

TRUNCATED SPECTERS, MANAGED AFFECTS:  
ALTERNATIVE TOURISM TO HISTORIC PALESTINE

by

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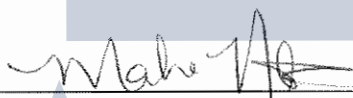


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## ABSTRACT

Tourism in its political and social forms has always been an affective, embodied experience. These affective experiences have occurred in tourism to historic Palestine, both in the colonial context and in decolonial resistance. Recently, “alternative tours” to historic Palestine have become affective, embodied experiences that explicate the politics of the region from the perspective of Palestinians. Given the political nature of “alternative tours,” Palestinian and Israeli tour guides find themselves managing the affects and feelings of the tourist to whom they impart their narrative, both reifying and critiquing liberal discourses that prioritize the comfort of privileged groups, at the expense of the marginalized. In my second chapter, I explain some of these affective techniques. Later in my two subsequent chapters, I describe three objects of analysis through which Palestinian and Israeli tour guides modulate the affects of their tourists, in order to provide them a controlled, truncated, and safe experience. Such an experience imparts a taste of the constant affective, sensory, and tactile elements of the occupation wielded against Palestinians, but upon tourists primarily from the Western world. These controlled affects are meant to attempt to jolt Western tourists into action, inspired by their emotional experiences. I take up each of these three themes based on ethnographic work on one four-day tour package with the company Green Olive Tours (GOT); I explain how the discourses that tour guides use become affective. First, I describe how Ido’s tour of Jerusalem problematizes the affect of the notion that Israel is in a two-sided conflict with Palestinians. Second, I show how Yaqoub and Muhannad make Bethlehem and Hebron into an experience of “gazing back” affectively at oppressive technologies of surveillance. Finally, I argue that two sites in Nablus force tourists to feel haunting of ancestors with regard to temporality, and take their shock with them after the tour. These are fundamentally affective strategies of alternative tourism.

## Chapter 1: Introduction: Alternative Tourism to Palestine: Affective Attachments

### Introduction to Argument

The narratives of mainstream tourism to historic Palestine are largely controlled by Israel. Shaul Kelner (2010) acknowledges that in traditional tours like those of Taglit-Birthright, youth form deeply affective attachments and ties to Israel and their Jewish identities, often without seeing, meeting, or meaningfully interacting with many Palestinians. These tours sideline the Palestinian narrative, which accords with the fact that many Jewish youth have recently begun walking off of their trips. Nevertheless, such tours are affective, sensory experiences of the land of Israel. In what follows, I argue that alternative tourism to Palestine uses the similar affective tactics in order to provide tours that are *politically* relevant as critiques of occupation, diverse, and controlled experiences of the Palestinian narrative to tourists from the Western world.

The affective dimensions of the Palestinian and Israeli past legacies of tourism are important in the study of tourism in general. Indeed, Edward Said (2004), like Mary Louise Pratt (2008), has famously catalogued these temporal aspects of orientalist travel and travelogues, and the “imaginaries” that accompany them (Salazar 2014). Two historical forms of walking tour in historic Palestine are meant to be tactile and sensory experiences that invoke nationalist pasts: the Israeli *tiyul* and the Palestinian *sarḥa* (both: ‘walk’). The *tiyul* was a deeply institutionalized, colonial tradition whereby “knowledge of the (home)land,...both intellectual and sensorial,...convert[ed] dispassionate knowledge into *affective* patriotism” (Stein 2009, 337). Shehadeh (2007) and Davis (2003) describe the tactile, affective practice of scouting and *sarḥa* that was part and parcel of Mandate era Palestinian education, including walking the hills and connecting with their indigenous names. These forms of historic tourism involve tactile, sensory connection with the land and its past, but each on differing sides of colonial power structures. I

argue that tourism is a sensory experience deeply felt by tourists and guides, on all sides of nationalism (Keshet 2011).

My work pertains to alternative tourism that mixes political destinations with this traditional pilgrimage tourism, as well as banal sight-seeing. Political alternative tours draw upon these same tactile, affective traditions of tourism in order to illuminate life under occupation and colonialism. Jennifer Lynn Kelly calls alternative political tours “truncated spectacles” that illuminate inequalities and “im/mobilities” (2016, 727-31). These forms of tourism offer political education in the present and occur in the context of colonial power dynamics. Tourists are made to *feel* the affective thrusts of the political and pedagogical choices political tour guides.

I argue that these pedagogical tactics are managed, using as many (dis)comforting narratives as possible to cause affective transformations for tourists, principally by forcing them to feel the affective aspects of the inequalities and occupation under which Palestinians live. My work follows my experience of these affective tactics on a four-day alternative tour. In what follows, I argue that these affective dimensions of alternative tours are managed intensely by Palestinian and Israeli guides. The guides aim to narratively force tourists to feel painful emotions in order to steer them toward action after they return home. For my purposes, I define affect as visceral emotional experiences that are sensed, felt, described by humans, mediated by objects, discourses, the non-human, and others; they are also invoked, targeted, and called up (Martini and Buda 2018, 2; Navaro-Yashin 2012, 20).<sup>1</sup>

A group of canonical authors discuss the alternative tourism sector in historic Palestine. Among them are Ryvka Barnard (2015), Waleed Hazbun (2012), Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2009; 2015), Rami Isaac (2009; 2015), Rami Kassis (2015), Jennifer Lynn Kelly (2016), Emily Schneider (2015), Tom Selwyn (2015), and others. Many of their contributions are collected in

journals and in the 2015 anthology *The Politics and Power of Tourism in Palestine*. The stakes of their work is essentially the problematics of tourism as a political and economic tool. This anthology alludes to tourists' affective experiences in its discussions of pilgrimage tourism, nature tourism, and political tourism in unstable areas, in an attempt to unsilence the Palestinian narrative. This includes Palestinian hospitality, and sensory experiences of biblical pasts and political realities. The majority focus on the benefits to the Palestinian political economy and transformation of occupation and resistance into pedagogical tools and tourist destinations. Some contributors focus on the democratic governance models of alternative tour groups and their commitment to guest-host parity and long-term relationships beyond short guided tours. I depart from this volume by asking how these discourses and power dynamics become *affective* during alternative tours.

My first set of discourses and affects within which political alternative tours to Palestine are pedagogically crafted is the Israeli 'peace process' emerging from the 1993 Oslo Accords. Oslo's "peace process" characterizes the current political order in Palestine. Alternative tourism in this context involves tourists encountering Palestinians through the lens of a plethora of power differentials, in an era whose patronizing goal is eventual equality.<sup>2</sup> The encounter (Aviv 2011, 37-41) of tourism has the capacity to ignore them, as the post-Oslo era is replete with liberal pro-peace discourses.<sup>3</sup> Indeed many tour companies rely on narratives that posit Palestine and Israel as two equal sides in a conflict. Anne-Marie d'Hautesserre asks, can tourism encounters "truly demand interaction so as to extract recognition through active encounters" (2004, 241)? I argue that tour guides manage the affects of their tourists first by teaching them the pitfalls and state "fantasies" that undergird these liberal discourses.



My arguments about affect and tourism go beyond debunking these peace discourses. I ask about these tactile tourisms: How do political tours turn the occupation of Palestine into affective, tactile phenomena for tourists to feel? How does the portrayal of Palestinians' lived experiences lead tourists to be transformed, if at all? I argue that guides teach the inequalities of Israeli occupation and their affective resonances via three major themes: learning about the two-sides narratives and class dynamics in Jerusalem; gazing at technologies of surveillance and their carceral *affective* effects; experiencing the hauntedness of some Palestinian sites and their relationships to the occupation's necropolitics. Palestinian guides carefully craft the affective thrusts of their tours, managing the bluntness of their narratives. Ultimately, I argue that these tactile experiences attempt to guide tourists into activist roles.

### **Gaps in the Literature**

During Stein's writing about the Jewish *tiyul*, she saw a deficit in the study of both discursive and cultural practices used together in order to understand the highly unequal process of settler-colonialism in Palestine: "[w]hat remains underexplored... is the role of discourse and cultural practice within the Zionist colonial project" (2009, 349; 2005, with Ted Swedenburg).<sup>4</sup> In this vein, I caution against the *tiyul* and *sarḥa* spoken about above as another opportunity for liberal co-existence discourses to obscure power dynamics. Instead, I argue that alternative tourism exposes tourists to *affects* of a number of cultural and discursive practices, and attempts to illuminate the inequalities in Palestine that belie the claim to a two-sided conflict.

Post-Oslo state funded Israeli tourism domesticates the Palestinian narrative; I argue that the frameworks used to portray Palestinians in tourism can be subverted, in terms of resistance. Rebecca Stein's (2008) work in *Itineraries in Conflict* has been relevant for me in understanding the ways in which the "tourist gaze" has been manipulated, reproducing intimate,<sup>5</sup> yet

stereotypical caricatures of Palestinians. Stein lays out how often in the Galilee Palestinians are encountered by tourists via “nested small scales” and “concentric interiors” like courtyards and living rooms (71). Palestinians are viewed closely and intimately, “naturally at home” in these places for Israeli tourists to domesticate and falsely appear as equals (Ibid.). These domestications generally function as a state “fantasy of spatial regulation” that obscures power dynamics (Ibid., 73). I intervene by arguing that alternative tourism uses this format, but in order to expose tourists to the stories of Palestinians. Tour guides dispel the “fantasy” of equality and diversity under Oslo.

John Urry coined the term *tourist gaze* in 1990 to describe these spatial negotiations. This gaze is considered a “performative” and “embodied” and a deeply sensory and visual experience of tourist sites (Urry and Larsen 2011, 14). The power to see and feel is a political phenomenon, he opines (Ibid., 2). They argue that the tourist gaze is an “encounter” that searches for “authenticity,” a meeting place between tourists and “indigenous cultures” which they consider superficial (Ibid., 12-15). Alternative tourists are another form of sensory encounter between colonized Palestinians and international tourists, invested in making meaning out of the power embedded in these encounters. Tourists and guides alike gaze, and are gazed upon (Ibid., 23). Further, the emotional work of being a Palestinian tour guide involves the vulnerable work of telling one’s story and modulating meanings of narratives under this gaze (Ibid., 79; 84). Thus tourists apply bell hooks’ black women’s “oppositional gaze,” which involves marginalized people “look[ing] back” at power structures under which Palestinians’ narratives are told (1996, 248).

Both Pratt (2008) and Lisle (2016) emphasize that these forms of encounter are deeply implicated in power dynamics.<sup>6</sup> Mary Louise Pratt applies the term “contact zones,” or the

power-laden place where colonizer meets the colonized. They are “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations... such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out” (2008, 7). The contact zone “treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and ‘travelees,’ ...in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices” (Ibid., 8). Lisle describes the many ways that the union between war and tourism fits into this paradigm, and argues that in her work vis-à-vis the contact zone, “the voices usually silenced by dominant arrangements of war and tourism can be heard in all their cacophony, harmony, and dissonance” (2016, 6). These insights are a model for critiques against the notion that co-existence will occur between two equal sides. Although these tours mirror Israeli affective tourism, they in no way perform any equation between two sides.

My theoretical approach brings many analytics together specifically around tourism. I combine the affective with the discursive and the spatial. I argue that the discourses and narratives by which we are surrounded become affective or carry with them affective resonances. Similarly, spaces and geographies carry affective resonances (Hannam and Yankovska 2018; Leshem 2015; Maddern and Adey 2008; Yiftachel 2016). I follow Navaro-Yashin (2002; 2012) in arguing that affect also can manifest in political systems, institutions, and bureaucracies (2012, 32-3). I am bringing together discursive analyses about co-existence with affective analyses of emotion in Israel-Palestine, I argue that these discourses have agency in themselves.

Having combined these realms of analysis, I argue the importance of discourses as affective phenomena. Derrida argues that every hegemonic political system is a specter in its own (2006, 7), just as Navaro-Yashin argues that institutions have a specter to them (2012, 32-3). Derrida defines a specter as an interpersonal hallucination, called up via mourning (2006, 9)

and that has a “living presence” (2006, 10). Maddern and Adey might call this the “barely there,” “less-than-dead,” and recognize that the specter was a then under-theorized catch-all for past ghosts that are perceived and observed, but are unexplainable (2008, 292-3). Similarly, Hannam and Yankovska point to the need to use specter not as a metaphor, but a human experience that can be understood as an encounter (2018, 324). Navaro-Yashin argues that these traces of ghosts are “visible and tangible” and transmitted via the objects that people leave behind from war (2012, 13). Derrida sees the spectral experience of Marxism as a ghost that embodies “the end of history,” justice that is on its way (2006, 10; 19; 46), just as Rabbi Alissa Wise theorizes about the spiritual aspects of the canonical “world to come” in Jewish activism (2017, 210). These specters come out in many experiences on Green Olive Tours (GOT).

These affective theories also demonstrate the ways in which haunting specters, and visceral affects, are ways to honor Palestinian spatial connectivity. Hannam and Yankovksa, as Navaro-Yashin alludes to, point to the fact that spectral geographies “ha[ve] been under-theorised and that...spectrality needs to be understood as not just a narrative, metaphorical, or allegorical device but as central to the development of a ‘more-than-representational’ theoretical framework” (2018, 324). I attempt to merge the discursive with this approach. I affirm this approach because of its value in studying indigeneity. I am inspired by indigenous insights into the idea that all life is sacred and connected, where the non-human is given agency and transmits affect (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 18) in the world of tourism.<sup>7</sup>

Subsequently, I argue that teaching tourists a just solution requires a concrete, material co-existence that requires full Palestinian rights rather than “fantasies” that proliferate by the state’s tactics of obscuring of occupation (Navaro-Yashin 2002, 3). I depart from scholars like Monterescu (2015, 9-11) and Stein and Swedenburg (2005) to complicatedly allude to tangible,

on-the-ground co-existence within their discussions of “relationality” and complex forms of power beyond binary formulations like Jewish/Palestinian. I join a number of scholars who in their own ways critique liberal co-existence to affirm grassroots solidarity, or critique the failure of liberalism and its collusion with radical frames of solidarity, or collusion of the latter with global power structures: including Waleed Hazbun (2012), Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2009), Gada Mahrouse (2014), Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins (2008), and Fiona Wright (2016).

Lastly, I employ the idea of *haunting* in my final chapter. Hannam and Yankovska remind us that De Certeau posited that there is a haunting, atmospheric experience of all spaces, revealed once invoked (2018, 323). Buda, d’Hauteserre, and Johnston discuss the turn in tourism studies toward feelings, affect, and emotions (2014, 107), especially in places whose political reality is difficult to bear; they argue that tourists and guides often find themselves in shock by what they see, as well as the “things” that circulate (bodies, discourses), “saturated with affect” (Ibid., 106-10).<sup>8</sup> While specter is the “barely there” (Maddern and Adey 2008, 292-3), haunting is the ways in which the specter is perceived and manifest, which is much more apparent and poignant.

Hochberg and Keshet lead the charge in conceptualizing haunting in the context of the ghosts of the Israeli perception of Palestinian past and present. They argue that in literature and politics, respectively, historical Jewish trauma and histories of Nakba haunt the Israeli psyche. Hochberg argues that specter of the Nakba is what is invoked and made visible to Israeli and Diaspora Jews, making Palestinian spaces into haunted ones (2012, 55-6). Keshet argues that the haunting ghosts of the Nakba and the Holocaust are significant and politically relevant to the future of historic Palestine, fueling Israeli anxieties and guilt in relation to the Israeli perpetration

of the ethnic cleansing (2011, 13). I extend these forms of haunting to GOT's alternative tours, as they provoke similar anxieties and are significant pedagogical staples.

The term haunting is not centrally coined or defined. Yael Navaro-Yashin has led the charge on the ways in which phantom ghosts, and other objects and non-human lives that haunt, can appear concretely and be empirically visible and material to humans and concretely impart the traumas of war and conflict, especially throughout the places where the atrocities occurred (2012, 13).<sup>9</sup> They are “ghosts that linger in a territory” and are a product of the imagination as much as they are material (Ibid., 15). I argue these hauntings come about via tourists listening to oral narratives and histories and experiencing Palestine via indigenous stewards of the land.

This haunting is a form of necropolitics. Achille Mbembe (2003) coined the term to describe the ways in which nation-state sovereignty itself “is the work of death” (16), and that racialized people experience specters death via “the murderous functions of the state” (Ibid., 17). These politics of death are presented to tourists so they *feel* the traces of death under occupation. This haunting proliferates in politics and discourses that become affective. I am concerned with sites related to death and life, in the context of temporality. Communities' proximity to death is a temporal phenomenon related to nationalist pasts.

### **Itinerary**

Green Olive Tours began in 2007 and is now among the leading left-wing alternative tourism companies in Palestine. Their itineraries mix mainstream site-seeing with political pedagogy, including visits to the Apartheid Wall, refugee camps, and checkpoints; though they are meant for an introductory audience, their political analysis is crisp, and unequivocally prioritizes the Palestinian narrative.<sup>10</sup>

I attended a four-day tour with Green Olive Tours in mid-December 2018, doing participant observation and having informal conversations with tour guides. The package I attended visited the main cities of the West Bank (Bethlehem, Nablus, Jerusalem, and Hebron), as well as a few Palestinian rural areas and urban refugee camps, including al-Walaja and Kiryat Luza villages, and Balata camp. The package is advertised and designed as an introductory tour. My own experiences with affect and tourism to historic Palestine originate in entry-level tourist experiences.

My first day was spent touring the city of Jerusalem, and through the experience I gathered data which gave me insights into the problematics of “co-existence” in Israeli state discourses. We started in a café and toured the old city and walked westward in order to see the middle class and wealthy areas of West Jerusalem. We took driving tours of some of these communities, as well as of neglected areas of the Eastern side. We learned about Israeli expansionism in East Jerusalem by way of residence revocation, and the profile of surveillance technologies in the city, such as the Apartheid Wall and face recognition technology.

On our second day, we visited Bethlehem, including the major religious sites in the central Manger Square. We learned about post-Oslo policies of expansion on an outlook point. We toured the Aida refugee camp and talked to one of their directors. We visited a hotel called the Walled Off Hotel, and the many pieces of graffiti and art on the nearby portion of the wall. The hotel is partly a monument to anonymous street artist Banksy’s role in social justice struggles like that of the Palestinians, showcasing his art and art as resistance in many parts of historic Palestine. We visited a small museum in the hotel that gives, in part, a crash course in the technologies that Israel uses to bolster its occupation.

On our third day we visited Nablus, including the old city and major urban squares. I was most inspired by our visit to the Samaritan village, Kiryat Luza, on Mount Gerizim, in the way that it complicated the pervasive binaries between Jew/Palestinian, and Jew/Arab.<sup>11</sup> We visited Balata refugee camp, heard from one of its employees, and walked the camp to get a sense of the abject conditions Palestinians lived within. Our fourth and final day was in Hebron, during which we visited the Jewish and Muslim holy sites, among them the Tomb of the Patriarchs and the Kiryat Arba synagogue. We walked the old city and saw the intimidation tactics that Palestinians live under from soldiers and settlers above.

### **Methodology**

As part of the four-day tour, I took detailed field notes on the pedagogic craft of tours among Palestinian guides, and their management of the affects and emotions of their tour groups. I talked frequently with tour guides and employees about the problematics of liberal, co-existence tourism models and the limits of tourism as a tangible method of bringing about structural change.

I studied affect in myriad ways. The majority of my field notes were derived from participant observation with attention to affect. I took field notes on my own sensory, affective, and emotional experience of the sites, and took special note of the tour guides' use of language that invoked affective and emotional resonance. I relied mostly on the questions that tourists asked and answered, and the affective thrusts of the comments they made. During evenings and in my free time, I developed contact with a few of the tour guides and the company's leader. I draw the remainder of my data from three semi-casual interviews in between tours.

Because I relied mostly on my own affective experiences on the tours, the scope of my work could be rendered an autoethnography of the tourist. Pratt refers to autoethnography as the



anthropological narratives of the colonized, usurping narrative space from the colonizer (2008, 8). I argue that my autoethnographic experiences are those that originate in the experiences of colonized Palestinians, imparted to the tourist through affective guiding pedagogy.

One prospect for future research is to connect more closely with tourists about their collectively held affective responses to various sites. I agree with many of Sara Wall's pitfalls of autoethnography into which I sometimes fall. She sees the methodology as too emotional, vulnerable, prioritizing the "healing and therapy" and "self-absorption" of the researcher rather than that of their interlocutors (2016, 1-5). I strive to make my work not "personal musings," but both evocations of emotions as well as analytical insights on power relations (Ibid. 5; Anderson 2006, 378). I seek to both analyze and narrate my own experiences as a tourist in relationship with guides, other tourists, and employees.

### **Positionality—Writing The Self into My Research**

My positionality is informed by my experiences traveling in Palestine, along with Eastern Poland and Diné (Navajo) territory. My choice to use an affect theory framework in this ethnography is derived from these experiences. I attended a Jewish youth group trip as an adolescent, participating in guided visits to the Nazi death camps of Eastern Poland, followed immediately by 5 weeks in Israel. The trip's narrative purports to justify the establishment of the Jewish state because of the Holocaust. On the Poland leg of the trip, I became distant, withdrew from my group of friends, and internalized our collective pain around the attempted final solution. I started to feel a kind of paranoia; this affective response followed me from cemetery to ghetto to concentration camp. I came to see these sites as haunted by what occurred beneath them, what atrocities they left behind: crematoria and barracks. It was a constant haunting,

invoked and felt but inexplicable. It was a sense of paranoia I later associated with “bearing witness”<sup>12</sup> to injustice and the necropolitics of all kinds of empire.

On a hill in Jerusalem we sang and listened to “Jerusalem of Gold” and formed affective ties with the land. I returned to the US early and maintain that the paranoia was an affective reaction to an apocalyptic historical event. I insisted that these ancestral traumas are about our relationship to our ancestors. I took the paranoia with me in advocating for a diasporic Jewish identity, feeling the same haunting feeling in witnessing Israel’s occupation.

This framework is useful in thinking through (secondary) trauma embedded in alternative tourism to Palestine. It helps us understand the occupation, policing, and colonialism as phenomena beyond the discourse. Tours and their pedagogy and framework can have affective and psychic ramifications, across a range of latent affects and feelings. I want to approach this thesis via the affective dimensions of tourism and their material relevance. I want to acknowledge the haunting, but also the failure of the peace process and the surveillance state, as embodied experiences.

### **Context—Tourists, Guides, and the Business Model<sup>13</sup>**

Tourists with me on GOT were often young adults, approximately ages 18-24; others were middle aged, from 40s to their early 60s, others married couples in their early thirties, as well as a teenage son and his mother. The majority, GOT’s target audience, were tourists from the Western world: including American, French, Danish, Irish, Canadian, and New Zealander; both Jews and non-Jews. There were a few couples, one of each were of Arab descent, and one Palestinian-American in Hebron. Some were young students, studying abroad in Amman or leftist American Jews, wanting to learn about historic Palestine; others were interested in visiting their homeland again, or ostensibly to show the experience of homeland for their spouse or

significant other. The majority of the tourists were, to some degree, social justice participants, but were just beginning to grapple with Israeli occupation and its brutal realities, and wanted to see for themselves. Fittingly, these tourists were likely to get a more blunt experience of historic Palestine than the package for which they had paid.

