

correspond to each challenge, leading to the conclusion that most of the lazy representations of Hamas's politics as entirely religious or authoritarian are in fact out of touch with the reality of the situation. Instead, Hamas has exhibited a more sophisticated case of governance, amalgamating elements of the four categories provided by the author, thereby rendering any black-and-white classification of its mixed politics superfluous.

Oppositional parties that rise to and exercise power for the first time after years of politics on the other side of the fence offer multifaceted case studies. It is indeed difficult to identify what major obstacles should be recognized as the most salient here. Brenner's choice of the three "key challenges" could be problematic. There are other, significant topics that also deserve consideration, such as dealing with the various Palestinian political players in the Gaza Strip (not only the radical Salafi jihadist groups), and the maintenance of the internal unity of the movement in the face of tensions between its various views and factions. In fairness, it is hard to create criteria that would help in prioritizing one group of challenges over others, but in reference to Hamas's domestic politics, one must admit the list is indeed longer than three. Alas, Brenner's "key challenges" list proved to remain most important for Hamas. In the four years where the movement's politics were examined, Hamas retained the "political system" that led to its electoral victory. It adhered to the Palestinian Basic Law and kept the Legislative Council in session, albeit Fatah members and others refrained from participating. There was no attempt to change the system and install an Islamic structure of politics. Thus, in exploring whether Hamas "will change or be changed" once in power (p. 191), it is warranted to conclude with Brenner that as far as Western states and organizations are concerned, "Talking to Hamas would then be preferable as it would serve the overall democratization process in Palestine—that is, if Palestinian democratization is what the international community is seeking to achieve" (p. 6).

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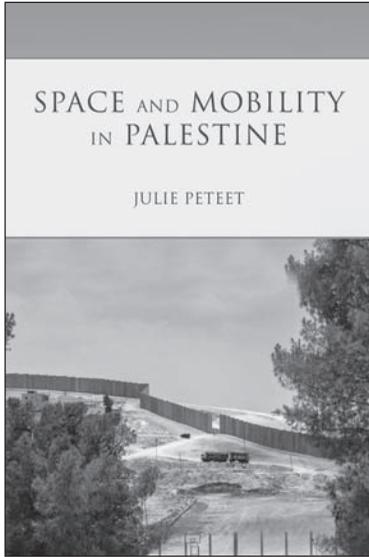
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*Space and Mobility in Palestine*, by Julie Peteet. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017. 252 pages. \$80.00 cloth, \$30.00 paperback, \$29.99 e-book.

#### REVIEWED BY KEITH P. FELDMAN

At the outset of this rigorous ethnography, Ahmad, one of anthropologist Julie Peteet's interviewees, offers a deceptively simple analysis of the managed chaos of contemporary Palestinian life in the West Bank: "This," Ahmad says, "is the third stage in our dispossession" (p. 1). The first stage of this history is marked by the Nakba of 1948, when more than four hundred Palestinian villages were destroyed, more than 750,000 people were forced from their ancestral lands, and those who remained were subject to harsh military rule. The second stage is marked by the aftermath of 1967's Six-Day War, when Israel occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and East Jerusalem, and Israelis hastened their pace of building settlements throughout these occupied territories. Insofar as each stage

is understood as emerging out of singular military-historical events, which aptly could be referred to as “1948” and “1967,” they can be conceptualized and narrated with relative ease. But what of Ahmad’s third stage?



This is the main subject of Peteet’s book. *Space and Mobility in Palestine* investigates the contemporary role of closure and separation in delimiting the ambit of Palestinian life. Palestinian dispossession is rendered here as the result of normalized and ritualized practices entrenched over the course of several decades in Israel’s “enclavization” of Palestine, first at the horizon of political futurity—Peteet argues that commitment to the geographical separation of Israelis and Palestinians drove the final negotiations that resulted in the Oslo Accords—and second in the construction of a material landscape that includes the separation barrier snaking through the West Bank, a system of more than five hundred checkpoints and Israeli-only roadways crisscrossing the occupied territories, and the ongoing blockade of the Gaza Strip (the relative absence of Gaza from the book notwithstanding).

