

A SENSE OF PLACE: ETHNOGRAPHIC REFLECTION ON
TWO PALESTINIAN LIFE HISTORIES

by

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ABSTRACT

There is a labyrinth of complex social connections between people and places that deserves careful anthropological reflection. People do not simply occupy places; they experience them, infusing them with life and social meaning. Basso (1996:53) argues that ethnography has reported little about the complex ways in which people are “alive to the world around them.”

Anthropology is currently experiencing a resurging emphasis on place that seeks to account for its remarkably social features. Rather than primarily thinking about place when determining a location for fieldwork, emerging anthropological reflection shows the discipline is repositioning itself to explore the complex and often fantastic ways people experience, conceptualize, and confer meaning to their natural surroundings. In anthropology, the phrase “sense of place” captures these ideas. The phenomenological approach has emerged as the theoretical centerpiece for this effort, promising to open extraordinary new pathways for qualitative exploration.

This thesis uses the life history methodology to explore how two female Palestinian immigrants to Central Florida experience and confer meaning to their ancestral homeland and place of birth. Data collected through a series of life history interviews highlight the texture of Palestinian senses of place, including the presence of what I describe as an *eschatological* sense of place.

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To Palestinians. You are welcome in this land.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

“We are flying low. We are flying very, very low. We are flying way too low.” Seconds later she said, “Oh my God we are way too low.” The phone call ended. At 8:46:40, American 11 crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. All on board, along with an unknown number of people in the tower, were killed instantly (The 9/11 Commission Report 2004:6-7).

Tuesday, September 11th, 2001, focused American attention on the Middle East like never before. The pain of that day was intensely corporate. We all suffered. We all mourned. And a fog of anguish settled over this great country. When Osama Bin Laden, a Saudi citizen, rooted the massacre in the tenets of Islam, frenzied Americans rushed to make sense of the Arab world. Not unlike the Japanese after World War II, all Arabs became suspect. They were monolithic to us, questionable Muslims at best, and we struggled to understand them. I struggled to understand them.

On Thursday, September 13th, 2001, I remember staring at the dust on my finger. It was thick. And gray. And evil. It was everywhere. I had seen poverty and hunger and crime before. But I had never seen mayhem. Ground Zero was literal mayhem. I was in New York City because my brother called me on Wednesday, September 12th, asking me to join him and a few friends that were traveling to Ground Zero with a disaster relief organization. “Absolutely,” I told him. “I’m in.” Thousands of brave police, firefighters, and other first responders descended on New York City to save lives. I went with my brother to cook breakfast. And for three days, we stayed up all night scrambling eggs for some of the bravest men and women on the planet.

The months that followed 9/11 were among the most reflective in my life. Images from Ground Zero haunt me to this day. At the time I asked: Who are these people? Why did they do this? Are they all like this? Unfortunately I didn't have any Arab friends growing up, and from birth to 9/11, I don't remember interacting with a single Arab person. Since then, however, I've had the privilege to meet and befriend Arabs from Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank - all here in the United States. With issues like the Ground Zero mosque, Gainesville Koran burning, and the Arab Spring generating constant attention from the mainstream media, Arabs remain front and center in the American consciousness. Their way of life deserves careful anthropological reflection lest Americans fall into the essentialist trap that all Arabs are the violent, idiosyncratic voices often privileged by the media (Avni 2006:205).

Research Focus: Palestinian Sense of Place

Over time my research interests gravitated toward the Palestinian diaspora. Given the catastrophic loss of land Palestinian Arabs suffered in 1948 and their "homeless" existence since that time, I have become increasingly interested in the issue of the land and Palestinian sense of place. Anthropology is currently experiencing a resurging emphasis on the concept of place. Rather than primarily thinking about places when determining a location for fieldwork, emerging anthropological reflection shows the discipline is repositioning itself to explore the complex and often fantastic ways people experience, conceptualize, and confer meaning to their natural surroundings (See Appadurai 1988; Malkki 1992; Geertz 1996; Feld and Basso 1996; Ferguson and

Gupta 1997; Peteet 2005; Huff 2006; and Bender 2006). In anthropology, the phrase “sense of place” captures the idea that people do not simply occupy places - they experience them, granting them life and social meaning. This thesis uses data collected through the life history methodology to analyze the sense of place of two female Palestinian immigrants who have settled in Orange County, Florida.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict

The troubled ebb and flow of Palestinian history is a deeply sobering narrative. During the latter part of the seventh century, Palestine became a predominantly Arab and Islamic stronghold. From that point, the land was almost universally known by its Arabic name *Filastin* and for its religious significance (Said 1992:10). Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire in 1516 and remained a firm Arab Islamic stronghold after its conquest by the Turks (Said 1992:11).

After World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the advent of British “mandatory rule” ushered in a new trajectory for Palestine. Under the British Mandate, Jewish Zionism, a national movement for Jewish sovereignty that connected modern Jews to ancient Israel, grew in strength (Morris 2004:9-10). Benny Morris (2004:9-10) notes that Zionists believed Palestine to be the “Land of Israel” and hoped to rebuild “a national home for the Jewish people on their ancient land.” In 1917, England offered its support to the establishment of a “National Home for the Jews” in Palestine through the Balfour Declaration (Lewis 1995:348). The British pledged to safeguard “the civil and religious rights” of Palestinian Arabs (Morris 2004:10), but the Balfour Declaration energized Jewish Zionism (Guyatt 1998:4) by recognizing their ancient connection to

the “Land of Israel” (Morris 2004:10). British soldiers provided much needed protection to migrating Jews, allowing them to establish durable roots in Palestine.

This influx of Jews into Palestine fueled enormous political, economic, and social tension between the Jewish and Arab communities (Kramer 2008:238-263). The conflict escalated in 1947 when the United Nations endorsed a plan that would partition Palestine into two states. The result was violence between the Arab and Jewish communities (Morris 2004:65), and the British government refused to support either party. Instead they pledged to withdraw from Palestine by May 15, 1948 (Morris 2004:13).

Al-Nakba

The land of Palestine has seen military campaigns since the time of ancient Israel, but no conflict would transform the modern landscape like the war that followed the British withdrawal in 1948. Arabs commonly refer to the event as *Al-Nakba* or “The Catastrophe” (Sa’di and Abu-Lughod 2007:3). Upon the British withdrawal, Israel made a declaration of statehood. Violence erupted, and the fighting displaced nearly 750 thousand Arabs - the vast majority of the Palestinian population (Aruri 1989:6). Several intermediate conflicts followed, but what became known as the Six-Day War thoroughly reinforced Israeli control in 1967. The aggressor’s identity remains elusive, but the Israeli military swiftly destroyed the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and even an Iraqi expeditionary force (Lewis 1995:364-365).

After the Six Day War in 1967, Israeli supremacy was firmly established in Palestine. Israel captured the rest of British Mandatory Palestine to the west of the

Jordan River, the Golan Heights was captured from Syria in the northeast, and the Sinai Peninsula was captured from Egypt in the south (Lewis 1995:365). The Six Day War also displaced an additional 186 thousand Arabs (Aruri 1989:6).

Following the second massive Palestinian displacement in 1967, Edward Said (1975:29) responded from exile with an open letter to Israel lamenting their “astoundingly coarse and brutal” policies. By 1970, the maturation of Israeli power had generated a refugee population of more than 2 million Palestinian Arabs (Dumper 2007:41). Many of these refugees maintained their right to return to Palestine based on United Nations Resolution 194. On December 11, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 194, which effectively supplied an international endorsement to the Palestinian “right of return” (Morris 2004: 368).

To this day, Resolution 194 has yet to be meaningfully honored by the state of Israel. In fact, Palestinians have suffered “mass displacement, expulsion, killing, discrimination, torture, the destruction of property, administrative detention, and denigration by Israelis in refugee camps and cities in Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Kuwait” (Avni 2006:208). By the end of August 1971, more than 16 thousand Arab homes had been demolished to make room for Jewish settlers, and after thirteen hundred years of ancestral history in Palestine (Aruri 1989:6), Arabs in Palestine endured a type of “political extermination” from which they have yet to recover (Said 1992:14).

Despite the chronic social and political inequities of the current Arab-Israeli conflict, it is vital to note that Israeli nationalism was forged during the vicious atrocities

of the Holocaust, a point that must be given sufficient weight (Morris 2004:7). Israeli historian Benny Morris (2004:14) suggests,

Their motivation was strongly reinforced in the 1930's and 1940's by the onset in eastern and central Europe of anti-Semitic oppression and, then, the Holocaust, which rendered supremely urgent the establishment of a safe haven, in the form of an independent Jewish polity, for the world's unwanted, assailed, and endangered Jews.

Jewish suffering at the hands of Nazi Germany provides much needed context, and Morris (2004:6) argues that Jewish Zionists did not intend to fully expel or “transfer” the Arab population in Palestine, suggesting that leadership “never supported the idea of transfer and had never taken the idea seriously, and that, therefore, there was no connection between the occasional propagation of the idea in the 1930's and 1940's and what happened to the Palestinians in 1947-1949.” The idea was even morally problematic for many Jews (Morris 2004:43). Morris (2004:61) challenges the idea that Israel premeditated the massive displacement. Historical evidence does suggest that some Israelis hoped to expel the Palestinian population (Morris 2004:41-43), but Morris (2004) challenges the idea that Israel implemented a calculated, large-scale “transfer” effort to expel the Arabs from Palestine.

Palestinians Living in the United States

Palestine's unique political history has complicated efforts to accurately project their numbers in the United States, therefore population estimates range between 200 and 400 thousand (Christison 1989:18). The first complication is due to how Arab immigrants were classified by the United States government prior to the British Mandate. Before 1920, Arab immigrants from Palestine were classified generically as

coming from “Turkey in Asia” due to Ottoman rule (Kurson 2000:1404). Second, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service rarely affirms “Palestinian” nationality among immigrants. Third, Arabs could not report “Palestinian Ancestry” until the 1980 census (Christison 1989:18). In fact, one informant in this study suggested Palestinians avoid reporting their ancestry on the census due to concerns about racism and other forms of discrimination. Despite the difficulty in projecting their numbers, it is clear the largest wave of immigrants came to the United States after the Six Day War in 1967 between Israel and the surrounding Arab states. By 1990 the population had swelled to its current size (Kurson 2000:1409-1411) between 200 and 400 thousand (Christison 1989:18).

Ethnographic Research among Palestinians

Julie Peteet (2005) examines the Palestinian refugee experience in Lebanon, suggesting the refugees have infused the camps with a mixture of hope and despair. In the West Bank, Avram Bornstein (2002) navigates the shared Palestinian experience of borders and barriers, suggesting that further geopolitical partitioning will exacerbate tensions in the region. In Israel, Dan Rabinowitz (1997) explores how competing Israeli and Palestinian conceptualizations of the land have escalated tensions in Nazareth.

Ethnographic research among Palestinians living in the United States has been more limited. Al-Tahir’s (1952) research in Chicago presents an early assessment of processes that slowed the assimilation of Palestinian immigrants into the American community. Abu-Ghazaleh’s (2008) study of ethnic identity among Palestinians living in Maryland and the Serhan’s (2009) research in parts of New York and New Jersey are

two recent contributions in the United States. Abu-Ghazaleh (2008) provides baseline ethnographic data and explores the construction of Palestinian national identity, while Serhan (2009) explores the Palestinian experience of living as an “exile” in the United States. Kathleen Christison’s (1989) study of Palestinian attitudes toward being American is the broadest in scope, using data collected from 72 participants in five cities (Christison 1989:19-20). Christison (1989) suggests that Palestinians appreciate the American way of life, but their troubled experience living in the United States has served to reinforce their Palestinian identity.