Tour guide Musa is in his mid-60s, and grew up in a large Palestinian city, and began working in the Israeli and Palestinian hospitality industry before the advent of alternative tourism. He emphasized on his tours that his generation directly experienced the 1967 war, the major setback for Palestinians of ownership over their homeland, and the beginning of the very occupation against which GOT teaches and emphasizes. He works as a freelance guide and is a partner with a number of other companies, and told me how much he appreciates the opportunity to inject politics into his guiding. He is skilled in influencing tourists politically and disrupting tourists' culture of comfort around addressing Israeli colonialism.

By my estimation, Ido is in his early 30s. He was born and raised in Jerusalem. He maintains that it is a unique city with unparalleled layered complexity, diversity, and history. His approach to guiding in Jerusalem is an interesting subversion of the tourism narratives that obscure inequalities. While Jerusalem indeed has sites and events for all and is a rich destination, Ido teaches tourists about the weaponization of Israel's diversity. He argues that Jerusalem's history, in the context of Israeli control, is so layered that even he as a resident continues to learn about it as he explores more. This testifies to both the strength of Deleuzian "more-than-representational" approaches as well as the idea that affects in Palestine circulate limitlessly, and involve infinite "encounters." He especially promotes the idea that he guides tours *for a living*, but also builds relationships of peace that will be particularly useful after the occupation.

Yaqoub is in his early 30s, and hails from a mid-sized suburb in the West Bank; his family are refugees from the 1948 Nakba. Given the stories he told me about his code-switching and managing the feelings and affects of tourists, he is involved in improving and honing the political narratives presented on alternative tours. He uses alternative tourism as a way to make money for him and his family,<sup>14</sup> though he is also deeply involved in making political tourism experiences effective in teaching Palestinian resistance to tourists from the Western world.

Muhannad is in his mid-30s, from a small village near the south of Israel. He holds a leadership position in an agency that provides volunteer experiences for Western tourists, and is invested in long-term relationships between hosts and volunteers. He underscores the importance of international tourists bringing useful skills to Palestinian society, rather than becoming an economic burden. He is a trained and licensed tour guide, and freelances in and around Hebron.

Frank, a co-founder of the company of middle age, has origins in historic Palestine.<sup>15</sup> He lived in the US, and became an Israeli citizen and has spent many years in the Holy Land. He has extensive experience in the peace movement, serving as a leader in many anti-occupation organizations. He firmly holds to the idea that tourism can bring people together over politics and culture. He describes the relationships built in tourism to Palestine as prefiguratively building power once the peace movement and international community usher in peace based on Palestinian and Israeli human rights. He particularly emphasizes the political growth of tourists.

The organization's business model is complex. While each of the Green Olive Tours prefer and are invested highly in the political pedagogy of alternative tours, most of them also make part of their living as freelance tour guides, abiding by a complex series of regulations that limit their ability to speak to their truths and experiences. But GOT caters toward tourists from the Western world, particularly tourists who have limited prior knowledge of the situation in

historic Palestine. In this sense, among Green Olive Tours, tour packages are commodities and products, a means to make money even as they are politically useful. Though the political opinions that guides impart to tourists are clearly and strongly anti-occupation, and far left. Such is the subversive thrust of the organization's business model.

Further, GOT's business model is unique in that it practices participatory democracy and consensus-based decision making. The Green Olive Collective, established in 2013, runs on this democratic model, which lends itself to positive peace and material co-existence for all parties on the ground. Mentioned throughout my work are many codes of conduct and other documents that serve to ensure that alternative tourism's business model reflect joint struggle and cooperation. Following this model, GOT's business model supports tours like Birthright Unplugged and Birthright Replugged: tours whose premise is to debunk the purportedly apolitical narratives of the mainstream Israeli tourism industry that silence the Palestinian narrative. It seeks fundamentally to disrupt the omissions of the mainstream tourism industry.

### **Summary of Argument**

My argument takes the affective dimensions of alternative tourist destinations toured by Green Olive Tours as an overarching theme, an element of all alternative tourism on the Israeli and Palestinian left. Tour guiding pedagogy relies on the management of affective and emotion-laden experiences on the land. Palestinian tour guides modulate their narratives, discourses, and word choice in order to provide controlled tours as spectacles of the affects under which Palestinians live on the ground. Often this involves deciding to use narratives that sharply challenge Israeli policies or pulling back into narratives of comfort when tourists' emotions are exposed. Though most of the time, guides gently push tourists with new emotions and affects.

I argue that alternative tour guides manage these affective assemblages in order to produce activists from the tourists they encounter. I have chosen three main themes through which I analyze how Green Olive Tours, and alternative tourism more generally, constitute a managed experience of intense and visceral affect and feeling, meant to inspire tourists to act upon their experiences when they return home.

In my second chapter, I show how tourists are guided through the inequalities of colonialism, which debunk the narratives of co-existence, complexity, and both sides frameworks that purport to obscure the state-building of occupation. They also affectively debunk state discourses of “fantasies” of parity in power and diversity that pervade post-Oslo tourism (Jennifer Lynn Kelly 2016; Navaro-Yashin 2002 and 2012; Schuller 2018; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016; Stein 2008, 71-96). This occurs through walking tours of the colonial overlays of the old city, as well as the feelings brought up in visits to the elite neighborhoods of Jerusalem. It ultimately enters a contact zone in which power dynamics are always present and ready to be learned about and probed.

In Chapter 3, I employ theories about the many forms of gaze in tourism to illustrate how they can be subverted to emotionally *affect* tourists; I apply these theories to the Palestinian context. Urry’s and Larsen’s *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* has become foundational in tourism studies, which catalogs many ways that tourists gaze upon the tourism industry, and employees gaze back at tourists (2011, 17). I illuminate the ways in which in Palestine, tourists and locals gaze at one another through learning about Palestinian resistance and Israeli occupation. In my other formulations, the Israeli occupation itself gazes panoptically<sup>16</sup> at Palestinians. In Bethlehem tourists are made to feel this constant gaze, and then gaze back at the state using an “oppositional gaze” through which bell hooks posits that oppressed populations gaze back at a society that

denies them the power of looking, or of visible representation (hooks 1996). Tourists, utilizing this gaze in Palestine, defy the legitimacy of the Israeli state, and are affected by feeling the many technologies and infrastructures of surveillance that gaze at Palestinians.<sup>17</sup> In Hebron, they feel the same gazes and affectively feel the ways in which Jewish Israelis live in safety, conceptualized as at the expense of oppression against Palestinian Hebronites. In both places, tourists are made to *feel* momentarily like Palestinians and encouraged later to take up joint resistance, seeing the effect of these infrastructures on Palestinian homeland. I conceptualize tourists' growth, from negative feelings to resistance, as a political tool regardless of efficacy. Similarly, activists and tour guides force tourists to *feel* the hegemonic "world that is"<sup>18</sup> and *envision* "the world to come" (Wise 2017, 210).

A final way in which Palestinians manage the *affect* of tourists is in the design of tours that force tourists to feel haunted and shocked, driving them to action and toward tangible justice for the Palestinians. In Chapter 4 I illustrate how tourists, experience the *haunting* of ancestors and Palestinians' lives under occupation, struggling for life and folded into necropolitics. Then they are encouraged to act, given the intensity and memorability of their experiences. They first see Balata refugee camp, where haunting stories of intergenerational traumas and *affects* of ethnic cleansing bring them to a feeling of shock. In the Samaritan village of Kiryat Luza, they come to shock and hauntedness through forged affective attachments with the vanishing community (Shehadeh 2007).

## **Conclusion**

I hope to have defined the terms that I will use in my analysis below, in which affective and discursive pedagogical tactics bring tourists from feeling truncated spectacles of feelings of Palestinians under occupation to presumed political action through their limited experiences. I

will bring together notions of inequality, diversity, and class as smoke-screens for the power dynamics of occupation felt by Palestinians every day. I will distort the tourist gaze, producing an intense experience of moving from occupation to action. Finally, the concepts of haunting, specter, and necropolitics help me to show tour guides' deeply affective experiences of the ghosts of occupation and of Palestinian ancestors, past and present.



## Chapter 2: Post-Oslo, Two-Sides Narratives, The Axis of Class, and Specters of Inequality

### Introduction

The so-called peace process has been a discourse of Israeli colonialism that has colored the movement of people and “things” in historic Palestine. The post-Oslo era, in its naïve discourses, created a state “fantasy” (Navaro-Yashin 2002, 3) through much of Israeli and international opinion that a peace deal could be secured and bring with it economic and political opportunities. The agreement most famously partitions the West Bank into areas A, B, and C, along a continuum of increasing Palestinian control. Tour guides are well aware that Israel continues to partition and steal Palestinian territory and make West Bank cities into isolated “bantustans” (Halper 2008, 197) or urban “archipelago[s]” (Kelly 2016, 723).

These fantasy discourses of peace elide the contradictions between the belief that Israeli colonialism is a conflict with two sides that will deliver material co-existence on one hand, and will mean continued land theft on the other. Rebecca Stein uncovers how Oslo-era Israeli tourism subscribes to these discursive fantasies (Stein 2008, 71-96).<sup>19</sup> This is a major contradiction that Palestinian guides in Jerusalem and Bethlehem want to teach their tour groups, especially ways in which the affects and emotions they inspire will lead tourists to long-term support of Palestinians under occupation.<sup>20</sup> Teaching tourists through an affective lens the inconsistencies of the peace process requires the right amount of narratives that subvert and challenge these liberal co-existence frames.

Tour guides in Palestine are thus involved in managing the feelings or affects of tourists. Alternative tours are monitored, controlled spectacles of feeling that jolt tourists into action by telling the oral narratives of Palestinians and challenging hegemonic co-existence frames that ignore the deep inequalities present on the land. However, often the sites and their rhetoric and

affects speak for themselves, and tourists feel the *affects* of objects, people, or viewpoints they encounter. They are highly mediated by Palestinian guides, who must gauge the narratives they tell very skillfully, and to what extent the presence of inequality talk will upset tourists' need for balance or two-sidedness, and more of the reality of inequality and quite brutal colonial violence.

In this chapter, I argue that in negotiating these affective terrains, Palestinian guides effectively subvert narratives of co-existence that attempt to depoliticize and decontextualize settler colonialism. First, I will discuss this process; next, I will discuss its implementation in Bethlehem, with regard to narratively deconstructing the Oslo fantasy; then, I will speak to the ways these narratives are shattered with attention to the multi-cultural discourses of Jerusalem, and the affinity that such co-existence discourse has with elite-ness and class axes across which Palestinian and Israeli societies are drawn.

### **Mediating Feelings, Managing Tourists' Affects**

The inequalities that permeate the Israeli colonization of Palestine exist on all sides of power (beyond the Jewish-Palestinian binary) and are objectively clear to visitors at the level of affect and embodied emotion. As I will argue, through attention to navigating the affect and emotion of their groups of tourists, tour guides create unique pedagogical experiences for them. Guides explain the manifestations of the deep-seated, multiple power dynamics that characterize the occupation. These include ongoing colonialism during the post-Oslo period, as well as Israeli support for colonization on behalf of various settler movements. The idea of forcing tourists to come to some extreme affective reaction to the tour, especially mediated by objects, is what propels them to action, which politicizes guides' voices as narratives. First, I will direct my attention to the ways that guides manage affect. Then I show how Yaqoub's affective management of a Bethlehem tour plays into the same discourses about inequality and occupation.

As mentioned above, often it is objects themselves that affectively impart the class disparities between Israelis and Palestinians that are at the crux of the meaning behind the guiding of Green Olive Tours. Guides like Yaqoub point to the black water tanks above Palestinian homes, which are not found on Israeli Jewish homes. These objects themselves orient tourists to an affective, tactical experience of inequality, and stimulate the imagination as they refuse to be unseen. They signify for tourists more affective realities such as the fact that settlements often have swimming pools, and adjacent Palestinian towns have water shortages. These objects signify inequalities of occupation and impart myriad affects, as other objects I encounter illuminate Palestinian resistance or Jewish Israeli privilege, and the weaponization of both. Often the objects become monuments to the nagging presence of Israeli hegemony and power, reminders that Palestinians live within affective, sensory forms of occupation constantly.

Further, Yaqoub points out that roads, themselves symbols of colonial connectivity and Palestinians' navigation, become objects that signify specters of inequality: Palestinian roads, like roads on most US indigenous reservations, are prone to disuse during rain and snow storms. Settler-only roads are well paved. Such inequality is the basis of the critique of the two-sides narrative that appears hegemonic in much of the political discourse about the so-called Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Objects here mediate the spectral presence of inequality, which is both a discourse and an affect. All of this is to say that *feeling* inequality is an important pedagogical aspect of Green Olive Tours.

But through these clear spatial objects and material manifestations of inequality, tour guides are also tasked with maintaining manageable levels of shock or a safe but intense affective experience for those who attend their tours. It is worth mentioning that before there is any conversation about to what extent Palestinian tour guides can subvert two-sides liberal

narratives that so prioritize comfort, Palestinian guides must navigate popular discourse that brands them to be *a priori* subversive and politically charged at the outset. Guides throughout historic Palestine operate under this double burden. One tourist, on the bus toward Mar Saba monastery, told me at the first pit stop on our tour at a coffee stand in Bethlehem, how disillusioned she was that Yaqoub's tour was so "one-sided." She came to this conclusion without giving Yaqoub much more than thirty minutes to be able to narrate his own tour. He had merely finished the roadmap of the tour, describing the sites to visit and their political significance, mentioning that the main thrust of the tour is to teach tourists about what Palestinians experience in Bethlehem under occupation. Through these odds, Palestinian guides constantly modulate their tones, and are constantly scrutinized for the narratives they convey. Even further, guide Musa tells me of right-wing tourists who have tantrums in reaction to guides' narratives, underscoring the need for Palestinian guides to diffuse tourists' affects of all kinds.

Kyla Schuller, in *The Biopolitics of Feeling*, describes the ways in which this stringent affective dynamic circulates in activist circles as much as in tourism, with a specific eye to the Black Lives Matter movement. She opines that the "liberal democratic" state circulates a "sentimental" discourse that ends up privileging the feelings of white people, a dynamic that is resisted by many members of the movement (2018, 1). Jewish-led groups in the Palestine solidarity movement are constantly aware of the ways that the feelings of Jewish participants can silence Palestinian voices, in both subtle and more obvious ways. Schuller reiterates Robin DiAngelo's concept of "white fragility" to describe an "affective state" in which privileged groups may resist acknowledging and have "lifelong protection from race-based stress[es]" or realities (Ibid.). Because of their insulated isolation from these brutalities, white tourists may have quick tempers when exposed to such stresses. Schuller describes how this affective state of

privileged spectators might linger latently or can “erupt in highly defensive behavior and outbursts of anger and rage” (Ibid.). Yael Navaro-Yashin uses Slavoj Žižek’s concept of “fantasy” in theorizing these liberal sentimentalities that exist not just in the discourses formulated by the state, but also affectively and discursively in whole political communities (2002, 3). I want to call attention to the ways in which the state is involved in the production of fantasy discourses, which attempt to mask over power dynamics in which the state and the community is engaged, by prioritizing emotional safety for privileged groups (Ibid., 3-5).<sup>21</sup> The craft of Yaqoub’s tours, and other Palestinian guides, is to subvert these types of comforts in all their forms, by pushing back on them in a controlled, rhetorical manner. He and Musa, the Nablus guide, recall stories of this tourist fragility ranging from the timid liberals to hostile right-wing Zionists.

Despite the need for this kind of acknowledgment of tourists’ feelings, often it is Yaqoub’s goal to force tourists to grapple with the inconvenient and bitter truths. But, he is often also responsible for the affect that circulates on the tours that he guides, and the feelings of the tourists. Though he may want to always subvert liberal narratives, crafted and circulated in part by Schuller’s “liberal democratic state” (Ibid., 1) and paint the occupation accordingly, obstacles often arise. He told me stories ranging from having to explicitly diffuse conversations with right-wing Zionist participants, to other tour guides walking on eggshells, self-tone policing and code-switching to please those who felt uncomfortable by confronting the Palestinian narrative and its liberatory and narrative power.

Yaqoub’s management of feelings is an affective phenomenon, as often many fellow tourists were not accustomed to feeling these visceral, spectral presences of inequality in everyday life. It is also an affective manifestation of the anxieties of privileged groups vis-à-vis

the “Israel-Palestine conflict.” As such, the common discourses that paint Israeli actions as part of a conflict with two equal sides also act to limit the speech of Palestinian tour guides. In the process, Palestinian guides must be mediators of the same emotional safety that characterizes the specters of dialogue and conflict resolution in the political sphere. This emotional safety limits the “complexity” with which we can critique power dynamics in Palestine relationally and affectively, in ironic opposition to liberal charges of complexity that depoliticize and decontextualize Israel’s actions (Stein and Swedenburg 2005).

The outbursts of right-wing tourists are nevertheless somewhat atypical, and Yaqoub and other guides deal with a range of other affective responses from tourists, which may be much easier to navigate, even subversive. Nablus guide Musa, previously dealing with Western liberal democrats, used moments of calm in his itinerary in order to quickly inject political content into his tour narrative. He described how much easier this was than to calm down a hostile right-wing tourist. It was impressive that so many times he laid bare the actions of the Israeli military in Nablus, and provided an experience for well-meaning liberal tourists to grow politically and come to terms with the occupation beneath the fantasies and comforts of the two-sides narratives. He understands that what is most memorable in (alternative) tourism is that which is intensely *felt*. He mentioned the isolation of the Samaritan villages, the PA security forces acting as a proxy occupation, as a middle-age tourist nodded and nodded, looking down and eating quickly. The beauty of Musa’s affective tactic is that she would have many of these moments come back to her while processing or unwinding, as well as the sensory overload that Musa crafted.

Further, it is worth noting that protecting the relative comfort of tourists plays no part in redressing the occupation under which guides live. Even while expected to either subvert or contribute to the two-sides fantasy narratives, Yaqoub is still taking monumental political risks

through which he experiences the specter of inequality he imparts to tourists. He mentions to me how he is often recognized by Israeli soldiers at checkpoints, at their whim, subject to the ongoing specters of racism. He is at risk of clear psychological harm such as the biometric technologies or other mechanisms that make it possible to *feel* the occupation and the racism it produces and manifests. Simone Browne calls attention to the “embodied psychic effects of [living under] surveillance” such as “nervous tension” and “fatigue” (2015, 8). Alex Abbasi argues that “slavery, colonialism, and domination are inhaled with each breath we take” (2017, 199). Browne refers to it as the “dark matter” that “cannot be [optically] observed” (2015, 9). In other words, while often having to manage the feelings of tourists’ affective reactions, he still has to live under the unequal specter of the occupation as well as tourists’ sensitivities. These specters and their subversive potential in grooming activists are the subject of my next chapter.

Yaqoub recalls how much of the peace tourism industry in Palestine relies on the management of tourists’ affective reactions, especially at conferences. He told me about having attended a conference in which depoliticized two-side narratives, and cultural activities, were the dominant approach. As evidenced through the common use by other tour companies of what another interlocutor called a “dual narratives” approach, this imperative to inject balance or neutrality comes with a series of affective tropes. For example, these depoliticized cultural activities were aimed at bringing participants to an appreciation of positive relationships across racial barriers regardless of any political or material consequences. While he and the Green Olive team may often need to break bread with those with liberal worldviews, he still cannot avoid the occupation that belies the credibility of these views. Even as alternative tourism is low in political impact, Frank talks about these frameworks as “feel good activities” that waste money.

This kind of self-policing and code-switching that even leftist political tour guides are forced to perform is unfortunately a largely ubiquitous feature of social movements of all kinds; so much so that I would argue that these liberal fantasies constitute a certain affective mood that moves through space, a spectral function of interpersonal power dynamics, a concrete force for silencing oppressed people, especially while backed by state power. Derrida alludes to the fact that hegemonic political and economic systems (capitalism, occupation) as well as systems to come and ushered in after political struggle, propagated at the level of the state and civil society, often become spectral and affective (2006, 14; 34). The “world to come” that Rabbi Wise seeks is fundamentally an affective way through which we *relate*<sup>22</sup> to one another, as in Stein’s and Swedenburg’s, and Monterescu’s formulation. So too does the ghostly, affective presence of liberalism and colorblindness, propagated by Navaro-Yashin (2002), Schuller (2018), and Žižek (via Navaro-Yashin), serves to foreground and calm the anxieties of opponents or passive supporters of social movements for justice, at the expense of the raw anger of those who have historically been silenced. However, Yaqoub guides tourists to the latter end more implicitly: resistance beyond the power dynamics.

One of the most artistic ways in which affect is managed by Palestinian guides is some moments on Yaqoub’s guiding in Bethlehem. There are still many ways in which Palestinian guides break through these barriers to their narrative freedom. In an effort to control narratives on his tours, Yaqoub crafts the most emotionally-charged, meaningful spectacles that will unsettle tourists and deepen their “encounter”<sup>23</sup> with Palestinians, especially within power dynamics. Yaqoub takes us in the late morning to a lookout on the city of Bethlehem below. He opens one of the many Areas A/B/C maps, used to describe the Oslo system to newcomers to the Palestinian cause. He motions to the urban “landscape” below and the “role of infrastructures



like roads, buildings, walls, checkpoints, and Internet servers” in separating populations of Palestinians, and the everyday embodied struggle of those under constant segregation “in shaping the ways that people move and the kinds of [mental] maps they make” (Bier 2017, 9). Yaqoub describes the pervasive opposition to the Oslo system that ushered in this kind of continued apartheid, the documented sham of two sides at the table for peace, doing his best to translate from the map to the aerial view. This is a subversive, affective “encounter.”

Further, Yaqoub narrates his tours through maps and aerial views that reconceptualize the “encounter” of the Oslo period as a “contact zone” of colonial structures (Pratt 2008). This is especially important since encounter is such a buzzword in peace narratives that normalize the occupation, as well as encounters aimed at probing racialized power dynamics.<sup>24</sup> Atop a lookout hill in Bethlehem, Yaqoub narrates the changes made to the landscape through the Bantustanization of the West Bank. For many tourists, this is their first conscious contact with colonialism in the Middle East, which on the face of it, appears relevant to both radical *and* progressive (Stein and Swedenburg 2005) renditions, iterations of encounter. Like Debbie Lisle and Mary Louise Pratt argue eloquently, there is some new aspect of Palestine to learn the more that inhabiting these zones of contradiction and encounter, as they are fraught with complexities and the kinds of power dynamics that are diffuse, and both interpersonal and structural. Effectively, Yaqoub strategically *affects* his tourists with narratives that challenge notions of co-existence through managed spectacles of encounter (Kelly 2016; Mahrouse 2016).

