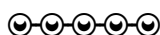


CHAPTER 12

Red Coat, Denim Shirt

Conceptualizing Displacement across Generations

Rawan Arar



I knew my family had been displaced before I learned the word *refugee*. I remember sitting with my teta, my grandmother, in a glass-enclosed patio in Amman that opened onto their modest but vibrant garden where she grew figs, apricots, and cherries. That small patio doubled as Teta's bedroom after climbing the stairs became too burdensome on her knees. The patio was big enough to fit a wardrobe cabinet, a slender couch that transformed nightly into a bed, and a prayer rug that Teta unfurled five times each day. Two of my aunts slept upstairs in adjoining rooms. We moved in with them in 1993, when my mom was conducting her doctoral research in Al Baqa'a, a Palestinian refugee camp established in 1968.¹ My aunts graciously offered us their second bedroom. I was eight, my brother Yousef was six, and the youngest, Amr, was an infant. The qualities that made our family peculiar in Dallas morphed into the mundane characteristics that we had in common with the neighbors in Amman—we spoke the same language at home, practiced the same religion, and ate the same breakfast foods. That year was one of the most formative, and joyous, times in my life. I connected with members of my family for the first time, my Arabic skills grew stronger, and I enjoyed showing off the Quranic suras I memorized as part of my third-grade education. What I remember with unexpected clarity are the hours that Teta and I spent together after school before the working adults headed home for the day. She told me stories about my dad, who had stayed behind in Texas, and about their lives before in Bal'a, our small Palestinian village on the outskirts of Tulkarem.

The first lessons in displacement and dispossession that I can remember took place on that patio with my grandmother. Decades later, I would follow in my mother's footsteps by pursuing an academic career to examine refugee issues in Jordan and around the world. This chapter is about being a refugee scholar and the daughter of refugees—and how these distinct forms of knowing have collided in unexpected ways to yield insights that are not centered in academic scholarship. Authors divulge their positionality to reveal how personal characteristics—such as their race, class, gender, nationality, and more—influence access to the field, data collection, and analysis. Some authors may highlight their position as “insiders,” sharing important qualities with the communities they seek to study, while others may identify as “outsiders,” a position that can also yield research advantages associated with the author's perceived naïveté.² In Jordan, I am both an insider and an outsider. I am a Palestinian woman, whose family settled in Jordan after 1967. I study contemporary displacements in the same country where my family secured refuge. Some members of my family are currently registered with UNRWA, the UN agency charged with the humanitarian response to Palestinian displacement. Unlike most people in Jor-



Figure 12.1. • The author as a child, sitting on a swing with her father and grandmother (teta), in the patio space that would years later be transformed into Teta's bedroom. The photo is from author's family collection, taken in Amman, Jordan, around 1987. © Rawan Arar

dan, I have dual citizenship, Jordanian and US-American. I speak Arabic and English and can enter “international” spaces dominated by Western migrants/expatriates, some of whom are humanitarian aid workers that I met through my fieldwork. In some sense, I am (and am not) native, foreign, a refugee, and a care provider—I explore these labels, and their limitations, throughout this chapter. Reflexivity allows me to include my family’s refugeehood—“*the experience of becoming and being a refugee*”—in the larger study of refugee reception in Jordan and throughout the region.³

Labels and Their Limits

The question “Who is a refugee?” has fueled decades of debate and scholarly inquiry because the word *refugee* has legal and social implications that are often in tension. Individuals who are legally recognized as refugees, most notably those who meet the definition described in the 1951 Refugee Convention, can secure entry across borders that are restricted to other migrants. In this way, states have turned *refugee* into a privileged legal category that applies to a delimited group of people. Some scholars and advocates want to expand the refugee definition so that more people can be afforded the opportunity to secure sanctuary in another country. Others warn that revising the legal definition may lead to new restrictions for individuals who would have otherwise qualified for refugee protections.

