



# مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط

مجلة علمية مُحَكَّمة  
(مُعتمدة) شهرياً

العدد مائة وخمسة عشر  
( سبتمبر 2025 )

السنة الخمسون  
تأسست عام 1974

يصدرها  
مركز بحوث  
الشرق الأوسط

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مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط

# مجلة علمية مُحكَّمة متخصصة في شؤون الشرق الأوسط

مجلة مُعتمدة من بنك المعرفة المصري



موقع المجلة على بنك المعرفة المصري  
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- معتمدة من مؤسسة أرسيف (ARCIF) للاستشهادات المرجعية للمجلات العلمية العربية ومعامل التأثير المتوافقة مع المعايير العالمية.
- تنشر الأعداد تباعاً على موقع دار المنظومة.



العدد مائة وخمسة عشر (سبتمبر 2025)

تصدر شهرياً

السنة الخمسون - تأسست عام 1974





**مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط**  
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**والدراسات المستقبلية - جامعة عين شمس**

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## شروط النشر بالمجلة

- تُعنى المجلة بنشر البحوث المهمة بمجالات العلوم الإنسانية والأدبية ؛
- يعتمد النشر على رأي اثنين من المحكمين المتخصصين ويتم التحكيم إلكترونياً ؛
- تُقبل البحوث باللغة العربية أو بإحدى اللغات الأجنبية، وتُرسل إلى موقع المجلة على بنك المعرفة المصري ويرفق مع البحث ملف بيانات الباحث يحتوي على عنوان البحث باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية واسم الباحث والتايتل والانتماء المؤسسي باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، ورقم واتساب، وإيميل الباحث الذي تم التسجيل به على موقع المجلة ؛
- يُشار إلى أن الهوامش والمراجع في نهاية البحث وليست أسفل الصفحة ؛
- يكتب الباحث ملخص باللغة العربية واللغة الإنجليزية للبحث صفحة واحدة فقط لكل ملخص، ومقدمة للبحث؛
- بالنسبة للبحث باللغة العربية يكتب على برنامج "word" ونمط الخط باللغة العربية "Simplified Arabic" وحجم الخط 14 ولا يزيد عدد الأسطر في الصفحة الواحدة عن 25 سطر والهوامش والمراجع خط Simplified Arabic حجم الخط 12 ؛
- بالنسبة للبحث باللغة الإنجليزية يكتب على برنامج word ونمط الخط Times New Roman وحجم الخط 13 ولا يزيد عدد الأسطر عن 25 سطر في الصفحة الواحدة والهوامش والمراجع خط Times New Roman حجم الخط 1؛
- مواصفات التنسيق على الترويسة (Paper) مقاس الورق (B5) 17.6 × 25 سم، (Margins) الهوامش 2.3 سم يميناً ويساراً، 2 سم أعلى وأسفل الصفحة، ليصبح مقاس البحث فعلي (الكلام) 21×13 سم. (Layout) والنسق: (Header) الرأس 1.25 سم، (Footer) تذييل 2.5 سم ؛
- مواصفات الفقرة للبحث : بداية الفقرة First Line = 1.27 سم، قبل النص = 0.00، بعد النص = 0.00، تباعد قبل الفقرة = (6pt) تباعد بعد الفقرة = (0pt)، تباعد الفقرات (مفرد single) ؛
- مواصفات الفقرة للهوامش والمراجع : يوضع الرقم بين قوسين هلاكي مثل : (1)، بداية الفقرة Hanging = 0.6 سم، قبل النص = 0.00، بعد النص = 0.00، تباعد قبل الفقرة = 0.00 تباعد بعد الفقرة = 0.00، تباعد الفقرات (مفرد single) ؛
- الجداول والأشكال: يتم وضع الجداول والأشكال إما في صفحات منفصلة أو وسط النص وفقاً لرؤية الباحث، على أن يكون عرض الجدول أو الشكل لا يزيد عن 13.5 سم بأي حال من الأحوال ؛
- مدة التحكيم 15 يوم على الأكثر من قبول المحكمين على الموقع، مدة تعديل البحث بعد التحكيم 15 يوم على الأكثر ؛
- يخضع تسلسل نشر البحوث في أعداد المجلة حسب ما تراه هيئة التحرير من ضرورات علمية وفنية ؛
- المجلة غير ملزمة بإعادة البحوث إلى أصحابها سواء نُشرت أم لم تُنشر ؛
- تُعبر البحوث عن آراء أصحابها وليس عن رأي رئيس التحرير وهيئة التحرير ؛
- رسوم التحكيم للمصريين 650 جنيه، ولغير المصريين 155 دولار ؛
- رسوم النشر عن الصفحة الواحدة للمصريين ٣٣ جنيه، وغير المصريين ١٥ دولار ؛
- رسوم التعديل عن الصفحة الواحدة 2 جنيه ؛
- الباحث المصري يسدد الرسوم بالجنيه المصري (بالفيزا) بمقر المركز (المقيم بمحافظة القاهرة)، أو على حساب حكومي رقم : (9/450/80772/8) بنك مصر (المقيم خارج محافظة القاهرة) ؛
- الباحث غير المصري يسدد الرسوم بالدولار على حساب حكومي رقم : (EG71000100010000004082175917) (البنك العربي الأفريقي) ؛
- استلام إفادة قبول نشر البحث في خلال 15 يوم على الأكثر من تاريخ سداد رسوم النشر مع ضرورة رفع إيصالات السداد على موقع المجلة؛
- المراسلات : توجه المراسلات الخاصة بالمجلة إلى : merc.director@asu.edu.eg
- السيد الدكتور/ مدير مركز بحوث الشرق الأوسط والدراسات المستقبلية، ورئيس تحرير المجلة جامعة عين شمس- العباسية- القاهرة - ج.م.ع (ص.ب 11566) للتواصل والاستفسار عن كل ما يخص الموقع : محمول / واتساب: 01555343797 (+2)
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## الرؤية

السعي لتحقيق الريادة في النشر العلمي المتميز في المحتوى والمضمون والتأثير والمرجعية في مجالات منطقة الشرق الأوسط وأقطاره .

## الرسالة

نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والرصينة والمبتكرة في مجالات الشرق الأوسط وأقطاره في مجالات اختصاص المجلة وفق المعايير والقواعد المهنية العالمية المعمول بها في المجالات المُحكَّمة دوليًا.

