**Chapter One**

**Introduction: The Features of Children’s Literature and Their Significance**

*“Childhood” as a Term and a Concept*

The emergence of the term “children’s literature” is related to the development of the study of the conception of childhood.[[1]](#footnote-1) It is appropriate, then to begin this work study by defining the term “childhood.” The meaning and global significance of this term is the basis for understanding the emergence of children’s literature.

Zohar Shavit’s definition of childhood relies on historian Philippe Aries’s hypothesis that the term childhood emerged as a cultural phenomenon in the early seventeenth century.[[2]](#footnote-2) Before that, children were looked upon as “miniature humans” undifferentiated from adults except in terms of social status.[[3]](#footnote-3) Shavit adds that several factors contributed to the concept of childhood not appearing until that point, including the integration of children into the labor force at an early age in order to help support the family economically, especially among the middle class. In this pre-seventeenth-century reality, there was scant interest in writing for children.[[4]](#footnote-4) According to Shavit, it was only later in the seventeenth century, as the nannies and housekeepers of the middle and upper classes began telling stories to entertain their young charges that the conception of childhood emerged. These were the first stories for which children, clearly the least powerful group in society, were the intended audience. Nonetheless, these stories did not address children’s psychological needs nor were they sensitive to the nature or perceptives of children, which are completely different from those of adults. In fact, there was no distinction made between children and adults as an audience.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Historian Eric Hopkins has written that it was not until the social and economic changes of the industrial age unfolded that the term or concept of childhood emerged, reflecting the improvement in living conditions and the development of schools resulting from these changes.[[6]](#footnote-6) Shavit affirms that works written specifically for children that first appeared in the eighteenth century were effective in fulfilling the goals of educating and child-rearing. As the attitude toward children shifted from perceiving them as those who needed to be entertained to recognizing them as a group whose education and upbringing warranted attention, the texts written for children changed as well. The style of writing also changed to better suit the needs and cognitive abilities of children as identified by the burgeoning education system.[[7]](#footnote-7) This was part of a process of distinguishing between the conception of children and the conception of adults and the emergence of a new entity: the child with its particular needs. All of this, in turn, eventually led to the emergence of a literature specifically for children.

*Definition of Children’s Literature*

The study of children’s literature[[8]](#footnote-8) is based on the view that it is a unique genre distinct from and independent of literature in general. It is therefore shaped both by the parameters and limitations imposed by children’s culture and by social expectations that it this literature should play a vital role in society’s education and child-rearing systems. Children’s literature has a system and fields of activity of its own; it also has its own forms of publishing, marketing, and criticism as well as its own libraries, all quite distinct from those of adult literature.[[9]](#footnote-9) Within this system, children’s literature is defined not only by its textual register, but also according to the writer and the publisher as the agents in its production. In practice, adults are the ones who choose the texts addressed to children, thereby inevitably transmitting their own values, role models, and ideals to them.[[10]](#footnote-10)

The approach this book is inextricably related to both the nature and the dynamics of the subject matter of children’s literature, thus requiring an intertextuality approach to children’s literature. The terms of communication between the writer and the child-reader are not based on equality in terms of language abilities, experiences, and social position. This asymmetrical communication is a central issue in the theory of children’s literature, as it clearly reflects the realities existing outside of the text.[[11]](#footnote-11) This asymmetry also shapes the development of the child’s reading abilities. Based on this, children’s literature must align with the requirements and capabilities of its child-readers and bridge the communicative distance between the stakeholders by adapting the language, themes, and ideas of the narrative to the age group.[[12]](#footnote-12) The German children’s writer Kirsten Boie formulated the questions children’s writers ask before they write for children as follows:

What can I expect of children, whose conception of language has not developed as an adult’s has, without asking a great deal of them? What must I expect from children without compromising moral, educational, and psychological demands? Perhaps the most important question for every children’s writer is: What does the “market” allow me to do? And what does it want from me? Or what does it prevent me from doing in a rapidly developing media-driven society?[[13]](#footnote-13)

This asymmetry that characterizes children’s literature has an impact not only on its place in the literary polysystem,[[14]](#footnote-14) but also on all communicative aspects of children’s literature, beyond the linguistic boundaries. Boie poses her questions as a “real writer” of children’s texts.

Simon Chatman’s narrative theory[[15]](#footnote-15) has convincingly posited that the author does not communicate directly with the reader, but that this communication takes place within the text itself[[16]](#footnote-16) and that this communicative process necessarily encompasses:

The real writer → the tacit writer → the narrator → the narratee → the tacit reader → the real reader.

While real writers “die” when writing their texts, the role of the tacit reader – the child – is to define the tacit writer,[[17]](#footnote-17) the image of the real writer presented to the reader in the text, with a predominantly ideological framing of that image. Likewise, narrators, as mainstays of the narration, assist in this, even if their presence is “masked.” The real writer must develop the narration while envisaging a particular reader with specific perceptions, imaginations, and thoughts. Hence, the real writer in this process must incorporate all aspects of the child’s reading needs into their considerations.[[18]](#footnote-18) Here, we are contemplating what the writer ultimately writes for children, and the most effective way for the writer to communicate their ideas to children.

Christine Wilkie-Stibbs has developed a theory of intertextuality in children’s literature by focusing on the writer/reader axes. She contends that the relationship between the writer and the reader in children’s literature is an imbalanced one in power terms. Adults write for one other, but it is unusual for children to do so. In a sense, children become helpless recipients because adults choose what to write for them and children’s literature becomes an intertextual subgenre of adult literature. However, we now know, through experimental studies involving children in “intertextual games,” that, through intertextual processes, children acquire a particular text of their own beyond the text’s and its writer’s control. Thus, according to the theory of intertextuality, there is a barrier to the hegemony of one culture or worldview in children’s books written by adults, who work and are consciously or unconsciously influenced by the literature they read as children – the intertextual space. Despite children’s evident ability to “own” the text, the writer/reader relationship in children’s literature remains asymmetrical because children’s multisubject knowledge cannot be assured. The theory of intertextuality in children’s literature thus raises several questions, including: What is it required to be? What importance must be ascribed to it? For these reasons, the relationship between the components of intertextuality — writer/text/text reader/reader/context — is unique in the context of the theory of intertextuality in children’s literature.

Wilkie-Stibbs explains that the theory of intertextuality[[19]](#footnote-19) is both dynamic and dialectical. It is also a linguistic theory because the two subjects of reading and text are not only inherent in language but are also composed of it. Thus, the issue is not confined to us having ideas in relation to every intertextual text, but rather includes the notion that these texts have become as they are because they are dialectically interrelated and are themselves products of literary, cultural, and linguistic symbols.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Wilkie-Stibbs describes the process of crossing the barrier between writer and child as one of narrating reality through merging one text with another or several texts. This process serves as the basis of the theory of intertextuality. The child-receptors, through this process of narrating reality, acquire knowledge of the literary criteria and salient features of the literary work, through which they can determine its genre and thereby learn, albeit unconsciously, that texts that refer to others have become embodied in the original.[[21]](#footnote-21)

Karin Lesnik-Oberstein identifies two types of intertextual texts in children’s literature: texts adapted from literary works and imitative texts that seek to replicate, counterpose, paraphrase, or replace the original work, often acting as the pre-text.[[22]](#footnote-22) Based on this theory, texts that adults address to children largely reflect the world of adults. These texts convey adults’ inner conflicts and their suitability depends on how they align with the cultural norms and mechanisms associated with children. Thus, children’s cultural mechanisms are an integral part of the general system of culture.

Syrian children’s writer Dalal Hatem (1931–2008) expressed a similar idea in her collection of short stories *Hikāyāt min Ṭufūlat Zaynab* (“Tales from Zainab’s Childhood”) published in 1966. She wrote in her brief introduction to the collection:

Did you, my friends, imagine how your fathers and mothers lived when they were your young age, days when there were few luxuries and civilized resources? I will not mention anything to you in this introduction about this so as not to spoil the joy of reading and discovery. If you want more, ask your mothers to tell you about some part of their lives and it may add beautiful dimensions to what I have written for you in this book. With my love to you, the men and women of the future.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The author deals with the narrative in an autobiographical manner, speaking for the narrator, the child Zainab, about the stages of her childhood, describing the Syrian home in which she grew up. Couched in the phrases that frequently appear in folk tales, such as “It is told that…” and “Once upon a time…,” the author disengages from her narrative entirely, so that the person of the author and the narrator unite due to the original narrator being unknown. The author is content to be the conduit, relinquishing creativity, because the narrator here is not committed to faithfully conveying a lived experience. Instead, she selectively chooses the elements she wants, then adds her spirituality and artistry to them to respond to the needs of the times and the requirements of educational literature.

 *Folklore and Children’s Literature*

This book draws on ideas put forward by Jack Zipes, one of the pioneers of modern theory on folklore, according to which every work adults create for children reflects the views of those adults.[[24]](#footnote-24) The child’s cultural knowledge is lacking due to a paucity of experience and is still in its formative stage. Accordingly, the use of folklore within children’s literature is a crucial means of shaping national identity through the texts in which folklore is used. Confronting children with their heritage is, therefore, a vital task, especially in the early stages of childhood, as their imagination becomes active between the ages of five and nine. The world of fiction to which they are usually exposed tends to be one inhabited by strange fairies, witches, giants, dwarves, and other such creatures.[[25]](#footnote-25) Consequently, selective and astute deployment of instructive folklore tropes commensurate with the important role played by this type of literature is needed.

Zipes adds that folklore powerfully contributes to the development of children’s mental, emotional, and social capacities through the shaping of their personalities and attitudes. Through folk heritage, language and content are incorporated into the imagination. Drawing children into this environment stimulates emotions and fosters excitement, which has the greatest impact on nurturing children’s personalities, ameliorating their behavior, and steering the path of their lives for the better. Zipes argues that orally transmitted folklore, with its highly suggestive methods and the power of its symbolism, helps children focus their attention on it and commit it to memory, thus expanding their expressive range and linguistic resources and enabling them to acquire the ability to understand situations and solve social problems presented to them.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Beyond personality development, Zipes contends that the most important aims of using folklore in children’s literature are to introduce children to their heritage and history, to deepen their sense of national affiliation and identity, and to link them to the past.[[27]](#footnote-27) He argues that folklore has been the main source for children’s literature in the modern era, with many writers in Europe — such as Francis Osborne (1593–1659), Charles Perrault (1628–1703), Robert Samber (1682–1745), the “Brothers Grimm” – Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859)[[28]](#footnote-28) – and Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875)[[29]](#footnote-29) — being inspired by folklore in all its forms and deploying it in their stories.

Cristina Bacchilega also urges the use of folklore in children’s literature, modifying it to take into account new values it can embody and functions it can have, and for the retelling of folk tales through continually building, creating, and evaluating them anew.[[30]](#footnote-30) Another scholar, Abdullah Abu Heif identifies two kinds of reason the writer of children’s literature employs folklore as a source:

(a) Conceptual reasons: Folklore provides ready grounds for narratives which facilitate the process of communication because folklore is ultimately a cultural element transmitted from one generation to the next and constitutes a large part of the collective memory.

(b) Educational reasons: Folklore is more powerful for addressing educational weaknesses, as the child is able to interact with folktales.[[31]](#footnote-31)

According to Abu Heif, one of the most important aspects of using folklore in children’s literature is that it can foster inspiration. By this he refers to the writer’s efforts to create a new literary work based on the form or content of while adapting to the spirit of the contemporary age.[[32]](#footnote-32) Al-Shamas finds that using folklore is not a simple matter, because it requires the children’s writer to understand the heritage involved while seriously reconsidering it with careful scrutiny, scholarly criticism, and objective formulation. It is in this way that children come to terms with their heritage through a new vision, even if it leads to the modifying of the original text in favor of the new ideas presented.[[33]](#footnote-33)

To benefit from folk heritage, continual renewal is needed in order to respond to ever-changing conditions, and the two leading and closely-related components of folklore must be reconciled. The first is the historical component that represents a people and their ideas over the course of different eras. The second is the functional component evident in the potential to deploy these ideas within a new framework with the aim of preserving this heritage’s identity and its shaping the response of children who encounter it. It reinforces identity through folklore, an approach we can call folkloric inspiration.[[34]](#footnote-34)

*Using Folklore in Arabic Children’s Literature*

Nasir Ahmad has reviewed the motives that have prompted many writers of Arab children’s literature to employ folklore in their works. He views the defeat of June 1967 in the Six-Day War with Israel as having had a significant impact on the Arab literary movement in general and Arab children’s literature in particular, as these events inevitably led to a review of all areas of life. Intellectuals and writers came to believe that as a result of this process of reappraisal, the changes they had dreamed of making could be realized by future generations. As a result, they took it upon themselves to educate these generations in both national and international human values, often employing folklore in their work to do so. The motivations and aims of writing are largely the same for all serious intellectuals and writers across the Arab cultural map, so their literature, by employing folklore, has contributed to the strengthening of national identity and to the clarification of its character it in the minds of children.[[35]](#footnote-35)

One writer who cherished folklore and employed it to promote the concept of nationalism to children was the Syrian poet Sulayman al-ʿIsa (1921–2012). Abu Heif notes that al-ʿIsa was deeply immersed in folklore and deployed it in the children’s literature he wrote after 1967.[[36]](#footnote-36) Al-ʿIsa believed that Arab children needed a cultural rehabilitation to meet the new conditions in the Arab world. He wrote poems and hymns inspired by popular songs that were collected in a ten-part divan, *Ghannū yā Aṭfāl* (“Sing, Oh Children!” 1977). Presenting diverse folkloric devices and forms to children, al-ʿIsa felt that:

Two basic elements are necessary to address heritage: a new vision and a new language. The new vision enriches the past, breathes life into it, and engenders new blood in the arteries of the present; a rich tributary to the river of tomorrow that cannot freeze or cease. The new language is the means that makes this past tangible, a cherished thing that lives with us, and bears our aspirations and dreams ... It is the secret of renewal, and we stretch out our hand to heritage; we want to resurrect it from its long slumber.[[37]](#footnote-37)

Similarly, the Syrian writer Zakaria Tamer (1931–) has used folklore as a means of creating children’s stories with novel implications. He has drawn on ancient heritage and from modernity in form and ideology, as in his collection *Limāḏā Sakata al-Nahr* (“Why the River Was Silent,” 1973) and the story “*Al-Jarrād fi-l Madīna*” (“The Locusts in the City,” 1982).[[38]](#footnote-38)

