Capital of Resistance
Occupyied Hebron as Heterotopia
Victor Nygren
Abstract

This thesis examines the processes of production, consumption and representation of the old city of Hebron, West Bank, Palestine as an ‘other space’ or heterotopia, that is, as a space that deviates from normality and is tainted by contradictions, shifting meanings and notions of “otherness”. I argue that there are several representations of space present in these processes as different actors and agents relate to, make use of and accumulate different kinds of capital from the old city. Previous studies on Palestine often focus on occupation and resistance but fail to problematize the ways in which these concepts are classed, gendered, localized, globalized and involved in several interrelating systems of meaning. Having done fieldwork with Palestinian and international NGOs, volunteers, activists, tourists guides and tourists I now aim to relate their representations of the old city to that of old city residents and discuss how space and power might be understood in a process of capitalizing from an occupied zone and the emplacement of a ‘deviant’ population within it. I suggest that to better understand the everyday life of occupation we have to deconstruct romanticized notions of Palestinian and Hebronite resistance and occupation and trace the ways these concepts are socially and spatially (re)created.

Key Words: Anthropology of Resistance, Hebron, Heterotopia, Occupation, Palestine, Place, Space
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................................. 1
Table of Figures .......................................................................................................................... 4
Acknowledgments ......................................................................................................................... 5
Introduction .................................................................................................................................. 6
Arriving in Hebron ....................................................................................................................... 7
Historical background .................................................................................................................. 12
  A short history of Palestinian spaces ......................................................................................... 12
  Hebron, Al-Khalil ....................................................................................................................... 16
Method, Ethics, Language ............................................................................................................ 21
  Notes on Fieldwork, Methods and Language ........................................................................... 21
  Key informants ......................................................................................................................... 25
  Ethics ........................................................................................................................................ 26
  Photos and figures ..................................................................................................................... 26
Previous Research and Theoretical Overview ........................................................................... 27
  Romanticizing resistance in the occupied territories ............................................................ 29
  Hebron and Heterotopia ........................................................................................................... 31
Chapters .................................................................................................................................... 36
  Chapter One: the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee ............................................................ 39
    Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 39
    Work at the HRC ...................................................................................................................... 40
    Governing occupation and demography .............................................................................. 41
    Data Collection and spatial relations .................................................................................. 43
    Rehabilitated space ................................................................................................................ 47
  Chapter Two: Tourist Guides and the Tourist Gaze ............................................................... 49
    Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 49
    Dark Tourism and the tourist gaze ....................................................................................... 50
    The tourism industry ............................................................................................................. 52
    Taking a tour of the old city ................................................................................................. 56
    Tourist guides ......................................................................................................................... 59
    The tourist experience .......................................................................................................... 65
    Dark space ............................................................................................................................. 66
  Chapter Three: Volunteers, Activists and Capital ................................................................. 67
    Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 67
Volunteering and volunteerism ........................................................................... 69
Regulating conflict ................................................................................................. 72
Activism and capital ............................................................................................... 74
Failed space and capital for self-making ............................................................. 78

Chapter Four: Residents and Residency ............................................................. 79

Introduction ............................................................................................................. 79
Military presence, Surveillance and spatial dimensions of occupation ............... 79
Newcomers ............................................................................................................. 83
Residency, Occupation and the importance of Property Ownership ................. 87
A deviant population ............................................................................................... 90
Resistance, D’am and Sumud ................................................................................. 92
Insides and Outsides, Movement and Confinement .......................................... 94
Residents and resistance ......................................................................................... 95
Conclusions ........................................................................................................... 97
References ............................................................................................................. 103
Appendix One ......................................................................................................... 107
# Table of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1: Warning sign</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2: The separation wall under construction</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3: Map of Hebron’s old city from the TIPH website</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4: Bab Al-Zawiye during clashes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5: Bab Al-Zawiye during market hours</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6: Metal grid acting as roof along an old city street</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7: Map of West Bank occupied territories</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8: Kufiyas inside a shop in the old city</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9: Seats inside the shop of Women of Hebron</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10: Beit Romano settlement</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11: Concrete separating settlers from Palestinians</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12: Metal grid roof</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13: Metal grid roof filled with garbage</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14: Door welded shut by IDF</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15: Tourist market street</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 16: Roadblock separating settlers from Palestinians</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17: IDF Guardtower</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 18: IDF soldiers in the old city</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 19: Checkpoint going to the Abraham mosque</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 20: The Checkpoint from the other side</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 21: Ground floor courtyard left unattended</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 22: Renovated 1st floor apartment</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 23: Red Cross distribution card</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 24: Snack in old city school from WFP</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgments

This thesis is drawn from research conducted in Hebron, West Bank, Palestine for two months, from November 2013 to January 2014. My fieldwork was supported by a grant from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

In my preparatory stages, thanks to Joanna from Swedish ASF and Yvonne at the Palestine groups of Sweden. In Hebron, special thanks to G and F that opened many doors for me and offered me their friendship. Also, my HRC coworkers and all those who lent their time and energy, without your patience, hospitality and generosity none of this would have been possible. In my writing process, thanks to my supervisor Mark and intellectual input from my classmates.

Finally, thanks to my family and Rita, for supporting me and letting me run off once again.
Introduction

This thesis examines the processes of production, consumption and representation of Hebron’s old city as an ‘other space’ or heterotopia, that is, as a space that deviates from normality and is tainted by contradictions, shifting meanings and notions of “otherness” (Foucault 1994, 2000). I argue that there are several representations of space (Lefebvre 1991) present in these processes as different actors and agents relate to, make use of and accumulate different kinds of capital from the old city. In Hebronite terms, my thesis focuses on the concept of ‘the situation’, an expression used by Hebronites and those visiting Hebron to describe the political, economic and social turmoil and violence that was present in the occupied old city. ‘The situation’ was talked of as something everyone understood but I came to realize that it was a highly contested term within the city.

Previous studies on Palestine often focus on occupation and resistance but fail to problematize the ways in which these concepts are classed, gendered, localized, globalized and involved in several interrelating systems of meaning. Having done fieldwork with Palestinian and international NGOs, volunteers, activists, tourists guides and tourists I now aim to relate their representations of the occupied old city to that of old city residents. By looking closer at the relationships of several coexisting representations of the old city I discuss how space and power might be understood in a process of capitalizing from an occupied zone and the emplacement of a ‘deviant’ population within it. I suggest that to better understand the everyday life of occupation we have to deconstruct romanticized notions of Palestinian and Hebronite resistance and occupation and trace the ways these concepts are socially and spatially created. My thesis, then, is related to the anthropologies of resistance, space and place but also to urban anthropology and tourism studies.

Throughout the thesis I will use resistance and occupation as a diagnostics of power rather than as an expression of power itself, in order to avoid a dual logic of domination and subordination (Abu-Lughod 1990, Ortner 1995). I ask here, what the
forms of representations of resistance and occupation in Hebron indicate about the forms of power they are up against and the actors and agents that come together in or compete over defining the meaning of Hebron’s old city.

The title of my thesis, “Capital of Resistance”, has two meanings. First, Hebron is a symbol of Palestinian resistance and can be considered one of the capital cities for a global interest in resistance movements. Second, throughout this thesis I will be looking at different kinds of capital accumulation in Hebron’s old city relating to ideas about resistance and occupation. These two meanings are indeed related and help to accelerate each other’s impacts on daily life in the old town.

**Arriving in Hebron**

Hebron is the largest city on the West Bank and has an ancient history and a troubled present. Traveling into, around and through the West Bank and into the city of Hebron reveals some of the ways it (and other Palestinian spaces) is enclosed, blocked, separated, conflict-prone, historical, modernizing, commercial, urbanizing and socially mixed. In this chapter I will relay what caught my eye during my arrival for fieldwork in Palestine upon landing in Israel.

The only functioning airport in both Israel and Palestine is located just outside Tel-Aviv on the Mediterranean cost. From there one has to go through Jerusalem in order to reach the southern West Bank. After spending a few days “on the way” I finally took the bus from Damascus gate in Jerusalem to a drop off point for catching a ‘servees’ (a private minivan taxi) to Hebron on the 11th of November, 2013. On the ride the separation wall rises next to the road, a 8 meters (26 ft.) tall concrete barrier blocking the sight towards the east.
With a metal part added on top the wall truly demonstrates the proportionalities of recent conflicts in the area. The road the servees follows is a Palestinian road and huge red and yellow warning signs in Hebrew, Arabic and English warn Israeli citizens that entering West Bank territory is illegal and a direct threat to their lives (see fig. 1 and 2 above).