The notion that being a refugee is a privileged status is counterintuitive. How can experiencing the trauma of forcible displacement because of violence or persecution, leaving behind family, friends, and one’s way of life, and the routine indignities of being a newcomer in a foreign land be a privilege? These debates often do not give the same level of consideration to how a person identifies—how individuals, groups, and communities relate to the refugee label. Some people eschew the label of refugee, especially when the designation has been racialized and associated with need or poverty. The receiving context can shape the stigma around the refugee label, which can in turn affect refugees’ self-identities.⁴ As sociologist Katherine Jensen finds, “Rather than a universal given, the meaning of refugee status depends on the rights, supports, and precarity it entails.”⁵ Some may proudly relate to the refugee label as a reflection of their community’s shared struggle with less regard to the receiving context. Such is the case for many Palestinians around the world whose relationship to the refugee label is a reflection of the “ongoing Nakba,” a term that evokes the 1948 displacement of approximately 750,000 Palestinians and the unceasing consequences of exile and occupation, as well as the obstructed right of return. Examining Palestinian displacement across generations requires that one gives primacy to personal identifications with the refugee label, even when

refugeehood is not reflected in legal categorization. Blurring the boundaries of these categories, however, starkly contrasts with operational definitions that humanitarian organizations, lawyers, and policymakers require to achieve their goals. While engaging with these important limitations, this chapter invites the reader to consider personal and familial refugee experiences and the ways that they are used to create meaning and shape connections across refugee groups.

To consider how diverse experiences of refugeehood converge, both among members of the same refugee group and across groups, one must weave together various bodies of knowledge and consider the constraints under which they are forged. An important part of this tapestry is humanitarian-produced knowledge. Snapshots of global displacement require that humanitarian and state agencies label and count refugees.⁶ Each year, the UNHCR, the UN's primary refugee agency, releases a report that includes the total number of UN-recognized refugees—27.1 million in 2021.⁷ These counts serve political and practical purposes.⁸ Refugee advocates and immigration restrictionists alike depend on headcounts to monitor the movement of people, to provide resources and support through aid, and to wield political power in negotiation tactics among states.⁹ For the sake of practice, these types of knowledge production serve their purpose by delimiting who counts as a refugee. By creating bounded groups to achieve practice-oriented goals, this approach in turn de-prioritizes how individuals understand their lived experiences. In 2021, there were 5.8 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA, which operates in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gaza, and the West Bank. A 2020 demographic study estimated that there are 13 million Palestinians worldwide.¹⁰ Millions of Palestinians within the diaspora are not registered with the UN, but many identify with the refugee label.

Snapshots of displacement camouflage the passage of time. Noting the number of people displaced today does not recognize how long they have been in exile, how many times they have fled or migrated, and how they and others within their networks have been shaped by refugeehood. The terminology that is often used to describe multiple years of displacement is “protracted refugee situation,” an operational definition that applies to a population of at least twenty-five thousand or more people from the same nationality who have been in exile for five or more years.¹¹ There is no standard terminology used to address the experiences of a population that remains in exile for generations. Nor is there an easily recognizable way to reference the experiences of prolonged exodus, which for Palestinians has occurred without the option for return. Some UN-recognized Palestinian refugees can demonstrate that their displacement has spanned more than seventy years, but others who are not recognized by the refugee label must bring their memories and personal stories of exile to bear witness against antagonistic actors who are invested in undermining Palestinian refugee narratives.

Binary language permeates the study of refugee displacement—a person is often characterized as either a refugee or not. While the divide among refugees and migrants has received the greatest amount of attention, other binaries are commonplace, including refugee/host, refugee/humanitarian, or refugee/citizen.¹² Yet, as Ilana Feldman and Gözde Burcu Ege argue in this collection, the line between hosts and refugees, or humanitarian workers and refugees, does not always mark difference.¹³ Refugees can host other refugees, a phenomenon that Fiddian-Qasmiyeh has captured with the term *refugee-hosts*.¹⁴ Dichotomies further deemphasize Palestinian refugeehood when individuals have acquired other statuses. Citizenship, or legal incorporation more broadly, is conceptualized as the end of refugeehood. The UNHCR's *Global Trends* report, for example, uses naturalization as the ultimate marker of incorporation, ushering an individual from a position of precarity to inclusion in the polity. Yet, even while citizenship can provide unparalleled protections in some countries, safety in the present does not negate the past. After more than half a century of exile, many Palestinians around the world have acquired legal status, but they continue to experience refugeehood.