Interest in folklore in children’s stories notably took another direction in the early 1980s. Whereas originally writers had deployed folklore in children’s stories to foster national identity and a sense of Arab belonging, their most pressing motivation for employing their local folklore now became their fear of loss of their country’s heritage. These changes fostered interest in local folklore as an important source of inspiration linked to real life and of national heritage.[[39]](#footnote-39) Consequently, writers’ new inclination to deploy local heritage in children’s stories was reflected in the increase in academic studies of children’s literature that began to appear in certain Arab countries. In a study he conducted on the nationalist content in children’s literature in Jordan, Mahmoud al-Dibaa confirms that writers living in Jordan had begun using local folklore in their writings, especially songs, to specifically promote nationalism, especially in the early 1980s. Al-Dibaa adds that these writers did so to introduce children to their local heritage and to deepen their sense of belonging to the homeland, both of which support adherence to the national identity and develop children’s imaginations.[[40]](#footnote-40) For example, Jordanian writer Fakhri Kawar (1945–) introduces folkloric elements into his 1991 short story “*Ḥadīth maʿ Umaymah*” (“Conversation with Umayimah”), which describes the life of Jordanian villages in past decades and presents the Jordanian traditional folk games prevalent at the time.[[41]](#footnote-41)

We find this tendency to draw on local folklore among Syrian writers as well. For example, the writer Aref Al-Khatib (1946–) has drawn on Syrian folk tales and proverbs and transformed them into modern stories, such as in his tale “*Al-Thaʿlab wa-l Dajāja*” (“The Fox and the Hen”) in the 2008 collection *Mamnūʿ al-Ḍaḥk* (“Laughing Forbidden”).[[42]](#footnote-42) Works bearing the name of the country in their titles are notable in this context. For example, the Syrian writer Raja ʿAli Huwayla (1962) wrote a collection of stories entitled *Kāna Yā Mā Kāna Ḥikāyāt min Bilād al-Shām* (“Once Upon a Time Tales from the Levant,” 1996). A similar tendency is evident with the writer Khair El-Din Obaid (1954–) in the story “*Ḥikāyat Thalāth Layāl*” (“The Tale of Three Nights”) from the 2004 collection *Ḥikāyāt Shaʿbīya li-l Aṭfāl* (“Popular Tales for Children”). His tales drew on his environment and he adopted the formulae prevalent in Aleppo and Idlib at the time.[[43]](#footnote-43)

The Egyptian Abdel Tawab Youssef (1921–2015) also took inspiration from folklore in his stories and plays. He deployed Egyptian proverbs in his 1987 play “*Juhā wa Shajarat al-Arnab*” (“Juha and the Rabbit Tree”) and wrote a popular 2002 story entitled “*ʿAwdat al-Saddīq*” (“The Return of Al-Saddiq”), in which he used Egyptian folklore relating to such matters as folkloric customs and traditions.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Interest in folklore increased significantly with the dawn of the third millennium: websites dealing with children’s literature proliferated, and writers who recognized the critical importance of exposing children to folklore began publishing their works in online magazines. In this regard, Muhammad Qarania says that this leap was a spontaneous response to the turmoil of globalization, which seeks to eliminate cultural particularity on the one hand and to link children to their past and family heritage on the other hand.[[45]](#footnote-45)

*The Relationship of Children’s Literature to Palestinian Folklore*

Folklore in its various forms has proven an effective tool in constructing texts for children. Writers are able to rediscover the past in the light of present phenomena, in all its human and social dimensions, and reshape it once again. Anyone who has followed how folklore was used in Palestinian children’s texts before 1967 will note that it was used directly for national political purposes only, without the functional educational goal.

In the late 1980s, and especially after the 1987 “First Intifada,” those who were prominent rebels against traditional children’s literature reached the apogee of their influence, as renewal began to impose its presence on its artistic forms. It was at that time that the use of Palestinian folklore became one of the most important general literary devices, in Palestinian children’s literature in particular. The events of this time necessitated a review of all aspects of life among the Palestinian people, especially children, and made Palestinian writers believe that the next generation could bring about the desired changes. As a result, they made it their task to educate these generations on national and human values and used the Palestinian folklore to inculcate national values in their writing. Their writings contributed to strengthening the Palestinian national identity and clarifying it in the minds of children.

With the passage of time, this use of Palestinian folklore became an outstanding phenomena in texts. The sources of its heritage diversified, as did the methods of its deployment. At the same time, new trends in children’s literature emerged, including that of renewal, which adopted the idea of inspiring readers through employing folklore. It is noticeable that this form of inspiration was technically immature at its inception. The folkloric aspects appeared randomly scattered and did not seem to serve the literary construction of the text. In the 1990s, the employment of folklore took another turn, as the folkloric elements went beyond the simple narrative and became an essential element in symbolic construction. Thus, communication between the past and the present took place through the symbols of folklore, with wide-ranging connotations, as the writers of this period sought to employ the folkloric elements artistically as expressions of the concerns of and issues faced by contemporary Palestinians.

Given the development of children’s literature styles and trends in the late 1990s, we discover a new way in which Palestinian folklore can provide inspiration in literature directed at children and from one writer to another, from a variety of perspectives. By this time, Palestinian folklore was being dealt with in a more conscious manner than ever before. Literary forms multiplied; the traditional elements inspired by the texts varied, and their allusiveness were exploited to convey new types of content. Thus, it was at this time that the Palestinian folklore became a key source of creativity for many writers who wrote for children.

In this way, Palestinian children’s writers’ level of artistic awareness and use of folklore evolved with time. These writers first used folklore in children’s literature based on their awareness of their cultural heritage and desire to revive it. Later, the use of folklore and its presence as a source of inspiration in stories became an important part of the literature’s inherent structure and artistry.

*Summary*

Writing for child-readers with the aim of educating them to meet their social and psychological needs began in the early eighteenth century, with texts reflecting a change in perspective toward children themselves. Subsequently, the conception of children changed fundamentally and the need to educate them emerged as an imperative, not only at home but also at school. This new mission dominated the eighteenth century, which led writers to adopt a predominantly romantic view of childhood. This led to a change in the style of literature addressed to children, matching their needs and cognitive abilities as determined by the education system. Children’s literature is seen as part of the education system as it is based on its own systems. It has its own fields of activity, marketing, publishing, libraries, and criticism distinct from adult literature. The study of children’s literature thus differs from that of literature in general, given that the former field is a discrete and independent discipline.

**Chapter Two: The History of Palestinian Literature for Children**

*Introduction*

Many Palestinian writers in Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and the diaspora have contributed to the development of Palestinian children’s literature and this chapter principally discusses the general history of this literary sub-genre from 1967 to the present.

Ami Elad-Bouskilia considers Palestinian literature as that which is written by Palestinians. This definition was unproblematic only until 1948, with every Palestinian who wrote literature, whether within or outside Palestine until 1948, deemed a Palestinian writer. However, 1948 was a turning point, since the Palestinian literary community became divided between those who lived and wrote inside Israel and those who did so outside. Elad believes that the questioning of whether some were Palestinian writers at all was driven by political considerations rather than by how those writers defined themselves.[[46]](#footnote-46)

Hussam al-Khatib defines Palestinian literary writers as those Arab citizens who had habitually resided in Palestine until 1947, whether they subsequently remained or were exiled, along with everyone born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, whether inside or outside the country. He argues that there are various impediments to applying this definition, including issues related to nationality and law. A large proportion of Palestinians live abroad in Arab and other countries and may or may not have a formalized nationality status. They may also contribute to the economy of the country in which they live, including literary and artistic production. Thus, Palestinian literary production has become heterogeneous, developing in a variety of environments and subject to diverse experiences. Some of it has remained faithful to the concept of a recognizable Palestinian Arab literature, but some is entirely assimilated into the literature of the place in which it is produced. Despite such complexities in defining what Palestinian literary identity encompasses, al-Khatib believes that the term Palestinian literature includes everything produced by those of Palestinian origin, whether within the original borders or in the diaspora.[[47]](#footnote-47)

*Palestinian Children’s Literature in the Mandate Period up to 1948*

Several historical and political factors contributed to the crystallization of a sense of Palestinian belonging in the children’s literature of the Mandate era (formally speaking, 1923–48). The most important of these were the emergence of the Zionist project, the 1917 Balfour Declaration, and the formalization of the British Mandate for Palestine.[[48]](#footnote-48) Palestinian aspirations to assert their own identity began to emerge in literature and politics in response to these developments. Palestinians perceived an imminent danger to their homeland and sought to express their patriotic sentiments toward it through poetry and prose. This led to the emergence of a distinctly Palestinian national literature.[[49]](#footnote-49) The development of formal education, establishment of printing presses, and emergence of political and cultural associations also contributed to its development. Arabic also became an official language in place of the Turkish of the now-defunct Ottoman Empire.[[50]](#footnote-50)

Some writing aimed at children had emerged from these early Palestinian literary flowerings, even as early as the late nineteenth century, but only sporadically. Certain Palestinian educators made an early contribution to modern Palestinian culture by focusing on and writing for children, especially textbooks. This sharpened an awareness of children’s status within society and fostered an incipient literature directed at Palestinian children. It is, of course, impossible here to discuss every such literary product in detail, so we will confine ourselves to the writers who most significantly contributed to the emergence of writing for children: Khalil Beidas (1874–1949),[[51]](#footnote-51) Khalil Sakakini (1878–1953), Isaaf al-Nashashibi (1885–1948), Iskandar al-Khoury al-Beitjali (1889?–1973), Ishaq Musa al-Husseini (1904–1990), Ibrahim Tuqan (1905–1941), and Mustafa al-Dabbagh (1898–1989). Before examining these writers individually, we should preface the discussion by saying that, in general, their knowledge of foreign languages and cultures was an important factor in shaping their political and social awareness.[[52]](#footnote-52)

Khalil Beidas wrote a series of educational books for primary school pupils between 1898 and 1924, the first of which was the 1898 *al-ʿAqd al-Thamīn fī Tarbiyat al-Banīn* (“The Precious Covenant of Educating Boys”). He has also translated many stories from around the world.[[53]](#footnote-53) Al-Nashashibi[[54]](#footnote-54) is considered the first to have written poetry for Palestinian children, compiling them in a 1927 book, *Ashʿār ʿArabiyya* (“Arabic Poems”). In the same year, he issued an anthology of children’s songs entitled *Al-Bustān* (“The Garden”).[[55]](#footnote-55) The poet al-Beitjali published the book *Al-Ṭifl al-Munshid* (“The Child Singer”) in 1936 and another entitled *al-Mathal al-Manẓūm* (“The Poetic Ideal”) in 1937.[[56]](#footnote-56),[[57]](#footnote-57)

Al-Sakakini is considered the first to have written short stories for children.[[58]](#footnote-58) In 1942, he published the book *al-Jadīd* (“The new”), written in ascending degrees of sophistication in accordance with children’s growing perceptibility. His stories are derived from contemporary realities as well the popular heritage of the Palestinian people.[[59]](#footnote-59) Al-Husseini published stories for schoolchildren between 1944 and 1947, including *Mudhakkirāt Dajāja* (“A Chicken’s Recollections”), *ʿAwdat al-Safīna* (“The Ship’s Return”), and *al-Kalb al-Wafī* (“The Faithful Dog”).[[60]](#footnote-60) Tuqan enriched the textbooks used in Palestine’s schools with poems and national paeans.[[61]](#footnote-61) Al-Dabbagh, a Department of Education inspector in the 1930s, took pains to ensure students had books to read in schools.[[62]](#footnote-62) The books published during this period were for systematically pedagogical purposes and presented themselves in a directly declarative way.[[63]](#footnote-63) Writers and educators in the Mandate era generally produced children’s literature in reflexive defense of the Palestinian identity, notably in the face of the Zionist movement.[[64]](#footnote-64)

*Developments in Local Palestinian Children’s Literature After 1948*

The 1948 *al-Nakba* (“the disaster”) and subsequent establishment of the State of Israel was accompanied by the emigration of numerous Palestinians writing for adults and children to many other countries. Those Palestinians who remained in Israel were subject to military rule by the Israeli state authority until 1956, becoming minority community members subject to restrictions after military rule was lifted in 1956. The Israeli authorities took control of the Arab educational stream and implemented educational policies aligned with their goals. This narrowed Palestinians’ opportunities to write for children beyond the strictures of those policy requirements and even limited the chances of children to become acquainted with works produced in the Arab world.[[65]](#footnote-65) As a result, the children’s literature produced was minuscule in quantity and low in quality, little different from that preceding *al-Nakba*, though some Palestinian writers continued to write for children in officially approved school textbooks. The approach to writing in this period, like that preceding it, was pedagogical in nature, and mostly consisted of songs aimed at pupils. Prominent writers in this regard were Mishal Haddad (1919–1997)[[66]](#footnote-66) and Georges Naguib Khalil (1932–2001).[[67]](#footnote-67)

Beyond these textbooks, Mahmoud Abbasi (1931–)[[68]](#footnote-68) and Jamal Qaʿwar (1930–2013) wrote stories inspired by ancient Arab history and world heritage, both seeking to emulate the work of Kamel Kilani (1897–1959). That said, pupils would have readily detected the pedagogical aims of these short stories, which sought to introduce schoolchildren to Arab and Islamic history in suitably simple language.[[69]](#footnote-69) In the wake of Abbasi and Qaʿwar’s efforts, there was something of a revival in local writing aimed at children. Between 1960 and 1967, 24 books were published from children, whereas only two had been issued from 1948 to 1960. The Arabic-language magazine *Al-Yawm li-Awlādinā* (“Today for our Children”), affiliated with Israel’s Labor Party, was also first published in 1960.[[70]](#footnote-70) However, most short stories remained directed at schoolchildren as such rather than toward the young generation in a more general sense. Ancient folk tales and the Arabized traditional heritage invoked in them served as the key source for children’s literature, with scant reference made to the children’s real life and environment.[[71]](#footnote-71)

In the early 1960s, after the end of Israeli military rule, there was significant growth in local Palestinian literature, with the first wave of educated Palestinian young people beginning to take up positions in many fields of work, including the cultural sector. Schools were the nexuses for raising educational and cultural levels, shaping the characters of their pupils, refining their creative talents, and encouraging them to give something back. The contours of a new era overlaid those of the previous period, marking the emergence of *al-Tayyār al-Wāqiaʿī* (“the realist tendency”). The general impact of this era on the nature of Palestinian literature became clear after the 1967 Six-Day War,[[72]](#footnote-72) with Palestinian children’s literature in Israel becoming increasingly removed from developments in the Arab world. While authors tended to write more frequently for adults, there was no significant change in such writing for quite some time, and there was very little literature written for children until the early 1970s. The opportunities to read children’s literature did significantly expand, with more materials provided to libraries after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, most of it written by Egyptian writers such as Muhammad al-Harawi (1885–1939), Muhammad Saeed al-Arian (1905–1964), and Kamel Kilani. These were the only such resources targeted at children in Israel beyond ordinary schoolbooks.[[73]](#footnote-73)

The gradual opening up of possibilities, however, increased writers’ cultural and social awareness. Soon, Palestinian society’s view of children and childhood changed, with enhanced focus on their children, so central to the lives and activities of the community.[[74]](#footnote-74) Voices began to be raised calling for a vernacular literature dealing with local realities and problems arising from the particularities of the environment and conditions. *Al-Tayyār al-Wāqiaʿī* burgeoned within the children’s literature of this period. Literature addressed at children in Israel evinced a tendency, at least among some writers, to document local realities, focusing on village and community ties, nature, customs, traditions, respect for one’s family elders, and all aspects of these matters. Mustafa Murrar (1929–2021)[[75]](#footnote-75) was one such writer, most of his stories being inspired by the pre-1948 Palestinian countryside and its realities. His focus on the past, evident through his deployment of vernacular expressions in his short stories, was a prominent feature of his writing for children.[[76]](#footnote-76)

Another trend that emerged in this period was *Al-Tayyār al-Siyāsī* (“the political tendency”). The writings of *ʿ*Abd-al-Latif Nasser (1944–1991)[[77]](#footnote-77) are representative of this trend, bearing a decidedly political character[[78]](#footnote-78) and being trenchantly critical of authority and the violence Palestinians faced in their own homes. We can see this, for example, in his 1982 short story “*Ana Lā*” (“Not I”), which appeared in a collection bearing the same title,[[79]](#footnote-79) and in the tale in that collection, “*al-Malik al-Qazam*” (“The Dwarf King”), which describes the Jordan regime’s oppression of the Palestinians in the camps there.

