

Peace Through Tourism

Promoting human security through
international citizenship

**Edited by Lynda-ann Blanchard
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inside something/somewhere, but more essentially to create and arouse a *sense of responsibility*; an ethical sense. Further and more critically, Dedi's comment indicated that it was more convenient for me to feel inside something than to realize that *I am part of that thing* and that I am responsible for its actions and meanings. This moment of realization brought to mind an argument made by Slavoj Žižek (2006, p. 17), who, while discussing material dialectics, noted that "the reality I see is never 'whole' – not because a large part of it eludes me, but because it contains a stain, a blind spot, which indicates my inclusion in it." The artistically produced spaces of the Golem Project in Jerusalem are part of (and perhaps a metonym for) larger spaces of West and East Jerusalem, and the lesson taught therein is applicable for other spaces which demand that we exercise our civic responsibilities.

Introduction

In this chapter I examine two local (Jerusalemite) activist groups, whose activities attempt to expose the hegemonic politics of tourism in Jerusalem and to initiate a social change from within the spheres of tourism. The inquiry touches on my personal involvement with the activists I discuss, and their assessment is not pursued from the external perspective of a "neutral" researcher, but from that of an engaged researcher-activist (Hale 2006; Speed 2006). The two groups, and the specific activities on which the chapter focuses, are motivated and inspired by a vision of radical activism and by an attempt to challenge the way contemporary Israeli national ideology is enacted in and through tourism. Interestingly, neither of the two groups is centrally committed to working within tourism, yet in both cases the groups' activities interface significantly with tourism, and are therefore highly interesting for tourism scholarship in terms of alternative/subversive tourism genres.

Although there are many differences between the groups, for the scope of this chapter they will be addressed in terms of critical perspectives on tourism and specifically in terms of works on political and peace tourism. The reason for this is that, notwithstanding the different aims and means that these groups employ, they both seek to raise the consciousness of visitors, tourists and hosts to alternative realities, histories, and feelings in and of places – and specifically places that have come to serve, under hegemonic narratives, as unplicated (and apolitical) tourist sites. The order in which I discuss these groups and a few of their activities will be chronological, which is to say that I begin with a project by the Sala-Manca group, which partly concerns the 1948 War (the War of Independence for Zionism, and the Palestinian Nakba or "Disaster"), and the pre-1948 life of Palestinians in a (West) Jerusalem neighborhood. Then, I move to describe the activities of another organization (Emek Shaveh), which take place in East Jerusalem, and which concern and are entangled with the 1967 War and the ensuing occupation and continuous annexation of East Jerusalem.

14 Peace activism in tourism

Two case studies (and a few reflections) in Jerusalem

Chaim Noy

Prologue: the Golem

On a stormy Jerusalem night in the winter of 2007, a friend and I went to an experimental art exposition, which was titled "The Golem: From Mysticism to Technology, from Judaism to Universalism." The Golem Project was co-curated by the Sala-Manca Group (on which I will elaborate later) and The Lab, which is a relatively new center for performing arts in Jerusalem. I was familiar with earlier works of Sala-Manca artists, which were always inspiring. They typically included various art installations, kinetic sculptures, video works presented in public spaces. I was attracted to, and even fascinated by, Sala-Manca's activities, also because they felt not very coherent and had an *avant-garde* touch to them. Through the Golem Project, Sala-Manca and The Lab sought to explore the haunting and daunting images of the Golem, an animated anthropomorphic being which has reappeared in Jewish traditions and texts throughout the centuries, and which usually has a semblance of a weird and sometimes monster-like appearance (perhaps akin to Frankenstein's monster).

