



Lifta and the Regime of Forgetting: Memory Work and Conservation

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“Lifta, the old Nephtoa. Joshua 15, 9.”
Source: Ludwig Schneller, Vater Schneller: Ein Patriarch der Evangelischen Mission im Heiligen Lande (Leipzig: H. G. Wallmann, 1898), 11.

Introduction

The village of Lifta is situated at the entrance to Jerusalem, on a steep slope below the road that ascends from the coast. This impressive village, known for its vernacular architecture and its construction typology incorporating ancient terraces, was emptied of its Palestinian residents during the 1948 war. The residents of Lifta, like the 710,000-780,000 other Palestinians who were expelled or fled in 1948,¹ were not permitted to return to their homes after the war and became refugees. However, unlike more than four hundred Palestinian villages destroyed in 1948, Lifta was not left totally in ruins. Of the village’s four hundred and fifty original houses, fifty-five are still standing today. Moreover, in contrast to a few other villages that were preserved but turned into Jewish neighborhoods or villages,² most of the houses left in Lifta remain unoccupied. Hence, many



The approach from Jaffa and Tel-Aviv: The ancient village of Lifta seen from the main road. *Source: Photo by Alfred Bernheim in Henry Kendall, Jerusalem – The City Plan: Preservation and Development During the British Mandate, 1918-1948 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), chapter II, image 22.*

Palestinians regard Lifta as a symbol of, and mute testimony to, the 1948 Palestinian Nakba.

Today the threat of demolition hovers over Lifta: the Israel Land Administration has approved a plan to sell land in the village to private entrepreneurs who intend to build high-end luxury housing for Jews. A unique coalition of Jewish and Palestinian activists has been working to block this proposed construction and preserve the village. Through this case, the present article examines key issues in Palestinian-Jewish relations and the common future of Israel/Palestine, in particular questions pertaining to memory, recognition and the right of return. After a short review of Lifta's history and major features, the article analyzes several aspects of the struggle to prevent its demolition. It proposes that Lifta serve as a model for studying the past and creating a future of peace based upon recognition of suffering and protection of human rights.

Lifta's History and Major Features

According to an Egyptian document, Lifta was the site of a roadside stronghold as early as the thirteenth century BCE. The spring in Lifta has been identified as the waters of Nephtoah mentioned in the Bible, and archaeological remains dating as far back as the Second Iron Age have been found there.³ The village was at the peak of its prosperity during the 1940s, when the 2,958 residents of Lifta⁴ owned lands totalling around 874 hectares / 2,160 acres.⁵ Before 1948 Lifta had a modern clinic,



View of Lifta. Source: Orna Marton, architecture photographer, www.ornamarton.com

“two coffeehouses, two carpentry shops, barbershops, and a butcher.”⁶ The vernacular architecture in Lifta included residences, public buildings, a mosque, a guest house, four olive presses, wine presses, wells, a two-tier pool for collecting spring water, and a system of roads, plazas and courtyards. The construction in Lifta reflects a strong and complex bond between societal and physical-spatial structures. Lifta is the last remnant in Israel of the Arab building heritage and “an outstanding example of a local cultural landscape.”⁷ It thus meets UNESCO’s definition of a cultural heritage site: “works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.”⁸

On 28 December 1947 a coffeehouse in Lifta was attacked by a group of the Stern Gang who used machine guns and grenades killing six of the patrons and wounding seven.⁹ From December 1947 through January 1948, the residents of Lifta fled their village in the wake of actions by the Jewish forces, which included threats, house demolitions and raids intended to cause the evacuation of the Lifta residents.¹⁰ After the war, the residents of Lifta were not permitted to return to their village. Today, they and their descendants live in East Jerusalem, in the West Bank, in Jordan and in other countries. Many of them still feel deep ties to their village, and many of those who are able to get to the village visit it frequently, tend to the area, and teach their children about its past.

