other forms of national expression are so repressed, these visible symbols are cathected with passionate national feeling. The *kufiya*, on the manifest level a mere item of everyday apparel, is one such substitute representation.[4]

Where and how did this symbol emerge? Its affective power flows in part from its association with the peasant or *fallah*, its "traditional" wearer. The *kufiya* is just one of an array of rural symbols, including the olive tree, *za'tar* (wild thyme), the embroidered dress, and the folk dance, which are widely regarded as tokens of the Palestinian nation and its permanence in the face of occupation. Nationalist discourse has fashioned the peasant into a signifier of the cultural and historical continuity and authenticity of the Palestinian people. As the West Bank village is drastically transformed—as agriculture employs progressively fewer people and is economically marginalized even as it becomes capital intensive and technologically sophisticated, as villagers increasingly depend upon wage labor in Israel and remittances from abroad to subsist—the image of the *kufiya*-garbed traditional peasant becomes a sort of nationalist simulacrum. The dangers Israeli occupation and land expropriation pose to rural life magnify the affective force of rural imagery. When less than 30 percent of the population makes its living from agriculture, the symbolic value of the rural way of life has increased. And as "transfer"—the wholesale expulsion of Palestinians from the territories—becomes an increasingly popular and respectable "solution" in Israel, one clings all the more fiercely to those symbols of rootedness.

The peasant equally signifies the national struggle. Official Palestinian nationalist discourse has fostered the image of a people endowed with a "struggle identity" (Sayigh 1979), engaged in continuous battle against invaders. While identification of the peasantry with nationalist struggles stems from the *fallah*'s central role in the 1936 revolt, the peasant's representative power as a symbol of struggle was acquired through an erasure of internal differences and the forgetting of social antagonisms.

It is out of that disparate history that the *kufiya* emerged as a unifying national symbol. Prior to the outbreak of rebellion in 1936, the cotton *kufiya* (also known as the *hatta*) was one element in a complex and dynamic code of dress that marked people by rank, region, sect, age and gender. The *hatta*, usually white, was worn almost exclusively by the men of the countryside, both peasants