The Golem Project offered a memorable experience. It involved an installation in a large and dark hall, wherein my friend and I, and other visitors, were walking. There were unclear sounds surrounding us as we were cautiously exploring the large, dark room. The sounds resembled those of static electricity, or an out-of-tune radio station ("noise"), but they changed as we moved and were responsive to our location and movements inside the dark hall. The feeling was that of being inside a huge womb or belly. It was eerie. I came to realize that this is what the artist wanted to accomplish: an unclear and uneasy sense, which is very much in line with the whole notion of the Golem: a soulless man-machine, partly flesh and partly spirit. Content with the fact that I grasped the point of an experimental installation, I quickly shared with my friend Dedi the excitement of realizing that we were actually *inside the Golem*; that the artist had re-created a space wherein we were moving, which was the inner space of the Golem. Dedi, as though expecting my comment, responded quietly in what became for me a formative moment; he said, "We are not *inside* the Golem, we *are* the Golem." Tears flooded my eyes as I realized that this was *true*; that the installation's goal was not just to create a sense of being

“What’s Hidden behind the Pastoral?”

The words that make up the title of this section represent the name of an experimental art project, which was initiated by the Sala-Manca group. I will first elaborate briefly on Sala-Manca, and then describe one of the activities that took place as part of the project. Sala-Manca is a Jerusalem-based group of artists, which was founded in 2000 by Lea Mauas and Diego Rotman (both of whom were born in Argentina and live and work in Jerusalem). Thanks to prior acquaintance with Mauas and Rotman, I was able to follow the group’s activities and evolution during the last decade, and as I attended many of their projects, exhibitions and experimental presentations in Jerusalem. I have been inspired by their sometimes provocative and often thought-provoking artistic productions. These were typically performed in public urban spaces in Jerusalem. My enthusiasm was also fueled by the fact that, as a Jerusalemite, I highly value Mauas’ and Rotman’s efforts to revive artistic creativity in this city, which has several large museums but is nearly devoid of fringe-type art activity. The Group’s activities involve interaction between art and everyday life and spaces, and between the seemingly coherent and apolitical nature of everyday routines and the challenge posed to these routines by experimental art.

One of Sala-Manca’s projects was titled “What’s Hidden behind the Pastoral?” The project took place in the neighborhood of Ein Karem (literally “Vineyard Spring”), which is located in southwest Jerusalem, near but outside the city’s dense urban neighborhoods, during three days (October 15–17) in the autumn of 2009. Ein Karem is a picturesque neighborhood, with a spring at its center, surrounded by beautiful churches, monasteries and large private houses that were built over the centuries. According to Christian tradition, it is the birthplace of John the Baptist and the home of his mother, Elizabeth, who was visited there by the Virgin Mary. For this reason the neighborhood is a common tourist site, which is frequented by Christian pilgrims but also by local (Israeli) visitors. Another crucial detail about Ein Karem is that it was also a Palestinian village, one of the many villages and towns from which Palestinians fled when the Israeli forces invaded them in the 1948 War – in what became known in Palestinian collective consciousness as the Nakba. Hence this highly scenic and pastoral neighborhood is also a politically contested (tourist) site, which is to say that it embodies different sets of historical facts and events, memories and stories.

From the perspective of critical tourism research, Ein Karem raises questions regarding the role of tourism in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. These questions have received limited scholarly attention, mainly in studies that examine politically aware tourism in Hebron; in the Old City of Jerusalem; around the separation barrier; and elsewhere (Bowman 1996; Brin 2006; Clark 2000; Feldman 2008; Noy 2012). While this body of research focuses on the conflict’s hotspots, less attention has been paid to sites where the conflict has already been relegated to the status of recent history. These are mainly sites that were occupied by Israeli forces during 1948 and 1949. In a recent study, Brin and I (Brin and Noy

2011) use the term “non-flashpoints sites” to address these urban neighborhoods, which have long been transformed into Jewish locales.

The Sala-Manca Group’s three-day project – appropriately titled “What’s Hidden behind the Pastoral?” – sought to examine, expose and challenge the tourist apolitical construction of a scenic neighborhood/site. The project involved nearly 30 artists and a large number of activities, exhibitions and workshops that took place around the Group’s workshop in Ein Karem and were attended by more than 700 visitors. Many of the activities took place at the center of the neighborhood, near its main tourist attractions.¹ Within the scope of this chapter, I will briefly concentrate on one activity (of many), which took place during the three days of the Project, and which concerned alternative guided tours in and of Ein Karem. As part of this activity, Sala-Manca produced a rather impressive audio-recorded tour of the neighborhood (accompanied by a map), where two different guides presented their perspectives on Ein Karem. On each mobile device, which was given to visitors who attended the Project, more than two dozen MP3 audio files were pre-recorded. These files contained tours that offered an alternative view of the popular tourist sites of Ein Karem, which did not reproduce hegemonic depictions and knowledge and were not presented from the perspective of the all-knowing narrator. Hence these were not so much stories *about* places, events and histories, but stories that take place *in* an emplaced and embodied sense, i.e. situated performances.

