relations to class relations.<sup>6</sup> While most writings in this mode do not totally ignore the national dimension and the Palestinian history of the city, they tend to treat the present as a new and different phase according to post-colonial theory. Here, too, questions must be raised about the consequences of treating the Nakba as a mere historical event, and about the relevance of these theories while exploring the living reality in Jaffa. Is it possible to use the term “mixed cities” in a colonial reality? Are the implications of the mixed city discourse, such as cultural pluralism, possible in a reality of continuous Judaization? Is it possible to isolate the neoliberal discourse from the goals of Zionist colonization? And what are the consequences of borrowing struggles and slogans such as “the right to the city” and “the right to housing” in a reality of neoliberal policies and a context of settlement and colonization?

The questions regarding the suitability of these theories and their implications for discussing Jaffa's reality are not technical or hypothetical, nor confined to academic debates. Rather, they reflect mainstream narratives and popular political imagination and thus they affect the types of solidarity that are possible.<sup>7</sup> In addition, these theoretical framework theories preclude the tracing of power structures and the escalating violence against space and society, thus giving way to the research dealing with Palestinian cities either as historical spaces, exploring their dynamics

before the Nakba, or as part of the globalized present without historical or political context.

The theories and terminologies deriving from the paradigms of “colonial” and “post-colonial” cities thus marginalize aspects of the structural violence that Palestinians experience in the coastal cities of Palestine, particularly in Jaffa, and point to the political and academic impasse in addressing the transformations of Palestinian cities within the 1949 Armistice demarcation or Green Line. Consequently, I propose in this essay the analytical tool of “demolition” as a term rooted in Jaffa’s reality.<sup>8</sup> In this, I follow Professor André Elias Mazawi’s reflection on his academic trajectory:

I didn’t read the theories at first. The Jaffa framework, the massive demolitions that were taking place in the Old City . . . what I saw of demolitions there, and then what I saw while wandering between the spaces of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, made me feel like I was moving from one galaxy to another . . . I wandered around Jaffa in spaces full of demolitions, demolitions screaming about what was before it, what happened and why it remained . . . [all of which] transformed into a Knowledge paradigm.<sup>9</sup>

Hence, I use demolition as an intellectual and analytical window to the current reality in Jaffa by tracing the geography and temporality of house demolitions, the changes they underwent, and the ways of looking at and describing them. I address the following questions: What might “demolition” as a research prism contribute when thinking about Jaffa in the present? And how does such an approach engage with prevailing global theories? To delve into these questions, I focus on different forms of demolition through micro-geographical research of three houses in different neighborhoods in Jaffa, each of which embodies aspects of demolition.

### **Three Jaffa Houses**

The demolition of historic neighborhoods in Palestinian cities within the Green Line (New Haifa, Tiberias, and 75 percent of Old Jaffa) was part of a systematic policy of erasing Palestinian urban history.<sup>10</sup> This was accompanied by the loss or looting of many archives bearing this history. As an example, the Tel Aviv–Jaffa municipality’s website states: “The archive of the pre-1948 Jaffa municipality has been lost.” Furthermore, many documents and files are not accessible to the public because of their classification as confidential or censored, such as the list of Palestinian owners whose properties were “transferred” to the Custodian of Absentee Property after the Nakba. For these reasons, documents relating to the Palestinian past before 1948 are minimal. Nur Masalha, Ahmad Sa’di, and others have pointed to the various problems inherent in Israeli archives concerning their contents and accessibility.<sup>11</sup> In this context, Ann Stoler underscores the need to treat archives critically rather than as an impartial information source.<sup>12</sup> In this study, I chose to use another kind of archive, that of “technical” libraries, which include urban plans and

maps dealing with infrastructure and engineering aspects. While these archives also constitute a source of colonial knowledge, some of them contain “cracks” that could unveil confidential data, such as disclosing the names of the displaced Palestinian homeowners.<sup>13</sup>

By combining information from engineering archives, historical maps, satellite images, and conversations with *Yafawi*, I present in the next section an alternative archive of three Palestinian houses that embody different types of demolition, enabling us to follow the development of the space continuously, not fragmented according to economic policies or theoretical limitations.