Methodology

This thesis is rooted in data collected during fieldwork in Orange County, Florida between March 2010 and May 2011. The study includes two female Palestinian-born immigrants to the United States. Both women were extremely cautious with their personal information and chose to use pseudonyms for the study. Cherut is the first participant, and she was recruited through contact with the international student service office at a local college. Maryam was recruited after a fortuitous conversation I had with a colleague at my place of work. After learning his wife’s ancestry, I discussed the topic of my research and he graciously put me in contact with Maryam.

The data used in this study are fundamentally qualitative. The only quantitative information provided is supplemental and used exclusively to highlight the presence of a Palestinian population cluster in Orange County, Florida. The participants in this study are Orange County residents, but the census data indicate nothing specific about their

address within the county. At each participant's request, I have made every reasonable effort to protect the confidentiality of the information they shared.

Because of the difficulty I had securing participants I chose a person-centered methodological approach that would maximize the amount of data available to me. I chose the life history methodology, which involves the collection of biographical information from an individual that is subsequently edited and reported in a written account (Brettell 1998:526-527). In addition, the life history methodology was chosen for its merits when exploring cultural phenomena that undergo diachronic change. The life history methodology is preferable to analyze sense of place because, as this study demonstrates, places are experienced differently at different points in time.

Two types of qualitative data ground this thesis. First, written personal histories were submitted by each participant after being asked to communicate "What has made you who you are today?" I used their writing to supply a framework for the life histories reported in Chapter three of this thesis. I reported the full text of their writing in an effort to let them speak for themselves where possible. Second, data was collected through a series of semi-structured life history interviews with each participant, five with Cherut and two with Maryam. These interviews were conducted in order to determine what experiences over the course of each participant's life made them who they are today. Notes were taken during each interview and used to complete the two life histories reported in Chapter three. Before employing the life history approach, a single exploratory interview was conducted with Cherut to "gain a broad understanding of the

area of study” (Weller 1998:367). The interview took place during research I completed for a UCF seminar on ethnographic research methods.

During the interviews, each participant was treated as a respondent. In other words, rather than simply pursuing a narrative description of events, I sought to understand their personal responses, experiences, and feelings about what was being described (Levy and Hollan 1998:336). With reference to sense of place, each woman described leaving Palestine because of the event’s importance. Instead of simply reporting their description of the event, I asked strategic questions that allowed me to navigate their personal feelings and responses to the departure. The life history methodology allowed me to navigate the same responses, experiences, and feelings as they occurred and changed in time.

The Life History Methodology in Anthropology

Watson and Watson-Franke (1985) trace the development of the life history methodology back to the emergence of modern American anthropology, contending that the approach has always been a part of the discipline’s methodological fabric. Referencing personal histories that were collected to generate early ethnographic monographs, Watson and Watson-Franke (1985:4) argue that life history is “in the very nature of ethnographic fieldwork” and forms the “basis of the ethnographic monograph.” Ruth Benedict (1934) was an early advocate for recognizing the importance of individual accounts and articulated an important feature of what would become known as “person-centered” ethnography.

Life history methodology was refined largely in the early 20th century during research among American Indian populations (Langness and Frank 1981:13-17), but American anthropologist Oscar Lewis distinguished life history as a legitimate cultural document when he published *The Children of Sanchez* (1961), a controversial exploration of Mexico's "culture of poverty." This collection of multiple life histories won popular literary acclaim (Langness and Frank 1981:24-25), but Marjorie Shostak's *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* (1985) is arguably the most well known anthropological life history (Zeitlyn 2008:163). Harry Wolcott (2008:153) and Langness and Frank (1981:71) commend Morris Opler's *Apache Odyssey: A Journey Between Two Worlds* (2002) as the best "purely ethnographic" anthropological life history.

The Individual Life History and Culture

Anthropologists often struggle to discern the role of individual accounts in the description and evaluation of culture. Person-centered documents were published in early ethnographic monographs, but their purpose was unclear other than to "illustrate objective facts about a culture" (Watson and Watson-Franke 1985:4). Unfortunately, individuals were often lost in ethnographic monographs because of the perception that anthropology should be driven by larger categories such as religion, morals, and law (Watson and Watson-Franke 1985:4-5).

Despite the discipline's uneasy relationship with individuals, person-centered ethnography highlights the "interplay of social and personal forces" (Levy and Hollan 1998:360). Sidney Mintz (1979:20) even contends anthropology assumes that every individual "in some fundamental and inalterable ways, gives expression to, incarnates

the culture, and cannot do otherwise.” The person-centered focus of this study builds on the insight of Ruth Benedict (1934) and Langness (1965:22) who suggest that individuals are critical to the process of assessing broad cultural patterns.

Research Context

Orange County hosts Central Florida’s largest Palestinian population. The most recent demographic data available from the U.S. Census bureau show that 976 Central Floridians in Lake, Seminole, Osceola, and Orange County reported Palestinian “first ancestry” in the 2000 Census (See Appendix D). 74% of Central Floridians who reported Palestinian “first ancestry” have settled in Orange County. A cluster of 276 live in just two Census tracts (146.06 and 148.10) near Turkey Lake in Orlando (see Figures 1-2), which is the largest cluster in Orange County, also accounting for nearly one third of the entire Palestinian population in Central Florida. This data and the maps below indicate that Orange County hosts Central Florida’s largest Palestinian population. They do not in any way suggest where the participants live within Orange County. At the request of each participant, I have made every reasonable effort to protect their confidentiality.

