Utrecht University

"I Would Rather Allow a Palestinian to Fly a Fighter Plane, than I Would License a Palestinian Tour Guide"

Tourism as a Means of Nonviolent Resistance Against the
Israeli Occupation in Palestine

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"I Would Rather Allow a Palestinian to Fly a Fighter Plane, than I Would License a Palestinian Tour Guide"[1]

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[1] Quote by Moshe Dayan, former minister of defense (in Landy 2008)

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

When we get out of the crowded, loud, smelly and chaotic Souq in the old city of Hebron and we gratefully enjoy a slight calmer atmosphere while the tour guide is re-gathering his group, our attention is drawn to a bunch of approximately twelve children – carefully observed by five Israeli soldiers – expectantly gathering at the entrance gate towards one of the Israeli settlements that is located inside the old city. The tourists, intimidated and confused by the presence of the heavily armed soldiers, come to a halt while the guide eagerly tries to regain our attention, signing for us to come and witness the spectacle. As we approach the gate, covered with white and blue Israeli flags, we come to understand the kid's attraction to the scene: the gate to the settlement is opened, providing a good view over the empty streets that were once part of the city their parents used to love. An old man who has silently approached from his shop behind us, mumbles: "This is like a cinema to them, getting a glimpse of those areas they have never been allowed to enter". The tourists are stunned, paralyzed by the small outburst of happiness among the children, merely instigated by the sight of an empty street. "I told you my tour would leave you shocked" the guide asserts. As we continue walking in the direction of yet another settlement, I can't help to provocatively look into one of the soldier's eyes, glad that we can be the eyewitnesses to their violations committed today.[2]

As can be inferred from the above description of one of our experiences during a tour in the Palestinian city of Hebron, Palestinians recurrently find themselves in a situation in which their bodies are controlled and regulated by Israeli power-holders: there is no freedom of movement, no right to self-determination and no right for refugees to return to the homes they have been uprooted from. Hence, Palestinians could be argued to resemble that of what Agamben has termed the 'Homo Sacer': a banned man living in a state of 'bare life' (1998, 109). Today, it has been more than 71 years since 'the Nakba' – when Zionist militias facilitated the creation of the state of Israel by 'compulsory transfer' of Palestinians and the depopulation of Palestinian villages, cities and communities – and Palestinians are no closer to justice today than they were back then (Bunton and Cleveland 2012). However, what the above vignette also explicates, is that no matter how bleak the reality on the ground may seem, there is an uninterrupted

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[2] Vignet written by Noor, field observations, 05-03-2019

subsistence of a Palestinian counter-reality: Palestinians perpetually strive to make explicit the structural oppression enacted upon them by employing a manifold of techniques, which, in the focus of this study, is the instrumentalization of transnational tourists to communicate a message of oppression by allowing them to be the eyewitnesses of the spectacle.

According to Edward Said one the greatest battles that the Palestinians have waged, is the one over the right to a remembered presence in the context of their continuous invisibilization by the hegemonic Israeli rhetoric (in Alazzeh 2014, 101). This exercise of 'presence' has taken several forms throughout the years, of which the most important has been the struggle to exercise the right to 'narrate'. Hence, in this thesis, we will conceptualize the notion of resistance not merely as a direct confrontation with the structure of domination (Alazzeh 2014), but as a process in which the ability to have one's voice heard by narrating the Palestinian history of struggle comprises the very act of resistance.

In accordance with this statement, we will argue that tourism could be perceived as a field in which an opportunity to 'narrate' can lead to a successful unveiling of occupation and oppression, as, for domination to be resisted effectively, it must first be successfully revealed (Foucault in Hoy 1999, 9). This thesis, then, will be aimed at explicating the ways in which the tactic of accommodating transnational tourists may constitute a site of creative exercise of presence and resistance. We argue that 'alternative' forms of tourism in Palestine can be of great importance given its potential to construct a transnational 'agora' for the articulation of a silenced Palestinian voice (Isaac and Platenkamp 2012, 184) and given the significant role it plays in representations of the Palestinian struggle against occupation, the construction of Palestinian identity and wider Middle Eastern politics.

However, even though tourism in Palestine is inseparable from important issues such as occupation, power, (im)mobility, equality and self-determination, Palestine remains highly underrepresented in literature regarding tourism in general and particularly in literature regarding its empowering potential, which according to Hall et al. (2015), makes an academic text on tourism in Palestine long overdue. As argued by Higgins-Desbiolles (2010,195), in existing anthropological studies, there has been a lot of attention for the negative impact of tourism, resulting in a more than thorough study of the relationship between tourism and injustice, while neglecting an exploration of what justice through tourism might mean.

This thesis thus constitutes a critical, anthropological research on resistance, as we will try to uncover and analyze unrecognized social change potentials of more quiet, more 'everyday' resistant acts guided by non-conventional actors in non-conventional contexts of which one example, and the focus of this study, is tourism. In order to integrate the theoretical

concepts of 'bare life', resistance and tourism with the perceptions and reality of those actors intertwined in the daily practices of tourism and resistance, we have been conducting a three-month ethnographic research shedding light on and contributing to a deeper understanding of how Palestinian agents instrumentalize transnational tourism as a form of nonviolent resistance against the Israeli occupation. Ultimately, we will answer the following research-question:

> *How do Palestinians exercise nonviolent resistance against the Israeli occupation and oppression through transnational tourism?*

In order to answer this research question, this thesis will focus on the following topics: 'Palestinian life as an endangered and expendable existence'; 'Revolt to biopolitical control'; 'The context of the Palestinian tourism sector'; 'Palestinian aspirations for the development of alternative tourism'; and 'Tourist's perceptions'. In pursuance of gaining a layered and holistic understanding of how Palestinians transform themselves into politically legitimate subjects, we have been conducting a complementary study that involved local residents involved with tourism; local, individual tour guides; larger, more institutionalized grassroot organizations involved in tourism; and finally, tourists: the targets of the tourism industry. The research was situated in the areas of Palestine that are often referred to as the 'West Bank' and our field mainly comprised the cities of Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, and the agricultural areas situated between those cities, in which we particularly focussed on politically sensitive sites, like the Segregation Wall, Refugee Camps and Israeli Settlements.

Methodological Considerations

The main methods used during this ethnographic research were participant observation, and informal and semi-structured interviews. We employed the method of participant observation while partaking in tours provided by local tour guides as well as by organizations involved with tourism – nineteen in total – in order to comprehend the ways in which Palestinians perform themselves as hosts and utilize the presence of tourists to express their narratives, protect themselves from Israeli settlers and soldiers and affirm their presence and identity in their everyday interactions with others. By using informal and semi-structured interviews, we have tried to allow our informants to express and talk about their lived experiences of oppression and their consequent participation in several forms of resistance by using words and topics that were salient to *them*. These semi-structured interviews allowed us to gain insight in the ideological

aims and motivations with regards to the organization of and participation in politically oriented tours and, after having participated in a tour, provided us with the opportunity to elaborate on the content of the tours, the narratives that were conveyed and the events that occurred during the tours.

We have conducted thirty-one semi-structured interviews and seventeen informal interviews with a great variety of actors – tour guides, executive directors, government employers, tourists, local residents – and we usually conducted them in places they themselves had allocated, since the sensitivity and potentially risky character of the subjects necessitated a place in which our informants felt secure and safe. We have tried to ensure the safety of our informants by treating the data in a profoundly confidential matter. We have used pseudonyms to anonymize our informants and we will not elaborate on background- or personal information that might enable identification of our informants. Additionally, trusted persons in the Netherlands have frequently made back-ups of our data, allowing us to delete the data from our personal computers and subsequently make it inaccessible to Israeli (military) personnel. In order to secure our own safety and, in extension thereof of our informant's, we have not participated in any protests or demonstrations and we have, to the extent possible, avoided direct provocative confrontations with Israeli military or security personnel.

Our epistemological starting point of positioning ourselves as 'engaged anthropologists' emphatic with the Palestinian cause struggling against what we recognize as an Israeli settler-colonial project, has had a big influence on our data-collection and the interaction with our informants in the field. We argue that emotions of anger, solidarity and empathy are useful experiences in the field and thus that their role in field research in a region of conflict should not be bracketed out, but should rather be revealed and acknowledged. We agree with Scheper-Hughes (1995), that we should pause and reconsider the traditional ethicality of the anthropologist as a neutral, dispassionate, rational and 'objective' observer: What makes an anthropologist exempt from the human responsibility to take an ethical and even a political stand on the working out of historical events as we are privileged to witness them? (1995, 411). Is it ethical in the face of oppression, humiliation and harassment to merely quietly observe, take field-notes, solely theorize people's suffering and subsequently aestheticize and minimize it, or is ethicality a matter of responsibility, accountability and answerability to those we are studying with? We argue, in line with Scheper-Hughes (1995), that as an anthropologist, one can not merely be a spectator: one is a witness. And if one is a witness, one should take sides and make judgements, since as a spectator, one is accountable to science, but as a witness, one is accountable to history. One of the techniques used in our research, then, is our positioning as

engaged anthropologists who consciously choose the side of Palestinians and try to use our privileged position to influence public opinion in favour of their cause, since we feel that anthropological writing could, and in some instances should, constitute a site of resistance.

Our activist, militant stance allowed us to establish a considerable amount of rapport with our informants, as we actively positioned ourselves as comrades – both during conversations as well as during encounters with Israeli colonial mechanisms of control. Additionally, our 'engagement' did not solely allow us to get access to and 'become part of' our research population, but also to become part of the very phenomenon we were studying: the creation of an international agora resulting from knowledge and information sharing and the consequent feeling of solidarity and responsibility arising from this. Our engagement has made us advocates, awareness-spreaders and thus, subsequently, has allowed us to become actors in a public space "that allows repressed voices to be strengthened against power and control" (Isaac & Platenkamp 2012, 184) – a platform that our informants are aspiring to construct by engaging international visitors in their struggles and achievements.

Additionally, the extensive character of the relationship with our informants in the field, created a manifold of opportunities to collect data through the methods of 'hanging out' and 'small talk'. We have not merely participated in the more explicit and visible ways of resisting the occupation, like in tours, but we have also participated in our informant's leisure activities, their social gatherings, their implicit ways of 'existing as resisting' and their moments of grief, such as during burials of members of their community who had become victims of the occupation. This allowed an extensive 'being together' and consequently a shared understanding of what daily life as a Palestinian is like, as we lived through it together.

Even though these relationships have been extremely valuable, they sometimes complicated our positionality as researchers since the nature of our presence could oftentimes be characterized more as incidentally shielded, rather than as overt. At times, we explicitly asked our friends for oral informed consent after we had recalled a certain activity or statement to be of importance, but the data may contain certain parts that have unintentionally been acquired without conscious consent. Additionally, the tight relationships built up with our informants necessitated a good reflection of our presence as privileged internationals. Our position as internationals allowed us to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying fact that, no matter how hard we tried, we would never be able to fully grasp the experience of being a Palestinian, as we would always have a position of differentiality rather than alignment. This is caused by the fact that, for instance, we, as white Europeans, *were* allowed entry to former Palestinian territories that some of our informants had never been allowed to visit, that we *were*

sure to be invulnerable during collisions with Israeli soldiers and that we *were* able to abandon 'life in open-air prison' after three months of having lived there, while our friends need to continue to persist.

Outline

In the upcoming sections, we will explore how Palestinians instrumentalize tourism in a manifold of different ways in order to engage in nonviolent forms of resistance against the Israeli occupation. In the first chapter, we will establish our analytic framework in which we will provide an overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the framework of 'intractable conflicts'. We will focus on boundaries, territory, mobility, place-making, identity, and the dialectical notion of 'Otherness'. We will then turn to how Palestinians can be perceived as the contemporary figuration of 'Homo Sacer' (Agamben 1998), as their bodies are systematically reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of human objects. However, rather than portraying Palestinians as mere 'docile bodies', we will focus on how Palestinians creatively resist the occupation in violent as well as in more quiet and ordinary ways, among one of which is tourism. In the chapters following our analytic framework, we will elaborate on the empirical findings derived from the field and relate them to our theoretical analysis. We will demonstrate Palestinian lived experience of having an expendable and endangered existence, after which we will elaborate on Palestinian revolt to the systematic 'apartheid' policies with which Palestinian bodies are controlled. We will then turn to the topic of how Palestinians have articulated to use tourism in order to narrate and re-narrate their stories and on how these tactics resonate with international visitors. Finally, in the conclusion, we will integrate our findings and answer our main research question after which we will critically reflect on and evaluate our research in light of the analytic framework, consequently opening up a discussion on future research and focus.[3]

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[3] This thesis is a collaborative product and should therefore be read as a co-written, deliberately integrated piece, rather than an aggregation of individually written chapters. Especially from the fieldwork-period onwards, we have intensively cooperated, frequently reflected on our data and discussed our results. In the first week of our fieldwork, we had to put aside our subquestions, since they appeared to be irrelevant and inaccurate to our field. Therefore, we lacked a clear division in research topic and population, wherefore our data had much overlap. Many of the chapters in this thesis were (partly) written during our time in the field together, causing each chapter to lack a main author. Therefore, we have chosen not to refer to the author in text, for we believe this thesis should be read as one co-written text resulting from considerable cooperation and complementation in the field. However, since it is deemed necessary that we divide the chapters, we have made an overview of the writers of each chapter or section, which can be found in attachment 3.

Chapter 1
Revolt Against Biopolitical Control in the Context of the Israeli-Palestinian Intractable Conflict

Literature review

In this analytic framework, we will employ the framework of what Rouhana & Bar-tal term 'intractable conflicts' (1998, 761-770) to discuss some of the main characteristics of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. We will focus on boundaries, territory, settler-colonialism, mobility, place-making and identity, as an analysis of these concepts will allow one to grasp the root instigators of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Linking spaces and identities, directly brings to mind the dialectical notion of 'Otherness' which may, in intractable conflicts, point to an eventual mental annihilation of this Otherness, a gradual ethnocide leading to the destruction of culture, memory and bodies (Piquard 2009, 66). Correlatively, we will then turn to how Palestinians can be perceived as the contemporary figuration of 'Homo Sacer' (Agamben 1998), as their bodies are systematically reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of human objects. However, rather than portraying Palestinians as mere docile bodies on which power is merely inherently enacted, we will focus on how Palestinians instrumentalize their situation to creatively resist the occupation, in violent as well as in more quiet and ordinary ways. Finally, we will turn to tourism as one of those sites of creative agency and nonviolent resistance. Transnational tourism has the potential to change social relations as tourists are agents who can propagate desired political messages and because it provides space for the expression of a long neglected Palestinian voice.

Intractable Conflict

For analyzing protracted intrastate conflict within conflict studies, scientists have developed a framework of *intractable conflict*. Rouhana and Bar-Tal (1998, 1) define intractable conflicts as "conflicts over vital tangible resources in which basic human needs, such as identity and security, become central to the conflicts and their resolution." Intractable conflicts concern issues such as territories, natural resources, and religious dogmas (Bar-Tal 2007, 1430). Coleman (2003, 5) defines intractable conflicts as conflicts that are recalcitrant, intense, deadlocked and extremely difficult to resolve. Bar-Tal (2007) argues that this irresolvability is

partly caused by the collective memory through which the history of the conflict is presented to society members. One function of these narratives is that they provide a basis for solidarity, mobilization and action. Later, we will discuss the role of these narratives in the exercise of nonviolent resistance through the accommodation of alternative forms of tourism.

Walter (2003, 137), in her examination of the territoriality of intractable conflict, argues that the most intractable conflicts, were those fought over territory. She argues that governments generally appear to be unwilling to negotiate over land. In line with her argument, Paul (2006, 601), in his analysis of the Indian-Pakistani conflict, argues territorial disputes to be one of the main factors for intractable conflict, together with political incompatibility, irreconcilable positions on national identity and the dearth of significant economic and trade relations between the two adversary states. According to him, in a conflict, there is a challenger that issues a claim on territory and decides whether to pursue this claim in an aggressive manner or to seek for settlement. Targets merely respond to these actions. Conflicts, therefore, persist because the challenger is able to sustain a conflict for a long period of time. Paul (2006, 624) also notes that "the availability of qualitatively superior weaponry and the support of great powers, and asymmetric/limited-war strategies have been crucial factors in the challenger's choice in favor of military escalation". Asymmetry of power, therefore, is crucial to this argument. Asymmetry of power complicates full compromise. The weaker party will seek to acquire territory through military means, including guerilla/terrorist operations. The use of non-state actors has caused these kinds of conflict to be ongoing and prevents the emergence of a clear winner.