There were also increased efforts in this period to gather folk heritage material for use in children’s short stories. Abdullah Ayshan (1935–2009),[[80]](#footnote-80) a prominent writer using this approach, published stories and plays inspired by Palestinian heritage between 1973 and 1980, using simple vocabulary, the classical language (*al-Fuṣḥā*), and a folktale style of narration, often featuring familiar popular figures, such as character of *al-ghūl* (“the ghoul”).[[81]](#footnote-81) Munim Haddad (1940–) adopted a similar approach in his 1978 collections inspired by Palestinian folk tales entitled *Ṭāʾir al-Burhajān* (“The Glitter Bird”) and *Qiṣaṣ Shaʿbīya Maḥalīya* (“Local Folk Tales”).[[82]](#footnote-82) Abbasi and Qaʿwar continued translating and Arabizing stories and plays drawn from world heritage and Hebrew literature between the years 1969 and 1986,[[83]](#footnote-83) while Khalil continued producing his educational textbooks for schoolchildren.

In 1986, Jamīʿat Aṣdiqāʾ al-Aṭfāl al-ʿArab (Friends of Arab Children Association) decided to publish a new children’s magazine, the *al-Ḥayat lil-Aṭfāl* (“Life for Children”), which aimed to direct domestic Palestinian children’s literature toward a greater commitment to Palestinian identity. Writer and its editor-in-chief, Muhammad Badarneh (1956–),[[84]](#footnote-84) declared that the magazine’s mission was to serve both the homeland and the diaspora, adding:

Reinforcing the identity of children within the homeland is a goal that we must achieve in relation to every aspect of childhood. Given this standpoint, the Association has initiated a modern-style magazine in Arabic dealing with children’s literature with aims related to our heritage and identity.[[85]](#footnote-85)

Analysis of literary texts aimed at Palestinian children within Israel in the 1980s indicates that writers continued exploring these themes in the same vein. Mustafa Murrar, for example, continued publishing stories inspired by the Palestinian countryside. His 1988 collection *Awrāq Maṭrūd al-Halwāni* (“Matrud al-Halawani’s Papers”) includes 12 stories about the writer’s childhood under the British Mandate, inspired by his mission to preserve the memory of an important period in his people’s history.[[86]](#footnote-86)

The early 1990s were marked by major social, economic, and cultural changes in the Palestinian community within Israel and they prompted, among other things, a rapidly growing interest in children’s literature. Many cultural institutions emerged that took an interest in children’s literature, such as the Dar al-Ṭifl al-ʿArabī (The House of the Arab Child) in Acre under the supervision of the Jamīʿat al-Nisāʾ al-ʿAkkiyāt (Acre Women’s Association). One of its goals was to improve the cultural and educational level of pre-school children by publishing books aimed at them. It published *Alʿāb Tarbawīya li-Jīl al-Ṭufūla* (“Educational Games for the Early Childhood Generation”) in 1990 and *Hayyā Nalʿab wa-Natasallā fī Shahr Ramaḍān* (“Hey, Let’s Play and Have Fun During Ramadan”) in 1992,[[87]](#footnote-87) both books relying more on illustrations than words, aiming to strengthen the Arab community in Israel’s collective sense of belonging and to focus on Palestinian customs and traditions.[[88]](#footnote-88)

In addition, several centers devoted to Arab-language children’s literature were established in Israel, starting with the Markaz Adab al-Aṭfāl (Center for Children’s Literature) at the Arab Academic College for Education in Haifa in 1995, through the Markaz Adab al-Aṭfāl al-ʿArabī fī Isrāʾīl (Center for Arab Children’s Literature in Israel) in Nazareth in 1995, the Markaz Thaqāfat al-Ṭifl (Center for Children’s Culture) in the Al-Aswar Foundation in Acre in 2005, and to the Markaz Adab al-Aṭfāl (Center for Children’s Literature) in Al-Qasimi College of Academic Education in Haifa in 2007.[[89]](#footnote-89) All of these promoted awareness about the importance of children’s literature, holding conferences and publishing research on the topic. They also encouraged authors to write for children by publishing such works themselves. The number of children’s books translated from Hebrew to Arabic has also markedly increased since that period. These institutions do not, however, operate on clear criteria when selecting children’s stories for publication, as these vary in quality and content and some topics are pursued somewhat repetitively.[[90]](#footnote-90)

Setting their sights beyond the short story that has predominated in children’s literature, some institutions have become interested in poetry aimed at children, as is evident in works by Qaʿwar and Shakib Jahshan (1936–2003) in particular. The 1990s also witnessed the emergence of new poets, such as Fadel Ali (1952–),[[91]](#footnote-91) Lamis Kanana (1961–),[[92]](#footnote-92) and Ahmed Sawalha (?–).[[93]](#footnote-93) Children’s poems of this period tend to focus on young readers’ needs by placing children as the central protagonists. For example, most of the pieces in Fadel Ali’s 1995 poetry collection *Khaddī kal-Ward* (“My Rosy Cheek”) are educational in character, both by conveying messages aimed at children and by containing guidance for teachers and parents. Ali’s 1996 *Lī al-Dunyā* (“The World is Mine”) and 2001 *Insān* (“Humanity”) anthologies continue this educational approach of seeking to develop children’s independent personalities.

The use of the colloquial dialect is also a notable phenomenon in the children’s poetry of that period, with Ahmed Sawalha’s undated *Qaws Qazaḥ* (“Rainbow”) and the work of Qaʿwar prominent in this regard. We also find a noticeable increase in the publication of poems that express both patriotism and a longing for the past.[[94]](#footnote-94) Qaʿwar’s poems, for example, tend to be patriotic in tone, expressing his powerful sense of connection to Palestinian heritage and desire to link the past to the present. His poetry frequently draws on popular expressions and proverbs. Kanana also seeks to introduce children to the history of the homeland, from the Galilee to Jerusalem to Bethlehem, and to deepen their sense of belonging to the homeland by depicting the nature of the terrain, with its plains, mountains, and trees, and exalting the glories of the Palestine’s past.

Along with these poems’ direct expressions of patriotism and nostalgia, we also find many writers drawing considerably on folklore in their short stories, suitably modified for today’s generation while preserving its original and distinctly Palestinian spirit. Abbasi,[[95]](#footnote-95) for example, decidedly focuses on documenting Palestinian heritage in a new way. He also tries to acquaint children with crafts on the verge of extinction by artistically reformulating popular songs from the past using allusions and narrative in a way that matches the spirit of the modern era. He explains that his allusions to Palestinian heritage seek to embed and nourish the roots of Palestinian identity in the hearts of children.[[96]](#footnote-96) Another prominent writer also putting a modern twist on local folklore is Abdullah Ayshan,[[97]](#footnote-97) whose stories are all based on Palestinian folk tales but reformulated to make them popular with contemporary children. Nabiha Jabbarin (1951–)[[98]](#footnote-98) adopts clear aims, methods, and vision in drawing on Palestinian folklore in her short stories. Her 2001 book *Aghānī Awlādinā Intimāʾ li-Bilādinā* (“The Songs of Our Children [and] Belonging to our Country”) addresses Palestinian children through popular ballads, reminding them of these almost forgotten songs.

Other writers have emerged who work via independent or semi-official channels, allowing them to add a political dimension to their stories for children through allusions and symbolism. For example, Yacoub Hijazi’s (1947–) 2009 short story “Buḥayrat Marḥabā” (“Marhaba Lake”) does not mention the Palestinian *Nakba* directly, but in coded language when the lake dries up and the fish come out on the shore in search of salvation. The lake in the story symbolizes Palestine and the writer’s preoccupation with a sense of place is evident, especially in the face of attempts to obliterate its original identity. Ahmed Hussein (1939–)[[99]](#footnote-99) also talks about Palestine through symbolism in the short story “Khalīl wa-Jalīl” ( “Khalil and Jalil”;2010), in which he describes both the northern and southern parts of the country and gives the characters placenames. Ain Ghazal in the story is a beautiful girl whose heart Khalil and Jalil duel over, but it is also no secret that this name is also that of a destroyed and deserted Palestinian village located on the Carmel plains south of Haifa. The symbolism here is clear.[[100]](#footnote-100)

This period also witnessed a great cooperation between West Bank writers and Israeli educational institutions in the field of children’s literature. The best example of this cooperation is the 1996 *Mawsūʿat al-Turāth al-Shaʿbī al-Filasṭīnī lil-Aṭfāl* (“Encyclopedia of Palestinian Folklore for Children”) compiled by Abd-al-Latif al-Barghouti and published in *al-Ḥayat lil-Aṭfāl*. Sonya Nemer (1955–),[[101]](#footnote-101) who lives in the West Bank, has also published her works via the Al-Aswar Foundation, notably her short story “Mandūra” (2007). Such works for children have been accompanied by an increased awareness of their importance and role in raising children and shaping their characters. Children’s joys and sufferings are expressed in some of these works, while others deliberately depict child characters as creative and proactive.

Within all these developments in children’s stories published in Israel, a revisionist trend has emerged that seeks to distance itself as much as possible from pedagogical literature and embrace a literature for children in which all literary dimensions can be enjoyed. Naim Araidi (1950–2015)[[102]](#footnote-102) well-known for his adaptation of Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish’s (1941–2008) poem “Ana Yūsuf yā Abī” (n.d.; “I am Yusuf, Oh Father”) for children, was one writer who embraced this trend. Likewise, Yaʿqub Hijazi[[103]](#footnote-103) selected Darwish’s poems entitled “*ʿAlā Hādhihi al-Arḍ Mā Yastahiqq al-Ḥayat*” (What Deserves Life on this Land”). In his introduction to the 2008 book, Hijazi wrote:

The choice was difficult, due to the diversity of the contents of the poems and the distinctiveness in thought and language, but I envisaged the easiest text and the one closest to children’s souls and worlds. This poetry is interspersed with seductive language charged with honest human emotions and radiating beauty, joy, and love.[[104]](#footnote-104)

Another trend has emerged in the twenty-first century that focuses on propagating religious culture and symbolism among children. This religious trend is evident in the 2005 magazine *Ishraqa* (“Sunrise”) affiliated with the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Umm al-Fahm, which also, in 2009, began publishing the magazine *Ishraqa lil-Aṭfāl* (“Ishraqa for Children”) based on an Islamic perspective. Short stories for children from a religious perspective have also begun to appear.[[105]](#footnote-105) Murrar published a number of religious stories in 2003, including “Khurūf al-ʿĪd al-Saʿīd” (“The Happy Eid Sheep”), “al-Ḥajj wa-ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā” (“Hajj and Eid al-Adha”), “Ramaḍān” (“Ramadan”), “al-ʿĪd al-Saʿīd” (“The Happy Eid”), “Ḍayf Ramaḍān” (“The Ramadan Guest”), and “Ṣumnā wa-ʿAyyidnā” (Our Fasting and Our Eid”).[[106]](#footnote-106) Abbasi has also published religious short stories including “*Hāla wa-Hilāl* *Ramaḍān*” (“Hala and the Crescent Moon of Ramadan,” 2002), “*Yāmin wa-Khurūf al-ʿĪd*” (“Yamen and the Sheep of Eid,” 2002), “Duʿāʾ wa-ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā” (“Duʿa and Eid al-Adha,” 2002), and “Silsilāt al-Qurʾān al-Karīm” (“The Holy Qur’an Series,” 2007). Likewise, Araidi published short stories in 2002 that focus on cultural and religious symbolism, including “Darajāt al-Miʾdhana” (“The Steps of the Minaret”), “al-Fiṣḥ” (“Easter”), and “al-Mīlād” (“Christmas”).[[107]](#footnote-107)

*The Fragmenting of Palestinian Children’s Literature Since 1948*

Arabic-language children’s literature fragmented in Israel after *al-Nakba*. The vast majority of writers left for neighboring Arab countries in its wake, eventually becoming subject to the curricula prevailing in them, despite their divergences and contradictions.[[108]](#footnote-108) In the face of these new circumstances, writers continued to publish, each in their own way, while a new generation arose in the diaspora, some of whom became known as writers from the country in which they came to reside. For example, the works of Rawdat al-Hudhud, though she a Palestinian born in Jaffa, are considered Jordanian literature.[[109]](#footnote-109)

There was little writing for children in the diaspora in this period, though some authors continued to produce poetry, songs, and anthologies for children to study in school. These books represented a form of continuity with the pre-1948 educational approach. Literature was directed mostly to adults, but the authors sometimes saw in it something suitable for children, whether in terms of artistic construction or content.[[110]](#footnote-110) The language of some of the songs, such as those of Abd al-Karim al-Karmi (1910–1980) and Khalil al-Sakakini, was in a factual, reporting style, making it alien to children’s cognitive levels and vocabularies.[[111]](#footnote-111) Other writers documented Palestinian life before and after 1948, with the aim of “reviving Palestine” in literary terms. This period is evidently characterized by depiction of and nostalgia for the homeland. Radi Abd-al-Hadi (1910–1982),[[112]](#footnote-112) Abd-al-Raouf al-Masry (1896–1960),[[113]](#footnote-113) and Fayyiz al-Ghoul (1910–1972).[[114]](#footnote-114) The last of these wrote between 1955 and 1966, penning stories inspired by Palestinian folk tales such as “al-Dunyā Ḥikāyāt” (The world is Stories”), “Asātīr min Bilādī” (“Legends from my Country”), and “Sawālīf al-Salf” (“The Forefathers’ Sidewhiskers”).[[115]](#footnote-115) These writers sought, through these stories, to preserve the essence of the vernacular originals’ artistry, to urge their continued importance, and to perpetuate the events of the original stories without changing them in a way that affected their narratives or sequencing. All to educate children about this folklore.[[116]](#footnote-116)

The 1967 Six-Day War defeat had an undeniable impact on the Arab literary movement.[[117]](#footnote-117) Many writers living in the diaspora notably stopped writing for children for a long time due to the political situation, directing most of their works during that period at adults instead. However, in the late 1970s, writers’ interest in children’s literature revived. The appearance of *Majallat Sāmir lil-Aṭfāl* (“The Samir Magazine for Children”) in 1977 encouraged writing aimed at children, including that of Muhammad al-Qaisi (1944–2003), Mahmoud Shuqair (1941–),[[118]](#footnote-118) poet Ali al-Butairi (1944–),[[119]](#footnote-119) and others. This, in turn, encouraged a reconsideration in all areas of life and, within this framework, Palestinian intellectuals and writers turned their attentions to childhood and children’s literature, with a notable accompanying preoccupation with national values.[[120]](#footnote-120) Some of these writers tried to incorporate new concepts into their stories, like the ethnic struggle against the occupiers, the values of the homeland, and the consequent deepening of the sense of belonging, highlighting heroism and the desire for liberation. Shuqair and Mufid Nahla (1939–) stand out in this regard.[[121]](#footnote-121),[[122]](#footnote-122) There was also an attempt to introduce new content into poetry via new artistic forms, with the poems dealing with the child’s aspirations for nationhood and freedom, while emphasizing the love of the land and optimism for the future. Ali al-Butairi and Mahmoud al-Shalabi (1943–)[[123]](#footnote-123) are key poets in this change.