### **1. A House in the Jabaliyya Neighborhood**

The first document in this property’s file in the engineering archives in the Tel Aviv–Jaffa municipality is dated August 1932, and it consists of an application for a building permit for two rooms, a kitchen, and a toilet. On the permit forms, the logo of the municipality of Jaffa is displayed, including the following details: The name of the applicant, Taha Ahmad al-Mashharawi, and the construction site, al-Jabaliyya neighborhood (Block no. 35 and Plot no. 34). According to a map from 1936, the existing building was built on ‘Umar Ibn al-‘As Street (see figure 1). The subsequent documents in the file revolve around the request to connect the building to the sewage system in 1958. In these documents, a new address appears for the building: street number 185 and house number 17. Under “Ownership” is the name: “The Development Authority entrusted by the Israel Land Department.”

Changes in addresses and ownership reflect the “legal” sequence of Israel’s seizure of Palestinian refugees’ property. After the Nakba and the displacement of the vast majority of the population of Jaffa, Israel placed the refugees’ property under the administration of the “Custodian of Absentee Property” (CAP).<sup>14</sup> According to a survey conducted by the CAP in 1951, the number of abandoned buildings in Jaffa reached 6,162, of which only 658 were assessed to be in good condition, 114 were condemned to demolition, and the rest were deemed in need of restoration.<sup>15</sup> These buildings had been rented and used since 1949. Moreover, although the law stipulates that the profits generated from renting these buildings were to be saved for the benefit of the “absentees,” part of it was nonetheless spent on settling new Jewish immigrants.<sup>16</sup> In 1953, the Development Authority (Transfer of Property) Law was passed; it enabled the moving of the absentees’ properties from the CAP to a body named the Development Authority, which also operated under the auspices of the Ministry of Finance.<sup>17</sup> The Development Authority entrusted the day-to-day maintenance and rental of these properties to Israeli governmental companies, such as Amidar and Halamish. This move provided the new possibility of disposing of the property of the “absentees” by selling it on the free market. This possibility was not widely taken up in the three decades after the law’s enactment; it was largely postponed until the 1990s when urban renewal schemes were implemented in Jaffa, including infrastructure development and the

creation of a beach promenade from the rubble of thousands of destroyed buildings in al-‘Ajami and Jabaliyya neighborhoods.

Before the 1990s, the governmental companies used various tactics to force residents to leave their homes, including the neglect of infrastructure, demolition of thousands of buildings, and prohibition of renovations and new construction. Another tactic was the imposition of heavy costs on “tenants” who were obliged to repair their houses with Amidar or otherwise be expelled.<sup>18</sup> These policies and practices are reflected in the file of al-Mashharawi building, which includes a February 1969 letter from the Tel Aviv municipality addressed to the Amidar company warning that the building was in a “critical” condition and must be restored immediately. Apparently, the house was not restored; rather, it deteriorated to the point of becoming “hazardous” for housing, leading to its demolition, as directed by a letter dated 26 August 1981, sent by the Tel Aviv municipality to Amidar, entitled: “Order to demolish a dangerous house.” The house in the Jabaliyya neighborhood was one of more than three thousand buildings demolished by the early 1980s in the al-‘Ajami and Jabaliyya neighborhoods. While the demolition order is the last document in the building’s file in the municipality’s engineering archive, aerial photographs (satellite images) reveal that since 2005, the building lot and the one adjacent to it have been converted into a playground (see figure 2) named Etrog Park, while ‘Amr Ibn al-‘As street was changed to Beth-Pelet.<sup>19</sup> “Etrog Park” is one of the sixteen playgrounds in al-‘Ajami neighborhood; most have mushroomed since the 1990s, built on lands of refugee homes and orchards that were confiscated and demolished. It may be easy to frame these parks within the analysis of the globalized discourse about the “neoliberal city” and, in particular, the phenomenon of green-gentrification: the building of parks as part of urban renewal schemes in the slums. However, presenting this analysis in isolation from the historical context turns into a cover for the practices of changing Palestinian space and erasing its historic symbols. This can be unveiled through a genealogy of Israeli “greenwashing,” including the planting of trees to cover the physical traces of Palestinian history, a policy most closely associated with the forests planted by the Jewish National Fund since the 1950s on the ruins of hundreds of destroyed Palestinian villages.<sup>20</sup>