On this particular day, I arrived at the drop off point but was forced to wait together with a small group of people for a military roadblock ahead to be lifted before we started the half-hour drive to Hebron. The landscape is hilly and dry; patches of grass linger under small trees and bushes as one passes untended land as well as plantations of olive trees and oranges, and some grape vines here and there. After stopping at some of the local villages, the servees reached Hebron and slowed its pace. The bus terminal of Hebron is located a couple of hundred meters away from the old city towards its eastern new city center and exiting the bus you have the Bab al-Zawiye square in front of you down the slightly sloping road. The square connects the so called ‘H1’ and ‘H2’ areas and on the day of my arrival it was filled with a fired up crowd of young men that were watching and participating in clashes that had erupted on the memorial day of former president Yasser Arafat. Further ahead, the tall modern-façade buildings of the Beit Hadassah and Beit Romano settlements stretch above the 3 story, Mamluk-Ottoman style\textsuperscript{1} Palestinian housing units.

\textsuperscript{1} Funerary domes and minarets were constant leitmotifs in the Mamluk mosque's profile and were significant in the beautification of the city skyline. Expanding on the Fatimids concept of street-
On two sides of the street ahead hundreds of young men had gathered to cheer on the ones throwing stones at the soldiers at the Tel Rumeida checkpoint (located at the road junction leading to Tel Rumeida just south of Bab Al-Zawiye on the map above (fig. 3)). The soldiers fired rubber bullets and tear gas back at the crowded square and anyone who dared to stand on the nearby rooftops. This made my fist visual impression of the place somewhat blurred from the tears gas. A tad bit shocked, I grabbed my bags and followed a bunch of young men rushing across the road onto the street continuing into the tourist market (‘suq’) where I was headed. The fruit and vegetable vendors had moved their carts a couple of hundred meters down the street to avoid the commotion but customers were usually few on a day like this and I walked undisturbed through the normally overcrowded space.

adjusted mosque facades, the Mamluks developed their architecture to enhance street vistas. By 1517, the Ottoman conquest brought Mamlok architecture to an end but the architecture later mixed with and inspired the Ottomans. They mastered the technique of building vast inner spaces confined by seemingly weightless yet massive domes, and achieving harmony between inner and outer spaces, as well as articulated light and shadow. See also: http://www.hebronrc.ps/index.php/en/old-city/the-architectural-nature-of-the-old-city
H1 Hebron has broad streets and lots of traffic moving at a slow pace because pedestrians usually share the traffic lanes with cars and other means of transportation. Walking into H2 presents much dimmer old city streets, with fabric, tarpaulins and metal grids acting as a roof in-between the open-court, inward-directed houses along the sides. On your right side, walking towards the Abraham mosque, some streets are blocked by metal gates or concrete walls and subtle changes in facades indicate which houses are currently occupied by Israeli settlers.

Before the massacre of 1994 (when an Israeli settler killed 29 Palestinians during prayer in the Abraham mosque) these streets were walked by Palestinians and Israelis alike, but since then the two populations have been cut off from each other. Now, one row of buildings offers entrance from two different sides (and streets), one for settlers and one for Palestinians. Spray-paint on the walls tell the passersby that “this is Palestine” but also include stars of David, a common feature in all of the occupied territories. As the street becomes narrow, street vendors multiply, some hassling you for your attention, others laid back silently displaying their goods. The constant greeting “Welcome” (also used between Palestinians in the Arabic form of *ahlan-wasahlan*) means you have been detected as a foreigner. Inside what used to be part of the commercial district of Hebron and its surroundings there are now mostly tourist stores mixed with tiny supermarkets. Some workshops are still in place but are of a

---

2 Further discussed by for example, Peteet (1996) and Hammami (1990).
dying breed in this part of town.

Hebron’s old city is a UNESCO cultural heritage site and is under reconstruction to keep the buildings from collapsing. Some walls have reappeared, having been rebuilt around the skeletons left after decades of armed conflicts. There is no embellishment of these streets and traces from metal ports that had at one point been welded shut by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) are still visible, as well as objects thrown at Palestinian pedestrians from occupied houses up above getting caught by the metal grid, resting safely above street level (see fig. 6, 12, 13). The selling of souvenirs to tourists and the use of historical symbols of occupation (such as old welding, bullet holes and so on) visible in the built environment is now part of what attracts Hebonites and internationals to the old city.

Palestinians who do not reside or work in or around the old city rarely go there nowadays outside the month of Ramadan. What used to be the commercial hub has been turned into part settlement, part slum area housing low-income or internally displaced residents, settlers and thousands of IDF soldiers, and is mainly visited by
foreign tourists and volunteers. Most reconstruction in the old city preserves the Mamluk-Ottoman architecture, but some buildings get modernized stone-facades. Most of the past population of the old city has left its houses during the last decades. In some cases because of the new city’s ‘modern living’ (a distinction made by ‘new city’ informants) in villas and high-rise apartment buildings, others because of settler harassment, economic hardships or military orders. Most of the current residents moved in post-1997, after the creation of the Palestinian Authorities (PA) and its semi-governmental organization the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC). The HRC is on behalf of the PA, UNESCO and other foreign donors responsible for the rehabilitation of the H2 area. As a part of the scheme housing is offered to nuclear families rent free, along with electricity, water and health insurance on an initial 5-year contract. The HRC has the right to rewrite the conditions during the renewal of the contract (after the first 5-year period expires) and does charge rents of around 200 USD (700 NIS) if the families are deemed able to pay by the HRC. Because of this scheme, a mix of inner city- as well as rural poor and social outcasts now inhabit a socially hybridized space. Here local clan and class structures are visible side-by-side with foreign and Palestinian NGO activity, Israeli military and settler presence, PA governance and a growing tourist flow. To employ Foucault’s (1984) term, it is a “heterotopia” characterized by contesting and contradicting understandings of its shifting essence and purpose. A complex set of Palestinian, Hebronite and international actors and agents is involved in defining the situation in the old city. The processes, actors and agents behind the different and differentiating definitions of the old city will be the subject of this thesis.

Historical background

A short history of Palestinian spaces

The names Palestine and Palestinian have been recorded in historical documents from
Egypt peleset, Assyria palashtu or pilistu, and Greece palaistinê) stretching back to before 1000 BCE. The first territorial definition of the term can be found in Herodotus “The Histories” (450s-420s BCE) and describes an area including the Judean mountains and the Jordan rift valley as part of the 5th Persian satrapy or province. The terms peleshet (a Hebrew word) and philistia were also used in the Torah and the Bible but remained largely undefined in spatial terms. The same name was later used for this region by the Romans in ca 135 CE where several provinces were combined into Syria Palaestina. Later, during the Byzantine period, the entire region of Syria Palaestina, Samaria and the Galilee was named simply Palaestina. The Arabic word for the region and people, Filistin (فلسطين) might have come from the name of an administrative province “Jund Filastin” during Arab caliphate rule. As for the English term Palestine, it became common during the European renaissance and was later applied by the British to the territory known as the Palestinian Mandate after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

The space carved out here is one with a very significant location that connects Europe, Asia and Africa. During most of known history the area has been colonized by powerful empires and might have enjoyed its longest spell of independence before 1500 BCE, after which it was included in the Egyptian new kingdom. The region was among the earliest in the world to host human habitation, agriculture and “civilization”. After the Canaanite city-states in the Bronze Age became vassals to the Egyptian empire, the spaces defined through history as Palestinian have had many functions but have experienced almost consistent occupation. Palestine’s history has seen rule by Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Achaemenids, Greek Macedons, Seleucids, Hasmoneans, Romans, Sassanids, Byzantines, Mamluks, Mongols, Ottomans, British and more.

During clashes between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain the area changed hands frequently in the 19th century and witnessed the beginning of Zionist immigration and the revival of the Hebrew language in the region. The British were formally awarded the mandate to govern the region in 1922, 5 years after the
controversial Balfour Declaration. The mandate was terminated after the Second World War and caused yet another civil war as the Arab Higher Committee rejected the UN resolution to partition the area into an Arab and a Jewish state with a common Jerusalem. Instead, the state of Israel was declared shortly thereafter in 1948 and continues to exist while Palestinian attempts to create a state continues. The region also experienced Arab occupations of parts of the West Bank (Jordan 1948-1967) and the Gaza strip (Egypt 1948-1956 and 1957-1967) in the period between the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the Six-Day War in 1967.