The Dar al-Fata al-ʿArabi publishing house established in Beirut in 1974 became an important resource in the dissemination of Palestinian children’s literature dealing with issues of freedom and patriotism. It published most of the books in the “*Qaws Qazaḥ*” (“Rainbow”) series, the “*al-Mustaqbal lil-Aṭfāl*” (“The Future for Children”) series, and the “*al-Ufq al-Jadīd*” (“New Horizon”) series. Most of them dealt with the Palestinian cause and the armed struggle in a symbolic manner without mentioning them directly. One of its publications was Ghassan Kanafani’s (1936–1972) book for children entitled *Aṭfāl Ghassān Kanafānī* (“The Children of Ghassan Kanafani”), issued posthumously in 1979. It also published Kanafani’s *al-Qandīl al-Ṣaghīr* (“The Little Lamp”) in 1985. A number of writers also published *Ḥikāyāt Shaʿbiya min Filasṭīn* (“Folktales from Palestine”) in 1987, the aim being to contribute a further moral dimension to the world of values – originality. At the beginning of the 1980s, with Israel’s invasion of Beirut and accompanying political and military changes, Dar al-Fata al-ʿArabi lost access to financial and professional resources, especially after its headquarters and management moved to Cairo and subsequently to Amman. These changes led to a dwindling in its publications until it finally ceased operating in the mid-1990s.[[124]](#footnote-124) In 1979, Jamīʿat Nawras (the Nawras Association) a Palestinian publishing house founded in Beirut by writer Tawfiq Fayyad (1938–) to introduce Arab children to the issue of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. This house was an extension of Dar al-Fata al-ʿArabi but wound down its activities after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.[[125]](#footnote-125)

These publishing houses encouraged writers to attach great importance to writing for children. Shehada Al-Natour (1939–), who chose the animal world to explore the concerns of the homeland, and poet Mahmoud al-Shalabi, who also raised patriotic issues of belonging and selfhood as concerns for children, were prominent figures influenced by this approach.[[126]](#footnote-126)

The Palestinian cultural movement’s transfer to Amman resulted in initiatives to promote Palestinian children’s literature there, with most being published by Dar al-Carmel and Dar Ibn Rushd in the Jordanian capital. Muhammad Al-Zaher (1951–), Youssef Hamdan (1944–), and Rashad Abu-Shawer (1942–) were among those writing for children. Perhaps what particularly distinguishes these writers is that they wrote directly about the suffering of the Palestinian people under occupation. The instilling of the national idea in the minds of children was deliberate and conscious mission that all these writers pursued through their stories.[[127]](#footnote-127)

Muwafaq Miqdadi affirms that patriotic content was widespread in the short stories and poems addressed to children by Palestinian writers living in the diaspora, highlighting the past of their forefathers.[[128]](#footnote-128) Palestinian writers also focused on depicting the suffering in the refugee camps and the longing to return to the homeland.

The early 1980s witnessed a salient tendency to document Palestinian history among writers in the diaspora. One such writer is Rawdat al-Hudhud, who wrote a large anthology of short stories under the title *Ḥikāyāt Buṭūliya lil-Aṭfāl* (“Heroic Tales for Children”), the first, entitled *Fī Aḥrāj Yaʿbad* (“In the Forests of Yaʿbad”), published in 1979,[[129]](#footnote-129) deals directly with the national issue, and realistically discusses modern heroic acts, documenting the relevant historical material for the stories at the end of each tale.[[130]](#footnote-130) She furthermore published a collection of stories in 1985 entitled *Ḥikāyāt al-Ghūl* (“Tales of the Ghoul”) that had been compiled by the writer Fayez Al-Ghoul in 1966, thus drawing on folk tales and presenting them to children with some modifications and including suitable illustrations.[[131]](#footnote-131)

The 1987 First Intifada further encouraged diasporic writers to address Palestinian suffering through children’s stories. The depiction of resistance is apparent in children’s stories of this time, such as in Hani al-Titi’s (1959–) 1991 *Ghābat Ḥayfā* (“Forest of Haifa”) anthology, in the writer seeks to consolidate the values and principles of the struggle and to foster awareness of the Palestinian cause and its continual battle.[[132]](#footnote-132) Al-Hudhud continued to publish stories drawn from the history of the uprising. She wrote *Laylā wa-Fūrn al-Ṣumūd* (“Laila and the Furnace of Steadfastness”;1990), the short story “Sirr Sakkīn ʿĀmir wa-Majzarat al-Aqsā” (“The Secret of Amer’s Knife and the Al-Aqsa Massacre,” 1990), and stories of heroism for children from the reality of the Intifada entitled *al-Mulaththam wa-Jarīmat al-Aḥad al-Aswad* (“The Masked Man and the Crime of Black Sunday”;1993).[[133]](#footnote-133)

Some writers in the diaspora, such as al-Butairi, Shahla al-Kayyali (1942–), Rashid Issa (1951–), Munir al-Hur (1950–), refrained from directly mentioning the Intifada in their poetry and prose works but continued to highlight the Palestinian cause and the liberation movement either directly or through coded language. In the 1990s, there were a number of writers in the diaspora who devoted most of their literary production to children, whether short stories, poetry, plays, or novels. Poets such as al-Zaher, al-Butairi, al-Shalabi, and Issa continued to write for children and their collections were printed, sung on cassette tapes, or otherwise disseminated. The publications of these four poets represent almost half of those published for children in that decade.[[134]](#footnote-134)

Along with these already described developments, new topics and new ways of presenting topics emerged, such as those relating to the environment, nature conservation, and human rights. We find, for example, some of al-Zaher’s poetry, such as *Kawākib al-Asrār* (“Planets of Secrets”;1996), revolving around the issue of children’s rights.

Some writers, inspired by events and personalities from history, continued to document these in their stories. The works of Al-Hudhud are notable in this regard, particularly her short story collection *Ḥikāyāt al-Arḍ al-Ṭayyiba* (“Tales of the Good Land”;1997),[[135]](#footnote-135) that introduces children to the heroic acts of their forebears. In this work, she states that the reason for her orientation toward history is that it is necessary for children to understand the heroism and events of the past in a format that they can accept, so that heroism is not presented in either a bland sloganizing or with a view to sowing hatred in the hearts of children.[[136]](#footnote-136)

*Palestinian Children’s Literature in the West Bank and Gaza After 1967*

The Israeli authorities imposed a blockade after their occupation of West Bank and Gaza them in 1967, naturally including a cultural embargo that inevitably negatively affected the cultural environment. This had an impact on enthusiasm for writing, with some authors leaving the craft permanently and others curtailing their productivity, whether because of the exceptional circumstances they found themselves in, or their direct involvement in the political struggle against the occupation, or due to being among the number of writers, such as Shuqair, who were deported from their homeland.

In the late 1970s, the literary movement in the West Bank and Gaza managed to move beyond the sense of suffering that had prevailed after the June setback in 1967 and writers resumed their literary activities, without any notable changes from the stylistics of the early 1960s. Writers’ intentions at that time were to document Palestinian realities and sufferings through realist stories, with Ibrahim al-Alam (1941–), Samia al-Khalili (1953–), and Ali al-Khalili (1943–2013) notable in this regard. These stories are distinctive in the bold way in which they expose children to the realities of life and prompt them, directly or via symbolism, to help change them. Realistic stories received increasing attention, with the national issue inhabiting much of everyday life experience and its tragic realities. Consequently, these stories bore the imprints of war and jihad against the enemy and addressed both the past and the present of the homeland question.[[137]](#footnote-137)

The First Intifada resulted in increased suffering of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza, and this was unsurprisingly reflected in the children’s stories of the time. There was a marked preoccupation in the Territories with both childhood and direct and unambiguous addressing of the conflict with Israel that was mired in violence.[[138]](#footnote-138) Writers took great care to incorporate their ideas and politics into the stories of childhood. Much vocabulary and imagery from the uprising, such as those of the martyr, the occupation, the arrests, and the resistance, became prominent. Writers also portrayed children’s encounters with the occupation and focused on depicting Israelis negatively as violent while portraying Palestinians positively as either victims or heroic resisters.[[139]](#footnote-139) Such characterizations appear in Jamil al-Salhout’s (1949–)1989 short story collection *al-Makhāḍ* (“The Ford”), all of whose protagonists are children. These stories describe another aspect of the suffering of the Palestinians and its impact on the life of the child – the arrest of fathers and their enforced absence from their families. Aida Ayoub’s (1950–) short story “Nūra,” from her 1990 anthology *Qiṣas lil-Aṭfāl min Wāqiʿ al-Intifāḍa* (“Stories for Children from the Reality of the Intifada”), reveals the suffering and loss the daughter experiences after her father’s arrest, as she prefers to remain silent so as not to burden her family with her cares.[[140]](#footnote-140)

During this period, writers interested in preserving the collective Palestinian memory through children’s literature appeared, such Abd al-Rahman Abbad (1945–), who wrote the collections *Dhākirat al-Burtuqāl* (“Memory of Oranges”;1988), *Dhākirat al-Zaytūn* (“Memory of Olives”;1990), *Dhākirat al-Nakhīl* (“Memory of Palms”;1991), and *Dhākirat al-ʿAṣāfīr* (“Memory of Birds”; 1992).[[141]](#footnote-141) These works map the chronic and acute exigencies of Palestinian life in all their social, religious, and patriotic dimensions. The image of the homeland that emerges in his writings symbolically express a sense of belonging and national identity.[[142]](#footnote-142)

The works of West Bank and Gazan writers diverged after the 1993 and 1995 Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This divergence emerged out of differing political affiliations and opinions on the Accords among Palestinian writers, which was reflected in some of their works. The sense of the “other” began to impose its presence in many stories’ agendas, especially among local and Palestinians who began returning following the Accords. We mention here, by way of example, Mahmoud Shuqair, who returned to the homeland in May 1993. In his story “*Qalat Maryām Qala al-Fatā*” (“Maryam Said, the Boy Said”; 1996), the conflict is depicted as a struggle between Eastern and Western civilizations, not between the strong, as represented by the Israelis, and the weak, as represented by the Palestinians. The writer also airs values new to children’s literature in this story, such as those related to freedom of thought and expression.[[143]](#footnote-143)

Comparing Abd al-Rahman Abbad’s works before and after Oslo, we find that the collection *Dhākirat al-ʿAṣāfīr*, published in 1996 after the Accords, features matters of pedagogy and cognition, since most of the stories in this collection are educationally and psychologically oriented.[[144]](#footnote-144) The writer sought to paint a new picture of the Palestinian child, as no longer merely rebellious, combative, and self-sacrificing, but also intelligent, inquisitive, tolerant, open to the world, and nature loving. This is also evident in Ali al-Khalili’s 1998 story “Mūsīqā al-Arghafa” (“Music of the Flatbreads”) in which he tries, through the child Ahmed, the hero of his story, and his family, to make observations on the transformations that have taken in Palestinian society in the West Bank and the Gaza after Oslo. The writer urges an end to the occupation while also, as one longing for peace, constructing a vision of a Palestinian state based on pluralism and tolerance as inevitable developments.[[145]](#footnote-145)

Muʾasasat Tāmir lil-Taʿlīm al-Mujtamaʿī (The Tamer Foundation for Community Education) was established in Jerusalem in 1989, subsequently moving its headquarters to Ramallah in the West Bank. The Foundation has worked on the development of children’s literature at all levels, issuing books of a variety of subjects, with the tendency toward realism prevalent in its publications.[[146]](#footnote-146) It also took works to provide books for children in the Occupied Territories through the publishing unit it established in 1992. In addition, it has encouraged children to write essays, stories, and poems for its magazine *Yirāʿāt* (meaning both “fireflies” and “pens”).

During this period, institutions, centers, and projects were established, such as the Awghārīt lil-Nashr wal-Tawziʿ (“Ugarit for Publishing and Distribution”) house in 1997,[[147]](#footnote-147) the Markaz Badīl (the Badil Center”) in 1998,[[148]](#footnote-148) the al-Mashrūʿ al-Waṭanī al-Tanmawī li-Adab al-Ṭifl al-Filasṭīnī (“National Developmental Project for Palestinian Children’s Literature”) in 1997,[[149]](#footnote-149) and Markaz al-Bīrah li-Tanmiyat al-Ṭufūla (“Al-Bireh Center for Childhood Development”; this last on the initiative of the Swedish Diakonia Foundation). All of them have tried to contribute, through studies and conferences as well as through writing and publishing, to shaping the character of Palestinian children, deepening their cultural capital, encouraging them to be creative, and fostering the reading habit, while elevating the status of books and making them available to every Palestinian child.

It is noticeable that the children’s stories written after the Al-Aqsa Intifada (2000–2005) were pacific in character and limited to affirming the right to resist for the sake of freedom. Naglaa Bashour’s (1947–) 2004 short story “*Shaʿnūnat al-ʿĪd*”, for example, makes observations on the siege of the Church of the Nativity during the Israeli invasion in 2002 while foregrounding the mutual Muslim-Christian tolerance and coexistence inside the church.[[150]](#footnote-150)

During this period, the number of authors who wrote for the young generation also increased significantly. Jamil al-Salhout published the novel *ʿAshsh al-Dabābīr* (“The Hornet’s Nest”) in 2007, Shuqair published the novel *Kawkib Baʿīd li-Ukhtī al-Malika* (“A Far-off Planet for my Sister, the Queen”) in the same year, foregrounding citizenship and patriotism by featuring aspects of the Palestinian cause.[[151]](#footnote-151)

Changes in values also affected the stories inspired by Palestinian folklore, with some writers drawing on it and on traditional methods of storytelling. In this field, Zakaria Muhammad (1950–), Sonya Nemr (1955–), al-Salhout, Sharif Kanaana (1936–), Nimr Sarhan (1937–), and others emerged. An example of this approach is Dima Sahwil’s 2009 short story “Riḥlat al-Sulṭān” (“The Sultan’s Journey”), which emulates the folktale style. The story revolves around promoting love for the Sultan as a lover of knowledge and not tyrannical in his opinions, noting that the advocacy of tolerance has a place here. We also find these changes reflected in the stories of Sherif Kanana, in which the Palestinian colloquial language is prominent and of which Kanana says that the folk tale template used serves primarily the enjoyment of those who hear it read aloud.[[152]](#footnote-152)

Given the publication of hundreds of stories for children in the West Bank and Gaza, we cannot even briefly cover all aspects of the topics at play here. However, we can affirm that nationalist values were not absent from children’s stories in the period after the Al-Aqsa Intifada; they were simply accompanied by the emergence of new values of openness, acceptance, understanding of the other, concern for the environment, and pacification.