Who were the guides that were chosen to lead the visitors of the experimental art project through the neighborhood of Ein Karem? One was Omar Agbaria, a Palestinian who works at a non-profit Israeli organization called Zochrot (literally “Remembering”). The Zochrot organization was established in 2002, and is dedicated to remembering Palestinian life before 1948, and to raising awareness of the Nakba. In the organization’s own words, its agenda and rationale are as follows:

The Zionist collective memory exists in both our cultural and physical landscape, yet the heavy price paid by the Palestinians – in lives, in the destruction of hundreds of villages, and in the continuing plight of the Palestinian refugees – receives little public recognition. Zochrot works to make the history of the Nakba accessible to the Israeli public ... [w]e hope that by bringing the Nakba into Hebrew, the language spoken by the Jewish majority in Israel, we can make a qualitative change in the political discourse of this region. Acknowledging the past is the first step in taking responsibility for its consequences.²

One of Zochrot’s central activities is touring and commemorating hundreds of deserted Palestinian villages (the organization has toured a different Palestinian village every one or two months since its establishment). These trips include ceremonies where post-signs stating the name of the village and a few basic facts about it in both Arabic and Hebrew are erected. The second guide chosen by Sala-Manca is Pnina Ein Mor, a Jewish-Israeli resident of Ein Karem, who has

led the neighborhood's struggles against the municipality and real estate developers who repeatedly attempt to build large, lucrative projects in the area. It is easy to observe that the choice made by Sala-Manca with regards to the tour guides shows a preference to persons who either live today or lived in the past in the neighbourhood or village.

The Zochrot and the Ein Mor tours in and of Ein Karem

Two segments, which were transcribed from the recorded tours, will now be examined. Interestingly, both tours, while basically taking place in the same space, actually follow, and thus create, significantly different paths throughout Ein Karem, and charge these paths and the spaces around them with dramatically different meanings. In fact, only about half of the stops that are made by the respective guides along their tour are shared by both tours; the other stops, sites and sights are not: they (re)present different social geographies. For the sake of comparison, the following transcribed segments address *the same site*, which is called the "Spring Wadi." The Spring Wadi includes a lush creek that leads westwards from the center of Ein Karem, wherefrom the waters of Mary's Spring run (see Figure 14.1). Mary's Spring is a special attraction, because according to Christian tradition it was there that Virgin Mary and Elizabeth met. The Spring is renowned for its fresh waters, which irrigate the beautiful wadi. Also, because the site is considered sacred, many Christian pilgrims who visit it fill plastic bottles with its waters (which are believed to possess special remedial qualities). The site is a preferred sightseeing point for tourist guides. The two transcribed and translated segments below are taken from Agbaria's (Zochrot) Tour A, followed by Ein Mor's Tour B.³

Tour A: Here in front of us we can see the area that was called the village's "Gardens Area." In fact, from here the water flowed into the wadi, and from both sides [of the wadi] the village's inhabitants cultivated vegetables and irrigated them with the Spring's waters...

This road, which leads to the Church of the Visitation, was called *Tarieq el-Ta' Amir* [or] "The New Buildings' Road." According to its name, this seems to have been an area where the village's residents begun building houses that were more distant from the [village's] dense center. Right here, at the beginning of this road, was a café that was called *Café el-Arab*, after the name of the el-Arab family that owned it. From this side, if we now look back towards the church, it's the other end of the Spring Road, the *Tarieq el-Ein*, which connected the Spring and the Church of St. John the Baptist.

