

CHAPTER 7

Humanitarian Departures
Reflections of a Refugee Aid Worker

Ilana Feldman



“The local personnel are refugees who have been entrusted with the job of serving their refugees.” So opened a reflection written in March 1950 by a Palestinian refugee working with the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) in Lebanon.¹ Another local aid worker, Lebanese in this case, thanked the LRCS for requesting these reflections as the organization prepared to wind down operations: “It is an excellent occasion for me to speak about my impressions during my work in the League of Red Cross Societies. Moreover, it is a very good idea to spread out all over the world, the distress of the Palestine Refugees, their kind of life and their hope.” The fundamental hope of most displaced Palestinians, as they repeatedly insisted and observers regularly reported, was to return to their homes and lives in Palestine. This hope was not—has not—been fulfilled. And Palestinians have been refugees for more than seventy-five years.

For most of this time, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) has provided humanitarian assistance to this population. The very existence of this agency, launched in 1950, was prompted by the recognition that the Palestine refugee problem was not going to be resolved quickly. Prior to UNRWA’s establishment, UN aid to refugees was delivered by international organizations (volunteer agencies in the parlance of the time): the American Friends Service Committee in Gaza, the International Committee of the Red Cross in the West Bank, and the LRCS in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. These organizations took on the task with the explicit understanding that their missions would be short term. Their replacement by UNRWA rep-

resented a kind of failure (a failure to end displacement), but it was not due to any failing in their work.

As part of their wrapping-up processes, each of these organizations took stock of their work, offering suggestions and advice to the incoming UNRWA and thinking about the consequences of their experiences for their future work. The reflections penned by LRCS staff were part of this wrapping-up process. They are now preserved in the archives of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), as the LRCS has been known since 1991. This chapter opened with quotes from two testimonies. It takes as its central focus a third reflection, written by a Palestinian refugee who was also an aid worker. Habib Homsy was a staff member who served in the Beirut District Office. His reflection provides insight into issues that have been central to the aid dynamic in the Palestinian case, and which resonate far beyond it. These themes include the double position of being a refugee and a humanitarian provider; the multifaceted demands that refugees make of aid organizations, which then shape humanitarian missions; and the governance role of aid organizations.

Humanitarian assistance has changed significantly in the decades that followed. Aid has ebbed and flowed as Palestinians have been targets of repeated attacks and have experienced multiple waves of displacement. In 1950 all registered refugees received a rations allocation. Today almost none do. UNRWA's always limited resources are regularly reallocated across its multiple fields of operation, as civil war in Lebanon or Israeli attacks on Gaza dramatically increase needs in particular locales. Humanitarian work has also changed as the industry itself has transformed, with shifting ideas about best practices in aid delivery and support for vulnerable populations. Consistent across the decades is the fact of continuing displacement, failure to resolve the underlying reasons for this displacement, and the ongoing presence of UNRWA and other international organizations in Palestinian lives.

I encountered the reflections of soon-to-be-former LRCS workers when I conducted research in the IFRC archives for my book *Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Predicaments and Palestinian Refugee Politics*. This book, based on both archival and ethnographic research, traced the Palestinian refugee experience living with, and against, humanitarian assistance for (at the time of writing) seven decades. The IFRC archive is one of many repositories of records of Palestinian displacement and the long response to it that I visited in the course of my research.

These repositories contain the archives of multiple humanitarian organizations, such as those of UNRWA, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, and the World Council of Churches. They include Palestinian records housed in formal institutions, such as the long-standing Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut and the new Pal-

estinian Museum Digital Archive, based in Birzeit in the West Bank. These records include oral histories,² such as the Nakba Archives, created by Diana Allan and Mahmoud Zeidan and now maintained by the American University of Beirut.³ Many Palestinian records of displacement are privately held, as people kept papers and objects from their lives before 1948, including, famously, keys to their lost and often destroyed homes.⁴ Accounts of displacement and its aftermath can also be found in newspapers from around the region, in memoirs, and in various forms of literary production.

None of these repositories are innocent, of course. It has long been observed that state archives tend to erase certain narratives and produce (as well as reproduce) “hierarchies of credibility.”⁵ Archives of international bodies such as the United Nations and the ICRC may have slightly different security concerns, but they too seek to protect the reputation and operations of the organization through their archival practice. Counternarratives, which in the Palestinian case often focus on proving existence, the fact of Palestinian dispossession, and the continuing righteousness of their claims in the face of widespread denial, have their own silences and reproduce their own hierarchies.⁶ That all accounts and all collections of documentary evidence are partial and interested does not mean, though, that they cannot tell stories beyond the frameworks that their institutional founders intended, nor that they are equivalent. Strategies of reading both “against”⁷ and “along”⁸ the grain can reveal other facets of these archives and their materials.