Palestinian spaces have, as this short introduction points out, always been partly defined by colonization and continue to be so today. During three millennia of occupational history, the Palestinian peoples, cities and regions have been partly shaped by outside power now inscribed in the agricultural practices (water irrigation systems, vineyards, grow houses), the architecture and urban planning (Islamic, Mamluk and Ottoman architecture remain in many old cities), as well as religious practices (the Palestinian population remains mixed with Christians, Sunni Muslims and Druze religious groups). Considered to be the birthplace of all three monotheistic religions, Palestine has experienced religious, territorial and sectarian warfare in the past, conflicts that continue to this day. As my thesis will now discuss, current spatial relations in the city of Hebron reflect these past relations and are still relevant for local populations as well as tourists and volunteer workers.

Nowadays, Palestinians can be found in large numbers in several countries. Through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) the number of displaced Palestinians is uniquely well documented. UNRWA released data in 2012 estimating that 30 - 50 000 refugees from the 1948 war are still alive from an original 700 000 (then around 85% of the Arab population

---

3 The Balfour Declaration (dated 2 November 1917) was a letter from the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Baron Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community stating that; "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."
of Palestine), while descendants of those refugees now number as many as 5 million people.\textsuperscript{4} Palestinian became a geography of towns and refugee camps in West Bank and Gaza as well as the neighboring countries of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Further displacement by later armed conflicts, including the 6-day war in 1967 and the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} intifada in 1987-1983 and 2000-2005 followed and there are Arabic names for the several categories of refugees that exist in local terms, such as “returnees” and “displaced people”.

The Palestinian population is and has been characterized by constant movement and displacement. Notions of returning are important to local spatial identities but so too are hopes of leaving among the younger generation in the West Bank. Several political and ideological concepts return to the importance of space, such as \textit{sumud} or “steadfastness”, the importance of standing your ground. Similarly, the value of owning property cannot be underestimated. The PA was created to govern the areas specified in the Oslo accord\textsuperscript{5} but does not own any of the land in the way a nation-state can be expected to do. Ownership in Palestine thus, is mainly private and only rarely collective (as in the case of religious communities). Owning one’s own property is effectively the only way to be sure of staying in your place while hoping Israeli settlement expansions do not affect your city, neighborhood, or piece of land. Land ownership is considered one of the most valuable assets and is a means of social differentiation in this setting of regular displacements, continuing occupation and settlement expansions. Selling property to Israeli settlers is punishable by the death penalty under PA law. So far, very few death sentences have actually been carried out (two known cases as of 2009)\textsuperscript{6} but others have been summarily executed over suspicions that they sold land to Israelis.

\textsuperscript{4} http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/20120317152850.pdf (retrieved on 2014-06-05)
\textsuperscript{5} Explained further down in this chapter.
Hebron, Al-Khalil

Hebron is one of the oldest cities in the world, having been continuously inhabited for over 5,000 years. Today, it is the largest city on the West Bank with some 200,000 inhabitants. Hebron is located 30 km south of Jerusalem and 20 km from Bethlehem. 50 km separate the city from the Gaza strip in the West while the Dead Sea is 30 km to its east. Being in the highland of Palestine, Hebron escapes the Mediterranean climate of the coastal strip and experiences temperatures of around 5 degrees Celsius with lots of rain during winter. The main function of the city has been as a commercial hub, having a strategic location in the middle of the southern West Bank.

In Arabic Hebron means the friend of god and the city is an important religious site for all three monotheistic faiths. The cave of the patriarchs is deemed to be the burial site of biblical and Qur’anic forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as well as the matriarchs Sara, Rebecca and Leah. This holy place is located at the heart of Hebron’s old city in what was built as a church, then turned into a mosque and now functions as part synagogue. The remains of the graves are visible through a glass window, with the Muslim and Jewish sides separated from each other, and non-Palestinian Christians allowed in both parts.

The old city is now only a small part of Hebron, as the city as a whole has grown from hosting a population of only 38 000 in 1967 to today’s close to 200 000 people (although estimates vary from 150 000 to 250 000). The Hebron governorate in total hosts some 662 000 people, 565 000 or 85% of which live in urban areas, 80 000 (12%) in rural areas and about 17 000 (2.5%) in city-like refugee camps according to Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics’ estimates. The total population increase in Palestine has shown similar patterns, as 1 million people in 1970 became 3 million by 2000 and passed 4 million in 2010. An estimated 5 million Palestinians live in other Arab countries.7

During this period of population increase, Palestinian populations have been both willfully and forcefully displaced. Again, the UN estimated that as many as 85% or 700,000 people from the Arab population were displaced during the 1948 war and Israeli state formation. In the case of Hebron, the city and most of the southern West Bank came under Jordanian control after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Abdullah I of Jordan ruled in the area until the six-day war in 1967 when Israel annexed 45% of the West Bank. This was also the start for settlement expansion in the West Bank including the Hebronite settlement “Hebron Yeshiva” that reemerged in 1968, almost 40 years after having been destroyed by an uprising and massacre in 1929 (The British had later refused the Jewish community permission to resettle Hebron for security reasons). Further settlements were later created in Hebron’s old city in 1979, legalized subsequently by the Israeli state and expanded to today’s borders and now hosting some 500-700 settlers protected by Israeli Defense Forces’ (IDF) soldiers numbering about 2000.

As settler and soldier numbers increased in the old city, the Palestinian population rapidly decreased, moving away from harassment, armed conflict and economic hardship. The majority of the inhabitants left as a main thoroughfare and the city’s previous commercial hub ‘Shuhada street’ was closed by IDF in 1994, stores and homes welded shut and road entrances walled and blocked to establish checkpoints around what is now part of areas B and C (I explain these letters later). The reason for the original closure was fear of Palestinian retaliation on Jewish settlers after one of them shot 29 Palestinians dead in the Abraham mosque in Hebron’s old city. More than 80% of the old town’s original population has left and very few have returned. The main governing body of the old city, the HRC estimates that 22% of the inhabitants in the old city are living in the same building as before Israeli presence. After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Israel tried to control and manage Palestinian spaces and populations. Israeli projects included economic measures, territorial expansion, infrastructure separation and increased military


presence and surveillance. To counter Israeli occupation, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), was created in 1964 and used different kinds of guerrilla warfare in neighboring countries and former Palestinian territories. The PLO later came officially to accept the existence of Israel and after the first intifada from 1987 to 1991 and the following Madrid conference the PLO accepted by Israel in 1993 as the official representative of the Palestinian people. Secret peace talks followed between the PLO and Israel and what is now known as the Oslo peace process that resulted in the Oslo accord⁹. That agreement was signed by PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and current president Mahmoud Abbas, the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and US president Bill Clinton. The Oslo accord announced the creation of a Palestinian interim self-government, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA or simply PA). As Israeli troops withdrew from Gaza and parts of the West Bank, the PA assumed responsibility for those territories but was never promised future statehood. Instead, the Oslo process had focused on drawing Israeli-Palestinian borders (trying to put an end to further Israeli settlements) and establishing a Palestinian right of return.

In Hebron, the next step in the political negotiations about the area was the Hebron protocol¹⁰, signed in January 1997 by Arafat and the new Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (now serving a third term as prime minister after winning the elections in 2013). Today the PA controls large parts of the West Bank but has lost control of the Gaza strip after a conflict between the two main political organizations Fatah and Hamas. Fatah is now the ruling party of the PA while Hamas controls most of the Gaza strip. Peace talks are held regularly between the two parts as well as between Fatah and Israel. The peace talks are complicated by the fact that neither Israel nor Hamas are willing to enter into negotiations with each other even though Fatah tries to work with both at the same time.

More relevant to my thesis, the Hebron protocol included a separation of spaces in areas A, B and C. This is a classificatory system that exists all over the West Bank.

---

⁹ Officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements.
¹⁰ Officially called the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron.
Areas ‘A’ signify that PA has full civil and security control. ‘A’ areas include ca. 3% of the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) but ca. 80% of the city of Hebron.

Areas ‘B’ signify PA civil control but joint Israeli-Palestinian security control (although in Hebron effectively Israeli) and include ca. 23-25% of the West Bank.