## الأهداف

- نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والرصينة والمبتكرة .
- إتاحة المجال أمام العلماء والباحثين في مجالات اختصاص المجلة في التاريخ والجغرافيا والسياسة والاقتصاد والاجتماع والقانون وعلم النفس واللغة العربية وآدابها واللغة الانجليزية وآدابها ، على المستوى المحلى والإقليمي والعالمي لنشر بحوثهم وإنتاجهم العلمي .
- نشر أبحاث كبار الأساتذة وأبحاث الترقية للسادة الأساتذة المساعدين والسادة المدرسين بمختلف الجامعات المصرية والعربية والأجنبية .
- تشجيع ونشر مختلف البحوث المتعلقة بالدراسات المستقبلية والشرق الأوسط وأقطاره .
- الإسهام في تنمية مجتمع المعرفة في مجالات اختصاص المجلة من خلال نشر البحوث العلمية الرصينة والمتميزة .



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<b>510-419</b>	<b>نسرين أمير سيد</b>	<b>قصر التيه (اللابيرينثوس) ومعبد اللابيرنت بين الرؤية الأسطورية والحقيقة التاريخية</b> <b>"دراسة أسطورية أثرية مقارنة"</b>	<b>١٥</b>
<b>English Language Studies</b>			
<b>534-511</b>	<b>زينب سعيد مصطفى</b>	<b>Geopolitics of Home in Ghada Karmi's In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story and Return: A Palestinian Memoir</b>	<b>١١</b>



## افتتاحية العدد (115)

يسعد مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط أن تصدر عددها الجديد (115) الذي يضم مجموعة من الدراسات والبحوث العلمية المتنوعة، والتي تسعى إلى إثراء الفكر الأكاديمي وتقديم رؤى تحليلية ومعرفية في مجالات القانون والاقتصاد والسياسة والتكنولوجيا والعلوم الإنسانية. يُفتتح هذا العدد ببحث يتناول تاريخ التنظيم القضائي في مصر، مسلطًا الضوء على المراحل المتعاقبة لتطور النظام القضائي ودوره في ترسيخ مبادئ العدالة وسيادة القانون. ويتبعه عرض تحليلي لقوانين الاستثمار المصرية المتعاقبة، وما أفرزته من تحديات وفرص في البيئة الاقتصادية الوطنية، وصولًا إلى دراسة متخصصة بعنوان: ماذا أضاف قانون الاستثمار رقم 72 لسنة 2017؟، حيث يتم تقييم ما جاء به من مستجدات تشريعية لدعم بيئة الأعمال وتحفيز الاستثمار.

كما يتضمن العدد مقالة علمية حول مفاهيم ومعايير الحوكمة في المشروعات الاقتصادية، باعتبارها ركيزة أساسية لتحقيق التنمية المستدامة، بالإضافة إلى دراسة تبحث في الذكاء الاصطناعي ومشكلة البطالة في مصر، حيث تناقش الواقع الراهن والتحديات المستقبلية أمام صانع القرار. وفي السياق القانوني أيضًا، يقدم العدد مثالًا عمليًا لتطبيق منازعة تنفيذ أمام القضاء الدستوري، موضحة الأبعاد الإجرائية والدستورية لهذا النوع من المنازعات.

وفي مجال قضايا التنمية، يضم العدد دراسة مقارنة بعنوان: دور التكنولوجيا الرقمية في مواجهة تحديات المياه في مصر، والتي تعرض خبرات وتجارب دولية مختارة يمكن الاستفادة منها في مواجهة التحديات المائية. أما في المجال الثقافي والأدبي، فنجد دراسة سيميائية معمقة بعنوان: صناعة الذاكرة في اللوحة الإشهارية لرواية "الزيني بركات"، تكشف عن أبعاد ثقافية وبيولوجية في تشكيل الذاكرة الجمعية. كما يضم العدد بحث حول استخدام الذكاء الاصطناعي في تحديد هوية المتحدث في اللغة العربية، تقدم نظرة عامة على الأسس

النظرية لهذا المجال الواعد، إلى جانب دراسة في البلاغة السردية في الخطاب الاتصالي لتصاميم الملتصقات الإرشادية، تبرز العلاقة بين الرسالة البصرية والبعد البلاغي.

وفي ميدان الدراسات الأثرية والأسطورية، يتناول بحث بعنوان: قصر التيه (اللايرينثوس) ومعبد اللايرنت بين الرؤية الأسطورية والحقيقة التاريخية، مقدّمًا قراءة مقارنة بين الأسطورة والواقع الأثري. ويختتم العدد بدراسة تحمل بعدًا جيو-ثقافي بعنوان: جيو-بولتيكية الوطن في سير غادة كرمي "البحث عن فاطمة" و"العودة"، حيث تتم قراءة التجربة الذاتية في سياقها الوطني والسياسي.

إننا في هذا العدد نؤكد التزام مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط بمواصلة رسالتها العلمية، وتقديم بحوث متجددة تسعى إلى فتح آفاق جديدة للباحثين والمتخصصين، بما يخدم المعرفة ويثري النقاش الأكاديمي في مختلف الحقول

والله وليّ التوفيق،

**رئيس التحرير**

**د. حاتم العبد**

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**جيبوليتكية الوطن في سير غادة كرمي البحث  
عن فاطمة و العودة**

**Geopolitics of Home in Ghada Karmi's**

**In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story and Return:**

**A Palestinian Memoir**

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## ملخص:

توجه الكثير من فلسطينيي المنفى إلى كتابة سيرهم الذاتية كتسجيل للرواية الفلسطينية المهددة بالإنكار؛ بسبب السرد الصهيوني. واحدة من أهم هؤلاء الكتاب هي غادة كرمي، التي أسهمت في كثير من الكتابات عن القضية الفلسطينية. تدرس هذه الورقة البحثية سيرتين مكتوبتين باللغة الإنجليزية، وهما: البحث عن فاطمة، والعودة، هادفة إلى تحليلهما من خلال ما أطلق عليه دافيد جولدبرج ممارسات عرقية ضد الفلسطينيين. الجدير بالذكر أنّ تلك الممارسات العرقية هي صورة من صور ممارسات الاستعمار الإحلالي التي تمارسه إسرائيل ضد الفلسطينيين. هذه الممارسات العرقية تمتد على المستوى الجمعي والشخصي عبر الكثير من الأماكن والأزمنة، وتمتد حتى إلى الفلسطينيين الذين نجحوا في الفرار من القتل وقت نكبة فلسطين عام ١٩٤٨. هذه الورقة البحثية مقسمة إلى جزئين: يحتوي الجزء الأول على الممارسات العرقية على المستوى الجمعي داخل فلسطين، ويتناول الآخر تأثير هذه الممارسات في بناء الذات الفلسطينية. نجد أنّه في كلا الجزئين تغيير الوطن وواقعه من مكان دافئ وأمن إلى فضاء محتل مليء بالمخاطر يشبه ما أطلق عليه الفيلسوف الإنجليزي جيريمي بينثام بانوبتيكون والسجن الأمريكي بيليكان باي. وذلك مما يهدد حياة الفلسطينيين داخل وطنهم، أو حتى داخل منازلهم. ولا تقتصر تجربة السجن أو الحصار كما توضح السيرة الذاتية الأولى على ما تبقى من الفلسطينيين تحت الاحتلال، ولكن نجد أنّ كارمي نتيجة لاقتلاعها من أرضها في سن مبكرة إلى فقد مصدر هويتها الفلسطينية. وظل هذا الشعور من فقد الهوية ملازمًا لها خلال كلتا السيرتين.