The LRCS testimonies I consider here are mini memoirs, but memoirs produced on request. They offer microhistories of world historical events. As such, they provide a window into both how people experienced displacement and its aftermath and the globally resonant impact of these events. For the LRCS, they provided an opportunity to gather lessons learned from this experience, to contribute to the evolution of best practices in aid delivery, and also to make a permanent record of a job well done. They likely served a similar purpose for their authors, and they were also a requirement of their jobs. At least some of these employees would have been looking ahead to the next job, perhaps with the successor organization. Writing a testimony offered an occasion to mark the relationships they had built with their colleagues and bosses, as well as to leave a record of their personal efforts and accomplishments in often difficult circumstances. Whatever motivation people brought to the task, these documents provide crucial details for understanding the nature of aid work and the dilemmas and pleasures that humanitarian personnel experienced in doing that work. From the perspective of many years, many decades hence, they showcase how early in the displacement and aid process certain long-term dynamics emerged and how lasting many of the concerns expressed by these first responders have proven to be. Even though the reflections were documents of professional evaluation, they are replete with emotion. They speak of hope,

exhaustion, gratitude, misery, and relief. The passage of time lends a poignancy and an additional layer of tragedy to some of the feelings expressed, especially around the acute longing for home.

This chapter is structured as a back-and-forth between Habib Homsî's testimony and my reading of it. I include the reflection in its entirety.⁹ Each segment is followed by commentary, not only on the testimony but also on the broader course of Palestinian refugee history. The document reveals challenges that humanitarians face wherever they work. In reflecting on the then-recent past, Homsî's account also projects the then-Palestinian future. This singular document, part of a collection of other similar reflections, produced at a particular, early moment in the long Palestinian story of displacement and humanitarian activity, sheds light on the lives of millions and on struggles across many decades.

Becoming Humanitarian

March 17th, 1950

From: H. G. Homsî

Beirut District Office

Beirut

In response to your letter of March 9th, 1950 I have pleasure in giving you hereunder a short expression of my impressions and experiences during my service in the League.

When the Palestine conflict was at its height I was one of those unfortunates who had to leave my home and country for lack of the means of defence and seek refuge in the Lebanon. From April 1948 onward we lived in the hopes of an early return. When time dragged on and the winter of 1948/49 approached it became apparent that the refugee problem was deteriorating badly and rapidly.

Hopes of returning home at an early date had vanished.

Before he was a humanitarian, Homsî was a refugee. He opens his reflections by recalling his displacement and that of his community. In describing these circumstances, he moves between the singular and plural: "I was one of those unfortunates who had to leave *my* home and country." "*We* lived in the hopes of an early return." The loss was personal and collective. The fundamental experience was shared, even as distinctions soon entered in. That Homsî became an aid worker was a key distinguishing feature of his own trajectory. And it was also not entirely remarkable.

The dual position of refugee and humanitarian, recipient and provider, was, and remains, a common one. Much of the scholarship on humanitarian actors focuses on foreign personnel, highlighting the tensions and frequent inequities across the transnational divide.¹⁰ As significant as these dynamics are, it

should also be remembered that large numbers of staff in any given humanitarian instance are local, many from the community receiving aid.¹¹ These local personnel, with their related tensions and inequities, are also a shaping force in the international humanitarian order. In the Palestinian case, 95 percent of the UNRWA's staff are Palestinian refugees themselves (a deliberate agency policy), and significant numbers of personnel of the many other organizations that have provided assistance to Palestinians over the decades are as well.¹² An accurate account of the humanitarian "scene"—in Palestine and elsewhere—needs not only to recognize this double category but also to, arguably, center it.