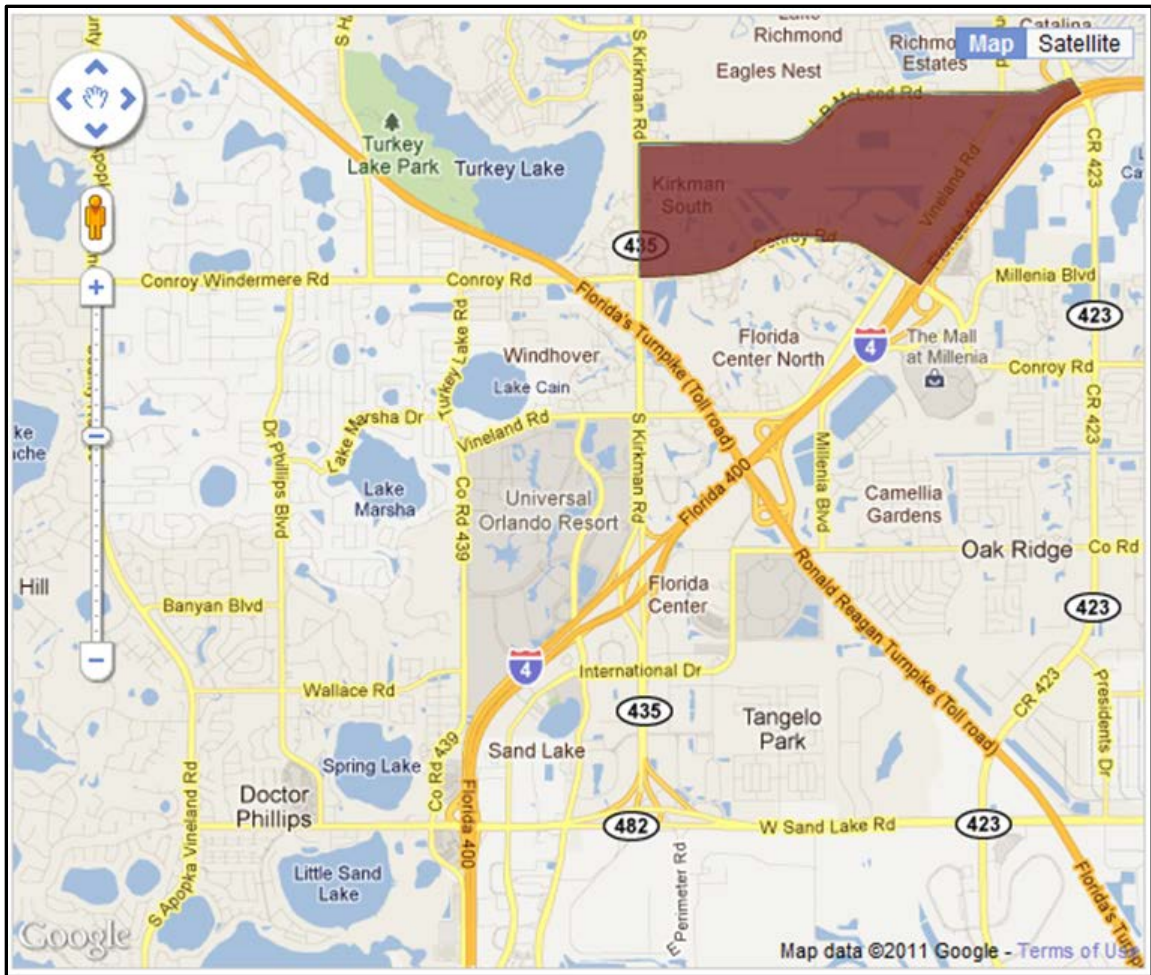


Figure 1: Map of Census Tract 146.06
160 Reporting Palestinian First Ancestry

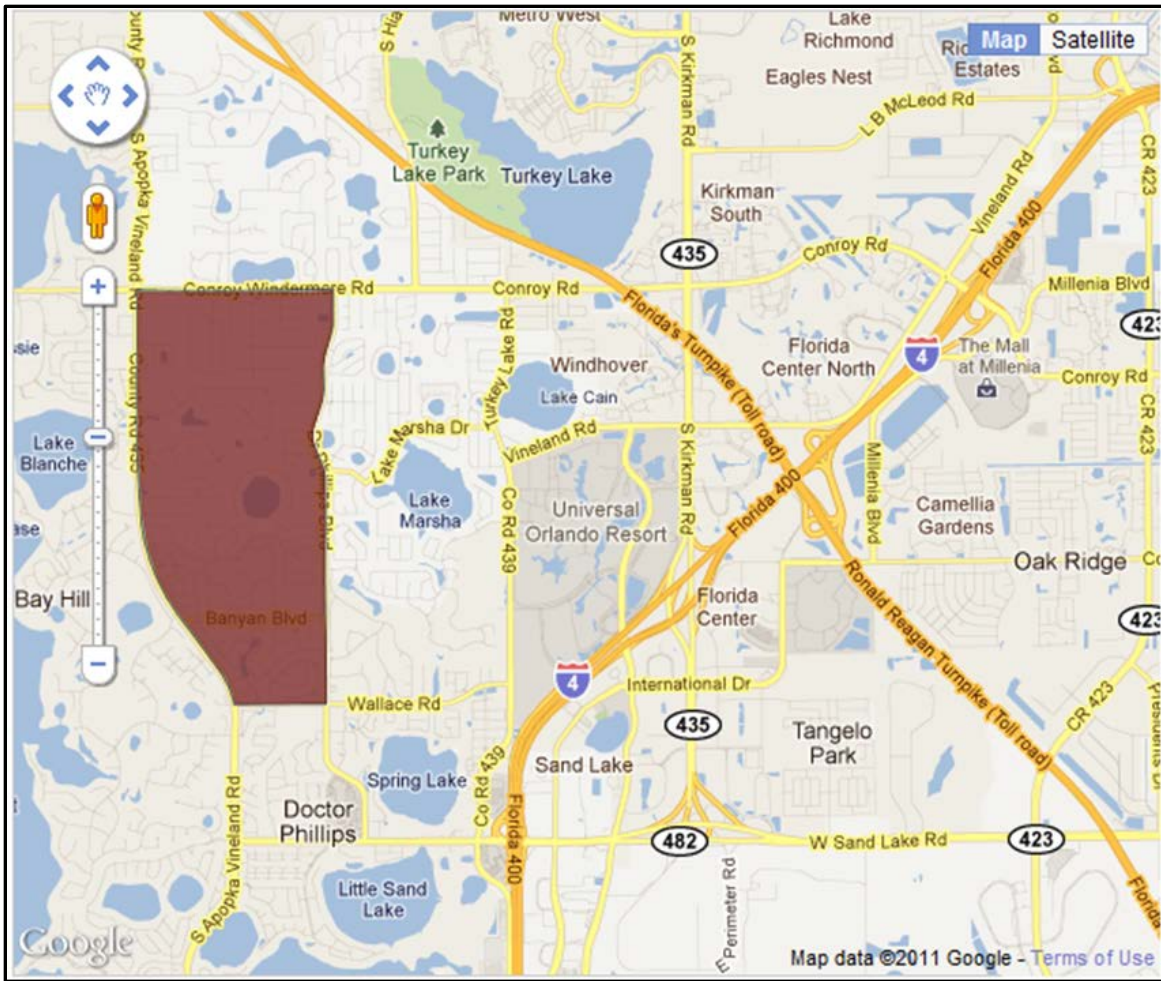


Figure 2: Map of Census Tract 148.10

116 Reporting Palestinian First Ancestry

Securing Participants

Over the course of my fieldwork, I spent countless hours on the telephone, sending emails, answering emails, searching the Internet, reading, in meetings, driving, adjusting schedules, and changing plans. I learned firsthand that ethnography requires time, patience, and a significant amount of resolve. Researchers have to recognize and enjoy the process. Anxiety and discouragement await those who don't. Securing participants for this study was extremely difficult. After confirming that Orange County hosted Central Florida's largest Palestinian population, I set out to meet as many Palestinians as I could in hopes of securing a snowball sample. I soon discovered the difference between finding and securing participants. It is one thing to locate a population on a map. It is quite another to access, build rapport, and secure their participation in a study. Securing participants, especially Palestinians, is not an event. It is a process.

My effort to secure participants for this thesis began at the Arab American Community Center of Central Florida (AACC). The AACC is a non-partisan, non-sectarian, nonprofit organization that is dedicated to providing Greater Orlando's Arab Americans with various community services. Although well worth the investment, just getting the opportunity to speak to someone on the telephone took me more than one month. I actually didn't speak to a representative on the telephone until I drove out to the AACC office. Because I had trouble connecting over the telephone or via email, I found an address and drove to the office in an effort to meet someone in person. Unfortunately I got lost in the business complex. After deciding to leave, I called their

office one more time, and the charming tone of a thick Arab accent encouraged my gloomy quest.

The representative turned out to be very gracious and informed me the office had actually been moved within the complex. Because she was preparing to leave for the weekend, she requested that I email her again to set up a more convenient meeting time the following week. After a few more emails, I was invited to attend an annual event hosted by the Arab American Culture Club at a local community college. The event was a cultural celebration of the Arab student population. After making my way around the campus, I joined a few hundred students in a large, open courtyard where the event was to be held.

There was an air of celebration as a vibrant group of young Arab Americans prepared to share their rich cultural heritage with the school's student body. Despite the stirring excitement and smell of fresh tabouli, beef kabobs, and baklava, I nervously adjusted the buttons on my shirt hoping to make a good first impression on my initial contact. As it turned out, the AACC representative seemed genuinely excited by my interest in Arab culture and graciously endured my social clumsiness as we got to know one another.

Interestingly, in a sea of Arabs, the only person to greet me with open reservation was William, an American friend of the AACC representative. He shook my hand firmly, and I knew something wasn't quite right. As soon as we were alone, William engaged me in conversation. For a few minutes I was interrogated, and interestingly enough, my greatest offense was to say "Yes Sir" to William. He did not respond well to what I

intended to be a respectful gesture. In fact, he scolded me. "If you really wanted to get to know me, you would call me dude," he said. Things were not going well between William and me, and it caught me completely off guard. "I'm a military brat," I said, trying to disarm William. I wanted to let him know that I always say "Yes Sir" to anyone remotely older than me. The phrase had become instinctive gesture of respect. Soon after, William realized he was being far too abrasive. Then we started to pass out drinks together. We shared a good laugh when I left because my departing words to him were, "See you later, dude!"

After a series of emails and telephone calls following the community college event, I traveled to the AACCC office for a second time. The office was much easier to find with the correct address, and I observed a very well organized, professional space. I spoke freely with an AACCC representative about my interest in Palestinians living in Central Florida and my hopes to conduct ethnographic research among them. The representative's first response after I mentioned Palestinians was, "That will be very difficult." I tried not to be discouraged. She then put me in touch with two Palestinian businessmen, and neither returned multiple messages. After another six weeks went by without having met a single Palestinian, I decided to try a local college.

I was finally contacted by a young Palestinian woman after leaving a message at the international student service office. Her name was Cherut, and after an exploratory interview, she agreed to participate in the present study. "I'll help you in any way I can," she said. Little did I know she would graciously participate in five interviews, multiple telephone and email exchanges, and provide a typed life history. Cherut is now a

personal friend, and when my second daughter was born during the middle of my fieldwork, she even suggested the name my wife and I chose.

I was very fortunate to secure my second participant, Maryam. After investing countless hours into the process of securing participants, fieldwork often requires a bit of good fortune. One afternoon at work, I placed an IT request to resolve a computer issue. I carried on a friendly conversation with a helpful coworker, and it turned out his wife was Palestinian. It wasn't long before his wife Maryam agreed to participate in this study.

Situating Myself

Upon my arrival at UCF, I was fairly naïve concerning the research process. I was prepared in every way by my professors and cohort to navigate the pitfalls of fieldwork, even being warned about the potential labor involved. Of course I knew that anthropologists have been conflated at times with the FBI, CIA, and a host of other government agencies. I simply did not anticipate those concerns applying to me. I will never forget my dejection after an invitation to a Palestinian family's home was withdrawn because of these fears. I assumed that people would be willing to share their lives with me, an unknown white male that claimed to be a "student" and a "researcher." My shaved head and green eyes probably did not help to endear me to this very sensitive population.

Of course, I see myself differently. I like to think I am a faithful husband, loving father, provider, culturally sensitive, advocate for Palestinian interests, etc. However, I was quickly forced to reckon with my presence in the research process and the

obstacles that surfaced as a result. First, I stood to benefit from this study. Upon its completion I would be awarded a graduate degree from a major university. My participants, on the other hand, received no tangible benefit. I also enjoyed a social advantage. I'm not the minority. My child has never been chased down by a man screaming animal threats because of her ancestry. My daughter has never had a gun pointed at her chest. I've never collapsed with a heart attack because of my family's pain and loss. None of my school teachers were killed in front of me. Why would someone entrust me with this kind of suffering and assume I intended to use it for their good? I have never longed for freedom, and I've never had reason to be suspicious that it would be taken from me. I was free when I started my fieldwork, and my experience is not a Palestinian one. I was evaluated as an outsider to this immigrant community, and rightfully so. I don't speak Arabic. I'm a young, white, American male. To earn the right to listen and report their lives, I had to be seen as a trustworthy caretaker of a "Palestinian" life. This required far more time than I originally anticipated.

Limitations

First, with just two participants this study is understandably limited by its sample size. Neither woman had friends or family that would agree to participate, and my effort to secure a snowball sample did not materialize. What this study lacks in numbers, however, is strengthened by its accuracy derived from lengthy contact with each participant. For example, Cherut confessed to me after our second interview that she withheld details about her life in Palestine early on because she did not want to "scare me." She confessed providing a more full reflection of her experience as time went on.

Second, although difficult to triangulate in many areas, I was able to verify some data through other sources. There was a particularly horrific story that Cherut told me about her cousin in Palestine (reported in Chapter three). While researching Palestinian advocacy websites for another UCF seminar, I was able to see with my own eyes what she reported. Third, the sample size makes it difficult to generalize about Palestinian sense of place and culture, not knowing which behaviors are idiosyncratic and which are conventional. Fourth, the data are not only limited by size, but also by gender bias because there are no male participants. Despite this weakness, the data are sufficient to account for a limited range of experience and challenge essentialist understandings of Palestinian culture. Fifth, with so few participants, I had to be careful about engaging in hagiography to avoid losing a participant. My participants requested to read my work, so I was concerned that my analyses may offend them in some way, thus the temptation toward hagiography. Sixth, my participants were particularly sensitive about protecting their identities. Pieces of information that would have enhanced the clarity and quality of this thesis were left unexplored in an effort to honor the ethical code of the American Anthropological Association to “do no harm.” Finally, this study is limited by the gender of the researcher. There were certainly issues that deserved more careful attention during the interview process that I did not perceive due to my lack of clarity with respect to research among women.

CHAPTER TWO: FROM SPATIAL TO SOCIAL: REORIENTING ANTHROPOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON PLACE

Concern for place in anthropology has revolved largely around choosing a fieldwork site. One place is weighed against another until a decision can be made on where to conduct research. Further, an often romantic interest in exotic locations monopolized early anthropological attention, which has contributed to the discipline's fundamentally spatial lexicon (Wolcott 2008:21-22). Clifford Geertz (1995:102) even suggests that for his generation, the question of "where" became "a much more important question, actually, than what we would do when we got there" (Wolcott 2008:21). However, anthropological reflection on the concept cannot be reduced to just a concern for fieldwork locations. The discipline has seen fascinating versions of place that include explorations of boundaries (Appadurai 1988:16), delimited borders (Tilley 1994:7), deserted villages (Thomas 1993:19), and ritual centers (Tilley 1993:50). But if the discipline's attention is monopolized by questions of "where," extraordinary pathways of qualitative exploration will be left unexplored. Anthropology is experiencing a resurging emphasis on place. Emerging scholarship indicates the discipline is repositioning itself to survey the complex and often fantastic ways people experience, conceptualize, and confer meaning to their natural surroundings (Feld and Basso 1996).

Anthropology, Sense of Place, and Phenomenology

Feld and Basso (1996) lament past anthropological reflection on place, believing ethnographers neglected the intensely social dimensions of the concept. Places have

far more social texture than we presently understand due in large part to the fact that anthropologists “seldom study what people make of places” (Basso 1996:53).

Understanding sense of place - how people sensually perceive, experience, conceptualize, imagine, and confer meaning to places - has received remarkably little attention from cultural anthropologists (Basso 1996:53). Basso argues that ethnography has reported little about the complex ways in which people are “alive to the world around them” and writes,

Sensitive to the fact that human existence is irrevocably situated in time and space, and keenly aware that social life is everywhere accomplished through an exchange of symbolic forms, *anthropologists might be expected to report routinely on the varieties of meaning conferred by men and women on features of their natural surroundings. Yet ethnographic inquiry into cultural constructions of geographical realities is at best weakly developed* (Basso 1996:53-54 emphasis added).