Areas ‘C’ signify full Israeli civil and security control and are excluded from Palestinian use. These areas include ca. 72-74% of the West Bank, although this number has shifted over the years as Israel has transferred (and promised to continue transferring) some of these areas to Palestinian control but also reinvaded some transferred territories during “Operation Defensive Shield” in 2002.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Operation "Defensive Shield" began on March 29, 2002, with an incursion into Ramallah placing Yasser Arafat under siege in his Ramallah compound, followed by incursions into the six largest cities in the West Bank, and their surrounding localities. From April 3–21, the period was characterized by strict curfews on civilian populations and restrictions of movement of international personnel, including at times prohibition of entry to humanitarian and medical personnel as well as human rights monitors and journalists.
Unlike the West Bank as a whole, Hebron mainly consists of area A territory and its populations remain under PA control in what is also known as H1. The local Jewish settlements (areas C) are in the city’s eastern parts including some of Hebron’s historical old city. As a “protective measure”, Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) have kept the entirety of the old city under security control while allowing the PA to form a semi-governmental organization through which most Palestinian governance of the old city is exercised, making it an area B. Areas B and C are also known as H2, as can be seen on the map on page 17 (fig. 7). The semi-governmental organization governing in the old city, the HRC, is an organization for which I did voluntary work and which features as an important part of this thesis.

Military violence in Hebron’s old city and other parts of Palestine escalated during the second intifada in 2000, reinvigorating clashes between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians. Old city residents were cut off from the rest of Hebron and received food
and aid from the Red Cross and the UN for years thereafter. Since the second intifada, clashes regularly erupt in Hebron and have resulted in the killing of Palestinians as well as settlers and soldiers. Just two months before my arrival in Hebron, an Israeli soldier was killed in September of 2013, keeping the situation tense to say the least.

This then was the context in which I carried out my fieldwork, and its history and current situation left an indelible mark on my ethnographic work.

**Method, Ethics, Language**

**Notes on Fieldwork, Methods and Language**

At a very early stage during my first year of a master program in Social Anthropology I came across the website of Swedish Architects Sans Frontières (ASF), a volunteer organization that is part of a global network of architects. On their website an ongoing project in Hebron in the West Bank was displayed that caught my attention. I decided to email and enquire about the project and the presence in Hebron and was lucky enough to track down an enthusiastic member of the group whose positive reassurance and interest in my ideas gave me a push to follow through and start making arrangements for future fieldwork in Palestine. Thanks to other helping hands, such as the Palestine groups of Sweden, I was assured that there were plenty of things to do and topics to attend to in Hebron. Traveling to the West Bank was not so much a choice I made out of a set pre-fieldwork interest (although I have traveled in the region before and spoke some very basic Arabic) but rather the result of the good contacts I made during the period before going.

As my fieldwork progressed, I had to abandon my original plan and I came out the other side with a very different material than I had imagined. What began as an
explore the Palestinian businessman identity changed into a more spatially bound ethnography on Hebron’s old city. In Hebronite terms my fieldwork came to be about defining the concept of “the situation”, a term used by Palestinians and other nationals in a way that suggested that everyone already knew its meaning. Following the logics of ‘the situation’ is what came to delimit my study and give shape to the thesis. Part of my theoretical framework is also due to the uses of ‘the situation’. The multiple ways in which the term was being used suggested struggles over its meaning in between users, while differentiating the old city from spaces around it all the same, thus relating to Foucault’s ‘heterotopian spaces’ (1994, 2000). Since ‘the situation’ is place-bound I chose to use the academic term ‘representation of space’ (Lefebvre 1991) to encompass the larger contexts different interpretations of ‘the situation’ were related to. More on this later, in my chapter on previous research and theory.

Having visited Egypt, Lebanon, Israel and Palestine before, fieldwork in Hebron was not my first impression of an “Arab world.” As English got me through most of my days, however, I never learned enough Arabic to actually use it frequently. Having had good experiences of it in the past, I decided to stay in the guest house of a host family in the old city of Hebron whose contact information I received from a contact at the HRC. While my host family did not speak English, Hebron proved a manageable and in most ways accessible field site for me and its population (especially that of its old city) was used to handling international organizations, volunteers and researchers. The major obstacle was still not knowing enough Arabic to handle things on my own, but as it turned out I was lucky enough to meet an enthusiastic local volunteer who agreed to help me and became as much a co-researcher, doing his own work on architecture, as an informant and friend. Almost all of my interviews or chats in Arabic were made possible by his dedication, translation and time. Other obstacles were being male, which made it hard finding female informants and spending time in spaces classed as female. Being foreign gave rise to suspicions as asking too many questions in a place like Hebron could give the impression that I wanted to know too much and was an Israeli spy. My white skin, clothing, haircut and blondness often caused some preliminary confusion over whether I might be Jewish and while some were easily convinced that I was Swedish, others remained suspicious. In the end, however, most people realized I didn’t speak
Hebrew and a Swedish passport helped. Sweden was known as a source for pro-
Palestinian activists as well as a country that had received Palestinian refugees in the
past. It was an advantageous nationality for a visitor. Some research techniques were
however out of the question, such as taping or filming interviews as locals were not
comfortable with spreading information that could so easily be traced back to them.
Apart from this, my research was not allowed and I traveled with a tourist visa,
avoiding to mention my actual business in the West Bank when questioned by
officials. While this is somehow an ‘expected’ relation to the state of Israel, because
of its tendency to separate itself from everything Palestinian, it does affect the
traveler. Throughout my stay I avoided social relationships with Israelis, part because
I did not know how Palestinians might feel about such relationships and part because
of the Israeli people’s relation to the state I was trying to avoid in fear of being
expelled from the country for my research. This led to very limited contact with
Israelis, including settlers of Hebron and soldiers posted there, that might have been
an interesting element.

Going through customs with equipment used for other things than tourism might have
raised suspicion and denied me entry or re-entry into Israel so bringing a dictaphone
was out of the question. Neither was it an option when going back home through the
Tel-Aviv Ben-Gurion Airport to carry the material I had gathered. Before leaving, I
photographed or typed down all my notes scribbled on paper, gathered all my pictures
and documents of an academic character on my laptop and sent them to an email that
could not be traced back to me. I emptied all my memory sticks and downloaded
some touristy pictures from google to back up my story of what I had done during my
8 weeks in the country. My “exit interview” was not bad, and after a short two-hour
session of questioning I was on my way back to Sweden. I chose to do this in case I
wanted to come back into Israel at a later point to reconnect with informants or do
further fieldwork, something my research topic might deny me. In this case I chose to
withhold information about myself and the informants present in my notes from the
Israeli state to enable the possibility of future contact. I did leave some electronic
footprints behind, some facebook pictures from visits here and there that others
posted, some email correspondence with the HRC and so on, but I tried to make them
as few as possible. This was a common practice among volunteers and activists and
Hebronites accepted the limited traces people left behind, as long as “you add me on facebook when you are back home” as my friend Hares kept reminding me (more on Hares and keeping in touch below).

At an early point of my research, I was assigned a role in a research project at the HRC, where I volunteered. The research mostly consisted of semi-informal chats with residents, concerning the coming renovations of housing units on the east side of the old city. I was put on this project together with Alim who became a good friend and key informant. As I mentioned above, taping the conversations was not really an option as it was considered dangerous for the informants, either because I might be giving the information to the wrong people (whether Israel or the PA police) or because others might find out about it and assume that the informant was precisely that, an informant working for an intelligence service. Damaging the reputation of informants also kept me from making direct contact with Palestinian women in most social settings. It was not considered appropriate for a woman to interact with a man in a public space, only partly in domestic spaces, and only in some workplaces. For me, as a foreigner, it was forgivable not to follow the local rules, but not those women I might have approached. My main female informants were women already exposed to the male world, including some working in NGOs, the heads of other local organizations, some shop owners and fellow foreigners.

When I approached organizations and people I myself picked out I used my foreign identity in different ways. Hebron (and Palestine at large) is a place used to receiving outsiders for extended periods of time, whether for volunteer work or academic studies. During my stay I met three other people who were also collecting data for their master’s theses and I met five Swedes with different volunteer assignments in the city. Thus, presenting oneself as a researcher from abroad was nothing unusual and opened doors, not least because host of the visit could point out to others that he/she was interesting enough to interview (sometimes posting pictures of the meeting on facebook).
Key informants

During my stay in Hebron I had two key informants. I met Hares, a young high school drop-out and self-educated tourist guide on my first day in Hebron and I spent time with him almost every day during my first weeks in the city. As my “big brother” and protector in the old city, Hares introduced me to his work, leisure, aspirations and thoughts. Through him I got to attend the social occasions that gathered volunteers and activists after work over countless cups of tea, coffe and ‘sahleb’12 with ‘shisha’13. He also introduced me to the owners of the two tourism establishments that came to be my platforms for gazing at and interacting with tourists and guides. I also felt I was a part of Hares plans, both as a stimulus for his imagination and a way of getting to know ‘the outside’ (an expression he and other Palestinians used for countries in the global north) and building a network able to bring him business in the tourism industry of Hebron and Palestine.