Once all the Palestinian residents were out of Lifta, the State of Israel expropriated all the village lands and assets, as it did in other Palestinian villages whose owners

became refugees after the 1948 war.¹¹ Moreover, when Israel occupied the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, during the 1967 war, many of the Lifta refugees were living in the newly occupied areas. Some, who resided in East Jerusalem in 1967, were now residents of Israel. Others fell under the Israeli military governor, because they lived in cities or refugee camps in the West Bank. Despite this development, Israel forbade the Lifta refugees from returning to their homes or demanding that rights to their homes and assets be restored to them.¹²

Between 1948 and 1953, the Jewish Agency settled Jewish immigrants from Yemen and Iraqi Kurdistan in Lifta. Some of these Jewish residents left during the 1960s in exchange for monetary compensation. Thirteen of these Jewish families still live on the outskirts of the village today.¹³

In 2006, a master plan for Lifta was approved. This plan mandated building 268 expensive luxury residential units, a hotel and commercial areas. The remains of the village were to be integrated into the new neighbourhood, which was intended for Jews.¹⁴ After Israeli and Palestinian organizations submitted objections to this plan, a decision was made to demarcate the cemetery and to preserve the mosque as a public building. In December 2010, the Israel Land Administration (the owner of all Palestinian lands expropriated as “abandoned property”) issued a tender for the sale of plots in Lifta and simultaneously issued eviction notices to the Jewish families residing there, claiming they had “broken into” their houses.

The Struggle Against the Demolition of Lifta: Points of Agreement and Tension

After the tender was issued, a group of Jewish and Palestinian activists formed to try to block construction in Lifta. From the outset, we – Palestinian and Jewish activists and researchers – have participated in the activities of this group, known as the Coalition to Save Lifta.¹⁵ This coalition, which is not registered and has no formal organizational structure, is made up of refugees from Lifta who seek to maintain their historic and property rights and their right to return to their village in the future; architects and planners who want to preserve the built heritage of Lifta; environmentalists who object to damaging one of Jerusalem’s green areas; human rights activists, and others. Despite general agreement within the Coalition on the overall goal, the strategies advocated and claims being made have been subject to dispute.

Some activists see the struggle to save Lifta as an exceptional opportunity to challenge the Israeli regime of erasure and denial of the Palestinian Nakba. Indeed, Israeli society and politics are characterized by active forgetting¹⁶ of the Palestinian past in general and the Nakba in particular. Speaking about the Nakba and the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes and not allowing them to come back is still taboo in Israel. This common “state of denial”¹⁷ or “regime of forgetting”¹⁸ entails complex public policies, discourses and practices.¹⁹ For instance, in March 2011, the Knesset (Israeli parliament) passed an amendment

known as the “Nakba Law” authorizing the Minister of Finance to reduce monetary support for institutions that funded any event or action marking the date of Israel’s establishment as a day of mourning.²⁰

Against this background, many Israeli organizations, among them environmental and human rights NGOs, have refrained from joining the Coalition and supporting its petition to the court to put a halt to the tender, on the grounds of not wishing to get involved in a “political” issue or be regarded as “extremists” by the (Jewish) public in Israel.

For many of the Palestinian activists, remembering and discussing Lifta’s building heritage has been part of a broader memory work. For them, this memory is a counter-memory that speaks truth to power and makes “political and moral claims to justice, redress, and the right to return.”²¹ Some of the Jewish activists, on the other hand, have preferred to deploy a depoliticized concept of “Arab cultural heritage,”²² disassociating this issue from the Nakba and the future of Lifta refugees.

There was also a debate among the Palestinian Liftawis about appealing to the Israeli court. While most of the refugees from Lifta and their grandchildren supported the appeal, the second generation largely objected to it. In their view, the claim being brought to the Israeli justice system is too limited, and cannot encompass the right of return or other basic rights of Palestinian refugees as reflected in UN resolutions. Also, it was argued that petitioning the Israeli courts can be of little value because these courts are an organ of the same state responsible for the events that have transpired in Lifta since 1948.

Hence, the petition was submitted only on behalf of the Lifta refugees, and those Israeli and Palestinian activists and organizations who agreed that “divesting the original residents of their historical rights,” among these “their historical right to the land that was never severed,”²³ must be mentioned in the move to stop the Lifta plan.

In February 2012, the Jerusalem Administrative Court ruled in favor of the petition and annulled the tender. The court did not refer to the issue of ownership and historical rights in Lifta and did not have the authority to invalidate the master plan. The court accepted the petitioners’ claim that a conservation and documentation survey had to be completed prior to selling the land for construction.