Yaqoub acts as the broker between us and the contact zone by being explicit about the constellation of affective relationships that have come out of the post-Oslo period. The peace process tells Palestinians that they are not ready to govern any more than 11% of the West Bank, Yaqoub points out. Similar to Žižek’s and Schuller’s reasoning, Yaqoub shows how this deal is

not accepted by most Palestinians because it is a state-funded *liberal fantasy*; it is the product of the comforting affective fantasy that Palestinians will accept being gradually handed the remnants of homeland after decades of occupation and failed negotiations. Yaqoub points to the bantustans on the map: free Palestinian mobility is confined to mostly urban areas, small and isolated enclaves of the whole West Bank. Earlier, Ido told us about how Palestinian families occupy their properties at intervals, in order to avoid the loss of their homes by imminent domain laws. Yaqoub imparts how there is no “Hallelujah” moment in which peace comes from this formula, simply “because we can talk to each other for a week” in Norway. Yaqoub critiques the hopeful discourse that even as the specter of colonial surveillance still occurs, such a deal could sound reasonable to indigenous peoples and their Israeli counterparts at the table. He argues this just after he has explained the ways in which he, as a Palestinian, “feels occupation in the air.” This quick navigation of affects, feelings, and reactions is Yaqoub’s deliberate subversion of hegemonic narratives that may silence the lived experiences of the Palestinians encountered.

The lead Israeli co-founder, Frank, elaborates on the need for these contact zones to be shocking, unsettling, and uncomfortable rather than comforting incitements to dialogue and peace. He confirms the bleak prospect of any equality through the shallowest iterations of the “contact zone” that both he and Yaqoub warn against. Frank retorts that those who “waxed nostalgic” of the culture of dialogue and deliberation in the 1970s were still unable to bring about any just solution. Rather, he argues that the inequalities of occupation are best fought prefiguratively: building relationships in preparation for Rabbi Alissa Wise’s “world to come,” which I argue comes through the activism encouraged by guides (2017, 210). Ido, in Jerusalem, tells us, “we’re not gonna [*sic*] end the occupation,” but that those they meet along the way will make possible a material co-existence on the land, across the “contact zone.” Such a world

comes with deeply emotional, affective, embodied, and sensory engagement with the indigenous narratives of Palestinians. The narrative influence of Yaqoub's guiding is thus a commitment.

Even as these more high-stakes forms of co-existence are invoked, anti-occupation deliberation and true dialogue is embedded in Green Olive tours' business model. Alternative tourism groups like Green Olive Tours not only work intersectionally, but also by a democratic consensus process, importantly prefiguring participatory democracy as a component of material, bottom-up co-existence. The Alternative Tourism Group and GOT produced documents (another was printed in *Politics and Power of Tourism in Palestine*) that encourage accountability for tourists toward supporting those Palestinians with whom they connect on the ground (2005; 2015). Similarly, Debbie Lisle and Mary Louise Pratt allude to the tourists' and activists' responsibility to break through the many racial barriers that make up a colonial "contact zone" and continue to sit with these problematic and challenging encounters. These encounters take embodied emotional energy and long-term commitment, such as volunteer projects bringing visitors skills to the people.<sup>25</sup> Further, politics of *relational* and *interdependent* communities of opposition to occupation are (Stein and Swedenburg 2005) important political goals that characterize the colonial encounter of alternative tours. These commitments are Yaqoub's goal.

### **Jerusalem, a Diverse City Where Cultures Co-exist**

Yaqoub's tour guiding above illuminated the need to craft narratives based on the affective demands of tourists, breaking through their comforts to deliver a conversation about Oslo as a liberal "fantasy." As much as possible, he hopes to bring tourists to contact zones where power dynamics and "complexity" are part of the itinerary. But by contrast, Israeli guide Ido's tour in Jerusalem wades tourists through the waters of inequalities inherent in the civilizational overlays of the city, ironically redefining notions of "complexity." This is Ido's

important task: to move beyond the liberal, progressive narratives of false parity, and to paint a picture of colonialism that is both affective and structurally complex.

It is significant that being alerted by Ido to the many inequalities inspires an affective response that differs from what would be experienced without being alerted to them. The use of guided tours and the presentation of such power dynamics and their historic overlays allows tourists to imagine that stratification and occupation which occurs right where they stand; this is an embodied, affective practice. Obscuring state-sponsored discourses of a diverse Jerusalem, he shows the spatial and interpersonal ways in which power dynamics are present.

Debbie Lisle argues that tourism to highly politicized places includes “effort[s] to uncover the dominant power–knowledge relations that structure [war, occupation, and tourism] practices...and to show how asymmetrical arrangements of power... shape the way subjects relate to themselves, to each other, to dominant institutions, and to their material surroundings” (2016, 9). These asymmetries are in tour guides’ discourses and in the objects and non-humans that circulate in the contact zone (Ibid., 22). Often these asymmetries are obscured by Israel’s self-imaging.

So, the purported melting pot of the Old City of Jerusalem is caught up in discourses that use ethnic and racial diversity as a smokescreen for acknowledging the asymmetries of the Israeli occupation. Tourism to Jerusalem is mediated by a discourse, propagated through a state “fantasy,” that celebrates its diversity. One scholar recounts how the former mayor Nir Barakat “demonstrates that [sites like] the Light Festival form a part of Israel’s efforts to portray itself as a liberal, artistic and cultured country” (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 1285). Barakat further

emphasizes Jerusalem’s pluralistic nature: ‘Jerusalem is a massive mosaic of people and communities, views and sites, smells and tastes that can all be found in the Old City.’... While deploying a multiculturalist discourse, Barakat fails to mention the deep racialized power inequities that shape life in the city. Thus, the façade of cultural diversity masks and ultimately reinforces Israeli-Jewish dominance...

Barkat highlights the sensory experience within the city yet ignores Israel's role in imposing sensory domination over the colonized. (Ibid.).

Here it is important to invoke the asymmetries in affect between visitors and Palestinian guides.

Ido inaugurates the tour in a way that may appear at first glance to be whitewashing the Israeli occupation by invoking the vast diversity of the Old City. He mentions that the story of occupation varies “depending on who you are talking to.” He takes us on the roof of a café in the Old City, and points out the traces of Afghanistan, India, Austria, and Armenia within the old city, and the community of a few hundred “Sudanese” Afro-Palestinians in the Muslim quarter. He explains how this sense of diversity manifests as an affective, sensory experience, felt strongly by the tourist; we pass through the café toward the roof, and he mentions that here and in many other places in the old city, one may “feel yourself to be in Vienna” and forget the city's obvious Middle Eastern cultural milieu. It is clear that Jerusalem is also a contact zone that embodies both diversity and power dynamics at the affective level.

Though further, Ido goes further to explain some of the many ways in which seeing the diversities of the situation in Jerusalem may help us understand the *complexity* of Israeli colonial policies. Seeing these policies embodied and on the land help to scaffold the complexities under which an affective experience of inequality is felt. As we walk from the Western Wall plaza upstairs, he mentions that the Moroccan quarter is a bygone feature of the Old City, once connected to the Western Wall. He explains that it was demolished and built over by a plaza for Jews and tourists to gather in order to access the Western Wall and for Muslims to access al-Aqsa Mosque. He points to the route connecting the quarter with the Western Wall and the tunnels below it. Ido points our gaze to landscape portraits of the Old City: the Moroccan quarter is often omitted from the ultra-nationalistic Jewish photos and paintings of the Old City of Jerusalem, along with that of the Dome of the Rock, among other sites. Acknowledging these

sites and their erasure helps to shatter the Žižekian “fantasy” that diverse co-existence in Jerusalem should be decontextualized and depoliticized.

It is clear that in order for tourists to see and feel the aforementioned inequality, it is Ido’s guidance that alerts their psyches to it. The walking tour throughout the Old City forces tourists to imagine the many civilizations that have been overlaid and conquered in Jerusalem. It requires them to imagine many ethnic cleansings on multiple sides of power. It is not always clear that the ordinary visitor may be prompted to see the city as a neutral entity, through which both two-sides and co-existence discourses permeate it. Green Olive Tours prioritize imparting the hegemony of Israeli Jewish colonization teeming below these state fantasies, and its capacity to “build over.”

These waxing and waning civilizations add complexity in the sense that power is dynamic and understands power as non-binary but as relational and interpersonal (Koensler and Papa 2011; Lavie 2014, 34, 39; Stein and Swedenburg 2005). Among the many asymmetries Ido relates are the expulsion of Jews from the Jewish quarter by the Jordanian government. He also mentions the expulsions of Nazi-supporting Germans from the German Colony in Jerusalem. He mentions that Israeli politicians aid the settler movement in colonizing the Muslim quarter.

Many of the aforementioned asymmetries that Ido illuminated in Jerusalem alerted us to a *feeling* of inequality that shatters the false parity of state-sponsored liberal co-existences. While stopped at an archaeological site in the Jewish quarter, Ido mentions again that the Jewish quarter was ethnically cleansed by Jordanian forces. This archaeological excavation is on display in the Jewish quarter as a victory of the ancient Judean civilization. Ido guides us toward what he says is a refurbished and maintained wall and spring used during the Judean period, part of Israel’s subsequent rebuilding of the Jewish quarter. Ido mentions that like this archaeological site, the Judean kingdom on which many Zionist exclusivist claims to historic Palestine stand is relatively

insignificant within the historical timeline. Though on the other hand, this era is invoked in order to make exclusivist and temporally contiguous Jewish claims to the land (Abu El-Haj 2001, 99-129). The irony he mentions is that such relatively weak claims to the Holy Land have constructed a narrative of Zionist belonging; one of the Zionists' concerted efforts is to make sure that Palestinians are living in abject conditions under Jewish control. Though these civilizational patterns speak to structural forces on all sides, Ido acknowledges the effect of Israeli power dynamics on which narratives are highlighted and prioritized.

As such, Ido's guiding through the old city's Temple Movement helps us to further understand the power dynamics upon which Israeli colonialism in the old city is built, specifically at the intersection between the policy (state) level and the affective (interpersonal) level. As I have alluded to previously, the city of Jerusalem acquires a reputation as a global, cosmopolitan, and plurally sacred city, especially to tourists and visitors (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 1285; Yiftachel 2016, 486-8). The city itself is imagined as interpersonally liberal and democratic, whose lands are an impartial stopping point for both history and modernity. These liberal discourses become part of the city's common sense and become affective, interpersonal.

Conversely, Ido's guiding illuminates the ways in which the settler movement, for example, is involved in producing inequality in the city, against the fantasy of the city's multicultural, liberal reputation. This contradiction is relevant particularly to the sites such as the Dome of the Rock, whose significance to all three Abrahamic faiths becomes a political weapon. Ido mentions the way in which the Israeli government outlawed Jerusalemites from advocating publicly and discursively for the destruction of the Dome of the Rock, so that these common senses of pluralistic Jerusalem might circulate. In this way, Ido shows us the reality of power dynamics in the city, and the domination behind the discourse of multiculturalism that permeates

two-sides assertions of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Ido's point, and the liberal discourses themselves, play out at the affective level.

Finally, Ido shows how Ariel Sharon firmly supports the Temple movement and its aims of domination as a settler who owns property, adorned with Israeli flags and a menorah, in the Old City. But the settler movement remains firm in its demands, including the development of an elevator from the Jewish quarter down to the Kotel plaza. Hearing these stories allows tourists to understand this colonization through the feelings of the Old City, which may elide the reputation of the city as pluralistic or politically liberal, or accommodating both Jews and Palestinians complexly. This contradiction is what becomes an affective experience in the GOT itinerary.

### **The Israeli and Palestinian Elites—the Affect of Class Privilege**

Having highlighted the extreme inequalities affectively felt in the invocation of Jerusalem's diversity, it becomes clear that atrocities happen on all sides of power, beyond the Israeli-Palestinian binary. Another main way in which this inequality plays out is at the level of class disparity in historic Palestine. I argue that the pedagogical goals of shattering tourists' comforts in favor of controlled negative feelings about occupation also disrupts the relative comforts felt on some sides of class and material disparity in Palestinian and Israeli communities visited on Green Olive Tours. In Jerusalem and in Hebron, we see material disparities that belie the relative comfort that often accompanies (elite) co-existence work.

Many other elements of Ido's tour guiding in Jerusalem complicate stock liberal narratives of two-sides and shallow co-existence; among the most prominent of them is the axis of class. On his tour, we walk the distance westward from the Old City toward the King David Hotel and the YMCA, toward the largely owning class Talbiyah neighborhood of Jerusalem and its environs. He refers to this buffer zone as an insulated, colonial "no-man's land" that separates



populations by class and race. Ido points us to the Jewish, Muslim, and Christian iconography displayed on the top floor of the YMCA, a framework that belies the power dynamics between Israelis and Palestinians by framing co-existence in terms of religion. He points to the fact that both buildings were highly regarded community spaces among those in a long legacy of advocating for co-existence, most of them from elite and ruling class members of Palestinian *and* Jewish communities in the Holy Land, behind the “no-man’s land.” He describes shared football clubs, day cares, and kindergartens. Throughout much of the walk, we pass by eerily quiet apartments; Ido explains that most are the second homes of rich American Jews. We take a short driving tour of the Talbiyah neighborhood and its nearby residential areas, near to where such elites as Bibi Netanyahu live, and to where Palestinian refugees such as Edward Said’s family were expelled from. While these parts of Palestine were also part of the lands of the 1948 Nakba, they feel eerily peaceful and impart to the tourists as such.

The calming, peaceful yet eerie affect of these elite neighborhoods and their environs reflects a kind of elitism to the forms of co-existence against which Green Olive Tours positions itself. Namely, that it is easy to talk about peace and co-existence in economically privileged communities, where inequalities are much less stark and much less visible. For example, Ido talks about how the Greek Orthodox Church quietly sold nearby land to Jewish Zionists. Talbiyah, however, appears to be quiet and serene, especially as an owning class area. It is disorienting to think of the neighborhood as a place whose current residents were displaced in 1948. Indeed, Ido clarified that many of the inhabitants left Palestine with many other options, such as second or third homes and reliable family networks, to ensure their safety. He mentioned that so many Palestinian families still hold deeds to lost property, and this is clearly a different kind of expulsion than that which we might see in Hebron or Balata refugee camp.

Conversely, the feeling of quiet came up for my fellow tourists and I in another geographical context: the city of Hebron. Guide Muhannad took me for a driving tour of a number of quiet spaces that still yet illuminate power dynamics and deep inequality of occupation. For instance, he pointed out to me three different lots of rubble, sites of Israeli house demolitions. He pointed out checkpoints and roadblocks, fences and walls that cut Palestinians off from their land. We walked through the old city, which was relatively empty, even with its holy sites populated by tourists. He takes me to several sites such as the nearby village of al-Walaje, which elided popular discourses of co-existence and the notion of the solving of a two-sided conflict. It is incredible how easy it is to *feel* the inequality and feel that the occupation is orchestrated by a number of forces of power.

However, the quiet in Jerusalem conveys an insight about the Israeli political spectrum that complicates two-sides narrative and rethinks what safety and quiet might look like in historic Palestine. In describing the owning class niche among Palestinian and Israeli society in Jerusalem, Ido shows us the inextricability of these elite circles within the larger context of the Israeli political spectrum; co-existence politics are often associated with class and material privileges. As such, Ido's co-existence narrative reimagines attitudes toward the occupation through a class lens. Classism's inevitable impact on the spectrum of opinions on the Israeli occupation within civil society is stark. He says that many of the Talbiyah families and those of other areas in West Jerusalem now identify as leftists; the safe and quiet, welcoming aspect of this neighborhood is perhaps related to the feeling of peace, safety, and security of these families, identifying as typical leftists like the Ashkenazim of Israeli peace groups like Peace Now. Their opinions on Palestine also largely are shaped by their relative comfort and distance from the front lines of both settler colonialism and resistance.

By the same token, Ido reconceptualizes the political right for us as largely Israelis conditioned to be more hostile toward the Palestinians as those placed in positions of relative violence, in harm's way; for example, marginalized Jews placed near frontier areas. For a first encounter with Jerusalem's contact zone, this narrative complicates just what safety and calm look like in Israel's class system. Throughout Ido's guiding, these class and political dynamics do not serve as smoke-screens to justify occupation, but as complications to an already elaborate colonial system. The left often feels a specter of calm and quiet, and the right as danger and violence. Of course, politics in historic Palestine is far more diverse, Ido's reading is highly dynamic in its introductory treatment of the complexities of co-existence.

### **Elaboration on Class Disparities**

I have explained many ways in which co-existence frameworks of two-sides are problematic in Palestine, across the spectrum of class privilege. I illuminate how Green Olive Tours fundamentally changes the conversation around emotional and physical safety: the position of safety from which much of the liberal, progressive form of co-existence is practiced: among elite citizens and future policy holders. The significant power differentials that are illuminated on Green Olive Tours open doors to understanding so much in the complex "contact zone" through which inequality is felt affectively by alternative tourists. The peace-building in co-existence and dialogue programs affirms and reproduces the very same detached fantasy discourse of a state that both enacts and obscures violence of the Israeli occupation as well as the materiality of justice. The discourses also rely on the comforts that Palestinian guides mediate.

One reason why Ido's guidance through the elite neighborhoods of Jerusalem was so relevant as a subversion of normalization discourses is the dominant approaches of the dialogue groups from which these discourses emerge. They are most often fixated on the upcoming elites

of society influencing policy change. For instance, the organization “Seeds of Peace” is explicitly geared toward building bridges among those who will become political leaders or people holding positions of power.<sup>26</sup> Marwan at the Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem liked to call this approach treating “peace as a business.” As a core philosophy, this approach assumes that these policy changes are doled out by an impartial, egalitarian state that will enact policies for equality between Palestinians and Israeli Jews, meted out by impartial people skilled in negotiation. Though Yaqoub’s comments on guiding Bethlehem tours make it clear that the changes of peace cannot be made by the same state that subjects Palestinians to an ongoing specter of surveillance and occupation, with which future elites are relatively out of touch.

Following this same approach, while teaching future policy leaders to build relationships across lines of national and racial difference appears to be an effective way to achieve peace, it also puts faith in the model that peace at the policy level subsumes material co-existence on the ground, where the specter of inequality is most vivid. My tour guides were quick to recognize the failure of this approach, which is at least as old as the post-Oslo era. As many of my tour guides assured us, this approach is divorced from the lived experience of so many of those who live and struggle on the ground. Material co-existence, importantly, is characterized by a relationality between all sides of power that leaves far more at stake than can be negotiated solely among the owning class or at the policy level.<sup>27</sup>

Further, Ido’s narrative teaches us that there is a different affective thrust of the many kinds of co-existence in these elite circles than the class diversity across Israeli frontiers. While still an important part of Palestinian society, they still may appear somewhat detached. It is relatively easy to advocate for peace while relatively untouched by the violence of occupation, poverty, and divide and conquer tactics in Palestine. While elitist, projects in which Edward Said

and others in Talbiyah and elsewhere were involved seemed to have tangible preconditions toward an end to structural violence in Palestine. For example, Said's famous labor (such as the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra) in service of tangible co-existence and understanding through classical music is not at all in vain, even as it resembles two-sides and dual narratives approaches. This is true particularly as it was done by an academic celebrity whose work waxes unequivocally committed to justice for Palestinians, Israelis, and Middle Eastern peoples everywhere. Said himself was interested in dialogue and encounter programs that wrestle with the many complexities in his thought that actually probe the realms of colonialism and racism. Though often, what demarcates who is included in these co-existence projects is what Ido calls the "gerrymandering" and "ghettoization" of Jerusalem neighborhoods along class lines.

Ido's guiding pedagogy shows us the juxtaposition between elite co-existence and deep class disparities on the ground. While he takes us from poor to rich and back again, he convincingly alludes to the fact that co-existence between Palestinians Arabs and wealthy Jews at the YMCA in Jerusalem is a project far easier and less fraught than the Jewish residents of Ashkelon living side by side with the Palestinians from Gaza who were expelled from al-Majdal. Further, these owning class communities reflect the same spot in Nir Barakat's diversity narratives that obscure power dynamics by inciting Jerusalem as a diverse, progressive place.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have shown many ways in which Palestinian and Israeli tour guides mediate the affective moods and thrusts of the tour groups whose narratives they are called upon to frame. They do so as people always-already political, and the feelings and affects they force tourists to experience are mediated by a careful balance of the feelings and affects of the group. Guides push forward or pull back on the ability to impart whole truths of the oppressions they

face. They provide a political experience using several affective tactics that navigate tourists' feelings and modulate political exposure. Guides seek to provide a controlled, truncated exposure<sup>28</sup> to the constant systems of oppression within which they live. These are affective experience that shatter, or in some ways regress back to, the prevailing fantasy discourses that claim the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to be a war between two equal sides. These pedagogies exist in a "contact zone" that forces tourists to come to grips with inequality, rather than view their tour as a one-time contact without political consequences (Lisle 2016, 9).

Yaqoub, in guiding tours of Bethlehem, similarly conveys the failure of dialogue and of the two-sides approach, because of the clear affective dimensions of the Oslo accords, whose logic is what Slavoj Žižek would call a "fantasy:" a discourse propagated by the state, and which becomes a political, interpersonal affective common sense, and a narrative basis for state power (Navaro-Yashin 2002, 3). The Oslo accords offered the illusion of peace, while the affective experience of occupation Yaqoub is still forced to constantly endure. He imparts a small taste of it for the tourists that glean the knowledge in an embodied way, through maps and landscape. He told me how he often finds himself modulating back and forth from narratives that receive tourists in their comfort zone, as well as looking many aspects of power in the eye.

Ido, in his tours of Jerusalem, conveys the ethnic and class diversity of the cityscape, and the ways that "co-existence" narratives that tout Jerusalem's diversity and pluralism (Yiftachel 2016; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016) obscure the politics of occupation and its inequalities. He demonstrates how the state's discourses such as that which proclaims Jerusalem as multicultural act as smoke-screens for understanding the affective inequalities of phenomena such as the Temple settler movement, and Israel's archaeological scaffolding for its agenda of occupation. These are affective processes felt by Palestinian guides and tourists alike.

After describing these two tour narratives, I turn to the question of class in Palestine. Much of these comforting co-existence, conflict, dialogue, and two-sides narratives often overlook these deep affective inequalities on the Israeli left and in situations of relative privilege and lives of relative ease. I mean not to trivialize the forms of co-existence and dialogue that have happened in elite communities and are promoting real bottom-up co-existence on the ground. Rather, there are correlations between elite-ness, class privilege, and inequalities, felt affectively by the tourist visitor, that belie more concrete blueprints toward co-existence among ordinary people. Such formulations elide the discourses of the state that speak of co-existence where it is absent and more appropriately resembles Israeli policies of *hafradah*, or racialized “separateness.”

Class, and its correlate in political affiliation, as well as proximity to the violence of occupation, are often the vantage points through which these fantasy discourses becomes naturalized as common sense. Ido demonstrates the ways in which the ease of co-existence in elite communities in Jerusalem is far-reaching. The struggle of embodied co-existence in communities in harm’s way, like in development towns, seems harder. The problematics of inequalities and co-existence across the board require exposure in a continual contact zone rather than shallow, temporary encounters with co-existence. Such a contact zone is chock full of inequalities and always brings new aspects to learn, beyond the limited exposure on an introductory tour.