A couple of weeks into my fieldwork, I often spoke of it as collaborative research because Alim had become a constant presence by my side. Alim became invaluable to my project, which would have been radically different without his presence. In a way, he was an insider and an outsider, a ‘halfie’ informant (Abu-Lughod 2006); having been educated in another Arab country for a decade he had recently returned to his family home and was looking for employment. For me, this meant that in a way I felt we were both discovering (or rediscovering in the case of Alim) the city and its complexities. Alim was a couple of years older than me and his theoretical intensity and curiosity pushed my project forward and forced me to retell and rethink what was going through my head.

Hares and Alim met on several occasions but did not know each other from before, except from their respective family names and areas of residence. Activities during

---

12 A warm milk drink with nuts and coconut.
13 Also known as water pipe or ‘hooka’
my fieldwork thus mainly consisted of me hanging out with one of them at a time.

Ethics

I have chosen to use pseudonyms for all the informants in my thesis, to protect their identities and not put them in risk for repercussions from employers, neighbors, families or colleagues. Some of my interviewees explicitly asked not to be identified and not to be connected to their places of work or titles. In the case of the HRC, I felt it was impossible to explain my thesis without the organization being named. Some other NGOs are also named here and no volunteer-based organizations asked me not to reveal its name. Activists were a bit more secretive and asked me not to associate their names and that of their networks with violence or protests unnecessarily.

I should mention here that before arriving to Palestine I had political opinions about the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. I viewed the occupation as illegitimate and still do. During my fieldwork this has come up on several occasions and I have never felt the need not to reveal my opinions. In my thesis I discuss the uses of occupation and resistance as ideas and concepts in different contexts, of which I am more or less part of myself.

Photos and figures

Most of the photos in my thesis are my own, some I have received from informants upon request and others are taken from the websites of NGOs working in Hebron. The pictures mainly portray the focus of the tourist gaze (many of them in the chapter on tourism), but also the shifting availability of spaces in and around the old city of Hebron that affected me and the rest of the residents and passers-through.
Previous Research and Theoretical Overview

This chapter is an introduction to the main theoretical concepts to be used in this thesis. Later chapters will contain additional theoretical concepts, such as ‘dark tourism’ (Foyley and Lennon (1996) in Chapter Two), ‘accumulation by the privileged’ (Skeggs (2004) in Chapter Three), and ‘secondary forms of exploitation’ (Harvey (2014) in Conclusions), that I will not further introduce at this point. I will, however, start with a review of earlier anthropological literature and perspectives on Palestine.

Most recent ethnographic work on Palestine and Palestinians in the Middle East mainly focuses on the continued displacement or emplacement of and structural discriminations against large parts of the Palestinian populations. The way these works carry out their critique is often by exploring the social relations of space and place as many academic anthropologists have used ethnographic research to comment on the Israeli occupation in a multitude of terms such as citizenship (Kelly 2007, 2008), movement (Kelly 2009; Wick 2011), urbanization (Sanyal 2013), and architecture (Bornstein 2008, 2009, 2010; Leshem 2013, Weizman 2007, 2012). A growing interest in anthropology from the 1990s onwards for place and emplacement was identified by Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga in their edited volume “The anthropology of space and place” (2003) and has resulted in many new ways to study spatial relations.

As I pointed out in the historical background, Palestine and Palestinians have undergone processes of displacement and confinement for a very long time and represents one of the most obvious places of colonialism on today’s post-colonial map. The organization of space in the form of refugee camps, divided cities and degrees of military occupation shapes the Palestinian land- and mindscapes and has eventuated into plans to keep separate the two populations inhabiting much the same territories. The Gaza strip barrier and the wall between Gaza and Egypt will soon been accompanied by a 700 km long separation wall aiming to disconnect Israelis form Palestinians in cities as well as on roads. As a largely displaced population,
Palestinians in Palestine have not only been forcefully moved from their places of home but have had to re-conceptualize the places they dwell in.

In Liisa Malkki’s words, “displacement is not limited to movement ('away') across space but a change in relation to place” (1995:496). Throughout anthropology the category of refugee or displaced has come under fire recently and has revealed a more complex relationship between people, populations and place. In the Palestinian context related topics of discussion have been, for example confinement (Kelly 2007), waiting and loneliness (Wick 2011), identity making (Erdreich & Rapoport 2006), and securitization (Weizman 2007, 2012).

A lot of work has also been done on the work of NGOs and similar institutions. Drawing on Foucault, researchers have examined categories of people, forms of knowledge and modern disciplinary power (Ali 2002, Elyachar 2005, Feldman 2008, Ghannam 2002, Starrett 1998). In “The Ethnographic Arriving of Palestine” Furani and Rabinowitz track four modes of ethnographic engagement in Palestine, from the Biblical through the Oriental and Absent to the Post-structural turn in anthropological writing on the area. The authors suggest western scholars recognized Palestine following the deconstruction of the nation and the crisis of representation within the social sciences. This created a new vocabulary concerning alternatives to the state and was contemporary with research on Palestine by famous writers such as Said, Swedenburg and others. The authors identified a shift in research topics in the 1980s when ethnographies on Palestine started to focus on memory, violence, law, nationalism and resistance. These topics tended to “produce depictions of Palestinians as locked in a bind between repression and resistance, ubiquitously struggling for national sovereignty” (Furani & Rabinowitz 2011:484).

---

15More specifically following Anderson’s Imagined Communities (1983), Hobsbawm & Ranger’s The Invention of Tradition (1983), and Gellner’s Nations and Nationalism (1983), which all appeared in the same year, that offered new critiques of the constructed nature of nations and states.
Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) expressed early concerns about the growing literature in anthropology about nonselective/non-organized resistance during a period of researching greater complexities of the nature of forms of domination. Drawing on her studies of Bedouin women in Egypt, she argued that many scholars were more focused on finding resistors and explaining resistance than with examining power, especially in conflict zones and the “political minefield” (Abu-Lughod 1989:279) of Palestine. Sherry Ortner (1995) made similar points and warned anthropologists about applying the dual logic of domination and resistance/subordination which tends to ignore ethnographic data. Abu-Lughod suggested, in agreement with Foucault, resistance should be used as a diagnostic of power rather than an expression of power itself. Foucault wrote that;

“Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.” (1978:95-96)

Abu-Lughod turned this around and also stated that; “where there is resistance there is power” and that anthropologists would do better asking not about the status of resistance itself but about what the forms of resistance indicate about the forms of power that they are up against. She argued that;

“By presupposing some sort of hierarchy of significant and insignificant forms of power, we may be blocking ourselves from exploring the ways in which these forms may actually be working simultaneously, in concert or at cross-purposes.” (1990:48)

The risk of reductionism in resistance studies is also taken up in the writing of Ortner,
who points out that;

“Resistance studies are thin because they are ethnographically thin: thin on the internal politics of dominated groups, thin on the cultural richness of those groups, thin on the subjectivity - the intentions, desires, fears, projects - of the actors engaged in these dramas... one can only appreciate the ways in which resistance can be more than opposition, can be truly creative and transformative, if one appreciates the multiplicity of projects in which social beings are always engaged, and the multiplicity of ways in which those projects feed on as well as collide with one another.” (1995:190-191)

In “Anthropologies of Arab-Majority Societies” (2012) Deeb & Winegar reviewed recent anthropological scholarship of Arab majority societies in relation to geopolitical and theoretical shifts since the end of the Cold War, as well as conjunctures of research location, topic, and theory. Much as Abu-Lughold, they concluded that;

“Work on Palestine is defined almost exclusively by the violence of Israeli occupation, an important and understandable association, though one that may sideline other analytic and thematic possibilities.”

Taking this critique to heart, my thesis will focus on the internal relationships of Palestinian social groups and foreign volunteers in relating to and using Hebron’s occupied old city. While a lot of Palestinians are united in rejecting Israeli occupation, there are clear demarcations between people and populations too often bunched together into one subordinate category. As the main body of anthropological and related social science literature on Palestine focuses on the relation between Israel and Palestine/Palestinians, I aim to complicate the category by looking at the ways in which the terms are being used and commodified as well as divided into categorizations of difference based on class, family affiliation, gender, family cohesion and more. Using resistance and occupation as a diagnostics of power, I want
to contribute with an understanding on how actors and agents come together in or compete over defining the meaning of Hebron’s old city as occupied space. Doing this, I hope to avoid the research stereotype of Palestine that resistance/occupation has encouraged.  