Visions for the Future of Lifta

The Israel Land Administration is currently planning a conservation and documentation survey in order to issue a new tender for the sale of land for building in Lifta. At the same time, the Coalition activists, the present authors included, would like to formulate an alternative plan – a different vision for the future of Lifta. Yet, there are open questions about the work and vision of the Coalition. The first question is who should lead the struggle and speak for Lifta?

We believe that the Palestinian refugees of Lifta, the original owners of the village, have the right to envision its future and the manner in which it should be preserved.



Work day in Lifta: Conducting an alternative survey, 1 June 2012. The holes in the ceilings were made by the Israel Land Administration in the 1960s. *Source: Zvika Orr.*

From both the ethical and political perspectives, it is appropriate that they be the ones to lead the movement to save Lifta. Nevertheless, there are many barriers to such leadership. First, Lifta is located in West Jerusalem, inside Israel (west of the pre-1967 border or the Green Line). Many of the Lifta refugees living in the Occupied Palestinian Territories are unable to enter Israeli territory, including Lifta, due to the Israeli separation regime. Second, in accordance with the principles of the anti-normalization movement, many Palestinians avoid all forms of cooperation with Israelis, certainly when such cooperation involves working with Israeli authorities, in this case the Israel Land Administration, planning institutions, the Jerusalem municipality and the Israeli courts. Thus, most of the work to save Lifta is done separately by Palestinians and Israelis, with coordination of these parallel efforts based largely on personal acquaintance and facilitated through informal meetings. Activists who are Palestinian citizens of Israel play an important role in this process but are also vulnerable to burdensome political and ethical dilemmas. Third, some of the Lifta refugees in East Jerusalem live under threat of once again being evicted from their homes, and have little hope for the future. As Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel, we can try to negotiate with the Israeli authorities about the future of the village, but do we really have the right?

The second question pertains to the future we propose for Lifta. What are the visions for the future of Lifta? The activists agree that it would be best to avoid any new construction in the village that would change its appearance. Yet an alternative conservation survey and plan are required to stop the new construction or destruction of the remaining houses. This is a complex challenge that revolves around existing tensions over whether the village should be preserved as a cultural heritage site, a commemoration site or a site of return.

Refugees from Lifta and Palestinian activists in the Coalition agree that the Palestinians have the right to return to Lifta. Nevertheless, opinions differ as to the place of the right of return in the current struggle to save Lifta, especially with regard to formulating an alternative plan for the village. Some feel that the bid to return to the homes and lands of Lifta should be an integral part of the struggle and the proposed plan.²⁴ Others warn that placing the right of return at the top of the list of claims “may bring on the bulldozers,” in the words of a Palestinian activist. A more conciliatory approach adopted by many of the Palestinian activists is that they should call for the right of return while the Israeli activists focus on less controversial claims in terms of Israel’s hegemonic discourse, such as the preservation of the environmental values embodied by Lifta. Many hold that given the imminent danger of construction, activism should revolve around the broadest common denominator – the need for physical-spatial preservation of Lifta – while the decision regarding the community aspect of preservation (whether Lifta should become a Palestinian village to which refugees could return, or some alternative model be adopted) should be held over until the end of the process. How can the gap be closed between a present-focused view, which recognizes the need to preserve Lifta as it is today, and the vision of a more distant future in which some of the refugees will be able to return and Lifta will



Lifta digital art exhibition poster. Source: *Collective MIP (Memory | Imaginaries | Planning)*, <http://arenaofspeculation.org/2012/11/25/re-lifta/return-campaign-anastas-low/>

become a symbol of transitional justice, truth and reconciliation?

This gap is evident when comparing different approaches to planning Lifta's future. Many of the Palestinian and Jewish activists in the Coalition put forward a vision according to which Lifta will remain an open space for studying and examining the unique cultural and building legacy of the Palestinian village, a legacy that has been almost completely destroyed by Israel. The existing buildings will be reinforced and will serve as a unique example of the vernacular architecture of the Arab village, with the terraces and the hilly agriculture rehabilitated. This way, Lifta will remain as it is today, until a peace agreement that addresses the refugee issue is reached.