And if we look at this building on the right, a pretty building that serves today as a restaurant, the "Spring Restaurant," [it was] in fact an ice and soft-drinks factory, which belonged to the el-Bakri family before [nineteen] forty-eight. The village's inhabitants take **much** pride in having **such** a factory in their village, which even sold its products to the "big city," Jerusalem. It's mentioned also that the owner had a truck that used to carry the merchandise and deliver it daily to the stores in Jerusalem.

Tour B: We are facing the Spring Valley, or the Spring Wadi. [Recently] ... a draining pool was excavated here, where the Spring's waters were collected and wherefrom the fields were irrigated. The pool is 800 years old. I invite you to return to this place in February, when the almond trees are at the peak of their splendor, and Ein Karem looks like a village that's wearing a white and pink bridal dress.

As **anywhere else** in the Ein Karem, this wadi too has undergone many vicissitudes. I'd like to tell of one woman, Rachel Yana'it Ben-Zvi.⁴ [She] arrives here at the end of 1948. The village is **desolate**; the agricultural terraces are **still** intact. And she, with her very own hands, continues to work these terraces, which were formerly irrigated by the Spring's waters. Nowadays, Noa Weiss and a whole group of settlers from Ein Karem are working the terraces, restoring the degradations, [and] the footpaths. And you are invited to descend into the valley, and enjoy the beautiful grapevine huts. And I have no doubt that you'll experience a **wonderful** experience of nature.

Three notes are due, which illuminate the two segments and can serve as a basis for further discussion and comparison. First, it is striking to witness how different are the descriptions which are supplied by the respected tour guides that performed in the Sala-Manca's Pastoral Project. While both guides and respected (spatial) stories do not represent common or hegemonic descriptions of Ein Karem, it is nonetheless interesting to observe how they differ along almost any conceivable parameter. To begin, they have a different name that designates the valley/wadi which they describe. Both descriptions begin with a short sentence

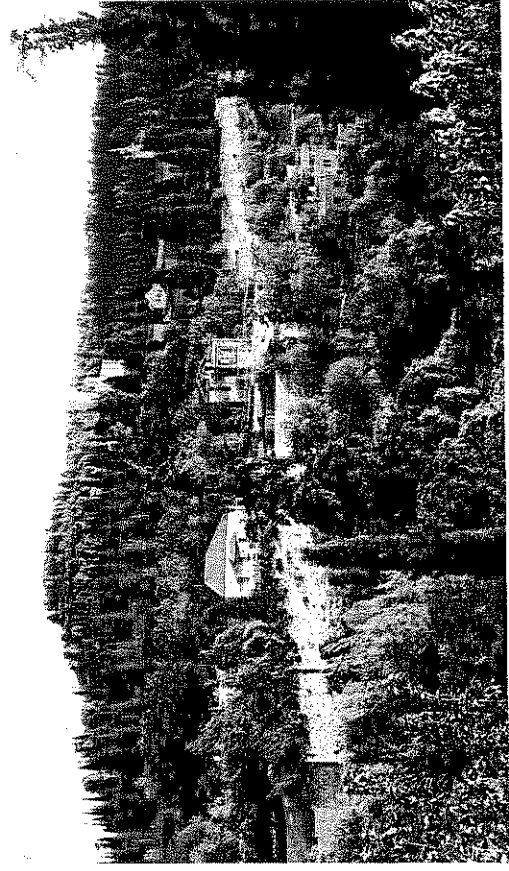


Figure 14.1 Pastoral view: Mary's Spring at Ein Karem (view from north) (photo by Chaim Noy).

where the name of the sight is indexed – what is the “Gardens Area” in Agbaria’s description is the “Spring Valley” in Ein Mor’s description (which nonetheless also mentions the “Spring Wadi”). Following the opening statement, which serves to orient the audience, both guides continue to tell their respective stories. These will never meet, and will have the year of 1948 as their separating event. Agbaria’s descriptions will end at this year, while Ein Mor’s descriptions will commence then.