## Summary

This paper tackles the changed perception of Home due to geopolitical changes. It is a study of Ghada Karmi's two English memoirs *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* and *Return: A Palestinian Memoir*. Analysed through settler-colonial studies lens, this paper analyses how far Goldberg's racial palestinianisation practices of ethnoracial eviction, culling and purging have distorted the Palestinian ubiquitous experiences across different spatialities and temporalities. This paper is divided into two parts: the first discussing the collective Palestinian experience in the Occupied Palestinian territory and the second discussing Karmi's personal experience back Home, in exile and back Home again after the Zionist settler-colonial project has been consummated. The first explores how far racial palestinianisation practices amount to prison practices precisely Jeremy Bentham's panopticon and the American Pelican Bay prison turning the Palestinians experience to one defined by precarity and confinement. The second one delves into Karmi's personal experience of uprootedness, and her rite of passage defined by precarity, loss of H/home, and perplexity of her Palestinian identity. Home has changed from a stable space where one can return to and enjoy its warmth and security to a precarious spatiality defined by danger and confinement.



## INTRODUCTION

Set against the backdrop of Palestinian political upheavals, both Ghada Karmi's *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* (2002) and *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) tackle loss of Home<sup>1</sup> and the Palestinian Self. *In Search* is set against the failed peace process, the death of the Oslo Accords and the eruption of Al-Aqsa Intifada (the Second Palestinian Intifada) (Karmi, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* ixv); whereas, *Return* continues to unfold by the end of Al-Aqsa Intifada. *In Search*'s second edition (2009) begins with Karmi's reflection upon her prolonged sense of land loss accentuated by the death of prominent Palestinian intellectuals and political figures like Edward Said (1935-2003) and George Habash (1926-2008) on one hand, and her personal loss of her own father Hasan Karmi, a prominent Palestinian linguist and broadcaster of the BBC Arabic Service, on the other. These multiple losses, on the collective and personal levels, were factors behind "preserv[ing] and document[ing] the Palestinian story, to save it from extinction" (Karmi, *In Search* xvi). This conscientious determination to save the Palestinian history and memory coupled with her desire "to redeem the memories of those who suffered and died without seeing a solution" (Karmi, *In Search* xvi-i) further prompted her to write the two memoirs.

*In Search* tackles home loss, with its connotations of security and belonging. It chronicles, in a linear fashion, Karmi's life trajectory from childhood in Palestine until adulthood out of it; a journey demarcated by geopolitical changes and global politics. The first memoir revolves around her existential struggle denoted by her personal experience of uprootedness and its consequential feelings of liminality. Likewise, *Return*, narrates Karmi's journey, albeit of her return Home to temporarily reside and work as a consultant to the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Media and Communications in the Occupied Palestinian territories (OPT). Her stay at Home enables her to witness and experience the collective quotidian Palestinian life stifled by a tight system of surveillance and control.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Karmi's two memoirs are analysed in light of David Theo Goldberg's racial palestinianisation which is a mode of settler colonialism (Goldberg 39) rather than racial practices of a sovereign state towards its 'minorities'. This paper argues that this group of ideologically driven systematic practices is manifested through various Zionist settler-colonial praxis controlling and deforming the OPT Palestinians, on the one hand, and the *manfa* Karmi, on the other. This racial

<sup>1</sup> Palestine is referred to, hereafter, as Home using capital "H" vis-à-vis other homes Karmi lives in throughout the two memoirs.



palestinianisation amalgamates several settler-colonial practices all coming from a rooted Zionist conviction that Palestinians are philistine, in the sense that they are primitive: more like worms and dogs (Goldberg 35, 36). Such a repulsive degrading perception of the Palestinians is akin to that of the leper: an object of revulsion and derision as Michel Foucault symbolises any subject branded as mad or disorderly; thus, giving rise and 'justification' to "rituals of exclusion" (199, 198). Accordingly, the Zionist conviction entails that OPT Palestinians are susceptible to segregation in compartments away from the settler-colonizers; nevertheless, due to their presumed 'savagery', the latter must be constantly subjected to strict system of surveillance and control. What adds to the gravity of the Palestinians' compartmentalised existential state is that they are under the settler-colonial grip of the "major supplier and a global producer of surveillance equipment" (Zureik, Lyon and Abu-Laban, Preface xx). No wonder that such a tight excluded confinement in the OPT is reminiscent of the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham's panopticon and to a lesser degree the American Pelican Bay prison. Subjugation and control outcomes of the panopticon paradigm and the Pelican Bay prison intertwine with two racial palestinianisation praxis: "ethnoracial purging" and "ethnoracial culling"; unattainable had it not been for a solid conviction of "ethnoracial eviction" (Goldberg 35). This settler-colonial intrinsic practice of ethnoracial eviction has resulted in, inter alia, the destruction, elimination or colonisation of habitational spaces constituting domicile (Porteous and Smith). This domicile is one of the main contributing factors to Palestinian memoricide (Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* 3), detrimental to Palestinian identity formation. When Palestinian homes are eradicated, their physical and symbolic connotations of centre and identity (Porteous and Smith 61) become absent. John Gillis explains the reciprocity between identity and memory:

the notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa. The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity (3).

Gillis further asserts that memories help human beings fathom the world around them (3). Indeed, Karmi's comprehension of her world, since her prelapsarian years until her adulthood in *manfa* and beyond, has been greatly impacted or rather shaped by her Home memory. Analysing Karmi's life journey, Arnold Van Gennep's rite of passage and Victor Turner's liminality are essential in elaborating how the former's life experience is maimed and distorted primarily by the racial palestinianisation conviction of ethnoracial eviction and its resulting practices.

Considering the above, this paper argues that Home conceptualisation has changed due to racial palestinianisation practices which have extended to blight the Palestinians' life experiences on the collective and personal levels. My analysis is



divided into two parts: the first one tackles the collective experience of Palestinian quotidian life defined by surveillance and control, and the second explores Karmi's rite of passage determined by the Nakba and the changing geopolitics of Home: Palestine.