Another reading of the neoliberal framing regarding the construction of the playgrounds can be made by inquiry into how Jaffa Palestinians use these places. For example, protests and demonstrations took place in 2021 in the “Garden of the Two,” known among Jaffa residents as Ghazazwa Park, having been a gathering place for workers from Gaza since the 1967 war.<sup>21</sup> Demonstrators were denouncing the displacement of residents of the Shaykh Jarrah neighborhood in Jerusalem, along with families from Jaffa protesting after receiving evacuation orders from their homes by Amidar. Such practices exemplify how Jaffa residents are currently using these parks and the re-appearance of the themes of demolition and displacement.

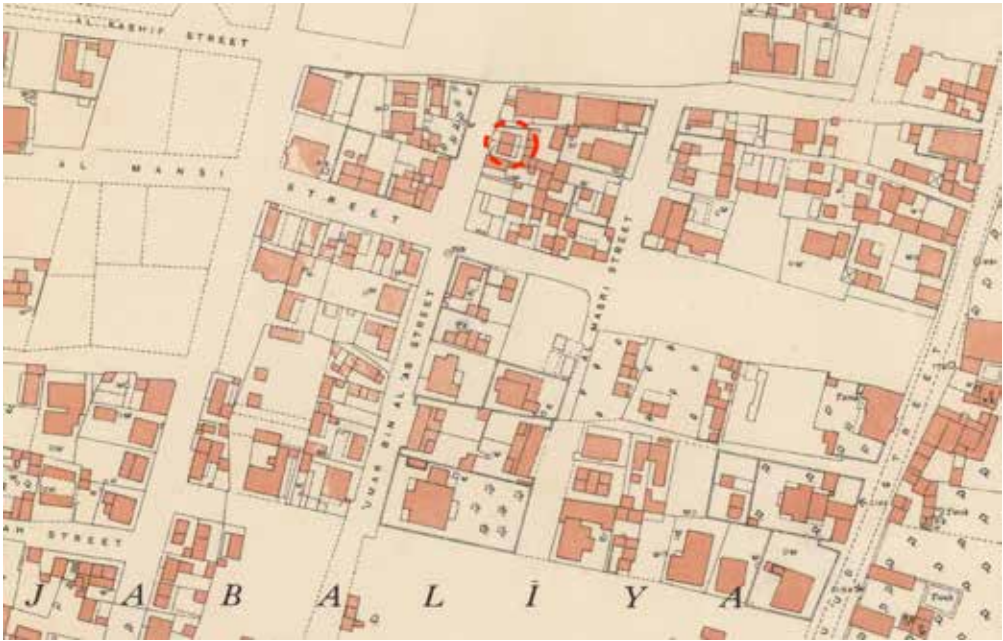


Figure 1. A historical map dating to 1936; in the circle, the al-Mashharawi building.