Hebron and Heterotopia

To help me unpack the complexities of Hebron’s space, and the uses of the term ‘the situation’, I will use Foucault’s concept ‘heterotopia’ in order to make two important points in my thesis. First, it will help me in trying to capture the multiple ways Hebron’s old city is produced, consumed, represented and lived by interrelating socioeconomic groups. Second, it will assist me in de-legitimizing a romanticized use of other analytical concepts such as resistance and occupation, to instead view these as part of the way in which the old town is made sense of by some and for what purposes, as part of the cultural economy of the city.

Heterotopia was introduced in 1966 in Michel Foucault’s book “Les Mots et les choses” (later to be translated into English as “The order of things” in 1970) as well as in a radio talk and further elaborated on in spatial terms during a lecture for a group of architects a year later and has been a popular tool in diagnosing space in recent decades. In his lecture on heterotopia, Foucault defined it as a space of difference or ‘other’ space, somehow breaking with the normalcy of all the spaces around it. Included among his examples of such places were some of Foucault’s own works on the prison (1978) and the mental asylum (2006 [1961]). Two main types of heterotopias were introduced:

17 Such stereotypes are still very much in play, another example being the case of India as the place for studying hierarchy (Appadurai 1988:16).
- Crisis heterotopias; spaces for people in temporary crisis, a kind of space of passage, separating its demography from those still in normalcy. In anthropology this has been compared to the classical work of van Gennep (1960 [1909]) on rites of passage.\(^\text{19}\)

- Heterotopias of deviation; modern institutions that encapsulate certain deviant behavior and restricts it to one space.

While similar, the two heterotopias are differently related to issues of time and health or sanity. Crisis is temporary and a re-assimilation into the main body of society is expected. Deviation, however, is of a more permanent character and isolating one behavior (or behavioral group) is intended to have a normalizing effect on the main body of society, creating borders between the normal or acceptable and the other, different, unacceptable or deviant. Foucault suggested modern societies are starting to replace crisis heterotopias with heterotopias of deviation, more importantly though, elements of both co-exist in the same space, Hebron’s old city being one example.

Heterotopias suggest several different orders of space, unable to be absorbed into the more general norm of society and tend to fluctuate in their functions, shifting between contradiction and acceptance, invisibility and visibility. Hebron’s old city relates to several different understandings of its value and importance, some more present at times than others. This thesis will discuss how the multiple representations of the old city make visible certain elements of occupation while making others invisible.

Following recent political changes such as the shift to post-Fordist capitalism and the facilitation of movement across space, spatial and temporal relations have been intensified and made transnational or translocal. Global flows (Lash & Urry 1994) of

\(^{19}\)Rites of passage have three phases: separation, transition, and reincorporation, as van Gennep described them. In the transitional or *liminal* phase people are in a social in-between, in the process of moving from one social role to another. During this liminal phase people may be removed from everyday life and only reintroduced once having occupied the new social role. (van Gennep 1960)
information have come to allow places to be known by new audiences (and possible consumers of space) on an international scale and thus new epistemological, political, social and economic possibilities have presented themselves for the creation of otherness and difference expressed through space. The shopping mall is an example, offering a place of leisure, window shopping and pedestrian utopianism separating it from the streets and city outside but at the same time showcasing the accelerated speed and global division of labor that comes with chains of production and consumption (Cenzatti 2008). Another example is the production of themed places of home, offering carless streets or golf courses as part of a utopia of retirement (Bartling 2008) and the related creation of the gated community, offering a 'secure' space for the rich to separate themselves, their children and assets from a dangerous outside (Low 2003). Similarly, Hebron’s old city is a space with boundaries to the ‘new city’ and differs in the availability of resources, population, housing and security. This difference is also what attracts visitors, residents and others to the old city, making it a space where specific interpretations of occupation and resistance are tied to certain economic processes surrounding the use of the concepts.

While using heterotopia to help my analysis, I also agree with some of the critique of the concept. Foucault and Henri Lefebvre both pointed out the social and cultural nature of the production of space, however, Lefebvre criticized Foucault for not dealing enough with “the antagonism between a knowledge [savoir] which serves power and a form of knowing [connaissance] which refuses to acknowledge power” (quoted in Soja 1996:146). That is, space cannot be assumed to represent power or the powerful but might have a more ideological function to conceal power. This is a more classical Marxist point from Lefebvre that I see as valuable to understand the dynamics of visibility and invisibility of power as well as those groups affected by its structures. I will use this point later on to elaborate on some power relations that are not always present in the representations of space but have a big impact on the everyday life of residents in Hebron’s occupied old city.

A very influential social theorist, Lefebvre’s most famous contribution to spatial
theory was “The production of Space”20 from 1974 that puts forth the argument that space is produced and reproduced and is a site of struggle and thus spatial phenomena such as nation, territory and site, should be understood as part of the same dialectical structure of space or spatialization (or place and emplacement in the words of Foucault). To analyze spatial phenomena, Lefebvre uses three elements (see also Urry 1995);

- Spatial practices; individual and collective differentiations of zones or regions incorporated in the built environment including property and other forms of capital.

- Representations of space; forms of practice and knowledge that represent and organize space through planning, mainly a state function.

- Spaces of representation; the experience of space including symbols and fantasies around that space and resistance to dominant practices (discourse) resulting in different forms of individual and collective transgression.

By distinguishing himself from Foucault’s trialectic analysis of space, power and knowledge, Lefebvre points out the importance of lived space, which is not necessarily responding or aligned to notions of power. His point resembles that of Michel de Certeau and his distinction between ‘tactics’ and ‘strategies’. In “the Practice of Everyday Life” (1984 [1980]), de Certeau made a clear distinction between structures within which people understand the world and their action and the actions of everyday life, always negotiating between categories and improvising, but never fully incorporating power.

De Certeau further notes that people;

20The original French title is “La production de l'espace”
"make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adopt it to their own interests and their own rules”, a tactic depends on time and "must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into opportunities.” (1984: 480)

Throughout this thesis I will try to capture the ways in which power and governance, international capital and ideas, Hebronite social norms and aspirations, hopes and fantasies all come together in the life of the old city. It is an urban space with a flow of global ideas, people and capital. It is also a space for internally displaced populations and is governed by two separate governments in conflict with each other, one of them a nation-state and the other a non-nation interim government. The actors and agents involved in shaping and using the space express radically different viewpoints and engage in social practices of memory, martyrdom, performing authenticity, and so on, that overlap and compete with each other. The perspectives presented tend to have one thing in common, the representation of space as dystopia, connecting to Foucault’s discussion of utopia. He argued that heterotopia can be a physical representation or approximation of a utopia, or a parallel space that contains undesirable bodies to make a real utopian space possible. In the case of Hebron, I argue that this reasoning can be extended to say that the old city is a ‘parallel space’ that contains undesirable, deviant bodies but is also used as a representation of dystopia with a function partly unrelated to a Hebronite social order (where the old city functions as the deviant ‘other’ in relation to a normalized new city). As dystopia, the old city is commodified to be consumed by tourists, volunteers and activists. Again, heterotopia suggests several coexisting orders or representations of space, and Hebron is one example of how these differ depending on scale, class, capital, aspirations, dreams and so on.

In the case of Hebron’s old city, the processes of making the space ‘other’ have multiple effects. First, the relation of people to space is changing, both for those living in the space and those who might move or be moved there. Second, the relation of people to other people through space is changing because place is a means of identity
and social differentiation. Third, the relation of people through space to other spaces is changing. By this I mean that spending time in a place hosting a constant flow of people and ideas, many of them from very distant places, changes the imagination of an ‘outside’ where these people came from, and where one might oneself go in the future. Hebron’s old town has been and is being made different through several popular discourses in multiple scales, from the individual bodies of residents to global human rights conventions. These discourses compete in defining and conceptualizing the old city while having an impact on how it is lived, represented, produced, commodified and consumed.

**Chapters**

Chapter one through four will engage with different representations of space, based on the activities and meaning making of different social groups and institutions having different interests and definition of the occupied old city of Hebron.

**Chapter one** will focus on the main governing body the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee and a further institutional background to how governance is exercised in the old city today. The HRC, as the caretaker on behalf of the Palestinian Authorities and the UNESCO, employs a dual understanding of Hebron’s old city as a cultural (architectural) heritage site and an occupied space symbolic of Israeli dominance and Palestinian subordination/suffering. These perspectives are reflected in the missions and objectives as well as the activities of and information published by the organization. HRC employees are generally university educated and do not live in the old city. Instead, they complain about residents’ behavior in the spaces the organization has renovated. The HRC also controls who can reside and do business in the old city and thus acts as a gatekeeper of the occupied zone.