### A STIFLED QUOTIDIAN LIFE

Zionist Israeli control and surveillance network are part and parcel of its colonial and occupation machine cogwheels "structured around six interconnected systems of surveillance: the apartheid wall; territorial subdivision and zoning; checkpoints; Israeli-only bypass roads; military bases; and the special set of military laws that support all other systems" (Abujidi 315). In *Return*, Karmi gets to experience a number of these systems when she returns Home in Summer 2005. She finds Home defined by the material manifestation of racial palestinianisation through three systems of surveillance: the Annexation/ apartheid Wall, checkpoints and illegal settlements or Zionist Israeli colonies. These systems constitute a ubiquitous experience akin to that of the panopticon paradigm and the Pelican Bay prison to the end of ethnoracial culling and purging the Palestinians.

First a differentiation between the panopticon and the Pelican Bay prison is fundamental to explain their relevance to the Palestinian contextuality. While the panopticon has disciplinary ends, the American facility aims at rendering its inmates immobile. To illustrate, the panopticon is a recreational facility "*houses of correction*" (Bauman 109), working by inserting and observing the prisoners in a segmented space "in which [their] slightest movements are supervised" (Foucault 197). It seeks to control "the mind rather than the body" (Ruth), to ensure the automatic function of surveillance and punishment power (Foucault 197, 201). On the other hand, the American prison, which is a technologically advanced incarceration facility precisely constructed for high profile criminals, aims at only confining its convicts in extreme exclusion behind its concrete walls (Corwin; Bauman 113). This is achieved by imprisoning the Pelican Bay Prison inmates in "windowless cells, built of solid blocks of concrete and stainless steel" (Corwin). Unlike the panopticon incarceration strategy, the Pelican Bay convicts' behavioural actions are unimportant (Bauman 113).

*Return* begins by a map of Israeli Settlements on the West Bank; tangible evidence of the colonial compartmentalisation of Palestine (Fanon 29). As Figure 1 below shows, the OPT, akin to confinement facilities, is totally segregated and bordered by the Annexation Wall, forcing a great percent of the Palestinians outside what is known as 'Israeli territorial space' (Goldberg 35) and confining them inside their enclosed enclaves simultaneously. As if imprisoning them inside such enclaves falls short, the Palestinians are further segregated from each other by means of settler colonies. Karmi's perception of the Annexation Wall from the 'Israeli part' of Abu Dis village, though incomplete back in 2005, reflects its



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exclusive and coercive features akin to those of the Pelican Bay prison. The Wall is a territory demarcation, a separation between the excluded 'philistines' of the West Bank and the 'civilised' others colonising the rest of Palestine. The Annexation Wall effectively achieves two combined features of the panopticon and Pelican Bay Prison: a constant Zionist domination and oppressive control of the Palestinian, on one hand, and limitation or prevention of their mobility, on the other.

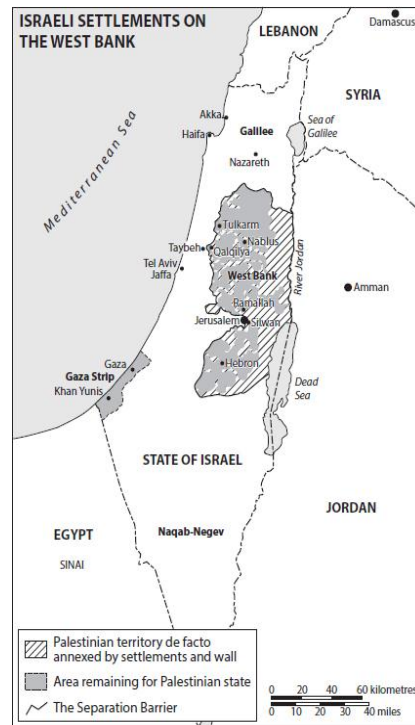


Figure 1

Karmi's perception of her colonised Home is tainted by the Annexation Wall which "wound along the side of the street all the way up to the top where it curved sideways to form a complete *shield* that shut off the light and everything else behind it" (Karmi, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* 46; emphasis added) and dissect her hometown, Jerusalem. Basic to control and surveillance are borders making as meaning-making entities (Donnan and Wilson 4); significantly, the wall in Karmi's perception "felt powerfully solid and *immovable*" (*Return* 46; emphasis added). It segregates away the Palestinians in part of Abu Dis isolating them from the rest of their land, their Palestinian counterparts, and family members on the other side of the wall. This settler colonial practice achieves the ethnoracial purging aim of racial palestinianisation deeply rooted in a "practice of rejection, of exile-enclosure" akin to that practiced against the leper (Foucault 198). The Wall shuts off the light evoking a dim effect resonating with Karmi's perception of her Golders Green home in exile analysed in the following section. Karmi continues





her description rendering the Walls' surveillance feature similar to that of the panopticon crystal clear: "[h]igher up along its course and inserted into its side was a *huge cylindrical watchtower*, with sinister-looking apertures for windows all around the top" (*Return* 46; emphasis added). Similarly, the panopticon's periphery composites of "an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring" (Foucault 200), so that prisoners, similar to Palestinians, are easily and constantly observed from the Wall's watchtower. Though Karmi is prohibited from seeing the guards, she "imagined armed soldiers to be monitoring what went below" (Karmi, *Return* 46) from their vantage point. With this blinding fortification, Karmi further fathoms an image defined by coercive power: "armed soldiers" ready to kill armless incarcerated indigenous Palestinians at their convenience; an apprehension increasing the Palestinians' precarious daily experience by the Wall (Abujidi 314). Assuming and controlling power ensures that the Palestinians are abiding by the settler-colonial rules which, like that of the panopticon, would "be visible but unverifiable" (Foucault 201). With all this fortification, precarity, and unverifiable power, the Palestinians are expected to be deterred from any anti-colonial initiative and instead comply with the fortified settler-colonial rule fulfilling the disciplinary outcome of the panopticon.