Anthropology has long been concerned with the material and organizational means by which communities live in “places,” but the ways in which people experience their natural surroundings is noticeably absent from the ethnographic record (Basso 1996:53).

The research of Appadurai (1988), Rosaldo (1988), Malkki (1992), Gupta (1992), Massey (1994), Feld and Basso (1996), Geertz (1996), Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Bisharat (1997), Huff (2006), and Bender (2006) represents a growing body of anthropological scholarship that seeks to account for the remarkably social features of places. Two themes surface in this body of literature on place. First, anthropology’s general reduction of the concept of place to fieldwork locations is challenged by an emphasis on sense of place. Second, phenomenology emerges as the theoretical

stronghold for recent anthropological reflection on place, which highlights an important intersection between the disciplines of anthropology and philosophy. The phenomenological approach is attractive to anthropologists that study sense of place because of its concern with the “human encounter, experience and understanding of worldly things” (Thomas 2006:43). As anthropologists labor to understand the ways in which people experience their natural surroundings, they have flocked to phenomenology and its focus on subjective human experiences of the objective world (Tilley 1994:11-12). Phenomenology clearly has implications for anthropology beyond reflection on places as the discipline explores a range of human experiences (Desjarlais and Throop 2011). Russell Bernard (2006:24) even suggests that “good ethnography - a narrative that describes a culture or part of a culture - is usually good phenomenology.”

Arjun Appadurai et al (1988) initiated a resurgence in anthropological reflection on place, but Clifford Geertz (1996:262) argues that Steven Feld and Keith Basso launched the anthropology of place “as a sustained and self-conscious enterprise” with the book, *Senses of Place* (1996). Originally presented as a series of papers for a School of American Research advanced seminar entitled, “Place, Expression, and Experience” (Feld and Basso 1996:3), the chapters in this book accelerated anthropological dialogue on human senses of place. The contributors also leverage ethnographic research throughout to describe and interpret the complex ways in which people engage, understand, and confer meaning to their natural surroundings. *Senses of Place* (1996) begins with a philosophical exposition of place by Edward Casey. Casey (1996) unpacks the theoretical basis for emerging anthropological reflection on

place by highlighting the phenomenological approach, which insists “the crux in matters of place is the role of perception” (Casey 1996:17). Phenomenology sets a theoretical trajectory for considerations of place in anthropology, and given the importance of this volume to the anthropology of place (Geertz 1996:262), the inclusion of phenomenology in Feld and Basso’s (1996) methodological approach is significant.

Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997) also call upon the discipline to explore sense of place in their edited volume *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. George Bisharat (1997) embodies the theoretical interests of this study by exploring Palestinian senses of place in the West Bank. He demonstrates the transformation of Palestinian senses of place from a local rootedness in particular towns, villages, and neighborhoods to an often romantic sense of belonging to an abstract Palestinian nation and homeland. Bisharat (1997) utilizes ethnographic data to make a distinct point about Palestinian sense of place. The important relationship between anthropology and phenomenology is also apparent because Bisharat (1997) is fundamentally concerned with Palestinian “perceptions” and “experiences” of places in the West Bank. Despite not making the phenomenological methodology explicit in his study, Bisharat’s (1997) concern for Palestinian perceptions and experiences of the land highlight the phenomenological qualities of his research.

The Contribution of Philosophy

One of anthropology’s strengths is its capacity to aggregate and leverage insight from other human disciplines. Given my focus on subjective human experiences of place, philosophy makes no small theoretical contribution to this study through the

phenomenological approach. At its core, phenomenology is a philosophical approach (Thomas 2006:43) that attempts to understand and describe the subjective human experience of the objective world (Tilley 1994:11-12). Interestingly, the phenomenological approach has influenced several other human disciplines with an overlapping focus on place. Tim Cresswell highlights a recent ontological shift in the discipline of cultural geography:

The philosophies of phenomenology and existentialism were central. As we shall see it would be wrong to think of the focus on place as a return to the ideographic concerns with particular places that were central to human geography in the first half of the century. Rather, place [not space] was seen as a universal and transhistorical part of the human condition. It was not so much places (in the world) that interested the humanists but 'place' as an idea, concept and way of being-in-the-world (Cresswell 2004:20).

Phenomenology is also the theoretical centerpiece of cultural geographers like Yi-Fu Tuan (2008) and Edward Relph (1976).

Philosopher Edward Casey's *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (2009) highlights the important intersection between the disciplines of philosophy and anthropology. Casey (1996) is no stranger to anthropology, and he uses ethnographic data collected among Navajo Indians to communicate the critical importance of place to uprooted peoples (Casey 2009:22). His discussion of the Navajo reveals the deep and sacred connection to land experienced in many cultures (Casey 2009:37). In 1974, the United States government forcibly relocated thousands of Navajo Indians as a result of the Navajo-Hopi Settlement Act. Interestingly, no word in the Navajo language captures the idea of displacement, and the aftermath of the resettlement has included growing reports of suicide, alcoholism,

and depression because the Navajo considered the land to be their primary loss (Casey 2009:35).

Edward Casey (1996, 2009) demonstrates the importance of philosophy and phenomenology to the anthropology of place. His work is uniquely important to this study for two reasons. First, the Navajo tragedy has been repeated numerous times in the context of displacement and forced migration, which has important bearing on this study's interest in the Palestinian diaspora. Second, Casey embodies the collaborative potential that exists between anthropology and philosophy as it relates to exploring human senses of place.

A Brief History of Phenomenology

Although Casey (1997:53) highlights a "protophenomenology" in philosophy as early as Aristotle, German philosopher Edmund Husserl fathered the approach in the early 20th century. Husserl, a student of Franz Brentano, developed phenomenology from his mentor's descriptive psychology, which sought to identify and analyze mental functions like judgments, emotions, and perceptions, all phenomena of the mind not observable through the purely natural-scientific approaches of empirical and genetic psychology (Smith and Thomasson 2005:4-11).

Husserlian phenomenology summoned philosophy away the abyss of metaphysical abstractions. It was a return to the concrete; the essence and immediate appearing of mental phenomena. Husserl aimed to prevent philosophical explorations of human consciousness from dissolving into a speculative exercise and championed a return "to the things themselves" (Moran 2000:1-9). In addition, Husserl sought a

methodological alternative to investigations of mental phenomena rooted solely in naturalism. Husserl believed the natural scientific approach was insufficient to account for the complexity of human thought. Although fundamentally interested in robust scientific explanations, Husserl opposed the “prevailing naturalization of the mental” (Moran 2002:15), believing the natural scientific method to be appropriate for the subjects of the hard sciences, but insufficient for studying social beings that supply meaning to the world around them (Bernard 2006:24). Ultimately, Husserl intended phenomenology to supplement hard data with a subjective approach that focused “on the structure and qualities of objects and situations as they are *experienced by the subject*” (Moran 2002:2, emphasis added).

As with any movement, phenomenology experienced revision over time, but its subjective, experiential quality endured. Interestingly, Edmund Husserl lamented the phenomenology of his own friend and successor at the University of Freiburg, Martin Heidegger (Moran 2002:4-5). Like Husserl before him, Heidegger’s phenomenology indicated a philosophical method, not a particular subject matter like the discipline of theology, for example (Mulhall 1996:23). *Being and Time* (Heidegger 1996:24) advanced Husserl’s maxim “To the things themselves!” but Heidegger would initiate a departure from what Husserl intended to be a unified phenomenological movement. Tributaries of phenomenological thought would eventually flow from Europe into the Americas and Asia (Moran 2002:4). Phenomenology would be no monolith, but Moran highlights the importance of Husserl’s enduring contribution to modern philosophy:

While phenomenology never came to be a movement in the sense Husserl intended, it still presents the most coherent philosophical alternative to the

project of naturalizing consciousness. *Phenomenology's emphasis on examining the structures of consciousness from within* still presents a challenge to all third-person attempts to explain consciousness in terms of natural science. (Moran 2000:xiv emphasis added).

Phenomenology combats dogmatic positivism; it does not scorn natural-scientific explanations, but it does not privilege them either. Phenomenology's empathetic posture toward subjective phenomena and the inward, lived human experience make the approach a valuable contribution to this study.

Philosophy and Theorizing Place

Place is an enigmatic theoretical concept. Its familiarity and diverse common usage make it difficult to plainly define (Cresswell 2004:1-3). Philosopher Jeff Malpas (1998:33) even suggests that a definition of place may be impossible. Oversimplifying place is unhelpful because of the term's rich usage, but a highly technical and abstract definition suffers the same destructive fate. Wrestling with the ambiguity of the concept, Jeff Malpas (1998:21) contends that even an important philosophical volume like Edward Casey's *The Fate of Place* (1996) struggles to provide a clear definition of "what place itself might be."

Space and Place

Differentiating space and place is an ancient philosophical task. More than two thousand years ago, theoretical concern for the *a priori* or *posteriori* nature of place was a staple of philosophical reflection on the concept (Casey 2009:335). The emergence of Cartesian logic vaulted space to universal and absolute status. Descartes argued that space was a divine property, making it an infinite realm and the container of all things

(Lefebvre 1991:1-14). Place was therefore a derivative concept and tied to particular localities in space. Arturo Escobar notes (Cresswell 2004:19), “Since Plato, Western philosophy – often times with the help of theology and physics – has enshrined space as the absolute, unlimited and universal, while banning place to the realm of the particular, the limited, the local and bound.” This understanding of space and place is likely to govern most ordinary thinking on the concept (Malpas 1999:31-32).

Martin Heidegger inspired a philosophical shift in reflection on place (Malpas 1999:31). Heidegger (1996) was the first to supply place with ontological gravity. He argued that *to be* was to be *in place* - and his notion of dwelling was the fusion of being and place. Heideggerian ontology is noteworthy for this study because it transforms the observation that “people do not simply occupy places - they experience them” into a universal human quality.

Building on Heidegger’s insight (1996), contemporary philosophers like Malpas (1998) and Casey (2009) have disputed the Cartesian, *tabula rasa* view of space, arguing that places are not merely subordinate points in a dominant space. Like Heidegger, Jeff Malpas (1998:36-37) suggests that “Understanding human ‘being’ and understanding place are one and the same.” He goes on to explain that the very possibility of human thought, experience, or action demands a humanity that is “embedded in a world.” In other words, place facilitates being, because the human impulse to think, to desire, or *to be* cannot occur in absolute space – only a being that is “oriented and located can relate to objects and to the world.” Thus, place is ontologically essential and therefore cannot be derivative. Jeff Malpas expands on this idea in *Place*

and Experience: A Philosophical Topography (1999). More provocatively, Edward Casey (2009:17-18) recently challenged Cartesian space (a divine property) with the concept of “God as Place.” Obviously place could not assume a more absolute ontological position.

Toward a Useful Understanding of Place

Despite the pitfalls, it is necessary to provide a useful and theoretically informed definition of place for this study. I begin with two ideas from Smith et al (1998) and Edward Casey (2009) that highlight the importance of phenomenology.