To explain the entanglement of these three stages in Palestinian dispossession, Peteet draws from and contributes to an extensive body of scholarship to make sense of ongoing processes of land and resource expropriation, indigenous communities’ removal or containment, and exogenous communities’ claims to their own “nativeness.” She turns to the late anthropologist Patrick Wolfe’s conception of settler invasion as structural rather than as being bound to a particular historical moment. In doing so, the book supplies scholars interested in an anthropology of settler colonialism a robust analytical vocabulary drawn from the ways Palestinians “comprehend, experience, narrate, and respond to spatial fracturing and immobilization” (p. 2).

Peteet argues that geospatial fragmentation has become constitutive of Palestinian experience, both a part of and apart from “a global distribution of space, mobility, and power in an intensifying, segregated neoliberal world order” (p. 44). Beyond the ambit of historic Palestine exists an archipelago of some of the oldest refugee camps in the world (as Peteet’s earlier scholarship assiduously considered), to say nothing of long-standing communities in Europe, the Americas, and the Gulf. The juridically ambiguous “gray zone” (p. 204) of the Palestinian enclave is historically and experientially linked to, if also structurally distinct from, this extensive network of geographical, political, and cultural fragmentation. Peteet delineates the structural and experiential specificity of closure and separation as an impetus for Palestinian emigration, a crucial distinction from apartheid South Africa’s system of Bantustans, or the American systems of indigenous reservation and racial segregation.

The book examines the relative speed and scope of Palestinian mobility and immobility that radically delimits the predictability of a durable habitus. Chapter 1 takes the wall and “enclavization” of Palestinian life on the West Bank as its point of departure to investigate the “twisted relationship

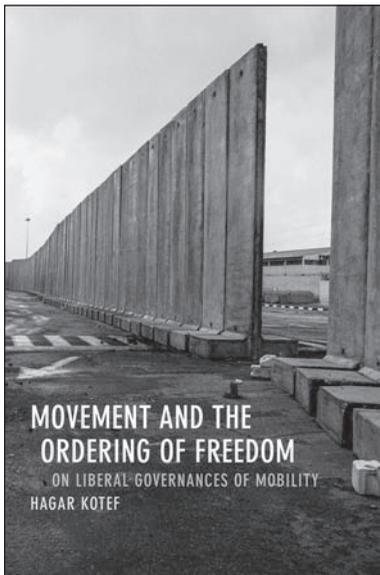
between space and subjectivity” (p. 35). Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate how the ubiquity of identity cards (*bitaqat hawiyya*) and permits (*tasreeh*) are the bureaucratic effects of a settler-colonial technology of legibility and classification, while the “predictably unpredictable” checkpoints that appear and disappear throughout the road system within the occupied Palestinian territories connect to “the idiosyncrasies of a multiplicity of unaccountable agents” (p. 96). The insistent curtailment of Palestinian access to lands and resources unfolds temporally, as Peteet argues in chapter 4, whereby time is experienced as a “tangible material thing that can be granted or denied” (p. 143). Turning to Lefebvre’s notion of “rhythmanalysis,” Peteet juxtaposes a relational temporality that evinces the Palestinian experience of time as chaotic, disorganized, and “stolen” away at checkpoints and permit offices, against the predictably ordered velocity of Israeli lifeworlds. Chapter 5 explores the capacity to practice forms of relationality that refuse to seize upon difference as a predicate for differentiated lifeworlds and life chances.

Peteet’s anthropology is both archival and theoretical. It provides us a nuanced habitus, one that articulates a wider set of incisive understandings of the patterns, practices, and effects of settler-colonial rule that grow out of that habitus. In doing so, *Space and Mobility in Palestine* challenges us finally to understand the incompleteness of calibrated chaos to produce silent or invisible Palestinian lives, bringing into view those micromovements, gestures, and persistent dreams of unfettered transit that constitute resistance to dispossession today.

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***Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governances of Mobility***, Hagar Kotef. Durham: Duke

University Press, 2015. 248 pages. \$94.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY LANA TATOUR

Hagar Kotef’s book is a compelling, timely and thought-provoking investigation into the relationship between mobility, freedom, violence, and liberalism. Israel’s control of Palestinian mobility in the occupied Palestinian territories serves as the empirical focus for her wider concern with understanding the contemporary politics of (im)mobility in liberal states.

Kotef’s important work challenges the common views that interpret the increased governance of movement, tighter border controls, and liberal anxieties with “refugee influx” and the migration of unwanted bodies as the result of globalization and the transformation in movements of

people (and goods). Instead, her book shows the regulation of movement has always been an inherent concern in the development of liberal political thought. Liberalism, Kotef shows, is as