### Chapter 3: The Tourist Gaze at Surveillance: Spatial Affective Tactics

#### Introduction

As we saw in Chapter 2, Yaqoub and Ido are both invested in making controlled spectacles (Kelly 2016) that bring tourists to a variety of controlled affective reactions with respect to the harsh power dynamics of occupation. Yaqoub's pedagogical tools in his Bethlehem tour, and his and Muhannad's Hebron tour are very similar; they constitute a controlled look at the surveillance mechanisms that terrorize Palestinians. The tours' main framework relies on subverting the *tourist gaze*, which was famously articulated by tourism studies scholars Urry and Larsen (2011). The main goal of these subversions is to bring tourists to collective action, which can be mapped on the teleology used in other activist circles: the movement from "world that is" to the "world to come" (Abbasi 2017; Wise 2017).

I use a number of terms that are worth defining. In both sections, I refer to the occupation as participating in shrinking the "vanishing landscape," borrowed from Raja Shehadeh (2007) and supplemented by scholars like Eyal Weizman (2007) and Oren Yiftachel (2009a; 2009b). I describe this occupation as a process of stealing "things" from Palestinians, just as the objects of surveillance are Israel's own infrastructural "things" (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 13) which are integral to the erasure of Palestinians themselves. I argue that gaze and "visuality" (Lisle 2016; Monterescu 2015; Urry and Larsen 2011) are sites of power in these processes, as well as sensory and affective considerations. They occur in a contact zone that is full of unequal relationships, managed and curated by guides and museums. I analyze the gaze in this process as a political gazing back as well as an affective feeling of being gazed upon. Both forms of the gaze are framed within a process of joint struggle and resistance, as well as the delimitation of



Israeli space as privileged and safe. I analyzes these gazes around the concept of Panopticon; both in Foucault's institutional sense, as well as in the diffuse power of omniscient surveillance.

I take up two different instances of the gaze being manipulated as a pedagogical tool that aims at leading tourists to joint struggle and resistance. In Bethlehem, Yaqoub's choice of the hotel's museum, near the Apartheid Wall in Bethlehem, allows tourists to feel the panoptic eye of surveillance. They subvert this by gazing back at technologies of control and developing reactive affects that propel them toward affects of resistance and shared struggle.

In Hebron, I discuss the difference in two gazes in Israeli and Palestinian living spaces of the part of the city that I visited. Yaqoub's and Muhannad's tour exposes and guides tourists to the panoptic gaze of surveillance and settler violence above them in the old city; they gaze back at technologies, and gaze mutually with Palestinians resisting. In Israeli space, they gaze back at the Jewish community and the cultural processes that purport to legitimate this surveillance. I argue that tourists are forced to rethink their concept of safety. I argue that they must resist their "comfort with militarization" (Mahrouse 2016, 339) and imagine a just "world to come."

### **Bethlehem—the Specter of Surveillance and the Oppositional Gaze**

The subversion of many gazes in Bethlehem follows a distinct trajectory. First, tourists are alerted to the totalizing, panoptic gaze of both tourism (Lisle 2016, 22-3) and of Israeli occupation upon Palestinians at the Walled Off Hotel in Bethlehem. Then, they take a tour of the museum, inside the hotel, which I will call the "Hotel museum." They safely view a detailed exhibit which catalogues Israeli surveillance technologies. The feelings that this inspires forces tourists to gaze and be gazed at by these technologies. They look back at panoramas of surveillance technologies, and flip the gaze onto the "things" or tools of occupation. The controlled pain they feel then is narratively channeled into action, which is reflected in the final

resistance room of the museum that brings the tourists who gaze at it from an “oppositional gaze” (hooks 1996) toward an affective paradigm of resistance, which mimics and prefigures the structure of society that activists desire.

I argue that the process through which Palestinian guides so often code-switch<sup>29</sup> and manage affect during their tours are done under this constant gaze of the surveillance of the Israeli army, as well as the constant gaze of their tourists. State surveillance is put on display, forcing tourists both to *gaze at* and *feel gazed upon* by this panoptic regime. Yaqoub reminds us that he is often gazed upon by soldiers. The most important narrative and affective contributions of the tour is to alert the tourists to the ongoing, psychic, spectral paranoia of living under surveillance technologies, and the experience of both Israeli and Palestinian living conditions.

At many points over the week, Green Olive Tours guides pointed out the surveillance technologies more generally, which made clear that illuminating the constant omniscient presence of the occupation was an important part of the pedagogical tactics of the alternative guide. Ido, in Jerusalem, first directed our tourist gaze at the many soldiers watching those who enter and exit Damascus Gate in the Old City. On two separate occasions, near the Damascus Gate surveillance kiosks, as well as near the Apartheid wall in Jerusalem, we saw dome cameras that he mentioned were equipped with face recognition technologies and presumably access to biometric databases. Muhannad in Hebron, and Ido in Jerusalem, point us to both Israeli settlements and army watchtowers that utilize stolen space from their respective old cities. This constant surveillance is a monitoring technique as much as it serves to encroach and steal yet more land from Palestinians, and visibly so.

As Schuller reminds us in *The Biopolitics of Feeling*, racialized people were historically believed to be accustomed to these abuses of structures of power, and thus “lack[ing] the nervous

capacity to feel any harm”; this belief serves to justify the surveillance and other oppressions (2018, 14), especially in the context of a diverse Israeli society that is welcoming to tourists. The Oslo process, as Yaqoub evokes in Chapter 2, similarly disregards the Palestinians’ feeling of harm at a shrinking homeland. The agreement was certainly based partly around Palestinian acceptance of compromise, being accustomed to land theft and willing to accept what is given. Yaqoub’s and other guides’ choices of destinations alert tourists to this denial of his agency. He grapples with aforementioned gazes to give tourists a taste of his reality and the affect that indeed causes him to feel actual structural harm, disregarded by anti-Arab racism and the tourism industry. He confronts the omniscient panoptic structure by the state that silences him.

As I discuss in Chapter 2, this incitement of these tour guides toward making tourists *feel* the intensities Palestinians feel is a way of subtly responding to discourses—and affects and specters—that prioritize the range of feelings of privileged groups, be they international tourists, or diaspora or Israeli Jews. They also silence those most directly affected. Tourists are mostly citizens of the western world with economic privileges and those of mobility. The major goal of guides’ pedagogy is to realize the impact of the harrowing stories of survival that come of this opportunity for exposure to Palestinians, beyond Israel’s self-fashioning and image making.

Raja Shehadeh, in *Palestinian Walks*, describes the ways in which navigating and giving directions in historic Palestine is fraught with watching the expansion of objects of surveillance that are both part and parcel of the occupation, and assist Israel’s colonial and surveillance projects (2007, 182).<sup>30</sup> A larger body of literature addresses how these objects that divide and create barriers are integral to Israel’s goals of territorial contiguity, at the expense of Palestinian mobility and homeland (Bishara 2015; Braverman 2009; Meiton 2016; Shamir 2013; Weizman 2007). The many museums and political sites offered on the itinerary are pedagogical tactics that

subvert this ubiquitous specter of surveillance, alerting tourists to the loss of homeland under the gaze.

Often times, technologies were more concealed; their hiddenness demonstrates that surveillance is a paradigm that touches all of ordinary life in the West Bank. They included fake palm trees with surveillance cameras attached to their trunks, as well as machine guns in the guise of stray cats.<sup>31</sup> I hope that this array of examples captures the affect and feeling of paranoia, which comes with the constant monitoring of (pro-)Palestinian life and the spatial weapon of occupation it represents. Frank, in several points in GOT's preparatory literature for prospective tourists, mentions the interrogation regime that surveils anybody who enters and exits the country, looking especially to punish (pro-)Palestinian activists. While tourists are encouraged to gaze disapprovingly at objects of surveillance, the state obviously gazes back, even if in a concealed guise. This also allows tourists to feel the panoptic gaze.

This level of intricate surveillance, in its omniscient specter of inequality, becomes a psychological tool, imparted to alternative tourists. Given the diversity of knowledge production about Israeli technologies of surveillance, and their obscene extent, such paranoia is a slippery slope of the imagination, given that every aspect of life in Palestine/Israel is constantly being monitored. Shalhoub-Kevorkian diagnoses this as something that "invade[s] the most intimate spaces" and "toy[s] with the colonized psyche" (2016, 199), so much so that "the uncertainty over whether or not surveillance is present is an important strategic element" of its continuity (Browne 2015, 15). Zuboff describes knowledge production "about us...[but] unknowable *to us*" (2019, 17). Both the effects felt by Palestinians and tourists are affective and visceral. When exposed to the Hotel museum, I started to feel paranoia, imagining life under such a regime.

Undergirding the pedagogy of Palestinian guides is the agency of these technologies themselves. Debbie Lisle alerts us to the importance of the circulation of objects (specifically of surveillance) in tourism, and their engagement with humans, life, and space itself. She opines that “militarized and touristic subjects relate to themselves, to each other, and to pre-constituted ‘foreign Others’ through the objects that constitute their agency,... the territorial markers that position them, ... and the material infrastructures through which they move” (2016, 22). We need also to understand tourists’ mobilities through their “intimate encounters with elaborate security checkpoints, scanning machines, cameras, and specially designed software used to distinguish between safe and dangerous travelers” (Ibid., 22-23). The panoptic gaze and the objects beneath it force tourists to look disapprovingly at the practices of Israeli tanks, and to identify intimately with the Palestinian Others who endure them. The effects manifest as Israeli infrastructural expansion, specifically as it is exhibited in the museum, and life under oppression.

Beyond exhibiting these surveillances, the Hotel museum is one such site that clarifies for tourists how Palestinians are rendered deserving of such carceral repression. The museum subverts the panoptic gaze by directing the tourist gaze to these surveillance technologies, specifically with the aim of highlighting their role in quelling resistance, in the same intimate spaces in which they are used. One of the museum’s earliest frames is an exhibit of the crowd control and other technologies utilized by Israel. Inside tourists are encouraged to direct their gaze at these carceral tools, meant to maim and kill those Palestinians panoptically gazed at.<sup>32</sup> The technologies shown are among the most jarring and lethal, terrorizing demonstrators as much as they monitor populations. Miniatures of these inventions are presented with captions in a panorama. The technologies include the ‘Skunk Trucks’ that disorient and spray protesters with

foul chemicals, and weaponized tanks, some of which automatically hurl stones at Palestinian youth, and others which emit loud disorienting sounds causing stomach sickness in protesters.

The museum exhibits a number of other semi-lethal technologies of surveillance and control, among them tear gas canisters, attack dogs, indefinite detention, “sponge rounds,” and rubber-coated bullets. They are organized panoramically, as Foucault argued: Palestinians know they are always seen; by whom is not always clear (1977). Tourists gaze back at the occupation’s propensity to injure and maim those under their gaze (Puar 2015). For a moment, tourists gaze intentionally at Israeli practices, as if able to stop this form of Palestinian carceral confinement.

It is clear that the surveillance regime is totalizing; life is monitored, and objects of surveillance themselves are agents of ethnic cleansing. The museum portrays these technologies as constantly being redeveloped and innovated. The caption reads that a tank “fires 90 tear gas canisters, drowning a large area like a village in gas.” It was upgraded from a 2008 model whose tagline compared the tear gas to a “cleansing last rain of the season,” quickly dehumanizing Palestinians. Technologies include robots that demolish houses or patrol the whole Gaza strip. Technologies often accompany “corporate toys and gifts” such as “breath mints to promote tear gas,” but also make these technologies transnationally profitable. These technologies carry justifications and innovations that make them appear as living, breathing entities, and Palestinians as Lisle’s “foreign Others.” Tourists see how these objects themselves embody a politic that renders Palestinians worthy of death. Tourists “look... back at the state” in these moments of subversion (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 202).

The museum’s narrative confirms one of Ido’s points: the *effects of* surveillance are a psychological weapon of erasure beyond the technologies themselves. The panorama of the technologies details that these inventions are not just discrete objects, but are affectively linked

to and themselves performing their effects on the Palestinian population. As much of the museum text reads, the Apartheid wall is an object and a barrier, but also a series of regulations and practices of soldiers, a series of affective energies that flow among Palestinians. Shalhoub-Kevorkian argues that in privileging Jews, the occupation produces a “discussion [which] reveals colonial disruptions of sensory, physical, psychological and epistemic comprehension to maintain Palestinians as profane ‘no-bodies’” (2016, 1296). So stun grenades and rubber-coated bullets carry the psychological torture of being both semi-lethal and capable of maiming, and also the after-effects of the injuries and deaths, as well as traumas and threats to identity, which they cause. Palestinians’ experiences are direct affective results of these objects and the pain that disregards their agency as fully corporeal people. For example, Jalil’s written testimony attests to his eye socket being fractured with a rubber bullet; Palestinians in Gaza flee their homes after notifications that their houses will be bombed within “5 to 15 minutes.” The tourists gaze back at the Israeli abuse of Palestinian affect, imagining Palestinian embodiment, absurdly rendered abnormal and inhuman in the face of a state that brands its brutality as “humanitarian.”

Paradoxically, the museum’s affective manipulation of the gaze provides *tourists* with an embodied, emotional experience of embodied Palestinian resistance. Since the surveillance mechanisms of occupation often gaze panoptically upon Palestinians and politically subversive tourists, the Hotel museum reverses it. Foremost, the exhibit provides tourists what black feminist theorist bell hooks calls an “oppositional gaze” (1996), a gaze by marginalized people back at a society that renders them invisible or as a negative representation. hooks says that America denies black Americans the right to be “spectators” (Ibid., 247-9) and to even “look at” a popular culture from which they are excluded. Of course, Palestinians resist this condition constantly. The gaze of tourists at the museum is *politically* oppositional, in which tourists are

encouraged to gaze defiantly at surveillance objects and process their affective and regulatory effects against Palestinians. The resulting gaze fulfills what Lisle calls “architectures of enmity” that “make themselves felt...by enrolling and excluding objects, landscapes, infrastructures, and atmospheres” (2016, 22). Having a truncated taste of these affective and regulatory effects makes tourists momentary activists (Kelly 2016). This museum, Yaqoub’s choice of destination, introduces tourists to his “oppositional gaze:” looking back at dehumanization.<sup>33</sup> Through their experience in Palestine, tourists gaze oppositionally at small scale political structures through which they are guided. Yaqoub underscores the potential of western tourists to exert structural pressure over what they are made to gaze at: a privilege not always given to Palestinians.

Again, the importance of these infrastructural technologies is their intimate contact with Palestinians. As a process of orienting tourists toward a different relationship to surveillance technologies, the Hotel museum evokes one aspect of Navaro-Yashin’s and Raja Shehadeh’s scholarship. Namely, one of the most haunting aspects of the occupation is that people in Palestine are isolated from their “things” (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 13). Palestinians’ properties, intimate villages and homes, crops, tools, foods, and cultures are erased by occupation and its “things.” Tourists gaze upon and problematize those infrastructural facts on the ground that erase Palestinian indigenous knowledge of objects, landmarks, and symbols of Palestinian indigeneity (Shehadeh 2007, 5).<sup>34</sup> Palestinians are *affectively* haunted by this psychic condition, and the tourist gazes at Israel’s “things” (Lisle’s “objects,” tanks, cameras, data collection) that help *it* expand, and shrink Palestine: the same scenario tourists gaze upon.

The culmination of this museum I focus on is the resistance room;<sup>35</sup> its narrative is framed by spatial representations encouraging joint struggle after feeling the occupation’s gazes. It is plastered with the timelines of various (pro-)Palestinian victories on the ground and in the



international community. Speakers bellow out protest chants, heard in several languages from speakers above, and a fake surveillance camera looms in the room's furthest upper corner. This spatial choice is a recognition that pro-Palestine activism will refuse to be silenced, even by visible panoptic surveillance. But it also reminds tourists that social movements occur under the specter of state repression. Not only do Palestinians feel this, so too do international activists and tourists who dare to resist. The direction of the tourist's gaze definitively suggests that activists for the Palestinian cause undergo tremendous transformations and victories in their journeys, and trajectories toward principled action.

The room pointedly subverts post-Oslo two-sides liberal narratives, particularly by highlighting the shift from comforting "fantasies" of parity toward acknowledgment of the surveillance specter that Yaqoub imparted. The room guides the viewer from evocations of dialogue into commitments to joint struggle utilizing collective leveraging of power rather than deeply held comforts. Namely, the room's backdrop of protest signs and BDS victories lead centrally toward a wooden work bench with two seats at the table, evoking the "co-existence" policy trope mentioned in Chapter 2: one seat is painted like the Israeli flag, aside the other like a Palestinian flag. Seeming to evoke the two-sides discourse that fantasizes about bringing equal parties to the table, at the center of the table is a guest book and a pen. Their transformation is consistent with out-growing Oslo-era discourses of co-existence. The goal is the difficult affects of political education, utilizing their "gaze back" to consider struggle for Palestinians.

Two captions above the room's guest book further affirm joint struggle and collective growth, complicating dialogue in the context of the asymmetric struggle. On the one hand, a bubble quotation detailing Hassan's testimony reads, "[C]alling for dialogue implies two equal sides...[obscuring] the unbalanced reality of colonial domination... It is hard to *speak back* when

tear gas fills your lungs” (my emphasis). On the other hand, Rania’s reply acknowledges paradoxically that “nothing happens if we don’t talk to each other. We must live together.” Tourists are encouraged to come out publicly in support of Palestinians and contribute to justice. However, co-existence looks like communication, as well as shared struggle at intersections of these surveillance technologies.<sup>36</sup>

My own affects at the museum somewhat mirrored Yaqoub’s pedagogical goals. I found myself intensely angry with Israel’s unrelenting panoptic gaze, learning still about the effects of technologies of which I had never heard. I found myself so familiar with some technologies and their being tested on Palestinians that it felt banal and no longer shocking. But before the resistance room, gazing back at technologies I just learned about, I felt a renewed sense of the absurdity and brutality of such totalizing regimes. I was feeling an enhanced sense of outrage at Israeli brutalization of populations with such, yet another “encounter” with occupation.

Derrida’s *Specters of Marx* helps us conceptualize tourists’ growth toward structural change in terms of political hegemony. His work conceptualizes political economic systems as living specters; he argues, “Haunting belongs to the structure of every hegemony” that shapes our material lives (2006, 45-6). For example, “Old Europe” transitioned from capitalist specters to a “specter of communism then *to come*,” both having characteristic affective dimensions such as the gift economy and undoing specters of inequality (Ibid., 32). Navaro-Yashin (2002; 2012) describes how discourses like those of security and surveillance emanate from the state often in the form of affective and psychic phenomena. These scholars distinguish between ideologies of the spirit of the world to come, and those that are hegemonic.<sup>37</sup> I argue that the Hotel museum maps the growth of activists onto these spectral shifts in power structures. Tourists enter a symbolic specter of justice, prefiguring this world to come via narrative, political growth.<sup>38</sup>

In this vein, the room highlights Palestinian-Israeli defiance against these technologies of control and surveillance: a symbolic call to dismantle the systems their guides have made them feel. *Anarchists Against the Wall* documents a direct action in which they drive a parade float in the shape of a pink phallus that squirts water on symbols of occupation like “police vans and military statues,” satirically “in tribute to the powerful men of the military.” This frame calls attention not only to the specter of occupation, but also to the cultures of heteronormativity that scaffold it. Most importantly, the frame provides for tourists a controlled affective journey. And support for actions like these require a certain comfortability with defying militarism and occupation (Mahrouse 2016, 337-8),<sup>39</sup> similar to the popular participation of international activists in protests in Bil’in and Ni’lin. This directs the gaze itself toward resistance.

Like Green Olive Tours, many activist groups are also clearly motivated by producing activists using a similar teleology, after exposing individuals to the Israeli surveillance state. Particularly in the Jewish tradition, Jewish American activist Rabbi Alissa Wise sees this as the move from the “world that is” to the “world to come” (2017, 209-10). Alex Abbasi, in the same volume,<sup>40</sup> describes “the hegemonic world” versus “zones of non-being,” which requires stepping into our potential to imagine change for oppressed people (2017, 199-200). Similarly, Jewish youth are walking off of their Birthright trips, in order to bring the Jewish community’s youth toward this “world to come.”<sup>41</sup> Both Green Olive Tours and the wider Jewish American left are involved in a discursive and affective process of making activists by highlighting deliberate spectacles of the reality of Palestinian oppression, toward action.

Mimicking the telos of the Hotel museum in Yaqoub’s guiding rhetoric, alternative tours to Palestine suggests a teleological movement from one specter to the other; namely, from the constant paranoia under the surveillance state, into one that envisions justice and struggle. While

tourists in Bethlehem are encouraged to feel the paranoia of the Palestinian people, they can only be encouraged to participate in activism that will exist beyond the end of occupation. The tourists are narratively told to become activists themselves.

### **Hebron—Surveillance Technologies, Privilege, and Safety**

Yaqoub's tour to the Hotel museum follows a distinct trajectory of controlled levels of feeling and affect. Tourists are made to feel the paranoia of the surveillance mechanisms of the occupation, and their constant panoptic gaze upon Palestinians, and then see the specter of resistance in moving toward joint struggle. In Hebron, Yaqoub and Muhannad direct the tourist gaze similarly. This time tourists are embedded in the walking tour. Our guides alert tourists to jarring *affects* of surveillance, and their production of safety for Israelis, at the expense of that of Palestinians. These jarring experiences are forms of Stein's "nested small scales," but of Palestinian resistance rather than domestication (2008, 72). They convey similar gazes to the tourists, in a safe and controlled manner (Kelly 2016, 729-31).

In Hebron, the affective panoptic, securitized gaze of soldiers and settlers alike is done with an affect of pleasure and privilege. In other words, the gaze demarcates whose living spaces are privileged by occupation. Carolyn O'Dwyer offers a useful framework for us to understand this panoptic gaze. She writes in the context of soldiers visiting Pacific Island nations as "soldier-tourists," desiring and exoticizing the indigenous women they perceive as available (2004, 33). The "hybrid gaze structure" (Ibid., 37)<sup>42</sup> through which they gaze at the Pacific Islanders is a "visual point of violence where the scopophilic gaze of the desiring tourist meets the eye of military surveillance" (Ibid., 37-8). Consequently, we might understand Israeli colonialism through a similar affective lens: both checkpoint soldiers *and* Hebron's ideological settlers deriving pleasure or privilege from the injustices they inflict. This kind of colonial contact zone

where the power dynamics of militarism meet tourism and leisure, Lisle argues, is a dominant component of dark tourism (2016, 27-8). Though in the same sense bell hooks' "oppositional gaze" is practiced by alternative tourists who will not accept this kind of double gaze and the violent panoptic affect it has on Palestinians, and gaze back at occupation with a range of affective responses.

It is also clear that soldiers' and settlers' panoptic "visuality" (Lisle 2016, 19-20) was a mechanism of Israeli land theft and colonization. In the middle of Hebron's old city, Muhannad calls our attention to Israeli army watchtowers adorned with Israeli flags, erected right above shops and Palestinian homes. We had just entered the old city from the Tomb of the Patriarchs, which we exited through another checkpoint of white walls and green turnstile gates, after Muhannad told us about the American settler, Baruch Goldstein, who opened fire on the mosque in 1994. He explains how settlers, who have access to many buildings *above* the old city, hurl expletives and insults down at Palestinians, as well as toxic liquids and garbage. Hebron's breach of Palestinian freedom is thus panoptic, involving omniscient soldier and settler surveillance against Palestinians from above.

