

The Intertwined History of Shu‘fat Refugee Camp in Jerusalem: The Making of Refugees

Halima Abu Haneya

Abstract

Shu‘fat refugee camp in Jerusalem is the only Palestinian refugee camp under direct Israeli control. This essay traces the history and origins of the establishment of Shu‘fat refugee camp through oral history interviews with the camp refugees. The author also highlights the role of UNRWA in the establishment of the camp, and Jordanian policies in Jerusalem and regarding refugees during its period of rule in Palestine. Oral history narratives are complemented by the available literature on the history of Palestine and Jerusalem, and by documents and correspondence of the Arab municipality of Jerusalem dating back to the early 1960s. The author discovers that not all camp residents were refugees expelled from their towns and villages in 1948; many of them were given UNRWA refugee cards upon an agreement between UNRWA and the Jordanian government in the mid-1960s.

Keywords

Shu‘fat Refugee Camp; Jerusalem; UNRWA; oral history; refugees.

In December 2019, I interviewed eighty-three-year-old Abu Firas at his home in Ras Khamis, a neighborhood of Shu‘fat camp. Abu Firas recounted his expulsion in 1948 from Qatamun, a southern neighborhood of Jerusalem, and its aftermath:

In 1948, I was twelve years old, studying in the ‘Umariyya School in Baq‘a al-Tahta near Qatamun. We were living in a beautiful house. My father was a butcher, with his own shop in

Qatamun. People of Qatamun, mostly Christians, were considered of good economic and social status in Jerusalem as most were working as government employees during the Mandate era We were six sons and two daughters and when the Jews started their attack on Qatamun, my father was worried about us and decided that we should leave. We first settled in Bab Hutta in the Old City of Jerusalem. We rented a small house until the Jews started shelling the Old City. One of the shells landed close to our own house. We were afraid and this time, my father decided to leave for Jordan. We lived in Suwaylah for several months. We worked in selling bread and *ka'k* to earn our living there. In early 1949, we returned to Jerusalem and again rented a new home in Bab Hutta. Since we lost our house and business in Qatamun, we decided to start a new life in our new location. My brothers and I worked in a slaughterhouse in Shu'fat village [four kilometers northeast of the Old City], traveling there daily on foot.¹

Eventually, Abu Firas's family bought land and built a family house in Ras Khamis, neighboring Shu'fat, where they have lived since 1960 – before the establishment of Shu'fat camp in 1965. Over the years, the house, built several meters outside the original boundaries of Shu'fat camp, has become absorbed into the camp area. As Abu Firas's story illustrates, his trajectory from Qatamun to Shu'fat was not a simple, linear one. Abu Firas's experience is only one of many such stories – individual but often echoing one another – that together tell the story of Shu'fat camp. The collective story of the unique history of Shu'fat camp, which was constructed some fifteen years after the Nakba of 1948–49, is one that weaves together individual threads with multiple twists and turns.

This article sheds light on the original homes of the camp's residents, their gathering in the Old City of Jerusalem, and the establishment of the camp in its current location in the mid-1960s. It offers a more nuanced example of the workings of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in dealing with refugees and non-refugees, and of Jordanian policies in Jerusalem and the relocation of refugees from Mu'askar camp in the Old City of Jerusalem to Shu'fat camp.² It also highlights the life conditions of the refugees in the camp until 1967, when the camp came under Israeli occupation and, like the rest of Jerusalem, under direct Israeli jurisdiction – the only Palestinian refugee camp to do so.

Scholars, in particular Kjersti Berg, have written about the establishment of Shu'fat camp some fifteen years after the 1948 expulsion, and the relocation of refugees from Jerusalem's Old City to Shu'fat, drawing mainly from official documents and archives.³ This paper gives major attention to refugees' voices and self-narratives to provide details of their social history. I conducted most of my fieldwork, including nineteen semistructured and narrative interviews with camp refugees to collect oral histories, between June 2018 and June 2019. Interviews focused on the life stories of refugees, mainly elder refugees who had witnessed the 1948 war, the establishment of Shu'fat camp in 1965, and the 1967 war.⁴



Figure 1. “Winter snow covers Shu‘fat refugee camp, near Jerusalem in the West Bank. Shu‘fat camp in which 4,000 Palestine refugees are registered with UNRWA, lies just north of Jerusalem in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The camp was built in 1966 to re-house inhabitants of Muscar [sic] camp which was located in the outskirts of Jerusalem.” Photo by Myrtle Winter Chaumeny. ©1977 UNRWA Archive.

Most previous studies have researched Shu‘fat camp either as part of the Jerusalem periphery or as part of Jerusalem in general and did not examine Shu‘fat camp as their main subject of research.⁵ Focusing on Shu‘fat camp in this article, I turned to oral history and self-narratives because previous research did not give adequate attention to refugees’ voices in drawing the history of the camp.⁶ The oral histories that I collected are also supported by newly released documents and correspondence of the Arab municipality of Jerusalem dating back to the early 1960s.⁷ This essay draws on oral history and self-narratives to add to – not replace – these official archives, although these official sources may challenge the narrators. Oral history is a key source for weaving collective social history, providing testimonial evidence on past events and thereby empowering the narrators to challenge the official story and deconstruct any previous hegemonic discourses.⁸

Additionally, oral history empowers marginalized voices by giving them the opportunity to reproduce their past and to participate in writing a collective history that lives between their words. This article considers individual narratives as more than self-expression; they can become part of a broader effort of writing a collective history. Oral history grasps areas often neglected by official archives and documents, uncovering individuals’ daily practices that, taken together, produce collective history from below. Oral histories are often better suited than state archives and official documents for conveying refugees’ aspirations, dreams, fears, and pain. Suffering the transformation from citizens into refugees in one’s own homeland is not a small thing, nor merely a matter of how one’s status is registered in some official record.

It means living trauma, unsettled feelings, dreams deprived, and unquantifiable pain. Perhaps every refugee experienced a different journey, but oral history enables us to “understand how and when certain behaviors and attitudes may have originated or changed, in addition to information about current practices and behaviors.”⁹ Centering oral histories can thus help us to grasp various elements of the history of Shu‘fat camp refugees that are invisible in official documents. This essay uses oral history to help reconstruct the pre-war life of Shu‘fat camp refugees and the changed circumstances they experienced after being expelled from their neighborhoods, villages, and towns in 1948, and help explain for us the refugees’ sense of belonging and identity.