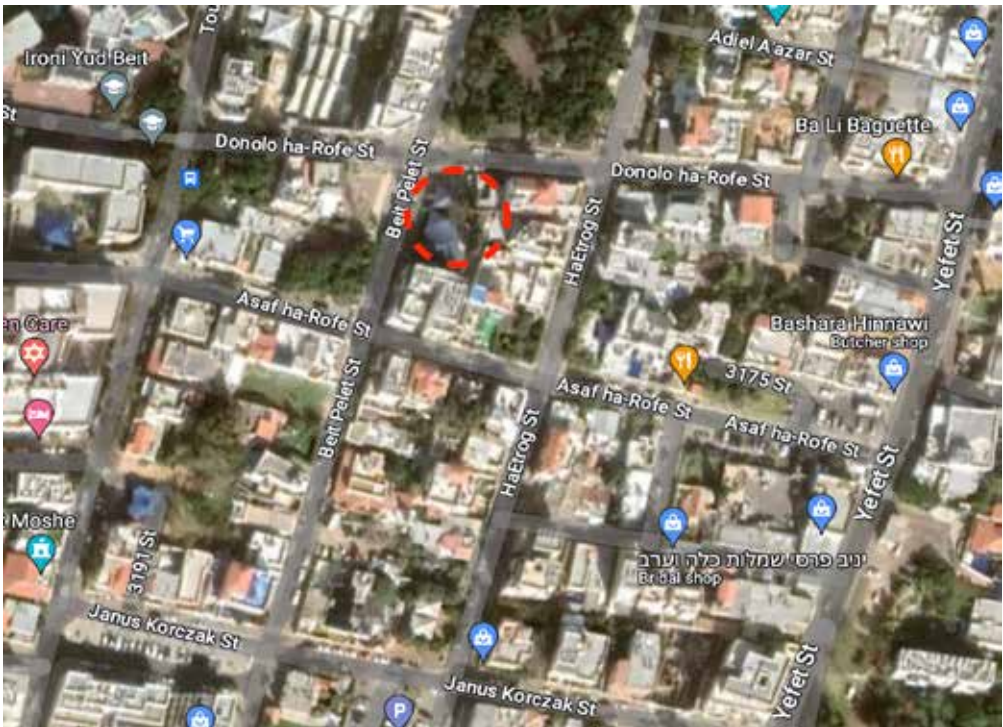


Figure 2. A Google satellite image from 2021; taken from the GIS program, “Etrog Park” is indicated.

## 2. A House in Suknat al-Haresh

On 7 December 1936, Ahmad al-Jarbi submitted a building permit application to the Planning Commission of the City of Jaffa for his house, located on Plot 32, Block 41 in al-‘Ajami (figure 3). The building is in the neighborhood of Suknat al-Haresh, on a hill north of al-‘Ajami and south of the Old City. The correspondence between al-Jarbi and the architect of the municipality of Jaffa is the first document in the property’s file in the engineering archive. In 1944, al-Jarbi sold his house to a lawyer named Ya‘qub Hanna. According to later records, Hanna submitted a request through his architect Harry Lurie to renovate the house by adding two floors and a basement to the original one-story building. On 27 June 1947, he paid a fee to renew the permit, and this receipt appears as the last document in the file prior to the Nakba. The next document, dated 31 July 1969, twenty-two years later, comprises a sale contract for the building (according to Israeli registration, the location appears as Plot 32, Block 7021) between the Development Authority (entrusted by the Israeli Land Administration) and three Jewish Israeli citizens: Ysha’yahu Ben Porat, Jan Tiroche, and Dan Uri. (In later documents, Tiroche is the only one mentioned.) The building became identified by its new address: Building no. 8 on “Hatsedef Street” in the “Maronite Quarter.” The street was renamed *hatsedef* (Hebrew for seashell) by the Israeli naming committee in the 1950s, while Suknat al-Haresh was renamed for the Maronite Church, one of the most prominent landmarks remaining in the neighborhood following the extensive demolition of houses.<sup>22</sup>

In 1972–73, the Tiroche family submitted a renovation request, which was approved. The purchase agreement included an article stipulating the buyers’ awareness that the building is located in an area classified as a “green zone” according to the 1956 city plan, namely an area planned to be free of buildings. This “green zone” included northern and western parts of al-‘Ajami (Suknat al-Haresh and the beach, respectively). However, while the buildings near the beach were demolished and the rubble became a landfill, the structures in Suknat al-Haresh were sold to Ashkenazi Jews and renovated, turning it into a place detached from its surroundings (see figure 3). While no further documents on this property exist in the file of the engineering archive, the neighborhood appears in plans from the 1990s as a residential area, and most of its buildings are listed “for preservation.” The house under discussion re-emerges in the Israeli media in articles about the most expensive neighborhoods in Israel. In press interviews with the Tiroche family,<sup>23</sup> the house is portrayed as one of the Tiroches’ achievements and proof of their ability to foresee potential in the “slum.” Recounting the story of the house, their son told the interviewer: “I was born in 1966 in a house on Hatsedef Street in Jaffa, and I have lived in the same street up to this day, in a house my father bought when it was still a ruin and renovated with his partner.” The interviewer describes the uniqueness of the house and its exceptional beauty as a result of

the renovations undertaken by the Tiroche family, listing its famous visitors, including well-known Israeli musicians and politicians. In 2009, the son initiated the “Incubator for Young Israeli Artists,” turning parts of the house into a gallery.<sup>24</sup>