Further, the oppositional gaze, directed by tour guides at this surveillance state, subverts traditions of touristic and anthropological gazes at the colonized (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 1296).<sup>43</sup> It directs the gaze back at Israel's infrastructures and people that aid occupation. The walking tour exhibits the occupation's tools of intimidation and control, in place of gazes of researchers that dehumanize or harass indigenous populations or those gazes that render them as proper test subjects for surveillance technologies. The gaze is designed to belittle the sense of ownership of Israel over its infrastructures and its facts on the ground in Palestine. It is clear that Muhannad's goal is to arouse opposition in his tourists looking back at those Israelis who hurl

their trash and unwanted objects, and covet the “things” of surveillance that ensure their structural privileges. At the same time, displaced Palestinians see their “things” are systematically stolen, and unwanted things projected on them (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 13). This oppositional gaze is thus what may be referred to as a gaze at Palestinians on the margins, and opposing these forms of colonialism that gaze at Palestinians.

I remember gazing back with rage at the vivid theft of Palestinian land, and the attitude that Palestinians are rendered lab rats, deserving of surveillance. When I crossed through a nearby checkpoint, I remember the Israeli soldier acting annoyed that I would even show him my American passport, rather than to pass through immediately while Palestinians are checked.

These decentered gazes are a large part of Yaqoub’s and Muhannad’s pedagogical goals. One goal of the tour is to guide participants to subverted encounters in what Stein calls the “concentric interiors” and “nested small scales” of post-Oslo tourism, where domesticated Palestinians are at home in places like living rooms and courtyards, available to enact Israeli fantasies of peace (2008, 72). Conversely, the alternative tourists I traveled with move through small frames of Palestinians resisting objects of surveillance and colonization. Muhannad directs our gaze toward a synagogue, called Avraham Avinu, whose satellite *yeshivah* (religious Jewish school) campus is built over and atop one Palestinian man’s old city stall. We walk and see the entrance to the *yeshivah*, and the roadblocks and barbed wire that separate both us and Palestinians from the main street. A Palestinian shopkeeper explains the feeling of harassment from both the nearby watchtower and settlers above. He resists by playing a loud recording of protestors chanting, “Free, Free Palestine” on repeat, just audible by the settlers above. In this instance, Muhannad guides tourists through these experiences of resistance. They are “concentric interiors,” conveying the “intelligibility” of Palestinian resistance rather than liberal narratives of

encounter that Stein problematizes (Ibid.). This frame is a truncated experience of Palestinians “at home” not in the courtyard or the kitchen, but under surveillance in the old city (Ibid., 79, 87). It is through these kinds of contact that tourists have controlled affective experiences, moving beyond comforting liberal narratives. I remember feeling both that this encounter was a genuine encounter with resistance, but that this truncated spectacle left much more to be desired.

Muhannad and Yaqoub subvert John Urry’s and Jonas Larsen’s *tourist gaze* in these shifting mutual encounters. Urry and Larsen formulate that “tourists not only gaze but are also gazed upon by staff and locals. Locals gaze upon tourists’ practices, clothes, bodies and cameras and find them amusing, disgusting, curious or attractive” (2011, 23). Tourists gaze and Palestinians gaze back; these encounters he might hope would develop deeply in Lisle’s “contact zone.”<sup>44</sup> In the face of these forms of colonial gazes, it is remarkable that although these encounters also are asymmetric, they seek to introduce tourists to resistance on a long-term basis, regardless of the tone of employees’ “look back” (hooks 1996, 248). While it also involves domestication of Palestinians, this mutual gaze signals to tourists *embodied* Palestinian experience of surveillance, which felt appropriately complex and fraught with contradiction.

Not only does the tourist gaze subvert, tourists have the truncated feeling of being corporeally and sensually under surveillance via the walking tour (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016). The specter of surveillance is so strong because of its affective thrust connecting colonizers to the military and the terrorizing effects of surveillance technology (Bishara 2015, 48, 41, 34).<sup>45</sup> To access these Jewish sites beyond the old city, all visitors must walk back through the old city to the same checkpoint. We walk and feel momentarily gazed upon by a specter of soldiers we do not see. The walk and Muhannad’s explanations alerted us to these specters of surveillance so that we imagine and feel the way it fragments Palestinian mobility, even without seeing

Palestinians stopped. As the Hotel museum teaches, the restrictions on movement are one of the sensory *affects* of these Israeli regimes of surveillance: obvious barriers *felt* around them.

Gazing at the powerful and the privileged is an important aspect of the redirection of this panoptic gaze. One part of what was so eerie<sup>46</sup> about surveillance in Hebron is the feeling of entering the public spaces of those who benefit from occupation. After we had passed the checkpoints exiting the Muslim holy sites, Muhannad invited us to walk upstairs toward the adjacent synagogue, only for Jews and Christians to enter. As I approached it, the synagogue's Hebrew entrance read, "Kiryat Arba is Hebron," affirming that the reason for these highly visible surveillance technologies and harassment is to protect the ongoing expansion of this settlement. The Muslim and Jewish holy sites are segregated, and guards ask tourists to confirm their religion before walking toward the synagogue. As I walked within this Hebron synagogue, their worshippers were free to move, against whom symbols of Judaism and security do not feel threatening. The synagogue was part of logics of separation, enforced and affectively felt.

Relatedly, many of Rebecca Stein's works (2005 with Swedenburg; 2008; 2009) describe how consent for injustices like these come not only from the actions of the state and its material occupation, but also from the production of cultural practices among the colonizer's community. In the Kiryat Arba synagogue, tourists found themselves gazing at cultural practices like Jews singing liturgical music, where Jewish religion seemed like a banal cultural practice, even if it played a part in the ideological scaffolding of the harassment and surveillance we witnessed. Though in another way, I felt as though the synagogue was a crude, violent application of my own precious traditions and values. Tourists gaze and are gazed at by the Jewish settlers. Religion itself is a determinant of who is worthy of state repression, which colored the affect behind the gaze. Tourists gaze back at the cultural practices of the colonizer, in whose name



Jewishness is privileged, its frontiers kept closely. Seeing such privilege, the fantasy of the state protecting both Jews *and* Palestinians via liberal two sides narratives is starkly false.

Part of what Yaqoub and Muhannad wanted to underscore was the relationship between these privileged groups and their objects, and their status as perpetrators of interpersonal violence. At the synagogue I saw settler youth, elderly scholars, and middle-aged settlers who appeared just as ordinary Jews: with prayer books, Torah scrolls, *kipot*. I expected that encountering them would inspire an angry affect in me similar to the old city walking tour. Jewish Hebronites' quiet and calm lives are constructed by objects of state violence. After being reminded by Muhannad about settler attacks on Palestinians, the settlers exuded an eerie specter in their returned gazes. But the experience was a mixture of anger and a calm safety that felt unsettling, similar to Hannah Arendt's concept of "the banality of evil" (Arendt 2006). My imagination went quickly toward the constant terror that their watchful eyes enacted upon Palestinians. The hyper-visible surveillance in Hebron thus shows the ways in which privilege is a spectral phenomenon, which brings material *and* psychic, atmospheric, mood that animates unearned benefits of Israeli communities whose cultural practices were privileged. The oppression is visible within the gaze, looked at beneath both panoptic and mutual gazes. I felt a tension between the perceived banality of settlers, concealing their actions against Palestinians.

A related aspect of surveillance under which Palestinians live, to which Yaqoub and Muhannad alluded, is thus the definition of safety based on prioritizing the security and privileges of those who benefit from surveillance technologies. Similar to my feeling about Jewish settlers in Hebron, I recall how Ido told us in Jerusalem about the problematics of the surveillance state there, including what he referred to as the "so-called Border Police."<sup>47</sup> Ido took us to a site on the "Apartheid Wall" with visible cameras and face recognition technologies, both

arguably agents of laboratory-like testing on Palestinians (Weizman 2007, 9),<sup>48</sup> far away from the elite Jerusalem neighborhoods near Talbiyah. He described how much of the impulse behind this surveillance was to convince many Jerusalemite Jews that their safety and quiet lives (also says Frank) depend on keeping purportedly violent, criminal Palestinians behind walls and barriers. In a different way, the inequalities in Hebron are often open and exposed, and Muhannad appeared honest and open about settlers' and soldiers' roles in expanding settlements and folding Israelis into safety and Palestinians into settler violence. This disparity, as I witnessed it, belies the temptation of the state to deploy "fantasies" of co-existence.

Appropriately, Noam Leshem writes about how these privileges and inequalities can be inscribed in space, via Israeli processes of "infra-(de)structure" of Palestinian lands, more complex than the comforting narratives of co-existence. He opines that

"[t]o avoid a two-dimensional portrayal of power relations, ... urban-political scholarship needs to remain attentive to this subtler geopolitical vocabulary [of continued defiant resistance on the land] that underpins contemporary forms of Palestinian political action. The long history of infra-(de)structure cannot be confined to a tale of state violence, but constitutive of oppositional spatial traditions" (2015, 42).

Space itself inscribes spatially constituted inequalities of settlers and soldiers, through tourists' affective feeling of both banality and colonial inequality, in their feeling of the walking tour.

Tourists are also encouraged to gaze back at the brutality of military and settlers. In one of my interviews with GOT staff member Frank, he mentioned that the Israeli right also has developed its own form of settler tourism, within which settler and military violence is encouraged, and tourists terrorize Palestinians from above as if adventure and sport. In the Hebron synagogue, we pass by right-wing tourists, smiling brightly and taking photos with brown and black uniformed soldiers carrying rifles. After Muhannad guides our gaze toward the carceral state, we see that these Israelis are elated to be on the opposite side of the Israeli surveillance regime, hardly banal, eliciting within me an affect of anger and alienation. The same

“tourist-soldier” gaze that O’Dwyer diagnoses is important here (2004, 33). Muhannad’s tour evokes a controlled affective experience of disgust at the perpetrators of surveillance, who support ongoing colonization. Much of Debbie Lisle’s work in *Holidays in a Danger Zone* (2016), and Gada Mahrouse’s essay “War-Zone Tourism” (2016), catalog these forms of tourism in which “truncated spectacles” (Kelly 2016, 729) of “comfort with militarism” and “war-zone tourism” (Mahrouse 2016, 22) is lauded and seen as an intractable affect and component of privilege and safety, calm and comfort for those whose lives are supported by them.

While I have shown that Hebron’s security state is more visible, many technologies are hidden under symbols of comfort, alerting tourists to Israelis’ supportive mood toward surveillance. Two of my fellow tourists pointed my tourist gaze toward cameras and audio recorders affixed to the trunks of what appear to be fake palm trees on the synagogue’s horizon. I was immediately impressed by their sharp eyes, and also alarmed at how well these technologies are hidden, requiring controlled exposure to such surveillance to raise the sensory awareness of tourists to these hidden objects. This awareness is especially impressive given the nature of such a surveillance object; it aroused disgust in me given that it was both a symbol of settlers’ paradise and *settler-tourist*<sup>49</sup> terrorism. Part of Yaqoub’s and Muhannad’s pedagogical tactic, then, is to force tourists to imagine what this constant surveillance must feel like for over 60 years, rather than a mere few hours.

To conclude, this debate around the effects of surveillance on the feeling of safety of privileged groups has far-reaching significance, and the process I have shown inspires tourists’ recognition of this significance. Further, this bifurcated, affective experience of unequal levels of surveillance reminds us that the main tactical reason for this disparity is to profit from demarcating Israelis as worthy of peace and security, and Palestinians as worthy of occupation

and brutality. Consequently, this security configuration is shattered in tourists' re-thinking safety and surveillance during tours as a focus on collective security for all inhabitants of historic Palestine. This is politically relevant for both activists and tourists.<sup>50</sup> I argue that Muhannad's goal is to encourage joint struggle across these racialized barriers, and the commitment to reach beyond these surveillance symbols of (dis)connectivity. This bold kind of collective struggle is what shatters more comforting discourses of co-existence that see the inequality in Hebron as an isolated case. Instead, Muhannad shows how relationality is an important tool to rethink safety as a component of collective power for all (Monterescu 2015, 11; Stein and Swedenburg 2005).<sup>51</sup>

This defiance of security in civil society is important in mimicking the same pedagogical tactics as Yaqoub in Bethlehem, delivering tourists from overwhelm and paranoia to a desire to speak out. These affective results are enough in themselves to make activists. One Arab-American youth on the Hebron tour with me mentions how he had been jolted back into action after witnessing the security apparatus in Hebron and feeling the urgency of the unfolding "vanishing landscape" of occupation (Shehadeh 2007). The checkpoint that the tour group walks through between the holy sites, itself the only route even for tourists, gives tourists a sense of the embodied, sensory effects of being embedded within these surveillance technologies. These guided tours force them to re-imagine the space in relationship to the atrocities that occur on top of it. The specters of surveillance and that of collective safety are the logics that guides in Hebron and Bethlehem imbue to tourists: a subtle way to say that the time for justice has come.

## **Conclusion**

One of the most important paradigms that tour guides funnel from their lived experiences into a "truncated" tourist experience (Kelly 2016, 729) is the constant, panoptic gaze of surveillance and its infrastructural hold on the "occupation of the senses" that Palestinians feel

and live within daily (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016).<sup>52</sup> Subversion of constant state surveillance leads to the intention to introduce tourists to pro-Palestine activism. The main analytical tool is the use of the “tourist gaze” (Urry and Larsen 2011).

A number of scholars have written about these forms of both racism and security are felt and understood, but difficult to explain concretely or empirically (Wise 2017; Abbasi 2017; Browne 2015). Others call for trusting the subject who feels, and these affective processes as concrete and empirical (Navaro-Yashin 2012; Hannam and Yankovksa 2018). I have theorized this constant surveillance under which Palestinians live in the context of shifts from the *world that is* to the *world to come*.<sup>53</sup> I have taken up these personal transformations in the context of guided tours of Bethlehem and Hebron, through which seeing the surveillance on museum displays and guided tours, respectively, attempts to produce subjects who will later fight for the “world to come.” The starting point is the state’s panoptic gaze.

In Bethlehem, we saw how the Hotel museum in the Walled Off Hotel, tourists find themselves gazing back at the state at a panorama of totalizing surveillance and occupation technologies. Tourists feel, for a moment, the constant paranoia of securitization and carceral logics in everyday life, and while gazing back, become politically oppositional. In Hebron, we saw how tourists gaze at concrete objects of surveillance and meet a mutual gaze with resisting Palestinians. Tourists’ walking tours of these areas in this context of the gaze, also become politically oppositional toward the separation and partition that produces communities of safety that are oppositional to those who feel the panoptic gaze of surveillance.

Resistance here comes from the spatial aspects of the museum’s trajectory. In the following chapter, I take up a related theme: how do spaces and affects of both death and life in

these securitized spaces move tourists to action? How do these affective and narrative ghosts or haunting productively bring tourists to effective political action?

## Chapter 4: The Specters and Affects of Haunting: Temporal Necropolitics

### Introduction

In this chapter I am concerned with tourists' experience with hauntedness. Haunting occurs in the tourist imagination, and manifests affectively. I build on scholarship in saying that what makes haunting is the memories of the past (Derrida 2006, 9; Hannam and Yankovska 2018, 320),<sup>54</sup> and that hauntedness arises from remembrance of ancestors as well as the struggles of the living (Keshet 2011; Nashef 2015, 3). I take up Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics, developed out of Foucault's biopolitics, to explain how political sovereignties and their tools complexly fold peoples and populations into both death and life (2003). I argue that the haunting on Green Olive Tours begins through tourists' emotional and embodied experience of haunting specters of the dead and the sharing of Palestinian oral traditions and stewardship of the land<sup>55</sup> under necropolitics. Haunting comes about through diverse affective moods left within spaces and those who inhabit them (Morten, Stone, and Jarratt 2018, 228).<sup>56</sup>

Palestinian guides are imparting to tourists their own sensory haunting experiences, which are common to colonial traumas. Palestinians experience violent Israeli military incursions as "biopolitical attack[s] against the mobility, livelihood and breathing space of the colonized" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 1289). While necropolitics denies Palestinians their bodies and embodiedness, tourists have embodied, psychic spectacles of occupation to bring home (Ibid., 1296). This discrepancy of embodiment gives agency to traumas, origin stories, and lifeways, and to elders and ancestors. Green Olive Tours' narrative arcs force tourists to feel this intergenerational, visceral hauntedness in the occupation's tools of death, in both Balata refugee camp and the Samaritans' village, Kiryat Luza. The extent of these psychic experiences leads to the development of affective ties with Palestinian hosts.

At Balata refugee camp, Palestinian oral narratives and their refugee community center force tourists into shock, and to imagine the horrors that guides described as if they were concrete ghosts and haunted objects (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 15). These phantasmic objects illuminate the different ways through which Palestinians must constantly live under haunting specters of death or injury (Ibid.). We became shocked by the gravity of the stories, as well as their living spirits and the traumatic atmospheres in the space. We were also haunted by the overarching, common encounter with the specters of death and life embedded in Eastern European Jewish and Palestinian histories.

Our visit to the Samaritan Museum in Kiryat Luza also inspired moments of haunting. The museum uses Orientalist and racialized tropes as “strategic essentialism”<sup>57</sup> to inspire haunting reenactments of the past and present of the Samaritans, and also forge tourists’ affective attachments to the future of the “vanishing community” (Shehadeh 2007) Their lives are folded into death, particularly through their liminal status as occupied people under Israel, as well as their participation in the Palestinian past and present as a Judaic people.<sup>58</sup> Haunting manifests in the discourses narrated about the Samaritans and their origins, as well as the spectacles that tourism makes of their traditions.

### **Balata Refugee Camp—Haunting and Ancestors**

One of the most emblematic examples of the specter of “haunting” in the guiding of Green Olive Tours is their stop at the Balata refugee camp. The stop to the camp’s Yafa Refugee Center clearly *haunts* the tourist and spurs them to meaningful action as advocates of the Palestinian cause. We were welcomed to the center, named after the city in central Israel from which most of Balata’s refugees originate. Muna, one of the staff members of the center, told her story as well as much of what daily life looked like at Balata refugee camp. The two other



tourists with which I traveled were in mild shock (Buda, d’Hautserre, and Johnston 2014, 10) when processing Muna’s stories, similarly as I felt a strong affective reaction even with much prior knowledge. She spoke about daily life under occupation, and the precarious basis by which the camp accessed resources from UNRWA and other organizations. My haunting reaction came via comparing my participation in tourism to sites of Ashkenazi Jewish history and Diné (Navajo) resistance with the occupation of Palestine. This haunting specter moves tourists toward action, in the complex discourses and affects that produce it. It comes about because of the many ways in which Balata residents are folded into the death of occupation, living through traumas of others and their own that concretely manifest as past and present ghosts (Hannam and Yankovska 2018, 322).<sup>59</sup>

Muna’s stories were haunting for us because of their visceral nature and her emotional, embodied relation thereof, as well as the objects in the room that call to mind the ghosts of the death that drives occupation that the Israeli military thrusts upon Balata’s Nakba refugees. Ultimately, these forms of haunting and their affective dimensions are among what is most remembered in dark tourism to Palestine, even more than the content of Muna’s stories, playing a role in encouraging future advocacy. I had previously encountered this same tactic of making tourism into an affective spectacle to haunt the visitor with the gravity of the presence of necropolitics<sup>60</sup> among living communities.

When I refer to *haunting* in the specter of tourism, I do not mean to render Palestinians as “dead already” or lacking the agency of the living (Mbembe 2003; Nashef 2015, 3). Rather, I mean that the occupation and colonialism themselves carry a specter of haunting, by which Palestinians are folded into empire and racial taxonomies of death. This kind of aura or haunting specter is felt most viscerally by living Palestinians. In Balata, I experienced paranoia and shock

that I describe in my introduction, one that acknowledges Palestinian and Jewish ancestors. GOT's goal is to haunt tourists with stories of what Yaqoub calls "beautiful resistance." Rather than guide tourists to resistance, Nablus is a story of affective bombardment, feeling Palestinians' pain in a controlled way and forming affective attachments.

One summer I visited the Holocaust sites of Eastern Poland with a Jewish youth group, and then briefly visited Israel. We visited death camps, cemeteries, and ghettos, among other sites. The tour was meant to highlight the death into which Ashkenazi Jews were folded during the Holocaust, followed by the biopolitics of life, Israeli Jews emerging with nation-state power in the Palestinian context. Eastern Europe was not presented as a place to which Ashkenazim complexly contributed, but where they perished. Palestinian dark tourism, conversely, focuses on the West Bank and resists this framework of unnuanced death, highlighting the folding of Palestinians into both death and life, the two inextricable. Palestinians navigate and resist, fighting for their lives under occupation. In Balata, I felt a kind of haunting in both contexts, Palestinian and Jewish. Each of the traumas I learned about in Palestine made me feel the same heavy haunting that brought me to recall my Jewish ancestors a few years earlier.

Achille Mbembe writes about how the ongoing specters of race and colonialism, as well as fascism of the Nazis, are instrumental in shaping the folding of populations into complicated relationships between life and death (2003, 17). I remembered some of the haunting affect that I felt during visits to the Diné (Navajo) reservation in northern Arizona, many of whose elders of the sacred Black Mesa region are resisting forced relocation and coal mining, compounded by territorial partition. Most of the visits were geared toward following the lead of Diné families; these trips were highly affective. For example, the remoteness of the reservation is also because of sparse population, but also a "nagging feeling" that this is a quiet, calm place because of the

state of Arizona's relocation campaigns, the eerie quiet brought on by haunting ghosts of partition and displaced ancestors (Maddern and Adey 2008, 292). All of these invocations of ancestors and traumas made me feel the same heaviness that brought me to recall my Jewish ancestors suffering similar treatment as the Palestinians. But Palestinian camp residents, Diné families, and Ashkenazi ancestors navigated these affective situations with resilience, while still no less haunted than other tourists and I. While preparing to exit the car to feed horses, a comrade snapped me out of the shock; he said, intentionally making eye contact, "It sucks...I know. Come on, let's go!" Others periodically saw my distance and insisted, "Keep coming out," knowing that affective overwhelm is useless without political action, unless also disrupting liberal "fantasies," grown out of by learning about and dismantling power in the long term.<sup>61</sup>

Much of what was haunting about Balata were the experience of occupation that the Yafa employee told. Like Yaqoub, Muna at Yafa Cultural Center told us her oral narratives about the routine of residents of the camp. She told us about the regular invasion of the camp by weaponized tanks and the curfews to which the camp was subjected as early as 10pm, raids often happening late at night. She talked about one Center employee being shot by an Israeli soldier and also denied medical care, but that many others were repeatedly killed or injured with impunity when the camp was raided. She spoke of the large holes in homes, blasted open by Israeli soldiers in between already congested housing with incredibly narrow alleyways, in order to arouse distrust between refugees, and further unsanitary conditions. The congestion, fire-power, and incursions are clear examples of the necropolitics of occupation. I took from it not just moral outrage, but also a heavy atmosphere felt in the conference room where we listened to Muna's stories. Her stories and oral narratives transmitted this atmosphere via the content, but

also the trust we built in her vulnerability, speaking the haunting of Israeli atrocities into the room.