During this period, the focus on children’s magazines also increased, in tandem with a strengthening use of cultural and religious symbols. Thus, for example, Muʾasasat al-Ashbāl wal-Zahrāt (“Lion Cubs and Flowers Foundation”), affiliated with the Fatah Movement, issued the *Waʿd* (“Covenant”) magazine, which covers various topics of interest to children, especially the understanding of Islam and its history. The *al-Fatḥ lil-Aṭfāl* (“Fatah for Children”) magazine for children, affiliated with the Islamic Movement in the West Bank, was also published in this period, with the goal of familiarizing Palestinian children with their homeland.[[153]](#footnote-153)

*Summary*

This chapter has covered the history of Palestinian children’s literature from 1967 to the present, showing how many Palestinian writers in Israel, in the West Bank, in Gaza, and in the diaspora have contributed to its development.

The 1960s were marked by the beginning of the emergence of new currents in children’s literature, including the trends toward realism and politics. Palestinian children’s literature took another turn in the early 1990s, as attempts to collate archives of Palestinian folklore and employ what they contained in children’s stories increased. This period was marked by great changes in the structure of Palestinian society inside Israel, in the West Bank, in Gaza, and in the diaspora, prompting a greater preoccupation with children’s literature.

Political events had a major influence on the content of stories aimed at children. The events of the First Intifada were reflected in children’s stories, with a strong focus on childhood and the conflict with Israel characterized by violence. After the Oslo Accords, the conflict was represented more as a struggle between Eastern and Western civilizations rather than between the powerful, represented by the Israelis, and the weak, represented by the Palestinians. Children’s stories written after the Al-Aqsa Intifada tended to have a pacific character and to limit themselves to affirming the right to resist for the sake of freedom.

**Chapter Three**

**Folk Heritage and its Forms**

**Folk Heritage**

**The Definition**

In order to focus on the importance of folk heritage on Palestinian children’s literature, we must first define “folk heritage” in general and “Palestinian folk heritage” specifically before reviewing the most important types of folk heritage under examination. The term “folk heritage”[[154]](#footnote-154) commonly refers to the material and moral heritage, both private and scholarly, inherited through a community’s ancestors.[[155]](#footnote-155) The scholar Ibrahim Mahawwi includes within folk heritage all the activities that typically represent daily nonverbal arts, such as folk music and dance as well as verbal arts, like folk songs, poetry, stories, legends of saints, riddles, jokes, and handmade folk crafts.[[156]](#footnote-156) Heritage is considered a vital means for linking past and present nationalism. In his book *Interpreting Folklore*, the anthropologist Alan Dundes maintains that heritage represents a fundamental element of the cultural identity of all peoples and plays a prominent role in consolidating the different conceptions linking people’s lives, history, and the meaning of their existence. Dundes adds that heritage serves to identify a group of people (regardless of their racial, ethnic, or religious background) that shares commonly recognized traditions.[[157]](#footnote-157)

The critic Roland Barthes view heritage as a scholarly and spiritual remnant from the past from which to draw inspiration for interpretation to reflect modern meanings. Literary modernity cannot continue without turning to heritage.[[158]](#footnote-158) According to anthropologist Shelagh Weir, heritage represents the backbone of national identity or patriotism, and without it, people lose the essentials of their being, as well as the rationale for their existence as a people. Thus, heritage becomes a symbol of national identity within every population and culture.[[159]](#footnote-159)

Despite the multiplicity of the concepts of heritage and the curricula for its study, there is a consensus among scholars and researchers that heritage must be linked to the present while also applying a modern vision to it that give rise to suggestive dimensions expressing the present.[[160]](#footnote-160)

**Interest in Folk Heritage: Its Origin and Directions**

Researchers[[161]](#footnote-161) agree that the scientific study of folklore emerged at the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the romantic and nationalistic movement in Europe.[[162]](#footnote-162) This movement came to be known as the Romantic Nationalistic School and its approach was focused on folk heritage. Thus, writers gravitated towards compiling folk stories, songs, and customs that reflect the past, subsequently enabling the reconstruction of ancient life by comparing folk stories and customs.[[163]](#footnote-163)

The “Brothers Grimm,” Jacob and William, who are credited as the first folklorists, emerged during Germany’s romantic period (1785–1859) and played a pioneering role in compiling folklore. They aimed to set national classics for the German people and preserve German identity during Napoleon’s conquests. With the aim of distinguishing German identity from that of the neighboring populations, they published a collection of German folk stories under the titles *Kinder und Hausmarchen* (1812) and *Deutsche Mythologie* (1812–1815).[[164]](#footnote-164)

With this, the study of folklore became exclusively linked to the peasant class. Indeed, Dundes confirms that the work of the Brothers Grimm marked the beginning of the study of folklore.[[165]](#footnote-165) At that time, folklore was considered a branch of sociology influenced by modern anthropology and, according to the British researcher Edward B. Taylor, by evolution as well. According to this theory, human evolution underwent several stages found in the folk life of communities whose traditional beliefs survived the advanced stages of human evolution and perhaps through which those older stages can be reconstructed.[[166]](#footnote-166)

 Furthermore, it is worth noting that at the turn of the 20th century, interest in folklore grew among the leading anthropologists responsible for establishing a branch of anthropology which focused on the study of folklore. From their focus on folk beliefs and legends,[[167]](#footnote-167) a new definition of the term “folklore” emerged: “oral transmission,” through which customs and traditions were passed on from one generation to the next without the need for orthographic documentation.[[168]](#footnote-168) Drawing on this new definition, researcher Grace Khoury maintains that folklore consists not solely of remnants from earlier ages, but is actually a live performance of individuals, evolving along with society’s development. Thus, folklore represents that persistence of humanity, thereby rendering folklore accessible to all.[[169]](#footnote-169)

The study of folklore took a new directioin in the 1960s, when researchers began studying heritage through texts in line with the work of the Russian folkloric researcher, Vladimir Propp,[[170]](#footnote-170) who proposed a general theory for the study of cultures in his book *The Morphology of the Folktale* (1977).[[171]](#footnote-171) This theory had a particularly strong impact on The Narrative School, which focused on the study of linguistics through the analysis of folk texts.[[172]](#footnote-172) This subsequently led to the development of formalist theories and curricula as independent studies in and of themselves. Folklore scholarship was strongly affected by this change, as it merged into a postmodernist context and shifted its focus to studying the issue of social identity among minorities.[[173]](#footnote-173)

Investigating the historical details of these European schools and the theories of the study of various schools folklore is beyond the scope of the present. Instead, the primary focus of this study is the influence of their adherents on the evolution of the study of folklore, especially the study of Arabic folklore.

**Arab Interest in Folk Heritage**

Modern scholars’ interest in the question of heritage began in the Arab countries after examining modern European cultures and opening up to western civilization. This interest crystallized during WWII and its aftermath in the 1950’s, when the Arab world began to achieve its political independence as the era of colonialism was coming to a close. Al-Barghouthi explains that the delay of Arab interest in heritage stemmed from their fear of colloquial Arabic’s tyranny on standard Arabic and, consequently, the Holy Quran.[[174]](#footnote-174)

Serious interest in folk heritage thus received a new impetus, especially after a series of defeats suffered by the Arabs, which were followed by the political and intellectual transformations that led to an emergence of republican regimes and the collapse of monarchial rule. These transformations encouraged the interest in heritage, which began to serve as an important source of inspiration due to its link to real life as an important patriotic legacy.[[175]](#footnote-175) This is evident in the increase of specialized scientific studies which started to emerge in some Arab countries, as can be seen in Ahmed Timor’s (1871–1930) posthumously published book, *Colloquial Proverbs and Writings and Imagination of the Shadow, Playing, and Photographed Statues* (1953). Ahmed Amin’s (1886–1954) book *The Dictionary of Egyptian Customs and Expressions* (1953), also evidenced an interest in heritage. After the Culture Directorate took over the Ministry of Education in 1945, patriotic motivations prompted the establishment of what came to be known as “The Folk University” which aimed to spread culture to the masses via lectures and symposiums. It also spurred a movement to translate important literature in the field of heritage into many languages;[[176]](#footnote-176) conferences were held that called for collecting and preserving heritage, as well as exploring how to form scholarly bodies at the national level (such as institutes for Arabic folkloric studies and national archives) and convene international and Arab meetings on folk heritage.[[177]](#footnote-177)

It should be noted that the 1960s are considered the period in which Arab countries became officially interested in heritage because of the increased challenges these countries faced, whether economic, social, or cultural in nature. This led to increased material and moral support for local efforts to preserve cultural, indeed, civilization identity of Arab society, as reflected in the emergence of local official foundations to preserve local heritage, as well as the founding of different museums in various Arab countries.[[178]](#footnote-178) This newfound emphasis on heritage arose from the region’s fear of losing part of its history, as studying the traditional practices prevailing in the region shed light on the social, intellectual, and political history.[[179]](#footnote-179)

In the early 2000’s, calls for the preservation, verification, and recording of heritage increased—perhaps globalization was the driving force for this increased interest, in addition to the pursuit of collecting and defining it as a means of preserving cultural identity.[[180]](#footnote-180) Furthermore, interest in heritage became more nationalistic after having been an Arab national interest.

**Palestinian Folk Heritage and Its Importance**

Folk heritage is one of the most important sources of identity for Palestinians, especially in light of the political situation that often threatens their very existence. This deep connection throughout history enables them not only to endure the difficult circumstances they may presently face, but also gives them faith in the future. Thus, heritage is important to Palestinians, supporting their unity as a people despite differences in gender, age, religion, and location.[[181]](#footnote-181)

In the 20th century, the Palestinian community endeavored to reconstruct its national identity and collective memory. In the past, Palestinians saw the past as an important tool in creating a national identity and attaining their vision of the future in which the young generation played a large role. In this respect, Al-Barghouthi observes that society’s education of its young about its cultural heritage is vital for the society itself, which is searching for its identity in the present and planning for its future.[[182]](#footnote-182) If we examine the historical development of interest in Palestinian heritage, we can see that scholars[[183]](#footnote-183) divided it into six stages. However, since this study confirms that beginnings of interest in heritage in children’s literature increased noticeably after 1987, we prefer to divide it into four separate stages, as explained in the sections below.

**Palestinian Folk Heritage in the Orientalism Stage (Until 1948)**

Foreign researchers[[184]](#footnote-184) became interested in the Arab countries in the aftermath of colonialism,[[185]](#footnote-185) and it is in this context that the Orientalist Movement[[186]](#footnote-186) began in Palestine. While they were in the region, European orientalists collected a considerable amount of folk heritage. However, among the many books and articles these European scholars published, Palestinian folk heritage was mentioned only fleetingly, as their work focused far more on the Torah and the Gospels.[[187]](#footnote-187) Later, as the elements of the study of folklore started to become defined and crystallized, some orientalists began showing an interest in Palestinian heritage. Finnish researcher Hilma Granqvist was at the forefront of folklorists who conducted in-depth and comprehensive studies of Palestinian society between 1925–1947. Her research yielded three publications, *Birth and Childhood Among Arabs*, *Children’s Dilemmas in Arab Society*, and *Marriage Traditions in a Palestinian Village*.[[188]](#footnote-188)

Between 1928–1942, German scholar Gustav Dalman published seven volumes entitled *Arabit Und Sitte in Palastina*, in which he describes all aspects of Palestinian daily life. He also published another book containing research and descriptions of folk songs in Palestine, Jordan, and Syria entitled *Palastinische Diwan.* During this period, European orientalists continued their studies on Palestinian folk heritage and life. According to Kan’aana, only a small number of Palestinian researchers[[189]](#footnote-189) joined these orientalists, publishing their research in *Journal of Palestinian Oriental Society.*[[190]](#footnote-190)Kan’aana further assertsthat the reason for the Palestinian researchers’ lack of interest in this topic during that period stemmed from their fear for Classical Arabic.[[191]](#footnote-191)

For the present discussion, we are primarily concerned with the Palestinian researcher Tawfiq Kan’aan (1882–1964) and his role in compiling and studying Palestinian folklore. Kan’aana considered, perhaps Kan’aan’s greatest contribution was his collecting of heritage and how he employed it, as his motivations were both the advancement of scholarly documentation and nationalistic. This enabled him to accomplish a quantum leap in increasing the interest in Palestinian heritage. Thus, according to researchers, Kan’aan’s works and writings make him “the undisputed spiritual father and founder of the Palestinian folkloric movement.”[[192]](#footnote-192) He published his studies in English in *Medical Journal Palestine*, where he focused on myths, folk medicine, seasons, holidays, shrines of saints, folk proverbs, and the traditional Palestinian home.

**After the Nakba (1948–1967)**

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and its first two decades of state-building, many Palestinians sought refuge in neighboring countries, taking their heritage with them. This heritage, as Al-Mahawwi states in his book *Who Forgot His Stock is Lost*, was a source of strength and resilience during this time.[[193]](#footnote-193) Thus, awareness about Palestinian identity increased, especially among the Palestinian diaspora, as they resorted to deepening their attachment to their homeland and heritage, as well as recreating their homeland in the refugee camps. Palestinian folkloric research became a means of defending Palestinian identity, especially in the wake of the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1964.[[194]](#footnote-194) However, the Palestinians who remained in Israel were cut off from the rest of Palestinian society after the mass exodus, leaving them a minority, despite having been the overwhelming majority prior to the establishment of Israel. Furthermore, they were subject to military rule, which forbade them from leaving their cities and villages without permission from the military.