In the Aftermath of the Nakba

The 1948 Nakba resulted in the expulsion of about two-thirds of the Palestinian people, a process that unfolded differently depending on space and time.¹⁰ To the west of Jerusalem, news of the Dayr Yasin massacre on 9 April 1948 pushed inhabitants of the surrounding villages to leave their homes and land out of fear for their lives and their families’ lives. Not all Palestinians left their villages immediately; many remained in their homes on alert for attack by Jewish militias until their towns and villages were captured. This was the case for residents of Bayt Thul, a village west of Jerusalem and ten kilometers from Dayr Yasin. Recalling the effect of the Dayr Yasin massacre, Umm ‘Umran said:

After Dayr Yasin we were afraid that the same thing will happen to us in Bayt Thul. The people remained on alert. Those who owned cattle had already moved their cattle to other villages and towns where they had relatives or friends, a long time before the occupation of the village. We continued with our normal daily routine inside the village during the day, while in the evening we used to leave our homes to spend the night in the caves on the outskirts of the village in preparation for the moment rampaging armed Jews would occupy and destroy the village.¹¹

The villagers’ fears were realized at midnight on 18 July 1948, when their village was overrun while they sheltered near the area.¹² Their first refuge after expulsion was not the Old City of Jerusalem. Several refugees recalled how the people of Bayt Thul fled to villages in the Ramallah area that were nearest to them. For example, some found refuge in Rafat until the early 1950s when news spread about empty houses in Jerusalem’s Jewish quarter. When they heard that people had begun to reside in these houses, they moved to the Old City to do the same. Bayt Thul villagers joined refugees from Lydda, some of whom recalled finding refuge in Birzeit near Ramallah before leaving for Jerusalem to live in empty houses in the Old City.¹³

Non-refugee residents from the Ramallah villages of Qatanna, Bayt ‘Ur, and Bayt Liqya also migrated to Jerusalem in the early 1950s after hearing of empty houses there, joining refugees in the Old City.¹⁴ This explains why people from these Ramallah villages live in Shu‘fat camp today, although their villages were not occupied nor their inhabitants expelled in 1948.

Meanwhile, many other urban refugees, especially those who fled from the new Jerusalem neighborhoods southwest of the Old City, such as Qatamun, Baq‘a, and Talbiyya, or from further west, such as the Latrun area, made the Old City of Jerusalem their first place of refuge.¹⁵ Jerusalem was familiar not only to those fleeing its western urban neighborhoods, but also to rural refugees from its surrounding villages. Jerusalem had been a destination for these *fellahin* before the Nakba, whether to sell their agricultural products or shop in the city’s markets, to benefit from the city’s health and educational services, or to pray in al-Aqsa Mosque. Thus, Jerusalem was the main place most would think of to seek refuge. At the beginning of expulsion during the Nakba, rural refugees filled the compounds of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Old City roads, not knowing where else to go.¹⁶ Some made Jerusalem a temporary station until they had the opportunity to travel to Jordan and settle there. Others found a temporary place to live with relatives in the Old City, or rented homes or rooms in its different quarters.¹⁷ Refugees not financially capable of renting a living space were housed by the Red Cross (ICRC) in the partially destroyed Jewish quarter.¹⁸ During and after the 1948 war, Jewish residents of the Jewish quarter (around 1,250, although the exact number is not known) fled or were evacuated from Jerusalem as their homes were battered by the war, most ending up in the western part of the city, which came under Israeli control.¹⁹

The refugees whom the ICRC settled into the Jewish quarter were from different backgrounds, cities, towns, and villages, but most were rural refugees from the villages of Ramla, Jerusalem, Bir al-Saba‘, Gaza, and Haifa districts.²⁰ The gathering of refugees in the Jewish quarter grew into what was called Mu‘askar refugee camp after the ICRC handed over its management to UNRWA in 1949.²¹ The Arabic term *mu‘askar* (camp) can refer to a refugee camp or a military camp, though mostly the latter. The refugees interviewed in Shu‘fat camp were not familiar with the name “Mu‘askar camp” in the Old City; they referred to it as the Jewish quarter or Sharaf quarter. This may indicate that the name Mu‘askar camp was used primarily in formal documents of UNRWA and the Jordanian authorities. Arab Jerusalem municipality correspondence also uses the term Mu‘askar Camp or Mu‘askar quarter (literally, camp quarter), which may indicate a desire to avoid using the designation Jewish quarter and thus, especially as it was inhabited by refugees, to reference it simply as the camp (*mu‘askar*) quarter, a name that was adopted officially with the passing of time.²²

UNRWA Assistance to Old City Refugees and the Poor

On 14 March 1951, Jordan and UNRWA signed an agreement with respect to UNRWA’s work in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan and Jordanian administered areas (the West Bank, including Jerusalem), taking into consideration Jordan’s annexation of the West Bank.²³ As outlined in Article III of this agreement, UNRWA was to prioritize the employment of Palestinian refugees when employing personnel to provide services in the refugee camps. The Jordanian government assumed responsibility for paying for



Figure 2. “Students line up during a morning assembly in the schoolyard of the UNRWA Boys’ School in Shu‘fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s.” Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.

water and leasing the land, exempting the refugees from any payments. This also applied to Shu‘fat refugee camp after its establishment in the mid-1960s.

When it first assumed its responsibilities in 1950, UNRWA continued activities begun by the ICRC and other international humanitarian organizations.²⁴ UNRWA found itself facing a chaotic process of refugee registration and assistance. Non-refugees and poor people, who did not meet UNRWA’s criteria of refugees, which includes losing both home and means of livelihood, were also included in assistance rolls. Thus, although UNRWA was mandated to serve Palestinian refugees, it also served other categories of non-refugees that registered to receive assistance.²⁵ UNRWA faced this situation in the Old City of Jerusalem, where it served refugees and poor Palestinians in Mu‘askar camp. UNRWA’s current director in Shu‘fat refugee camp confirmed this in an interview:

UNRWA does not only serve refugees, but also non-refugee poor Palestinians. Those who were moved from the Old City of Jerusalem in the 1960s were not only refugees who left their villages, but also poor people who joined the refugees in Mu‘askar camp, especially migrants originally from Hebron and Ramallah villages who arrived in the Old City in the early 1950s. Some of those poor people received UNRWA cards in the Old City. Meanwhile, others were given UNRWA cards upon their arrival in Shu‘fat camp in accordance with an agreement between UNRWA and the Jordanian government. They all now carry UNRWA cards.²⁶

Among the poor non-refugees who registered as eligible to receive assistance were

those who lost their livelihood but not their home, whom UNRWA called “economic refugees,” mainly residents of frontier villages in the West Bank, poor people in Jerusalem and Gaza, and Bedouins.²⁷ Nonetheless, all were given the same UNRWA cards as refugees and with the same benefits.