The Israeli Occupation, Territory and Politics of Identity

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been termed a border conflict, a colonial conflict, an ethnic conflict and a religious struggle (Azar, Jureidini, and McLaurin 1978, 41). Very often, social identities such as ethnicity and religion, are perceived as the primary fault line between groups in conflict. However, high levels of groupness are often the *result* and not the *cause* of violent conflict (Demmers 2012). We, therefore, perceive the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, in essence, to be a territorial dispute rather than a conflict about culture or religion, since it is an instance of settler colonialism. Indeed, contrary to the globalization discourse which posits a borderless and deterritorialized world, many scholars have found conflicts over territory to be one of the key factors that induce intractable conflicts (Newman 2006, 1; Carter 2010, 670; Walter 2003, 137). As Wolfe (2006, 287) states, land is life and thus, contests for land can be, and indeed often are, contests for life. This is caused by the fact that territorial disputes are not merely tied to the deterministic dimensions of territorial shape and size, but also to the symbolic level

through which territory facilitates the formation, rooting and consolidation of group and national identities (Newman 2006, 3), and, in extension, their potential existence, subsistence and survival.

In accordance with this, extending on Wolfe's (2006) theory of 'the logic of elimination' that he constructed using the examples of colonialism in Australia and North America, one can argue that the particular territorial dispute of settler colonialism may implicate that particular national and group identities – that of the native society – may *not* exist, subsist and survive. Indeed, writing about European colonial practices in 'the global South', Scott argues that settler colonialism has worked not solely to condition indigenous peoples and their lands, but all the political, economic and cultural processes that these societies touch. This, according to Scott, is exemplary of the processes of biopower, as settler colonialism produces settler societies by pursuing the elimination, conditioning and disciplining of indigenous populations through territorial displacement and replacement (Scott 2011, 53). Below, we will further discuss the implications of the territoriality of settler colonialism within the Israeli-Palestinian intractable conflict.

First, both Israelis and Palestinians are actively involved in place-making. Place has three necessary and sufficient features: it has a geographic location; it has material form; and it is invested with meaning and value (Gieryn 2000). Both the Palestinians and the Israelis have a religious claim or heritage on the territories, consequently allowing both Jews and Palestinians to accord meaning and value to the place.

Second, territory is used for occupation and politics of identity. The Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip live under an Israeli occupation that controls the existence and development of the territories. Additionally, the settlement policy adopted after 1977 was aimed at breaking up and isolating areas of heavy Palestinian concentration in order to prevent the emergence of a collective Palestinian identity. Fields (2010) perceives the enclosure of the Palestinian landscape within the framework of Michel Foucault's modern power, which elaborates on the capacity to distribute bodies and partition space and, thus, on modern power as a spatial phenomenon. Fields defines enclosure as 'a practice distinguished, first, by the appropriation of land, and second, by the demarcation of this appropriated land by a physical boundary in the form of a fence, hedge or wall' (Fields 2010, 142). According to Fields (2010, 143), in modern Palestine, a system of property rights is being imposed on Palestinian territory that has enabled one group of people to appropriate the land of another. Hanafi argues that the bulldozer has become Israel's main weapon used against the Palestinians, leaving the latter without space. We will refer to these practices as 'spaciocide', which is the

demolition of topos into atopia – of territory into mere land. Spaciocide aims at provoking displacement amongst Palestinians by demolishing houses, imposing curfews and by vigilante Jewish settlers (Hanafi 2006).

Creating walls, borders and segregation is, thus, a way of creating physical and symbolic demarcations in order to differentiate spaces and identities (Piquard 2009, 65). Linking spaces and identities directly brings to mind the dialectical notion of 'Otherness', since marking a space and delimiting it as property determines the very perception of those others beyond the line (Piquard 2009, 65). As Piquard (2009, 66) argues, when a rhetoric of terror, threat and security are predominant, walls, borders and fences may become instruments of oppression: it may lead to the *denial* of those Others 'behind the wall', to a mental annihilation of Otherness, to a gradual ethnocide leading to the destruction not of mere bodies, but also of culture and memory. This destruction of Palestinian culture and memory is what we will refer to as the deliberate 'memoricide' of Palestinians and their identity. The denial of the Other is facilitated by a process of deliberate 'forgetting', a mechanism that allows what Mary Douglas has referred to as 'selective remembering, misremembering and disremembering (1995, 13). This 'removing from memory' is achieved by 'narrative forgetting', the formation and dissemination of an alternative historical narrative; 'physical forgetting', the obliteration of physical remains; and 'symbolic forgetting', the creation of a new symbolic geography of new places and street names (Ram 2009, 366). The conflict between Israel and Palestine is, on this ground, a case in point, as the Israeli-Jewish dominant memory intentionally creates "islands of historical amnesia" (Ram 2009, 368) with regards to Palestinian memory and culture, gradually facilitating the process of taking over and confiscating territorial plots, consequently allowing the depopulation of Palestinian cities, villages and communities.

Over what has now been more than 70 years of conflict, Palestinians have thus been subject to 'spaciocide' – a situation of remote spatial and infrastructural control working to manufacture a 'regulated humanitarian collapse'; 'memoricide' – systematic policies of erasure of Palestinian history and culture; and 'ethnocide' – the systematic forced removal from a given territory (Parre in Hamdi 2017, 22; Hanafi in Puar 2015, 5).

Bare Life and Biopolitical Control: Palestinians as the Contemporary Homo Sacer

One could argue that the embodied experience of many Palestinians today – systematically reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of human objects, lacking official status and judicial rights – is that of what Agamben has termed 'bare life' (Agamben 1998; Lee 2010, 57). Stripped of political significance, 'bare life' constitutes, according to Agamben, a wounded, expendable,

and endangered existence, a zone of indistinction and a state of continuous transition between man and 'beast' (Agamben 1998, 109). Today, Palestinians can be argued to be the figuration of bare life expressed by the notion of 'Homo Sacer' – that is, a Palestinian is a 'banned man', who can be killed with impunity and who is the target of sovereign violence exceeding the force of law and yet anticipated and authorized by that law (Ziarek 2008, 91).

However, interestingly, Puar argues that the institutionalized invisibility of Palestinians that sustains the biopolitical relations within the Israeli colonial system is not actually aimed at killing, but rather at deliberately and strategically *maiming* Palestine, its infrastructure and its people (Puar 2015, 2). The productivity of maiming – 'will not let die' – is manifold: it keeps the death toll numbers relatively low, while still thoroughly debilitating the population through maiming the human form (Puar 2015, 11). Maiming functions through Israel's colonial presence – as it allows it to retain forms of 'remote' infrastructural control in the form of checkpoints, borders, control over roads, pipes, electricity, trade, etcetera – that works to manufacture a 'regulated humanitarian collapse' by providing a bare minimum for survival (Salamanca 2011, 23; Puar 2015, 5). As Foucault writes, "The [old] right of sovereignty was the right to take life or let live". However, what is now being established is the right 'to make live and to let die', or, instrumentally, to 'will not let die' (Foucault 2003, 241). In this version of debilitated life, neither living nor dying is the aim: rather it is the intentional practice to target both bodies and infrastructure for disablement (Puar 2015, 6).

Hence, one could argue that the target here is not life itself, but resistance itself (Puar 2015, 5). Targeting Palestinians not for death, but for physical, psychological, and cognitive injuries, is a biopolitical attempt to render impotent any future resistance to occupation and any future capacity to sustain Palestinian life on its own terms (Puar 2015, 17).

Disciplined Bodies and their Revolt in Intractable Conflict

Bare life as an emancipatory power

Despite continued biopolitical attempts to render bodies impotent, however, history has proven that subjects simply cannot be perceived as mere 'docile bodies'; bodies on which power is inherently merely enacted. According to Foucault, for instance, resistance is intrinsic to relations of power, as subjects will invariably attempt to creatively instrumentalize the means by which power is enacted to resist and undermine it (in Hoy 1999, 10). Correlatively, as Bar-Tal argues, one of the challenges that populations involved in intractable conflict face, is the

development of appropriate mechanisms and conditions for coping with difficult conditions in order to successfully withstand the rival group (Bar-Tal 2007, 1434). In fact, one of the most pressing political questions raised by Agamben's 'Homo Sacer' is whether bare life itself can indeed be mobilized by emancipatory movements, whether it can indeed be the object that can enable revolutionary transformation (in Ziarek 2008, 89;99).

According to Hamdi, the Palestinian issue is one of the most important ongoing anti-colonial struggles in our world today (Hamdi 2017, 10). In the words of Fanon, during decolonization 'the thing' that has been colonized becomes man during the same process by which it frees itself (in Alazzeh 2014, 143). Palestinians, then, finding themselves in a continuous transition between 'man' and 'beast' (Agamben 1998, 109), transform themselves into politically legitimate subjects by recasting their identity from 'beast' to men during acts of resistance (McNevin in Lee 2010, 64). As one (unspecified) Palestinian academic (in Bunton & Cleveland 2012, 442) explains:

"The denial of natural rights by the Israelis, caused eventually an awareness that 'we are occupied.' […] This realization finally sunk into the consciousness of Palestinians, so the occupation was resisted and the Palestinian people's right to national self-determination was affirmed"

The emergence of an organized Palestinian resistance movement – of which the most successful was Al-Fatah – particularly accelerated after the Arab defeat in 1967 and considerably renewed the Palestinians' sense of themselves as a distinct national entity and a distinctive people entitled to basic human rights (Bunton & Cleveland 2012, 335;343). Israeli harshness, however, was not solely mirrored in the emergence of Al-Fatah, but also in the growing popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, and the Islamic Jihad. While doctrinal differences separated the various Palestinian groups, all – both secular and Islamist – resorted to suicide bombings, ultimately peaking during the years of the Second Intifada. The net effect of the repressive and aggressive Israeli occupation was, then, the simultaneous organization and radicalization of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Bunton & Cleveland 2012, 342). Ultimately, the radicalized violent acts of resistance turned out to be an utter failure for Palestinians as they neither inflicted unbearable costs nor shifted Israeli policies to pursue the Zionist project, while simultaneously, and most detrimentally, leading to an enormous backlash against the Palestinian struggle for rights, self-determination, and freedom from oppression among International governments and publics, as Palestinians and their ends were

delegitimized under the easily allocated banner of 'terrorism' (Bhatia 2005, 5; Alazzeh 2014, 35;36).

Palestinian Nonviolent Resistance: A New Instrumental Discourse

As can be inferred from the international delegitimization of Palestinian 'terrorist' activism, it appears that, today, global political processes severely structure the possible field of action of Palestinian resistance (Alazzeh 2014, 21). Since 2006, in an attempt to regain international support to achieve Palestinian basic rights, the label of 'nonviolence' has become a major discursive category and dominant signifier in any discussion on resistance in the West Bank (Alazzeh 2014, 15). According to van der Zanden (1963, 544), means of nonviolent resistance – such as boycotts, sit-ins, deliberate non-cooperation, speech-rallies and demonstrations – are a tactic well-suited to struggles in which a minority group lacks access to instruments of violent coercion or to the sources of power within a society in general. Indeed, in a situation where the stratification structure of a society is considerably asymmetrical, a minority group undertaking nonviolent resistance can exert notable concessions from the dominant group, since nonviolent methods enhance legitimacy, subsequently translating into increased pressure being brought on the target regime (van der Zanden 1963, 544; Chenoweth & Stephan 2008, 9).

In Palestine, the marketing of nonviolence is based on producing moral sympathy and gaining political legitimacy internationally by playing on Western Orientalist and essentialist imaginaries: nonviolence removes the Orientalist fear of 'Arab violence' which presently cements Israeli society together and, therefore, contributes to the disintegration of Israeli society's legitimacy as its justifications built on alleged 'security' measures are delegitimized and its structural racist features unveiled (Alazzeh 2014, 6;7; Hallward 2009, 547; Awad 1984, 25). One of the strategies of resistance used by Palestinian activists, then, involves the shifting portrayal of the Palestinian resistance movement from 'terrorism' to legitimate nonviolent struggle against an oppressive occupying force (Hallward 2009, 546).

Hybrid Forms of Resistance and Resilience

In line with the strategic adoption of the notion of nonviolence as a new site of struggle within Palestinian discourse, (transnational) scholarly work regarding resistance in Palestine has also shifted its attention to nonviolence (Ryan 2015, 300). For instance, the pursuing of daily life in the form of household and community practices is now often studied as an act of resistance: 'getting by' checkpoints and other obstacles put in place by the Israeli occupation and even 'getting there'– such as to one's workplace – have become part of the rhetoric and category of

resistance (Alazzeh 2014, 5). This notion of resistance, often described through the concept of 'Sumud'– a uniquely Palestinian tactic that allows Palestinians to maintain dignity, honor and a physical presence on the land – has become a wide category that can include the very existence of Palestinians, their daily practices, and their cultural and signifying performances (Ryan 2015, 300). These practices represent seemingly natural, mundane and ordinary ways in which the disenfranchised survive hardships and improve their lives (Bayat 1997, 55). Palestinian resiliency, then, is a dynamic process embedded in agency and everyday practices 'from below', that enables them to navigate the forces of demonization and remain adaptive and constructive (Coleman & Lowe 2007, 379).

While analyses and descriptions of open and confrontational political action usually dominate accounts of political conflict, Scott (1989, 33) argues that much of the politics of subordinate groups aimed at manifesting their political interests actually falls into the category of 'everyday forms of resistance': acts of scattered and regular resistance with the potential to undermine power that are not necessarily being recognized as an act of 'resistance' proper, but rather as normal parts of people's lives, jobs or culture (Johansson & Vinthagen 2013, 10;37).

The remainder of this literature review, then, will be aimed at explicating the ways in which the more ordinary and more quiet tactic of accommodating transnational tourists may constitute such a site of everyday nonviolent resistance. While it might not be recognized as resistance proper, but rather as a means to employment or economic development, the accommodation of transnational tourism will be discussed as an ultimately potent social force of significance (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010, 194).

Tourism as a Site of Nonviolent Resistance

In anthropological studies, academics have always perceived tourists as "agents of contact between cultures and, directly or indirectly, as active agents of change" (Nash & Smith 1991, 13). However, it is striking that attention has mainly been given to the negative impact of tourism, articulated in the discrepancies in wealth, power and status between tourist and hosts (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010, 195). While the relationship between tourism and injustice has thus more than thoroughly been studied in anthropology, Higgins-Desbiolles argues that it remains to be explored what justice through tourism might mean. In fact, we argue that tourism could be perceived as a field in which a successful unveiling of asymmetries and false universals through an opportunity to narrate (Said, 1984) can itself be a powerful means of resisting domination, as, for domination to be resisted effectively, it must first be successfully revealed

(Foucault in Hoy 1999, 9). According to Hudson, transnational tourism has proven to be able to exercise a considerable influence by allowing tourists to bear witness to local conditions and potentially creating an international outcry of solidarity by willingly propagating a certain political agenda (2007, 388).

To analyze tourism in the context of resistance, it is relevant to look at the distribution of power within the tourism industry. Cheong and Miller (2000) acknowledge the expectation that power is in the hands of the 'first-world' tourists. However, they argue that the incorporation of local activism has added a new dimension: it shows that power operates in both directions (Cheong and Miller 2000, 374). Cheong and Miller analyze the distribution of power within the tourism industry according to the notion of power by Foucault. They argue, in line with Foucault's notion of omnipresent power, that power relationships are embedded within the tourism sector, in which the tourists are the targets, and the tour guides are the agents who exercise power through the construction and exertion of knowledge; who impose a normalizing discourse; and who use an 'inspecting gaze'. The gaze is especially relevant to the discussion of power in tourism because 'seeing' constitutes such a big part of the touristic experience and because the manipulation of the imagery is so important within the marketing of tourism (Cheong and Miller 2000). Tour guides, thus, exercise power over the tourists by determining which knowledge they spread and what they allow the tourists to see and witness.

Alternative Tourism

Actors in the tourism industry actively exercise power over their targets by using alternative forms of tourism, aimed at promoting a new order (Higgins-Desbiolles and Blanchard 2010, 42; Bianchi and Stephenson 2013, 346). It is an attempt to transform social relations, and it is envisioned as a force for change (Bianchi and Stephenson 2013, 346). Through alternative forms of tourism, tourists encounter social and political views, especially in Palestine, where communications and media to the world, according to Isaac (2009), are one sided or lacking in balance. We will not employ the concept of 'dark tourism', as this concept is often associated with visiting places of past killing and death and with envisioning tourists as the agents in the tourism encounter. In opposition, 'alternative tourism' in Palestine is more focussed on visiting political sites and seeking justice for the Palestinian people in an ongoing situation of conflict, in which Palestinian tour guides act as the agents and tourists are the targets.