Second, in the opening section of Agbaria’s tour (not included above) he briefly discusses the Nakba. Later in the tour (as is the case above) he does not need to reiterate the depopulation of the village (where approximately 3,000 residents lived), because it is evident in and through the description’s past tense. Ein Mor’s description, however, is interesting in terms of how it deals – or avoids dealing – with the 1948 War/Nakba. Consider the rather *dramatic topical shift* evinced right after Ein Mor invites the visitors to enjoy the view of the village’s “white and pink bridal dress.” Her following utterance (“As anywhere else in the Ein Kerem”) skips from the 800-year-old pool to post-war 1949, while referring to the war in elusive and opaque terms: “many vicissitudes.” The “vicissitudes,” and Ein Mor’s earlier stress on the words “anywhere else,” could indicate a silence(d) or hidden rapture. Perhaps this is what Sala-Manca meant with their title: “What’s Hidden behind the Pastorat?” Ein Mor is (un)saying that everywhere in Ein Kerem there were “vicissitudes” (she uses the Hebrew word *tahpuchot*, meaning also “ups and downs”), and that as a consequence, when Ben-Zvi arrives she finds a “desolate” village.

Third, in this and in other segments Agbaria employs words and terms in Arabic (*Tarieq el-Ta’amir, Tarieq el-Ein*), in order to designate places, and socio-linguistically to indicate that prior to 1948 the site’s language or linguistic landscape was predominantly Arabic. Needless to mention, Ein Mor usually refrains from using Arabic words, and in fact the name she uses for designating the site is “Ein Kerem”, which is the official Israeli Hebrew name, rather than “Ein Kārem”, which is the Arabic pronunciation (and also the more common pronunciation).

These brief comments by no means exhaust the (critical) discourse analysis of these segments, but they illuminate a few of the important points that repeatedly arise. Mainly, the two tours the visitors to the Pastoral Project took, (were) performed in different spaces: imagined, remembered and concealed or silenced. Now I shall turn to the second case study, which is also taken from a research-in-progress that I am pursuing.

Emek Shaveh at Silwan neighborhood

The second group of local activists is an organization of Israeli archaeologists by the name of Emek Shaveh (literally “Common Grounds”). The organization was founded in 2008, as “a non-profit association of archaeologists, local residents and human rights activists working to change the role archaeology plays in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict” (Yonathan Mizrahi, personal communication,

January 23 2010). Similar to the Sala-Manca, Emek Shaveh’s main concern is not tourism per se, but the (ab)use of archaeological practices and findings in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Stated in their own words, the archaeologists of Emek Shaveh’s affirm:

We view archaeology as a resource for building bridges and strengthening bonds between different peoples and cultures, and we see it as an important factor impacting the dynamics of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.... An archaeological find should not and cannot be used to prove ownership by any one nation, ethnic group or religion over a given place.... [Instead, it] tells a complex story which is independent of religious dictates or traditional stories, and that listening to this story and bringing it to the wider public can enrich culture and promote values of tolerance and pluralism.⁵

While Emek Shaveh’s agenda is clearly ethical and universal (and concerns the academic discipline of archeology), de facto the organization’s main activities are focused in a specific tourist site located in East Jerusalem. As is the case with many heritage sites, this site too combines tourism, archeology and heritage in a highly ideological and problematic fashion (see Duke 2007; Poria and Ashworth 2009).⁶ Emek Shaveh’s archeological activities and concerns take place in a site called “The City of David.” This site is an archeological National Park and Jewish heritage site, located in the area of the Holy Basin (which surrounds the Old City of Jerusalem). “The City of David,” which includes an area of 24 square kilometers, was declared a National Park by Israeli authorities in 1974, as part of the establishment of a larger National Park surrounding the walls of the Old City, after the occupation and annexation of East Jerusalem (following the 1967 War). The City of David National Park is located inside the large and densely populated Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan, with a population of approximately 40,000 residents, and specifically inside the neighborhood of el-Hiltwah (with around 5,500 residents).