Referring to her family members and some neighbors in the Old City of Jerusalem, Umm ‘Izzat said, “We all had UNRWA cards. I remember we used to get food rations from an UNRWA center in Bab al-Sahira [Herod’s Gate] . . . that was in the 1950s.”²⁸ Umm ‘Izzat was not a refugee expelled from her home by war. She was living with her family in al-Wad Street in the Old City during the war. However, she noted that her father, who after 1948 served in the Jordanian police, owned a building in Mamilla before 1948 that was rented to others. After the war and Israeli occupation of the western part of Jerusalem, they were eligible for UNRWA assistance as they had lost a source of their livelihood – the rental from this house.

After assuming responsibilities in 1950, UNRWA managed food distribution offices that were located to be easily accessed by Palestinian refugees, wherever they were gathered. In Jerusalem, approximately twelve thousand people of refugee status in the Old City of Jerusalem were receiving assistance from UNRWA.²⁹ In the Old City, humanitarian agencies established one of the first food distribution offices in the Islamic Girls School, inside the al-Aqsa Mosque compound, in 1948. In 1950, UNRWA assumed responsibility for the administration of this school-based center until, with the beginning of the school year, it left the school and opened another center in the Tuma-Tuma area, near Bab al-Asbat (Lion’s Gate), to the east of the Haram al-Sharif.³⁰

In a manuscript diary, Husayn Fakhri Khalidi, supervisor and custodian of al-Aqsa Mosque and supreme guardian of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, recorded that in 1951 the Islamic Waqf Department in Jerusalem called for these offices to be moved outside the al-Aqsa Mosque compound; it viewed the chaotic food distribution process as desecrating the holiness of the site.³¹ Letters exchanged in 1951 described this situation and called on the Islamic Scholars Commission, UNRWA, the Jordanian Ministry of Construction and Development, and the Ministry of Interior to find another location to distribute food. According to Khalidi’s diary, this distribution office in Jerusalem served about seven thousand people from Jerusalem and its surrounding villages and neighborhoods, including Thuri and Silwan.³² Khalidi’s diary includes a letter from Hasan Abu al-Wafa al-Dajani, the comptroller-general of the Waqf, dated 22 October 1951, which states:

The Jerusalem military governor in 1948 allowed the distribution of food rations in the building of the Islamic Girls’ School at King Faisal Gate [Bab al-‘Atm] and when the aforementioned school was needed, UNRWA asked for allocating another place and it was allowed to use the current location, known as Tuma-Tuma. The [Islamic] Council did not know that the distribution process would have such difficulties.³³

Following several protest letters from Khalidi, chief shari‘a judge Muhammad Shanqiti, and other waqf officials between June and October 1951, the distribution office was moved to a location near Bab al-Sahira, inside the walled Old City but outside the al-Aqsa compound.

Closing Mu‘askar and Establishing Shu‘fat Camp

This situation continued until 1963, when the Jordanian government decided to close Mu‘askar camp and move the refugees who were living there. The Jordanian government chose a plot of about two hundred dunums (fifty acres) from Shu‘fat village, north of Jerusalem, for their relocation.³⁴ This decision was justified on economic and humanitarian grounds. It was thought that the Old City refugees would form a significant burden on Jerusalem’s economy and exhaust its infrastructure, without paying for services due to their status as refugees. Nor would they pay taxes of any kind to the government.³⁵ Moreover, the economy of Jerusalem was based on tourism, so the Jordanian government wanted to prioritize the tourist sector in its planning projects.³⁶ In 1963, the Jerusalem municipality proposed a development project for the Old City of Jerusalem, turning the Jewish quarter into a “development center, with public buildings and parks.”³⁷ The project was intended to benefit the municipality economically, attracting tourism to generate income. The poverty of Mu‘askar refugee camp was incongruent with its urban modernization project, giving the Jordanian authorities a justification to close it and move the refugees.

From a humanitarian point of view, the neglect of houses in Mu‘askar camp in the Old City meant the further deterioration of living conditions for camp residents. According to Nazmi Jubeh, destruction in the Jewish quarter during and after the 1948 war had been significant, with many buildings either destroyed or damaged by shelling.³⁸ Jubeh points out that immediately after the war, Jordanian authorities destroyed several damaged buildings that had posed a danger to public safety in the quarter.³⁹ Given these conditions, authorities deemed it necessary to relocate the Old City refugees.

In a decree dated 5 October 1963, then Jordanian prime minister Husayn ibn Nasser ordered the transfer of Palestinian refugees gathered in Mu‘askar camp to a new location prepared by the “relevant authorities.”⁴⁰ The decree also banned any refugee moved from Mu‘askar camp from returning to live there. The Arab municipality of Jerusalem, according to the decree, would be responsible for the demolition of the damaged houses in the camp after the transfer of refugees was completed. Meanwhile, by 1965, UNRWA had established five hundred housing units in the new location in Shu‘fat, northeast of Jerusalem.⁴¹ UNRWA also built two schools in the new location, one for boys and one for girls, offering free education up to tenth grade. It also built a health center to provide free basic health services for the refugees. One thousand five hundred people were moved to the new location in 1965.⁴²

The refugees transferred to the new location were disappointed with the conditions there, including the small size of houses, too few rooms, and lack of infrastructure. Yusuf, a member of the Popular Committee in Shu‘fat camp, described the UNRWA-built houses as measuring 7.5 by 15 meters each, divided into three rooms of three by two meters, with each room to accommodate up to six refugees.⁴³ Commenting on the beginning of life in Shu‘fat camp, Umm Ayman recalls: “Each house had a number and the head of each household was given the number of his new house, according to a list with UNRWA employees.”⁴⁴ She added:



Figure 3. “Shu‘fat camp for Palestine refugees, near Jerusalem.” Photo by George Nehmeh. ©1974 UNRWA Archive.

UNRWA divided the camp into several neighborhoods and some people asked to be given homes in the same neighborhood as relatives and UNRWA agreed to this. This is why some neighborhoods of the camp are named after the place of origin, for example, Harat al-Thawala [neighborhood of Bayt Thul people] or Harat al-Walajiyya [neighborhood of al-Walaja people].⁴⁵

At that time, UNRWA houses lacked basic infrastructure; they were without electricity, water, or sanitation. UNRWA erected several public toilets without doors in the camp streets, one for men and one for women in each neighborhood, as confirmed by the camp refugees. “When we needed to use the toilet, my father always accompanied us to the public toilet in the camp and waited for us in front of the toilet until we finished because they were without doors. You know, we were little girls and could not go there alone, especially at night,” Umm Ayman said, laughing.⁴⁶ “The toilets were built in a kind of spiral way that they can stay without doors and no one can see through,” Yusuf recalled.⁴⁷ He explained that doorless pit toilets with spiral design were preferred to ensure good ventilation, especially since they were without windows.