Political Tourism

One form of alternative tourism is political tourism (Moufakkir 2010). Most hosts in settings of social or political injustice have a political agenda that they hope to promote during the tourists' stay. In the eyes of the hosts, the tourists are potential agents who can propagate desired political messages upon returning to their countries and communities (Moufakkir 2010, 162). Political tourism is derived from the framework of political consumerism, which is a form of 'active' civil disobedience used to pressure governments or corporations into pursuing a particular cause (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015; Moufakkir 2010). Palestinians instrumentalize the current trend of political consumerism by offering political tourism. Boycotting is essential to political consumerism, since it concerns the provision of a compelling moral and practical argument against the continuation of unacceptable practices by individuals who have no power (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 152). Boycotting via tourism happens through visiting or not visiting a specific destination –for instance, by visiting Palestine and not visiting Israel (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 153). Transnational travel to active conflict zones in itself is also an expression of political activism (Belhassen, Uriely, and Assor 2014, 175).

Justice Tourism

Closely related to this general idea of political tourism, is justice tourism. Holden defines justice tourism as "a process which promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants" by telling stories of (past) oppression (Holden in Higgins-Desbiolles, Blanchard 2010, 42). Scheyvens describes justice tourism as "both ethical and equitable" and argues that it "builds solidarity between visitors and those visited; promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equity, sharing and respect; supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities; and maximizes local economic, cultural and social benefits" (Scheyvens in Higgins-Desbiolles and Blanchard 2010, 43).

We perceive justice tourism as a more moderate form of alternative tourism that is mainly seeking sympathy and justice, whereas political tourism is a more radical form that takes an activist stance by empowering the actors of the tourist industry, who exercise Foucauldian power over tourists and use tourism to boycott the occupation by expressing their political views.

Agora

Isaac and Platenkamp argue that alternative forms of tourism are a vehicle for the creation of a transnational 'agora'. An agora - no longer referring to a single physical space - refers to a public space, inspired by the Forum Romanum, in which people present themselves as individuals with independent opinions. (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 245). The thought behind the agora is that human beings become to be human when they "escape the thoughtlessness that dehumanizes our species" (Isaac and Platenkamp 2012, 184). The agora allows repressed voices, like the Palestinian one, to be strengthened against power and control (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 245). Isaac and Platenkamp (2012) argue that tourism enables the implementation of this normative discussion at the agora.

As we have seen above, tourism can play an important role on the side of the oppressed people. It is seen as a weapon of the weak and a nonviolent alternative to more powerful action (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 152). It also functions as a vehicle to engage in a normative discussion. It provides people involved on the supply-side of the tourism industry with empowerment and it creates transnational sympathy for the people being repressed. Due to these potentially emancipatory characteristics of tourism, an alternative tourism sector has developed in Palestine.

Development of Alternative Tourism in Palestine

"Groups of people are led around the city, to be exposed to 'the reality' of the situation. They are encouraged to imagine what it must be like to live there, to appreciate the proximity of the other side and to take these experiences home with them to tell others" (Clarke 2000, 18).

This quote is derived from the ethnographic experiences of Clarke (2000) who participated in alternative tours in Hebron, Palestine. He articulates the experience of a tourist and the creation of an Agora – 'to tell others'– as a result of these tours.

Tourism is, thus, of importance in pursuing the Palestinian cause, but its development has not always been easy. During the British mandate in Palestine, tourism was one of the sectors that became the battleground between the Palestinians and the Jews in order to gain political and economic superiority. This battle was won by the Israelis, who now occupy the Palestinian territories and subsequently came to dominate its tourism discourse. Today, the Israeli occupiers are those profiting from the economic benefits gained from the tourism

industry, leading to the continuous underdevelopment of the Palestinian tourism industry (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 3;15). The Palestinian tourism industry was also negatively affected by the second intifada, as tourists were implanted with the Image of the 'Muslim Terrorist' (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 16). In 1993, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was established, and with that the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA), which allowed Palestine to control its tourism policy (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 17). However, many laborers in the Palestinian tourism industry were unskilled and due to the occupation, there is little room for development (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015).

Alternative forms of tourism in Palestine, then, allow tourists to encounter the consequences of the occupation. Suppliers of these kinds of tourism experiences are, for instance, VisitPalestine and the Alternative Tourism Group (ATG). While living with the Palestinians, visitors can develop feelings of empathy and sympathy which can influence their attitudes and actions towards the conflict (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015, 48).

Alternative tourism in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is, thus, a way of creatively resisting oneself against living in a state of 'bare life' under the Israeli occupation. It is a way of transforming oneself from 'beast' to 'men', as it allows Palestinians to position themselves as politically legitimate subjects by expressing the narratives of Palestinian lived experiences and subsequently creating a platform – the agora – to empower their voice in opposition to hegemonic discourse.

In our field-research, then, we have focussed on the lived experiences of occupation and oppression of Palestinian tour guides, local residents, executive directors and government employees involved with alternative forms of tourism and on how they relate themselves to Israeli mechanisms of control, both during tours as well as during their daily lives. We have looked at how the actors within this 'everyday form of resistance' perform themselves as hosts and how they utilize transnational visitors to express their narrative, gain protection from Israeli settlers and soldiers and affirm their presence and identity. In the next chapters, we will elaborate on our empirical data relating to Palestinian experience of having an endangered and expendable life, Palestinian performances and practices of resistance through tourism, and tourist's perceptions of the narratives provided to them.

Chapter 2
"Here you are not Safe and you Know That; They Want you to Continually Know That"[4]

The Exercise of Biopolitical Control in Palestine

> We were standing in a queue, amidst a group of about hundred Palestinians standing side-by-side waiting to get through checkpoint 300 towards Jerusalem. The hall in which we were waiting resembled a decayed airport hangar, on the list of being dismantled but just good enough to allow for the cheapest flights. It was a debilitating sight: grown up Palestinian men and women having to go through the humiliation of queuing up, sometimes for hours, in order to be permitted into the areas they used to live and love, continuously nervous of the prospect of being harassed or denied entry by an 18 year old Israeli soldier, glad to finally be able to exercise his power and authority. "This is what life is like here" a Palestinian man queuing up behind us asserts "we are like animals, queuing up like dogs and sheep."[5]

This situation, in which thousands of Palestinians find themselves every single day, is one of the many expressions of Israel's biopolitical attempts to control Palestinian bodies, their thoughts, their actions and their movements, to regulate them, to put them in order and to subsequently subject them to Israeli political control and power. Israeli biopolitical control renders Palestinians to constitute the contemporary figuration of Agamben's 'Homo Sacer' (1998, 109), as they continuously find themselves in a wounded, expendable and endangered existence: in a state of transition between men and beast. In accordance to this, the Palestinian man queuing up behind us in order to be allowed entrance to his former land, equates his existence with that of dogs and sheep, as he is reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of 'not actually human', being exposed to unlimited humiliation and violation. This chapter will elaborate on the situation of 'bare life' that Palestinians find themselves in, which consequently facilitates the simultaneous ethnocide, memoricide and spaciocide of the Palestinian people, identity and territory and which demonstrates Palestinian's experience of having an expendable

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[4] Nour, 05-03-2019
[5] Vignette written by Noor, Field observations, 19-02-2019

existence. We will discuss this by expanding on our informant's lived experiences of living in an Apartheid state and their continuous practices to subvert these institutionalized practices of control.

An Endangered and Expendable Existence

The experience of being the target of sovereign violence exceeding the force of law, yet anticipated and authorized by that law (Ziarek 2008, 91), has been underscored and emphasized by many of our informants. In the old city of Hebron, for instance – a Palestinian city that is often referred to as the microcosm of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as the practices of systematic forced removal of Palestinian bodies, ethnocide; settler-colonialism spaciocide; and systematic policies of erasure of Palestinian history and culture, memoricide, are all exercised in its relatively small centre – Palestinians undergo daily harassment in checkpoints, experience weekly arrests, and witness weekly killings, even of children not exceeding the age of 12. As Nour, a female resident of the old city of Hebron explained: "Settlers and soldiers can do whatever they want: they enjoy total impunity."[6]

Nour and I[7] sit together, drinking Arabic coffee in her cold and sparsely furnished living room in a house on Al-Shahuda street, the former main road in the old city of Hebron that is now referred to as 'ghost town', as most Palestinian families that were formerly living there have been displaced to facilitate the establishment of Jewish settlements. Nour is going to take me on a tour throughout the city that day, but before proceeding, the Palestinian custom of hospitality demands an invitation for tea or coffee. While sitting on a low, oriental decorated couch in front of a small electric heater, Nour embarks on an elaboration of the peculiar situation Hebronites find themselves in. She describes how soldiers are trained to shoot to kill, how there is a system of collective punishment and how residents have to endure daily fear of imprisonment: "Here you are not safe and you know that, because they want you to continually know that. That's the psychological effect of occupation."[8] Bare life, however, is not merely visible in the explicit consequences of oppression, like death and imprisonment, but particularly in the *details* of daily life in Palestine: it's about the daily crossing of checkpoints, the daily harassment and humiliations, the daily restriction of movement and the daily fear that your

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[6] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019
[7] Here, 'I' refers to Noor
[8] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019

child will just end up as "another name on the wall of martyrs."[9] One of those instances of daily harassment is explicated by Nour:

> "The checkpoints (image 9) are arbitrary. They are not about security; they are all about humiliation and harassment. In these checkpoints, Israeli soldiers feel that they can do anything. And they can, because they are never going to be held responsible for what they do. For instance, women are very conservative here; they cover their entire body. Soldiers know this. However, they tend to continuously ask women to take off their Hijab, to raise up their dresses and to take off the outer layer of their clothes in order to 'check' them, even if they have already successfully passed the metal detector. Many women deny to take off what they are asked to take off, and are subsequently denied entrance into the areas their houses are located. In the end, some decide not to go through these humiliations any longer and leave the area. But in the end, that's what Israel wants. They slowly but surely try to remove all Palestinians from the area by harassing them into leaving."[10]

According to Nour, the UN has defined these deliberate policies as 'the creation of a coercive environment for forcible displacement': creating circumstances that make people leave 'voluntarily'. Many more of our informants have pointed out that the treatment of Palestinians by Israelis is aimed at "taking as much land as possible containing as little Palestinians as possible."[11] During a tour through Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem, for instance, Saed – a local political tour guide – continuously pointed at the harsh conditions Palestinian refugees are made to live in, because "they [Israelis] want Palestinians out of this camp."[12] There is no water, no electricity and hardly any services in order to "slowly let people perish in order for them to leave."[13] Indeed, when passing some of the houses on the outskirts of the camp, Saed invited the group to pay attention to the many bullet holes visible in the walls, which are, according to him, not meant to target people, but are deliberately intended to target the resident's morale: "these bullets are shot at houses during the night to make people scared of continuing living in the camp: these bullets are meant to push people out."[14] Treating Palestinians as the

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[9] Abdallah, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[10] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019
[11] Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[12] Saed, field observations, 27-03-2019
[13] Saed, field observations, 27-03-2019
[14] Saed, field observations, 27-03-2019

contemporary Homo Sacer – as human objects who are not killed, but maimed in their human form by continuous harassment and (remote) infrastructural control (Puar 2015) – then, facilitates the systematic forced removal of Palestinians from their home territory, the systematic ethnocide of the Palestinian people.

This progress of removal of a Palestinian presence, however, is not merely assisted by the *physical* obliviation of Palestinian bodies, but also by a *symbolic* erasure of their history and identity, further enhancing the argument of Palestinian life as an expendable and endangered existence (Agamben 1998, 109). After – and frequently even before – Palestinians are fully expelled from their home-territories, they are erased from the area's official and popular history and excised from its collective memory before which a new symbolic map is created (Pappe in Ram 2009, 369). Indeed, during tours, visitors were often asked to pay attention to street names in Palestinian cities and villages, which are frequently no longer written in Arabic, but merely in Hebrew and English. Similarly, when driving on Israeli highways towards a particular Palestinian destination, we were often pointed to the fact that many Palestinian cities and villages are not even made present on traffic-signs: it is as if they simply don't exist. In a similar vein, while driving past Israeli settlements during a tour by Katrin, she explained that Israelis often name their settlement after the Palestinian villages they are built close to, in order to simulate authenticity and act as though the settlements, rather than the ancient Palestinian villages, are the traditional and historic sites on the land. In order to cover up the physical remains of (destroyed) Palestinian villages and communities, then, Israel employs strategies of rendering obsolete, both physically as well as symbolically, sites and identities that may have had served as mute monuments to a Palestinian past.

Palestinian Apartheid

In order to stress the systematic, institutionalized and legalized character of the above mentioned policies, many of our informants have compared their situation with that of Apartheid South-Africa and plea for the recognition of Palestine as suffering under a similar Apartheid system. Israel's legal system enables a state-sanctioned regime of discrimination and oppression and has installed over sixteen laws that the 'Palestinian Boycott, Sanctions and Divestment National Committee' (BDS) has defined as blatantly racist and as allowing Jewish domination[15]. As one of our informants indicated:

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[15] https://bdsmovement.net/news/israels-system-apartheid-laws, accessed on 28-05-2019

"The state of Israel, by law, allocates superiority to those who are born in Jewish families. By default, 7 million people that also live under Israeli control are now inferior by law. We, as Palestinians, have an inferior status."[16]

Similarly, some of our informants in the city of Hebron have explained that from the moment a Palestinian is born, he or she will be subject to the regulations of the Israeli *military law*, rather than the Israeli *civilian* legal system that Jewish Israeli residents are subjected to. That means that Palestinians are inherently guilty, unless the contrary is proved, which according to Nour "will never happen, as Palestinians are not the ones holding power."[17] Israelis, on the other hand, are perceived to be inherently innocent unless the adverse is proved, which, as stated by Nour, "is easy, as they can implant any evidence they want."[18] According to her, this legal difference clarifies the high number of Palestinians killed, as "soldiers are trained to shoot to kill since the one under shot is guilty by default."[19] Correlatively, Amir argues that this additionally explains the high number of Palestinians who are currently being prosecuted "without court, without trial, without charges"[20] – of whom most are youngsters, since maturity for Palestinians under military law is reached when one turns twelve.

Many of our informants have stressed the importance of perceiving the Israeli state as an Apartheid state, since it can help one to understand that the "Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not a conflict between two symmetric parties fighting over a piece of territory or over the primacy of one culture or religion over the other"[21], rather it is, as articulated by Katrin and Said[22], a settler colonial conflict in which one party has installed a military apartheid regime encouraging systematic, institutionalized and legalized forms of discrimination over another party that strives to achieve freedom and equality by employing both nonviolent and violent means – something that all oppressed and occupied communities have done during the history of mankind.