The location of a Jewish heritage site *inside* a densely populated Palestinian neighborhood in East Jerusalem, and the large number of tourists who frequent the site (mostly Jewish groups of local and international visitors, which amount to over 400,000 visitors annually), suggest an area of friction and even hostility. These possibilities are materialized as the heritage site is run by an Orthodox Jewish settler (colonial) organization, by the name of ElAd (a Hebrew acronym of “to the City of David”). The ElAd organization was established in 1986 and its ideological goals, as stated on its website, include “continuing King David’s legacy as well as revealing and connecting people to Ancient Jerusalem’s glorious past through four key initiatives: archaeological excavation, tourism development, educational programming and residential revitalization.”⁷ With these publically stated aims, it is clearly evident why the place is continuously a source of harassment and violence against local Palestinian inhabitants. In addition, Emek Shaveh, with its focus on the ethics of archeological practice, has gradually become more focused on the heritage site of “the City of David” and the

EIAd-funded archeological excavations that take place and the way these are presented to visitors.

Before addressing a few of the activities of Emek Shaveh at the overlapping sites/spaces of Silwan/"the City of David", two notes need to be made. First, in 1997 the EIAd organization became the *sole agent* legally authorized to operate the National Park of "the City of David" and has since then been the main sponsor of the extensive excavations taking place in and around the site. This is a singular case where – of 115 national parks run by the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority – the operation of a park was wholly assigned to the hands of a private organization. During the last decade EIAd's personnel have been in charge of activities in the site, including selling tickets, guiding tours, securing the premises, funding the archeological excavations, etc. This means that visitors who purchase tickets are in effect sponsoring a declaratively right-wing settler organization, which sees the *site itself* as part of its ideological goals, namely the Judaization of East Jerusalem.

The second note is critical and concerns the fact that in terms of number of visits to Israeli national parks, the City of David National Park is second only to the Masada National Park (also a Jewish heritage site where archeological findings have also been mobilized to the aims of Zionist national ideology). Yet, while the national narrative told at Masada has been researched and discussed at length (for instance, Ben-Yehuda 1995; Schwartz, Zerubavel and Barnett 1986), "the City of David" has not been researched in any way. I surmise that the main reason for this disparity is that it is more convenient to discuss a site located in a remote and unpopulated area in the southern Judean Desert, which is under no national contestations (i.e., Masada), than to get one's hands dirty in the heated and messy politics of contested urban neighborhoods of East Jerusalem.

Emek Shaveh's alternative tour: "the City of David" revisited

Emek Shaveh activities have an aim of promoting an alternative appreciation of the archeological findings at the site and, as a result, also of the site as a whole. As indicated, the organization seeks a multicultural and pluralist interpretation of – and this is important – both archeological activities (mainly excavations) and archeological findings. One of the important activities concerns routine (weekly) in situ tours. As an important part of my ethnography there, I joined eight of Emek Shaveh's tours so far, which I view as highly interesting *subversive practices*. These tours begin near the site's formal entrance, and progress along the routes on the site's grounds. They last roughly three hours, and offer a radically different reading of the possible stories that the in situ archeological findings can tell. Since archeology is basically a mute discipline, that is, findings do not usually include texts or external descriptions that would allow a clear and precise understanding of their role in social and ritual life, there is much that lies "in the eye of the (ideological!) beholder." In the remaining space I will describe three aspects that concern the tours conducted by Emek Shaveh.

First, from a spatial perspective, these tours take place *inside* the site which, as stated above, is run by the EIAd organization. As much as EIAd detests these activities, the site is after all a National Park, and the area is public and activities there cannot be completely blocked. Expectedly, however, EIAd increasingly restricts entrance to various spaces in the park and charges fees for entrance to other areas. Those who are prohibited from entering the closed spaces are not only tourists, but also – and primarily so – the residents of the neighborhood. For them, a growing number of parts of their immediate environment are sealed. Furthermore, Emek Shaveh's archeologists are *personae non gratae* at the site, and often when one of them enters the site, they are recognized and reported (via radio and other security devices), and are met coldly. In the past, tours by Emek Shaveh were regularly surveilled (EIAd personnel joined and recorded them) and sometimes also interrupted. EIAd has legally sued Emek Shaveh and each of its archeologists for liability (on that note, EIAd has also launched liability suits against other left-wing organizations that are active in East Jerusalem).⁸