UNRWA also installed one water tap in every camp neighborhood, which were supplied by a container that provided a limited amount of water for only two or three hours a day for the use of all the camp residents.⁴⁸ The amount of water was insufficient to meet the camp needs, forcing families to recycle the little water available, using it sparingly. Some refugees also used to bring water from the neighboring village of ‘Anata, one kilometer east of the camp. This was confirmed in interviews, including with Umm ‘Umran, who said, “When we finished washing clothes, we used the same water to clean the floors of

the house . . . I used to bring water from ‘Anata. I used to carry two large tins full of water and walk the whole way from ‘Anata to the camp.”⁴⁹ Staple food items were distributed by UNRWA to all the camp residents. Umm Ayman recalled that UNRWA also ran a *takiyya*, or free public kitchen, at the entrance of the camp, where cooked food was distributed to the refugees: “As a youth, I used to carry a big metal jug that my mom gave me and have it filled with food from the *takiyya*. Sometimes we got *mujaddara*, other times lentil soup.”⁵⁰

Though a number of the camp refugees remained jobless, UNRWA tried to mitigate unemployment. UNRWA offered camp refugees jobs in its different facilities, abiding by the original agreement signed with the Jordanian government in 1951.⁵¹ Some previously unemployed refugees got jobs in UNRWA facilities, receiving fixed salaries that enabled them to improve the living conditions of their families. Umm ‘Umran recalled:

My husband worked for UNRWA as a gardener and he was getting seventy-five Jordanian dinars per month, which was considered a large amount at that time. When he started working for UNRWA and getting a salary, UNRWA stopped providing us with food support. UNRWA regulations stipulated that upon employment UNRWA employees would no longer be entitled to this benefit unless they agreed to a cut of five Jordanian dinars from their salaries. He agreed to this salary cut so that we could continue to receive food support. With his work with UNRWA, our economic circumstances subsequently improved and we were able to extend our house and build a wall around it.⁵²

Meanwhile, UNRWA provided refugees who lost shops in the Jewish quarter with new shops built in the camp as compensation, while those who had been working in the Old City but outside the Jewish quarter maintained these jobs.⁵³ Some women refugees also undertook work such as sewing and embroidering from home to supplement their husbands’ income and to help support their families.⁵⁴

Shu‘fat Refugee Camp under Israeli Occupation

A new episode in the lives of the camp refugees began with the 1967 war. By June 1967, 3,300 Palestinian refugees were already living in Shu‘fat refugee camp.⁵⁵ In addition to the natural increase in the number of camp refugees, more Old City refugees continued to be brought to the camp until June 1967.⁵⁶ When the war broke out, a large number of camp refugees, like other Palestinians in the West Bank, left their homes and headed east for fear that Israelis would carry out massacres similar to those committed in 1948. Some reached Jordan; others stopped in Jericho and stayed there until the war ended.⁵⁷ Some of the camp residents did not go very far and recalled hiding in caves east of the neighboring villages of ‘Anata and Hizma (the current location of Anatot military camp), where they spent several days until they were informed that anyone who left the caves carrying a white banner of surrender could safely return home. “We used whatever cloth we had around; we were able to leave the caves and returned home,” recalled Umm ‘Umran.⁵⁸

In the wake of the 1967 war, new refugees arrived in Shu‘fat camp, including refugees from the Mughrabi quarter near the Buraq Wall (Western Wall), which Israeli forces razed, displacing more than a hundred households. Other refugees joined the camp from the Latrun area villages of Yalu and ‘Imwas, which were completely destroyed during the 1967 war along with the village of Bayt Nuba.⁵⁹

With the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Israel defied international law and incorporated the eastern part of Jerusalem and the surrounding neighborhoods, including Shu‘fat refugee camp, into the boundaries of the Jerusalem municipality.⁶⁰ With this annexation, Israel decided to transform Jerusalem into a settler-colonial city with a status different from the rest of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967.⁶¹ The Shu‘fat camp, the only Palestinian refugee camp in Jerusalem, subsequently fell under direct Israeli control.⁶² In June 1967, immediately following the war, Israel conducted a population census.⁶³ Shu‘fat camp refugees recalled how Israeli officials visited the camp houses during the census to conduct a headcount of the household members. They also mentioned that some people tricked the Israeli officers to ensure the return of their relatives who had fled to Jordan and not yet returned by filling in false statistics, including the names of their absent relatives. This plot succeeded because the Israeli government employed a number of different officers to carry out census work. When a different officer visited the refugee family, a new family member would pretend to be an absent family head in Jordan and would provide additional family member names that were then counted in the census. This was the practice not only in Shu‘fat camp, but all over the newly occupied neighborhoods of Jerusalem.

Palestinian inhabitants of Jerusalem recorded during the Israeli census, including residents of the Shu‘fat camp, were granted the status of permanent residents in the city and received blue identity cards.⁶⁴ This status distinguished them from Palestinians in the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, allowing them the ability to access and work in Israel, and to benefit from certain social and health services.⁶⁵ However, they were not considered citizens of Israel, with respective citizenship rights.⁶⁶ They were allowed to keep their Jordanian citizenship, granted in 1949, and were treated as having the same status as foreign residents who wish to stay in Israel as stipulated in the “1952 Law of Entry to Israel.”⁶⁷ This “permanent residency” status is automatically revoked if a person leaves their place of domicile to reside in another country. Israel considers living outside the boundaries of Israel – which includes anywhere outside the expanded municipal boundaries of Jerusalem – for seven or more years, for any reason except for study, as a change of domicile.⁶⁸ This situation also applies to residents of Shu‘fat refugee camp, leaving them vulnerable to yet another displacement.