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[16] Said, semi-structured interview, 22-02-2019
[17] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019
[18] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019
[19] Nour, unstructured interview, 05-03-2019
[20] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[21] Katrin, semi-structured interview, 20-03-2019 (translated from Dutch)
[22] Katrin, semi-structured interview, 20-03-2019 (translated from Dutch); Said, semi-structured interview, 22-02-2019

Palestinian Revolt to Biopolitical Control

Despite continued biopolitical attempts by Israeli powerholders to render Palestinian bodies impotent and obsolete, then, Palestinians should not be perceived as mere docile bodies, since they have always proven to be able to creatively instrumentalize the means by which power is enacted to resist and undermine it. As articulated by Abdallah, general director of an organization encouraging 'beautiful resistance' in one of the refugee camps in Bethlehem:

> "Nobody can accept to be under such a situation of occupation and oppression and say: 'I'm fine with it'. Every injustice is not acceptable and should be resisted, every occupation is not acceptable and should be resisted."[23]

Even though our field research was focussed on everyday forms of nonviolent resistance, many of our informants have warned us that an emphasis on nonviolence should not result in the demonization of violent forms of resistance, as had happened after the Second Intifada. Abdallah, for instance, noted that in his opinion "every form of resistance against occupation, injustice and oppression, is a beautiful act of humanity."[24] Some of our informants prefer to avoid using the word 'nonviolence' resistance and rather employ the term 'non-armed' resistance, since forms of armed resistance cannot always be qualified as violence: "armed resistance under a situation of occupation is legitimate under all laws in the world. Armed resistance is not inherently violence."[25]

However, even though our informants define all forms of resistance as legitimate resistance, many of them still think that "what we are doing now, is much more important."[26] Nonviolent forms are, according to Amir, a local tour guide in Ramallah, "more of an ethical, easier way to attract attention to the Palestinian issue."[27] Nonviolent resistance helps to present the humanity of the Palestinian population and with that, breaks stereotypes:

> "If you use non-violence, from the point of view of the international community and international organizations, Israel wouldn't have any more excuses to continue beating us."[28]

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[23] Abdallah, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[24] Abdallah, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[25] Abdallah, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[26] Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[27] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[28] Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019

This confirms the statement of van der Zanden (1963, 544), who argues that in situations where the stratification structure of a society is considerably asymmetrical, a minority group undertaking nonviolent resistance can exert notable concessions from the dominant group, since nonviolent methods enhance legitimacy, subsequently translating into increased pressure being brought on the target regime. As Mariam, director of the Sumud story house, explained:

> "I have this hope that it helps us when telling you the truth, and my wish is that you don't keep this information with you. You spread it and you will re-narrate these stories. So, this is Sumud."[29]

Indeed, many of our informants have pointed at the importance of narration and re-narration in the Palestinian struggle for freedom and equality. As Ram (2009, 367) argues, many a times in history, the group who wins in the battle-field, is the one who has the better chances to win the battle of the narratives. However, at this moment, Israel enjoys the winning hand. Indeed, according to Said[30], the difference between Apartheid South-Africa and Israel is that in South-Africa, the white supremacists were never given a platform to defend their racist regime. In the Palestinian situation, however, Israelis do get a platform and, as Said[31] argues, it is not solely a platform: it is a monopoly over narrative formation carried out by the beneficiaries of the Israeli regime, as well as by its defenders and its supporters. One way of 'winning the battle-field', then, is raising awareness about the situation of bare life that is the everyday reality for Palestinian people living in the West Bank, in order to change their situation and advocate for their civil rights. Indeed, as argued by Ram (2009, 367), at times when the triumphal narratives are being challenged, it is a sure sign that the grip of the dominant group will also be weakened. Today, this attempted weakening of the Israeli triumphal narrative occurs on a global level, not merely in the sense of transnational communication systems, but also in the sense of encouraging transnational visitors to come and visit Palestine, to hear, see, feel and experience the Palestinian narrative: "The more people knowing what is going on here, the closer we are to a solution. We have enough fighters […] what we need is influence and pressure from the outside."[32]

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[29] Mariam, semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[30] Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[31] Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[32] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019

Chapter 3
"They Don't Want Tourists to be Guided by Palestinians"[33]

The Palestinian Tourism Industry

> We were sitting in a 700-year-old, Palestinian decorated café in a small street in the old city of Jerusalem, close to the Dome of the Rock. While we were drinking our mint tea with sugar, we asked Ali about the content of his tours. He looked at us suspiciously and then answered that he always avoids the topics of history or religion. He wants to demonstrate how people continue living in such a controversial city as Jerusalem. During his tours, he likes to emphasize that we should love each other instead of occupying one another. [34] While answering our question, he pointed at the cameras situated on every single street, indicating that he is being watched and, therefore, should be careful in choosing his words.[35]

It was the first week of our fieldwork and at this point in our research, we did not yet realize to what extend the occupation was influencing the daily lives of the Palestinian people. We remember thinking: if you have a group of tourists willing to listen to you, why avoid talking about the political situation? This chapter will discuss the context of the tourism industry, address the influence of the occupation on tourism in Palestine and explicate the hardships that tour guides and other workers in the tourism business face. In order to elaborate on the negative influence that the occupation exerts on the Palestinian tourism industry, this chapter will discuss the subjects of tour guide licenses, mobility restrictions and undercover agents. Furthermore, we will elaborate on the kinds of tourism that have evolved despite or sometimes as a result of those hardships.

"The whole policies of Israel, towards Palestinian tourism [...] after 1967 […] was designed to keep the Palestinians and Palestine out of the tourism industry"[36], argued Khaled, the executive

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[33] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[34] Ali, informal conversation, 31-01-2019
[35] Vignette written by Dian, field observations, 31-01-2019
[36] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019

director of an alternative tourism agency. He mentioned that it was forbidden by law for any Palestinian to become a tour guide from 1967 until 1995/96 when the Palestinian Authority was installed. He quoted the former Israeli minister of defense, which many other informants have done as well: "I would allow a Palestinian to fly a fighter plane before I would license a Palestinian Tour Guide."[37] Khaled emphasized what others have also explained: "they [Israelis] don't want tourists to be guided by Palestinians, because they will tell the Palestinian narrative."[38] These statements are confirming the Foucauldian notion of power that tour guides in Palestine enjoy. Many of our informants have mentioned the quote by Moshe Dayan, showing the importance of the mechanism of 'the gaze' (Cheong and Miller 2000). When tourists join a tour, the tour guide has the power to show them whatever he wants to show them, which is often a narrative to delegitimize the Israeli occupation and to judge the violent actions of the Israeli army. Therefore, Israel put policies in place in order to discourage Palestinians from hosting tourists. For instance, they never mentioned Palestine in tourism programs; Palestinians were never licensed to build hotels; and signs on the streets were not mentioning Palestinian cities in order to keep tourists out of Palestine, "for economic reasons, but second, more importantly, for ideological reasons."[39]

> Now, "Palestinians can study tour guiding at the university. After that they have to do a written and oral exam at MOTA (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities). If they pass, they get a license. The license depends on the exam and the results. Either they get local tour guide, West-Bank tour guide, or general tour guide, with the latter, you can guide in Israel and Palestine."[40]

The kind of narrative that is conveyed by the tour guides depends on their kind of license. A certain license provides guides with certain freedoms with regards to the spreading of their message. Particularly those guides who are licensed by the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism for providing tours in their local city/environment, or those who provide tours without being licensed at all, have the opportunity to express the Palestinian narrative, because the Israeli government cannot exert any influence on them. Additionally, because they stay in their own municipality, they can freely articulate their opinion on the conflict and its consequences.[41]

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[37] Quote by Moshe Dayan, former minister of defense (in Landy 2008)
[38] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[39] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[40] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[41] Khalil, informal conversation, 01-02-2019

General tour guides, on the other hand, suffer from mobility restrictions imposed on them by Israel while exercising their job. After the second intifada, "Palestinians were no longer allowed to provide tours in Israel,"[42] as they failed to receive permits that allowed them to go into Israel.

> "To get a license, doesn't mean that you can guide groups. You still need a permit from Israel, and not any permit, you need a permit as a tour guide. […] Since the year 2000, Israel gave almost between 42 and 45 Palestinians a permit as a tour guide. […] Until now, they refuse to increase the number."[43]

Khalil argued that "Palestinian tour guides living in Jerusalem were still allowed to provide tours in Israel. However, in order to keep their license, they should carefully negotiate the things they say and talk about"[44], meaning they are subjected to providing a more pro-Israeli or neutral narrative. Palestinian tour guides within the West-Bank face similar challenges. Many have warned us for the presence of undercover (Mussad) agents:

> "There are a lot of undercover agents, who go around in all places acting as 'normal internationals', but they are undercover Israeli soldiers. But you cannot tell, as many Israeli soldiers are actually from the US or from Europe. You never know if what you tell is spread to the wrong person."[45]

Different Kinds of Tourism

Because of the unique situation in Palestine of being a popular religious tourism destination on the one hand, and being under occupation and living in a situation of intractable conflict on the other hand, several forms of tourism have developed, each emphasizing one or more of the unique characteristics of the country. We can broadly divide these different kinds of tourism in what we call 'mass tourism' on the one hand and 'alternative tourism' on the other hand. Mass tourism is what we define as organized groups that have a set program and often visit Palestine merely for its religious sites for not more than half a day[46]. They will not engage in politics

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[42] Khalil, informal conversation, 01-02-2019
[43] Khalil, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[44] Khalil, informal conversation, 01-02-2019
[45] Osama, semi-structured interview, 11-02-2019
[46] khalil, lecture, 13-02-2019

during their tours and have limited or no interactions with the local community. The biggest majority of these tourists are pilgrims and people with historical and cultural interests. [47]

During our research, we solely focussed on alternative forms of tourism. Many of our informants use different names for the kinds of tours they offer. However, we found three broad categories: 'community-based tours', 'political tours' and 'activist tours'. All of these forms can have political goals, as well as seek for justice, and all do so through different mechanisms. However, we would define community-based tours as a form of justice tourism and political tours political tourism, whereas activist tours could be both.

The main aim of community-based tours is to connect international travelers to the local community to seek for solidarity and plea for justice:

> "Staying with host families and building relationships with them, humanizes the Palestinians, it puts a face on the people. That is really important. If you know them, making decisions is going to be much harder."[48]

Similarly, another person argued that a community based hiking tour, in which visitors spend their nights in host-families or local guest houses, counters propaganda as it will inherently humanize Palestine and its people.[49] An American tourist whom we asked about her experience in Palestine got emotional when she explained that:

> "You know, the host family in which we stayed, they were just a young couple, involved in the exact same things in which a couple of their age in the US would be involved in. They are normal people, just like us, but they just do not get the same opportunities because of the oppression they go through every day."[50]

Edward explained that: "when you meet somebody, you create a relationship with them. You become their supporter."[51] Community-based tours, therefore, function as an important form of resistance against the Israeli occupation. Accordingly, Rashid argued: "Community tourism is

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[47] Khalil, lecture, 13-02-2019
[48] American Tourist, informal conversation, 22-02-2019
[49] Tourist, informal conversation, 13-03-2019
[50] American Tourist, informal conversation, 13-03-2019
[51] Edward, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019

based on heritage and cultural identity. Heritage is identity, identity is existence, and existence is resistance."[52]

The second kind of alternative tours are political tours. We define political tours as guided tours in which a tour guide provides the tourists with information related to the conflict and the political situation in Palestine or in which tourists are offered a lecture from an organization. Political tours seek sympathy and justice, but also aspire to fulfil more political goals by calling upon tourists to engage in political action in the form of supporting organizations or the boycott of Israel. These tours would, thus, be defined as 'political tourism'. These tours visit Palestinian cities, like Bethlehem, Ramallah and Hebron, and political places like the segregation wall and refugee camps and cover a variety of themes. We will explain this by providing a few examples from several tours that we participated in.

First of all, political tours in Bethlehem often cover a visit to the wall[53], where tour guides tell tourists about the implications of the wall and try to counter Israeli narratives about why the wall has been built (image 1).

> "This wall is not a security wall, because there are many Palestinians living on the other side. It is not a segregation wall, because there are many Palestinians living on the other side and many Israelis living on this side. It is a confiscation and expansion barrier. Israel controls everything on and under the ground. Wherever you turn your face, you can see the occupation."[54]

Sometimes, tour guides take tourists to checkpoints and they also frequently visit a refugee camp[55], where the tour guides elaborate on the history of the camps, the harsh living conditions in the camp and the right of return that the refugees hold on to.[56] However, they also emphasize how, despite the living conditions in the camp, people are well educated[57] and develop themselves through several initiatives.[58]

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[52] Rashid, semi-structured interview, 05-03-2019
[53] Yasser, participant observation, 08-02-2019; Akram, participant observation, 20-03-2019; Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[54] Saed, participant observation, 27-03-2019
[55] Yasser, participant observation, 08-02-2019; Akram, participant observation, 20-03-2019; Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[56] Mohammed, participant observation, 07-02-2019; Mohammed, participant observation, 01-03-2019; Yasser, participant observation, 08-02-2019; Said, participant observation, 24-03-2019, Saed, participant observation, 27-03-2019
[57] Mohammed, participant observation, 01-03-2019
[58] Akram, participant observation, 20-03-2019

Tours in Hebron are mainly focussed on the unique situation with the settlements in the old city:

'I found myself looking up at the abandoned apartments that were built above the empty shops. I was searching for a sign of life besides the street cats and dogs going through the garbage and the soldiers watching on every corner of the street. I was told there had to be around 200 people living here, among which five Palestinian families. The rest of them Israeli settlers. On one of the balconies was some laundry drying in the sun and a sign put there by a settler with a statement saying "Arabs are prohibited" (image 10). The apartment looked old and rusty. The facade was broken, and the balcony looked highly unstable. I figured you'd have to be very determined as a settler to live in such conditions. Quickly I walked further, looking for the tour guide who was waiting for us on the other side of the street.'[59]

As explicated by the above vignette, tours in Hebron are mainly focussed on the unique situation with the settlements in the old city. Many tour guides ask their tourists to walk through Al-Shahuda street, also referred to as the 'ghost town' (image 8, 11 and 12). Because of the checkpoints, tour guides themselves are often prohibited to join their group (image 9). Tour guides would explain these and other restrictions imposed on them. Tours also frequently visit the mosque where Ibrahim/Abraham is buried and explain how the occupation has become evident in the building that is now half synagogue: "The mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron, they try to take it and then frame it as theirs."[60]

Sometimes, the tours will visit local residents who explain about their lived experiences in Hebron. Local shop owners, as well, desperately try to convey their stories to tourists who come to visit their souvenir shops. One of the shop owners has even made a film containing a variety of short clips of violations committed by Israeli soldiers in Hebron, which he will always try to show tourists when the Israelis are not around.[61]

Often tours consist out of a combination between culture and politics, especially in a city like Nablus, which, according to Said, "is not yet touched by the occupation like other cities

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[59] Vignette written by Dian, field observations, 09-02-2019
[60] Zahra, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019
[61] Adham, informal conversation, 09-02-2019

such as Hebron. It still has the sense of a Palestinian city."[62] When we asked him why he includes Palestinian culture in his tours, he answered that:

"it's unfair to focus on only one aspect of the history and situation of Palestine. It's fairer to try to explain progress of Palestine in all its facets and tell people about the culture and the history spread over hundreds of years. Yes, everything is controlled by Israeli occupation, but it's also important to learn about the different ways in which people survive this and have always survived it."[63]

Amir also stressed the importance of taking tourists to cultural sites:

"It shows them the history of the city and it shows them that there were Palestinians there. To show that this land was not empty before the Jews came. It was a city that was lively, productive and full of people and culture."[64]

Another place where culture and politics get intertwined, is Battir, a UNESCO world heritage site. What is mainly shown, is the absence of the occupation and the wall, due to the international attention drawn towards the site (image 22).

Also, some tours include a lecture as part of the program:

"We give them lectures about refugees, about human rights, about political analysis of the whole Middle East, we give them information about the children rights in Palestine and how it is related to the Israeli occupation. We give them lectures about BDS."[65]

Tourists who participated in a political tour, mentioned that they do now feel more informed[66] and have more information, facts and figures to spread at home.[67]

The third category of tours is what we call activist tours. It combines a certain (political) action or demonstration with tourism. A prominent form of these tours is the planting of olive trees,

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[62] Said, participant observation, 21-03-2019
[63] Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[64] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[65] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019
[66] American tourists, informal conversation, 22-02-2019; Tourists Olive Tree Planting campaign, informal conversation, 17-02-2019
[67] American tourists, informal conversation, 21-02-2019

which is offered by several tourism agencies in the West Bank. The olive trees are planted by a group of tourists on pieces of agricultural land that are under threat of confiscation (image 20). Most of the time, the owners of these agricultural plots are denied entry to the field when alone. However, the group of internationals facilitates access to the field, enabling the farmer to cultivate it. The olive tree planting in itself is both political as well as community-based, since during the tours, there is a lot of interaction between the farmer, his family, the tourists, and other Palestinians who occasionally join the planting (Image 21). These tours, therefore, can be categorized as both political as well as justice tourism. We will further elaborate on these kinds of tours and their importance in the chapter 'the protective function of the agora'.

Chapter 4
"International Presence Gives Us Hope"[68]

Fulfilling Palestinian Aspirations through Alternative Forms of Tourism

As the title already suggests, many of our informants have stressed the importance of international visitors coming to Palestine, as it provides them with hope for a better future, hope for change. In this chapter, we will first discuss the battle of the narratives, which is the conflict over knowledge and information. Secondly, we will elaborate on the different tactics that are used to spread the message. Finally, we will discuss the aspirations Palestinians aim to fulfill through tourism in relation to their future hopes.

Battle of the Narratives

Israel, the occupying force, does not merely occupy the territory and the people: they also occupy the media. "Most of the visitors coming mainly from western countries hear the news from the biased media. They are coming [...] with a one-side story about the situation, having stereotypes about the Palestinians, thinking that they are visiting a dangerous place and they need to be careful."[69] "Often, they are portrayed as being terrorist, stone-throwing and violent."[70] Israel uses the Islam to create fear among Westerners. Some of our informants noted that "[Israel] tries to divide the Palestinians here as Palestinian Christians and Palestinian Muslims"[71]. By portraying Palestinians as mere Muslims, Israel tries to promote the conflict as a religious conflict between the Jewish and the Muslims: "they try to keep Christians away out of this equation, in order to get the support of the Christian community outside."[72] However, as stated by Ala':

> "We are just Palestinians. All of us are just Palestinians. Not Muslims or Christians or Jews. But today, we are facing this problem that there is a power from outside that is trying to frame the conflict as a religious conflict: between the Jews and the Muslims.