Second, from a scientific and ethical perspective, the tours by Emek Shaveh offer a disciplinary perspective that is critical. Contra EIAd's tour, the former admit to the fact that no findings have been found in this extensively excavated site which positively support the existence of King David, King Solomon or other Jewish Kings of the First Temple era. More generally and crucially, Emek Shaveh promotes a different perspective on archeological excavations altogether, one which is neither "Orientalist" nor "colonial." As repeatedly stated in their tours (and in the quote above), excavations and findings are not meant to affirm or disaffirm descriptions given in holy texts. Archeological excavations should not be driven by the desire to find facts or proofs of King David, Jesus or Muhammad ("Indiana Jones archaeology"). Rather, a multicultural perspective on archeological practices is promoted, where excavations explore and reveal the richness of historic periods and cultures, and the dynamics of their vicissitudes (along chronological and geographical grids).⁹ Thus a wider array of cultures is brought forth, and both human knowledge in general and visitors to archeological sites in particular are presented with the richness of bygone societies and traditions. In the former case, where archeological activities focus on providing proof for this or that event or person, findings that are deemed "irrelevant" are disposed of. In the excavations taking place at "the City of David" this occurs often. In EIAd's sponsored excavations these historical layers, structures and findings are removed, and thus the cultures that have produced them are disposed out of history.

Third, Emek Shaveh's tours typically conclude at the Wadi Hilweh Information Center (WHIC),¹⁰ where visitors meet with local Palestinian activists (Figure 14.2). These meetings are an important expression of the organization's objectives concerning intercultural cooperation. In the political context of Silwan/"the City of David" (and more broadly the Israeli–Palestinian conflict), these acts are infrequent and dear. The meetings allow tourists to interact directly with the neighborhood's Palestinian inhabitants, and to hear in an unmediated way the latter's perspectives on everyday experiences in and near the settlers' heritage

concerning the awesome power of tourism. From the activities of these small organizations emerges a powerful portrait of the coercive effects of touristic representations and practices and, simultaneously, also of a potential for social change. The subversive activities shed light on tourism as a highly political sphere, which can and does host ongoing combinations of political-ideological agents, and sometimes artistic and subversive contestations. The manipulation of the powers of tourism should not come as a surprise: tourism is constitutive because it effectively combines material spheres (making and changing “facts on the ground”) and symbolic spheres (promoting/concealing representations of places and identities).

In terms of striving for peace in Israel, contemporary organizations of radical left activists are not focused anymore on pursuing “peace” (an illusive utopia). In its stead the focus is on particular, local (“micro”) activities, where socio-political change is possible and do-able, and where Israeli–Palestinian cooperation is embodied at both facets of means and goal. Partaking in these activities as a citizen and as a researcher is, for me, an act of (what we might call) “de-Golemizing” myself. And this de-Golemizing is double-edged: it entails the assumption of civic responsibilities and action, and it has as its target not this or that right-wing organization (as would be the case with traditional left-wing activities), but governmental ministries and agencies which work in cahoots with fundamentalist organizations and thus allow and promote coercion and racism in and through tourism.

Notes

- 1 See http://mamuta.org/?page_id=confirm-subscription&u=74c6046f215523ff353d5650779a6811 (accessed December 27, 2010). Since this chapter was written the Sala-Manca Art Group has closed its operation at Ein Karem (on July, 2012). The website (mamuta.org), however, still contains links to the Group’s activities and the various projects it has sponsored and hosted, as well as to the Audio Tour in Ein Karem (Hebrew version), which can be downloaded freely.
- 2 See www.zochrot.org/en (accessed January 25, 2013).
- 3 In the transcribed segments bold indicates words that were stressed; italics indicate words that were spoken or pronounced in Arabic; square brackets indicate words that I have added; and ellipses (three dots) indicate a few words I omitted. Translations from Hebrew are my own.
- 4 Rachel Yana it Ben-Zvi was the wife of the second President of Israel, and a well-known Zionist and educational figure.
- 5 See www.alt-arch.org/aboutus.php (accessed January 25, 2013).
- 6 Since 2009 my affiliation with Emek Shaveh has been formal, and I presently serve as a member of the organization’s board.
- 7 See www.cityofdavid.org.il/en/The-Ir-David-Foundation (accessed January 25, 2013).
- 8 See www.the7eye.org.il/articles/Pages/251212_The_reasonable_Surfer.aspx (in Hebrew, accessed January 25, 2013).
- 9 In this respect the organization’s goals and views are in accord with recent critical (mainly post-colonial) developments in archeology, which put the emphasis on public and community archeology (Little 2002; Marshall 2002).
- 10 The Wadi Hiltweh Information Center was created by local inhabitants of the neighborhoods of Hiltweh (in Silwan), with the aim of voicing the concerns and opposition