Intermittently, one young man who participated on this tour with me expressed how these atrocities were so outrageous, saying, “wow, it’s hard to argue with that,” or that the reason fellow US Jews supported the occupation was their ignorance rather than blatant nationalism. He described how inequality was so stark. Muna’s stories haunted the space, as he bore witness to and opposed occupation. Similarly, I found myself haunted, thinking that these atrocities occurred “right here.” It was clear that Muna’s stories transmitted affect to us.

Though she also mentioned what resistance and steadfastness look like under these necropolitical conditions, and such a mastery of and control over her oral narratives. She mentioned the many programs that the Center offered, particularly music and art therapy. She described how young children drew pictures of tanks, weapons, and armed soldiers, or otherwise integrated their play into the violence surrounding them. She describes how healing from traumas is so important to Palestinian survival, and how Palestinians will never give up despite the trauma. For my fellow tourists and I, bearing witness was a highly affective process; I started to imagine the invading tanks, and children drawing them. Tourists and I were both in shock, even if only controlled levels of it. Muna’s oral narratives were where we invested our trust, in stepping into an affect of haunting, imagining the embodied experience of death and violence she described.

Yael Navaro-Yashin writes about the ways in which affect is “transmit[ted]” “between individuals”, “intersubjectively” in collective “atmospheres” and also in the public sphere (2012, 134-5). Driver Issa regularly felt as though when tourists could not physically see the occupation, they would not believe guides. Conversely, I felt as if I could feel the shock of my two fellow

tourists as much as Muna's, with two blank faces of concern that I learned to recognize and felt as if the haunting was transmitted from Muna's resilience. We quickly trusted that the tanks and raids she experienced while healing the children were remembered in her own embodied and composed practice<sup>62</sup> that transmitted her affect, no less strong, to my travel companions and I.<sup>63</sup> I felt, rather, that her vulnerability spoke a haunting specter into the room, felt by her just as us.

Conversely, it is also true that affect is transmitted by the moods of the spaces inhabited, what they are used for, which is a public, collective haunting (Ibid.). The rootedness of her stories in place, and right on the space we inhabited, were key. I imagined how the community center itself was a space where these kinds of frank conversations about trauma and death were had and a place whose regular Palestinian visitors were being folded into the death drives of Israeli occupation. I imagined and felt what happens at the centers on a daily basis. The space transmitted an affective residue, an atmosphere (Ibid.). It "left behind" a mood to the room (Hannam and Yankovksa 2018, 324). This atmosphere seemed to arouse a need for my travel companions to support financially. The two tourists bought a few pieces of women's embroidery, recognizing oral tradition as one of the terms of survival under such a necropolitical situation. They cited their visit to Palestine for "social justice," connecting deeply with Muna as such.

Another salient aspect that explains Muna's haunted stories at the Yafa Center is the residents' rootedness in Palestine, and descriptions of the overall conditions of the camp, which we both felt and saw. Balata refugees are a community already carrying trauma of displacement from Yafa in 1948, compounded by the stories Muna told from inside the camp. These traumas also explain the affective auras of the spaces in which they live and organize. They are forced to live in congested conditions, building generations upwardly in ad-hoc apartment stories. Walking through the often pungent-smelling, extremely narrow alleys and seeing the holes dug by Israelis

into their homes, it is clear that the camp's oral history and intergenerationality is linked to intense affect, at least four generations of trauma from living in cramped conditions. It is a liminal space like Navaro-Yashin relates as an "abject" space that is both otherized by the privileged, emotionally hard to bear (2012, 147-50). They are places many are conditioned to see as filthy and marginal. Balata is a community far away from their belongings ("things") in Yafa, their plants and animals, and geographical landscape, whose trauma is concrete, and after hearing Muna's testimony, observable by tourists. Palestinians' experiences in these conditions were felt and spoken into the spaces they organized: the camp's library, conference room, restaurant. Our experience walking the camp showed us how this rootedness is part of a public imperative to survival and resistance despite necropolitics, also fueled by oral narratives.

The haunting feeling that we had in Balata was partly a result of the intense, visceral thrust of the administration of occupation under which camp residents live. Again, as refugees from 1948, Balata dwellers are a community whose narratives have traveled with them and have been reconstituted in a displaced geography. They are a community who, as Navaro-Yashin says of Cypriots, are "betwixt and between the absence and presence of statehood" (2012, 90), between the services of UNRWA, violent incursions of the Israeli military, and the post-Oslo era splintering of the West Bank, yet still building their own institutions. They are also doubly affected by what Achille Mbembe refers to as a "splintering occupation" whose technologies of control play a role in considering various groups of Palestinians as worthy of death (2003, 28). They are subject to all kinds of barriers, rules and regulations meted out by the Israeli military, playing a part in splintering their lives through the advent of technologies that restrict mobilities. This haunting occurs in the context of building Palestinian institutions, stifled by those of Israel.

The spectral aspect of Muna's testimonies was particularly meaningful for me, especially its resonance with Palestinian and Jewish collective traumas. Muna's presentation, which described invasions by tanks and curfews and trauma at the whim of the Israeli military, aroused a similar haunting in me that reminded me of the many objects that haunt those tourists who visit the monuments to the Holocaust.<sup>64</sup> I remembered a few moments in Eastern Poland: the death camps, train tracks leading to mass graves. At the time, the presence of atrocity in haunted areas like Majdanek camp was heavy. It made me feel weak, and feel a visual sensation of darkness and dimness, paranoia; *imagining* Holocaust victims being gassed, and so on; the camps leave behind a traumatic necropolitic in the mind's eye.

My experience in Diné country was similar; I felt the necropolitics in my emotions during the solidarity work. Diné youth and elders imparted a similar affective resilience as Palestinians. Elders battled the sensory *affects* of colonization. I heard stories of forced relocation that gave me a familiar feeling of hauntedness: I imagined Navajo tribal police harassing Black Mesa families, hoping to evict them; I heard about the authorities' impoundment of sheep; I met families whose only source of heat was the coal whose extraction is destroying their homeland.<sup>65</sup> While we hosted an event at one chapter house,<sup>66</sup> American activists not accustomed to the gravity of the *affects* there were taking naps in their cars and oversleeping, while Dine families continued to steward their sacred spaces and oral narratives under the same conditions. As such, haunting is partly about self-growth, as much as about affects of Israel colonialism upon Palestinians, and bringing alternative tourists toward joint struggle.

These three memories involve imagining the same haunting specter. Edensor argues that the "urban landscapes" and "mobilities" that tourists inhabit "leave behind 'traces of its previous form, social life, inhabitants, politics, ways of thinking and being, and modes of experience'"

(Edensor 2005, via Hannam and Yankovska 2014, 324). As such, I conceptualize space as haunted (Leshem 2015): the affects of the Yafa center, the Navajo chapter house, and the crematoria are all emotional energies that have circulated in space since their very beginnings. Similarly, objects and stories effect peoples' moods and behaviors (Morten, Stone, and Jarratt 2018). Tourist destinations like Balata are thus reminders that the land records its own trauma and transmits its ghosts to tourists who acknowledge their specters, especially through their imaginations and affective atmospheres.<sup>67</sup>

Further, the Yafa center left behind auras of trauma. Though Muna's stories were brief and without much detail, I started to see two images in my mind's eye—ancestors in the Holocaust and scenes of the Israeli army invading the camp. Without making this controversial comparison, I identified the same paranoia in Poland was coming back to me in Balata. I was experiencing an affective equivalent of our collective pain at Israeli Jews becoming oppressors. It was as if in the room there was a “nagging” haunting of Israeli tanks, as if they, and the Israeli army so haunted by the Holocaust, had left a dark atmosphere upon the camp. I felt injustice in this grave contradiction, despite the diverse affective soup within which I found myself.

Still, I wondered why I relived my experience in Poland, because we did not speak about Jewish suffering at all that day. But the Holocaust was already an affective specter projected into the camp by Israeli tanks onto Palestinian space, in Yafa as well as in the West Bank. I concluded that beyond the haunting of the memories of Nakba among these refugees, it was partly a result of Israel's weaponization of Jewish suffering. I felt that the Israeli raids wrought their misplaced traumas upon the camp, forcing the exploitation of this Jewish trauma into the living spaces of Palestinian refugees. This particular affect claims to justify the brutalization of Palestinians, an affect that also inhabits the spaces where Palestinian refugees live. I was clearly



imagining my ancestors explicitly going through similar oppression as Palestinians, but I was not the first person to feel this; it follows a long tradition within the Israeli psyche. I felt the importance of Palestinian liberation, but affective Jewish suffering was plural at Balata. The Israeli amnesia of the Nakba itself was a spectral phenomenon wielded against Palestinians. I wondered if my affect constituted simply being surrounded by these Zionist anxieties, or a longing for liberation. Yehudit Kerstein Keshet describes the Jewish spirit of the “Dybbuk,” which projects the Holocaust on Palestinians, allows the violence of the Nakba, and is weaponized even in Israeli sorrow: she calls it “the possessing spirit of misplaced revenge that has surfaced from the ashes of the Holocaust” (2011, 3).<sup>68</sup> Gil Hochberg shows the centrality of this psychological memory to the Israeli literary imagination, complicatedly including the psychic haunting of depopulated Palestinian villages in the novel *Khirbet Khizzeh* (2012, 56-9).

Further, I assumed that the majority of my own haunting at Balata was not a weapon against Palestinians. Maddern and Adey describe this kind of haunting, reminding us that a “whole swathe of upcoming work situates itself within this unfolding concern for the just perceptible, the barely there, the nagging presence of an absence in a variety of spaces from infant burial grounds, to genocide museums and even the haunting of the private spaces of the home” (2008, 292). It was hard to name the nagging force: Was it rage at Israel’s weaponization of Jewish suffering, so often perceptible by Israeli ex-soldiers?;<sup>69</sup> at seeing Jews become oppressors? It seemed like a whole soup of converging affects. While these questions are embedded in centuries of intersecting traumas, the only answer that remained is that these affects present an imperative toward “moving through” ancestral pain.<sup>70</sup> Of course this soup of traumas affects each visitor differently, myself via a haunting of three similar oppressions.

Navaro-Yashin further imparts how objects too concretize these circulating affects. At a border area in Cyprus she records, “It was as if the broken walls, the wrecks of buildings, and the bullet holes had been halted midway in speech; as if they had been stunted, retaining waves of emotion inside them, ready to explode if scratched. The space transmitted an energy of its own” (2012, 132-4). I feel that the objects encountered in the conference room inspired the same feeling of latent tension in the precarious situation of the camp residents. At another death camp in Poland, I recall walking through administrative buildings at a death camp, looking up at pictures of male prisoners, their names listed on plaques, with their pictures and captions demarcating the dates and length of their survival before extermination. I felt a deep darkness from seeing men with fully shaven heads, striped uniforms, and blank faces, the grimmest possible display of resistance and resilience. I saw Nazi guards in my mind’s eye.

One of the most concrete aspects came to me via these mug shots. I wanted necropolitics in Poland to consider life, like Palestinian tourism does. One of my friends crudely called out how those men who survived longest were the most “badass.” It goes without saying that this sexualization of Jewish suffering was inappropriate. But it resonated with the tour’s narrative that the muscular New Jew emerged beyond the Holocaust in Israel. While Israeli oppression denies Palestinians their corporeality and gender identities in emasculating and pathologizing Palestinian men, it emerges from the anti-Semitic impulse that the sickly European Jew must have sexual potency and nation-state power and forget the passivity of their diasporic pasts (Boyarin 1997). I felt disgusted by seeing these objects deployed thus, pointed out to us clearly.

In Balata, I felt something similar. A hidden photograph depicted men who had been incarcerated in Israeli prisons, and the times of their prison terms. I identified the same haunting, and the same carceral logics, but this time it felt positive. Other photos on the wall showed the

transformation of the camp from improvised tents in 1948 to congested five-story buildings; a picture in the other corner showed intergenerational solidarity under the Arabic slogan of “*jīl ba’ d jīl*” or “from generation to generation.” Palestinians were resilient, and surviving despite the necropolitics, rooted on the land unlike diasporic Jews. Palestinians’ specters of resistance were both masculine and feminine, defying Mbembe’s problematic portrait of the suicide bomber as a major counter-hegemonic martyr to necropolitical oppression (2003, 36). Further, Palestinians asserted their embodiment, and masculinity, despite the incorporeality of the necropolitics of occupation, despite the weaponization of Jewish past traumas. Even at Aida camp, Marwan made sure we knew how people of all genders create “beautiful resistance” in Palestine.

These hauntings may not manifest unless we invoke them and see them. Accordingly, Gil Hochberg acknowledges the power of visibility. He argues that for many Jews, “‘The Specter [of the Nakba], as its name indicates, is the frequency of a certain visibility. But the visibility of the invisible. Phrased differently, the specter is the (visible) sign that alludes to the limits of that which can become visible” (2012, 55-6). The Nakba is a “visible invisibility,” a “muted ghost” (Ibid.) with a wealth of political *affects*. When tourists are forced to see the traumas of the Nakba they willfully ignore, or remain ignorant, haunting becomes more perceptible (Ibid., 55). We saw how the meanings of these traumas continued to be unpacked.

### **The Samaritans—Haunting, Affective Attachments, and Temporality**

On Wednesday in Nablus, we visited Kiryat Luza, the village of the Samaritans, one of whose two small and remote communities is above the city on Mount Gerizim; the Samaritan temple there is their primary holy site, where Passover ceremonies and commemorative sacrifices occur. Mount Gerizim is believed to be the site of the binding of Isaac, and carries a spiritual significance akin to the Second Temple and the Western Wall of rabbinic Judaism. The

Samaritans are regarded as an ancient Semitic people whose liturgical language is Samaritan Hebrew, and who speak modern Arabic, Hebrew, and English and carry Jordanian, Palestinian, and Israeli passports. Our visit was punctuated by a visit to the community's Samaritan Museum.

The museum, which exhibits the lifeways of the Samaritan community, portrays Samaritans as embedded within in a distant past, and struggling to survive while rooted in a long, temporally contiguous legacy of stewardship of the land and its oral and written narratives. The community is folded into death by both the Israeli occupation and their dwindling numbers. Much of the focus on lineage and Jewish indigeneity reads like the Orientalism of much of the cultural anthropological museum industry. The coupling of contemporary, preserved lifeways with the assertion of descent from ancient pasts suggests a different kind of trope that essentializes Samaritans' memory, even as their village is one continuously inhabited. I argue that the telling of Samaritan history in this museumized way is a form of what Gayatri Spivak, among other, has called "strategic essentialism." This strategic essentialism brings a range of haunting affective experiences for tourists, and is exploited so that tourists will support the community, and form long-term affective attachments to their indigeneity.

The museum itself carried us as tourists through the lineage of the Samaritan community. In the center as one enters is a Torah ark with mannequins of Samaritan priests and youth wearing *talitot* and *kipot*, along with pictures of the current and past head Samaritan priests, in chronological order. Our guide Ahram posits that Samaritan lineage was traced directly from the current priests to the three patriarchs of Judaism and their faith, Samaritanism: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as well as the *cohanim*, the Jewish priestly class. The Samaritans claim lineage from three of the twelve "tribes of Israel," represented in embroidery displayed on the wall with insignias of all twelve. It is segmented in the form of a kind of "Tree of Life" that is highly

significant to rabbinic Judaism, and invokes both ancestors and the living,<sup>71</sup> which is a subtle necropolitic. Ahram pointed us to another series of embroidery that document their lineage and rootedness in historic Palestine, by invoking the symbols of the lost tribes of Israel, and their status as a community fighting for life under the occupation. This lineage is often racialized and historicized as Judeo-Christian narratives that essentialize and Orientalize Jews of color, “living remnants” of the lost tribes. For me, this constituted *affects* of white supremacy within Judaism.

Samaritans often cannot escape the affective necropolitics of surveillance technologies or occupation, and the racialization that affects their future. However, their situation is complicated because they share many privileges with Israeli Jews. Ahram describes their blue license plates, and both Israeli and Palestinian passports. But the village was quiet and under-resourced, unlike the many Nablus-bloc Jewish-only settlements. Samaritans are navigating the same spatial and temporal splintering that the rest of historic Palestine; namely, the occupation and its gaze and facts on the ground that manifest as sensory, embodied experience of the land in its entirety (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2016, 1279). For example, Ahram mentioned that traveling without his Israeli passport often led to military violence, such as being stopped and harassed at any number of checkpoints or roadblocks leading out from Kiryat Luza. Samaritans experience a specter of the haunting ghosts of colonization, especially as Palestinian subjects.

On the same temporal level, the Samaritans are a community who Raja Shehadeh would recognize as part of the Palestinian “vanishing landscape,” and that live under the affects of inequality and occupation (2007). Ahram continually alludes to the importance of the fact that their land is being divided by Israel, and that they practice an indigenous, place-based religion. It is a community carved up by the Oslo process, Kiryat Luza itself divided between Areas A, B, and C simultaneously, and who speak Arabic with non-Jewish Palestinians; our Nablus guide,

Musa, did not hesitate to say they are considered Palestinian. They are targets of the “infrastructural warfare” of occupation and colonization that undergirds necropolitics (Mbembe 2003, 28-9). It is also a Palestinian community considered to be “continuously inhabited over many centuries” and a part of the tradition of linguistically complex naming of indigenous sites and landmarks in Palestine (2007, xx), catalogued by scholars like the Israeli new historians, as well as Noga Kadman (2015), Julie Peteet (2005), and Walid Khalidi (2006).

As I argued with regard to Balata camp, affect in this museum is transmitted through the interaction between people and objects encountered, in ways that are often different from each person inhabiting a space; what is (not) “invoked” is a product of our subjectivities (De Certeau 1984). For example, one member of our tour stared intently at the embroidery bearing the signatures of each of the 12 tribes and said, “so *these* are the lost tribes of Israel.” The affective thrust with which she said it seemed itself to evoke romantic fascination. She listened intently as Ahram read the Jewish *shema* ‘*yisra*’*el* prayer in Samaritan Hebrew. This racialization of Jews of color is so common that one could call it a hegemonic force in the US Jewish community; when she said those words, I too started to imagine biblical figures and Samaritan pilgrims walking on Mount Gerizim, in thobes (‘*athwāb*) and *ṭalitot*. Like the scene in Balata, this necropolitic called up the ghosts of ancestors and ancient pasts, so as to fit indigenous Jews into Israeli racial taxonomies and nationalism; these memories are themselves affective.<sup>72</sup> This production of romantic fascination we all felt is strategically useful to Green Olive Tours.

As the museum intends, Jewish and gentile tourists alike racialize the Samaritans, especially racializing the community’s memory and affective representations. To invoke Navaro-Yashin again, there is a “concrete,” “material,” “tangible” and “phantasmic haunting” that happens while seeing this community and its proximity to history and endangerment in the

present (2012, 10), recalling the past and imagining the ghosts that inhabit the village and the museum. Charles Hirschkind (2016, 217) writes on the revival of Andalusian nationalism; the museum is a kind of revival of a diminishing Samaritan past in the present, invoking a racialized past and its current apparitions.

But also as an indigenous community, Samaritans relate the importance and stewardship of their “things,” the objects and landscapes that are part of their lineage and oral narratives. Ahram directs us toward Torah scrolls and prayer books, Torah arcs, embroidery, sacred stones, miniatures of Jewish festivals, by provoking memory and the nagging potentiality of death, via the museum and experiences under occupation. The exhibiting of these things and their relationship to them also undergirds their displacement, a community still practicing Samaritanism. These affects of death and vanishing community became memorable throughout.

The museum’s haunting auras are of Samaritan ancestors but are deployed politically in a complex way. Samaritans are often relegated to a distant past and lineage, whose story is much more complex and speaks to a fight for survival. Ironically, Israeli demographic anxieties that require a Jewish majority belie the Samaritan community under occupation. In other words, the longevity of non-Palestinian Jews, or Jews who identify with Zionist settlement, is prioritized over indigenous Jews. Ahram mentions the community’s insularity, and the present struggle for survival. He said emphatically that the Nablus community just had a baby, branding them a *vanishing community* like Raja Shehadeh’s “vanishing landscape,” an indigenous part of historic Palestine whose residents may be read or considered as both Palestinian and Jewish by visitors. They are a community relying on exhibiting their oral tradition and narrative, even as their stories are all a spectacle. The museum uses this endangerment to form affective attachments

with tourists; we certainly imagined ancestry and the historical scenes of an ancient community, another “complex” layer of the occupation about which GOT teaches.

Even as this use of the museum is to recall a racialized past, it also elicits an affective concern for the Samaritan community. The community invokes a strategic essentialism in order to incite tourists to engage their present struggle. As in all three of my chapters, this is a familiar framework from racialized affective pasts toward resistance and advocacy in the present. It provokes sympathies and attachments, specifically because of their relationship to racial temporalities. In “Museum of Resilience,” Catherine Fennell describes the erection of a museum exhibiting public housing in Chicago, whose goal was to form attachments of “sympathy” between patrons and the assisted communities (2012, 648).<sup>73</sup> Even as this museum made poor, predominantly black Americans into potential objects of paternalism and saviorism, it still forged deep yet introductory affective responses for many middle-class stakeholders, highlighting a “culture of resilience” as a model of encounter rather than a “culture of poverty,” strategically gathering long-term investment (Ibid., 659). Similarly, though romanticization of the Samaritans is problematic, it still became part of the goal to haunt tourists and the spaces they enter.

In the literature, these attachments to place are often forged collectively. Pamuk speaks of a nagging presence of nostalgia for Istanbul’s past, “*hüzün*” in Turkish, felt collectively by citizens in the early era of the Turkish republic; a socially constructed civilizational nostalgia. He speaks of “not the melancholy of Istanbul but the *hüzün* in which we see ourselves reflected, the *hüzün* we absorb with pride and share as a community” (2006, under “Hüzün”).<sup>74</sup> Melancholy can be felt by inhabiting and walking the city, in a De Certeauian sense (1984). Charles Hirschkind alludes to how (non-)nationalist pasts are felt collectively, often as a haunting, ghostly presence in the city; a sensory experience (2016, 221). He says that in Granada, people



describe “Andalucismo,” as well as the city’s Moorish past, as a kind of ghostly presence, a form of “nostalgia,” a bygone Orientalist feeling compatible with the imagination of Spain as an Arab country, compatible with a liberal, pluralist view of Spanish nationalism. It is manifest in a feeling of the city that defies the simple relationship between the representation and the reality (2016, 216-7). This is all to say that these pasts (Turkish, Spanish, Samaritan) are self-Orientalist, nationalist paradigms, circulating in space, awaiting often serendipitous invocations and (anti-)racist encounters. My travel companions quickly adopted these imagined pasts, two of them later wondering why they had never heard about the Samaritans’ position in the occupation.