Embedded with strategies of surveillance and control are the processes of ethnoracial purging and culling. Foucault clarifies that one of the ways to exercise power over subjects, as part of the panopticon strategy, is to control their relationships (198). The Wall does not only allow the Zionist coloniser to monitor and control Palestinians' behaviour, but it also mutilates their personal relationships. By oftentimes denying mobility, the Palestinian quotidian life replicates the immobility status of the Pelican Bay prisoners. The Palestinian Naila elucidates: "[b]hind the wall is my husband ... [h]e's there because we're not allowed to live together any more" (Karmi, *Return* 47). Karmi further explains Naila's case, which is a common control practice among Palestinians in the West Bank (Zureik, "Colonialism, Surveillance, and Population Control: Israel/Palestine" 14-15). Naila and her husband

had owned a house in Abu-Dis which had been their home until the wall was built, putting the house on the Israeli side of the village. They were instantly separated, for she was a 'resident' of East Jerusalem- the quaint Israeli designation for the native Arab population of the city- and held a blue Israeli ID, but her husband was a 'West Bank resident' with an orange ID, which meant that he could not enter the Israeli side thereafter without a special permit. Using this, he was able to visit his wife and children in the Israeli part of Abu Dis, but only during the day; he had to leave by seven every evening, and even this access ceased during Jewish holidays, when the whole of the West Bank was sealed off (*Return* 47).





What is evidently implemented here is culling. The ID cards maintained to render the Palestinians with limited mobility, or lack thereof. The late Palestinian renowned sociologist Elia Zureik explains that in OPT “ID cards are essential tools in the Israeli matrix of control. They regulate mobility and residency but do not bestow any state rights” (“Colonialism” 15), and further denies basic human rights as Naila’s example demonstrates. It is by means of these ID cards that Palestinians’ personal lives are halted; Naila is married yet paradoxically unmarried with the possibility of controlling reproduction as part of the settler-colonial practice of ethnoracial culling. It is a constant reminder that the Palestinians, like inmates of the two prisons, lack autonomy over their life choices and bodies.

Panopticism is not limited to the Annexation wall, it spreads to the checkpoints. Two infamous checkpoints worth mentioning here are the Qalandia checkpoint, dividing Jerusalem, and Erez (Beit Hanoun) checkpoint, separating Gaza from the rest of colonised Palestine. These two checkpoints simultaneously and effectively exhibit features of the panopticon and the Pelican Bay prison. In this part of Home, the colonised Palestinian “is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication” (Foucault 200). The panoptical Qalandia checkpoint’s watchtower has invisible soldier: Karmi depicts “unseen voices yell[ing] out every now and then through loud-speakers, ordering people below to hurry along” (Karmi, *Return* 190). Sharing this feature with the panopticon, the Pelican Bay prison’s guards “are locked away in glass-enclosed control booths and communicate with prisoners through a speaker system” (Corwin). The panopticon surveillance system’s paramount value is “to make sure that the inmate ... [goes] through certain motions, follow[s] certain routine, ... [does] certain things” (Bauman 113). Contextualized in the Palestinian stifling experience, this aim is further achieved through ethnic supremacy expressed through the soldier yelling: ““Get going, you dogs! Move!” More expletive followed” (Karmi, *Return* 190). Similarly, the infamous Erez checkpoint is under constant surveillance and control which adds to the precarity of the Palestinians’ experience mentioned before by the Wall. A full depiction of this checkpoint is noteworthy here: Palestinians

cross Erez on foot through a kilometre-long labyrinth of high concrete walls and corrugated metal roof. It was closed at both ends by heavy steel doors; once through the first door, pedestrians walked along a narrow, dingy tunnel fitted with cameras and punctuated by a series of tall turnstiles that could suddenly lock, trapping the person inside until the soldiers gave the order to open them. In this section of the crossing, no actual soldiers were to be seen; their presence could only be discerned by the eerie sound of their disembodied voices coming through loudspeakers from somewhere above, giving commands to those inside the passage ... It had been the stuff of nightmares, tortuous, poorly lit and frightening (Karmi, *Return* 191).



In addition to being a literally stifling experience and obviously a horrendous one, the conditions by which soldiers would allow mobility of the trapped Palestinians, or lack thereof, is uncertain. Being trapped is akin to the Pelican Bay prisoners immobile status quo, but that American facility implements such a strategy on the pretext of protecting its inmates (Corwin); however, the Erez checkpoint is a liminal space defined by precarity that has led oftentimes to the termination of Palestinians' lives through suffocation (Karmi, *Return* 191).

Precarious experience by the Wall and the checkpoint liminal spaces extend to the Palestinians' villages even though their rightful inhabitants remain trapped and immobile inside their own homes. Fortification surrounding the Palestinian cities and villages in the form of illegal Zionist Israeli colonies constitute a form of spatial colonisation, as a further manifestation of racial palestinianisation practice of ethnoracial purging. Building the *Kibbutzim* on mountains surrounding the Palestinian villages is a form of a topographical privilege the Zionists wrongfully granted themselves even before 1948 (Pappé, *The Ethnic* 58). This practice has been increasing exponentially since then by means of building illegal colonies with the privilege of monitoring the Palestinian cities below paired with a *de facto* state of continuous settler colonial gaze. In his "The Politics of Verticality", Weizman explains the strategy behind building some Israeli settlements: "[i]ndeed, the form of the mountain settlements is constructed according to a geometric system that unites the effectiveness of sight with spatial order, producing panoptic fortresses, generating gazes to many different ends". One example Karmi demonstrates, is the village of Beitunia which is "a large village of some 20,000 people ... [surrounded by] the barrier ... [and] by the huge settlement of Giv'at Ze'ev that towered over the nearby countryside" (Karmi, *Return* 41). Beitunia is excluded and segregated twice: once by the barrier and second by the hovering settler-colony. Further witnessing the ubiquitous quotidian surveillance, Karmi could not help but see, on her way from Ramallah towards Nablus, "the yellow lights of Israeli settlements high above on all the hilltops" (Karmi, *Return* 82). However, she and other Palestinians are deprived of merely seeing the settlers, as the Palestinian villages are "pitch black ... [i]n the valleys below" (Karmi, *Return* 82). Pelican Bay prison strategy is implemented here as well. The settlements are not watchtowers per se, like those at the checkpoint, they are just neighbourhoods surrounding and indirectly monitoring the Palestinians, which are only seen by virtue of "yellow lights". Nevertheless, they form some sort of spying entity, typical of the *Mukhabarat* state (Pappé, "The Mukhabarat state of Israel: A State of Oppression is not a State of Exception") while simultaneously ensuring the immobility of the Palestinians inside their villages away from the illegal settlements and the rest of their homeland the settler Zionists have so far succeeded in colonising.