A different approach is put forth by Collective MIP (Memory | Imaginaries | Planning). Collective MIP, a group of architects and planners, got together to re-imagine the destroyed village of Lifta, the place it holds in Palestinian memory and its future in the context of shifting political landscapes. This has culminated in the "Lifta Cultural Week," a set of events, tours, lectures and an exhibit at the Yabous Cultural Center (YCC) in Jerusalem held in November 2012.²⁵ Collective MIP presented "visual representations of architectural imaginaries of the opportunities of constructing infrastructures facilitating the practice of Return, and addressing the challenges of densifying sites of collective memory."²⁶ As Architect Mahdi Sabbagh explains, their goal was to respond to the building plan in Lifta "by conceptualizing Liftawis in a post-return Lifta rather than finding an immediate solution to the remains of the village."²⁷ Their sketches "present a counter approach to the 'monumentalization'" of Lifta's remnants, "suggest innovative master plans for their expansion, and begin to touch upon questions of density, preservation and resistance in sites of collective memory."²⁸

Collective MIP argues that "within the right to plan is the right to imagine the right to return."²⁹ Some of the Palestinian refugees, however, stress that planning Lifta's future of return is also a painful process for them, raising questions such as who will return, who will get the remaining original buildings and who will get the new buildings. As long as this is merely a theoretical exercise or dream in the midst of a violent and oppressive reality, many are reluctant to get involved in such a painful process. Other Palestinian activists raise concerns about the possible misuse of alternative plans for Lifta by the Israeli establishment, which might utilize them in planning for Jewish use.

In our view, the conservation of Lifta as a place to study culture and history by no means precludes the right of return or the actual return of Palestinian refugees to their houses in Lifta. Any future peace agreement will have to address the right of return and encompass reparations as well as the return of some refugees to Israel and Palestine. We suggest that the current discussions on Lifta and on the right of return might constitute an exceptional opportunity to openly examine this crucial issue, which is silenced in Israel. Yet, the potential tension between designating a village as an open learning space and defining it as a site of return should not be overlooked.

Reconciliation and Counter-Hegemonic Activism

According to the vision for Lifta's future that we share with other activists, the case of Lifta will serve to promote open and honest discussion of the events of 1948 – the Nakba and how it is related to the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including the occupation that began in 1967 and continues until today.³⁰ Moreover, the Lifta case helps to throw light on the relations between Palestinian Arabs and *Mizrahi* Jews³¹ in Israel/Palestine before and after 1948, who have until now received only marginal and distorted representation in the official historiography of Israel.³² The case of Lifta – where, as in many other places, an attempt was made to evict the Kurdish (*Mizrahi*) Jewish residents from homes that previously had been confiscated from Palestinian residents – illustrates the mechanisms of oppression and discrimination operating against these two groups. Yet Lifta also reflects and represents the strong and productive ties between these two groups prior to 1948 and the potential for joint examination of history.

Tamari explains that “Lifta was probably the only Jerusalem village that was physically intermeshed with the Jewish communities” and that “the village had substantial and amicable economic relations with the Jerusalem Jewish community” prior to the 1948 war.³³ The Palestinian oral histories in Lifta's three memorial books often describe good relations with (mostly *Mizrahi*) Jews living in the adjacent Romeima neighbourhood³⁴ of Jerusalem prior to 1948, relations of friendship as well as of commerce.³⁵ One Palestinian person recalls: “We used to live in Romeima, and we were totally mixed among the Jews. There were friendships and other relations, and they would visit us on the eid [feast day] and eat with us ...”³⁶ A Palestinian activist from Lifta told the story of a Jewish immigrant from Iran who requested his assistance in locating another refugee from Lifta: “When he reached him, he wanted to kiss his feet ... He said: ‘I came from Persia ... I had no help, no one knew me. He helped me, he treated me very well, he gave me food, he gave me everything As we know, the Jews were not rich like the Palestinians ... who had thousands and thousands of trees ...’”³⁷ The good interpersonal relations between the Jewish and Palestinian residents were also noted by some of the Jewish veterans of Lifta.³⁸ We suggest that as a site of recognition and “co-memory”³⁹ Lifta could also become a site of conscience that promotes reconciliation and human rights.⁴⁰ We believe that Lifta might even become an official site for a truth and reconciliation commission established in Israel/Palestine.

We propose adopting an integrative, multi-level approach that acknowledges the importance of civil society/grass-roots engagement and bottom-up/citizen peacebuilding within conflict resolution processes. This approach has been used successfully in diverse conflict zones such as Northern Ireland, South Africa and the Balkans.⁴¹ However, it is of particular importance that this aspiration be inseparably and explicitly interconnected with the political struggle to decolonize Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel/Palestine and to end the ongoing military occupation of the Palestinian territories.