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[68] Osama, semi-structured interview, 11-02-2019
[69] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[70] Harun, semi-structured interview, 05-03-2019
[71] Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[72] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019

They totally forget about the large percentage of Christian Palestinians that are just as big a part of the conflict as the Muslims. Today, this has become the easy narrative. They want to control the Middle-East and this is their tactic: divide and control."[73]

This image of the Palestinian people as dangerous Muslim terrorists is not solely presented in the media: when entering the West-Bank, people pass large red signs (image 7) stating that entering the area is 'dangerous to your life' and that 'entrance is forbidden for Israeli citizens'. Ala', a tour guide from the Bethlehem area always starts his tours at this sign:

"I try to show them this red sign; dangers to life. They write it in English as well. I usually call it a 'message under the table' for tourists around the world: Dangerous to your life: Don't be among the Palestinians, don't enter any Palestinian area."[74]

One way of countering these preconceived notions about Palestinians as articulated by many of our informants, is to stress the Palestinian culture of hospitality and the fact that Palestinians are mere 'ordinary people': "people often have the idea that it is dangerous, but when people are here, we show them that they are welcome and that Palestinians are extraordinary kind."[75] Many of our informants have emphasized the important role of hospitality in Palestinian culture, not merely in order to 'perform' this quality for tourists, but also in their daily lives. "[Hospitality] is in the nature of Palestinians. They are so hospitable. [...] We are raised like that, that's just how we are, and that's how we survive."[76] Katrin, a local tour guide in Bethlehem, argued that she purposefully structures her tour in such a way that it accedes to her aspiration of displaying the kindness of the Palestinian people, and the fact that they are hospitable, highly educated and profoundly 'developed':

"When people come here and realise that Palestinians are humans just like you and me, and with that re-humanize them in an attempt to revert the dehumanization enacted by Israeli propaganda that claims that Palestinians are born to hate Jews and be terrorists, it allows them to convey an entirely different message about this place when they are back home, consequently inspiring others to come and experience as well."[77]

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[73] Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[74] Ala', semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[75] Adham, informal conversation, 09-02-2019
[76] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[77] Katrin, semi-structured interview, 20-03-2019 (translated from Dutch)

Another recurrent theme in our data is the topic of memoricide, the systematic policies of erasure of Palestinian history and culture. As a counter-reaction, Palestinians have become aware of the importance of cultural heritage preservation. Zahra, from the Center of Cultural Heritage Preservation, noted that:

> "They [Israel] are stealing old stones and old tiles and everything and use these to build an old house inside the settlement. So, after years, if you want to prove that you own the land, you would discover that Palestine has less traditional buildings than the ones in Area C or in Israel. They are trying to prove over many years that they have the right to this land, not us. […] They are cutting of the olive trees and putting them on their land, to, somehow, prove that they own the land. They are using the traditional dresses in many occasions, they are using the traditional food, like falafel and humus as if it is the Jewish food, you know. […]"[78]

This increased awareness has also had its effect on the tourism industry and in many places, Palestinians are making tourists aware through cultural heritage tours, museums, heritage houses and the selling of traditional souvenirs. Omar, the owner of the cultural heritage house in Ramallah, emphasized the importance of raising international awareness of Palestinian heritage:

> "This is resisting: teaching people about the Palestinian culture, heritage, identity and tradition. It is to show that we do have a history on the land and that we, as Palestinians, have always been here. We have a past on this land, a heritage. It is important to counteract the propaganda claiming that we had never existed here, because there is a Palestinian heritage on the land." [79]

Palestinians, thus, attempt to counter continuous attempts at memoricide by showing and emphasizing their cultural heritage and identity to tourists.

Alternative tourism is, in essence, about countering Israeli propaganda and providing tourists with an alternative history and reality. We refer to this as 'the battle of the narratives', where

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[78] Zahra, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019 (reformulated)
[79] Omar, informal conversation, 11-02-2019

the battle over knowledge and information provision is fought between Israel and Palestinians through mechanisms like media and tours, the latter being one of the main subjects of our research. Often, this battle is fought through indirect encounters. Sometimes, the encounters were more direct, with the tourists themselves as witnesses. Towards the end of our research, I[80] was in Hebron. It was my last visit to the city before we would leave and I came there to say goodbye to all of our informants. I was there with my husband and a friend from Jerusalem who both wanted to visit the city. We ran into Adham, as I had already expected since the old city is small and he is always hanging around there. He was providing a tour to some visitors. After we greeted each other and I introduced my company, he invited us to join his tour. We decided to do so. With his group we walked into the ghost town. We stood still on a crossroad, as Adham is not allowed to go any further into the area. "You see this house? This house has recently been taken over by Jewish settlers. The house next to it still belongs to a Palestinian family. That is why they put an Israeli soldier in front of the house." While Adham was elaborating on the situation in the old city, a few members of the Palestinian family came out of the house. The heavily armed soldier hurried towards the house to escort them out of the area, not because he was protective of the Palestinians, but of the settlers. He was stationed there to protect the illegal settlers that had just moved in. After we had watched the event, Adham continued talking about a new construction project of the settlers. During his talk, the soldier protecting the settlers came closer and closer, listening to the narrative Adham was telling us (image 14). Adham explained how the Israelis call the new building 'the house of peace', which is ironic given the situation. He explained what is was like growing up in a city like Hebron, how he was arrested when he was only twelve years old, and how he witnessed the settlers stealing more and more Palestinian land. The soldier, a boy who was merely 18 or 19 years old, got fed up with the story and interfered. He started speaking directly to us tourists, shouting that Adham was lying to us. Adham responded by asking the soldier what he was doing here. The soldier aggressively responded: "I am protecting my people!". Soon after, they started discussing in Arabic. With my small knowledge of the language, I could hear the soldier using some of the worst insults known in Arabic, offending Adham and his family. When the soldier started to threaten Adham with his weapons, we soon left with Adham. While walking away from the soldier, the soldier kept shouting at us: "He is lying to you, he is lying". I could see that my friend and husband were shocked. Against all expectations, I felt good. I wanted to show them what we had found during our research and this event just summarized it all: who is the occupying force, how the

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[80]Here, 'I' refers to Dian

Palestinians try to narrate their story and how Israel is fighting them in order to prevent the truth from coming out. So, with a smile on my face I walked away, knowing that Israel had, once again, shown his true face in front of international tourists who would come home and participate on the agora, narrating this version of events.

Tactics of Conveying the Palestinian Narrative

Direct or Indirect Political Stories of Oppression

Nonviolent resistance through tourism is enacted through communicating the Palestinian narrative, through "telling our story"[81] and through educating visitors about the Palestinian situation. Tourism, then, constitutes an important way of sharing a generally neglected political message to international audiences. Among our informants, however, varied opinions can be detected on *how* to communicate this message. Some argue for a direct approach, in which one would consciously 'talk politics' and would explicitly point to the 'truths of occupation'. Tariq, a local guide and taxi driver in Bethlehem, for instance, stated:

> "I tell them [tourists] about politics, about what happened and about what the situation is like now. I tell them how they [Israel] took our land, about how they put us in a big jail. I tell them that our lives are no lives, that we have no life at all."[82]

This suggests that Tariq's tactic is to directly draw the issues of Palestinian suffering to the attention of his audience. Similarly, when sitting on the sunny rooftop of Saed's newly renovated Hostel while interviewing him on the content of one of his political tours in which I[83] had participated, Saed argued that he prefers to tell people about the harsh, rough and painful stories of occupation, since "everyone else tends to sugar-coat reality."[84] According to Saed, visitors deserve reality, even if it would lead them to "go home depressed", because, in the end, "our situation is not a beautiful fact… and life is not always about being fun."[85]Correlatively, Yamen, one of our good friends who works for the resource center for Palestinian residency

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[81] Habib, semi-structured interview, 07-02-2019
[82] Tariq, semi-structured interview, 04-02-2019
[83] Here, 'I' refers to Noor
[84] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019
[85] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019

and refugee rights, argued: "We are not like Ibiza or Barcelona where tourists can just go to, we have a political cause here."[86]

Others, however, argue that Palestinians should *prevent* shouting out their political experiences and opinions to tourists directly, as sharing direct stories of suffering at the hands of the Israelis has often proven to backfire. Habib, the general director of the ministry of tourism, for instance, argued:

> "We do not only provide tourists with our suffering, but also with our joy and hospitality. We don't directly provide drastic stories of oppression. When tourists are here, they can feel and see what is happening."[87]

Many of our informants have emphasized that direct political stories are not required when a tourist has already asserted its presence in the political environment of Palestine: by walking the streets, by crossing the checkpoints, by meeting Palestinians, by being confronted with the wall, by experiencing mobility restrictions, by being a witness to Israeli harassment, one is automatically confronted with politics. Politics in Palestine is everywhere, and, as argued by Abdallah[88], it resonates better through experience than through direct pledges.

Victim Versus Freedom-Fighter Card

When discussing the communication of stories of suffering, a number of our informants pointed out that they don't like to focus solely on the hardships they face, since they are hesitant to use the 'victim-card'. As our informants argue, Palestinians don't want to be portrayed as victims, but merely as ordinary people surviving extraordinary circumstances.[89] Some of our informants, among whom Yamen and Said[90], even argued that for them, it is embarrassing to be looked at as if they were a victim and that it is unhealthy to be approached with pity, as it could lead to an unacknowledged, unconscious superiority complex or orientalist attitude among visitors. They point to the importance of showing how Palestinians are *surviving* an extraordinary reality in order to promote relationships based on equity, sharing and respect, values that constitute an important aspect of justice tourism (Scheyvens 2010, 43). Even though there are plenty of descriptions of victimhood to express, Palestinians like to talk about their

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[86] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[87] Habib, semi-structured interview, 07-02-2019
[88] Abdallah, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[89] Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[90] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019; Said, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019

strengths, about their hopes and about their inside energies. Informants have pointed at their aim of articulating Palestinians achievements during tours, how they manage their lives without a Palestinian authority supporting them, how they are educated, and how, despite everything, Palestinians are still striving.

> "Why minimize yourself? Why making yourself a victim? Why let people feel sorry for you? We want people to know that we are strong, that we are fighting for our freedom and for our rights."[91]

However, participant observation allowed us to distil that the very actions of certain informants – local shop-owners in particular – occasionally differ from their articulated aims, since some of them have claimed not to use the 'victim-card', while simultaneously 'exploiting' their suffering in interactions with tourists by summing up all that has happened to them in an effort to gain their sympathy and subsequently receive their, preferably monetary, support.

Building Relationships

Informants have also very frequently emphasized the importance of 'building relationships' for enhancing the aim of conveying the Palestinian narrative. Palestinians can express their voices through international organizations, providing a formal and official narrative in a detached manner *or* they can express their voices through "the more powerful activity of tourism: because tourism creates relations."[92] Correspondingly, Mariam argued that:

> "You need to bring the internationals with the people. That is all you need to do. Eat with them, get to know about our traditions, food, about our daily lives. Yes, Palestinians are suffering, but come to see their faces, come and see them laughing, come and see how they are happy, how they still have hope."[93]

Informants argue that visitors should try to leave something in Palestine, not in the form of monetary or other material effects, but by engaging in friendships: "meeting people with whom you keep in touch, with whom you built a network."[94] This network of friends will subsequently

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[91] Mariam, semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[92] Murad, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[93] Mariam, semi-structured interview, 12-02-2019
[94] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019

allow visitors to stay updated about what happens, will make them stay aware of the violations that occur and will support them to stay acquainted about potential changes in the situation. This is fruitful, since, according to Yamen:

> "If you stay aware, all those surrounding you will stay aware… because when you chat with your friends and family, I'm sure you will talk about your Palestinians friends and their situation at some point."[95]

Similarly, Murad, the director of a center specialized in hiking trips, asserts that building relations through tourism promotes advocacy for the Palestinian cause, since it allows a greater amount of connection to Palestinians and their aims, which might subsequently encourage visitors to become ambassadors of Palestine. Following him, meeting Palestinians and building genuine relationships with them, will almost automatically lead tourists to become supporters of the Palestinian cause, frequently "without them even knowing it."[96] In accordance with Hall, Higgins-Desboilles and Isaac (2015, 48), then, our informants argue that through living and being with Palestinians, visitors can develop feelings of sympathy, which can influence their attitudes and actions towards the conflict. So, similar to Nash & Smith (1991, 13), our informants perceive tourists as agents of contact between groups, and directly or indirectly, as active agents of change as they can propagate desired political messages upon returning to their countries and communities.

Emphasizing Culture and 'Fun'

In order to avoid a mere focus on Palestinian misery, and with that constructing a gap between the 'Palestinian victim' and the international visitor, some of our informants have emphasized a focus on Palestinian culture and on 'having fun' together, in order to "make people love us, to convince the outerworld that we are nice people."[97] Focussing on traditional cultural aspects, rather than merely on the political, allows for the emergence of the "human side"[98] of Palestinians, focussing on "how Palestinians live, how they cook, how they dance and how they make fun."[99]

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[95] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[96] Murad, semi-structured interview, 04-03-2019
[97] Cizar, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019
[98] Osama, semi-structured interview, 11-02-2019
[99] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019

Indeed, Amir[100] explained how he aims to provide tourists with a good time in Palestine, in order for them to go home and tell their friends that Palestine also constitutes a place where one can have fun. Following him, it is important that tourists understand the situation through the 'good things', rather than merely through the negative things: "We want people to have a nice experience and memory of Palestine, and not go home exhausted because of all the stories about oppression". If tourists would go home with a "negative vibe" about Palestine, they might not want to come back:

> "Most of the time when tourists come here, we start telling them about the good times that we have… So what we do, is we take people to a bar, we go out, so they see Palestinians drinking, dancing, having fun. They see we are people like them. But when they go outside, they see the checkpoint, the soldiers, the drawings of martyrs and they understand that the only thing that prevents us to live a normal life, is occupation."[101]

So instead of being portrayed as either 'Arab terrorists' or as 'victims', many informants thus try to emphasize that they are 'normal people', wanting to live a life just like anyone else. By being engaged in 'normal, ordinary' activities where visitor's age groups back home would also be involved in, tour guides want to convey and display that "occupation is in every single aspect of our lives",[102] while simultaneously providing them with a good memory of Palestine encouraging them to come back and take along more people. Some informants, however, like Katrin[103], argue that such an approach might lead visitors to solely experience, rather than to genuinely understand what is going on, as the complex situation in Palestine requires a thorough elaboration of its historical, political and judicial context.

Palestinian Aspirations for the Deployment of Alternative Tourism

Providing alternative tours to international visitors serves a manifold of aims beneficial to the Palestinian cause. Many of our informants have argued that "international presence gives us hope"[104]; "when people visit our country, and understand the realities, they might also put pressure on their countries to end […] this long occupation and to call for justice and

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[100] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[101] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[102] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019
[103] Katrin, semi-structured interview, 20-03-2019 (translated from Dutch)
[104] Osama, semi-structured interview, 11-02-2019

equality."[105] This section will discuss four aspirations Palestinians want to realize through alternative forms of tourism.

Economic Benefits

"So, we're going to get out of the bus here. The hike will be about one or two hours. If you want to take anything with you, there is a supermarket on the other side of the street. You can go there to buy some snacks and drinks"[106]. This was one of the many tours in which we were encouraged to buy thing and spend our money in favor of local Palestinian shop-owners: In Nablus, tourists were encouraged by our tour guide to buy soap at the factory,[107] guides in Hebron take tourists to the local souvenir shops where they sell products made in the glass and ceramics factory,[108] and in Bethlehem, local products made by Palestinian women are promoted to tourists.[109] As tourists usually spend their money on souvenirs and food while on holiday, tours that are embedded in the local community engender great economic benefits for Palestinians.

Mobility

Alternative forms of tourism are a way of counteracting the 'Spaciocide' that the Israeli authority imposes on the Palestinian community. Spaciocide refers to the control of Israelis over Palestinian territory and infrastructure (Hanafi 2006), which is visible in the allocation of checkpoints, road blocks and the consequent limited mobility of Palestinians – both with regards to travelling outside the West Bank as well as with travelling outside of the country. Travelling, therefore, is important to many people in order to be able to bear the living conditions under occupation. One of our informants, a taxi driver and tour guide, stated:

> "I like to travel; I spent a lot of money traveling. I want to see the life. Because we are in a big jail. If I stay one year and don't go out…. Boom! I don't want to stay here all the time."[110]

However, not all Palestinians get permission to travel.