**Chapter two** will attend to tourism, tourist guides and tourists. This chapter will shed light on some of the aspects of so called ‘dark tourism’ and the commodified and
performative sides of occupation and resistance. Guides offering their services in Hebron’s old city are from all over Palestine and Israel, with ranging prices, titles, and certificates but almost none of them live in the old city. During tours, the old town is presented and performed as an authentic site for Palestinian resistance and suffering, where physical, historical and personal narratives come together. Tourists come with preconceived notions of occupation and their gaze works in tandem with the guides. After tours are over, guides step out of their roles and resume positions where they distance themselves from old city residents and the image of a Palestinian community united by oppression and suffering.

**Chapter three** will deal with NGOs and activist networks mainly consisting of foreign volunteers and focuses on their relations to place, resistance, solidarity and thoughts on improving space. Building on chapter two’s tourism perspective, this chapter provides more detail about foreign peoples’ view of themselves in Hebron. Volunteers and activists come with an intention to help, relieve Palestinians from some of the hardships of occupation, show solidarity or join protests. While they value local opinion, it seems that contact with residents of the old city is extremely rare and exclusive to a few locals. Helping others also carries with it projects of helping the self and self-making. Volunteers and activists search for the authentic Israel-Palestine conflict in order to understand its predicaments but also to make claims of having had a valuable experience to gain social and cultural capital.

**Chapter four** finally, will dwell on the old city residents and their interpretation of space in processes of emplacement and displacement relating to their living situation. In the context of Hebron, the old city is understood as a space of refuge for criminals, social outcasts, the poor, rural-urban migrants and ‘family rejects’. Residents live in the old city for free but are refused access to important categories of social and cultural capital, as well as opportunities to earn money. Claiming their value according to a logic of resistance called ‘*sumud*’ (steadfastness) and their sacrifice of personal safety for the good of ‘the Palestinian cause’ residents have been left frustrated by political and economic changes after the second intifada (2000-2005). The economic support (and its political rhetoric) has been gradually reduced (only the
leftovers of a logic of humanitarian aid still exist) while a new logic of development is being introduced, dismantling the unity of residents (and their resistance) by making them compete over grants, loans, work and education.

Finally, I will conclude the thesis with a prolonged discussion of the representations of Hebron’s heterotopian old city and their relationships with the resources available and the accumulations of capital taking place. Relating my findings and theoretical perspective to the writing of David Harvey (1989, 2000, 2012) I further argue that we might view the old town as an example of another (an Other) ‘secondary form of exploitation’. 
Chapter One: the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee

Governance in the old city

Introduction

As the major governing body and a semi-Palestinian Authority organization, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC) has a caretaker role in Hebron’s old city. It’s coming to life was connected to a political process and a project that aimed to emplace a Palestinian population to solidify the borders of Israeli settler expansion. The organization mostly consists of architects and has a pronounced architectural interpretation of its mission, partly referring to the old city’s status as a UNESCO world heritage site. Funders are often pitched to in a combination of political, historical and cultural terms by fundraisers employed at the organization. This is done by using collected data on economic conditions, a brief view on illegitimate Israeli occupation, the specific architectural character of the old city and the religious importance of the Abraham mosque. Money is applied for in connection to projects, ranging from house renovations to economic schemes and further data collection. On one occasion, a young colleague of mine at the organization told me that he does not so much apply for new money as ask for old funders to remain loyal in spite of project failures, something attributed by HRC employees I spoke with to incompetent management, lazy staff and turning a blind eye to contractors using other material than those specified in the renovation process.

For the HRC, the old city is mainly valued for its historical Mamluk-Ottoman architecture and spatial planning, including the religious significance of the Abraham mosque but also for the function of stopping further Israeli settlement expansion. The main work carried out by the organization concerns the renovations of housing units and is part of a material reconstruction of cultural heritage as well as the emplacement of Palestinians in the old city. The deterioration of buildings is presented as a consequence of settler and soldier harassment leading to Palestinian residents fleeing
the area in several waves after the 1967 war, many of them as late as 1997 after Israeli Defense Forces blocked the economically important Shuhada street. HRC’s name hints at its main function to renovate buildings in order to make the old city inhabitable again. Having reconstructed a large part of old city housing units, the organization is now looking to further its economic and social impacts.

The HRC has relations to uphold to several national and international partners, most importantly the Palestinian Authority (PA), its biggest funder in 2013 Cooperación Española, UNESCO and ‘new city’ Hebronites.

**Work at the HRC**

I was lucky enough to have the HRC receive me upon arrival. I had made the contact through Swedish architects without borders (Architecture-sans-frontières, ASF) which is one of their partner organizations and completed a play-ground project in Hebron some time ago. When I had made my way to the main office that first day I entered through the characteristic green metal gate outside, and was greeted at the entrance by a mosaic of a smiling Yasser Arafat before stepping into the building’s empty hallway. The building had most of the features in common with the family housing units around it; meter-thick clay walls, small high-up-the-wall windows, an inner courtyard and an upper floor and coming from a hot, sunny day outside the main office is a nice breeze of cold air. Every room contained 2 or 3 desks hosting the elder generation of engineers and upper management and I was sent to the upper floor office spaces to meet my contact and take a breather from the detonations from tear gas grenades.

After a few days of indoors work at the office, I met Alim, a young recently graduated architect who was volunteering while waiting for a job offer. As I mentioned in the introduction, he was to become a good friend and coworker on a project where we had been placed by management. In this case, I was controlled by HRC and the area
we were sent to research was described as the most socially and economically strained one in the old city by my colleagues. Part of the area had already been renovated and we spoke to local residents, carrying out semi-formal interviews that Alim helped me translate into English. He was to some extent representative of a more general pattern of movement among ‘new city’ inhabitants and had actually never been to the area of our HRC project. After the closure of the commercial district in the old city visiting there was simply not worth the trouble. A lot of people, Alim among them, had relatives who had lost shops, goods and whole businesses after the shut-down and the old city no longer had anything to offer.

There were three other offices in the old city and I moved into one of the smaller units together with a group of similarly aged engineers and volunteers. The time I did not spend at home in my guest house or at one of my hangout spots I mainly spent there, enjoying the playful conversations and free tea and coffee.

**Governing occupation and demography**

The HRC controls the built environment including water, electricity and infrastructure by political mandate from the PA and Israel. The HRC in turn is controlled by a board of members from the ruling party of the PA (now Fatah) but also answer to the demands of several international agencies and funders, the most important at the time of my stay was Cooperación Española. The HRC has some 80 full-time employees, mostly architects and engineer graduates from Palestinian universities with a starting salary of 500 USD a month.  

Combined with the conservation of cultural heritage the HRC has a PA-directed

21 The minimum salary is set to 375 USD by the PA but most informants reported getting lower salaries and that signing a contract when getting employed was to be considered an exception. During interviews, the monthly cost of running a separate household was estimated by informants to around 800 USD.
political objective to;

“Counter and limit Israeli settlements inside the Old City by surrounding settlements with inhabited buildings to prevent their horizontal expansion; and to avert the urban interconnection of their settlements by increasing Arab demographic density between them.”

The organization also controls the forms of ownership and renting agreements of housing units and shops in the area, not only offering free rent, water, electricity and health insurance but also selecting residents and business owners able to settle in the old city according to HRC criteria. For example, only nuclear families are allowed to rent housing and nowadays everyone has to undergo a background check before getting approved (rumors saying some older residents turned out to have criminal backgrounds). Renovations started close to the settlements and proceeded in concentric circles away from them. The progress has depended on the amount of funding available and has so far included over 1000 housing units, an astonishing number that has attracted a lot of international attention (for example the HRC won the UN habitat award in 2013 as one of 200 entries worldwide).

Financially the HRC obtains its budget from a range of sources, including the Palestinian Authority, other government sources and international multi- and bilateral donors including many European governments. Since the beginning of the rehabilitation program in 1996, more than US$32 million has been received from over 20 donors in 16 countries to cover the costs of housing renovations, urban infrastructure provision, training, economic development and social and legal assistance for the residents of the old city. The average cost per unit for housing rehabilitation is US$26,000. On-going operating costs of the programs in place are met through a combination of grants from national and international donors, other

23 http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=12570&catid=5&typeid=6, (11-02-2014)
revenues and in-kind donations, totaling approximately US$2.7 million per year.