**After the Setback (1967–1986)**

Kan’aana asserts that the War of 1967 marked the start of a new stage in the history of the development of the Palestinian folkloric movement, adding that it coincided with the expansion of the national liberation movement as well as the establishment of several Palestinian nationalist foundations, many of which focused on the conservation of Palestinian heritage.[[195]](#footnote-195) The Family Revival Association in Al-Bireh was the most important of these foundations, with reviving, preserving, and protecting Palestinian folk heritage at the forefront of its mission. It branched into The Committee of Social Research and Palestinian Folk Heritage,[[196]](#footnote-196) which was founded in 1972 and published *The Journal of Heritage and Society.* This journal, which still releases new editions,[[197]](#footnote-197) is considered one of a kind, as it focuses on studying and analyzing Palestinian heritage.[[198]](#footnote-198)

Interest in heritage increased after 1967, at the behest of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which by then had become the effective representative of the Palestinian people. At the same time, Palestinians were convinced they could achieve national liberation only by taking matters into their own hands and making their own destiny rather than relying on Arab states.[[199]](#footnote-199) In the late 1960’s, some studies on Palestinian heritage were published.[[200]](#footnote-200) Palestinians in Israel viewed their situation as a Palestinian minority in their own homeland as a threat to their existence, spurring their ambition to preserve their identity and heritage. Viewing this route as an alternative to political activism, they chose to express themselves through heritage, Dabke troops, dancing, folk music, folkloric festivals, seminars, and conferences.[[201]](#footnote-201)

In 1984, Salih Bransy (1928–1999) founded the Center for the Revitalization of Arab Heritage in the Palestinian Triangle area of Israel. This center initiated the convening of heritage conferences and festivals, the most important of which was The Jerusalem International Conference for Palestinian Folk Heritage in 1987. It also founded the heritage museum in the town of Sakhnin and published several studies about heritage. Tawfiq Ziyyad (1929–1994) was also interested in compiling heritage, expressing his motivations in his book *Pictures from Palestinian Folk Literature* (1974) and especially in “Let’s Save Our Folk Literature from Getting Lost.” He considered heritage a creation of the people themselves that is always open to modification from future generations. As a result, it is also in danger of being lost; hence the importance of compiling and recording the Palestinian folk heritage in writing.

In Ziyyad’s view, the younger generation must learn their heritage in order for them to absorb and build on their national and humanitarian traditions.[[202]](#footnote-202) Ziyyad wrote a series of articles about Palestinian heritage between 1967–1970, which were published in the Haifa-based journal *The New*. He also published studies entitled *On Literature and Folk Literature in Palestine* (1970) and *Nasrawi’s Daily Life in the Red Square* (1973), as well as a collection of stories from Palestinian heritage entitled *The Status of the World* (1975).

Tawfiq’s employment of heritage in his poems represents a semantic phenomenon with significant qualitative and quantitative significance, as can be seen in the use of heritage in stories, folk songs, customs and traditions, and folk proverbs.[[203]](#footnote-203) Palestinian writers in Israel (e.g., Emile Habibi (1921–1996), Jamal Kawar, Tawfiq Fayyad, Samih Al-Qasim (1939–2015) were inspired by heritage, using it to express national issues.[[204]](#footnote-204) Kan’aana asserts that the Palestinian folkloric movement belongs to the Palestinian national liberation movement, and that the success of the folkloric movement in the aftermath of the 1967 war reflects the success of the national liberation movement’s efforts to create a national identity.[[205]](#footnote-205)

**Post- *Intifada* to the Present**

The first *Intifada* erupted at the end of 1987, increasing patriotic and nationalistic sentiment, especially among Palestinian writers. Thus, interest in Palestinian heritage also increased, as well as the call to collect and preserve it,[[206]](#footnote-206) as Palestinians perceived the *Intifada* as a new, clearly-defined phase in their struggle against the occupation, seeing it as new way of living and thinking.[[207]](#footnote-207) The *Intifada* was the peak of the Palestinian national movement and Kan’aana maintains that evidence of the formation of the unity of the Palestinian people began in practice after 1967, although this unity first emerged only after the first *Intifada*.

As Kan’aana observes: “Today, Palestinians are confronted with the danger of the decay and loss of Palestinian identity. The danger is not that of physical genocide or the loss of land, but rather that of dissolution resulting from the loss of identity.”[[208]](#footnote-208) Subsequently, Palestinian writers became seriously interested in the importance of preserving the Palestinian heritage of that period. In this spirit, the researchers Ibrahim Mahawwi and Sharif Kan’aana compiled Palestinian folk stories and published them in English in a book entitled *Speak Bird, Speak Again* (1989),which was translated to Arabic in 2001.

*Speak Bird, Speak Again* is an important reference for Palestinian folk tales. In the book’s introduction, the researchers state that by collecting these stories, they aim to preserve the collective memory of the Palestinian people and strengthen their cultural identity, especially among the younger generations who live either under occupation or in the diaspora, as both groups are alienated from their society’s traditions.[[209]](#footnote-209)

British researcher Shelagh Weir published her book *Palestinian Folk Costume* in 1989 through the British Museum. In 1992, the Center for the Revival of Arab Heritage in Taibe, in Israel, adopted an initiative to preserve a collective Palestinian identity. In 1994, the center held a conference in Jerusalem, The First International Conference on Palestinian Folklore, with the aim of conveying “the voice of the Palestinian folkloric movement and consequently the voice of the Palestinian people to the rest of the world.”[[210]](#footnote-210) Interest in Palestinian heritage continued with the declaration of the Oslo Accords in 1993 and the establishment of the Palestinian government and its national institutions that also took responsibility for preserving and maintaining interest in Palestinian heritage. Indeed, the Palestinian folkloric movement can be said to be part of the Palestinian national liberation movement, in that they both faced the same problems and difficulties.

**Forms of Folk Heritage**

**Presentation**

Here we will shed light on the most important types of folk heritage, summarizing the most popular forms found in literature in general and more specifically in Palestinian children’s literature. After reading many compilations of children’s texts, we found that the authors had drawn on the most important forms of folk heritage; namely folktales, proverbs, and folk songs. While they did turn to other forms of Palestinian literature as well, they did so only occasionally, and thus does not contribute to the aims of the study. Thus, here we will simply summarize e the findings that are applicable to this book, as there are many studies that provide detailed explanations of the various genres of folk heritage.[[211]](#footnote-211) This chapter’s unique contribution is in its focus on defining Palestinian folk heritage.

**Folk Tales**

**The Concept of Folktales**

Before explaining the concept of folktales, we should first clarify that this study distinguishes between fairy tales and folktales.[[212]](#footnote-212) In order to prevent confusion, we will explore only the features of folktales. Folktales are considered among the oldest known forms and are a form of social expression through which a people’s reality and dreams are expressed.[[213]](#footnote-213) According to Nabila Ibrahim, folktales are pieces of information that connect past events and transmit them orally from one generation to the next, thereby creating the collective imagination connecting important events, people, and historical sites.[[214]](#footnote-214) As folktales have a flexible structure, they are open to omissions, additions, or substitutions, thus enabling stories to change according to social and cultural factors.

It is this flexibility that enables the folktale’s function to remain constant. According to Hassoona, “stories may differ in subject matter from place to place, and the details and purposes of the tale may change when it moves from one country to another.”[[215]](#footnote-215) Folktales are considered a means of human expression and are a literary device through which people can convey their thoughts, beliefs, and philosophies. Furthermore, the entertainment and suspenseful qualities of these tales, combined with their linguistic simplicity, aid in their preservation. Folktales represent cultural and spiritual aspects of life, offering significant glimpses into the past.[[216]](#footnote-216)

**Features of Folktales**

The artistic structure of folktales has semi-fixed components. These components, known as “Olrik’s Narrative Laws,” were set forth by Danish researcher Axel Olrik in 1909 after he carried out his research on European and Scandinavian folktales in particular.[[217]](#footnote-217) The researcher Aleeza Shinhar asserts that these rules are also applicable to children’s literature.[[218]](#footnote-218) The following are the central principles most applicable to our examination:

1. “The Law of Opening and Closing”: In the beginning of every folktale, the narrator attempts to grab the listener’s attention. The introductory phrase “once upon a time” is a customary opening in folktales and most folktales have a happy ending;
2. “The Law of Repetition”: A specific scenario is repeated and emphasized in folktales so that the recipient can relate to the main character;
3. “The Law of Contrast’: Folktales favor good characters over evil ones;
4. “The Law of Two to a Scene”: There are typically three main protagonists in a folktale: good, bad, and neutral. At the climax of the tale, the neutral character joins forces with the good character to defeat the bad character.

**Palestinian Folktales**

Palestinian folktales have several influences, the most important of which are historical factors, as these tales have preserved thoughts and facts from ancient eras. Geographical factors also have a strong influence on the structure of folktales, as they all contain elements of the Palestinian natural environment. Religion and the political and economic situations in Palestine have also influenced the content of the tales. Thus, it can be said that whatever shocks and afflictions the Palestinian people experienced left their mark on Palestinian folktales.[[219]](#footnote-219)

Along the course of history, Palestinian folktales have depicted various social stages, and they came to serve as a representation of social changes involving the Palestinian people’s right to freedom, ownership, and expression of free will. Hassoona emphasizes that folktales are one of the fundamental elements highlighting the historical and vital link to the Palestinian people.[[220]](#footnote-220) He adds that the obvious employment of Palestinian Arabic is one of the most important characteristics of Palestinian folktales.

**The Folk Proverb**

**The Concept of the Folk Proverb**

In her book, *The Proverb*, Wendy Peffer stresses the difficulty of defining the term “folk proverb” writing: “It is an integral part of our daily spoken language, and we have grown up hearing it and using it to express our needs, thus making it difficult to construe.”[[221]](#footnote-221) Nabila Ibrahim defines folk proverbs as the adages that encapsulate a philosophical concept.[[222]](#footnote-222) In Finnegan’s view, however, proverbs are abbreviated terms with a metaphorical quality.[[223]](#footnote-223) In his book *Palestinian Personality Traits as Expressed in Folk Proverbs,* Salim Al-Mubayyid contends that the folk proverb is the byproduct of a conscious experience balanced by reflection and intellect.[[224]](#footnote-224) Khoury, on the other hand, prefers the definition of folklore provided by Maghnia in the preface to his book *The Dictionary of Libyan Proverbs*: “a genre of colloquial literature distinguished by its eloquent brevity, simplistic style, and succinct meaning.”[[225]](#footnote-225) Hassoona defines folk proverbs as wise, eloquent sayings with deep meanings, spoken easily and simply by the population. They represent the epitome of a deep experience formed over a long time and passed on from generation to generation, reflecting and expressing meaningful and difficult historical experiences.[[226]](#footnote-226)

**Characteristics of Folk Proverbs**

Folk proverbs are the most widespread form of folktale, and thus they play an important role in highlighting the social and economic values in society. Through their circulation, the general public strives to deepen its moral standards, customs, traditions, and views. In this way, folk proverbs serve as forms of modern heritage.[[227]](#footnote-227) Chaim Weiss[[228]](#footnote-228) defined the main features of folk proverbs as: currency, repetition, the use of old-fashioned words, rhyming, and metaphors. Khoury added other features to this list, namely didacticism, imparts wisdom, is easy to memorize, and expresses a known truth.[[229]](#footnote-229)

**Palestinian Folk Proverbs**

Palestinian folk proverbs resulted from historical, geographic, literary, material, and economic factors combined with the customs and traditions of both the masses and the intellectual elite. Consequently, folk proverbs express people’s lives and feelings, as they emerge from the reality of their environment. In Abu Hanna’s view, Palestinian folk proverbs arise from a specific event or story.[[230]](#footnote-230) Ibrahim Abbas sees Palestinian folk proverbs as a result of residual echoes in the popular conscience of a record of life experiences, reflecting people’s customs, beliefs, concerns, occasions, and actions level of individuals and at the level of the group.at the individual and collective levels.[[231]](#footnote-231) The researcher Fatima Shaqir presents several characteristics distinguishing Palestinian folk problems, including:[[232]](#footnote-232)

1. The need for continuity in life in light of change being an essential part of life, as expressed in the folk proverb, “nothing is eternal.”[[233]](#footnote-233)
2. The paradoxical combination of words in the same proverb; “neither tall nor short nor swaddled in bed.”[[234]](#footnote-234)
3. The reflection of the Palestinian people’s daily life, beliefs, and social lives: “do not talk while eating.”[[235]](#footnote-235)
4. The folk proverbs are distinguished by their eloquence and match the words to the appropriate situation: “it is like being dressed in seven souls.”[[236]](#footnote-236)

**Folk Songs**

**The Concept of Folk Songs**

Fouzy Anteel defined “folk song” (*volkslied)*[[237]](#footnote-237) as a poem of unknown origin with music and lyrics. Folk songs originated among the masses in the past and remain in circulation for a long time.[[238]](#footnote-238) They are characterized by a myriad of social phenomena and can often more effectively express folk customs, traditions, and rituals than can more eloquent poetry. This is due to folk songs’ closeness to society on the one hand, and their association with social norms and traditions on the other hand.[[239]](#footnote-239) In contrast, Hassoona defines folk songs as an offshoot of folk literature, as folk songs are clearly connected to the environment in which they are circulated and to the circumstances in which they are sung before they gain widespread acceptance. Khoury adds that the most important distinguishing traits of folk songs are their direct connection to the melody, vocal performance, and the activation of movement.[[240]](#footnote-240)

**Folk Song Characteristics**

Ali Al-Khaleeli presents the most important folk song characteristics,[[241]](#footnote-241) namely the brevity of sentences and the use of old folk melodies, with their distinct communicative style. Within each melody are words relayed in colloquial Arabic. He adds that folk songs rely on their words for impact, with each song having a specific musical style based on the various meters of its poetry.[[242]](#footnote-242) Furthermore, he maintains that folk songs are characterized by their linguistic simplicity and delicate elocution, as they have no known composer or author, nor known date of composition.