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[105] Khaled, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[106] Munter, participant observation, 06-04-2019
[107] Said, participant observation, 21-03-2019
[108] Hebron, 04-04-2019
[109] Ibrahim, informal conversation, 01-03-2019
[110] Tariq, semi-structured interview, 04-02-2019

We met one of our informants, Osama, in his house in Ramallah where we ate falafel and talked about his job as a tour guide. We were sitting on one of the couches in a barely decorated living room. One piece of furniture stood out: a large display cabinet filled with souvenirs. It was cold in his house as Palestinians often cannot pay the gas prices to heat their houses. So, while still wearing our jackets, we started the interview. Osama talked about what his family had to endure during the occupation and about his dreams; the countries he wanted to travel to. During our interview, his children were continuously running and playing around in the living room. Later they approached us, inviting us in their play. Osama explained he had never had permission to travel outside the country and he told us about the positive effects hosting tourists has had on his children, how they learned to speak different languages and encountered different cultures. That is why he instrumentalizes tourism to establish contacts in the outside world. He said:

> "Imagine someone who is in prison. The way to keep him alive, is to visit him. If no one ever visits him, he will not be able to survive. I usually do not say that we are in a big prison, I always compare our situation with a Safari. The animals think they are free, but in the end, they are not, as there is always a big fence preventing them from leaving the park. International presence gives us hope. It makes you connect with the rest of the world. That's why I collect coins and souvenirs from all over. Then I feel like someone who has been traveling. If someone comes to my house, and see all the souvenirs, they are like: oh, have you been there? I have not been there, but it feels like I have."[111]

He proudly showed us his large collection of foreign currencies, explaining the origin of each coin and bill. Tourism, then, helps Palestinians to counter their limited mobility, because meeting tourists and building intercultural connections facilitates Palestinians to 'travel in their own space'.

Giving a Voice to the Voiceless: the Instrumentalization of the Agora

Tourists visiting Palestine are an important instrument for fighting for the Palestinian cause. Specially in our highly interconnected and globalized world, where people's voices are empowered through the use of social media, tourists have the opportunity to spread what they have seen, experienced and heard with their social network. Tourist can form a channel through

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[111] Osama, semi-structured, interview, 11-02-2019

which the voiceless can speak and can influence the discussion about the rights of the Palestinians on an international level – the agora (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015), as for Palestinians themselves, it can be highly dangerous to raise their voices. Mohammed made this clear when, during a tour in Dheisheh refugee camp, one Danish student pointed to a wall displaying three murals of young boys and asked Mohammed, the tour guide, why the boys were killed. Mohammed answered:

> "Because they throw stones, or because of Facebook: When you have a big mouth in the camp, they will take you. Sometimes they come with undercover soldiers. They come to kidnap those with a big mouth."[112]

Palestinians are under continuous threat of being killed or arrested when telling 'the truth'. Several tour guides spoke about being harassed during their tours. Saed, a tour guide from Bethlehem said:

> "I was detained at least 3 times by Israeli soldiers while giving a tour. [...] You can't do anything. They [the tourists] were shocked, but powerless. Actually, one of the times I was detained, it was filmed by another tour guide who was in the area, but he was beaten up for filming it."[113]

Therefore, tourists are very important for getting the message out on an international platform. This 'Agora' that is created through the voices of international tourists, serves two functions. First, it is used to raise awareness about the Palestinian cause. Tourists are encouraged to "take the message home"[114] and to re-narrate the stories of the Palestinians about how they have suffered under the occupation. Tourists are encouraged to use social media to this end. The JAI (Joint Advocacy Initiative) provides an advocacy session at the end of their programs to help and inspire the tourists to do this in a professional way.

> "Our mission in advocacy is to go and to inform them [tourists] about the reality of what is happening to the Palestinians. We do this by inviting them to Palestine, to allow them to witness and to see what is happening in Palestine. In their home countries they can

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[112] Mohammed, participant observation, 01-03-2019
[113] Saed, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019
[114] Yasser, informal conversation, 04-02-2019

do some actions to show solidarity with the Palestinians, like: demonstrate against the government that supports Israel; boycott Israel; write blogs and write to the parliament or the members of the parliament, in order to change their country's policy with regard to its dealings with Israel." [115]

Higgins-Desbiolles (2010, 195) posed the question what justice through tourism actually means. We do not claim to have a universal answer to this question. However, many of our informants have argued that justice starts being served the moment you understand the reality, you take the reality back home and you start talking about it. "That is you trying to achieve justice."[116]

Simultaneously, Palestinians instrumentalize the tourists as a protection measure, in which the agora is the protective mechanism. Israel seems aware of the power of the agora to show the Palestinian reality and therefore internationals are prevented from seeing the truth as much as possible. When we went to Hebron for the first time, our informant took us to see the 'settler walk' through the old city. The settler walk is an 'event' in which Israeli settlers from all throughout the West Bank come to intimidate and provoke Palestinians by walking through the old city, guided and protected by a large amount of soldiers (image 16). The settlers walk goes through the Palestinian part of the old city in order to, what seems like, perform and display their dominant power. Among the people witnessing this spectacle were other internationals, some journalists and some people who were allegedly connected to the human rights watch or a comparable organization, wearing go pro's and carrying camera's in order to record the event. The walk went on very peacefully. Soldiers were smiling at us and tried to engage in some small talk. However, three days later, we received a news report stating that a spontaneously organized settler walk on a Tuesday night had escalated and Israeli settlers had attacked Palestinian residents. They explained this happened because no internationals were present.[117] This example shows that the presence of internationals is important for Palestinians in order to

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[115] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019

[116] Saed, semi-structured interview, 08-02-2019

[117] Patel, Yumna, ''There are no foreigners left': Israeli settlers rampage in Hebron following expulsion of human rights observers', February 14, 2019, visited on February 14, 2019, available through: https://mondoweiss.net/2019/02/foreigners-following-expulsion/?utm_source=Mondoweiss%20List&utm_campaign=5ae8c9ea1b-RSS_EMAIL_CAMPAIGN&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_b86bace129-5ae8c9ea1b-398433769&mc_cid=5ae8c9ea1b&mc_eid=f6880d441a&fbclid=IwAR1JvXm5czRztWB0dx15FnGhthMFf7-ahrRLZRQGKU1XurgNXakwtgovBVY

protect themselves. Israel will be reticent in using violence when 'the agora is on alert'. A former resident of Hebron noted that:

> "When […] I walk with internationals, I feel more confident, because I know for a fact that Israelis won't hurt me if I'm walking with internationals, because Israelis don't want internationals to see the truth of occupation. So, just by bringing internationals here helps, because their presence provides security and protection to Palestinians."[118]

The JAI makes good use of this function of the agora in their Olive Tree Campaign, as we already discussed above. They take groups of tourists to agricultural land that is under threat of confiscation. Often, the farmer is not allowed to enter the field by himself, but with internationals present, Israeli soldiers usually don't want to make a scene and provide the group of internationals – including the farmer – access to the fields, where they will subsequently plant olive trees or harvest the olives. The first day we joined the olive tree campaign, we were planting between a settlement and an Israeli military base. We were warned at the beginning that there might be some trouble, but that we should just keep on going. Soon after we started, settlers arrived. They started taking pictures and making calls. Not much later, a vehicle from the military police arrived. They got out of the vehicle and, again, started taking pictures of us. One older lady got angry and took her mobile phone out of her pocket and started taking pictures of the military police and the settlers: "If they are taking pictures of me, I am taking pictures of them." Soon after they had noticed her camera, the settlers and military police left.[119] The transnational agora was activated and they knew that. Akram, who is involved in organizing the Olive Tree Campaign, noted that:

> "The internationals offer me security. With all of you in the field, the Israelis will not attack me because you are there. So, your presence there is important, for me and for the farmer. But if I was by myself, they would stop me, keep me, check my ID, do many things."[120]

Others use this protective function of the agora as well. In Hebron, Palestinians residents have created a 'rooftop-museum' in order to stop the Israelis from shooting water tanks on

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[118] Amir, semi-structured, interview, 03-03-2019
[119] Field observations, 14-02-2019
[120] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019

Palestinian rooftops: "We just put a plate with 'water tank museum' on the house, even if it's not, of course, an actual museum. But now the Israeli soldiers are so scared of internationals seeing it, that they stopped attacking his house."[121] Another example is a woman who turned her house into a guest house because "international presence in the house prevents soldiers from occupying the house and take it for themselves, as they don't want to ruin their reputation in front of internationals."[122] All the examples above, show the agora as a powerful force, strengthening the voices of the weak against their oppression and protecting the Palestinians from their occupying force.

Pursuing Political Objectives: The Call for a Boycott of Israel

The last aspiration Palestinians pursue, is the boycott of Israel, which is one of the main objectives of political tourism (Hall, Higgins-Desbiolles, and Isaac 2015). Some tour guides directly ask their tourists to boycott Israel[123] and they provide tourists with practical advice on how to do this.[124] For instance, when passing a graffiti painting of the BDS Movement during one of the tours through Aida refugee camp, Saed asked for our support for the movement by saying:

> "Don't be afraid of being called an anti-Semite when merely boycotting Israeli products. It's not about boycotting or hating Jews, it is not about the religion, it's about boycotting the Israeli system."[125]

The JAI, one of the founders of BDS, lectures their tourists on BDS and how to boycott Israel.[126] They say that:

> "BDS is the only hope. [...] It worked in South Africa. [...] Boycotting is a way of resisting oppression. The goal is to let Israel abide to international law."[127]

Additionally, an organization called Badil is also striving to educate international visitors about BDS and the importance of boycotting Israel:

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[121] Amir, semi-structured interview, 03-03-2019
[122] Mahmoud, informal conversation, 21-02-2019
[123] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019; Saed, participant observation, 27-03-2019
[124] Employer JAI, lecture, 20-03-2019
[125] Saed, participant observation, 27-03-2019
[126] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019
[127] Employer JAI, presentation, 20-03-2019

"BDS is important. Many of those who come to Badil, they never heard about BDS, so here, when we talk about the obligations of their states, we mention BDS, we talk about why it's important to boycott, what is means, why it is legal and ethical at the same time. So, this is very important. Nowadays, Israel itself recognizes BDS as an existential threat, so it's working. This is what Badil is trying to achieve."[128]

The BDS movement, however, is receiving a lot of resistance on an international level. The US and Israel criminalized BDS by law. Yet, according to Yousef, BDS is the only way in which the international community can change something about the occupation.[129] Palestinians, thus, instrumentalize tourists to convince them of the importance of boycotting Israel, while simultaneously urging them to put pressure on their governments and organizations and to pursue the boycott of Israel on a collective level.

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[128] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[129] Yousef, semi-structured interview, 26-03-2019

Chapter 5
"Foreigners: People from all Around the World Who Could be Able to be Effective and Make Some Difference"[130]

Tourists Visiting Palestine

"I knew little about what actually happens here, because what I hear about the conflict is so extremely biased. I think the entire Swiss community does not even think further than: second world war, holocaust, many Jews died, we did not succeed in doing anything about it, thus they are entitled to their own state. They all support the Israeli state, maybe because of a feeling of guilt, without knowing what's happening on the ground. Before I went to Palestine, I didn't do a lot of research on the situation, because that's how I travel: I want to learn about it once I'm there and go to the area without preconceived ideas. But now, after having been in Palestine for 6 weeks and after having seen and heard everything Palestinians have to suffer, I feel that the situation is a shame to humanity. Israel is an illegitimate state, practicing an Apartheid regime and the world just observes. It is a shame to humanity, I tell you. Seriously, when I'm back, I will let people know. They have to know."[131]

As there is only one tiny heater available, we all sit together on the carpet in the smallest bedroom of the hostel, heating our hands using our cups of herbal tea that we had bought on the Suq in the center. I[132] had introduced myself and the intentions of my presence to the tourists – originating from France, Switzerland, Germany and the US – in the morning and after we had communally visited Al-Amari refugee camp, we decided to go back to the hostel and talk. The tourists seemed to be happy to be able to talk about their trip, to share their feelings and to fetch some relieve from what they had experienced during the past couple of weeks. These tourists, like many other tourists we have spoken to, were surprised of what they had seen, heard and felt and perceived their trip as an 'eye-opener' to what is really happening. They felt shocked

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[130] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019
[131] Swiss tourist, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019
[132] Here, 'I' refers to Noor

about the international neglect of the Palestinian issue and felt urged to do something: indeed, to be effective and to make some difference[133]. This chapter will cover the experience of the *recipients* of the Palestinian narrative, the Focauldian targets through which Palestinians might be able to exert power (Cheong & Miller 2000). The chapter will elaborate on the question of why visitors decided to spend their 'holidays' in Palestine, on what effects their visit and potential tours have had on their perceptions regarding the conflict and on how they are intending to use the information and knowledge they received when returning to their home-countries.

Motivations for Visiting Palestine

As argued by Yamen, the motivations for internationals to visit Palestine vary considerably, consequently making it hard to construct a univocal conclusion on this matter.[134] What is striking, is that many visitors came to Palestine because either their church, university or some other community-based group facilitated a particular project, consequently joining a group that follows a rigid itinerary. Indeed, as Akram confirmed: "There are many groups who support us in a good way…. They send like hundreds of people every year."[135] However, many of the visitors we conversed with, can be defined as 'independent travelers' who have individually decided to visit Palestine, either alone or in couples. It is notable that most of those tourists originate from Western Europe, Scandinavia and the United States. During conversations with these visitors, they frequently articulated to have chosen to visit Palestine because of an interest in politics, either because they major in political science[136], teach politics[137] or nurture a personal interest[138]. One Japanese tourist who was visiting the Segregation wall together with his wife, for instance, argued that:

> "I'm in Palestine because I'm interested in politics and situations of oppression and conflict. I have visited many of those sites, but since I had not yet come to Palestine, I thought it was time to delve into the Israeli-Palestinian situation."[139]

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[133] Saed, semi-structured interview, 09-04-2019
[134] Yamen, semi-structured interview, 02-04-2019
[135] Akram, semi-structured interview, 02-03-2019
[136] Czech tourist, unstructured interview, 27-03-2019
[137] German tourist, unstructured interview 14-03-2019
[138] Japanese tourist, unstructured interview, 08-02-2019
[139] Japanese tourist, unstructured interview,08-02-2019

Many tourists also emphasize the incentive of seeing the conflict and the situation 'with their own eyes', in order to be able to construct their own judgement of what is going on, rather than merely relying on information that either the media or Israeli propaganda provides them with. A male German tourist, for instance, who was individually travelling the Middle-East and whom we encountered while he was taking photographs of an Israeli watch-tower near the segregation wall, stated: "I think, for me, it was just really important to visit this country and see the conflict with my own eyes."[140] Others have emphasized the need to experience 'the other side', as many visitors realize that it remains the less represented side. They have pointed to the urgency and sometimes even to the 'obligation' to, at least, accord 'both sides' with the same amount of consideration. A young German couple partaking in a political tour through Bethlehem provided by Saed explained that:

> "We are just very interested in this side… In Israel we had a tour, but they won't tell you anything about what is actually going on. That's why we decided it would be important to go to Palestine as well."[141]

Similarly, an American Jewish young woman, with whom we were drinking an English tea in the Banksy hotel after she had been participating in the hotel's political tour, argued that she would feel guilty not feeling and getting to know 'the other side': "You cannot not go here, as you should know how things actually work."[142]

The Effects of Visiting Palestine

Although many of the tourists whom we engaged in conversations with are interested in politics, many of them articulated that they did not yet acquire extended knowledge about this particular conflict, either because they had not yet been scrutinizing the conflict[143] or because they merely "heard about the conflict from the extremely biased media."[144] Because many tourists were not entirely educated on the conflict and its implications, and because the political tours in which we have participated are aimed at allowing visitors to see, hear and experience the conflict and

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[140] German tourist, unstructured interview, 08-02-2019
[141] German couple, unstructured interview, 27-03-2019
[142] American Jewish tourist, unstructured interview, 21-02-2019
[143] German couple, unstructured interview, 27-03-2019; French tourist, unstructured interview 02-03-2019; US tourist, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019
[144] Swiss tourist, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019; Dutch tourist, unstructured interview, 09-03-2019

with that educate them on the reality in a relatively short period of time, alternative tourism in Palestine often tends to evoke a manifold of strong emotions among tourists.