Human rights activism in Israel has generally focused on (largely ineffective) legal strategy and has been depoliticized and disconnected from the (shrinking) peace movement.⁴² As a result, human rights activism has been characterized by dialectics of challenging and reproducing the status quo of the Israeli occupation regime.⁴³ The Coalition to Save Lifta made successful recourse to the legal channel, but this is not sufficient. In order to be meaningful and fulfil its potential, the Coalition ought to cast light on the interrelations between the building plans in Lifta and other oppressive practices in Israel, and be engaged in both human rights and peace activism. Otherwise, the Jewish-Palestinian cooperation might become another way of reducing conflict while reifying underlying hegemonic assumptions, worldviews, and public policies in Israel and normalizing the oppressive status quo of Israeli domination of Palestinian territories.

The Coalition attempts to preserve Lifta without solving the potential tension between a site of memory and a site of return.⁴⁴ Acknowledging the diverse views of activists, the Coalition adopted a two-stage solution: first, to stabilize the buildings with minimum intervention to prevent their deterioration, and to make sure that the building plan is not implemented. Then, the question of the return to Lifta will be determined in negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians about their future.

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Endnotes

- 1 There are different estimates of the number of Palestinian refugees in 1948, e.g., 714,150-744,150 people, according to Walid Khalidi, *All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), 582; or 770,000-780,000 people, according to Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Demographic Transformation of Palestine," in *The Transformation of Palestine: Essays on the Origin and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, ed. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 161.
- 2 For example, Ayn Hawd / Ein Hod, see Susan Slyomovics, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).
- 3 Israel Antiquities Authority, *Lifta: Initial Documentation and Survey* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority – Conservation Department, 2008) [in Hebrew].
- 4 2,958 residents in 1948 according to Salman H. Abu-Sitta, *The Palestinian Nakba 1948: The Register of Depopulated Localities in Palestine* (London: The Palestinian Return Centre, 2000), 13; 2,550 residents in 1944/45 according to Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 300.

- 5 Salman H. Abu-Sitta, *The Palestinian Nakba 1948*, 13; Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 300.
- 6 Salim Tamari, "The City and Its Rural Hinterland," in *Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War*, ed. Salim Tamari (Jerusalem and Bethlehem: The Institute of Jerusalem Studies and Badil Resource Center, 2002), 73.
- 7 Amnon Bar Or, Moshe Margalit, Rassem Khamaisi, Michal Firestone and Shmuel Groag, *Opinion on the Issue of Preservation in the Village of Lifta*. Submitted to the court on behalf of the petitioners in Administrative Petition 8661-03-11, March 2011, 5 [in Hebrew].
- 8 UNESCO, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972.
- 9 Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 301, 303.
- 10 Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 303; Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 49-50.
- 11 David Kretzmer, *The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).
- 12 Interviews with Yacoub Odeh, a refugee from Lifta, 12 and 18 March 2011.
- 13 Interview with Yoni Yochanan, a resident of Lifta and the representative of the 13 Jewish families in Lifta in their public and legal struggle, 1 June 2012; Yoni Yochanan, "Are We Invaders?" *Hamaabara*, 8 July 2012 [in Hebrew], <http://hamaabara.wordpress.com> Archive documents submitted as part of the court appeal HCJ 4279/12 Gil-Ad Harish vs. The State of Israel et al.
- 14 Plan No. 6036 – Residential Area for Lifta – Nephtoah Springs, <http://mavat.moin.gov.il/MavatPS/Forms/SV4.aspx?tid=4&pid=1033695>
- 15 Nevertheless, it should be stressed that this article does not necessarily reflect the opinion of all the Coalition members.
- 16 Paul Ricoeur, "Memory–Forgetting–History," in *Meaning and Representation in History*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).
- 17 Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).
- 18 Uri Ram, "Ways of Forgetting: Israel and the Obliterated Memory of the Palestinian Nakba," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 22 (2009): 366-395.
- 19 See Ram, "Ways of Forgetting"; Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Noga Kadman, *On the Side of the Road and in the Margins of Consciousness: The Depopulated Palestinian Villages of 1948 in the Israeli Discourse* (Jerusalem: November Books, 2008) [in Hebrew]; Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Afterword: Reflections on Representation, History, and Moral Accountability," in *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, eds. Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- 20 Budget Principles Law (Amendment #40), 2011, SH No. 2286, pp. 686-687. While to date no sanctions have been imposed on organizations that have mentioned the Nakba, the very passing of this amendment serves as an additional and explicit threat, reaffirming the Nakba denial that is prevalent in Israel.
- 21 Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Introduction: The Claims of Memory," in *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, eds. Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 3.
- 22 Zvika Orr, "Imposed Politics of Cultural Differences: Managed Multiculturalism in Israeli Civil Society," *Social Analysis* 55 (2011): 74-92.
- 23 Administrative Petition 8661-03-11 (Jerusalem), Rabbis for Human Rights and others vs. the Israel Land Administration and others, Introduction, p. 3. Also see Paragraphs 47-52, pp. 16-17.
- 24 E.g., a meeting of Palestinian activists with Danish Architects Without Borders, Lifta, 16 October 2012.
- 25 E-mail Invitation to Re:LIFTA sent by Nora Akawi and Mahdi Sabbagh.
- 26 http://newpal.ps/team_item/mip-memory-imaginaries-planning/ Accessed 27 June 2013.
- 27 <http://arenaofspeculation.org/2012/11/25/re-lifta/> Accessed 27 June 2013.
- 28 Collective MIP (Memory | Imaginaries | Planning), *Re:LIFTA*, 15 November 2012, Yabous Cultural Center, East Jerusalem.
- 29 Collective MIP, *Re:LIFTA*.
- 30 Abu-Lughod and Sa'di, "Introduction"; Nur Masalha, ed., *Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel and the Internal Refugees* (London: Zed Books, 2005).
- 31 Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin, also known as Arab Jews.