## IN SEARCH OF GHADA



*In Search* and *Return* begin with loss, albeit across different spatialities and temporalities. *In Search*'s Prologue is set in Qatamon, Jerusalem, in April 1948 placing the reader at the heart of the spatiality and temporality of the primordial event in the life narratives of Palestinian women: the Nakba (Sayigh 140). The Prologue captures the horrific sudden fleeing of the Karmis under the whistle of bullets, sound of explosions, terror of adults, incomprehension of child Ghada, perplexity of the family's dog, Rex, and the silent spatiality of Karmi's cherished veranda (Karmi, *In Search* 1-2). Alternatively, *Return*'s Prologue is set in Amman, Jordan, in April 2007; 59 years after the temporality of *In Search*'s Prologue. It begins with an image of Hassan Karmi on his death bed, whose life happens to signify an important period of the Palestinian history: he "was born in Palestine at the time of the Ottoman Empire, lived through its demise and its replacement by the British Mandate that ruled Palestine, endured the establishment of the State of Israel thereafter and was forced into exile" (Karmi, *Return* 2). Karmi, the father, was a repository of significant historical epochs in the long-denied history of Palestine; thus, losing him is a metaphorical loss of Palestinian history. The prologues set child Ghada and her father in liminal stages: between homely and unhomely (*unheimlich*) and between life and death, respectively. Though the temporality of *Return*'s Prologue is around six decades away from the Nakba, her father's wish to go back to 'normal' life takes Karmi back to the moment of rupture beginning *In Search*'s Prologue: she goes back "to an April morning long ago and to the child ... [she] was then, standing helplessly at the closed garden gates of ... [their] house in Jerusalem that ... [her] heart feared ... [she] would never see again" (Karmi, *Return* 4).

The overarching loss in the two memoirs is of Palestine as but one result of racial palestinianisation settler-colonial ideology of land clearance (Goldberg 39). This ideological commitment has cascaded in massacring the Palestinians, expelling the rest<sup>2</sup>, eradicating their homes and habitational spaces, and the consequential distortion of their identity. Ethnoracial eviction has been clearly manifested in Palestinians' homes eradication which has significantly dismantled their social structure (Nassar 34). Significantly, central to Karmi's both memoirs is the absence of H/home as "spatial, psychosocial centre in which at least a portion of an individual's or a group's identity resides" (Porteous and Smith 61). This absence is underscored by the 'problematic' Palestinian identity "eternally called into question when ... the spatial ("your place no longer exists") [is] ... invoked" (DeYoung 7); an experience Karmi has often encountered in exile. Home is significant throughout the development of a person's lifetime, but it has particular

<sup>2</sup> For further details on the Palestinians' expulsion in 1948, refer to Nur Masalha's *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* and *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of Transfer in Zionist Political Thoughts, 1882-1948*.



significance to a child as it stands for her/his centre and family (Porteous and Smith 63). Prior to the Nakba when the Palestinian political situation was not reflected on land confiscation and history denial, Karmi's home signified love, comfort and security. Throughout *In Search* and *Return*, Karmi attempts to regain feelings of homely and belonging conjuring up questions related to her self-perception and Palestinian identity.

Beginning with Karmi's homely spatiality, Karmi's memory of Qatamon street and villas is richly emblematic of Palestinian cultural and ecological signifiers. In Part One of *In Search* titled "Palestine", Karmi draws a picturesque image of her prelapsarian Qatamon street: "Qatamon had wide streets and large detached villas built of sand-coloured Jerusalem stone with green shutters and tiled verandas" (Karmi, *In Search* 26). What Home here represents is a capacious space inhabited by Palestinian historical and cultural symbols interwoven with architectural elements reflecting authentic homeland colours. Through the "sand-coloured Jerusalem stone" used in building the villas, the symbiotic relationship between Palestinian ecology and architecture sets the scene of her Home memory. This sand colour is further enriched by the green colour of the villa's shutters signifying yet another cultural and resistance feature of the land, namely the olives. This image ends with a reference to one of pre-Nakba industries: the traditional decorative tiles<sup>3</sup>. It is worth mentioning here that, prior the Nakba, decorative artistic tiles decorated Palestinians' houses in various cities including Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza and Ramallah (Abuarkub 114-6). Karmi compliments this by an aesthetically pleasing and bountiful image of her own villa's surroundings: "We had five apricot trees in our garden, an almond tree, a plum tree, a pear tree and a lemon tree just under my parents' bedroom window. We also had a vine which bore heavy brunches of oval-shaped green grapes in the late summer" (*In Search* 26). Qatamon's villa compromises a congregation of colours: light yellow and orange colours of the apricot trees, white, pink colours of the almond tree, purple red, yellow and green colours of the plum tree, vivid green and yellow colours of the lemon tree and green colour of the grapes. Demarcated by colourful and fruitful trees, her home memory alludes to "nutritional security" (Hage 473).

This depiction of home spatiality of belonging and identity formation ends with Karmi's most cherished space in her villa, the veranda: the Karmis' "house was ... raised above street level by steps which led up to a *large veranda* in front" (Karmi, *In Search* 26; emphasis added). Qatamon's veranda plays a basic and extended spatial signifier in Karmi's two memoirs. The veranda, which has remained spacious like Qatamon streets in Karmi's memory, was Fatima and child Ghada's space of rest, comfort and love. Fatima, titular of the first memoir, is child

<sup>3</sup> In fact, Qatamon had a decorative tile factory owned and run by the Kassissieh family before 1948 (Kassissieh 17).



Ghada and her siblings' nanny back in Qatamon and the maidservant at the Karmis' household. For child Ghada, Fatima has embodied warmth, emotional and nutritional fulfilment and security; qualities associated with mothering and homeland (Hage 473). On several occasions in the first memoir, Karmi alludes motherly attributes to Fatima, she remembers "[i]t was more the sense of her I retain, a kindly patient motherliness" (24). Qatamon villa, Palestine by extension, and Fatima share qualities of being a space of "refuge, freedom, possession, shelter, and security" (Porteous and Smith 61). The veranda, precisely, was the only spatiality in which child Ghada expressed herself freely and was heard: "When [Fatima] lay down in our veranda sometimes to have a sleep in the afternoon, I would sit next to her and talk. She was good-natured and never objected" (Karmi, *In Search* 25). Accordingly, searching for Fatima, in the two memoirs, is searching for everything Karmi has lost: her homely belonging, warmth, love, freedom, acknowledgment, and Home.