The Tiroche family’s story reflects another aspect of neoliberal policies, especially “privatization,” which is rarely discussed. Selling refugees’ houses on the free market allowed the emergence of colonial narratives of individual heroism. Tiroche, as in White colonial stories, discovered the beauty of the dilapidated “primitive house,” saving it and incorporating it into civilized space. Thus, although demolition in the Jabaliyya neighborhood was complete, Tiroche’s purchase of the house in the Suknat al-Haresh neighborhood made destruction a temporary and metaphorical case – the building was “saved,” but its Palestinian origin and history were erased. So, while demolition constitutes a basis for enabling the colonizer to impose and justify his appropriation of the space, neoliberal policies allow a second Judaization/occupation of the Palestinian space to take place, this time through real estate companies and personal initiatives. Perhaps the most dangerous thing about the investors’ “heroism” and “savior narratives” is their imposition of a new starting point, which becomes the reference point in talking about Jaffa space and classifies what preceded it as a separate historical stage.<sup>25</sup> As for actual demolition in Suknat al-Haresh, it was canceled considering the change in population: namely, the replacement of undesirable residents (Arabs and Mizrahi Jews) by affluent Ashkenazi residents. This is in contrast to the fate of thousands of houses that were demolished in the surrounding neighborhoods.



Figure 3. Part of al-'Ajami neighborhood. An aerial image from a mostly intact Jaffa in 1949 (left) and an image from 1990 (right) that shows the spaces between the buildings due to the demolition of thousands of buildings, as well as the park that was constructed along the shoreline on the landfill of the buildings’ debris. In the two photos, “Hatsedef Street” is indicated. The aerial photos of Jaffa, P/53, 7398, 1949 and Jaffa, AM/225, 3008, 1990 were retrieved from the Micha Granit Maps Library at the Department of Geography, Tel Aviv University.



### 3. A House in al-‘Araqtanji Neighborhood

The building file in the engineering archive of the Tel Aviv–Jaffa municipality concerning plot no. 71 in al-‘Araqtanji neighborhood does not contain any document from before the Nakba. The “disappearance” of documents is not unusual, as noted above. However, the *tabu* (property registry) document from 1959 contains names of Palestinians, Salem Khoury and George Andoni, who might be the owners, as they are registered as the owners of one-twelfth of the property. The rest of the property is registered under the Development Authority. According to the documents in the property’s file, the building, until the last decade, was under the management of the Amidar Company and housed several Jewish and Palestinian families after the Nakba, like other Palestinian refugees’ houses. The file includes a letter from 1962 from a Jewish family complaining about overcrowding in the building. Such letters are rare, as the properties’ archives are mostly devoid of records concerning the tenants during Amidar’s management of the absentee properties. However, in interviews with Jaffa residents who lived in the post-Nakba years and until the 1980s in such houses, all of them underscored the overcrowding they suffered from, including the sharing of bathrooms and kitchens. Moreover, some interviewees recalled the demonstrations that took place in protest of these living conditions. As one Jaffa activist stated:

There were protests organized by Maki [the Israeli Communist Party – a so-called Jewish-Arab party] calling for “an apartment for an apartment.” By this, however, they meant for the Jews and not for the Arabs . . . The Jews wanted to leave because the houses were collapsing . . . So they [the government] created new solutions and neighborhoods on Jaffa’s outskirts for them. As for the Arab [residents] – they had nowhere to go.

These policies led to the “return” of al-‘Ajami neighborhood in the 1980s to an area with an Arab majority. Despite the continuous neglect and demolitions, the new situation created opportunities for social activism as youth and women’s groups, as well as religious institutions, organized struggles against municipal policies and government companies.<sup>26</sup> This period, as described by the same interviewee, was a kind of “breathing space,” but it lasted only for a limited period. The shift in planning policies in the 1990s, the increase in the sale of refugee homes, and the rise in property prices brought an end to this “breathing space” and imposed a new reality on the Arab residents of Jaffa, including the house on ‘Araqtanji Street.