Working as a humanitarian provider changes a refugee's experience of displacement. The daily existence of a busy aid worker will not be defined by boredom, as is the case with so many refugees.¹³ An employed refugee will face fewer acute material challenges than do the many so-called "idle" displaced. But being a humanitarian worker does not free refugees from the consequences of loss. Homsí's reflection makes that clear. From the vantage point of today, the recognition that "time [had already] dragged on" by early 1949 adds an additional dimension to the tragedy of the long Palestinian displacement. It serves as a reminder that people who left their homes as fighting advanced to their villages, after hearing about massacres in other towns, or were expelled by Zionist (later Israeli) forces never anticipated that this was an irrevocable move.¹⁴

They left, as Homsí says, because they lacked the means of defense, and they anticipated that when fighting stopped they would return. They have lived since then not only with their desire to return unfulfilled but also with the persisting sense that things have gone on too long. In pairing a statement about the receding hope for return with a comment about the acuteness of refugees' material needs, Homsí participates in a common rhetorical trope among Palestinian refugees. The archival record is filled with petitions and letters from refugees that do just that—insisting that both are urgent needs.¹⁵ Ethnographic research among Palestinian communities reveals a similar insistence.¹⁶

Humanitarian Responsibilities

Means of shelter, clothing and nourishment for refugees were very scarce in cities and did not exist in places outside of cities.

It was at this critical moment that the League of Red Cross Societies came out here with a life-line. Every one focussed his hopes on the League to rescue the life and health of the refugees.

That was the primary feeling we had at the time. Later on the refugees began to hope for more and more out of the League. They began to come forward for help on various matters. They began to look at a District Supervisor as though he were a Palestinian Consul. The following is only a part of the functions performed by a District Supervisor, in addition to his League duties:

- a) issue certificates of births, deaths and marriages to refugees for registration with Government,
- b) issue certificates, proving identity of refugees to the Security Department for the issue of visas,
- c) send out S.O.S. in search of stranded members of families all over the League area, as well as in Iraq, Palestine and Gaza.
- d) settle family disputes between spouses and parents and children.
- e) issue certificates for exemption of refugees from Municipal house taxes.
- f) arrange for release on bail of refugees arrested by the Police on minor offences.

In brief the refugees looked to the League not for material and medical relief only, but also for social, cultural and civil services. Official departments were sick and tired with refugees and their problems and the unfortunates had forcibly to turn their face toward that human organization that was out here to serve them freely and indiscriminately, with no ulterior motives, political, racial, or religious.

Humanitarian agencies enter when neither national governments nor self-help efforts are able to meet people's needs. Or at least that is what is supposed to happen. In too many circumstances, in fact, no international response is forthcoming. This frequent neglect is one reason Doctors Without Borders regularly publishes lists of what it calls "forgotten emergencies." The Palestine problem, and the attendant Palestine refugee problem, is one of the world's longest unresolved conflicts and mass displacements, but it has rarely been forgotten. Rather than showcasing the problem of humanitarian absence, then, Palestine illuminates the limits of humanitarian presence. The United Nations, and the League of Nations prior to the UN's establishment, was directly involved in Palestine's fate. And when 750,000 Palestinians were made refugees after the UN supported the country's partition into two, the need to be involved in both aid and in seeking resolution was widely recognized. In one form or another, aid has continued for seven decades. Resolution has never been achieved.

Even with a quick recognition of international obligation to assist the displaced, such aid was not immediate. Homs's reflection captures the precarity of early displacement. Before the establishment of camps and before the consolidation of aid efforts, people struggled to find food and shelter. This is not to say that there was no help before international organizations arrived. Local charities and individuals offered assistance. And refugees helped each other. But the need was greater than these efforts could support. When Homs reflected on how Palestinians responded to the LRCS's arrival, his own shift from aid recipient to aid provider comes through. When he commented that "everyone focused his hopes on the League," he is part of that everyone. When he reflects that "later on the refugees began to hope for more" and describes what they expected from the district supervisor, he speaks from the position of the provider. The refugee aid worker does not simply make a passage from one position to another but experiences both, in different intensities at different moments.

The list of duties—as assigned by refugees, not necessarily by job description—brings attention to tensions between humanitarian providers and refugees around mandate/jurisdiction/limits of responsibility that are part of many aid circumstances, and that have been central concerns in the Palestinian instance.¹⁷ Looking from the vantage point of today, with many decades of life-making in displacement, the expansive view that refugees take of the responsibility of agencies (notably UNRWA) that provide support for their communities is not surprising. Though the fact that it is not surprising does not make it any less a source of conflict. As Homsí's account underscores, it is not only with the passage of many years that people want more for their lives and ask more of their service providers. In this instance, they asked for documentation and intercession to help with various Lebanese government offices (police, tax, family registry), for cross-border support with family reunification, and for help in managing family dynamics. Although humanitarian agencies rarely fulfil all the demands that people have of them—especially demands for political representation—it is equally difficult for them to keep their missions as constrained as they initially envisioned.