The diverse narratives that the museum provokes become political, and hence affective. The community occupies a liminal space in the post-Oslo two-sides narrative, and all kinds of narratives tend to exploit the Samaritans for both radical and progressive ends (Stein and Swedenburg 2005), all affective and haunting. For example, the community’s ancient temporality validates the claim that there are indigenous Palestinian Jews living partly under occupation: that Palestinian gentiles and Jews have been living in an embodied co-existence since long before Israel was established. It also may validate Zionist narratives of Jewish presence in the Holy Land from time immemorial. But at the same time, it also crystalizes that there is a strong cultural and liturgical difference between the modern Jews of today, and the Jews whose allegedly genetic pedigree traces back to biblical historic Palestine; it validates that Palestinians have always lived relatively peacefully with Jews, and largely consider them indigenous counterparts. Progressive anti-conflict narratives, Zionist colonial claims, and anti-Zionist critiques of Israel as a Jewish state invoke the temporal fight for survival within which the community is embedded. The affects that we encountered there are a soup of multiple potentialities, experienced in infinite ways, along the borders of multiple discourses.

Each of these encounters at the museum manifested in haunting, affective responses whose ideological meanings are hard to tease out: imagining Samaritan religious practices, relationships to occupation and Israeli colonialism, and pilgrimages to Mount Gerizim, done by communities on the ground, inseparable from “nagging presence[s]” of the past through which tourists experience these hauntings (Maddern and Adey 2008, 292). My subject position was hard to tease out, not always apparent.

These narratives and structures circulate somewhat spontaneously. In Kiryat Luza, tourists inhabit the colonial contact zone in their encounters with the Samaritan community. The community themselves are so complicated, so layered, and with such rich relationship to the Israeli power structures and folding into death. I can only say what our one encounter with the Samaritans looked like. Further, these are encounters within which Kenneth Little argues that “[tourist] imaginaries throw themselves together in moments that are already present as potentialities—something waiting to happen in incommensurate objects..., registers, circulations, and publics..., or... ‘the unpredictable forces that lurk around the edges of ‘paradise’” (2014, 224). Similarly, GOT participants experience affects of ancient pasts such as Jesus’ path at Via Dolorosa, so as in imagining the practices of the Samaritans and their haunting specters.

Another way in which haunting specters appear is in the way that ancient, biblical pasts are envisioned and re-enacted in Samaritan space. Shehadeh also writes about envisioning Palestinians of the past in the *sarḥa* walks he takes. He says, on one stop near Ramallah, “I felt I could sit all day next to this qasr [palace] and feast my eyes on this wonderful creation [terraces in Ramallah hills]. What fortunate people once lived in this veritable paradise” (2007, 10). Two other scholars mention that people come to Palestine to hike and bike, and to have affective

reenactments of communities of the ancient past (Kutulas and Awad 2015, 62).<sup>75</sup> These are the discourses of incitement to origin, lineage, and pedigree that inhere in the Orientalist contact zone in Kiryat Luza. In many different ways, biblical and historical pasts are thus reimagined affectively, via complex discourse. These are affects that Ahram draws upon.

The museum, despite invoking these strategic Orientalist tropes, simultaneously affirms for tourists that the policies of Israel can be criticized and critiqued, a process within which they hope that tourists will come to participate. For the Jewish tourists with whom I travelled, and internationals strongly inculcated with a sense of Jewish history, the Samaritans' representation plays an important role. Ahram clearly emphasized the fact that the state of Israel is directly and perpetually contributing to the erasure and internal colonization of a people who embody very similar religious practice to those legitimized in the Israeli imagination, who could be racialized as the original Jews, and thus justify Israel's founding narratives of Jewish claim to Palestine. This seemed clear in their deep concern for the Samaritans as Jews with an ancient pedigree, and a sense of indigeneity to Palestine. Israel, as tourists discover viscerally by Ahram's narrative, is not concerned with the survival of actual Judaic communities, but rather with maintaining occupation. It is concerned with occupying Jews who do not fit a settler colonial narrative. Samaritans invoke such in order to form attachments, even if based on their essentialization.

Ahram describes how many of the Samaritan religious practices have become spectacles, continuing to racialize the dying community through tourism. The museum includes miniature models of the Samaritan village in the ancient, biblical past, depicting traditional practices and life-ways. Every year tourists view their Passover gathering on the summit of Mount Gerizim in commemoration of the binding of Isaac. In a more modern temporality, the museum displays pictures and a miniature to document the Passover ceremony, which has become a tourist

attraction which both economically bolsters and Orientalizes the community. They appear as anthropological objects, living in round huts, wandering and shepherding in traditional thobes (*'athwāb*) and climbing the stairs to their temple. The ceremony brings revenue, as much as it essentializes Samaritans as a dying community of indigenous Jews. Their public ceremony in the community creates a highly affective experience for the tourist, invoking ancestors, living and deceased, which memorializes ancestors and illuminates the specter of inequalities of occupation that splinters the Samaritan community. The tourists' gaze upon this endangered community is strategically one that invokes Orientalism via affective ties and haunting imaginations.

Fiona Wright argues against the pitfalls of these affective attachments. "Ideas of tolerance or respect for difference" she argues, paraphrasing Sara Ahmed, "[i]dealize the Other as love object and therefore as what invests the subject with its value. It...thereby erases or silences the subjectivities of the Other(s), often so that the subject may flourish both materially[,] and in its self-perception" (2016, 137). This is relevant for Wright in the idea that mourning the death of Palestinians in fact reifies the power dynamics and Zionist discourses that demarcate whether or not Palestinians are grievable in the first place (Ibid., 136). By extension, the spectacle of the Samaritan Passover ritual itself reifies the power and discourses that render Samaritan traditions as relics of an ancient past. This attitude forms such affective attachments.

This nationalist situation, and its affective resonance, brought up a feeling of hauntedness for me, in a similar way to seeing Judaic cultures and communities on display. The museum display folds Samaritan Judaism into a subtle death and necropolitics, by fetishizing the past and the occupation. Seeing symbols of Judaism such as men in *kipot* and *talitot* and a Torah arc in a museum was eerie and jarring for me, as the community was only necessarily able to interact with tourists through a museum. Even as Israel weaponizes the memory of the Holocaust, it is

perfectly content allowing Judaic communities to be demographically neglected. The visceral feeling of remembering the suffering of Jews and Palestinians, diasporic and indigenous, circulated through my mind. My fellow tourist who was captivated by Samaritans as “lost tribes” saw Samaritans as oppressed Jews, in tension with privileged settlers in Hebron and Jerusalem, their safety and survival in jeopardy.

While much of the haunting of Balata arose from our bearing witness, the Samaritan village’s haunting carries Orientalist imaginaries with it. The Samaritan Passover ceremony also imparts an eerie form of biopolitics onto the tourists and hosts. Mention of the Passover ceremony made me feel the haunting specter of the pilgrimage from Kiryat Luza to Mount Gerizim. I imagined what it looked like in the past, and what it looks like in the present, with bleachers of spectators, gazing on the spectacle of a purportedly long-lost Jewish community, arousing “sympathy” with their cause through Orientalist representations, but also through a desire to acknowledge all marginalized people of color in historic Palestine.

I did not revisit any of the affective thrusts of my Poland or Balata trips, but it felt strange to see the symbols of Judaic communities in a museum, relegated to the past. But in displaying these objects, the museum elicits a kind of concern from my fellow Jewish tourists and I, with small, struggling communities similar to ours. While it may promote a racialized view of Samaritans as “before” other Jews, it helped us to imagine Samaritan practices in both temporalities: the now and the historical, accessing the ancient past through engagement with the Samaritans of the present (Hirschkind 2016). Here, Orientalism was a strategic way to impart action on behalf of the Samaritans. These parts of the museum were stewarded by Palestinians in creating their own oral narrative that was used to make us feel haunted, enough to speak out.

Even with “strategic essentialism,” GOT presents Samaritans as another layer to the onion of the occupation and its complexities to present to tourists.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have shown how two separate sites of haunting in Palestine-Israel, where necropolitics folds living communities into a purported worthiness of death (Mbembe 2003). First, I discuss the haunting specter of ancestors in the Balata refugee camp in Nablus on a number of levels; then, I conceptualize the Samaritan museum in Kiryat Luza as a necropolitical spectacle of the temporalities of the Samaritan community and its ancestors. These two instances of haunting essentially threw themselves together throughout my fellow tourists’ and my visit; our encounter with these objects, people, and landscapes produce affective responses, sensory and tactile experiences. These experiences exist within affective soups, or milieus that encompass a sea of discourses that circulate at both sites. I do my best to describe the social, cultural, and political milieus within which these encounters are contextualized.

At Balata, I came to associate the haunting ghosts I experienced there foremost with the scenes I imagine of military incursions into the camp. The community center is plagued by atmospheres of both resilience and the traumas felt by a displaced community. I associate many of the objects in the room, and the conditions of the camp, with the haunting necropolitics of the Balata community, both in death and in life. I connected the same haunting spirits of Palestinians with the necropolitics I found in Polish concentration camps and in Diné (Navajo) country in northern Arizona. As these ghosts are so enmeshed in each other, my haunting carries the weight of these interlocking traumas in their entirety, between both liberation and occupation.

Secondly, I showed how the Samaritan community uses Orientalist and Zionist tropes as a form of strategic essentialism to force tourists to form affective attachments with them, and to

elicit discursive and financial support. The museum is filled with references to temporalities, modern and ancient, each with a unique affective thrust. I felt the specter of (counter-)nationalist discourses and their exploitation via Israeli colonialism and the deployment of the community within various secondary discourses. I identified with them as a dwindling Jewish community, even if their representation defied such nuanced representations.

## Conclusion

### **Research Question and Argument**

The principle question that has guided my research is: how do Palestinian tour guides teach inequalities in Israeli narratives and Israeli mechanisms of occupation? How do tour guides provide affective, embodied experiences? I am ultimately hoping to answer the question of how tour guides manipulate the political pedagogy of their tours, and provide an affective experience for tourists that illuminates the inequalities of the Israeli occupation. I have argued that these affective experiences are meant to inspire participants to become activists, or at least to narratively guide them toward these positionalities. Tour guides craft experiences that will expose tourists to feelings and emotions that Palestinians have every day.

My overall argument is that a number of pedagogical tools help Palestinian tour guides rhetorically and affectively bring tourists toward meaningful political action. These tools involve giving a small, controlled taste of Palestinian suffering to tourists. They are guided to action via the tours' narration, the feelings involved in seeing objects of surveillance, and affective experiences of haunting in the occupation's folding of Palestinians into necropolitics. I argue that this attempted transformation takes place via the teaching of the inequalities of the occupation in Jerusalem, the manipulation of the gaze in Bethlehem and Hebron, and the psychic shock of the experiences in Balata refugee camp and the village of Kiryat Luza.

### **Arguments and Evidence—Chapters**

In the beginning of my second chapter, I laid out the scaffolding for the overarching analytical frameworks for my work. Namely, I am interested in the ways in which Palestinian tour guides modulate and manage the affective reactions of tourists in the overall goal of political pedagogy. The main objective for such education has been to offer a “truncated spectacle” for



the tourist (Kelly 2016, 729), which is an aspect of pedagogy that reaches every destination that I discuss. As a people constantly ascribed a political identity (Schuller 2018, 14), Palestinian tour guides are skilled at modulating the narratives they choose to impart. They are often forced to modulate based on the relative comforts of tourists, or often their comfort with discomfort. They often must decide how openly, or somewhat cautiously, to speak about their experiences. They may often employ more comforting liberal narratives or more blunt narratives of anti-occupation struggle. I argue that the discourses that Palestinians use become affective felt emotionally. Guides provide safe “encounters” with the affective political realities that they experience on the ground.

I have answered my research question through careful attention to the three analytic thrusts, or objects of analysis. These three themes have been developed almost exclusively from participant observation, and secondarily from interviews and informal conversations, on a four-day introductory tour of urban areas of the West Bank. I have extracted this data from narratives and discourses I heard, and the rhetoric of the guides, which I believe become affective, embodied, and emotive through the experience of various tourisms like the walking tour, encouraging future activism. Intermittently I have scaffolded and supplemented these three arguments by alluding to the potential political transformations of tourists in the larger worlds of activism and political tourism. The discursive and affective intention of making activists is the major political stakes of my research.

After laying out this impetus for tours and their pedagogy, I have shown that one of the most important aspects in which tour guides’ narratives are played out is in debunking the myths of the Oslo peace process. First, Yaqoub’s tour guiding debunks the Israeli state’s narrative that there is an Israeli-Palestinian conflict between two sides that promotes co-existence. His

narration in Bethlehem turns tourists' liberal state "fantasy" discourses of equal peace (Navaro-Yashin 2002; Stein 2008) into tourists *feeling* the inequalities of occupation.

A corollary to Yaqoub's talk of power dynamics is two other affective discourses surrounding the peace process. For example, Ido's tour shows how liberal discourses (hence affective feelings) that tout Jerusalem as a diverse, cosmopolitan city in fact detract from the real inequality felt viscerally by locals, and subsequently tourists. They include the violence of the city's Temple Movement and the leveling of the Moroccan quarter. Further, I described how much of the co-existence work happens in the affective safety of elite communities. I have shown how the "peace process" resembles discursive and affective safety, as the state's liberal fantasy of two-sided conflict primarily involves future elites and policy planners. The calm of these communities is *felt*, and seems removed from bottom-up co-existence on the ground.

Later, I trace one other instance of Palestinian tour guides managing the affects of their tourists in a "contact zone" rife with power differentials (Pratt 2008)—the constant surveillance state and its panoptic technologies. Guides manipulate the "tourist gaze" (Urry and Larsen 2011) in order to provide an affective experience of these objects and their infrastructural effects. This controlled spectacle is meant to jolt alternative tourists into action on behalf of Palestinians, by encouraging them to feel the surveillance under which Palestinians are constantly forced to live. My data comes from the narratives and structures of the tours, and with my own affective, visual experience of the gaze.

There are two distinct ways in which I have applied the gaze to tourists' affect. The tour of Hotel museum in Bethlehem brings tourists from being gazed at by the panoptic security state to a politically "oppositional gaze" (hooks 1996) at structures of surveillance. Feeling a jolt of this constant terror allows them to channel their paranoia into joint struggle. In the final

resistance room, they *safely* grow out of the comforting narratives that purport there are two sides in conflict, and are narratively pushed toward fighting for a “world to come” (Wise 2017).

In Musa’s walking tour of Hebron, tourists *gaze back* at many surveillance technologies visible on the walking tour; they gaze mutually with Palestinians resisting settler violence and military occupation, and feel the panoptic *affects* of walking surrounded by technologies of separation. In the synagogue, they gaze and are gazed at by praying Jewish settlers, encouraged to feel the terror inflicted on Palestinians, and the implied “banality of evil” (Arendt 2006). These two contrasted worlds show them the cost that *safety* for settlers has upon the lives of Palestinians, encouraging tourists to rethink safety and reach across these racial barriers.

I have also taken up an affect that moves tourists toward action: haunting, and the specters and ghosts of communities folded into politics of death. I used the concept of necropolitics to explain psychic, shocking aspects of the itinerary in which Palestinians are forced to combat death while trying to survive in life. These necropolitics come about through Palestinians stewarding the land, telling their oral narratives, and coping with their material reality. My data constitutes autoethnographic assessments of the concrete emotions that came up for me during the haunting aspects of the tours; I draw on the affective expressions of discourses I heard on the tour. I described the haunting aura of the Balata camp, which folded me into action through haunting ghosts of Palestinian and Jewish ancestors, past and present. I traced their relationship to ethnic cleansing as haunting auras. I hope to have shown how Israeli Jewish traumas were manifest in their being haunted by anti-Palestinian oppression as well. Further, I have shown how the Samaritan community in Nablus has used Orientalist tropes in order to haunt the tourist to Samaritan ancestors and living community; ultimately the goal is to form “sympathetic” attachments based on strategic essentialism, for future action (Fennell 2012).

### **Suggestions for Further Research**

One of the most important parts of working on alternative tourism is to measure the tangible political impact of these tours upon continued struggle for the Palestinians. Among my ideas for further research are focus groups or in-depth interviews with alumni of Green Olive Tours, or other alternative tourism companies in Palestine. Among the questions I would want to ask are: what parts of their tours have they brought back with them to their home countries? How have they continued to learn about their complicity in occupation, and about other struggles for justice (Kelly 2016, 739)?<sup>76</sup> How have former tourists developed in their affective attachments with Palestinians or other justice seekers? To what extent do they still reify discourses of compassion or solidarities, even when they are problematic (Wright 2016)? Do they fall back into paternalistic or savioristic attitudes about Palestinians? I may expound upon Emily Schneider's work (2015) on the development of Jewish diaspora identity among participants in both Birthright and alternative tours like Breaking the Silence. Have tourists stayed in contact with their host families or tour guides? Are they keeping their promises to Palestinian friends on the ground (Alternative Tourism Group 2005)? How do they narrate their time in Palestine regarding their current activism?

In the context of tourism for structural change, I want to probe further the question of how radical justice narratives that tourists may adopt can collude with liberal frameworks, within and beyond the strategic pedagogy utilized by alternative tour guides. What do these collusions do, and how can we rethink them, or look beyond them? How do tourists, guides, and activists move through spaces that rely on these liberal or radical frameworks, and change the conversation beyond simple two sides narratives? What does this discursive self-development look like over the long-term? Beyond affect, in the future I want to critique the collusions of

these narratives, even as they are alternative. To what extent is poverty tourism or voyeurism still an inevitable aspect of these kinds of tours?

The most important opinions about the affects I discuss come directly from Palestinians, those hardest hit by occupation. My studies on the affects of tourists and activists would be incomplete if I did not center Palestinians themselves: tour guides, host parents, and others. Particularly in discourses about haunting of the Jewish and Israeli psyches, we need to center Palestinian survivors and their descendants. Is my haunting and necropolitics framework itself an orientalist trope, or one that centers the imagination of the tourist colonizer? Does “haunting” resemble an activist version of the “Heart of Darkness” trope?<sup>77</sup> Future ethnographic research could come through in-depth interviews with Palestinians of the 1948 generation. How can haunting be read in the voices of the indigenous? How do Palestinians narrate hauntings?

Most of my data around affect was extrapolated via participant observation, rather than collecting the feelings of tourists. Further, I would like to study and compile the range of affects that are felt by tourists in alternative tourism to Palestine. I am interested in interviewing alternative tourists and alumni in depth. What were their affective reactions to the haunting spaces I write about? What are the concrete manifestations of the *feeling* of occupation that Yaqoub said exists? How did objects, landscape, and stories imbue these feelings in tourists? What, physiologically and emotionally, did these affects look like for tourists? Further, what role did their affects of haunting play in developing themselves politically? For those who continue to be activists, what do these past affects feel like now, even as people who have continually been involved? Of course as finding alumni is practically difficult, I may also do in-depth interviews on a series of other alternative tours, to collect the affective thrusts that tourists retained.

## **Final Thoughts**

On a political level, I hope to continue to interrogate my own positionality. I want to interrogate my own relationship to savior and paternalistic racist discourses, and especially in the context of the attachments made by entry-level tourists. I am interested in comparing my findings with those that I might glean from solidarity tourism or politicized alternative tourism, such as the ISM, or study tours of Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions or other groups already supportive of BDS as well as Palestinian liberation. I would like to read my own internalization of the former narratives in completing this thesis project. I want to find clarity in the reasons I am interested in studying these liberal discourses, and my own failure to move or think beyond them.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> While Yael Navaro-Yashin and other scholars like her are interested in going beyond human subjectivity (2002, 2012), I still ground my analysis in the affective thrusts as they are discussed and called up in visible, sensory experiences and discourse about them. Humans' subjectivities as well as those of objects and the non-human are equally important to me. Also I want to build upon Martini and Buda's literature review that defines affect: They argue, "Affect is defined as an other-than-conscious potentiality that can be brought on the surface..., an intensity that when spiked, can become perceivable as emotion... Affect bleeds into dark places in unpredictable forms and with unexpected intensities, and tourists' affective responses to death can elicit moments of such intensity in the interaction with space, that it has the potential to become perceivable" (2018, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Israeli tourism industry, Palestinian alternative tours explicitly show and teach power dynamics. Rami Isaac explains the discrepancies in mobility that give rise to the need for alternative tourism to Palestinian sites, to teach about the ongoing occupation: "For tourists, it seems much easier to contract or to work with Israeli tourism agents, guides, and buses, all of which can travel freely through checkpoints and from site to site, leaving Palestinian tourism operators to hope for whatever business remains" (2014, 130).

<sup>3</sup> Ryvka Barnard, in "Colonization and Resistance at Bethlehem's Manger Square" (2017, 130), talks about how talking to Palestinians, and authentic encounters with them, is a rare occurrence during mainstream tourism. This is why the idea of encounter is so important. Instead, biblical narratives about Israeli Jews are prioritized (Ibid., 135). Similarly, tours like Mejdi Tours take a "Dual Narratives" approach, which typifies the false parity that obscures Israeli power dynamics over Palestinians (2019). One tour that typifies this approach is Mejdi Tours' day tour to Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> Shalhoub-Kevorkian reveals how the sensory effects of the occupation upon oppressed peoples in Palestine is legitimated via the protection of the religious, cultural identities of the colonizer Israel (2016, 1279). As Stein (2009) and Stein and Swedenburg (2005) describe the importance of popular culture as "relational" and as ways in which processes like settler-colonialism play out in complex relations of power beyond the political economy of it.

<sup>5</sup> Debbie Lisle (2016, 22) and Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2016, 1296) both affirm the idea that both tourism and the affective dimensions of occupation, respectively, occur in quite intimate capacities.

<sup>6</sup> From Higgins-Desbiolles and Lynda Blanchard (2008, 361): "A founder of the peace through tourism movement, Louis D'Amore, described it in multidimensional and positive terms: peace within ourselves, peace with other people, peace between nations, peace with nature, peace with the universe and peace with our God... The most conventional way to interpret the relationship between tourism and peace is to assert that the cross-cultural encounter of international tourism fosters more harmonious relations."

<sup>7</sup> (Noam Leshem 2015; Raja Shehadeh 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Buda, d'Hauterterre, and Johnston argue, foremost that they "wish to make a case for an emotional and affectual turn in tourism studies as we show that emotions and affect matter, since they have been conspicuously absent from previous tourism studies research. The field of geography has increasingly engaged with emotions, affects and feelings... in an embodied manner" (2014, 106). With regard to the feelings of guides: "Their emotions are bound up with how they live and work with others in the tourism industry. ...Emotions have moved the guides into action... Again, it is not just a matter of distribution of profits but also a matter of feelings and emotions as these are the catalyst for action" (Ibid., 108). More on guides' and tourists' feelings: "The shock that the Palestinian and Israeli guides talk about is a blend of embodied feelings and emotions. Tourist experiences of places are multi-sensual and multi-emotional as they involve more than one sense or emotion. The system of sensory values, touch, smell, hear, see, is rarely articulated through language, but it is practiced, perceived and experienced... Shock is haptic when touching the cold steel of the turnstiles at numerous checkpoints, and brings rise to a range of uncertainties, such as: 'will I be stopped, 'what is the soldier going to ask me?' Shock is aural when listening to the noise of the bulldozers, operating cranes and other such construction equipment at various sites where new settlements are erected" (Ibid., 110).

<sup>9</sup> "The 'phantom' in the attribution of the phantomic, then, has to be read for real, must be understood literally or concretely. The specter is not just a figment of the imagination, an illusion, or a superstition. In the ethnographic space and time in hand, phantoms or ghosts appear or linger in a slice of territory in the form of 'non-human objects'" (Navaro-Yashin 2012, 13).