Not all citizenships around the world are equal, and not all citizens within a country are treated equally. Palestinians with citizenship in one country may have greater rights than those in other countries. Most notably, Palestinians with Israeli citizenship experience systematic discrimination despite their legal status. Palestinian citizens in Israel face different forms of oppression related to the identification that they carry, which can determine where they are permitted to live, if they can travel, and who they marry. When scholars reimagine legal status at a familial level or consider the relationship of people to their broader ethnic networks, it becomes apparent that citizenship protections are limited when they are not extended to loved ones.¹⁵ Moving from the individual to the community level of analysis—especially when co-ethnics are subjected to persecution—can provide important insights into how people identify with the refugee label. Operational labels may inaccurately represent people's lived experiences, and when adopted by scholars, these boundaries place limitations on methodological scope conditions and the theoretical breadth of our findings.

Baba's Red Coat

Arabic is my mother tongue; it was my first language. Yet, like Darwin's finches that grew into their own specimens through seclusion, I learned Arabic in a foreign space, following the instruction of my parents and their Arab American friends in San Antonio, Texas. My language was molded by unique connotations of kitchen Arabic. My mother's terms of endearment for my dad, for

example, *falabi* and *barreed*, translate literally to mean “peasant farmer” and “person who gets cold easily.” Yet, from my standpoint, these words were often paired with loving gestures. When she teased that Baba was *barreed*, she usually did something to protect him from the cold, such as excusing him from a night out or handing him a jacket. And so, I grew up associating the term for “gets cold easily” with some affection.

My language skills were stress tested when I moved to Jordan on my own for the first time. According to my university, I was an MA student conducting research abroad. But “abroad” could not have been closer to home. It seemed like everyone I was related to stopped by with food. My uncle would routinely drop off enormous quantities of produce from their bountiful farm on the outskirts of the city: a carton of figs or a bushel of pomegranates. That year was 2009. In addition to the approximately two million Palestinians who were registered with UNRWA, Jordan also hosted Iraqi refugees who fled after the 2003 US-led invasion. At the time, the estimated number of Iraqi refugees in Jordan was between 450,000 and 800,000, but these numbers were contested.¹⁶ The UNHCR claimed that only 65,000 Iraqi refugees were receiving assistance by the end of 2008.¹⁷ Despite contradictions in the actual number of newly arrived refugees, their presence was felt by Jordan’s residents who observed changes in their society.

There was an effort to approach Iraqi displacement through the lens of the Palestinian response. But unlike Palestinians who settled in camps, Iraqi refugees lived in urban areas. This difference meant that the humanitarian response needed to be reimagined.¹⁸ The first wave of displaced Iraqis included people who were able to bring their savings with them into exile. Observations fueled rumors, and the impression that Iraqi refugees were driving up housing and rent prices spread with unencumbered abandon. I witnessed the opposite. I was conducting interviews and volunteering with a small aid organization in an impoverished part of Amman. We went door-to-door to learn about, and document, Iraqis’ needs, which often demanded far more than the small grants the organization could offer to cover groceries and rent in extreme situations. Urban living led to isolation for many Iraqis, which further contributed to the invisibility of poorer refugees. Individuals also took steps to isolate themselves—to practice “strategic anonymity” by withholding their personal information and avoiding relationships with others.¹⁹ Iraqis who fled because of sectarian persecution were often targeted by name. The sectarian catalyst for their displacement also enhanced their fear of *refoulement*, being forcibly sent back to Iraq when it was unsafe for them to return.

As the winter months approached, I participated in a clothing drive to collect coats for Iraqi refugees. Jordanian winters are cold. The stone buildings offer little insulation, and the Texan in me was surprised to learn firsthand that homes can be colder inside than the weather outside. Heating costs were also

exorbitant, so families often went without. I called my father to talk through the mundane logistics of the clothing drive. Where would we store the coats? How would we clean them? Could Baba think of anyone who may want to donate? The perception that “all Iraqis were rich” was a real obstacle to the work we were trying to do. “Why don’t you focus on helping the Palestinians, instead?” I heard often enough that it became a predictable question.

Our conversation undulated between existential reflections on deservingness and the practical challenges of providing care. Then, Baba shared a story with me that I had never heard before, possibly because the topic had never been broached. He casually mentioned that, as a child, the only coat he ever owned was given to him by UNRWA. Baba described a red women’s trench coat with a fur trim collar. Baba—the *barreed*, as my mom nicknamed him—wore this coat day and night, and even slept in it. He doesn’t remember exactly how many years he wore the coat, maybe three or four years, long enough for him to grow into it, and then later out of it.