Since 1998, documents in the building’s engineering file emphasized the hazardous state of the house. Nevertheless, according to residents who protested in 2016 against the change in the building’s status, the Development Authority sold the building to an Argentinian citizen, who converted it into a yeshiva boarding school for religious students of Rabbi Eliyahu Mali and members of his Zionist biblical association.<sup>27</sup> This is not the first *garin torani* (Torah nucleus) that settled in Jaffa, clearly stating that their main goal is to Judaize places where the presence of Jews is not dominant.<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that this group, like other groups of Jews who move to Jaffa, receives support and facilities from the municipality.<sup>29</sup>

## Reading Jaffa through Demolitions

After the Mashharawi building in the Jabaliyya neighborhood was demolished at the beginning of the 1980s under the technical pretext of being unstable, two decades later its land was transformed into a playground as part of preparing the infrastructure to attract middle-class and wealthy Jewish residents. The story of the Ya‘qub Hanna house in Suknat al-Haresh reflects the neighborhood’s transformation into a frontier of Judaization in the 1960s and 1970s by a wealthy class of Jews, who invest in art and are attracted by the “hidden” beauty of Arab houses. On the other hand, the story of the house in al-‘Araqtanji illuminates the political initiatives to Judaize Jaffa in the last two decades by religious settler groups with declared settler-colonial views, thus turning an additional street in Jaffa into another Judaization front.

The various and ongoing politicized methods of demolition can be explained in light of Stoler’s reflections on ruins: ruins, Stoler argues, are not automatically found or discovered, but rather formulated, manufactured, and attributed this role as part of a general political temporal project.<sup>30</sup> For Stoler, ruins are not only a noun but also a verb and a political process (ruination). As it appears from the cases presented above, the demolition of Jaffa took many forms and took place at a varying pace over decades. Sometimes the demolitions proceeded slowly; at times they were sudden and rapid; at others, they took blunt, direct, or metaphorical forms – the building surviving destruction while stripped of its history and Arab street names converted to numbers and then to Zionist, Jewish, or Hebrew names. It also appears that demolition can serve multiple functions, whether constituting a temporal barrier between two eras – the Palestinian era and the era of the so-called civilized colonist – or justifying displacement and the seizure of property. It may also serve as an obstacle that hinders movement in the city, further fragmenting it geographically and temporally.

While the theory of the colonial city is confined to the logic of dualism and thus hinders the reading of Jaffa in recent years, using demolition as an analytical concept may contribute to tracing the structures of violence used against the Palestinians. It also provides a means to track and link attempts to erase the Palestinian space by the colonizers, regardless of their policies and identities (politics/religiosity/class or the like) and methods. At the same time, different forms of demolition reveal the policies and discourses used and their various repercussions in a dialectical way with the ongoing Nakba. The importance of revealing and shedding light on these intersections comes in light of post-colonial discourse and neoliberal methods disconnected from the Palestinian context, which turn the Nakba and the Palestinian identity of the city into a mere historical event. By placing demolition at the core of spatial change in Jaffa, by turning it into a prism through which Jaffa space can be seen as a site condensed with historical meanings, it is possible to fully acknowledge the ways in which demolition is, as Stoler writes of ruins, “a corrosive process that weighs on the future and shapes the present.”<sup>31</sup>

*Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem is a postdoctoral researcher at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion, Haifa. Her research fields include Indigenous geographies and time, settler colonialism, neoliberal urbanism, infrastructure urbanism, and comparative urbanism.*

### Endnotes

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- 2 Yusuf Haykal, "Jaffa in Its Final Years," in *Yafa: 'itr madina* [Jaffa: perfume of a city], ed. Imtiyaz Diab and Hisham Sharabi (Beirut: Dar al-Fata al-'Arabi, 1991).
- 3 During the Nakba events of the 1948 War, 95 percent of Jaffa's inhabitants became refugees; of the seventy thousand who had lived in the city before the war, only 3,647 inhabitants remained and were counted in the first Israeli census, see: Tel Aviv Municipality (6 November 1984). A Stenographic Protocol of the Meeting of the Arab Jaffa Committee.
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- 9 As quoted in Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem and Khaled Jamal Furani, *Fi jawf al-hut: al-tajarib al-Filastiniyya fi al-jami'at al-Isra'iliyya* [Inside the Leviathan: Palestinian Experiences in Israeli Universities] (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute Press and Dar Lila, 2022), 76.
- 10 Manar Hasan, *Smoyot mha'in: Nashem vha'arim hafalstenyot* [The Invisible: Women and the Palestinian Cities] (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute Press and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2017). Published in Arabic as *al-Mughayyabat: al-nisa' wa-l-mudun al-Filastiniyya hatta sanat 1948* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2022).
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- 12 Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh (New York: Springer, 2002), 83–102.
- 13 Tovi Fenster, "Do Palestinians Live across the Road? Address and the Micropolitics of Home in Israeli Contested Urban Spaces," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 46, no. 10 (2014): 2435–51. Historical maps were produced through a comprehensive survey by the British Mandate government. While this move forms part of the colonial tradition of imposing Western capitalist control mechanisms, it also met, in the context of Palestine, the demands to acquire land by the Zionist movement in the 1920s. See Ronen Shamir, *The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism, and Law in Early Mandate Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.
- 14 For more information on the Absentee Property Law, see "Absentees' Property Law," Adalah, online at [www.adalah.org/en/law/view/538](http://www.adalah.org/en/law/view/538) (accessed 14 October 2022).
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- 16 Fischbach, *Records of Dispossession*, 30.
- 17 Jeremy Forman and Alexandre Kedar, "From