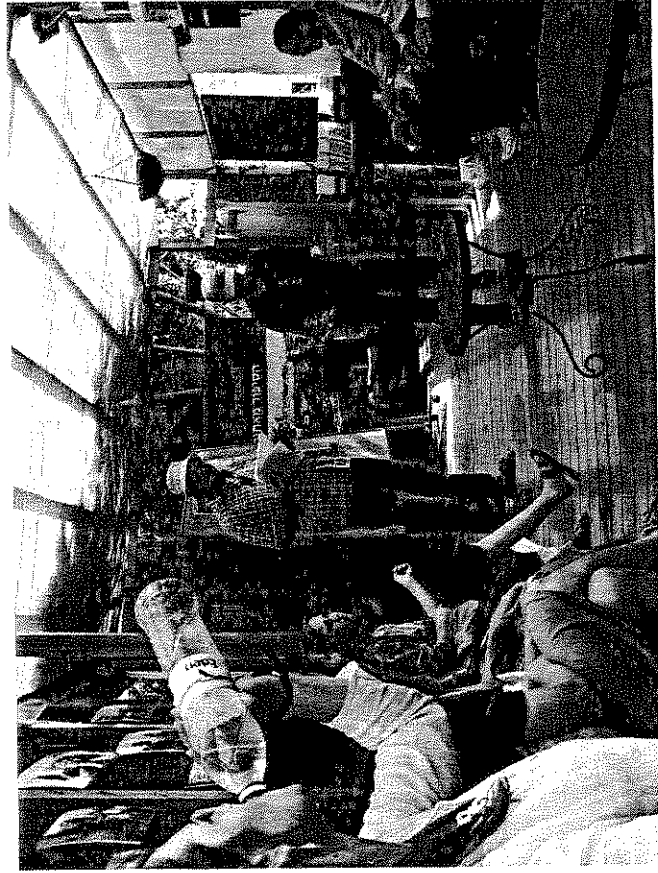


Figure 14.2 Archaeologist Yonathan Mizrahi of Emek Shaveh, at the Wadi Hiltweh Information Center (Silwan) (photo by Chaim Noy).

site. Many of the issues that are raised in these meetings concern the negative consequences of the site: first, ElAd’s manipulation of the site’s space in order to harass and eventually displace Palestinian inhabitants; second, tourists are led by ElAd guides through exclusive routes so that any contact with the local population (including shopping and financial exchanges) is prevented; and finally, the negative images by which the local population is portrayed to the tourists. For instance, tourists are told that there are many thieves and muggers in the area, and that the visitors should “hold tight” to their valuables. Additional concerns are expressed in a booklet, which was published by the WHIC (2009). The title of the booklet, *The Story Behind the Tourist Site*, reveals the tensions and threats which Palestinian inhabitants face, and the ways they cope with them, i.e. by expressing their Indigenous perspectives, agenda and narrative.

Provisional conclusion or de-Golemizing myself and the state

The case studies examined in this chapter illustrate how subversive versions are announced by subversive organizations, even if their main *modus operandi* does not concern tourism per se. The fact that Sala-Manca and Emek Shaveh turn to tourism, in different ways and for various reasons, reveals a lesson

of the inhabitants and supplying information about the neighborhood and the oppressive acts of Israeli authorities there. See <http://silwanic.net> (accessed January 25, 2013).

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