The conversation shifted. Instead of considering the logistics of aid, or in action-oriented terms, solving the problem of being cold, I was confronted with humanistic aspects of being a receiver. How did it feel to be known as the boy in the red coat? Did Baba feel uncomfortable wearing a woman’s coat as a young man in his small village? These questions had nothing to do with the physicality of warmth but were instead social questions about his experiences. I also began to wonder about the woman who kept my father warm for years. Could she have imagined her red coat in the hands of a young boy in a small village in the West Bank? I was thankful that my father had this coat, but I would never want him to assume the burden of a debt. And why should he? Warmth is every person’s right, I thought to myself.

Baba recalled that receiving secondhand clothing from UNRWA caused tension in their family. My grandfather was resistant to receiving handouts but acquiesced after Teta insisted. Baba, being one of ten kids, recalls how the clothing bundles were allocated based on the size of the family. The donations were not available in Bal’a, so someone needed to go to the neighboring village of Anabta once per month to bring home the lump of clothes. Baba remembers how his elder brother found it demeaning to show the rations card and accept a random pile of secondhand clothes for the family. He protested being the one to make the trip, but also yielded upon Teta’s insistence. I only knew my uncle as a quiet and gentle person, so I was struck, and admittedly amused, by the image of him as a twentysomething begrudgingly running errands for the family.

Baba has shared countless anecdotes about Bal’a with me, from descriptions of their routine lives, including the crops they grew, to details about how Teta prepared her children to flee after receiving word that everyone in their village would be evicted. What strikes me about the red coat story is not only the surprising connection that a material object can manifest but also how

Baba only felt compelled to share this story when the circumstances of my life stirred a memory in him. While this experience is unique to my family's refugee story, familial connections to refugeehood among people in Jordan are common. Many of the young Jordanians I met on the front lines of the humanitarian response to Syrian displacement have similar stories about their parents and grandparents that shape how they understand contemporary displacement. Shared experiences of refugeehood can impact how newcomers relate to members of the receiving community. These connections influence how people build trust and make meaning in their lives. The global humanitarian infrastructure and corresponding policy data overlooks such blurred boundaries between refugees and aid providers—or more aptly put, among groups of people with refugee experiences who have different needs, opportunities, and legal statuses. This anecdote invites us to contemplate assumptions we may carry about being a “giver” and a “receiver.” Such labels may only pivot a narrow few degrees away from the more common labels of “aid worker” and “refugee,” but there are important insights that such a reframing invites us to reconsider. These include a move away from essentialized notions of people identified primarily by their need.

Mama's Denim Shirt

Ramadan is a holy month when Muslims fast from food and drink during the day. Sunset is like an alarm clock, and the *adan* (call to prayer) brings everyone to the dinner table. I was invited to have dinner at my uncle's house, which was across the street from where we lived with Teta as children. Undoubtedly, it is rude to keep hungry and thirsty people waiting to break their fast after they have abstained from food and drink since sunrise. I headed straight to dinner without stopping by my apartment to wash up after a long day spent in Za'atari camp conducting interviews as part of my doctoral fieldwork. Za'atari was the first major UN-run camp established for Syrian refugees. At peak density in 2013, Za'atari hosted nearly 144,000 refugees, but by that time in 2016, approximately 80,000 Syrians lived in the camp—a population size that would remain steady in the years to come.²⁰ By 2022, more than 670,000 Syrians would be registered with the UNHCR in Jordan, while governmental estimates have consistently been much higher.

I arrived at dinner unkempt but on time. It was a hot day. Sweat made the sand stick to my skin, and the wind had tangled my hair. I always wore something conservative with long sleeves and a loose fit when visiting camps, which was a lesson I learned from my teenage years spent being reprimanded by my mom for my clothing choices during our summer trips to Amman. On this day, I wore an oversize, faded, lightweight, denim button-down with blue, green,

and purple stitching across the back and over the front pocket (see figure 12.2). I joined in as my aunts were setting the table. The first thing my aunt exclaimed when she saw me was, “You are wearing your mom’s shirt!” I was astounded that she remembered. Mama had passed away three years earlier after a short and brutal battle with cancer—“the other war,” as one Syrian woman generously put it, in acknowledgment of the enormous grief that comes with losing a parent. I inherited her wardrobe and found renewed style in garments I would have overlooked in the past. Wearing Mama’s clothes made me feel closer to her, and I did so often.