<sup>10</sup> GOT staff member Frank explained to me that GOT seeks to go beyond the "dual narratives" approach that some tourist groups employ. They seek to prioritize the Palestinian narrative, from many different subject positions.

<sup>11</sup> The Samaritans are a group of indigenous Judaic people on the mountain above the old city of Nablus (Mount Gerizim). They practice a faith similar to Judaism (I use “Judaic”), and have a quite complex relationship with the Israeli occupation.

<sup>12</sup> See Anna Baltzer (2009) as an example.

<sup>13</sup> My material in this section is largely understood from one page of Green Olive Tours’ web site (Green Olive Tours 2008), listed in my Works Cited.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> I take up the original concept of the Panopticon from Michel Foucault, in which (Palestinian) subjects are gazed upon by a warden (the Israeli occupation) that they cannot see. But, knowing that they are being watched, subjects constantly modify their behavior according to the constant gaze. I argue that tourists occupy the space of the warden, gazing at technologies of occupation.

<sup>17</sup> These technologies are thought about often, by Amahl Bishara (2015), Fredrik Meiton (2016), Ronen Shamir (2013), Raja Shehadeh (2007), Eyal Weizman (2007), and Oren Yiftachel (2009a; b), among others. Yiftachel uses the terms “creeping apartheid” and “gray spaces” (2009a; 2009b) to analyze Israeli expansionism and unrelenting securitized state, in the indirect and post-structural ways in which political ambiguity of a space leads to ongoing state expansion.

<sup>18</sup> Jacques Derrida, in *Specters of Marx*, describes how political and economic systems can be specters that haunt (2006, 46).

<sup>19</sup> Rebecca Stein, in *Itineraries in Conflict*, writes about the role of the state in making and advertising mainstream tourism that comforts Israeli Jews, while exhibiting the lives of Palestinians, if fake and/or staged (2008, 71). *The Oslo period has played a part in domesticating the Palestinians seen on guided tours into spatial “scalar fantasies.”* (Note that both Slavoj Žižek and she use the term “fantasies” of the liberal state). This includes guiding the tourist gaze through “concentric interiors” and “nested small scales” that involve Palestinians “at home” in exhibited forms of their homes. This theoretical formula is one aspect of the walking tour that highlights Palestinians, and occupational infrastructures, that exist in small scales of the colonial “encounter” or “contact zone” of Pratt and Lisle. *Thus, mainstream tourism has shown the role of the state in these more liberal, depoliticized, decontextualized scenes of what Palestinian life is like. They are based on not only Israeli comfort, but also leisure and continuing occupation* (Ibid.). In the past, “Palestinian places historically perceived as internal dangers were being actively refashioned by the state as Israeli tourist destinations, as sites of Jewish leisure” (2008, 78).

<sup>20</sup> Indeed, many different documents by many different alternative tour companies both urge and demonstrate ways to continue to keep promises with Palestinians they meet and connect with. These tour groups mostly follow a social movement model that supports consensus-based participatory democracy. These ideals, of course, are voluntary and not binding.

<sup>21</sup> Navaro-Yashin underscores the ways she wants to move beyond “analyses that would bind the political in its seemingly rationalized institutional and discursive forms. ... [For example], the political [in 1990s Turkey] was not just a product of public discourses as fabricated in the obvious social institutions. As in the multiple garbs and guises implied by the metaphor ‘faces of the state,’ the political was unsuitable. There were no institutional or other boundaries that could be analyzed around it; no “site,” as such, for it... Public life... is not an institution or a site, imagined as domains with limitations” In other words, the discourses that are propagated by ‘the state’ can be “fleeting and intangible”... “there is no face in which the political does not appear” (2002, 1-4). Political discourses float beyond the state! Navaro-Yashin says that Žižek’s “fantasy” is significant (Ibid., 3): the state survives deconstruction in many different garbs. People re-create the state as “fantasy.” They develop “unconscious psychic attachments” based on the state’s discourses. One example of this is the failure of liberal multiculturalism to use diversity to obscure state violence.

<sup>22</sup> Scholars like Stein and Swedenburg (2004) and others talk about the relationality of power, and how important it is that we see power as something interpersonal, and by extension, having emotional, affective, and sensory implications, relational and not binary. I argue that these forms of relationality (Stein and Swedenburg 2004, Monterescu 2015, Rabbi Alissa Wise 2017) are all of the same analytical thrust: relationality that undermines and complicates oppression between groups.

<sup>23</sup> Here I am referring to the idea of the “contact zone” that will come up later on in this chapter (Debbie Lisle 2016, 5; Pratt 2008, 7).

<sup>24</sup> I first heard about Encounter Programs from Caryn Aviv (2011), which has a rhetorical resonance as an encounter for Jews to see historic Palestine and its complexities: <http://www.encounterprograms.org/>



<sup>25</sup> Here I am alluding to Muhannad's investment in groups that bring Western citizens to Palestine as volunteers. These agencies strongly require that prospective volunteers have some long-term skills or ideas to offer to Palestinians.

<sup>26</sup> Seeds of Peace's web site reflects their strategy mostly investing in leaders or those in positions of power after their programs: "Seeds of Peace now works primarily with young Egyptian, Israeli, Jordanian, and Palestinian leaders. The program begins at our Camp and continues with year-round local programs focused on the capacities leaders need most to be effective changemakers" (Seeds of Peace 2019).

<sup>27</sup> I want to offer the Israeli organization Zochrot as an example of material, on the ground, bottom-up co-existence. Their model is based around tourism practices that prioritize the return of Palestinian refugees to 1948 Palestine, who will live in co-existence with Jewish Israelis who settled there after the Nakba (Zochrot 2014).

<sup>28</sup> I make this point given that tourism itself involves a small, short-term exposure to Palestine.

<sup>29</sup> Here I am referring to Palestinians sharpening or dulling down narratives about struggle and inequality, pulling back and leaning forward in order to balance the affect and visceral feeling of those on the tours. It also involves subtle tour guide behaviors such as Ido smiling intently when tourists get uncomfortable; as well as Musa introducing himself as the guide for "our adventure today" in Nablus.

<sup>30</sup> Shehadeh muses about navigation under Israeli colonization: "A slight damper on my audacity [to continue walking Palestine's hills] was my desire not to repeat a terrifying experience I had a few months earlier, when, driving back from the Jordan valley, I got lost. I must have taken a wrong turn and found myself in the midst of new settlements and industrial zones, vast open spaces that made me wonder what country I was in. ... All the signposts pointed to Jewish settlements. I could find none of the features that used to guide me on my way: that beautiful cluster of boulders, those cliffs just after the bend that dips into the valley and up again onto the road with the attractive village to the right" (2007, 182). Amahl Bishara (2015) also writes incisively about driving in the West Bank, and the changes that Israeli facts on the ground that are noticed while driving in a car. Lastly, Ido remarked during his tour of Jerusalem that everyone navigates the city of Jerusalem by giving directions that reference what a particular landmark is built on top of, within the scope of ancient histories of thousands of years.

<sup>31</sup> I highlight this particular technology as it makes Palestinian tour guides hyper aware in a way that they might suspect that absolutely every aspect of life in historic Palestine can be securitized or surveilled, without limit.

<sup>32</sup> Foucault's concept of the panopticon: the panoptic penitentiary institution, but also the disciplining of populations using panoptic forms of control, which make citizens to feel as though they are constantly being watched by an omnipotent force that sees every aspect of their behavior.

<sup>33</sup> Although this term may be somewhat outdated, I believe that it is still conceptually relevant.

<sup>34</sup> Raja Shehadeh describes how he saw the occupation's facts on the ground that made it more difficult to connect with the land and the landscape, and cut up the land with borders. He says, "When I returned from my studies and began practicing law in Ramallah, the occupation was in its eleventh year with little prospect of ending. Insidious but significant changes in the law provided strong indications of Israel's long-term policies toward the Occupied Territories, my home. Few seemed to be paying attention. A disquieting silence left me anxious and worried. The hills began to be my refuge against the practices of the occupation, both manifest and surreptitious, and the restrictions traditional Palestinian society imposed on our life. I walked in them for escape and rejuvenation" (2007, 5).

<sup>35</sup> I want to acknowledge the use of the term "beautiful resistance" by both Yaqoub in Bethlehem, and Marwan at the Aida refugee camp al-Rowwad Center.

<sup>36</sup> To clarify, my argument is fundamentally not that once these tourists become activists, that experiencing some of the pain of Palestinians is inherently helpful for engaging in productive resistance and shared struggle. Klee Benally (2014), Gada Mahrouse (2014), Andrea Smith (2013), Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins (2008), and Fiona Wright (2016), among others, remind us of the pitfalls of professing strong affects and sentimentalities for the oppressed, professing radical opinions that rather than qualify as good allyship, re-enact relationships of oppression. My aim is to highlight the affective tactics of Yaqoub and Muhannad, at the introductory, entry-level.

<sup>37</sup> Derrida's conception of the world "to come" acknowledges the realm of the "messianic" with regard to the arrival of justice (2006, 33-34). This is an important feature of Rabbi Alissa Wise's concept of the "olam ha'bah (world to come)" (2017, 207) chapter in *On Anti-Semitism*.

<sup>38</sup> I also mention these prefigurative politics in terms of the business and decision-making models of Green Olive Tours and other alternative tourism groups across Palestine. Participatory democracy is an important aspect of tourism as peace and justice.

<sup>39</sup> While political/war-zone tourism such as attending demonstrations and protests may seem also like "vouyerism" or "danger" or just another object of the tourist gaze, Mahrouse argues that the real important question is why "[war-zone] tours promote a culture of comfort with militarization" which allows tourists to go to these types of sites of

resistance (2016, 337-8). She is concerned that tourists “contribute to the growing privatization of security services and further a demarcation between the Global North tourists who can choose to safely go in and out of the war-zone and the Global South “locals” who cannot” (Ibid.). However, I think her analysis holds that tourists still often find themselves in danger zones because they are comfortable with being on the front lines of political, anti-colonial struggle.

<sup>40</sup> I am referring to *On Anti-Semitism*, an anthology released by the organization Jewish Voice for Peace by Haymarket Books.

<sup>41</sup> IfNotNow’s major campaign against Taglit-Birthright, in which they walk off of tours (IfNotNow 2017; see Works Cited).

<sup>42</sup> I came to O’Dwyer’s work via Debbie Lisle’s *Holidays in the Danger Zone*, especially her focus on O’Dwyer’s “hybrid gaze structure” (2004, 37).

<sup>43</sup> In her conclusion, Shalhoub-Kevorkian says, “This paper uncovers how the occupation of the senses, in its use of aesthetic violence, invades the spaces, homes, streets and bodies of the colonized to generate forms of racial exclusivity. The state justifies such exclusion as necessary for preserving the cultural, religious and national identity of the colonizer. By showing that occupation of the senses is performed through historicized religious, nationalist and/or cultural ‘modernizing’ claims, the discussion reveals colonial disruptions of sensory, physical, psychological and epistemic comprehension to maintain Palestinians as profane ‘no-bodies’” (2016, 1296). She also argues earlier, “Cunneen (2011) argues that images can serve as an anti-hegemonic tool in the context of colonial state crimes. In his view, the visual sphere enables access to the subaltern perspectives of the colonized, whereas official written documentation erases colonial crimes or reinforces existing power structures” (Ibid., 1282). I want to provocatively argue that in uncovering the sensory surveillance practices of Israel, she shines a light on the oppressive practices of the government, forcing us to look closely at the very abnormal, outrageous practices of the military state, shifting the gaze upon the state just as historical anthropologists render traditional peoples’ practices as unusual or exotic. Part of this is the intimacy of these state technologies; then, tourists are ‘intimate’ with hating the state’s practices.

<sup>44</sup> John Urry and Jonas Larsen argue that encounters between indigenous people and tourists often begin as totally shallow, naïve tourists getting a horribly inauthentic experience of indigenous people (2011, 8). This is arguably applicable to the 1990s, post-Oslo era tourism that Stein (2008) diagnoses. It is also perhaps the first encounter in the “contact zone” of Pratt and Lisle. Rather than succumb to these tropes that produce spectacles of indigeneity, Green Olive Tours tries to make their guided tours into constructive and informative contact and encounter with indigenous people speaking their honest truth about life under occupation.

<sup>45</sup> I argue that Palestinians need to ask directions (Bishara 2015 41; 48; and Shehadeh 2007, 182) because the surveillance technological overlay of the occupation makes it hard to navigate the homeland. This is a part of sensory feeling of occupation (2015, 34) via these colonizing changes that connect Israeli infrastructures to each other.

<sup>46</sup> Eeriness is a concept I took from Navaro-Yashin (2012, 20).

<sup>47</sup> I mean to argue consistently that there is no “border” that these Border Police are protecting, rather the constantly advancing frontier, Yiftachel’s “creeping apartheid” (2009a) that Israel promotes.

<sup>48</sup> Weizman argues, “Focusing on the occupation itself, furthermore, allows Israel’s spatial strategies to be investigated in their most brutal and intense manifestation, as within a ‘laboratory of the extreme.’ The technologies of control that enable Israel’s continued colonization of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are located at the end of an evolutionary chain of techniques of colonization, occupation and governance, developed throughout the history of Zionist settlement. Furthermore, every change in the geography of the occupation has been undertaken with the techniques and technologies of the time and in exchange with other developments worldwide” (2007, 9).

<sup>49</sup> I mean to extend Caroline O’Dwyer’s concept of the “soldier-tourist” (2004, 33) into a term that is emblematic of Hebron: *settler-tourists* who see harassment of Palestinians as a sport, through a “scopophilic gaze” (Ibid., 36) of pleasure.

<sup>50</sup> Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) has been among the many activist organizations that are conceptualizing safety and security as a democratic and collective process that should involve everyone in the community, in shared struggle against the surveillance state and its logics of segregation and racism, especially in historic Palestine. One of JVP’s main campaigns, called the Deadly Exchange, is dedicated to reimagining safety as a collective responsibility, rather than the exchange of technologies guaranteeing the security of one group at the expense of others’ The Deadly Exchange deals with ending US-Israel security cooperation as a transnational network that impedes collective safety. One of their main rhetorics of messaging is that the model of “safety” according to US and Israeli security organizations is the safety of the privileged group, at the expense of the insecurity and oppression against groups rendered oppress-able by the same logics (Jewish Voice for Peace 2019).

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Monterescu uses relationality in explaining Israeli “mixed towns” like Jaffa as a model for relationalities where “land purchase, dispossession, and territorial feuds,” co-exist with “commercial partnerships, class-based coalitions, residential mix, and municipal cooperation” (2015, 11). I want to make sure to see co-existence in places like Hebron to acknowledge these “contact zones” of both cooperation and conflict that are rife with power dynamics and explanations of them: “The mixed city of Jaffa, which has been historically central to the development of both Palestinian and Jewish urban nationalism, will serve as my ethnographic point of departure. Home to Palestinian longtime residents, labor migrants, and collaborators (*‘umla’*) relocated from the West Bank and Gaza, as well as Jewish immigrants from the Balkans and North Africa and recently also well-to-do Ashkenazi gentrifiers, Jaffa lays bare the open wound of Palestinian dispossession as it unfolds new potentialities for historical reconciliation” (Ibid.).

<sup>52</sup> Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian expertly captures a glimpse of what it is like to feel and experience occupation in a sensory way. At the end of this quote, she also expertly shows how cultural practices of colonizers secure privileges for them. She argues, “By ‘occupation of the senses’, I refer to technologies that manage language, sight, sound, time and space in the colony; the administration of who acts, who speaks, who gives birth and how, and who walks/moves/drives where and how; and what kind of language, music, smells, marches, colours, cultures and scenes are promoted and inscribed over the spaces, lives and bodies of the colonized. Thus, my inquiry is concerned with the ways in which the settler colony uses sensory stimuli in a confrontational manner and with the aim of invading the realm of experience of the colonized, producing exclusivity and hegemony on the basis of cultural, religious, national and security claims” (2016, 1279).

<sup>53</sup> This is a discourse in which Jacques Derrida (2006), Alissa Wise (2017), and Alex Abbasi (2017) participate, among others.

<sup>54</sup> Hannam and Yankovska use the terms “haunting” and “spectrality” as interchangeable aspects of dark tourism. They say that mobilities (or lack thereof) can be haunting. They argue, “We then go on to consider work which has emphasised [sic] the ‘spectral’ nature of landscapes which have been understood in terms of the ways in which these can be “haunted” by past and present memories of former residents and tourists” (2018, 320).

<sup>55</sup> Barnard and Muamer (2015) discuss the confluence of tourism and resistance, incorporating the two together despite occupation, erasure, conflict, colonialism. They demonstrate the resistance in oral history in the village of Battir, challenging the co-existence tropes I invoke in Chapter 2.

<sup>56</sup> Morten, Stone, and Jarrat argue, “Hence, the chapter suggests a transactional nature to the production and consumption of the dark tourism experience—a process entirely influenced by a very personal framework of knowledge, memory and associations. To that end, the research adopts a *psychogeography* approach—that is, the specific effects of the geographical environment on the emotions and behaviours of individuals” (2018, 228).

<sup>57</sup> I borrow this term from Gayatri Spivak.

<sup>58</sup> Like the term “Islamicate,” I use the term “Judaicate” to describe cultures that have touched Judaism at some time in their history.

<sup>59</sup> Hannam and Yankovska argue, “Dark tourism research has focused on the active contestation of performances of collective memories implicitly and/or explicitly... Trauma as a cultural process is also closely connected with the formation of collective memories. Cultural trauma may affect a whole social group and does not need to be experienced by every group member. Events may not be traumatic by themselves but they are attributed a traumatic meaning collectively” (2018, 322).

<sup>60</sup> Achille Mbembe alludes to the ongoing necropolitics of race and colonialism, as well as fascism of the Nazi era, are instrumental in shaping the folding of populations into a complicated relationship between life and death (2003, 23).

<sup>61</sup> I want to put forth the idea that alternative tourism without long-term solidarity is its own form of “fantasy.” It fails to require continued engagement with the inequalities that, for example, Navajo elders feel every day. I am putting forward a few ideas of fantasy: first, the liberal fantasy that diversity in Israel trumps power dynamics of occupation; second, the fantasy of gazing back at the Israeli army and the occupation; third, the fantasy of comfort in activist spaces that people need to break out of, in order to support long-term engagement with oppressed peoples.

<sup>62</sup> Shalhoub-Kevorkian argues “that the occupation of the senses culminates in necropolitical acts of extreme embodied violence committed by official institutions of the state” which requires embodied composure to deal with (2016, 1281).

<sup>63</sup> Driver Issa was quite attuned to how tourists are often attached to their comfort. When he pointed out homes that were demolished and built over by the Israeli military, he often described how tourists only understand it when they see the ugliest parts of it. To that end, I argue that Muna’s testimony at Balata refugee camp reflected a way in which haunting replaced the need for the most visceral “bearing witness” through the specters that enter the room via her stories. Similarly, Muhannad guided us through Hebron, often having to field questions that reflected

tourists' sense disbelief in the goal of the Israeli military oppressing Palestinians in the name of a system of segregation and racism.

<sup>64</sup> Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins explains the Israeli struggles with recognizing the Nakba and the Holocaust, and the need to not exploit either one for political gain (2008, 143).

<sup>65</sup> One elder explained that one of the mines on Black Mesa created a micro climate zone, meaning that directly above the land where coal was extracted, it no longer rained, and environmental processes like wind patterns were significantly distorted.

<sup>66</sup> Chapter houses are the municipal meeting places of Navajo community, partly funded by the Navajo tribal government. They are scattered throughout the Arizona reservation.

<sup>67</sup> I took this idea of "dark matter" from the "Dark Matter" spoken word duo, and from Simone Browne's concept of "dark matter" as racism and other oppressions experienced under surveillance, which is known and felt and we know it's present, but only understood in what it causes, rather than understood completely in itself.

<sup>68</sup> Yehudit Kerstein Keshet refers to the Jewish spirit or specter of "the Dybbuk" that "has possessed the collective Israeli psyche, acting out deeds of oppression and cruelty against the Palestinian population at both the state and individual levels." The Nakba is "an unhealed wound in the same collective psyche" (2011, 3).

<sup>69</sup> Here I want to draw attention to Breaking the Silence, an Israeli NGO that collects testimonies of Israeli soldiers that served in Hebron, with the specific intent to highlight how these soldiers were haunted by the atrocities they were expected to commit.

<sup>70</sup> I want to invoke the term "moving through" (an alternative to "moving on"), popular in psychology as well as amongst critical scholars indigenous to North America. The term is appropriate in response to the retort that Native Americans must "move on" from their traumatic pasts. I mean to use it here to underscore how trauma is felt affectively and via lived experience, and that haunting is often the manifestation of the affective stew under which Palestinians live. Trauma is, indeed, in the air, and Palestinians "move through" it.

<sup>71</sup> Jacques Derrida invokes the "politics of mourning" that leads to the invocation and perception of ghosts and specters (2006, 9). I argue that this is applicable to the memory and lineage of the Samaritans.

<sup>72</sup> It is also worth noting that the temporality that the Samaritan museum conveys resists Zionist narratives. They inhabit the village as their ancestors did in the past, uninterrupted since biblical times. Zionist narratives would be more preoccupied with the era of Judea and Samaria, as well as post-modern times. In any case, I argue that the haunting specter is the sum of all of these discourses.

<sup>73</sup> I argue that Fiona Wright (2016) alludes to the fact that Fennell's "sympathetic" attachments (2012) can end up reifying the same colonial dynamics of the system itself: we may "idealize the Other as love object and therefore as what invests the subject with its value. It, like Jewish Israeli solidarity activism, thereby erases or silences the subjectivities of the Other(s), often so that the subject may flourish both materially and in its self-perception" (Wright 2016, 137). This all happens in the context of the death of occupation, and suggests that these affective attachments would not exist without the necropolitics of occupation, and the sense that Palestinians are a "grievable" [to quotes Judith Butler] population (Ibid., 139).

<sup>74</sup> None of the copies I accessed of this title included page numbers.

<sup>75</sup> I allude to the ways that Kutulas and Awad are invoking the fact that pilgrimage tours offer an affective rendition of the (often biblical) histories that pilgrims seek to enact. This is why I refer to the edited volume *The Politics and Power of Tourism in Palestine* as one that alludes to the affect that inheres in alternative tourism to Palestine.

<sup>76</sup> Jennifer Lynn Kelly (2016, 739) concludes her essay by cautioning that it's quite hard to measure the empirical impact, the quantitative impact of tours and their success in making activists. It is hard to keep in contact with tourists who have participated in Green Olive Tours in the past. This study could be done, but it would be difficult to find interlocutors that would be a representative of the reach of alternative tourism to historic Palestine.

<sup>77</sup> I am particularly interested in how my framing of necropolitics and haunting figures in the legacies of past colonial tourism, like that of *tiyulim* and the Palestinian *sarha* (Stein 2009; Kelner 2010; Shehadeh 2007; Davis 2003). Do I reify these negative tropes? I am referencing Joseph Conrad's novel, *Heart of Darkness*.

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