Identity and Sense of Belonging

The ongoing threat of being again displaced and losing refugee status reinforces among the inhabitants of Shu‘fat camp a shared identity of memories of their experience of expulsion and loss. As noted earlier, most Shu‘fat refugees originated from villages west of Jerusalem, many of which are now Jewish urban neighborhoods or suburbs of Jerusalem. Being geographically so close to their places of origin only intensifies their refugee identity and



Figure 4. “A young pupil stands to answer the teacher’s question at the UNRWA Girls’ School in Shu‘fat camp, Jerusalem.” Photographer unknown. © 1989 UNRWA Archive.

desire to return.⁶⁹ First-generation refugees that lived the experience of expulsion in 1948 or 1967 expressed a profound melancholic longing for their place of origin. Their interviews often evoked a nostalgia for the past. When I asked Umm Khalil if she still remembers the location of her home in ‘Imwas, she said, “Of course, I know where it was!”⁷⁰ Umm Khalil’s daughter, who joined the interview at this point, said that they used to visit ‘Imwas and that her mother showed them where the house once stood.

Abu Firas also described his house in Qatamun with emotion: “We have a very beautiful house! It is two stories.” He used the present tense, as if still seeing the house in front of him. “Our house is still standing as it is in Qatamun until today. Although we have built a new life outside Qatamun, we remain in the hope that we will return some day. But with the passing of years, our hopes have withered and we realize that we will not be able to live in our house again.”⁷¹

Only a few refugees who witnessed the 1948 Nakba are still alive in Shu‘fat camp. The vast majority were born after the Nakba and the 1965 transfer from the Old City to their current location in Shu‘fat camp, and so do not have first-hand memories of their original villages. Nonetheless, they identify with their original villages and express readiness to return to their original villages if given the opportunity.

Although Shu‘fat camp, like other Palestinian refugee camps, was established as a temporary space pending a political solution, the refugees developed distinct identities and feelings of belonging within the camp. Some individuals express a sense of belonging to the group, whether that group is the “group” of Palestinian refugees,

the group of residents of Shu‘fat camp, or the group of residents from their village of origin. There are also expressions of collective belonging to the place, as when individuals consider themselves to be representing the entire group of camp refugees, using “we” as opposed to “I” when discussing issues concerning the camp. They may also consider themselves representing refugees from the same place of origin who live in the Shu‘fat camp. For example, a refugee originally from Lydda spoke on behalf of all refugees from Lydda, saying, “We are the *Liddawiyya*.” The groupings are not necessarily exclusive, as the inhabitants of Shu‘fat express multiple kinds of belonging – as Shu‘fat camp refugees who also belong to their place of origin, in addition to being Jerusalemites living in Jerusalem.

Conclusion

Empowering Shu‘fat refugees to weave their collective history helped reveal new information not discussed in previous works or present in archives and official documents. The most significant finding concerns the composition of the Shu‘fat camp residents, which includes both refugees and non-refugees comprised of three different groups and backgrounds. First, there are refugees expelled from their towns and villages in the wake of the 1948 war. People of this group were doubly displaced: first in 1948, when they were thrown out of their towns and villages and gathered in the Old City of Jerusalem, and again in 1965, when they were moved from the Old City to Shu‘fat camp. Second, there are the long-term inhabitants of the Old City of Jerusalem that migrated to the city before 1948 and settled in the Sharaf quarter, particularly migrants from Hebron, who were also moved to Shu‘fat camp, and their homes later destroyed in the 1967 war aftermath. Finally, there are the migrants that arrived in the Old City during the 1950s. They were mainly poor Palestinians from Hebron and Ramallah villages seeking work in Jerusalem, who settled in the Jewish quarter or what was then called Mu‘askar camp. People of the second and third groups were non-refugees, who were only transformed into refugees when they were moved to Shu‘fat camp and their homes were destroyed.

It is important to disaggregate these experiences, to avoid flattening the history of Palestinian refugees. The stories of the Shu‘fat camp refugees – their origins, expulsion, refugee life, and the places and events they encountered – all shaped who they are today. At the same time, although each refugee’s story may be distinct, with its own individual details, taken together they are capable of weaving an integrated collective history from below. The collective experience of Shu‘fat camp’s inhabitants emerges as these marginalized voices are heard to reveal forms of collective identification and belonging that have developed over decades of struggle and survival as Palestinians, as refugees, and as Jerusalemites.

Halima Abu Haneya holds a PhD in social sciences from Birzeit University in Palestine. This article is based on a chapter of her PhD thesis, approved in 2021, under the title, “Thwarting Settler-Colonial Policies through Urban Self-Development: The Case of Shu‘fat Refugee Camp in Jerusalem.”

Endnotes

- 1 Author interview with Abu Firas, eighty-three years old, originally from Qatamun, west of Jerusalem, at his home in Ras Khamis, 23 December 2018. For more on the interview process, see note 4. Of the six interviewed people of the first refugee generation that experienced the Nakba, four interviewees, each from a different background, were fully aware of the Nakba and expulsion events. Abu Firas, who was originally from Qatamun neighborhood in west Jerusalem, was from a middle-income family that first found refuge in 1948 in the Old City of Jerusalem but not in the Jewish quarter. They moved to Shu'fat in 1960, and so did not experience the 1965 relocation process. Umm 'Umran was a poor villager from Bayt Thul. She first took refuge in Rafat village and then moved with her family to the Old City of Jerusalem to occupy empty houses there. She experienced the relocation in 1965. Umm Khalil, originally from 'Imwas village, arrived in the camp after the 1967 war when her village was destroyed. Umm Jihad, originally from Hebron and married to a man from Dura village, outside Hebron, lived in a rented house in the Sharaf quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem before 1948 rather than the empty houses in the Jewish quarter. In 1965, her husband alone moved voluntarily to Shu'fat camp to obtain an UNRWA house. She initially refused to move to Shu'fat with him and remained in the Old City with her children, joining her husband in the camp only after 1967.
- 2 The name "Mu'askar" camp was mentioned in the official documents of the Palestinian municipality of Jerusalem in the 1960s and its official correspondence with the Jordanian authorities. It was also used in *al-Difa'* newspaper in the 1960s. The name also appears on the official UNRWA website. Kjersti Berg's research seeks to revive the "erased history" of Mu'askar camp in the Old City of Jerusalem, and to historicize UNRWA's humanitarian role. By the 1960s, about five hundred refugee families were living in Mu'askar, the boundaries of which were actually blurred with the neighboring quarters. Kjersti G. Berg, "Mu'askar and Shu'fat: Retracing the Histories of Two Palestinian Refugee Camps in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 88 (2022): 30–54.
- 3 Berg, "Mu'askar and Shu'fat."
- 4 I prepared for the interviews and guided narrations by planning a general interview framework and establishing open-ended questions to allow the interviewees full expression. Many of the interviews were recorded after obtaining interviewees' consent. If interviewees refused to be recorded, I took written notes of their narrative. Recorded and written notes were then transcribed for analysis. In this article, I used familial names for the refugee interviewees (for example, Abu Firas, Umm Jihad) and initials for the well-known personalities in the camp.
- 5 See Fadwa Allabadi and Tareq Hardan, "Marriage, Split Residency, and the Separation Wall in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 65 (Spring 2016): 69–85; Noura Alkhalili, "'A Forest of Urbanization': Camp Metropolis in the Edge Areas," *Settler Colonial Studies* 9, no. 2 (May 2019): 207–26.
- 6 See Jeannie O'Donnell, "Shu'fat Camp: Life on the Edge for Jerusalem Refugees," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 6 (Autumn 1999): 43–51; Usama Ibrahim Badawy and Muain Qasem Jawabrah, "Step towards Upgrading Perspective for Shu'fat Refugee Camp – Jerusalem," *European Journal of Academic Essays* 1, no. 4 (August 2015): 27–37; Berg, "Mu'askar and Shu'fat."
- 7 Correspondence in 1966 between the Jerusalem mayor at that time Rawhi al-Khatib, Jerusalem governor Anwar al-Khatib and the Jordanian government, represented by the Guardian of Enemy Property and the Ministry of Development and Reconstruction. In 2017, fifty years after the Israeli authorities confiscated the documents of the former Arab Jerusalem municipality in the wake of the 1967 war, the correspondence was declassified.
- 8 Alexander Freund, "'Confessing Animals': Toward a Longue Durée History of the Oral History Interview," *Oral History Review* 14, no. 1 (2014): 1–26.
- 9 Emma White, David Uzzell, Nora Rätzzel, and Birgitta Gatersleben, "Using Life Histories in Psychology: A Methodological Guide" (Surrey, UK: Research Group on Lifestyles, Values, and Environment, 2011), 6, online at resolve.sustainablelifestyles.ac.uk/sites/default/files/RESOLVE_WP_01-10.pdf (accessed 15 March 2023).
- 10 See, for example, Adel Manna, *Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948–*