“I recognize the embroidery on the shirt,” my aunt said. Palestinian embroidery, *tatreez*, is unique and easily identifiable. Traditional dresses are embroidered with geometric floral patterns. *Tatreez* is often done with red thread on black fabric, but there are many variations that include a narrow array of colors. Pastel *tatreez* on a denim button-down was distinctive and unconventional, but the Palestinianness of the pattern was unmistakable. “Palestinian refugees she worked with in Al Baqa’a camp stitched it for her as a thank you,” my



Figure 12.2. • Mama’s denim shirt. The left panel is a closeup of the back of the shirt, which was embroidered for Mama by Palestinians she worked with in Al Baqa’a camp between 1993 and 1994. The right panel shows the author (age nine) posing with her mother, who is wearing the denim button-down shirt. Both photos are from the author’s family collection. © Rawan Arar

aunt remembered, recalling the year Mama conducted her doctoral fieldwork. Mama researched the prevalence of diarrheal illnesses among Palestinian refugee children. After she died, I found stacks of photographs among her papers, still packaged in the Fujifilm envelopes with their negatives. Among the photos of bare living spaces, alleyways that demonstrated close quarters, containers of still water, and white brick homes broken to rubble, there were numerous photos of kids posing, playing, and laughing. Mama became a medical anthropologist, and she often told me how, in another life, she would have loved to work with UNICEF, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

This was the first time I learned about who stitched the button-down or that the shirt was a gift to my mother. There I was, twenty-three years later, my mother's grown daughter, wearing her same shirt, working as an ethnographer like she did, conducting interviews in a refugee camp in the same country. Many of the Palestinians Mama worked with were likely still living in Al Baqa'a, just as my family stayed in the same neighborhood. The similarities were striking. They broached questions about overlapping refugee populations and the limits of solution-oriented approaches to refugee displacement—especially in the case of generations-long exile. Humanitarian or policy-centric knowledge production separates hosts from refugees in order to delimit the beneficiaries of their projects. Yet this approach neglects the ways that refugee newcomers join diverse populations with their own relationships to forced displacement in Jordan.

Examining similarities across refugee populations can also lead scholars to consider important differences that are neglected in solution-oriented narratives about refugee displacement and reception. Jordan has hosted many groups, differentiated not only by their nationality or ethnicity but also by their year of displacement, the impetus for their fleeing, their unique needs and legal statuses, their political struggles and the challenges their communities face, and their differentiated treatment and access to resources and rights. Refugees' experiences in Jordan are affected by refugee policies in the region and around the world, including the fluctuation of international support, financial commitments to refugee aid, and geopolitical interests tied to their home countries. Critically examining these axes of difference while also holding space to note important similarities complicates solution-oriented knowledge production, which tends to examine refugee groups in isolation from one another.

This serendipitous connection draws attention to how coincidences of layered displacements are interwoven throughout the Jordanian landscape. I returned to my fieldwork in the days after our Ramadan dinner. At this time, I was partnering with an international NGO and shadowing Jordanian aid workers who spent their days in Za'atari and Azraq camps. I told the denim shirt story on one of our long drives from headquarters in Amman to the camps. Unbeknownst to me, one of the Jordanian-Palestinian aid workers passed the

story along to a Syrian woman in Za'atari, who was also struck by the coincidence. She offered to continue the tradition by adding her own stitching to Mama's shirt.

Reflections on Refugeehood

Individuals who are recognized as refugees are only a subset of people who understand their personal and communal struggle as characterized by displacement and dispossession. Refugee displacement is often conceptualized as a linear progression, beginning with fleeing across a state border and moving toward refugees' local incorporation in the communities that receive them. Citizenship is used as a marker of full incorporation—the end of the linear story when refugees can depend on a state to have their needs met through their legal status. While linear narratives adequately reflect many people's lived experiences, they can simultaneously bracket the ways that refugeehood influences a person's life course, how they make meaning in the world, and how they connect with others. Pivoting away from prioritizing operational knowledge to an examination of people's lived experiences requires a different scope of analysis, one that includes folks with various legal statuses and possibly different kinds of needs than those who have been categorized or legally recognized as refugees.