A Tough Job

As the League commenced its operations, it began primarily with the feeding of refugees. It was a very tough job making a registration of the refugees to ascertain their correct number. As the relief programme became successful in the Lebanon, a movement of refugees from other countries commenced towards this country. Such refugees said they moved in here because they could get proper rations and medical treatment and camp accommodation. The repute of the Lebanon administration had already travelled far and wide and refugees elsewhere began to have an incentive to move towards what they believed to be the new land of "Milk and Honey," the Lebanon.

The rationing of refugees was followed by providing camp accommodations for the needy. Then there was the marked advance of the medical services, followed by the educational, vocational and cultural services of the Social Welfare Department. These successive improvements and expansions in the operations of the League have left their indelible mark of the refugees. Their condition of health has improved. The death rate in the Lebanon has decreased, while the birth rate has increased sharply.

Even apart from the expansion of work that results from refugee demands, humanitarian work frequently proceeds in stages—first handling the most acute needs (in this instance, food) and then moving to provide other vital goods (shelter, medical care). In reflecting on this process, Homsí refers briefly, and somewhat elliptically, to a central and long-enduring concern among humanitarian providers about getting refugee numbers right: "It was a very tough job making a registration of the refugees to ascertain their correct number." Get-

ting and maintaining accurate population counts is viewed by humanitarians as crucial for this work. And given that the resources provided are never enough to sustain people, refugees have an interest in a maximal count. These basic features of aid delivery mean that this care enterprise has punitive and coercive components equally baked in.

Along with the more widely familiar process by which people seeking asylum are interrogated to ascertain if they do in fact have a “credible fear” of persecution and therefore qualify for asylum, aid providers who distribute food, medicine, and shelter to people experiencing disaster or displacement also have to make determinations about eligibility. In the Palestinian case, access to relief meant fitting into the emerging definition of a “Palestine refugee,” later codified by UNRWA as “persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict.” Humanitarian providers have worried a great deal about fraud in the ration rolls. And as they took action against this perceived fraud, they often worried about the consequences to themselves and their own sense of ethics in having to put suspicion at the center of their relationships with people in need.

In some locales to which Palestinians fled, most especially the Gaza Strip, these determinations required distinguishing among people who all had demonstrable need, but only some of whom had “lost *both* home and means of livelihood.” In a place like Lebanon, the concern was more about counting correctly and eliminating fraud in the numbers, such as through inflating births and not reporting deaths. As time went on, and as ration allotments came to be graduated depending on income levels, it also meant correctly capturing people’s sources of financial support. What was a small point in Homsī’s reflection came, over the years, to be a defining characteristic of the aid regime and of the relationship between refugees and humanitarian actors.

Another aspect of this passage that bears commenting on is Homsī’s account of people moving to Lebanon as a result of the success of the LRCS efforts. He highlights this movement to underscore how well the LRCS accomplished its task. Repeated movement is also a general feature of displacement. People move again for a variety of reasons—following the pathways of family and friends, because an initial site of refuge has become inhospitable, because violence has also moved, because (as Homsī recounts) reports suggest that services are better in a different place. Refugee arrival, and departure, is never a singular event.¹⁸

Refugee Expectations

The refugees expect more out of the League. Not aware of the limited scope of operations of the League for relief only, they look upon it as part of U.N.O. They consider

U.N.O. is primarily responsible for their plight and they therefore want U.N.O. to put them back into their country and homes. Grateful as the refugees are for the relief they have been receiving they expect more help, mainly in the political sphere, for their resettlement on their holdings in Palestine.

This passage returns to the question of responsibility—both the adjudication of blame and the assertion of obligation to resolve displacement and dispossession. And it also raises the question of understanding—in this case the understanding, or lack thereof, on the part of refugees of the roles and responsibilities of humanitarians. With its direct role in the circumstances that led to both displacement and dispossession, Palestinian refugees have always viewed the UN as responsible for helping to redress their loss. And, as noted above, the UN has recognized some responsibility to address the different aspects of the Palestine problem. As the years have dragged on, refugees have developed a distinct set of expectations of UNRWA, the UN agency dedicated to supporting Palestinian refugees, in contrast with other international NGOs that have provided assistance at various times and in various places where refugees live. Before the establishment of UNRWA, the LRCS, ICRC, and AFSC were commissioned by the UN to deliver UN-funded aid, so refugees were correct in understanding them to be part of the UN response and therefore not entirely mistaken in making them an audience for demands for political resolution that were directed at the UN.