- 1956 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022).
- 11 Author's interview with Umm 'Umran, eighty-four years old, originally from the destroyed Bayt Thul village, west of Jerusalem, at her home in Ras Khamis, 26 December 2018.
 - 12 Walid Khalidi, ed., *All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).
 - 13 Author interview with Umm Ashraf, sixty-five years old, originally from Lydda, at her home in Shu'fat refugee camp, 9 December 2018.
 - 14 Author interview with Iman, fifty-two years old, originally from Qatanna village, northwest of Jerusalem, at her apartment in Ras Khamis, 29 December 2018.
 - 15 Salim Tamari, ed., *Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighborhoods and Their Fate in the War* (Jerusalem and Bethlehem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies and Badil Resource Center, 2002), 1.
 - 16 Author interview with Nazmi Jubeh of Birzeit University, 20 June 2019.
 - 17 P. J. Vatikiotis, "The Siege of the Walled City of Jerusalem, 14 May–15 December 1948." *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 1 (1995): 139–45.
 - 18 Meron Benvenisti, *Jerusalem: The Torn City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 70.
 - 19 Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 69. Meron Benvenisti claims that 1,700 Jews fled from the Jewish quarter in the 1948 war, while other sources mention 2,000 civilians and 350 Haganah troops. 'Arif al-'Arif writes that 1,249 Jews of the quarter surrendered to Arabs in 1948, 913 of whom were women, children, and elderly who were released and handed over to the ICRC to move them to the Jewish neighborhoods outside the walled city, while the rest, including 332 male fighters and four female fighters, were taken as prisoners of war. Men were transferred to detention centers in Jordan and the women were returned to Israel. See: Michael Dumper, "Israeli Settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1992): 32–53, at 33; Vatikiotis, "Siege of the Walled City," 144; 'Arif al-'Arif, *al-Nakba: nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis wa al-firdaws al-mafqud, 1947–1949* [The Nakba: the Nakba of Jerusalem and the lost paradise: 1947–1949], 2nd ed. (Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2013), 478–81. The figures provided by al-'Arif in this regard are likely closest to the truth, considering the sensitive posts that he held in Jerusalem, as *qa'imaqam* from 1933 until 1948 and, under Jordanian rule, as mayor of Jerusalem from 1951 to 1955. These positions granted him access to official documents and data to use in his writings. See Michael Fischbach, "Aref al-Aref," in *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, ed. Philip Mattar (New York: Facts on File, 2005); and Bernard Wasserstein, "'Clipping the Claws of the Colonisers': Arab Officials in the Government of Palestine, 1917–48," *Middle Eastern Studies* 13, no. 2 (1977): 171–94.
 - 20 O'Donnell, "Shu'fat Camp," 46; Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70. According to Encyclopedia of Palestinian Camps, the Shu'fat camp refugees represent seventy-two places of origin. See "Jughrafiyyat al-mukhayyam" (Geography of the camp), *Encyclopedia of Palestinian Camps*, online at palcamps.net/ar/camp/88/ (accessed 9 February 2023). However, much of the existing literature, including the UNRWA website, mentions fifty-three to fifty-five places of origin. According to my interview with the UNRWA director of Shu'fat camp, the Old City refugees originally came from fifty-seven villages; after the relocation to Shu'fat camp, refugees of six villages did not move to the new location and handed their refugee cards into UNRWA, relinquishing their refugee status, and left to live outside the camp. The refugees who remain in Shu'fat camp today therefore represent fifty-one villages. However, due to technical reasons concerning the UNRWA office in the camp, the director could not provide me with any official statistics regarding the origins of the refugees who remained in the camp or those who relinquished their refugee status. Author interview with F. O. M., UNRWA director of Shu'fat camp, at the UNRWA offices in Shu'fat camp, 27 March 2019.
 - 21 Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70; O'Donnell, "Shu'fat Camp," 46; Dumper, "Israeli Settlement," 36.
 - 22 This explanation was supported by K. T. of the Maps Department at the Arab Studies Society – Orient House, during an interview with him at his office in Dahiyat al-Barid, 24 February 2019. The Arab municipality of Jerusalem also used the term "Camp of the Returnees" in correspondence to refer to Mu'askar camp in the Old City. In fact, refugees in general were referred to as returnees (*'a'idin*) during