Smith et al (1998:4) maintain that philosophies of place “are intimately bound to practices of place making.” To be sure, *place making always involves perception*. From clearing leaves on a park bench to formal urban design, place making necessitates conscious perception even in its most unsophisticated form. Edward Casey (2009:320 emphasis added) stresses the kinship between phenomenology and perception, contending “in a phenomenological account, *the crux in matters of place is the role of perception*.” If (1) place making is bound to a philosophy of place, (2) place making cannot be divorced from perception, (3) Smith et al (1998) and Edward Casey (2009) are correct - then (4) phenomenology is critical to a philosophy of place, and (5) a useful definition of place will have phenomenological texture.

In saying this, my goal is not to make dogmatic philosophical claims about place. That would distract from this study, and Bruce Janz (2005:2-3) clearly demonstrates that philosophers have long understood place in a number of ways, such as points on a map or an inhabited home. My goal is to provide a useful understanding of place that

integrates philosophical insight and accounts for both real and imagined conceptions of place - senses of both corporeal and eschatological places. From my philosophical purview, a definition of place that maintains a subjective, phenomenological quality achieves this goal.

Place is clearly an elusive theoretical concept. The term is so dense with meaning that it might seem helpful to reduce it to one thing or another. However, a useful understanding of place cannot obstruct the nuances of the concept. Favoring one shade of meaning clouds another and simply contributes to the problem. Jeff Malpas (1998) supplies a way forward by embracing the tension. Malpas (1998:38) suggests it would be more fruitful to “understand things through their interconnection rather than their reduction, through recognition of their complexity rather than their simplification.”

A Definition of Place for this Study

For the purpose of this study, *place denotes a site of being*. Distinguished from space, places embody and facilitate individual and social human acts of ‘being.’ Thus, places are both real and imagined, both actual and abstract, both topographic and ethereal. Therefore, the earth, Palestine, my living room sofa, the internet, and the Christian eschaton are places in that they site various human acts of ‘being’ and sensual perception. This understanding of place is not theoretically flawless, but it is fluid enough to account for the term’s rich usage.

CHAPTER THREE: PALESTINIAN LIFE HISTORIES

Each participant submitted her own typed life history to me. I used the full text of these personal documents to supply a framework for the life histories reported below, desiring each woman to speak in her own words wherever possible and govern the structure of my writing. Data collected through semi-structured life history interviews with each participant complete the two life histories recorded in this chapter. In an effort to preserve the thought process of each woman, no content has been rearranged, and all original paragraph divisions remain intact with titles for each section provided by me.

Cherut

Cherut grew up in a large, predominantly Muslim city in Palestine. When she was ten years old her family of eleven moved to the United States. After living in Chicago for about five years, Cherut's family moved to Orlando, Florida where she attended high school and recently graduated from college with a degree in education. Cherut currently works as an elementary school teacher.

To a Land of Freedom

An abrupt decision was made by my parents to move to America. For a family of eleven living in an occupied country and always being in fear; moving to American was a dream come true. My father's reasons to moving to America was to pursue a better life and better education for his kids. Living in Palestine which has been at war with Israel for many years has finally taken its toll on my father. My father's simple reason was the "pursuit of a better life" for his family.

Cherut describes Palestine as a land of fear; a land of blood; a place where fathers beg for the lives of their children. She was robbed of most childhood joys, and

instead of cartoons, Cherut grew up watching soldiers train near her home. Instead of skipping stones on water, she threw them at Israelis in what has become an iconic act of Palestinian youth resistance to military occupation. I was confronted by the harsh realities of life in Palestine the first time I met Cherut.

On the Friday before our first meeting, her family awoke to a desperate phone call in the middle of the night. Cherut's cousin had just been shot by an Israeli settler, and the family thought he was dead and didn't know where the body had been taken. Not only was he shot, the settler ran him over multiple times with a car while Israeli police stood no more than five yards away from the young man. To be honest, I struggled to imagine the possibility of what Cherut described. She had to be exaggerating. But just a few weeks later I was browsing Palestinian advocacy websites while conducting research for another UCF seminar. I watched the featured video on one website, and I was horrified. It was exactly what Cherut described. It occurred near what I knew to be her home. And I was able to later confirm that it was in fact her cousin.

Two experiences embody the pain of Cherut's childhood in Palestine. At the age of five, her home was invaded during an Israeli military operation. Cherut remembers seeing 60 to 70 soldiers maneuver into her neighborhood, many of them storming through the front door of her home. They were screaming in broken Arabic and Hebrew. Cherut was not afraid of their guns, but she remembers being haunted by their faces. Not understanding why the soldiers had come, Cherut rushed with her brothers and sisters to hide under a bed. Her 14 year old brother was not as fortunate. He was

thrown into a bedroom where his head crashed against a dresser. One can imagine the helpless rage of Cherut's father as he looked on. In fact, three days later he collapsed, suffering a heart attack from the trauma of the assault.

Cherut described a second event she experienced at the age of seven. After learning how to say "dog" in the Hebrew, she decided to experiment with the slur at an Israeli checkpoint. Unfortunately, the pathetic security officer turned, aimed his weapon, and threatened blood for the offense. Terrified, Cherut's father blanketed his daughter and pleaded for mercy. They were allowed to pass safely through the checkpoint, but Cherut will always remember her father's terror in that moment. Things were not as they ought to be in Palestine.

The weight of the family's suffering proved too much to bear, and when Cherut was ten years old her father made plans to flee Palestine. The decision was abrupt and had to be carried out in secret. Cherut's father traveled alone to Illinois and spent six months making legal and practical arrangements for his family to join him. Cherut was informed just a few days before the journey, and she remembers being excited to miss a test at school that week.

Six months after her father left Palestine, Cherut boarded a Chicago-bound flight with her mother, five brothers, and three sisters. Leaving would not be easy. The journey began with a frantic search for passports, but a strong, resolute mother of nine left Palestine, 'delivering' five boys and four girls for a second time. The family reunited in Chicago with their hope fixed on a better life in the United States, a place Cherut believed to be "a land of freedom."

In a Land of Freedom

Moving to America has changed me as well as my family in many different and positive ways. When I first arrived in America it was definitely a shock to me that I am here, in a whole different unoccupied country. It took us a while to adjust to the living style, culture and language. But I think the hardest thing to adjust to was being away from 'home' and being away from your family. Even though we kept very close contact and ties with Palestine it was still very difficult to leave your old life behind and start a new one in a foreign county.

After reuniting in Chicago, the family settled in the city of Wheaton, Illinois where Cherut's aunt lived. The transition to the American way of life was not easy, however. In fact, reflecting on their first few months in the United States, Cherut said "after leaving Palestine, all we wanted to do was return." Things were especially difficult for Cherut's father, and she describes him as having a deep sense of being "out of place" and feeling like America was a "temporary" home. In time, the family adjusted to their new lives due in large part to what might seem to be an unlikely group of Americans - Christians.

Members of a local church befriended this devout Muslim family, helping them to learn English and adjust to their new lives in the United States. Despite being from what Cherut describes as a "very strict" Muslim city in Palestine, her father encouraged his children to understand the Christian religion. He had worked closely with both Christians and Israelis every day through his business and instilled the same cooperative spirit in his children. They were allowed to visit Bible studies on occasion, and eventually two of Cherut's sisters graduated from a Christian liberal arts college near Chicago. Ultimately, Cherut's father was concerned for his children to understand their new home and learn to live peacefully among its people.

Florida

To support his family, Cherut's father continued to operate a business in Palestine, but the company was devastated when money was stolen by a partner. In pursuit of better employment, coupled with severe arthritis he hoped a warmer climate would relieve, Cherut's father moved the family to Central Florida after spending five years living in Wheaton.

Cherut's experience in Central Florida has been conflicted. She attended a local high school and adjusted well, making friends and successfully gaining admission to college. She has been living the American dream, but Cherut has experienced the deep currents of racism that still flow in the land of the free, especially after 9/11. In fact, fear of racism drove her to "lose her faith" for a short period during high school, which was not uncommon for Muslims in the wake of 9/11 (Alsultany 2011).

Cherut also explained that while driving recently, she noticed a man following closely behind her. She thought she might have been driving too slowly, but the man was enraged by the small sticker of a Palestinian flag Cherut displayed on the back of her car. Like an animal, he began to scream racist threats and obscenities. Cherut responded calmly to protect her siblings in the car and pulled into a neighborhood. The ignorant man followed. He eventually drove on, but this unfortunate event highlights the post-9/11 angst that troubles many Americans. Although Cherut has no interest in a final return to Palestine, she does not "like Orlando," citing racism and cultural insensitivity as a deep concern for herself and other Palestinian immigrants.

I am Palestinian

We gradually got accustomed to living in the United States and eventually found ourselves settling in to what we eventually called home (U.S) Even though I still consider myself Palestinian. After living in the U.S for ten years and never had the opportunity to go back and visit Palestine, I can truly say all of the factors and obstacles that I have faced in Palestine and U.S., it had a positive effect of who I am today.

Despite all that she has experienced, Cherut is “extremely proud” to be Palestinian. She is bright natured and often spoke about the positive effects of her pain. She has become a very thoughtful, articulate young woman. She sympathizes with the pain of others. She is passionate about education, social justice, and politics - each love birthed from the trials her family has overcome. Cherut even dreams of one day starting an orphanage in Palestine, an idea she returned to in several interviews.

After high school, Cherut was particularly interested in the field of International Relations and nearly pursued a career that might have taken her back to Palestine. Her zeal for Palestinian national politics waned during college, and Cherut ended up returning to her love for children, recently graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in Education. Toward the end of my fieldwork, Cherut accepted a job in a local elementary school. As a former educator myself, I love to imagine Cherut in the classroom. She has overcome worlds of hatred, and her bright nature is infectious. She is perfect for America’s children.

Cherut was terrified the first time she threw a rock over an Israeli fence. The second and last time - she felt powerful. Though very young, she sensed she was fighting for her country; her homeland. She was resisting an occupying force. Today, Cherut is more powerful than ever. She says, “I can truly say all of the factors and

obstacles that I have faced in Palestine and U.S., it had a positive effect of who I am today.” The most striking thing about who Cherut “is today” seems clear. Remarkably, Cherut emphasized that she has “no hatred” for Israel. She is committed to nonviolence and simply wants freedom for her family and the Palestinian people. She commended the peaceful work of Al-Quds University President Sari Nusseibeh (2007) and Israeli activist Amos Oz (1993), a veteran of both the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars.

Cherut will never forget her family’s pain, but her extraordinary response marks a way forward for both Palestinians and Israelis. Cherut embodies the appeal of Edward Said (1992:344) who wrote “if Israelis and Palestinians can have any decent future, it must be a common one, not based on the nullification of one by the other.”

Let’s Make a Run for It!

Traveling back to the homeland for Palestinians living in America is difficult, emotional, and sometimes altogether impossible. Returning to the homeland is not only about being physically present in Palestine. Instead, it is about sharing stories, maintaining heritage and tradition, and planning for a more robust future in order to build and renew a strong sense of Palestinian nationalism.

Although Cherut has visited family in Jordan multiple times, fears of being permanently detained in Palestine have kept her from returning. She expressed no desire for a final return, but she is determined to one day visit her “homeland.” In fact, one of the first stories Cherut ever told me happened during a trip to Jordan a few years ago. Cherut stood with her sister just east of the Jordan River; their eyes fixed to the west. The two sisters were looking back into Palestine, thinking of their former lives and the people they still love there. Cherut’s sister ended the moment by joking “let’s make a

run for it!” Cherut chuckled about the story, saying she “wouldn’t survive” living in an Arab country.