In pointing to “the limited scope” of the league’s operations, Homsî underscores a position that humanitarian actors often insist upon—that their mandates are limited, that they are strictly nonpolitical in their actions, and that they do not have either governance or judicial authority. In saying that refugees were “not aware” of this scope, he identifies them as lacking in understanding, a fairly muted claim. Other humanitarian providers have expressed similar views in much stronger terms, arguing that it was fundamentally unfair of refugees to expect them to have any role in political resolution and sometimes accusing them of mendacity as much as ignorance in their political activities.¹⁹ And refugees themselves, in the face of charges of either ignorance or manipulation, have often argued both that the boundaries between political and humanitarian activity (and responsibility) have never been as clear cut as agencies might like to claim and that, as the affected population, they should have some influence on the direction and scope of humanitarian activity.

Humanitarian Relations

Whenever possible, relief was served out speedily. In one case League trucks brought 18 families from Zerka to Beirut and were all huddled into a Mosque. It was on a Saturday at 1:30 P.M. when Mr. Brandt sent me a list of their names. That same afternoon they were registered, each of the families in detail, and on Monday noon they all got

their full rations. There are not enough words to describe the effect of this service on that group of tired, hungry, and penniless human beings.

One cannot help but notice the humanity and great understanding of the Field Directors. It is thanks to these that full cooperation and common understanding continued to exist between the Field Directors and their operatives. Indeed this was true not only of the Field Directors but of all the Senior personnel of the League. This is the first impression I had when I first came in contact with the League. There was never an attempt to snob the refugees or the local staff. It was the true democratic spirit expounded in most tangible form. This has won our hearts, gratitude and high esteem for our senior officers.

In these paragraphs, Homsí brings attention to the positive impact of aid work on those in need, and he especially highlights the human connections that are central to the process. In describing positive outcomes, he emphasizes both efficiency and understanding in his description of LRCS operations. Efficient and effective aid delivery has long been viewed by humanitarians as an ethical imperative. The conflicts over costs and possible fraud have generally been seen by humanitarians as part of their effort to ensure ethical aid provision.²⁰ Since fraud control efforts created animosity and suspicion between providers and refugees, they also raise the question: How vital are good interpersonal relations and respect to an ethical aid mission? One critique of the humanitarian enterprise has been that providers tend to be imperious, assuming that they know better what people need than do recipients. Another critique is that humanitarian agencies operate with a color bar, with international staff more highly valued (and paid) than local staff.²¹

In the international humanitarian system, “localization” has received considerable attention in recent years. The IFRC identifies it as a key goal in its current operations, defining localization as “increasing international investment and respect for the role of local actors, with the goal of reducing costs and increasing the reach of humanitarian action” and also as a “way of re-thinking the humanitarian sector from the ground up—recognizing that the overwhelming majority of humanitarian assistance is already provided by local actors.”²² The current focus, and vocabulary, of localization is a product of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, a gathering of many of the world’s largest humanitarian organizations. An outcome of the summit was “the Grand Bargain,” a stated commitment by donors and organizations to “support local and national responders on the frontline, improve the use of cash and increase flexible funding.”²³ The Grand Bargain is not the first attempt to change the dynamics of aid practice; the concept of “participatory development” has been around since the 1970s.

And even prior to the emergence of concerted efforts to change the humanitarian system, as Homsí’s story underscores, local participation has always been a key part of aid delivery. This participation takes several forms. One is the

importance of local hires for the delivery of aid, both from within beneficiary communities and including other locals. Another, often unsanctioned, form of local participation consists of diverse efforts by recipient populations to effect the form, direction, and style of humanitarian assistance provision. Recipients do not have the power of donors, but they too exert influence.

The voices of local personnel demanding change in humanitarian operations have grown increasingly loud in recent years.²⁴ But even as there is plenty of evidence of (international) humanitarian arrogance, it would be a mistake to attribute too much of the problem in humanitarianism to these interpersonal problems. Similarly, it would be a mistake to overinterpret the success of more positive relationships, such as those Homsy describes. Of course, it seems inarguably better for people to treat each other with respect, whatever position they occupy, but the biggest problems in humanitarian action are structural, not personal. These problems can frequently be summed up as the inadequacy of bringing humanitarian tools to respond to political problems.