Qatamon's villa further excluded danger, securing a safe haven for child Ghada. Karmi remembers that she "would rush back anxiously, longing to be in the house in the warm with Fatima with the door closed, roasting chestnut and letting Rex into the *liwan*" (Karmi, *In Search* 79). Qatamon house was safe disregarding the outside trouble: "the world had shrunk to the confines of ... [the villa's] garden and ... house in a private enclave, which ... [she] made magically immune from the bombing and shooting" (Karmi, *In Search* 114); thus, home for child Ghada represented and retained the memory of security and refuge (Porteous and Smith 63). Karmi's enjoyed a stable condition in pre-Nakba Qatamon villa which has represented for her "bountiful and fulfilling space of the homeland where the subject of homely belonging is located" (Hage 473). Qatamon villa, and by extension Palestine, was the spatiality in which prelapsarian Ghada enjoyed a "fixed or stable condition" (Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* 93). However, at the age of 9, at the wake of the Nakba, all of this transitioned to the contrary. This liminal stage between childhood and teenage years coincided with her uprootedness from her Homeland. Accordingly, child Ghada undergoes various parallel separations from stable and homely conditions: a separation from her prelapsarian life, Fatima, her Qatamon home, Palestine, her language and culture. Further, child Ghada is denied Van Gennep's rites of separation, or as Turner later called them preliminal rites, which "comprises symbolic behavior signifying ... detachment" (*The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* 94), well experienced when the whole family abruptly fled for their lives.

Karmi's unforeseen separation from Home as one consequence of racial palestinianisation practice of land clearance coincides with entering a liminal state on the personal, cultural and political levels. This liminality sets the author's existential precarity experienced once she sets foot in London. Standing in the provisional spatiality of the then Oscar Wild Airport, Karmi begins her first





memoir with: “On a *cold* autumnal day I stood with my mother, sister and brother in London airport” (Karmi, *In Search* 5; emphasis added). London, at that time for child Ghada, was foreign, it “looked like nothing that ... [she] had ever seen” (Karmi, *In Search* 173). This unfamiliarity defines liminality in Turner’s perception: he elaborates that liminality is a “cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past” (Turner, *The Ritual* 94). Child Ghada’s *unheimlich* feeling was accentuated by the absence of her mother tongue, Arabic, and its replacement with a foreign language, English, at the airport and later at school in London signifying entering a state of cultural liminality.

Moving to her London home, what Karmi’s child memory retains of the Golders Green Street, conversely, is a “dreary suburban street with ... small, dark houses, all standing in monotonous rows” (Karmi, *In Search* 174). To her dismay, Golders Green’ gardens were “humble little strips of land pretending to be gardens” (Karmi, *In Search* 174) lacking the bountiful nutritious memory of Home. Contrary to the emblematic Qatamon villas, her new house is banal, defined by dimness and confinement, in spite of its safe spatiality away from the danger of the British and later Zionist colonisation of her homeland. Her house in *manfa* has “wooden floorboards and *small* rooms ... The door of the scullery at the back of the house opened onto the back garden, which was *long* and *narrow* and *bordered* on both sides by wooden *fences*” (Karmi, *In Search* 174; emphasis added). These precise features of the back garden as long, narrow, bordered with fences are alarmingly reminiscent of the Erez checkpoint mentioned earlier. Though child Ghada has not experienced surveillance and control yet, racial palestinianisation stifling practices are felt early on after forced separation from Home.

With the absence of homeland as a “*reference point*” (Karmi, *In Search* 445; emphasis added) and its replacement with foreignness, Karmi’s liminal persona is buttressed resulting in undefined and uncertain Palestinian identity (Turner, *The Forest* 97). Palestinian identity is multiple foci: Palestinians come to define themselves primarily in relation to their country (Palestine), religion (Muslims or Christians), and region (Arabs) (Khalidi 146). Constructing Palestinian identity outside the spatiality and temporality of Home is challenging. To begin with, Karmi’s memory of Palestine was kept in the abyss the moment she reaches England: she “had by then already closed off the Palestine of ... [her] childhood into a private memory place where it would always remain magically frozen in time” (Karmi, *In Search* 174). This was contemporaneous with the absence of Palestine from her Golders Green home: “no one talked about Palestine at home beyond the occasions when the news on the radio would provoke the odd exclamation or comment from one or other of ... [her] parents” (Karmi, *In Search* 209). However, her Muslim identity survived a bit longer facing foreign Christianity at school; she remembers “[e]very lesson began with a Hail Mary ... I did not join in and as soon as I understood that this was a Catholic prayer I began



to close my eyes each time and say the Fatiha prayer in my head. I saw this as the only way to preserve my identity from being overwhelmed ... At the same time, I started to pray at home" (Karmi, *In Search* 192-3). But this Muslim identity was soon to dwindle as she stops praying by the age of sixteen (Karmi, *In Search* 193). Her Arab identity was expected to be understood without any parental guidance or any guidance at all at Golders Green's dwelling. This resulted in being stranded "between our [Karmi's and her siblings'] identity as Arabs and Muslims and that of the European, Christian country around us" (Karmi, *In Search* 208).

With this sense of loss, trying to reach a stable position, she tries incorporating herself to the English society, she saw herself: "part of a *higher order of being*, liberal, free, English" (Karmi, *In Search* 237; emphasis added) after being naturalised as a British subject in 1952. To consummate her passage, teenage Karmi sheds off aspects of her Palestinian identity entangled with their ideological connotations. Philistinianising her Arab Palestinian Muslim identity represented in her family, she develops "a sense of revulsion and horror. ... 'They're intolerant and primitive and I do not belong with them'" (Karmi, *In Search* 237). However, her consummated passage proved to be illusionary when one of her school mates calls her "Filthy foreigner" (Karmi, *In Search* 247). She immediately realises her liminality and ascribes herself to liminality's negative connotations of darkness otherness, and passivity (Turner, *The Ritual* 95, 96): "I was somehow ... undesirable, contemptible" (Karmi, *In Search* 247). Unfortunately, this liminality of unbelonging does not cease as she moves to adulthood. Years later, Karmi continues to struggle with her liminality: "[t]he truth I could not face as yet was that I was truly displaced, dislocated, in both mind and body, straddling two cultures and unable to belong in either" (Karmi, *In Search* 422).

As Home is the centre (Porteous and Smith 7), Karmi realises that she "would have to go to the source, the origin, the very place, shunned fearfully for years, where it all began" (Karmi, *In Search* 422). Karmi goes back to her Qatamon villa: the spatiality of, paradoxically, belonging and separation. However, returning in 1998 obliterates her prelapsarian memory of it, leaving her further stranded between and betwixt a lost memory of homely and belonging and a vivid present of domicile and spatial colonization. Since the Zionist colonisation of Palestine, destruction and incursion have been taken to the spatiality of Palestinian residential places extending battlefields to homes and communities (Hyndman 319). She laments the loss of her Qatamon villa as "wasn't ... [theirs] any more and had not been for fifty years" (Karmi, *In Search* 450). Karmi poignantly experiences that alteration of her safe and warm space. It is the entanglement of the personal, geopolitical, and Zionist practices of colonial spatiality she has to confront upon her several visits to her Qatamon villa.