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- 18 Andre Mazawi and Makram Khoury-Makhoul, "Spatial Policy in Jaffa, 1948–1990," in *Ir ve'utopiya* [City and Utopia: Compilation of Material – Tel Aviv–Jaffa Celebrate Their Eightieth Anniversary], ed. H. Luski (Tel Aviv: Israeli Publishing, 1991), 62–74.
  - 19 Etrog (citron in English) is one of the four plants that are bound together and waved during the Jewish Sukkot celebrations. Beth-Pelet was a city within the territory of the tribe of Judah in the Judean region in biblical times.
  - 20 Lila Sharif, "Vanishing Palestine," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2016): 17–39.
  - 21 The "Garden of the Two" is the name given to this public park in the 1990s in commemoration of the Jaffa Palestinian 'Abd al-Karim 'Abd al-Ghani (1946–92) who protected Jewish children from being stabbed by a Palestinian. The "two" refers to the notion of co-existence. This is one of the very few landmarks and streets that the municipality has named after Palestinians in Jaffa. Worth noting is that the park is established on confiscated land.
  - 22 The name reflects the official policy of non-recognition of the Palestinians as a national minority and their positioning as an assortment of insular religious minorities. See Ahmad H. Sa'di, *Thorough Surveillance: The Genesis of Israeli Policies of Population Management, Surveillance, and Political Control towards the Palestinian Minority* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
  - 23 For interviews with Serge Tiroche, see: Diana Bahour Nir, "My Father Always Closed Deals with a Handshake, Explaining to Me: 'If the Partner Is Good, No Contract Is Needed,'" *Calcalist*, 17 February 2011 (in Hebrew), online at [www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3508429,00.html](http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3508429,00.html) (accessed 14 March 2023); Ori Agam, "Serge and the Art of Housekeeping," *Jaffa Portal*, 10 September 2010 (in Hebrew), online at [www.yaffo.co.il/article\\_k.asp?id=1554](http://www.yaffo.co.il/article_k.asp?id=1554) (accessed 14 March 2023).
  - 24 The house underwent its first renovation by the Tiroche family in 1972. Agam, "Serge and the Art of Housekeeping."
  - 25 Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Granta, 1997).
  - 26 Yara Sa'di-Ibraheem, "Jaffa's Times: Temporalities of Dispossession and the Advent of Natives' Reclaimed Time," *Time and Society* 29, no. 2 (2020): 340–61.
  - 27 For the organization's self-narrative, see online at [yafu.org.il/en](http://yafu.org.il/en) (accessed 6 March 2023).
  - 28 *Garin torani* are families and individuals who organize to live together in towns and neighborhoods with a small Jewish or religious population, according to their website, "to increase a deep-rooted Zionist Jewish identity." Online at [yafu.co.il/en](http://yafu.co.il/en) (accessed 6 March 2023.)
  - 29 Ronnen Ben-Arie and Tovi Fenster, "Politics of Recognition in between Antagonism and Agonism: Exploring 'Mediated Agonism' in Jaffa," *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 38, no. 3 (2020): 405–22.
  - 30 Ann Laura Stoler, "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination," *Cultural Anthropology* 23, no. 2 (2008): 191–219.
  - 31 Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 347.