Persistence

Another impression is the harmony prevailing amongst the various members of the League. They come from all nationalities and various countries, of different languages and dialects. Yet they were all united under the Red Cross Flag. They were out here for service to their “fellow human beings.” They acted in the Rotary Spirit of “Service above Self.” This unselfish human motive of each and every one of them has helped create an atmosphere of service and thus join in the alleviation of the misery of the refugees.

The League operations and activities have proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that when people of varied and different nationalities meet in a joint endeavour, with sincerity and eagerness, to serve and fulfil a mission, they will certainly succeed. The Palestine Refugee problem has proved more than an example of this. Let us hope that this operation will open wide the doors for international understanding, cooperation and brotherhood in all other spheres of life.

Looking back over the last 15 months’ service, I cannot but stand up and raise my hat in respect for you as head of this organisation and its main brain and for all the senior personnel of the League, for their large hearts, common understanding, sympathy and devotion, as well as for the valuable services rendered by the League to the refugees.

The reflection ends with an expression of appreciation for a series of humanitarian ideals: multinational cooperation for the good of humanity, the principle of service above self, the successful alleviation of suffering, and the potential for a broader and deeper project of “international understanding.” Homsy affirms that the LRCS mission has exemplified these ideals. Whether he actually felt as positively about the experience as he stated in this reflection is impossi-

ble to know, but his evaluation is not out of step with the other reflections the LRCS gathered, whether penned by local or international personnel.

Humanitarianism has long been caught in the tension between an ethics of responsibility and an ethics of conviction.²⁵ Is it by outcome or intentions that the ethics of an operation can be judged? Is it the details of the work or the principles that undergird it that matter most? And how much do either of those matter if the entire approach to a problem is fundamentally flawed or limited?²⁶ The Palestinian experience with humanitarian aid, and the humanitarian encounter with the Palestine problem, shed light on global aid dynamics. These dynamics persisted far after the end of the LRCS mission.

This persistence is a reminder of a crucial part of this story: the conclusion of the LRCS mission (along with those of the ICRC and AFSC) in 1950 was just at the beginning of the long, and continuing, Palestinian story of displacement. As another local LRCS employee ended his reflection, “Thus the days go by while the refugee trods [*sic*] wearily on the tragic path, like a thirsty man who is following a mirage in the desert. There seems to be no end to more suffering and more misery. In the meantime, the nations of the world who could not avert this catastrophe are contributing generously to cover the cost of remedies. But there is no remedy, and there will be none, for ‘be it ever so humble, there is no place like HOME.’”

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Notes

1. All the reflections discussed here are from the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Archives, File A0403–2 19740, Personal Experiences.
2. Sayigh, “Nakba and Oral History.”
3. <https://www.nakba-archive.org/>
4. Seikaly, “How I Met My Grandfather”; Saad, “Materializing Palestinian Memory.”
5. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; Dirks, *Autobiography of an Archive*.

6. Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt*; Seikaly, "How I Met My Grandfather."
7. Said, *On Late Style*.
8. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.
9. Homsy, "Personal Experiences, Beirut District Office, Beirut. March 17, 1950."
10. Beckett, "A Dog's Life"; Fassin, "Humanitarianism as a Politics of Life"; Hor, "Everyday Emotional Lives"; Carpi, "Epistemic Politics"; Benton, "African Expatriates and Race."
11. Sundberg, "National Staff"; Heathershaw, "Who Are the 'International Community'?"
12. Farah, "UNRWA through Employee Eyes"; Feldman, *Life Lived in Relief*.
13. Dunn, "Politics of Nothing."
14. Allan, *Voices of the Nakba*.
15. Irfan, "Petitioning for Palestine."
16. Feldman, "Reckoning with Time."
17. Hussein, "UNRWA and the Refugees."
18. Feldman, "Conflicted Presence."
19. Feldman, "Untimely Optimism."
20. Hyndman, *Managing Displacement*.
21. Redfield, "Unbearable Lightness of Expats."
22. Retrieved 25 February 2022 from <https://www.ifrc.org/localization>.
23. Retrieved 25 February 2022 from https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/system/files/grand_bargain_final_22_may_final-2.pdf.
24. Slim, "Localization Is Self-Determination."
25. Fassin and d'Halluin, "Truth from the Body."
26. Pallister-Wilkins, "Saving the Souls of White Folks."

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- . “Conflicted Presence: The Many Arrivals of Palestinians in Lebanon.” *Migration Studies* 10, no. 2 (2022): 190–213.
- . “Untimely Optimism: International Attention, Palestinian Disappointment, and the Persistence of Commitment.” *Anthropological Quarterly*. Forthcoming.
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