People often use powerful metaphoric imagery when describing their connection to places (Malkki 1992:27). Interestingly, Cherut used umbilical imagery to describe her present experience of Palestine, a place she no longer occupies. She says, “Palestine is my mother. She could not take care of me - but she is still my mother.” Cherut expands on the metaphor and describes America saying, “I have a new mother. Although I love her, she is not my mother.” Despite not seeking a final return to Palestine herself, Cherut believes her parents, especially her father, would return if conditions were more equitable. She did suggest that for her, “returning to the homeland is *not only about being physically present* in Palestine.” Cherut highlights Palestinian cultural reproduction and the making of a new place in diaspora, suggesting “it is about sharing stories, maintaining heritage and tradition, and planning for a more robust future in order to build and renew a strong sense of Palestinian nationalism.”

In order to “return to the homeland” while living outside of it, Cherut’s family has connected with other Palestinians that have settled in Orange County. In fact, many of them are from the same city where Cherut grew up. After connecting here in Orlando, these Palestinian families now gather often, including regular times of fellowship and prayer at a local park. They celebrate Islamic holidays together such as *Eid*, which marks the end of daily fasting during the holy month of *Ramadan*. The families also gather every year to celebrate Thanksgiving, incorporating new traditions into the

rhythm of their lives. These practices serve to maintain their rich cultural heritage while living in diaspora, and as Cherut explains, they are a kind of “return” to Palestine.

I am an American-Palestinian

In my household the cultures, traditions and religion is still present. We have daily reminders of who we are today and where we came from. A great influence would have to be my parents. They constantly remind us of simple things that show us we are American-Palestinian.

In addition to social practices that include other Palestinians living in Orange County, Cherut’s parents display cultural artifacts in their home to remind their children about Palestine. This common practice among Palestinian immigrants to the United States aids in the construction of national identity (Abu-Ghazaleh 2008:153). When the family first moved to the United States, Cherut’s father displayed a picture of himself with Yaser Arafat in the home. He wanted his children to believe in the possibility of a free Palestine. But the picture was removed due to a growing concern that the political nature of the photograph could be misinterpreted by Americans. Different verses of the Koran are also displayed in the home, but Cherut provided the map of Palestine shown in Figure 3. Handwoven by her mother, this map is proudly displayed in their home, serving as a daily reminder of the family’s ancestral homeland.



Figure 3: Handmade Map of Palestine

Maryam

Maryam left her home and family in Gaza about twenty years ago to attend college in Boston, Massachusetts. Rather than return to Gaza, she worked several jobs and eventually married an American citizen. She currently lives in Orange County, Florida with her husband and their 11 year old daughter.

This is Me

These all died in faith, not having received the things promised, but having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having acknowledged that they were strangers and exiles on the earth. For people who speak thus make it clear that they are seeking a homeland. If they had been thinking of that land from which they had gone out, they would have had opportunity to return. But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared for them a city (Hebrews 11:8-16).

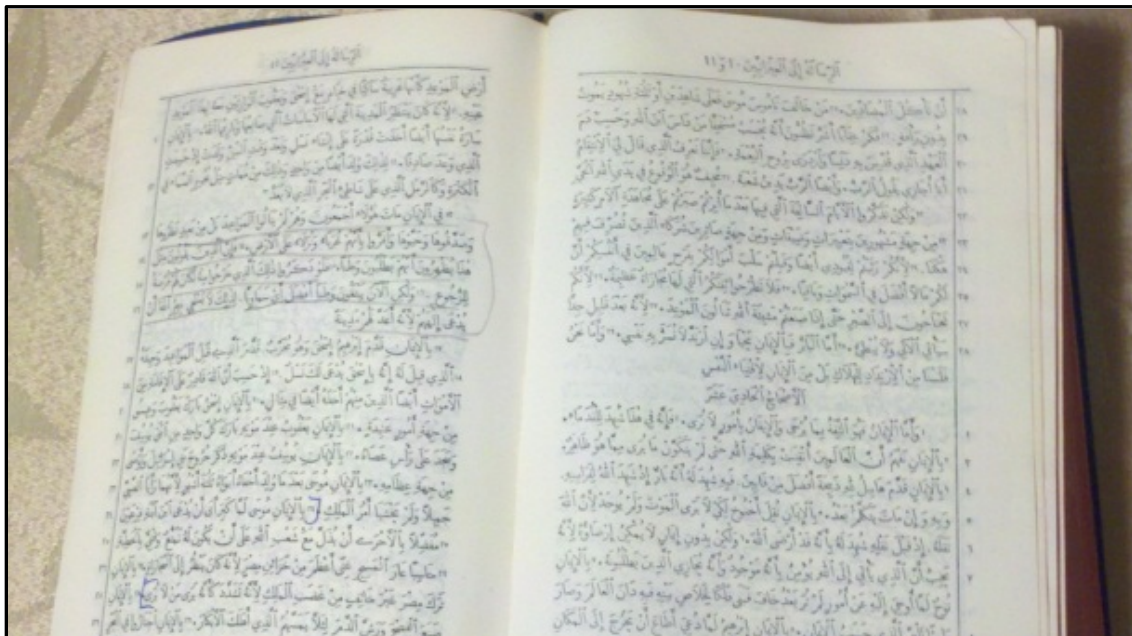


Figure 4: Maryam's Bible Opened to Hebrews Chapter 11

Maryam had been struck by wave after wave of deep emotion. Her eyes were bloodshot and wounded. She had been weeping for several minutes, reliving painful memories of life in Gaza. Then she looked at her open Bible, looked at me, and said decisively, "This is me." And in that moment she had laid out her life before me. I had only known her for three hours. To be clear, Maryam was referring to the biblical passage of Hebrews 11:8-16. She is the stranger. She is the exile. And she is seeking a homeland, a better country - a heavenly country.

I Am a Christian

One of my favorite books in the Bible is the book of Psalms. I must read a Psalm every day. Psalms 121 is one of my favorites. I always read, sing it and shout to the Lord for help and protection from danger and from enemies. It has so many promises from our Lord.

Psalm 121 says: I lift up my eyes to the mountains - where does my help come from? My help comes from the Lord, the Maker of heaven and earth. He will not let your foot slip - he who watches over you will not slumber; indeed, he who watches over Israel will neither slumber nor sleep. He the LORD watches over you - the LORD is your shield at your right hand; the sun will not harm you by day, nor the moon by night. The LORD will keep you from all harm - he will watch over your life; the LORD will watch over your coming and going both now and forevermore.

God promised to keep us safe and watch over us forever. Every verse in Psalms 121 explained everything I want to say about my life, the protection and safety comes from our King Jesus Christ until this moment.

Maryam begins her story with what is most important to her - God. Every event in her life is filtered through the lens of her deep Christian faith. The Psalmist above may have sought refuge on a mountain, but he did not trust in mountains to save him from danger. Like the Psalmist, Maryam is grateful for the earthly help she has received. She

even weeps over it. But she believes her protection has ultimately come from “King Jesus Christ.” And protecting Maryam has proven to be no small task.

At the age of seven, Maryam remembers being startled by commotion outside of her home. Moved by “curiosity,” she crawled through a window to get a better look at what was happening in her neighborhood. It was a group of Israeli soldiers maneuvering through the streets with their weapons drawn. Maryam froze. One of the soldiers had spotted her. “Go!” he screamed. “Or you’re dead!” Maryam was terrified by the soldiers, and it would not be the last time. In fact, during another Israeli military operation, her father was taken at gunpoint. He was beaten in the neighborhood streets. As Maryam looked on, her father was made to kneel where nails and shards of glass had been scattered. She grew up having no idea why her world was so bloody and continues to suffer anxiety and bouts of depression. Despite the trauma of life in Gaza, Maryam is resolute in her faith, trusting that God is in control of her life.

A Lamp Unto My Feet

I live my life carrying and reading the Bible all the time. Believing in God, his power, his glory and strength. He is the only one can hear my cry and prayers all the time. God’s grace, love and protection for me and to my family life is hard to imagine or describe or even deserve for all those years. God’s grace and mercy have kept me and my family safe all the time since the time I was born and all the time while I was growing up. I went to school and worked in Gaza city and then moved to the United States of America.

When Maryam was nine years old, she was invited to volunteer assisting a doctor at a hospital in Gaza City. Maryam loved to work and gladly accepted their offer. American missionaries also worked at the hospital and taught Bible studies throughout the week. Maryam was raised in an Orthodox Christian home, but she was eventually

converted to an evangelical Christianity. Upon her profession of faith, she was given the lamp pictured in Figure 5 below. We were no more than 15 minutes into our first interview when it was placed in front of me. The lamp is deeply meaningful to Maryam. Her thoughtful pauses when looking over the lamp's detail speak to her gratitude for the Americans who "sacrificed so much" to live in Gaza and teach the Bible to her.

The Bible is clearly central to Maryam's life today. Like Muslim Palestinians, Christian symbolism and cultural artifact are present in immigrant homes (Abu-Ghazaleh 2008:166). Maryam is no different, and verses from the Bible are proudly displayed throughout her home, like the flags of her "heavenly" country. Figures 6 and 7 are verses from the Book of Psalms and the Gospel of Luke. A personal friend translated the Arabic in each picture to English.



Figure 5: Lamp Marking Conversion Experience



Figure 6: Picture of Psalm 143:10

“Teach me to do your will, for you are my God.”

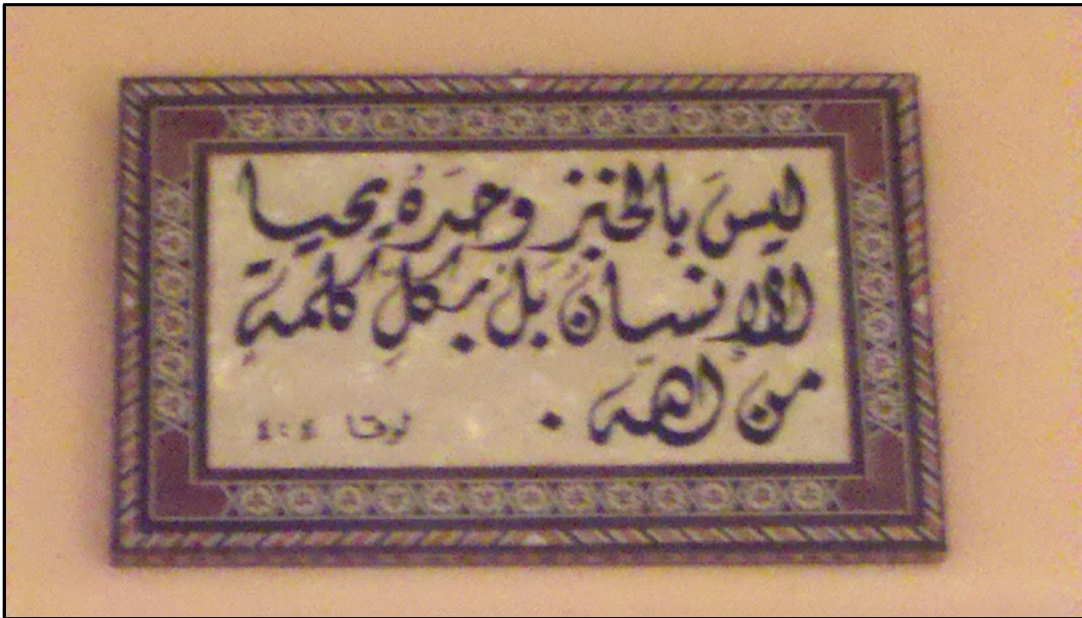


Figure 7: Picture of Luke 4:4

“Man shall not live on bread alone, but by every word of God.”