- 32 Ella Shohat, "Rupture and Return: Zionist Discourse and the Study of Arab Jews," *Social Text* 21 (2003): 49-74.
- 33 Salim Tamari, "The City and Its Rural Hinterland," 73.
- 34 The Romeima neighbourhood was a mixed neighbourhood founded in 1922 where Jewish residents, both *Mizrahi* (Turkish, Georgians, Bukharan and others) and *Ashkenazi*, as well as Muslim residents, lived prior to 1948. See Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages 1800-1948* (Jerusalem and Detroit: The Hebrew University Magnes Press and Wayne State University Press, 2001); Yehoshua Ben Arie and Tamar HaYardeni, "Romema Neighborhood," in *From Safed to Jerusalem: Essays on the History, Culture and Lore of Jerusalem and Safed, Dedicated to Shoshana Halevy*, ed. Ely Schiller (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 2010) [in Hebrew].
- 35 Rochelle A. Davis, *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).
- 36 Sharif Kana'ana and Lubna 'Abd al-Hadi, *The Destroyed Palestinian Villages: Lifta* (Birzeit: Birzeit University, CRDPS, 1991), 28 [in Arabic], cited in Davis, *Palestinian Village Histories*, 191.
- 37 Meeting with students in Lifta, 9 October 2012.
- 38 Interviews with Matlub Yochanan and Esther Ovadia, Lifta, 1 June 2012.
- 39 Ronit Lentin, *Co-Memory and Melancholia: Israelis Memorialising the Palestinian Nakba* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
- 40 International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/> Accessed 27 June 2013.
- 41 John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997); Bruce Hemmer, Paula Garb, Marlett Phillips and John L. Graham, "Putting the 'Up' in Bottom-Up Peacebuilding: Broadening the Concept of Peace Negotiations," *International Negotiations* 11 (2006): 129-162; Sean Byrne, "Consociational and Civic Society Approaches to Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 38 (2001): 327-352.
- 42 Daphna Golan and Zvika Orr, "Translating Human Rights of the 'Enemy': The Case of Israeli NGOs Defending Palestinian Rights," *Law & Society Review* 46 (2012): 781-814.
- 43 Golan and Orr, "Translating Human Rights."
- 44 Shmuel Groag, "Lubya in Lavi Forest: On the Conservation of the Built Palestinian Heritage in Israel," in *Remembering, Forgetting and the Construction of Space*, eds. Haim Yacobi and Tovi Fenster (Jerusalem: The Van Leer Institute, 2011) [in Hebrew].