Some tourists, like a young American girl who we met while participating in a tour through Dheisheh camp, Bethlehem's largest refugee camp, even start crying. Although many tour guides had indicated a frequent experience of visitors getting upset about what they are being confronted with, the response of the American still surprised me[145]. Therefore, I decided to make my way through the bunch of Palestinian children who had gathered around our group and inquire about her emotions. The girl explained: "[I cry] because it's just really emotional…to see refugee children living in these circumstances."[146] Even though our informants claim to understand why people get shocked and emotional about what is happening, many have expressed that they prefer people to "be strong and stay strong, because tears will not make any change."[147]

What is also interesting, is that tourists originating from the US have expressed to feel embarrassed after all they had seen while travelling in Palestine. Many felt disconcerted because they had not yet realized their country's influence on the situation Palestinians find themselves in, and because they did not yet realize the negative attitude Palestinians have cultivated towards the United states and its politics –an attitude they had distilled from the abundance of satirical 'Trump-references' that Palestinians make: "with regards to Trump, only now I understand why people are so angry."[148] Many had not expected the consequences of US involvement to be this large. One young American student participating in a three-month trip through Europe and the Middle-East facilitated by her university explained: "it's eye-opening and humiliating in a sense, how ignorant we Americans are with regards to this conflict."[149]

Many other tourists from a variety of backgrounds, have expressed to feel anger: "I feel so angry, so angry about how people are being treated here."[150] Others argued to be really shocked and overwhelmed after having participated in a tour and after having seen, heard and experienced what the situation is really like: "the whole trip just freaked me out" the American Jewish tourist, for instance, asserted.[151] Finally, many tourists expressed that their visit instigated a feeling that many tour guides have expressed to be *aiming* to instigate: a feeling of responsibility. A tourist from the UK, for instance, argued that her visit to Palestine made her

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[145] Here, 'me' refers to Noor
[146] US tourist, unstructured interview, 01-03-2019
[147] Mohammed, semi-structured interview,04-04-2019
[148] US tourist, unstructured interview, 22-02-2019
[149] US tourist, unstructured interview, 22-02-2019
[150] A British tourist, unstructured interview, 17-02-2019
[151] American Jewish tourist, unstructured interview, 21-02-2019

realize that, in accordance with Salah's argument about the need for 'international interference', "it's got to be the international community to enforce international law in Palestine."[152] Indeed, another American tourists stated that she felt she could no longer afford to be ignorant after having been in Palestine and that her visit has incited a new responsibility that can no longer be denied.

This variety of *reactions* among tourists, and the consequent feeling of responsibility that it invokes, often translates into various *actions* that tourists are willing to undertake in order to support Palestinians in their struggle. Some, for instance, argued that they would commit themselves to encouraging others to visit Palestine as well. A Swiss female individual traveller who likes to visit 'unconventional places' and whom I met while I was staying in a hostel in Ramallah stated that:

"I will promote people to come here, even if people are planning to just visit Israel, because I think that you can't. If you visit Israel, it's a duty to visit Palestine as well."[153]

A German political science teacher partaking on a 10-day hiking trip through Palestine, argued that he perceived his trip as a 'pilot', meant to 'discover the field' in order to be able to convince other teachers to make a similar trip to Palestine in the future. Others argued that their trip to Palestine made them decide to be more 'pro-active' in their home-countries. The American Jewish woman explained, for instance, that she had decided to become active in a movement benefitting the Palestinians when returning home[154]. Finally, essentially all tourists asserted to be willing to support Palestine by engaging in 'sharing' on blogs or social media pages, and thus to engage in a transnational Agora encouraging normative discussion and strengthening a repressed voice (Isaac & Platenkamp 2012). Indeed, the Swiss female tourist stressed that: "Seriously, when I'm back, I will let people know. They have to know."[155] Similarly, the American Jewish tourist said: "I'm not really active on social media. But when I get home, I'm going to Instagram everything I'm seeing here, because people usually just don't get to see this."[156] Indeed, during our conversation in the Banksy hotel, the American Jewish visitor handed me her phone, showing me a document that she had called 'my trip to Palestine'. She asked me to take a look at it, as she had written down the facts and the quotes of which she

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[152] UK tourist, unstructured interview, 20-03-2019
[153] Swiss tourist, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019
[154] American Jewish tourist, unstructured interview, 21-02-2019
[155] Swiss tourist, unstructured interview, 02-03-2019
[156] American Jewish tourist, unstructured interview, 21-02-2019

thought were useful "to show people back home", to help them understand what the situation in Palestine is like.

The effect that visiting Palestine and participating in the tours have had on tourists, both with regards to their initial response and their intended actions on returning back home, is thus, highly notable and proves that tourists can, indeed, fulfil Palestinian aspirations.

Conclusion

Towards the end of our fieldwork period, we were working in a cafe close to our apartment. It was a nicely decorated 'art and music café' where many internationals frequently came to study, work or just to get some food and have a drink. It was also the cafe from where Katrin, Said and Munter ran their organization, and hence, they were often around. While transcribing some of our interviews, Said noticed us and joined us at our table. We talked about our research and its progress when he made the following remark:

> "You can go to the same place but get different perspectives. The number of different perspectives is the number of people who live there. The only standard story there is, is the story repeated over and over again by the Israelis."[157]

We instantaneously considered this to be a suitable conclusion to our research, as well as for ethnographic research in general. Through the media, Israel is continuously repeating its 'standard story'. This narrative, however, is the very opposite of the stories, realities and lived experiences of Palestinians. With our research, we have tried to represent some of those narratives, particularly with regards to tourism and resistance to oppression.

This thesis argues that Palestinians find themselves living in a state of 'bare life' as their bodies are continuously reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of human objects (Agamben 1998). However, rather than portraying Palestinians as mere objects or victims of control, this research has also shown that Palestinians creatively resist by perpetually striving to make explicit the forms of structural oppression enacted upon their bodies. In the upcoming section, we will relate our key empirical findings to the insights gained from our analytic framework – which has proven to be profoundly suitable and appropriate to our empirical data – in order to subsequently return to our central research question of how Palestinians exercise nonviolent resistance against Israeli biopolitical control through transnational tourism.

Israeli biopolitical control is enacted through the simultaneous ethnocide, memoricide and spaciocide of Palestinian bodies, their territories, and their collective memory and identity (Hanafi in Puar 2015, 5), consequently creating what our informants have referred to as 'a coercive environment for forcible displacement'. Indeed, informants have argued that treating

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[157] Said, field notes, 23-03-2019

Palestinians as human objects by not killing, but maiming (Puar 2015) them in their human form by continuous harassment and (remote) infrastructural control, facilitates the systematic forced removal of Palestinians from their home territory: the systematic ethnocide of the Palestinian people. However, rather than stopping at the theorization of Palestinians as the contemporary figuration of the 'Homo Sacer' (Agamben 1998), our informants have stressed that the systematic, institutionalized and legalized character of those practices outlined above should be acknowledged as an Apartheid system, in order to clarify that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a settler colonial conflict in which one party has installed a military regime encouraging legalized forms of discrimination over another party.

While the concept of 'Homo Sacer' is useful for explaining the contemporary position of Palestinians as human objects, it is less suitable for explaining Palestinian's own perspective of themselves not as depoliticized 'banned men' lacking judicial rights, but as politicized subjects to a contradictory simultaneous incorporation within and expulsion from the body of Israeli law, as Palestinians are, by Israeli law, excised from certain laws within a judicial system that was constructed *because of* and *vis-a-vis* the Palestinian other. While in Agamben's theorization, then, Israel would exercise its power through the 'right to take life', the current situation in which Israel exercises memoricide, ethnocide and spaciocide within an Apartheid system, allows Israel to perform its sovereignty through the right to 'not let die' (yet), as the Apartheid system creates 'let live' as an alibi for settler colonial rule by mimicking a democratic investment in Palestinian well-being (Foucault 2003). Additionally, Agamben's Homo Sacer does not concern itself with the question whether bare life itself can be mobilized by emancipatory movements to resist the means by which power is enacted. However, according to Foucault, in relations of power, there is necessarily the possibility of resistance (in Hoy 1999).

Indeed, despite continued biopolitical attempts by Israeli powerholders to render Palestinian bodies impotent and obsolete, we found that Palestinians do not act as mere docile bodies, since they have always creatively instrumentalized the means by which power is enacted to resist and undermine it. Even though many of our informants have emphasized that all forms of resistance against occupation and oppression should be perceived as legitimate forms of resistance, most of them still agree with van der Zanden (1963, 544) who argues that in an asymmetrical stratification structure, minority groups can exert more concessions from the dominant group by undertaking nonviolent resistance, since nonviolent methods enhance legitimacy, subsequently translating into increased pressure being brought on the target regime. Indeed, our informants argued that the nonviolent methods they are enacting now are much

more important than the violent methods used in the past, as it helps shift what Hallward (2009) has referred to as the Orientalist portrayal of 'Arab violence' to legitimate nonviolent struggle against an occupying force.

Apart from, for instance, boycotts, sit-ins or deliberate non-cooperation, many of our informants have, in line with Scott (1989), emphasized that nonviolent resistance particularly resides in the category of 'everyday forms of resistance': in the Palestinian category of Sumud, indicating mere 'existence' as a means of resistance. These more 'everyday' forms consists of acts that are not necessarily being recognized as an act of 'resistance' proper, but rather as normal parts of people's culture, life's or jobs (Johansson & Vinthagen 2013, 10;37).

We found that the more ordinary and more quiet tactic of providing political and justice tourism (Holden in Higgins-Debiolles 2010) constitutes such a site of everyday nonviolent resistance. While it might not be recognized as resistance proper, but rather as a means to employment or economic development – which it surely, but not solely is – our informants have argued that the accommodation of transnational tourism constitutes a means of practicing Sumud and is one of the most important ways to resist the occupation. While it might seem contradictory to conflate the 'everyday' with tourism in Palestine, we found that our informants *do*, as they perceive tourism as a means to enact the everyday resistant acts of existing, steadfasting and exercising presence.

First of all, informants have expressed to be able to use tourism to exercise nonviolent resistance against the Israeli occupation as it allows them to express their narrative. Tourists can form a channel through which the deliberately silenced Palestinian voice can speak, as tourist – when in Palestine or when returning back home – can decide to enter the 'Agora', a transnational platform where normative discussion about the Palestinian situation can be manifested (Isaac and Platenkamp 2012, 184). This attempted mobilization of a transnational agora has proven to work, as many of the tourists we have conversed with have expressed that visiting Palestine encouraged them to engage in 'sharing', as they expressed to "want to make people know". However, going further than Isaac & Platenkamp's (2012, 184) argument, our informants have expressed to not merely use the agora to express their voice and incite political action, but also as a means of protection. Since the Israeli military aims to uphold the image of a 'moral' army and subsequently wants to prevent instances of humiliation and harassment to be shared by transnational tourists, informants have expressed that international presence provides Palestinians with safety and security, as the 'inspecting gaze' (Cheong & Miller 2000) of the 'eyewitnesses' encourages settlers and soldiers to refrain from hurting Palestinians.

Informants also exercise resistance by countering harmful stereotypes of Palestinians as

'terrorist', 'stone-throwing' and 'violent'. Indeed, many informants structure their tour in such a way that it accedes to their aspirations of displaying the kindness of the Palestinian people, and the fact that they are hospitable, highly educated and profoundly 'developed'. This tactic helps to re-humanize Palestinians, transforming them back from 'beast' to 'men' (Agamben 1998) by reverting the dehumanization induced by Israeli propaganda. Conversations with tourists have demonstrated that this tactic is effective, as many of them have stressed that the tour allowed them to construct relations with Palestinians and to subsequently 'put a face' on those Israel is preventing one to see.

Additionally, our informants have emphasized that tourism provides them with a reason for cultural heritage preservation and an ability to revitalize Palestinian culture, history and identity, subsequently resisting the Israeli mechanism of 'memoricide' that is aimed at obliviating an ancient Palestinian cultural presence (Hanafi in Puar 2015). Palestinians, then, instrumentalize tourism in order to counteract the propaganda that Palestinians have never existed on the land and to subsequently 'proof' their right to remain. Similarly, tourism is used to subvert the Israeli mechanism of 'spaciocide' (Hanafi 2006). Palestinians counter mobility-restrictions imposed upon their bodies by inviting the outside world to come there, by travelling within one's own space and by experiencing a tiny share of freedom through exchanging knowledge, ideas, languages and gifts with foreigners. Additionally, tourists can also help Palestinians to physically overcome territorial restrictions. The protective function of the agora that international presence incites, sometimes allows Palestinians to enter certain territorial plots they would otherwise had not been able to reach.

Finally, then, the aim of accommodating transnational tourism is to pursue political objectives. Palestinians, thus, exercise nonviolent resistance against the Israeli occupation through transnational tourism by using the agora for both its expressive as well as its protective function, by allowing tourists to be an eyewitness of their oppression, by countering harmful stereotypes, and by using tourists to subvert Israeli memoricide and spaciocide through which Palestinians, ultimately, hope to achieve freedom, rights and equality. They do so – both implicitly and explicitly – by pointing to an international responsibility and by encouraging tourists to pressure their governments, become an advocate for the Palestinian cause and to participate in the boycott and sanctions movement. Indeed, in line with Hudson's (2007, 388) argument about the potential of tourists to propagate a certain political agenda, many tourists have expressed that their visit incited a new responsibility and that it encouraged them to be a more 'pro-active' supporter of the Palestinian struggle.

Since our research solely covered a time-span of about eleven weeks, and thus will not lead to a complete unravelling of Palestinian lived experience under oppression, their creative means of resisting, their warm and welcoming culture and their rich, underrepresented history, we would like to stress for further research, not merely on alternative forms of tourism, but also on Palestine and Palestinians in general. We would recommend further research to focus on issues relating to resistance against biopolitical control through other means besides tourism, and resistance in other areas, such as within the Palestinian Diasporas. As many of our informants have emphasized 'territoriality' and have expressed to feel a deep connection with, for instance, an old olive tree residing in their former village or a small plot of agricultural land that they are no longer allowed to visit, what does resistance mean when Palestinians are no longer physically tied to their territory? A more in-depth study on place-making, meaning-construction and lived experiences of specific physical places could deepen knowledge regarding some of our main concepts, like territory and 'spaciocide'. Additionally, during our research, we have focussed solely on power enacted on Palestinians by the Israeli occupier while disregarding any internal power relations – such as power based on gender or religion – and its potential effect on Palestinian resistance. Since one of our informants stated that "in order to stop the occupation, we should first stop occupying ourselves"[158], it would be interesting for further research to look into these matters, both with regards to Palestinian resistance in general as well as within political and justice tourism.

More engaged ethnographic research in Palestine would encourage further use of the anthropologist's greatest privilege of being able to *utilize* one's privilege to form a channel through which the silenced can express their voice. It would further the opportunity to use the academic environment to stand by the oppressed, collectively stressing the needs of the Palestinians, their cry for human rights and their call for justice and freedom.

"They [Israelis] are the strong ones now, but tomorrow, we will be strong. Tables will turn. It will. [...] No colonization lasts forever. [...] Israel is not an exception. As we are still here, we will win. Our existence, by itself, is resistance."

Inshallah.

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[158] Adham, semi-structured interview, 04-04-2019

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Attachment 2: Fieldwork-Photographs

Image 1: The segregation wall built on Hebron road. Hebron road used to be the main road between Jerusalem and Hebron. Now, cars can barely pass by. This is one of the places tours in Bethlehem will visit to show the tourists the hardships of the occupation.
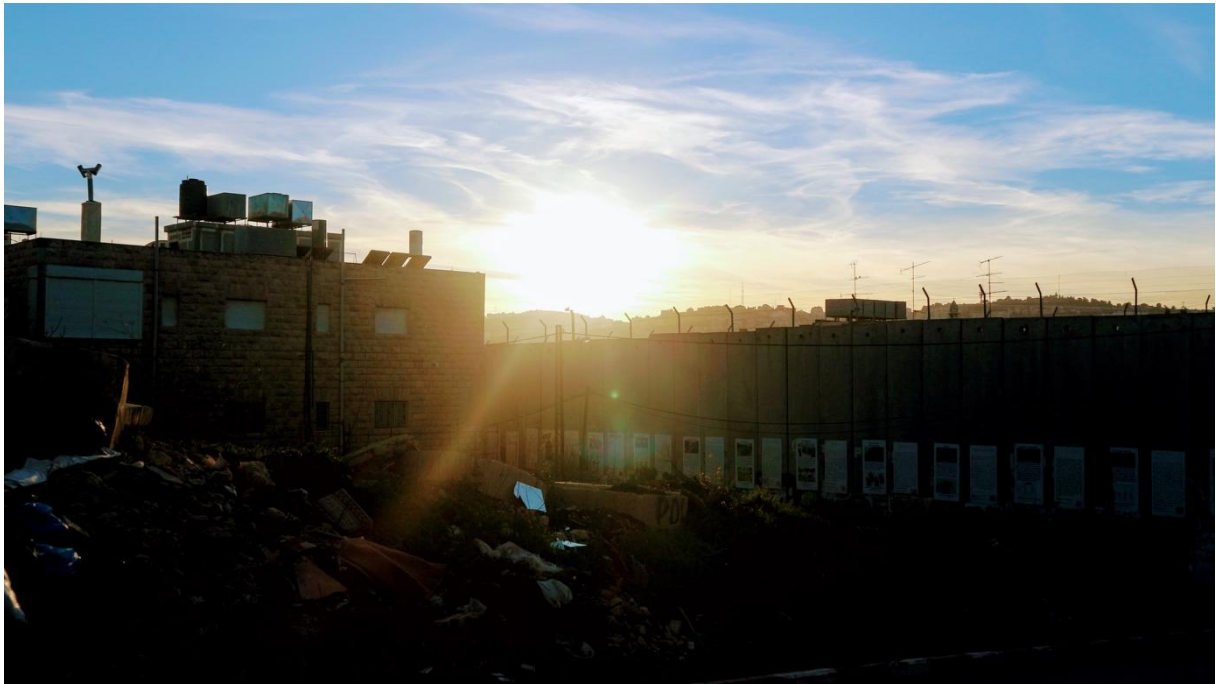
Image 2: Segregation wall by sunset. On the left, one can see the watertanks situated on each Palestinian house, as Palestinians have only limited access to water.