First time she visits her Qatamon villa, she finds it profoundly colonized by the settler colonizer Ben Porath's whose name she reads on her villa's wall plaque. The first thing she sees when she opens her villa's gate is the occupation of her cherished veranda. It was occupied by "an old woman in a rocking chair" (Karmi, *In Search* 447-8) who happened to be an American settler-colonizer. This woman's occupation metaphorically represents the joint Israeli American settler-colonial usurpation of the land. She instantly remembers her motherly figure: "[i]n a flash, I saw Fatima resting on the floor, her eyes closed" (Karmi, *In Search* 447-8), this memory of a closed-eyed Fatima could also be interpreted as dead Fatima further pushing her, like Karmi, to liminality as death is frequently linked to a liminal state (Turner, *The Ritual* 95). Consequently, pre-Nakba Palestine, Karmi's old Self, Fatima, and Home are dead; Karmi bemoans: "[o]ur house was dead, like Fatima, like poor Rex, like us" (Karmi, *In Search* 450). But Karmi does not give up, she returns to her Qatamon villa in 2000, in *Return* this time, where she was denied entrance to her own villa in a display of violent ethnoracial purging and Judaisation of her homeland. This time her own villa was occupied by a "stocky Orthodox Jew with sideboards and skullcap" (Karmi, *Return* 117) who got startled and angrily rejected Karmi's mere presence in her own villa's outer space. He further threatened: 'Go away or I'll get someone on to you!'" (Karmi, *Return* 117). Though being a British citizen, Karmi, like her Palestinian counterparts, is yet in another liminality. At the doorsteps of her own *home*, like her Palestinian counterparts at the checkpoints, Karmi waits for the permission of the settler-coloniser to grant her mobility; a reminder of "how much [Palestinians] share in common as a people" (Khalidi 1). With this yet another manifestation of domicide, Karmi's alienation and liminality are emphasised.

Karmi has been a historical and political periphery throughout her rite of passage, even after reaching adulthood and going back Home she has remained the same. However, determined to "belong, to be part of the community, to fit into ... [her] skin" (Karmi, *Return* 18), she reconciles with her Palestinian identity. This Palestinian identity is defined, this time, by political activism: "I had latched passionately onto the cause of Palestine as an inspiration, an *identity*, a reason for living" (Karmi, *In Search* 399; emphasis added) which started back in *manfa* by mid-1970s. Enduring estrangement and realising that "Nowhere on earth" belongs to her (Karmi, *In Search* 337) resulted in drawing a 'new' identity with its basis on reclaiming her own Home by means of political activism. This is further reiterated in *Return*, but among her people and on her land this time. It is only through political activism that she can belong and feel homely: in the anti-annexation wall demonstration filled with activists in Abu Dis: Karmi feels "at home and among friends" (Karmi, *Return* 45). Finding refuge in immersing herself in the Palestinian cause, Karmi was determined to reclaim her Palestinian history and resist the colonial forces in her homeland. By reaching the final state, reincorporation, "the





passage is consummated. The ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more" (Turner, *The Ritual* 95). Nevertheless, this is not the magical resolution to years of expulsion, denial and liminality. Karmi's homely feeling is momentarily felt vis-à-vis a lingering limbo state of mind.

### CONCLUSION: CHANGING PERCEPTION OF HOME

Throughout the analysis of Karmi's *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* and *Return: A Palestinian Memoir*, this paper explored the changing conceptualisation of Home as but one consequence of the expanding racial palestinianisation practices across different Palestinian temporalities and spatialities. Through Karmi's literal and figurative circular journeys expanding across the two memoirs from Home, then back Home, the author's conceptualisation of Home has undergone immense changes all beginning with her initial forced rupture from Palestine due to Zionist settler-colonial practices of ethnoracial eviction. H/home has a quality of "being permanent – the core, the centre ... the home of identity, *the place to return to*" (Porteous and Smith 62); absence or eradication of which has constituted Karmi's essential problem in the two memoirs. Therefore, central to the two memoirs is domicile, which, as the analysis showed, is not only limited to the eradication of homes or residential spaces but also has extended to spatial colonisation of these homes and by extension the whole of **Palestine**.

Home has transformed since 1948 from a space of homely belonging and security to a quintessential prison amalgamating the panopticon and the Pelican Bay prison by virtue of different surveillance and control strategies. Palestinian quotidian life has been transformed to a prolonged precarious experience emphasised by ethnic supremacy. Panopticon constant control and Pelican Bay prison's strategy of immobility have combined to stifle everyday Palestinian experience which must include confrontation with the settler-colonial power of the Annexation Wall and the checkpoints. Further, remaining immobile inside their homes does not spare the Palestinians the dangers of racial palestinianisation practices: they are constantly under the panoptical control and gaze of the spying entities commonly called illegal settlements. Such a prison-like existential precarity is the practical implication of racial palestinianisation ethnoracial practices of culling and purging.

Tragically no Palestinian is spared racial palestinianisation practices. Despite being spared confinement experience as a child, Karmi cannot help but perceive her 'free' spatiality in *manfa* as a bordered space. This stifling feeling comes in stark contrast with the safe, capacious and bountiful home in Jerusalem. Karmi's safe space back Home reflected her stable and fixed position inside a Palestinian city and community. Forced separation from this stable position resulted in existential precarity and perplexity of her Palestinian identity. With every return Home, Karmi faces her changed H/home as a result of different forms



of racial palestinianisation practices. The settler-colonisation, spatial colonisation and Judaization of her own space of comfort and homely belonging.

With this distorted memory of H/home and its memory, Palestinian identity becomes problematic especially in light of the denial of the Palestinians' political rights in global politics. Back to Gillis' notion of reciprocity between identity and memory, racial palestinianisation practices of ethnoracial eviction, among other settler-colonial practices, have relentlessly worked on annihilating any sense of sameness among the Palestinians over time and space. Nevertheless, the very act of memoir writing counters such practices. Through retaining the memory of pre-Nakba Palestine and Qatamon's home stability, security, nourishment and freedom evident in the first memoir, Karmi has managed to reconstruct her homely belonging despite the absence of her H/home. Her memory kept Home magically frozen in time, conjured up to reconstruct Karmi's present. Karmi reconceptualises her Palestinian identity through Palestinian activism and reclaiming her H/home and memory. Though she confesses that this is how she feels homely, the predominant feeling across the two memoirs is that of unhomeliness and liminality; a dilemma which can never be overcome without the liberation of Palestine as a starting point.



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