- the Jordanian era in Palestine, as seen, for example, by the term's wide use in *al-Difa'* newspaper in the 1960s.
- 23 United Nations Treaty Series (UNTS), vol. 120, no. 394, 1952: 277–94. *UNRWA* was established to serve the Palestinian refugees by a UNGA resolution in 1949. UNRWA is responsible for serving all registered Palestinian refugees in its areas of operation. Its definition of Palestinian refugees is “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.” UNRWA provides Palestinian refugees with free services of education, health, social services, and relief. See: Lance Bartholomeusz, “The Mandate of UNRWA at Sixty,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 2–3 (2010): 452–74, at 462; Alex Takkenberg, *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1998), 256; and UNRWA, “Palestine Refugees,” online at www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees (accessed 15 March 2023).
 - 24 Besides the ICRC, the other international humanitarian organizations that assisted the Palestinian refugees in the wake of their expulsion in 1948, and before UNRWA assumed its responsibilities in 1950, included the League of the Red Cross Societies (LRCS) and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). In 1954, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established to handle all other cases of forced migration including Palestine refugees residing outside UNRWA's five areas of operation. See Ricardo Bocco, “UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees: A History within History,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 2–3 (2010): 229–52.
 - 25 Bartholomeusz, “Mandate of UNRWA,” 456.
 - 26 Author interview with UNRWA director in Shu'fat camp.
 - 27 Bartholomeusz, “Mandate of UNRWA,” 456. For further information on persons eligible to receive UNRWA services, see Takkenberg, *Status of Palestinian Refugees*.
 - 28 Author interview with Umm 'Izzat, seventy-eight years old, from Jerusalem, at her family home in al-Wad Street in the Old City, 6 February 2019. Her family owned their home in the Old City and did not move to Shu'fat camp in the 1960s.
 - 29 Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 68; Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 60.
 - 30 Tuma-Tuma refers to the yard in front of the sealed twin gates of the Jerusalem wall: Bab al-Rahma and Bab al-Tawba that are together known as the Bab al-Dhahabi (Golden Gate). They are located at the eastern part of the wall near Bab al-Asbat (Lion's Gate). Palestinian Jerusalemites have always referred to the twin gates as Tuma-Tuma, applying the name also to the empty yard in front of them, outside of the city wall. The origin of this name is unknown. 'Arif al-'Arif, *al-Mufasssal fi tarikh al-Quds* [A detailed history of Jerusalem], 5th ed. (Jerusalem: al-Ma'arif Publishing House, 1999), 432.
 - 31 Archived at Khalidi Library as: KHD sij 10.
 - 32 Archived at Khalidi Library as: KHD sij 10-052.
 - 33 Archived at Khalidi Library as: KHD sij 10-053.
 - 34 Nazmi Jubeh, *Harat al-yahud wa harat al-maghariba fi al-Quds al-qadima: al-tarikh wa al-masir ma bayna al-tadmīr wa al-tahwid* [The Jewish quarter and the Moroccan quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem: history and destiny between destruction and Judaization] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2019), 49; Badawy and Jawabrah, “Step towards Upgrading Perspective”; Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70; O'Donnell, “Shu'fat Camp,” 46.
 - 35 Interview with K. T. of the Maps Department at the Arab Studies Society – Orient House.
 - 36 Ibrahim Dakkak, “Jerusalem's Via Dolorosa,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1981): 136–49.
 - 37 Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70. This is confirmed by correspondence between the Arab Jerusalem municipality and the Jordanian government in the 1960s. Copies of the written correspondence were obtained by the author.
 - 38 Jubeh, *Harat al-yahud*, 47–48.
 - 39 Author interview with Nazmi Jubeh, 20 June 2019.
 - 40 A copy of the decree was obtained by the author.
 - 41 “Profile: Shu'fat Camp, Jerusalem Governorate” (UNRWA, 2015), online at www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/shufat_refugee_camp.pdf (accessed 9 February 2023).
 - 42 Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70; Jubeh, *Harat al-yahud*, 49.
 - 43 Author interview with Yusuf, fifty-five years old, member of the Popular Committee in

- Shu‘fat camp, at the committee headquarters, 30 June 2018.
- 44 Author interview with Umm Ayman, sixty-one years old, originally from Jaffa, at the Women’s Center in Shu‘fat camp, 25 October 2018.
 - 45 These subdivisions of the camp were in fact similar to other Palestinian refugee camps. For example, the neighborhoods in Dahaysha camp also reflect the names of the villages of origin of the camp refugees such as Zakariyya, Bayt ‘Itab, and so on, helping the refugees to maintain their social relations and traditions and strengthen their solidarity. See Alessandro Petti, “Creative Refugee Heritage. Part III – Justification for Inscription,” *Humanities* 6, no. 3 (2017), 66.
 - 46 Author interview with Umm Ayman.
 - 47 Author interview with Yusuf.
 - 48 Amir S. Cheshin, Bill Hutman, and Avi Melamed, *Separated and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 131.
 - 49 Author interview with Umm ‘Umran.
 - 50 Author interview with Umm Ayman. *Mujaddara* is a traditional Palestinian dish, consisting of rice or cracked wheat and lentils.
 - 51 UNTS no. 394, 1951.
 - 52 Author interview with Umm ‘Umran.
 - 53 Author interviews with Umm Jihad, eighty-five years old, at her home in Shu‘fat camp, 31 January 2019; and Umm Ayman.
 - 54 Author interviews with Umm Ayman; Umm ‘Umran; and Umm Ashraf.
 - 55 O’Donnell, “Shu‘fat Camp,” 47.
 - 56 Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 70.
 - 57 Author interviews with Umm Ayman; Umm ‘Umran; and Abu Firas.
 - 58 Author interview with Umm ‘Umran.
 - 59 Tom Abowd, “The Moroccan Quarter: A History of the Present.” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 7 (2000): 6–16; Nur Masalha, “The 1967 Palestinian Exodus,” in *The Palestinian Exodus: 1948–1998*, ed. Ghada Karmi and Eugene Cotran (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1999), 63–109, especially 85, 97–99.
 - 60 O’Donnell, “Shu‘fat Camp,” 47.
 - 61 The settler-colonial city is distinguished by the “dynamic of displacement and replacement Its significance for the positioning, control, and regulation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous bodies within city and surrounding environments . . . The settler colonial city was a site where the appropriation of Indigenous land was coupled with aggressive allotment and property speculation.” Penelope Edmonds, “Unpacking Settler Colonialism’s Urban Strategies: Indigenous Peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and the Transition to a Settler-Colonial City,” *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 4–20.
 - 62 Omar Karmi, “Breathing Life into a Dead Horse: Jerusalem Identity Card Holders Ponder a Future Behind or In Front of the Wall,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22–23 (2005): 6–15; Yudith Oppenheimer, “Barkat’s Disengagement Plan,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 49 (2012): 79–80; “Profile: Shu‘fat Camp, Jerusalem Governorate,” 1.
 - 63 Leah Tsemel, “The Continuing Exodus: The Ongoing Expulsion of Palestinians from Jerusalem,” in Karmi and Cotran, eds., *Palestinian Exodus*, 111–20, at 112.
 - 64 Badil Resource Center, “Displaced by the Wall: Pilot Study on Forced Displacement Caused by the Construction of the West Bank Wall and its Associated Regime in the Occupied Palestinian Territories” (Bethlehem and Geneva: Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights and the Norwegian Refugee Council/Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2006), 13.
 - 65 Nancy Hawker, *Palestinian-Israeli Contact and Linguistic Practices* (London: Routledge, 2013), 11; Karmi, “Breathing Life into a Dead Horse,” 7.
 - 66 Candace Graff, “Pockets of Lawlessness in the ‘Oasis of Justice,’” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 58 (2014): 13–29.
 - 67 Tsemel, “Continuing Exodus,” 112.
 - 68 Tsemel, “Continuing Exodus,” 113.
 - 69 It was estimated that approximately 86 percent of the Palestinian refugees live within a hundred-mile radius of their original living places from where they were expelled in 1948. See Robert Bowker, *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2003), 66.
 - 70 Author interview with Umm Khalil, eighty-seven years old, originally from ‘Imwas, at her home in Shu‘fat refugee camp, 3 January 2019.
 - 71 Author interview with Abu Firas.