Learning to Love My Enemies

As an Arab or Christian Arab we have a lot of the Arabic mentality influenced by a bad culture stuck in our brain that we do not acknowledge our peace or faith as Christian people with hope and faith in Jesus Christ. We have to learn a culture that is not yours but you have to live with it every day and every moment of your life. We have to say the word enemy. This is one of the words you learn when you are a child. You live your whole life with fear and hate and curiosity all the time. We learn to hate our enemies and we stay away from them. The best way to describe it is to run away from your enemies as fast as you can.

Maryam ran as fast as she could. She was terrified by the mob of angry Arab men that interrupted the school day with violence. It was a normal morning. Books were open, and students were learning. But before Maryam could scream, her teacher fell to the ground. The memory of this “good man” being struck over the head with a metal bar is traumatizing for Maryam. He was dead. And the killers wanted more blood. They were calling for all of the students to join them in throwing rocks at Israeli soldiers. After describing the mayhem, she stopped the story for a moment. Maryam needed to quickly regain her composure. Then she told me she had been overweight as a teenager, and that day she was forced to run for her life - but she couldn’t move any faster.

Maryam remembers a time when Christian and Muslim Arabs treated one another “like family” in Gaza. She said, “there was no Palestine (nationalism); only Gaza.” Unfortunately, the growth of national consciousness in Gaza saw tensions rise and fall in near tidal fashion during Maryam’s teenage years. Eruptions of “hatred” and “violence” were commonplace. With time, Maryam felt surrounded by enemies - both Arab and Israeli. Everything about her life: the people, the land, the experiences; they were a womb for hatred. In fact, Maryam’s life was even threatened if she refused to join

the revolution. But another revolution was brewing in Maryam's heart. It was the Gospel she had learned from the Americans, and she began to hate the violence, not the enemies all around.

Loving Israel

Arabs live life under political, economic, religious pressures and they don't have any kind of freedom or Constitution like in the US. We do not have human rights or the freedom to vote or freedom of speech. We don't have democracy. According to us we are fighting our enemies and according to God they are His chosen people.

As if right on cue, our interview was interrupted by Maryam's daughter. She had to memorize the preamble to the U.S. constitution before school the next day. Although she was feeling sick, Maryam's young daughter stumbled out of her bedroom and recited perfectly, "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution of the United States of America." No such thing exists for Palestinians, Maryam laments. "We don't have a country. We don't have democracy. We don't have human rights." Not only that, "we are fighting God's chosen people." Things could not be worse for Palestinians.

But Maryam now views her ancestral history through the lens of biblical Providence. She suggests the events surrounding the resurgence of Israel will one day usher the second coming of Jesus Christ, her Lord and Savior. She loves her former enemy and believes God has a plan for them. In fact, Maryam feels that Israel has blessed her by giving birth to the "King Jesus Christ."

Life in the United States

Coming to the United States made me a stronger person with an improved personality looking forward to a better life and good education. More doors and opportunities were open to me. I learned to develop self control and I had the freedom to say whatever I want to say and a country with lots of chances and opportunities. Now it was up to me to change my attitude, my behavior, my thinking and philosophy about life in general.

It was easier for me to understand that you can't run from your enemies but you need to love them as Jesus loved them and this is one of the commands that we need to obey the laws of Christianity. I learned so much from Christian followers of Christ, I learned their attitude, love and respect for one another. I learned to be a real Christian without being ashamed of your faith.

Upon moving to Boston, Maryam battled a period of depression, anger, and a deep sense of homelessness. The emotions were fueled in part by a visit to a Palestinian student club at her college. Maryam had forgiven Israel for its sins against Palestine. She brought up the prospect of peace, and the gesture incited the anger of several members of the club. They berated and ostracized Maryam, and though longing for the experience, she remembers feeling at that time like she had “no place” and “no country to love.”

Despite the rejection, Maryam describes the freedom that would later surge in her heart. “I decided to put my feet down and do something for myself.” Soon Maryam realized, “I actually have choices!” which empowered her with a new and profound sense of agency. She turned to her Bible and to an Arabic church in Boston and found herself soon “moving mountains.” Maryam loves to work. She graduated from college and took several jobs, including a translator position for the U.S. government during the first Gulf War. She was energized by the job's importance, enjoying the fact that she

was never allowed to meet her boss due to the sensitivity of their work. It was a fulfilling time, much like working in a Gaza hospital at nine years old.

Between Places

Talking about political issues in the middle east, the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis is going to stay the way it is now but we will have peace some day. The problem and conflict will stay there until Jesus comes back. We can't deny the Bible or any of the words that are in the Bible. Our job and focus is to love our enemies, love and respect one another. We all belong to one God. He is creator of the whole world. He is the maker of men, heaven and earth.

My country is not Gaza, or America. I don't feel that I have one on earth. My country is in heaven. I don't feel bad about my native country. There is a big wall between us. I would like to see people fighting for their salvation and knowing where they are going to be when they die. Have their names written in heaven with Our Lord Jesus Christ. We all are sinners but God is very merciful and He always wants your heart and your soul. He wants you the way you are.

Maryam has forgiven Israel for its sins against her family. "Love your enemy" is a theme that she returns to often. She emphasized it at various points during our two interviews and also in her written life history. In fact, Maryam feels incredibly grateful for Israel because they brought Jesus Christ into the world, a blessing she feels that no soldier, gun, or bomb can diminish. Maryam's hope for Palestine is fixed on the day when she believes Jesus Christ himself will bring lasting peace and justice to the land - for both Israelis and Palestinians. "Gaza will be a paradise someday," Maryam says.



Figure 7: The Last Supper Displayed in Maryam's Kitchen

Maryam currently lives between two places, and her experience is a constant internal tension between the “better country” of Hebrews Chapter 11 and her present life. “My country is not Gaza, or America,” Maryam says reflecting on the “better country” of heaven. “I am an American on paper. Not in my heart.” Maryam is decisive. “I don’t have a home here on earth,” she says. “Heaven is my home.”

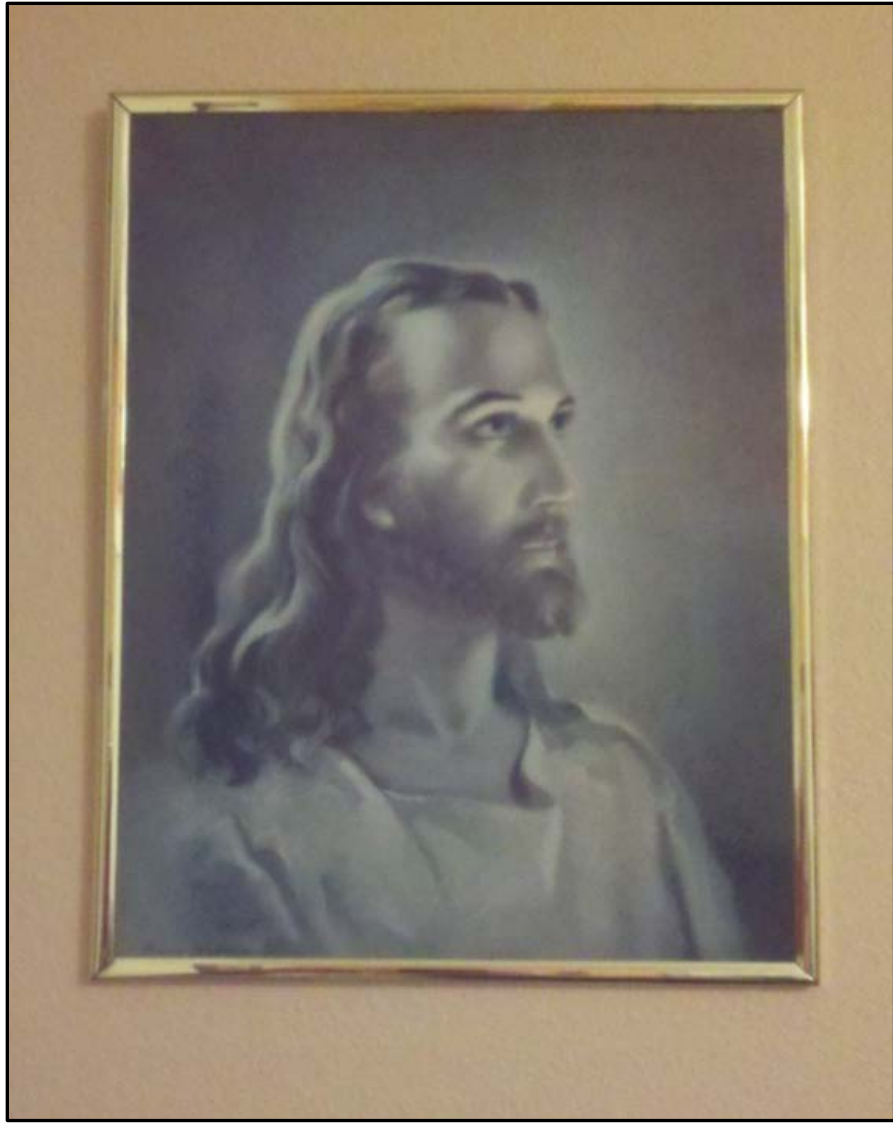


Figure 8: Picture of Jesus Christ Displayed in Maryam's Living Room

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

We are very alone here
Our diasporic lives - fragmented!
Our souls bleed!
It is perhaps time to go home
To where?
Homeland erased, nowhere to go!
Yet
“*falasteen fil qalb*” / “Palestine in the heart”
My father’s sticker insists
Memories of him, of Amer and of the land
Green, dry, barren, and mountainous
Locked, loved, guarded
A secret, cheapened if shared
“*falasteen fil qalb*”
My father’s sticker reminds me
Of a homeland erased
Return to sender?
No such address exists?
But *we insist*
“*falasteen fil qalb*”

This poem entitled *Where is Home?* by Rabab Abdulhadi (2011:328) embodies a Palestinian American woman’s search to be rooted in a place - to possess a lost homeland. But she resolves that it will simply have to occur “*fil qalb*” or “in the heart.” Although Palestinians living in diaspora perceive their ancestral homeland differently, the tension expressed in their poetry and tears reveals that people do not simply occupy places - they experience them. People imbue places with life and deep social meaning.

Palestinian Sense of Place

This study has shed light on the complex and fantastic ways that people experience, conceptualize, and confer meaning to places. People do not simply occupy

land. They infuse their natural surroundings with life and social meaning. First, the data from this study suggest the presence of what I refer to as an *eschatological* sense of place. Second, the data challenge the reduction of human senses of place to affectionate nostalgia. Third, the data validate the life history methodology as preferable in explorations of cultural phenomena that experience diachronic change. Finally, the data challenge essentialist understandings of Palestinian culture by highlighting the presence of texture in Palestinian conceptualizations of their ancestral homeland.