**Palestinian Folk Songs**

Hassoona defines Palestinian folk songs as an art form within the realm of popular literature that originated in the colloquial Palestinian dialect and were created by one or more conveyers of heritage from the past. These songs resonated about the Palestinians, as they expressed what Palestinians truly cared about. As a result, they spread and were passed down from generation to generation. Ultimately, they were became anonymous, belonging to the people and expressing their collective emotions.[[243]](#footnote-243) They are characterized by concise phrases, catchy melodies and strong rhythms.[[244]](#footnote-244)

Khouri notes that Palestinian folk songs have gone through several stages, including the classical, romantic, realistic and socialist realism periods.[[245]](#footnote-245) Between the period spanning 1948–1967 during which the Palestinian people witnessed the *nakba* and the “setback of June,” Palestinian folk songs conveyed the national struggle, focusing on themes of migration, exile and yearning for the homeland.[[246]](#footnote-246) The researcher Nimer Serhan presents several distinguishing features of Palestinian folk songs, including their prevalence and popularity in Palestinian society, their oral transmission, and their anonymity.[[247]](#footnote-247)

1. For more on the concept of childhood, see Jenkins 1998: 1–48; Galbraith 2001; Townsend 1974: 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Aries 1962: 73–83; See also Shavit :1996: 15–65. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Aries 1962: 179; Baruch 1991: 35; Karkabi-Jerassy 2006: 33; Mashiach 2000: 35; Shavit 1996: 26, 27–29; Shikmanter 2007:9; [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Karkabi-Jerassy 2006: 33–34; Shavit 1996: 27–29. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Gabian 2011: 78; Shavit 1996: 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Hopkins1994: 314; Shavit confirms that the term “childhood” was formulated in a very slow fashion and first among the aristocracy before gradually being disseminated among all classes: Shavit 1996: 24–25. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Shavit 1996: 11 [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For more on this term, see Bordieu 2005: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Goldberg 1978: 45; Hastings 2008: 345; Shavit 1996: 8. 5 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Shavit 1996: 9–11. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. O’Sullivan 2005: 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For more on this, see Even-Zohar 1970: 286. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Chatman 1990: 21 [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. O’Sullivan 2005: 15; Shavit 1996: 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. For more on the “tacit writer,” see Shen 2011: 80; Harel 1991: 34; Mashiach 2000: 177; Nasie Horkin 2008: 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Lucas 2003: 14–15; Rodman 1993: 12–23 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Wilkie-Stibbs 1996: 179–230; See also Rose 1989: 54 and Jones 2006: 287–315 [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Wilkie-Stibbs 1996: 179–230 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Lesnik-Oberstein 1996: 56 [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Hatem 1966: 3 [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Zipes 2001: 65–121; See also Al-Shamas 2004: 102 and Shavit 1996: 34–56. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Zipes 2000: 14 [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Zipes 1995: 23 [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Zipes 200: 15; Zipes 2001: 155 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. The Brothers Grimm collected folk tales from peasant narrations, trying to preserve what they expressed. Their intentions were both nationalist and romantic at the same time. They sought to preserve the remnants of Teutonic culture and to contend that this culture was no less great than that of the Classical world. In many cases, they reworked the oral stories they had collected as they pleased and altered the tales to the standards of good taste appropriate to written literature. The Brothers Grimm began to combine multiple versions of the same story, as they thought, and came up with complex texts that were presented as if they were original. This was nothing more than an attempt by them to foster a legacy of national pride. Their manipulation of the spoken tradition served these national goals. See Kanaana and Mahawi 2001: 2–3. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Andersen wrote an 1835 collection of Danish popular folk tales called *Andersen’s Tales*, rewriting and reframing these tales for children. See: 144 Ben Amos 1975: 17; Hazan-Rokem 1991: 144; Regev 1969: 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Bacchilega 1997: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Abu Heif 2001: 112 [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Abu Heif 2001: 121. Al-Shamas emphasizes that writers must know the correct way to deploy topics drawn from folk heritage and how to reframing and redirect it for children to suit their real-life requirements, though they can add ideas that reflect the modern age and social norms: 2004: 102–103. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Al-Shamas 2004: 103–104 [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Hamami 1984: 116; Al-Shamas 2004: 103–105 [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ahmad 1989: 6–7 and 76–77; Jaber 2011: 21–23 [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Abu Heif 2001: 205 [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Abu Heif 2001: 205 [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Qarania 2009: 23 [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Khouri 2013: 60 [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Al-Dibaa 2009: 99–105 [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Miqdadi 2000: 45 [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Qarania 2009: 52 [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Qarania 2009: 204–207 [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Ghanem 2009: 251 [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Qarania 2009: 14 [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ami Elad Bouskilia, *Moledet Nechelmet, Eretz Avoda: Shisha Perekim beSefroot Palestinai* [“Dreaming Homeland, Lost Land: Six Chapters in the New Palestinian Literature”] (Or Yehuda: Maariv, 2001), 14–24 (Hebrew); Hillel Cohen, Aravei Palestin be Tkufat HaMandat: Leket Makorot [Palestinian Arabs in the Mandate Period: Collected Sources”] (Jerusalem, Acadamon, Hebrew University, 2001), 122 (Hebrew); Dorit Gutesfeld, Shalosh Megamot LeSefroot beIvrit 1967–1987: Iyun al Sipurayhem le Yeledim shel Salim Hour, Mustafa Murrar ve *ʿ*Abd-al-Latif Nasser [“Three Trends in Arab Children’s Literature in Hebrew 1967–1987: A Study of the Children’s Stories of Salim Khoury, Mustafa Murrar and Abd-al-Latif Nasser”] (BA Thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2002), 76 (Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Hussam al-Khatib, *Ẓilāl Filasṭīniyya fīl-Tajriba al-Adabiya* [“Palestinian Shadows on Literary Experience”], (Damascus: Al-Ahali lil-Nashr, 1990), 21–23 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. al-Asad 2000, 195–208; see also Sulayman Jibran 2006, *Naẓra Jadīda ʿalā al-Shiʿr al-Filasṭīnī fī ʿAhd al-Intidāb* [(“A New Theory on Palestinian Poetry in the Protectorate Era”], (Kufr Qaraʿ: Dar al-Huda), 16–18 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Jibran, *Naẓra Jadīda*, 16–18. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. al-Asad 2000, 195–208; Muhannad Muhammad al-Shaʿbi, *Madkhal ilā Adab al-Ṭifl al-Filasṭīnī: Dirāsa wa-Tarājim li-Kuttāb Adab al-Ṭifl al-Filasṭīnī* [“Introduction to Palestinian Children’s Literature: Study and Translations of Palestinian Children’s Literature”], (Damascus: Dar al-Yanabiʿ, 2002), 25 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Beidas, a pioneer of the modern Arabic short story in Palestine, graduated from the Russian Teachers’ College (the Seminary”) in Nazareth and spoke Russian fluently. He was familiar with writers like Pushkin and Tolstoy and translated many of their works into Arabic. See Salwa ʿAlaynat, *Bayn al-Tarbiya wal-Hawiya, Baʿḍ min Malāmiḥ al-Adab al-Ṭifl fī Isrāʾīl* [“Between Education and Identity: Some Observations on Children’s Literature in Israel”], (“Anthology of Studies of Modern Palestinian Literature, Vol. 5), (Baqat al-Gharbiyya: Al-Qasimi College, 2014), 16 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Jibran, *Naẓra Jadīda*, 18 [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. al-Asad 2000, 31–35 [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Muhammad Isʿaf al-Nashashibi, *Ashʿār ʿArabiyya* [“Arabic Poems”], (Jerusalem: No Publisher, 1927a) (Arabic); *Al-Bustān: Majmūʿ Anāshīd lil-Ṭifāl* [“The Garden: A Collection of Songs for Children”], (Cairo: No Publisher, 1927b) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Jihad Ahmad Salih, *Muhammad Isʿāf al-Nashashibī* [“Muhammad Isʿaf al-Nashashibi”], (Ramallah: Al-Ittihad al-ʿAmm lil-Kuttab wal-Adabaʾ al-Filastiniyin, 2010b), 12 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Iskander al-Khoury al-Beitjali, *Al-Ṭifl al-Munshid* [“The Child Singer”], (Jerusalem: Maktabat Bayt Al-Muqaadis, 1936) (Arabic); *Al-Mithl al-Manẓūm* (“The Poetic Ideal”],(Jerusalem: Maktabat Bayt Al-Muqaadis, 1937) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Mari Jamil Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir Thaqāfat al-Ṭifl al-Filasṭīnī* [“An Indication of the Resources and Sources for Palestinian Children’s Literature”], (Ramallah: Muʾassasat Tamir lil-Taʿlim al-Mujtammaʿi, 2007), 38 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Khalil al-Sakakini, *Al-Jadīd fī al-Qirāʾa al-ʿArabiyya* [“The New in Arabic Reading”], (Jerusalem: No Publisher, 1933) (Arabic); *Al-Jadīd* [“The New”], (Jerusalem: No Publisher, 1942) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. *Mawsūʿ Filasṭīn* [“Palestine Encyclopedia”], Vol. 4, 242 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Ishaq Musa al-Husseini *Mudhakirāt Dajaja* [“Recollections of a Chicken”], (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿarif, 1944), (Arabic); *Ahmad al-Mudallal* [“Ahmad the Pampered Child”], (Cairo: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1947(a)), (Arabic); Ayām al-Shitāʾ [“Winter Days”], (Cairo: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1947(b)), (Arabic); Wardān al-Mudallal [‘The Pampered One’s Flowers”], (Cairo: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1947(c)), (Arabic); Wardān al-Wafī [“The Faithful One’s Flowers”], (Cairo: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1947(d)), (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 127 [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Al-Shaʿbi, *Madkhal ilā Adab*, 30 [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Khaula Abu Bakr, Ha Socialization HaPolitit shel HaYeled HaPalestini beEmtzaut HaSefroot HaYeledim HaPalestinim [“The Political Socialization of the Palestinian Child through Palestinian Children’s Literature”],(BA thesis, Haifa University, 1990) (Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Al-Shaʿbi, *Madkhal ilā Adab*, 37 [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. On the political and economic circumstances after the 1948 Nakba, see Nafida Jarbawi and Nakhla Khalil *Tamkīn al-Ajyāl al-Filasṭīniyya: Al-Taʿlīm wal-Taʿallum Taḥt Ẓurūf Qāhira* [“Empowerment of the Palestinian Generations: Teaching and Learning Under Oppressive Conditions”] (Ramallah: Muwatin, al-Muʾassat al-Filastiniyya li-Dirasat al-Dimuqratiya, 2008), 26–54 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Manʿam Haddad 1945; *Ṭāʾir al-Burhajān wa-Qisas Ukhrā: Mukhtārāt min al-Qisas al-Shaʿbiya al-ʿArabiya fī Isrāʾīl* [“The Glitter Bird and Other Stories: Selections from Popular Arabic Stories in Israel”], (Haifa: Bayt al-Karma,1978) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Georges Najib Khalil, *Alḥān al-Ṭālib* [“The Schoolchild’s Tunes”], (Nazareth: Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥakīm, 1956); *Mabādiʾ al-Qawāʾid al-ʿArabī* [“Principles of Arabic Rules”], (Nazareth: Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥakīm, 1966); *Aʿlām al-Sanābil* [“Signs of the Wheatsheaf”], Haifa Bunīrā Awfsita, 1977) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Mahmoud Abbasi, *Abū al-Anbiyāʾ* [“Father of the Prophets”], (Acre: Dar al-Jalil, 1969); *ʿAwdat ʿAlī Bābā* [“Ali Baba’s Return”], Haifa, Masrah al-Karma, 1976); *Ṣāniʿ al-Maʿrūf* [“Maker of the Known”], (Shafar Amru, Dar al-Mashriq, 1986) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Mahmoud Abu Fanna, “*Ittijahāt Jadīda fī Adab al-Aṭfāl al-Maḥlī*” [“New Directions in Local Children’s Literature”], *Mirāyā fī al-Naqd: Dirāsāt fil-Adab al-Filasṭīnī* [“Critical Reflections: Studies in Palestinian Literature”], (Kafr Qara: Dar al-Huda, 2000), 23; Mahmoud Abu Fanna, *Al-Qissa al-Wāqiaʿiyya lil-Aṭfāl fī Adab Salīm Khūrī* [“The Realistic Story for Children in the Literature of Salim Khoury”], (Haifa: Arab Academic College for Education in Israel, 2001), 43. (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Mahmoud Abu Fanna, *Āfāq Jadīda: Dirāsāt wa-Abḥāth fī Adab al-Aṭfāl, al-Manāhij wal-Asbāb* [“New Horizons: Studies in Children’s Literature, Programs and Causes”], Nazareth: Da*ʾ*irat al-Thaqafa al-ʿArabiya, 1996), 95 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. ʿAlaynat 2013, 13 [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Elad, 2001, *Moledet Nechelmet*, 14–27. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Ghunayim 1995, 46–47 [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Rafiʿ Yahya, *Taʾthīr Alf Layla wa-Layla ʿalā Adab al-Aṭfāl al-ʿArabī* [“The Influence of the *1,001 Nights* on Arab Children’s Literature”], (Haifa: Arab Education College, 2001), 218 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Mustafa Murrar *Al-Tīn wal-Shayātīn* [“The Mud and the Little Devils”], (Tel Aviv: Dar al-Nashr al-ʿArabī, 1974); *Al-Mashrūʿ* [“The Project”], (Tel Aviv: Dar al-Nashr al-ʿArabī, 1987); *Silsilat Awrāq Maṭrūd al-Halwānī* [“Collection of Matrud al-Halwani’s Papers”], (Shafa ʿAmru: Dar al-Mashriq, 1988) (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Rafiʿ Yahya “*Ṣūrat al-Iḥtilāl fī Adab al-Ṭifāl al-Filasṭīnī*” [“The Image of the Occupation in Palestinian Children’s Literature”], *Muʾatamar al-Aṭfāl al-Filasṭīnī* [“Palestinian Children’s Internal Conference”], (Acre: Child Cultural Center, 2006), 201–27 (Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. ʿAbd-al-Latif Nasser, *Ṣawṣ Fādī* [“Saws Fadi”], (Nazareth: Matbaʿat Firas, 1981); *Anā Lā* [“Not I”], (Nazareth: Matbaʿat Firas, 1982); *Al-Ḥiṣān wal-Watad* [“The Horse and the Tether”], (Nazareth: Matbaʿat al-Jalil, 1983a); *Al-Fāq wal-Bulbul wal-Dūrī* [“The Death, The Nightingale, and the House Sparrow”], (Nazareth: Matbaʿat al-Jalil, 1983b); *Qashrat al-Butuqāl al-Ṭāʾisha* [“The Skin of the Stray Orange”], (Nazareth: Matbaʿat al-Jalil, 1984); *Malikat Jamāl al-Zuhūr* [“The Flower Beauty Queen”] Matbaʿat al-Jalil, 1985. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Salwa ʿAlaynat emphasizes Nasser’s political role in the Communist Party and its impact on his political awareness, his view of the Palestinian issue, and his criticisms of the authorities, not just the Israeli ones but also those of the neighboring Arab countries: See “*Bayn al-Tarbiya wal-Hawiya*,” 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. On Nasser’s works, see Yahya 2002, 232 and ʿAlaynat “*Bayn al-Tarbiya wal-Hawiya*,” 15–17. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. ʿAyshan 1974, 1979, 1980, 1989, 1991(a), 1999(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Yahya 2002, 225 [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 55 [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 158 [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Badarneh 1989, 1996, 1997(a), 1997(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Interview with Badarneh on 12 January 2014 [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. See Abu Hajla 2006, 563–68 [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 158 [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. See http://myschool.co.il/daraltiflar [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. See http://www.qsm.ac.il/web/Main.aspx?did=67&pid=0 [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. ʿAlaynat “*Bayn al-Tarbiya wal-Hawiya*,” 12 [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Ali 1995, 1996, 2011(a), 2011(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Kanana 1999 [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Sawalha 2006 [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Interview with Kanana, 11 April 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Abbasi 2001, 2002(a), 2002(b), 2006(a), 2006(b), 2006(c), 2011 [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Interview with Abbasi 5 August 2014 [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Ayshan 1991(a), 1991(b), 2001, 2002 [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Jabbarin 2000, 2002(a), 2002(b), 2002(c), 2003(a), 2003(b), 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Hussein 2004, 2006(a), 2006(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Hamad 2014, 48–50 [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Nemer 1996, 2002 [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Araydi 2002 [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Hijazi 2012, 2014 [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Hijazi 2008, 5 [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Bat Sheva Chernitsky, HaBiniat Zehut Palestinit Collectivit beEmtzaut Sefroot Yeledim [“Building a Collective Palestinian Identity through Children’s Literature”] (BA thesis, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008), 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Fasha 2011, 61 [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Fasha 2011, 49–51 [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Ahmad 1989, 20; Of those studies which indicate the programmatic differences, of course due to organizational differences, see particularly Bashawwar 1978 and Uthman 1981. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Miqdadi 2000, 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. ʿAlyanat 2013, 9 [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Al-Musallih 1999, 43–45 [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Abd-al-Hadi 1945(a), 1945(b), 1950, 1952, 1953 [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. al-Masry 1957(a), 1957(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. al-Ghoul 1959, 1966(a), 1966(b) [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. ʿAlyanat 2013, 10 [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Miqdadi 2000, 45 [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Ahmad 1989, 6; see also al-Shaʿbi 2002, 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Shuqair 1975, 1977, 1986, 1988 [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. al-Butairi 1983, 1986(a), 1986(b), 1987 [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Miqdadi 2000, 29–34 [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Nahla, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1988 [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Miqdadi 2000, 34 [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Al-Shalabi 1979, 1982, 1986, 1988 [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Miqdadi 2000, 45 [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Al-Shaʿbi, *Madkhal ilā Adab*, 33 [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 107 [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Asʿad 2006, 72 [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Miqdadi 2000, 33 [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Ahmad 1989, 34–45 [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Miqdadi 2000, 61–63 [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Miqdadi 2000, 45 [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. al-Hudhud 1992, 2 and 12–19 [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 225 [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. ʿIsi 2007, 76 [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 224 [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Miqdadi 2000, 71 [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Ahmad 1989, 79–82 [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Salo Alinanat, Yaldut beConflict: Itzog Conflictim beSefroot HaYeledim Palestinianim be shanim (1987–2000) [Childhood in Conflict: Representation of Conflicts in Palestinian Children’s Literature between the Years (1987–2000) (BA thesis, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Studies of children’s literature in the West Bank and Gaza during the First Intifada pre-eminently include that of Salwa ʿAlaynat, who finds that children’s stories reflect the internal and external conflicts as being between generations, classes, and cultures. She also finds that Israelis are represented in all the violence experienced by children in the invasion and destruction of their homes, exchange of gunfire, arrests and so on (2012, 13–47). Rafiʿa Yahya also indicates that the content of children’s stories of this period vary between reportage and comical styles, as is familiar in children’s literature generally (2006, 43–62). Walid Ihshish finds that there is a distinction between writers with regard to which patriotic values they focus on and that the image of self-sacrifice and martyrdom is very evident in these tales (1991, 35–51). [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. ʿAlaynat 2012, 28 [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Fasha, *Dalīl Mawārid wa-Maṣādir*, 6–239 [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. al-Karaki 2014, 121–58 [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. ʿAlaynat 2012, 32–33 [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. al-Karaki 2014, 121–58 [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Shuqair 2010, 29–30 [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Badwan 2005, 21–22 [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Badwan 2005, 21–22 [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. See http://www.badil.org [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. See http://www.children-literature.edu.ps [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Fasha 2011, 12 [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Shuqair 2011, 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. The 2001 collection *Qawl yā Ṭayr* contains 45 stories which Sherif Kanana confirmed, in my 15 January 2013 interview with him, that they were preserved in the colloquial dialect because it was an important way to teach national identity. Hence the stories are read aloud in public, not read in book form. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Chernitsky, HaBiniat Zehut Palestinit Collectivit, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. “Folk heritage” is the Arabic term recommended as a substitute for the famous foreign term, “folklore,” which was first used in 1846 when British researcher Willian John Thomas recommended its usage as a name for the field that teaches customs, traditions, practices, legends, epics, and proverbs (Serhan, p. 20; see also: Thomas 1968: 21–34); Khoury 2013: 19). In order to avoid confusion, this study will use the term “folklore” to denote the scientific study of the field of folk heritage and the Arabic term “folk heritage” to refer to the same cultural materials in the applied study. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. According to Al-Munasira, heritage is one level of the national and patriotic culture of a people. This level is related to the formation of emotions and spirituality. It transcends the shifts of folk history, as evidenced in its dialectical literature written by a known or anonymous individual and becoming an essential part of the collective consciousness. Heritage, which people receive from their parents (2007: 29–33), moves chronologically across the past, present, and future, thereby imbuing it with an immense emotional impact (Al-Munasira 2009: 7–9); Al-Mutawwir defines folklore as comprising the entire formation of ideas, beliefs, morals, laws, and language and encompassing all the tools, instruments, weapons, and other inventions that people find suitable for use in their lives. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Mahawwi (2000: 16–17). For the significance of the term folk heritage see: Kan’aana (1981: 25). Al-Jawhari also dedicated an entire chapter to defining the concept of this term in his book *Studies in the Science of Folklore*, detailing its elements. (Al-Jawhari 1998: 37–58). [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Dundes 1980: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Barthes 1994: 65. See also: Al-Jabiri who ascertains the importance of heritage as a unifying element for identity in Arabic communities and describes it as a component of the Arab psyche and a fundamental element for its unity. According to Al-Jabiri, heritage forms one of the pillars of cultural identity (1999: 23). [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Weir 1989: 273. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Mabrook 1986: 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. For more on the study of folklore see: Lowie 1929: 12–34. Interest in folklore began in the 19th century with the beginning of the industrial revolution and the renaissance movement of that period. The 19th century represents an important stage in the development and expansion of the field of humanities (Krappe 1964: 112–345). [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. For elaboration on the romantic movement see: Hilal 1986: 12–123. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Al-Jawhari 1975: 48-58; Al-Anteel 1978: 11–27. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Friedrich 1973: 44–156. For the patriotic motivations of “the Brothers Grimm” see: Alqam 1993: 5; Khoury 2013: 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Dundes 1980: 2–9. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. According to Taylor’s theory, human evolution underwent three stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization, respectively (Dundes 1980: 3). [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. James George Frazer (1854–1941) is considered one of the pioneers who laid the ground work for the study of folklore, mostly notably *The Golden Bough*(1890) and *Folklore in Old Testament* (Al-Anteel 1978: 161–226; Alqam 1993: 10–11). [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Khoury 2013: 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Khoury 2013: 20–21. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Propp 1977: 12–24. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Propp 1977: 12–24. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Hazan-Rotem 1997: 5–13. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. On the late emergence of interest in heritage among Arabic, see: Al-Mutawwir 2007: 25. In this regard, Khoury says that the Arab nations were under foreign rule for centuries, first Ottoman, and then European colonialism. He adds that, in the wake of their independence, these nations began to recognize the importance of folklore in confirming national identity and some Arab governments took an interest in traditional and folk intellectual and artistic cultural heritage (Khoury 2013: 60). [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Al-Barghouthi 1988: 10–24. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Khoury 2013: 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Ahmed Rushdi Saleh translated the book *Folklore* (1967) by Alexander Krappe. Similarly, Nabila Abraham translated James George Frazer’s *Folklore in Old Testament* (1973) and the German fairy tale by folklorist Friedrich von der Leyen Friedrichvonder (Alqam 1993: 29). [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Alqam 1993: 32–33. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. The Center of Folk Arts was founded in Egypt in 1957. The center’s main aim was the compilation of nationalistic heritage from across Egypt and organizing it in a scientific archive. The Committee for Folk Arts was founded in Libya and Tunisia. In Iraq, a special department for the arts and folk culture was founded within the Ministry of Information, and in 1971, a government legislation was passed to found the Center of Folklore which aimed to study Iraqi folk heritage specifically. The Center for Folk Arts was founded in Kuwait in 1965 to compile and organize Kuwaiti heritage. Furthermore, the Culture Directorate which focused on Jordanian heritage was founded in Jordan. The directorate explores folklore, and its most important objectives are to collect aspects of material, social, intellectual and artistic life (Alqam 1993: 31). [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. A folklore museum was founded in Libya and boasted many departments, including folk medicine, music, tools, and folk attire. There are also several museums in Morocco which display folk materials. Syria has a museum of Syrian customs and traditions, and Iraq has a museum dedicated to Baghdadi folk traditions and another to folk costumes. In Kuwait, there is a museum displaying models of material life such as costumes, shipbuilding materials and fishing methods (Aqlam 1993: 32). [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Ismail 2009: 253–266. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Mahawwi 2000: 16–17. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. Al-Barghouthi 1988: 40–43. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Kan’aana 2000: 35–53. Compare: Al-Mutawwir 2007: 20–25. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Or, as Kan’aana calls it “the beginning of the Arab nationalist ideology stage” (2011: 144). [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. It is necessary to point out the importance of the Palestinian land and its holiness. Palestine attracted the attention of many foreigners. Visitors wrote diaries and books about what they saw, and researchers in various fields of arts and sciences, especially archaeologists, historians, geographers, and folkloric scholars wrote many books and published many studies about the various aspects of folk life (Biseeso 1983: 22). [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. “Orientalism” is the name given to the different academic branches dedicated to studying the languages and cultures of the East. “Orientalist”, on the other hand, is a westerner who studies the heritage of the East, such as India, Iran, China, Japan, the Arab world, and other Eastern nations (Said 1981: 2; Haddad 1991: 86). [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Al-Mutawwir 2007: 21; Kan’aana 2011: 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. For elaboration see: Kan’aana 2000: 159–172; Al-Mutawwir 2007: 21–22. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. Some Palestinian researchers took an interest in studying everything related to Palestinian heritage. One such researcher was Estefan Estefan (1899–1949) who was interested in Palestinian folk tales. Arif Al-Arif (1891–1973) published *Time with the Bedouins* (1934), while Amr Salih Al-Barghouthi (1894–1965) focused on village customs and traditions. Mustafa Al-Dabbagh (1898**–**1989) published *The Village School* (1935) and *The Ancient History of The National World* (1951). Meanwhile, Issa Al-Musso (1923**–**2003) was interested in Palestinian folk proverbs (Al-Barghouthi 1988: 32–40). [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. The first issue was published in Jerusalem in October 1920 and was released annually until its 19th issue in 1939. The 20th issue was not published until 1946, after nearly a seven-year hiatus. In June 1948, the 21st and final issue was released. The journal boasted a diverse range of studies on languages, literature, history, folklore, and the antiquities of the ancient Near East. Four Palestinian researchers contributed to this journal, (most of whom specialized in folklore): Estefan Estefan, Elias Haddad, Omar Salih Al-Barghouthi, and Tawfiq Kan’aan (Aqlam 1992: 214**–**215). [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Kan’aana 2000: 47–53; Al-Mutawwir 2007: 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Kan’aana 2000: 175**–**182. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. Mahawwi 2000: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Al-Munasira 2009: 8–9; Kan’aana 2011: 393–399. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Al-Munasira 2009: 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. The aims of the committee include compiling everything that was written, photographed, recorded, or said about Palestinian heritage cross linguistics and archiving it in the Center for Social Research of the Family Welfare Society. The aims of the society are to publish studies about Palestinian folklore and to translate everything written about Palestinian heritage (in any language) into Arabic. It also strives to found a museum of Palestinian heritage (Aqlam 1993: 211–213). [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. A visit to this association on 12/3/2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. Rabee’ 1974: 28–58. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Kan’aana 2000: 50–51. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. Among the most notable works of that period are: Abd Al-Latif Al-Barghouthi’s (1928–2002) study “Folk Songs in Jordan and Palestine” (1963), Omar Al-Sareesi’s (1938–2013) “Palestinian Folk Tales” (1972), Fayyiz Ali Al-Ghoul’s compilation of stories, namely *The World is Stories*, *Legends from my Country*, and *Tales of the Forefathers* (1964–1968), Nimer Serhan’s collection of books on heritage published between 1964 and 1974, namely *Reviving Folklore*, *Canaanite Architecture in Palestine*, *The Encyclopedia of Palestinian Folklore*, *Our Folk Songs in the West Bank*, and *Palestinian Folktales*. Additionally, Yusra Arneeta published Palestinian Folklore in 1968, while Nabil Alqam published The Introduction to the Study of Folklore (1976). Ali Al-Khaleeli (1943–2013) published *The Introduction to the Study of Fables and Work Songs* (1979). [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. There were individual initiatives to erect other foundations dedicated to heritage. ‘Abd Al-Hakim Samara published the journal *The Path* between 1959–1988. He also founded *The Sun Post* in 1993 and, in 2004, he founded The Invisibility Foundation to compile and verify Arabic publications (Mahawwi 2000:25–26). [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. Ziyyad 1974: 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. Ziyyad 1974: 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Khoury 2004: 26–33. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Kan’aana 2011: 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Khoury 2013: 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Kan’aana 1992: 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Kan’aana 2011: 155. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. In the introduction to *Speak Bird*, Anthropologist Alan Dundes said that the book is important for an array of reasons, some of which are political. He added that these stories belong to the Palestinian people and that regardless of one’s view towards the erection of an Israeli state in 1948, one cannot deny that it left the Palestinian people fragmented and displaced. He added that it is similar to what colonial states did when they claimed ownership of already-inhabited land (Mahawwi & Kan’aana 2001: 1–6). [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Kan’aana 2013: 166. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. See Khoury 2004; 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Hassoona 2006: 119; see also Khoury 2004: 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Hasoona 2006: 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Hassoona 2003: 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Hassoona 2006: 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Al-Ashhab 2001: 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Dundes 1965: 123–233. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Shenhar 1982: 8 [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Al-Ashhab 1994: 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Al-Ashhab 1994: 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. Peffer 1997: 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. Ibrahim n.d.: 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Finnegan 1981: 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. Al-Mubayyid 1986: 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Khoury 2004: 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Hassoona 2002: 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Hasoona 2002: 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Wiess 200: 166–186. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Khoury 2004: 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Abu Hanna 1994: 121–123. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Abbas 1989: 16–17. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Shaqir 2012: 54–55. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Lubani 1999: 565. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Lubani 1999: 677. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Lubani 1999: 676–677. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. Lubani 1999: 741. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. The term *volkslied* was coined by the German scholar Herder in 1773 and its translation spread to different European languages. Arabs adopted this term and translated it to “folk song” (Khoury 2013: 42). [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. Al-Anteel 1978: 245. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. Alloush 2001: 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Khoury 2013: 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Al-Khaleeli 1979: 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Al-Khaleeli 1979: 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Hasoona 2006: 25–26. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Al-Khaleeli 1979: 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. For elaboration on Palestinian folk songs see: Khoury 2013: 97–173. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. Hassoona 2006: 376. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Serhan 1989: 52–83; Compare: Alloush 2001: 11–20; Compare: Khoury 2004; 70–72. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)