Figure 5. “Students raise their hands to answer the teacher’s question at the UNRWA Girls’ School in Shu’fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s.” Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 6. “Eager students ready to answer the teacher’s question at the UNRWA Girls’ School in Shu’fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s.” Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 7. "Palestine refugee students engaged in class at the UNRWA Girls' School in Shu'fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s." Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 8. "Palestine refugee students file into their classrooms at the UNRWA Girls' School in Shu'fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s." Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 9. "Palestine refugee children play during recess in the schoolyard of the UNRWA Girls' School in Shu'fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s." Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 10. “Palestine refugee students file into their classrooms at the UNRWA Girls’ School in Shu‘fat camp, Jerusalem, 1980s.” Photographer unknown. © 1984 UNRWA Archive.

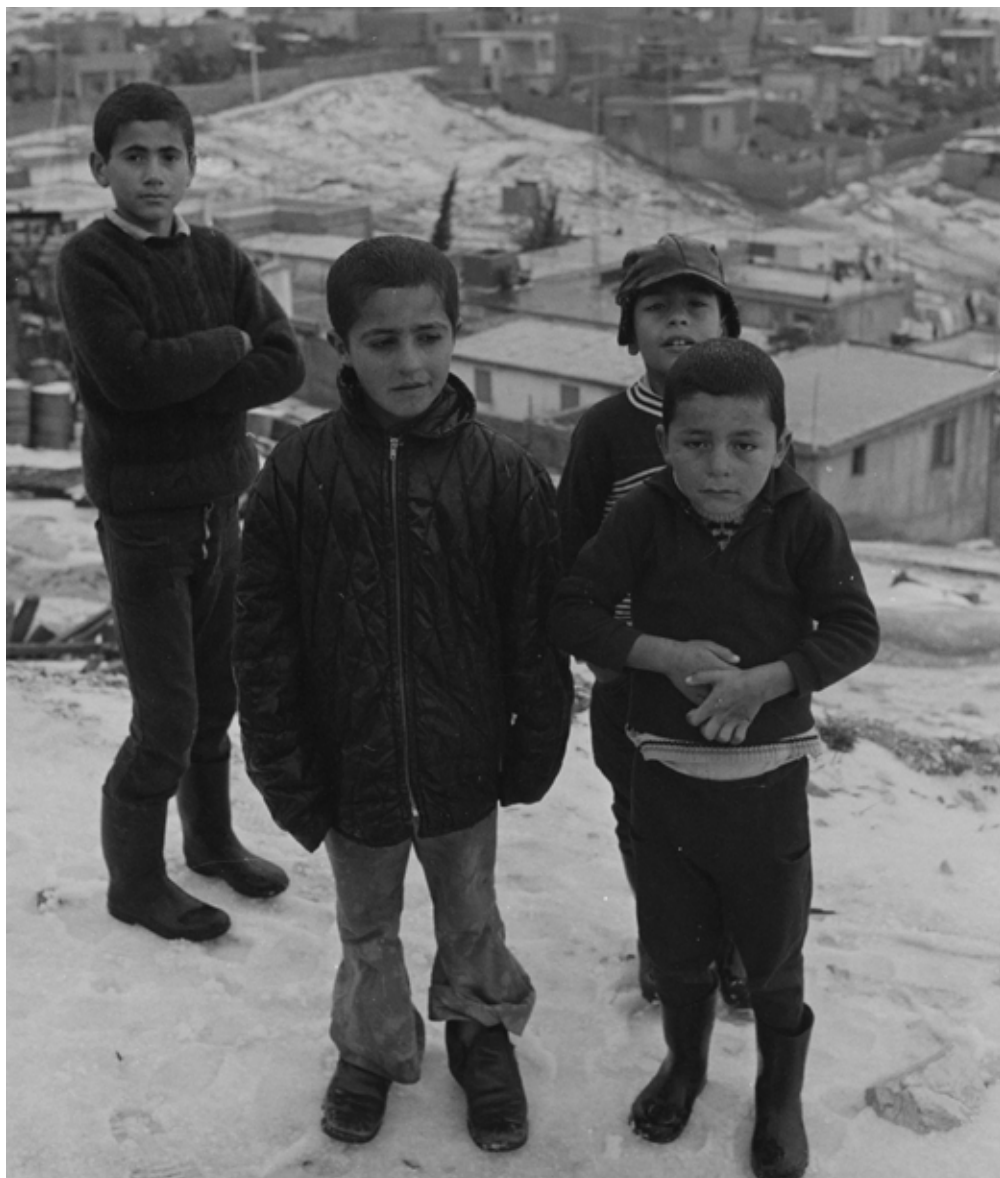


Figure 11. "Shu'fat camp for Palestine refugees, near Jerusalem." Photo by George Nehmeh. ©1974 UNRWA Archive.



Figure 12. “Education is UNRWA’s biggest program. The agency runs 635 elementary and junior secondary schools for almost 350,000 Palestine refugee students. UNRWA has eight schools for refugees in the Jerusalem area, including this one at Shu‘fat camp. In the West Bank, however, schools have been closed almost continuously since the start of the Palestinian uprising in December 1987.” Photo by George Nehmeh. ©1989 UNRWA Archive.