Eschatological Sense of Place

In contrast with a more immediate sense of corporeal places, the data from this study indicate the presence of an eschatological sense of place among Palestinian immigrants. Eschatological sense of place refers to a present sense of an ethereal place that anticipates corporeal fulfillment. This terminology was chosen to account for Maryam's profound identification with the eschatological event of the Christian resurrection (Wright 2003:26). Upon the return of Jesus Christ to earth, Maryam believes that she will be raised from the dead to experience a renewed Gaza.

Maryam clearly maintains a present sense of an ethereal place (heaven) that anticipates future corporeal fulfillment (resurrection). Her present rootedness to this eschatological event is best expressed in her own words: 1) Volatile sense of a corporeal place: "I am an American on paper. Not in my heart." 2) Eschatological sense of place: "Heaven is my home." 3) Eschatological renewal and experience of Palestine: "Gaza will be a paradise someday." Although Cherut is a Muslim and Palestine is

sacred in Islam (Farsoun and Zachariah 1997:3), she did not communicate a similar religious experience of the land.

Sense of Place and Hagiography

Sense of place cannot be reduced to affectionate nostalgia. Ethnography that explores what people make of places is not necessarily hagiography. This would neuter a concept intended to measure a range of human experience. Put another way, one's sense of place does not always denote something positive. As my data show, places are often sensed with great volatility and pain. For example, Cherut imbues the land with anguish, describing Palestine as an unfit mother whose children were taken and given to another woman.

Assessing Diachronic Change in Cultural Phenomena

Barbara Bender (2006:310) contends that "people, things, and places are always in process." Two of the three items Bender mentions are the subjects of this study. If people and places are "always in process," then research that proposes to assess a relationship between the two must be equipped to deal with diachronic change. Enter the life history methodology, which records qualitative information in a way that naturally accounts for this "process." Bender (2006:303) also writes, "The same place at the same moment will be experienced differently by different people; the same place, at different moments, will be experienced differently by the same person; the same person may even, at a given moment, hold conflicting feelings about a place." This study validates the life history methodology as preferable in explorations of cultural

phenomena that experience diachronic change because it naturally accounts for such change.

For example, Maryam began our first interview with a nostalgic memory about visiting the beach in Gaza. She then put her head into her hands and began to weep. As she continued, she explained that escalating social and political tension in Gaza restricted her access to the beach. At one time, the beach was sensed with affectionate nostalgia. At another time, it was sensed with grief. Finally, while finishing her life history, Maryam expressed that “Gaza will be a paradise someday” in the Christian resurrection. In context, an element of the “paradise” she referenced was the eschatological renewal of the beach she visited as a child. This highlights a third sense of the same place at a different time. The life history methodology is preferable in this instance as it was able to naturally account for the changes that occurred in the way the place was sensed at different points in time.

A Range of Experience

This study also challenges an essentialist understanding of Palestinian culture. The data highlight the presence of texture in immigrant conceptualizations of historical Palestine. Despite the small sample size, the participants in this study introduce a range of experiences, all of which fall under the umbrella of “Palestinian.” With just two participants, complex, fantastic, and even competing experiences of place are revealed. The texture that exists in this small sample size suggests that an effort to promote a universal “Palestinian” sense of place is problematic and would silence important voices.

Suggestions for Future Research

Difficulty securing participants hampered the progress of this thesis. I was unable to access the broader Palestinian social network present in Orange County, so it is clear this study would benefit from a greater sample size. Despite that limitation, its incorporation of life history and the phenomenological approach to explore human senses of place highlights the potential for several new pathways of qualitative research among Palestinian immigrants.

First, this study will be useful for a Ph.D. student or anthropologist interested in fieldwork among Palestinian immigrants. By introducing Central Florida's largest population cluster, this study confirms an ideal fieldwork location for researchers interested in the Palestinian diaspora. There is much more to be explored in Orange County, and a baseline ethnography would be my first recommendation. After securing a larger sample, I believe the following areas are worthy of deeper anthropological reflection:

- Stratify the data in order to provide a detailed assessment of the impact of religion, gender, and age on Palestinian sense of place.
- Collect multiple life histories to explore eschatological rootedness among Palestinian Christian immigrants, assessing its impact on experiences of their present and ancestral homeland / its role in the decision to leave Palestine.
- Given the population cluster in Orange County, there seems to be a unique opportunity to partner with the Orange County Regional History Center to develop a Palestinian life history project.

- Analysis of competing conceptualizations of historical Palestine:
 - 1) Israeli-Palestinian; 2) Jewish-Muslim-Christian-Secular; 3) Diasporic-Local
 - 4) American Christian; 5) American Jewish

APPENDIX A: CHERUT'S TYPED LIFE HISTORY

An abrupt decision was made by my parents to move to America. For a family of eleven living in an occupied country and always being in fear; moving to America was a dream come true. My father's reason for moving to America was to pursue a better life and better education for his kids. Living in Palestine which has been at war with Israel for many years has finally taken its toll on my father. My father's simple reason was the "pursuit of a better life" for his family.

Moving to America has changed me as well as my family in many different and positive ways. When I first arrived in America it was definitely a shock to me that I am here, in a whole different unoccupied country. It took us a while to adjust to the living style, culture and language. But I think the hardest thing to adjust to was being away from 'home' and being away from your family. Even though we kept very close contact and ties with Palestine it was still very difficult to leave your old life behind and start a new one in a foreign country.

We gradually got accustomed to living in the United States and eventually found ourselves settling in to what we eventually called home (U.S) Even though I still consider myself Palestinian. After living in the U.S for ten years and never had the opportunity to go back and visit Palestine, I can truly say all of the factors and obstacles that I have faced in Palestine and U.S., it had a positive effect of who I am today.

Traveling back to the homeland for Palestinians living in America is difficult, emotional, and sometimes altogether impossible. Returning to the homeland is not only about being physically present in Palestine. Instead, it is about sharing stories, maintaining heritage and tradition, and planning for a more robust future in order to build and renew a strong sense of Palestinian national.

In my household the cultures, traditions and religion is still present. We have daily reminders of who we are today and where we came from. A great influence would have to be my parents. They constantly remind us of simple things that show us we are American-Palestinian.

APPENDIX B: MARYAM'S TYPED LIFE HISTORY

One of my favorite books in the Bible is the book of Psalms. I must read a Psalm every day. Psalms 121 is one of my favorites. I always read, sing it and shout to the Lord for help and protection from danger and from enemies. It has so many promises from our Lord. Psalm 121 says: I lift up my eyes to the mountains - where does my help come from? My help comes from the Lord, the Maker of heaven and earth. He will not let your foot slip - he who watches over you will not slumber; indeed, he who watches over Israel will neither slumber nor sleep. He the LORD watches over you - the LORD is your shield at your right hand; the sun will not harm you by day, nor the moon by night. The LORD will keep you from all harm - he will watch over your life; the LORD will watch over your coming and going both now and forevermore.

God promised to keep us safe and watch over us forever. Every verse in Psalms 121 explained everything I want to say about my life, the protection and safety comes from our King Jesus Christ until this moment.

I live my life carrying and reading the Bible all the time. Believing in God, his power, his glory and strength. He is the only one can hear my cry and prayers all the time. God's grace, love and protection for me and to my family life is hard to imagine or describe or even deserve for all those years. God's grace and mercy have kept me and my family safe all the time since the time I was born and all the time while I was growing up. I went to school and worked in Gaza city and then moved to the United States of America.

As an Arab or Christian Arab we have a lot of the Arabic mentality influenced by a bad culture stuck in our brain that we do not acknowledge our peace or faith as Christian people with hope and faith in Jesus Christ. We have to learn a culture that is not yours but you have to live with it every day and every moment of your life. We have to say the word enemy. This is one of the words you learn when you are a child. You live your whole life with fear and hate and curiosity all the time. We learn to hate our enemies and we stay away from them. The best way to describe it is to run away from your enemies as fast as you can.

Arabs live life under political, economic, religious pressures and they don't have any kind of freedom or Constitution like in the US. We do not have human rights or the freedom to vote or freedom of speech. We don't have democracy. According to us we are fighting our enemies and according to God they are His chosen people.

Coming to the United States made me a stronger person with an improved personality looking forward to a better life and good education. More doors and opportunities were open to me. I learned to develop self control and I had the freedom to say whatever I want to say and a country with lots of chances and opportunities. Now it was up to me to change my attitude, my behavior, my thinking and philosophy about life in general.

It was easier for me to understand that you can't run from your enemies but you need to love them as Jesus loved them and this is one of the commands that we need to obey

the laws of Christianity. I learned so much from Christian followers of Christ, I learned their attitude, love and respect for one another. I learned to be a real Christian without being ashamed of your faith.

Talking about political issues in the middle east, the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis is going to stay the way it is now but we will have peace some day. The problem and conflict will stay there until Jesus comes back. We can't deny the Bible or any of the words that are in the Bible. Our job and focus is to love our enemies, love and respect one another. We all belong to one God. He is creator of the whole world. He is the maker of men, heaven and earth.

My country is not Gaza, or America. I don't feel that I have one on earth. My country is in heaven. I don't feel bad about my native country. There is a big wall between us. I would like to see people fighting for their salvation and knowing where they are going to be when they die. Have their names written in heaven with Our Lord Jesus Christ. We all are sinners but God is very merciful and He always wants your heart and your soul. He wants you the way you are.

APPENDIX C: IRB PERMISSION



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
Office of Research & Commercialization
12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501
Orlando, Florida 32826-3246
Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276
www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1
FWA00000351, IRB00001138**

To: **Patrick H. Barrett**

Date: **November 25, 2009**

Dear Researcher:

On 11/25/2009, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Initial Review
Project Title: Palestinians and Place: An Ethnography of Palestinians Living in
Central Florida
Investigator: Patrick H Barrett
IRB Number: SBE-09-06529
Funding Agency: None

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

On behalf of Joseph Bielitzki, DVM, UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Janice Turchin on 11/25/2009 01:24:02 PM EST

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Janice Turchin".

IRB Coordinator

APPENDIX D: 2000 CENSUS DATA

GEO_ID	GEO_ID2	SUMLEVEL	GEO_NAME	PCT016013
Geography Identifier	Geography Identifier	Geographic Summary Level	Geography	Total population: First ancestry reported; Arab; Palestinian
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14000US12095013602	12095013602	140	Census Tract 136.02, Orange County, Florida	25
14000US12095013700	12095013700	140	Census Tract 137, Orange County, Florida	9
14000US12095014400	12095014400	140	Census Tract 144, Orange County, Florida	7
14000US12095014606	12095014606	140	Census Tract 146.06, Orange County, Florida	160
14000US12095014806	12095014806	140	Census Tract 148.06, Orange County, Florida	38
14000US12095014807	12095014807	140	Census Tract 148.07, Orange County, Florida	17
14000US12095014809	12095014809	140	Census Tract 148.09, Orange County, Florida	21
14000US12095014810	12095014810	140	Census Tract 148.10, Orange County, Florida	110
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14000US12095015701	12095015701	140	Census Tract 157.01, Orange County, Florida	8
14000US12095016402	12095016402	140	Census Tract 164.02, Orange County, Florida	12
14000US12095016503	12095016503	140	Census Tract 165.03, Orange County, Florida	15
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