Image 3: This picture shows empty teargas-canisters that the Israeli army occasionally throws at Palestinians during demonstrations or during other occasions. Many people collect them to expose them to tourists and some even reuse them, for instance for jewelry.

Image 4: The Walled Off Hotel, also known as the Banksy Hotel. Advertising itself by having the worst view in the world. Opinions about Banksy and the hotel were very diverse.

Image 5: The burial of a martyr who died after being shot during an invasion by the Israeli army in one of the refugee camps close to Bethlehem. The funeral was attended by hundreds of people, most of them from the refugee camp. All the shops, schools and universities in the area were on strike that day to express their anger towards the occupation and in order to be able to attend the funeral.

Image 6: Runners holding the flag of Palestine during the Palestine Marathon - Run for Freedom, an event that draws many internationals towards Bethlehem who participate in the marathon in order to raise awareness about the Israeli occupation. The weeks before the marathon-day, were called 'the marathon season', which was known as the high season for tourism in Palestine, since many international runners combine their participation in the marathon with a visit to Palestine.

Image 7: Sign that points to the danger of entering Area A in the West Bank, which is under Palestinian control.

Image 8: Al-Shahuda Street, also known as 'the ghost town'. This used to be part of the old city of Hebron inhabited by Palestinians. However, Israeli settlers took over the area. Today, many buildings are deserted, the shops are closed down and only about five Palestinian families remain living in this part of town under harsh conditions, often being the victim of (violent) assaults.

Image 9: Roadblocks and a checkpoint at the beginning of Al-Shahuda street, which is now part of what is being called 'the ghost town'. The checkpoint prevents Palestinians from entering the area, except for the Palestinians who are still living there.

*Image 10: Israeli settlers inhabiting apartments on Al-Shahuda Street. On the right balcony, there is a sign reading "Arabs are Prohibited".*

Image 11: Child of one of the settlers walking in 'the ghost town' where there is a lot of military presence in order to 'protect the settlers'. Tour guides oftentimes emphasize the unbalanced ratio of the amount of soldiers in comparison to the amount of settlers.
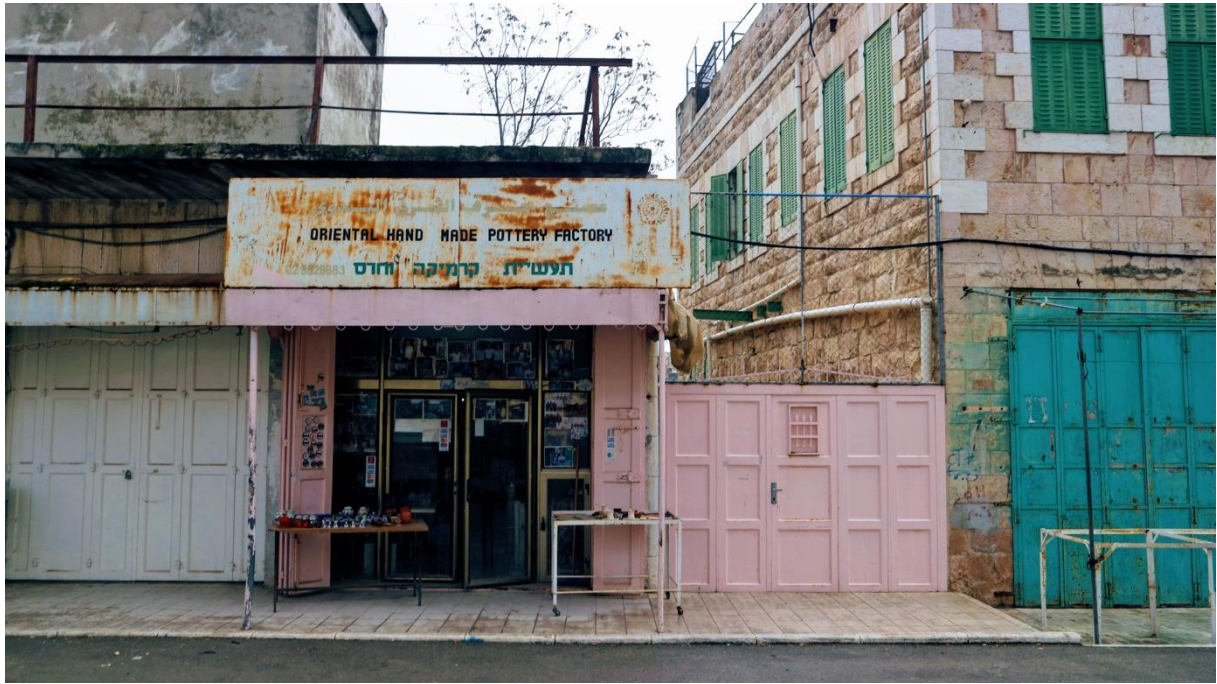
Image 12: Palestinian ceramics-shop that remained in the ghost town despite the efforts by Israeli soldiers to force them out. Israelis have placed a checkpoint right in front of the ceramics-shop. Only employers and tourists are allowed to visit, forcing the tour guides to stay behind.

Image 13: Tour guide showing pictures of what 'the ghost town' used to be like before the settlers moved in. The photographs show that, before occupation, it was a crowded street full of commerce.

*Image 14: Tour guide guiding a group of tourists around in the old city of Hebron. A soldier is listening to his story, coming closer and closer. Later on, the soldier will argue with the tour guide about his narrative and try to convince the tourists that he is lying.*

Image 15: Bulletholes from where Israeli soldiers shot a Palestinian in order to justify the enclosure of the entire neighbourhood due to 'safety risks'.

Image 16: Precense of Israeli soldiers protecting the settlers who are participating in the settler walk throughout the Palestinian part of the old city.
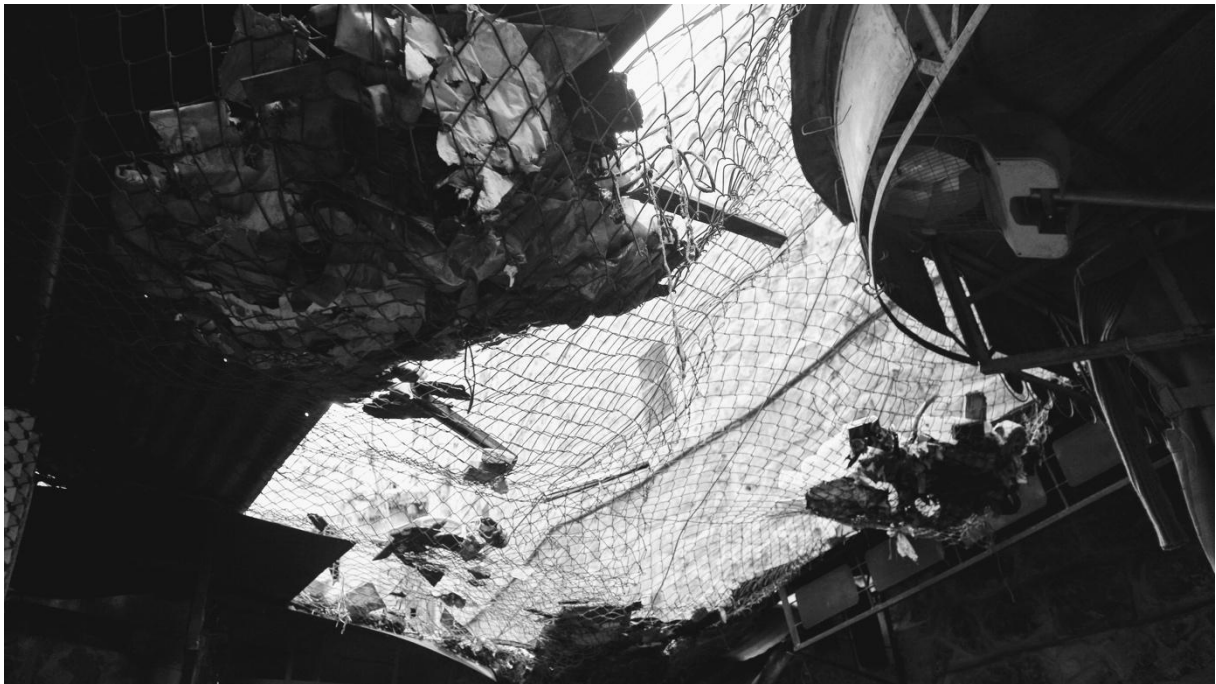
Image 17: Garbage that is thrown down on Palestinians by Israeli settlers who built their settlement on top of the Palestinian shops. Palestinians have installed safety-nets to protect themselves against these kind of attacks.

Image 18: Graffiti on the market in the old city of Hebron, calling for a boycott of Israel and stating that "existence is resistance", referring to what Palestinians have called 'sumud'

Image 19: Wall in one of the refugee camps close to Bethlehem, commemorating the martyrs from the camp and the villages where the refugees are originally from. During tours through this particular refugee camp, we would always start here. The tour guide would elaborate on the origin of the refugees and explain about the UN resolution regarding the 'right of return'.

Image 20: Planting olive trees with a group of tourists close to a settlement in order to prevent the land from being confiscated.

Image 21: After we had been planting olive trees, we ate Maqloubeh in the field in the way Palestinian farmers traditionally used to eat during their workdays. This was intended to allow tourists who participated in the olive tree planting to engage with local Palestinian habits and culture. Thereby, it provided the opportunity for tourists to meet the farmer and his family and experience the culture of hospitality among the Palestinians.

Image 22: Battir, a Palestinian village that has been enlisted as a UNESCO World Heritage site because of the unique Roman irrigation system that is still functioning. Tour guides will take their tourists to Battir, first because they are proud of their heritage site and its historical significance. Second, because Battir is situated on the green line between the West Bank and Israel. Tour guides will draw the tourist's attention to the line where the wall should have been built. However, since the construction of the wall happened simultaneously with growing international attention for the village due to their World Heritage nomination, the wall was not built there, leaving the Palestinians free to cross the border without any form of checkpoint. This invalidates the security argument of the Israelis.

Image 23: Tour through al-Walajeh village where one of the local residents (the woman in purple) guided us around. Here we are standing in front of the wall (in the background of the picture) where we are getting an explanation about construction-licenses and the different areas within the village.

Image 24: Settlement in al-Walajeh village with high walls separating the Palestinians from the settlers. This was one of the places that was often visited during tours. Many of the refugees in the Bethlehem area come from this village. On the right, next to the settlement, tour guides would show the houses that are unfinished. These houses are not fully constructed because Palestinians frequently do not get permits to finish the construction of their houses because it would allow them to see inside the settlement from the top floor of their house. Many existing houses have been demolished for this reason as well. Tour guides would take their tourists here as an example of the daily hardships Palestinians face and the extent of the occupation.

Image 25: One of the extraordinary landscapes of Palestine that we saw during one of the hiking tours. Palestinians want to emphasize their beautiful nature and landscapes during interaction with tourists to show that their country is not just war, but an exquisite territory belonging to the Palestinians.

Image 26: Our tour guide explaining about the history and culture of the area during one of the hiking tours.

Attachment 3: Authorship

Introduction   Co-written

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Intractable Conflict   Dian

The section on settler colonialism and from "Creating walls, borders and segregation is…"
onwards   Noor

Disciplined Bodies and their Revolt in Intractable Conflict   Noor

Tourism as a Site of Nonviolent Resistance   Dian

From "In anthropological studies…" till "… propagating a certain political agenda" (First
paragraph)   Noor

Chapter 2: "Here you are not Safe and you Know that; They Want you to Continually
Know That"   Noor

Chapter 3: "They Don't Want Tourists to be Guided By Palestinians" Dian

Chapter 4: "International Presence Gives Us Hope"

Battle of the Narratives   Dian

Tactics of Conveying the Palestinian Narrative   Noor

Palestinian Aspirations for the Deployment of Alternative Tourism   Dian

Chapter 5: "Foreigners: People From all Around the World Who Could be Able to
Actually be Effective and Make Some Difference"   Noor

Conclusion   Co-written

Attachment 4: Abstract

The aim of this research was to comprehend Palestinian lived experience of occupation and oppression and, consequently, the several means of non-violent resistance that Palestinians are engaged in to counteract and undermine Israeli mechanisms of control. We have tried to uncover and analyze unrecognized social change potentials of more ordinary, more quiet and more 'everyday' resistant acts guided by non-conventional actors in non-conventional spaces as opposed to large-scale, overt and destructive tactics.

The particular focus of this study, then, was to elaborate on how the more ordinary tactic of accommodating transnational tourists may constitute a creative site of 'everyday' nonviolent resistance against the Israeli occupation. While it might not be recognized as resistance proper, but rather as a means to employment or economic development, the accommodation of transnational tourism has been discussed as an ultimately potent social force of significance as it could help to denaturalize and de-authorize both the Israeli dominant narrative as well as Israeli biopolitical control over Palestinian bodies.

In order to look into these matters, we have conducted a ten-week ethnographic research that was situated in the areas of Palestine that are often referred to as the 'West Bank'. Our field mainly comprised the cities of Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah and the agricultural areas situated between those cities in which we particularly focussed on politically sensitive sites, like the Segregation Wall, Refugee Camps, and Israeli settlements. In Pursuance of gaining a layered and holistic understanding of how Palestinians transform themselves into politically legitimate subject by instrumentalizing transnational visitors to spread their narrative and fight for freedom and equality, we have been conducting a complementary study that involved local residents involved with tourism; local, individual tour guides; larger, more institutionalized grassroots organizations involved in tourism; and, finally, tourists: the target of the tourism industry. The main methods used during this ethnographic research were participant observation and informal and semi-structured interviews. We employed the method of participant observation while partaking in tours provided by local tour guides as well as by organizations involved with tourism –nineteen in total– in order to comprehend the ways in which Palestinians perform themselves as hosts and utilize the presence of tourists. The semi-structured interviews allowed us to gain insight in the ideological aims and motivations with regards to the organization of and participation in politically oriented tours and, after having participated in a tour, provided us with the opportunity to elaborate on the content of the tours, the narratives that were conveyed and the events that occurred. We have conducted thirty-one

semi-structured interviews and seventeen informal interviews. Additionally, we have worked from the starting point of positioning ourselves as 'engaged anthropologists' emphatic with the Palestinian cause struggling against what we recognize as an Israeli settler-colonial project, allowing us to acknowledge and use feelings of anger, solidarity and empathy in the field and to subsequently establish a considerable amount of rapport with our Palestinian informants, who gradually became our friends.

In this thesis, Israeli mechanisms of control are theorized as the processes of spaciocide, memoricide and ethnocide, facilitated by territorial control and the subsequent processes of 'Othering' that is aimed at pushing Palestinians into living a 'bare life', as their bodies are systematically reduced to a naked, depoliticized state of human objects. However, we will explicate that no matter how bleak the reality on the ground may seem, there is an uninterrupted subsistence of a Palestinian counter-reality. Rather than portraying Palestinians as mere 'docile bodies', then, we have focussed on how Palestinians perpetually strive to make explicit the structural oppression enacted upon them by employing a manifold of techniques, which in this study, is the communication of a message of oppression by allowing transnational visitors to be the eyewitnesses of the spectacle of Israeli control in order to fulfil the aspirations of increasing Palestinian mobility –both physical and imagined; engaging in discussions about the conflict on a transnational agora; calling for a boycott of Israel; protecting oneself against Israeli settlers and soldiers; and affirming a Palestinian presence, history and identity. The research was specifically focussed on two forms of alternative tourism, which are political tourism –in which Palestinians call for political action like a boycott – and justice tourism – in which they particularly seek sympathy and justice. We constructed three broad categories for the kinds of tours that we have participated in during our data collection in the West Bank, which are community-based tours, political tours, and activist tours.

This thesis has, thus, not solely tried to comprehend and express the silenced lived realities of Palestinians living in a complex power-dynamic that they themselves have referred to as an Apartheid regime, but has also contributed to - rather than portraying them as mere objects or victims of control and power- position Palestinians as agents who creatively claim their right to a remembered presence by exercising the right to 'narrate'; the right to let one's voice heard.