The anecdotes above stand in stark juxtaposition to linear refugee stories. They provide insight into how refugeehood can be remembered and reintegrated into the present. Multiple timelines of refugeehood emerge in Jordan. The stories about Baba's red coat and Mama's denim shirt reveal some ways that refugee populations overlap and connect, and how refugee identities can be (or become) co-constructed when Palestinian experiences are woven together with Iraqi and Syrian experiences. Because remembering can be an iterative and shared process, memories take on new meanings when they are recalled and experienced with others, which in turn can shape how the children of refugees also make meaning. Instead of linearity, time can fold onto itself, and new beginnings emerge in the present. Shifting from the individual's experience to a community-level analysis, refugeehood can push scholars to think about precarity that threatens a group even while citizenship can provide protection for select members of the group.

To take a more comprehensive approach to the examination of refugeehood, it is useful to parse the competing operational interests that influence the limitations embedded in humanitarian-informed characterizations of refugees. More holistic examinations of refugeehood are abandoned for straightforward assessments that capture ongoing emergencies that are palpable to specified audiences, such as potential donors. The contemporary focus on Syrian refugees in Jordan, for example, overshadowed the experiences of other refugee

groups in the country, even while the majority of Syrians lived below the national poverty line and many of their basic needs remained unmet. Globally, Syrians fell out of the international spotlight with the mass displacement of other groups, notably the more than seven million Ukrainians who fled in 2022. Mainstream refugee stories do not simply mirror an objective reality but reflect the interests of knowledge producers. Ukrainian displacement was not only about refugees' needs but also about the geopolitical and economic interests of powerful states. When we focus only on the most recently displaced group(s) and speak primarily about their most basic needs for food and shelter, many important topics remain underexamined. Recognizing the politics that are embedded in ostensibly neutral knowledge production is an important step to putting refugee status, as a legal or humanitarian designation, in conversation with refugeehood, as a reflection of an individual or group's lived experience.

Humanitarian organizations are not only charged with supporting refugees' needs, but they must also raise the funds that will make that effort possible. Herein lies a built-in disconnect when refugee beneficiaries—as opposed to people who identify with refugee issues—are the individuals whose experiences we are most likely to learn about through humanitarian reports, media accounts, and scholarly research. Representations of refugees, and of the work that humanitarian organizations have been able to achieve, are used to incentivize donors to contribute to humanitarian causes. Refugee issues are often described through frames of urgency that are tied to how contemporary humanitarian aid operates, specifically the cycles of pledging, monitoring, reporting, and grant writing. Urgency frames often focus on the most recently displaced, giving primacy to people who are actively fleeing across borders, which consequently marginalizes groups that have been displaced for decades and the ways that refugee populations overlap.

Collapsing differences among UN-recognized refugees and people who identify with the label can become problematic when lived experiences are overlooked for the sake of generalizable claims. While there is overlap between these two groups, they can also have distinct needs and experiences, especially in cases where individuals who identify with the refugee label also carry citizenship. The challenge for the scholar, then, is not only to recognize the role that refugeehood plays in an individual's or community's worldmaking but also to simultaneously consider how privilege influences life chances. An acknowledgment of refugeehood is not an argument for expanding the 1951 Refugee Convention definition but instead is a gesture of recognition to a population who may be excluded in mainstream accounts that adopt legal categories to draw conclusions about how refugees experience displacement and reception. Similarities across refugee groups broach unarticulated questions lodged below the surface in contemporary solutions-oriented conversations.

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Notes

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1. Arar, "Cultural Responses to Water Shortage."
2. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments*.
3. Arar and FitzGerald, *Refugee System*, 6.
4. Ludwig, "Wiping the Refugee Dust."
5. Jensen, "Meanings of Refugee Status," 11.
6. Zetter, "Labelling Refugees."
7. UNHCR, "Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2021."
8. Crisp, "Who Has Counted the refugees?"; Crisp, "Who Is Counting the Refugees?"
9. Arar, "New Grand Compromise."
10. Abuamer, "Palestinians Worldwide."
11. Frost, "Advancing Refugee and Citizenship Studies."
12. Hamlin, *Crossing*; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Shifting the Gaze."
13. Ege, "Yūsuf's Struggle"; Feldman, "Humanitarian Departures."
14. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Shifting the Gaze."
15. López, *Unauthorized Love*.
16. UNHCR, "Refugee Data Finder"; Fagan, "Iraqi Refugees."
17. USCRI, "World Refugee Survey 2009."
18. Crisp et al., "Surviving in the City."
19. Arar, "How Political Migrant Networks Differ."
20. Fakhri and Ibrahim, "Impact of Syrian Refugees."

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