Most of this money has gone into “moving Palestinians back” into the old city. The obvious misinterpretation of this is of course that the people who moved away are themselves moving back. Returnees are not the main category of newcomers however, but rather scattered single households with seemingly few things in common. While other areas of the city consist of known populations (where almost everyone knows of each other) the old city breaks the pattern. Here, waves of newcomers from diverse backgrounds move in and out regularly, the only thing in common being little or no resources to live elsewhere. The demography of free accommodation has brought along single family units with low or no economic resources, social outcasts and rural to urban migrants. Only 22% of residents are the same now as in 1997 (more on this later in chapter four).

Data Collection and spatial relations

The HRC possesses several different kinds of data of interest to outside funders and other parties including architectural drawings and photography, some of it put into computer software to create 3D images of the old city, statistics collected on the economic and social conditions of the old city, and quantitative data filled by volunteers and local residents on pre-made forms. Finally, there was also a unit working on documenting arrests by the IDF, noting the amount of minors and Palestinians without criminal charges detained.

The research and knowledge production of the HRC is in line with their overall objectives. There is a plan to create a virtual tour online to see the old city as architectural cultural heritage, a project for which photos are taken from several angles of every house and then created in 3D with the help of advanced computer software. The biggest project in 2013-2014, however, is the groundwork for a second ‘master plan’ focusing on socioeconomic measures as the housing renovations are
slowing down. Some 20 freshly graduated engineers have been assigned to this project on half- or one-year contracts. Research involves visiting households in the old city to fill out forms about family sizes, employment, household budgets, etc. Information is then published on the website and in some cases smaller manuals (such as the arrest statistics). The audience for this material is mainly international funders, but also a human rights community and related NGOs working in Palestine.

As for the architectural renovations, the Cooperación Española has an architect in place to audit the work. Before reconstructing buildings, architects go to inspect houses but reportedly never draw an actual plan for the renovations. Alim explained that; “here in Hebron you have to know how things are done, there is a ready recipe. The architects go there with the contractor and the workers and then they do things as they work. There are no plans.” The large majority of HRC employees are locally educated polytechnic graduates who see their mission in the old city as “pure architecture” without a social dimension, that is, numbers, figures, materials and sketches removed from the social contexts of their implementation.

An example of the different perspectives of HRC employees and old city residents from a couple of years back, was when HRC received money to renovate the square at Bab Al-Zawiye and decided to install a fountain with running water. The organization received an award for the design at the unveiling that brought several Palestinian ministers to the old city for the first time in years. A couple of days later, a group of HRC employees had passed the fountain, by then half covered by the vegetable market and used by passersby to wash their hands. The architects had been disgusted by the scene and went on to complain at the offices about how Palestinians near the old city just couldn’t appreciate architecture like civilized people but ruined it (by actually using the functions installed in the space). This was a reoccurring topic when discussing the architectural preference of management and employees in HRC, in other NGOs as well as among residents. A few weeks later, the water flow was cut, and now the fountain is just a stone formation in between vegetable market stands, covered in graffiti, and “decorated” with plastic and other trash.
The fountain incident was seen as a major miscommunication and also represents the very different expectations of Hebronites on their surroundings. The 80 full-time employees of the HRC are professional engineers and only 1 or 2 of them actually live in or around the old city. The employees come by car or cab to the office and leave for home in the afternoon. They are visitors here rather than locals and during my interviews at HRC offices employees and management echo the UNESCO guidelines in their understanding of authenticity and cultural heritage but also mix it with contemplating the ‘situation’ (economic deprivation and security risks) in the old city.

During interviews Alim usually introduced us as HRC volunteers, making sure the residents understood that we were not being paid and thus did not really belong to the HRC decision-making staff. This was to avoid the anger a lot of people expressed at the organization. When asked about former interactions with HRC employees, residents described them as short, infrequent and impersonal. Engineers would come to inspect walls, roofs and pipes, take notes and leave. A few months later, a team would turn up and start working on the restorations. Further interviews revealed several internal borders when residents interpreted HRC decisions as outcomes of others being “socially backed up” (sometimes using a local expression that means “everyone has a back”). Certainly, part of old city residents’ disappointment with NGOs was based on the invisible decision-making processes that led to neighbors turning their attention and suspicions onto each other and speculate about reasons why their housing units were treated differently as the old city was gradually renovated. During an interview in the row of houses that was going to be renovated soon, a man brought us to the second floor and pointed out his leaking roof. I asked if he expected it to be fixed in the upcoming renovations and he answered, hesitantly: “I don’t know, I don’t know any engineers [at HRC] so I cannot be sure they will come. They [pointing at the neighbors renovated façade] have a cousin there. Here, everyone has a back, but not me.”

A senior HRC employee, who frequently visited my desk in the beginning of my stay to share cigarettes, talk some English and waste some time, explained that when the
organization was formed in 1996 and immediately started renovating apartments it did so according to the Hebron accord borders and as close as it could to the settlements to stop further expansion. Residents were not expected to be thrilled about being neighbors with settlers and thus an economic incentive was created and the apartments were rented out for free (at least initially) on long-term contracts to nuclear family households. The old owners were consulted (if they could be found) and usually agreed to this and kept property ownership. They stood to gain a partly renovated house if they decided to move back in the future. The same apparently applied to the Israeli settlers. One volunteer claimed that they also received a bonus paycheck on a monthly basis. After renovating the apartments needed most urgently to cement the borders of the settlements, HRC started reopening and renovating the first-floor shops. At the time of counting, many are still not being used, but the market street leading from the bus stop to the Abraham mosque is busy with shop keepers. Some of them have been working for decades, others have recently moved in but they are all part of new initiatives to 'revitalize' the space economically. This has involved moving in large family corporations, such as the al-Juneidi dairy company, but also the registering of the shop owners’ retailers at the local chamber of commerce.

To fill the gap between paychecks and monthly expenditures for residents, several mechanisms have been active during recent years in the H2/old city area. During the second intifada and up until the end of 2013, the Red Cross distributed food packages, as well as different kinds of economic packages (micro-business handouts, work training etc.) The HRC is responsible for infrastructure and housing renovations as well as being a major employer in the area (of unskilled labor) and the PA therefor offers a free kindergarten service. The logic behind these contributions is political, focusing on the resistance to Israeli settler expansions and the hardships of occupation. This logic was also part of most of my chats about old city conditions today with residents. They claimed that their sacrifice, resistance and steadfastness (‘sumud’) on behalf of the Palestinian cause should continually be rewarded with support (‘d’am’).

As I have already mentioned, the HRC, and with them, most (if not all) other
organizations active in the old city of Hebron, relied on international funding to keep running. Big or small these organizations rely on ‘the situation’ in Hebron in their efforts to get funding, whether humanitarian aid, such as the Red Cross, or architectural renovations as in the case of the HRC. It is vital for these NGOs that while their projects are working, they are also able to produce reports depicting the situation as still bad enough for funding to keep coming in. The HRC contributes to this by printing information about soldier abuses and legal cases from its legal unit and by providing organizations like the UN with data (the filling of paper forms by residents) from the area. The latter information has been provided over and over again by locals who by now can be considered experts at answering the questions. Many informants expressed concerns about the validity of information gathered by NGOs, pointing out that many families would not want others to know if they were in a bad situation, socially or economically.

Rehabilitated space

The HRC representation and production of space is a mixed one with a political/ideological side and an architectural/heritage one. Borrowing HRC’s own terminology, the old city is a ‘rehabilitated space’ with a demography that has been fluctuating during recent decades and will continue to do so over the foreseeable future. The two representations of space, cultural heritage and political oppression have resulted in efforts to reconstruct, and the rent program, which are now definitive of the old city as ‘rehabilitated’ space. The HRC has been striving to create an Arab demography and living culture resisting further Israeli expansion in the old city.

Ideologically, the space and its population is represented by the HRC as Palestinians resisting occupation, making the space one of pure domination and in need of support from outside. Practically, a population of urban and rural poor or social outcasts has been placed in the old city by means of a housing program. The space is, however, a transitional one, as residents strive to make enough money to move elsewhere in
Hebron and buy their own property, a possibility denied in the old city. Residency and economic activity in the area is controlled by the HRC by PA and Israeli mandate. The space is however opened and closed on a more frequent basis depending on clashes and soldier presence, Ramadan and Sunday’s settler tours. The old city is represented through the HRC as space where Palestine and Palestinians are threatened, architecturally and demographically and the threat is identified as Israeli dominance. The lived rehabilitated space reflects inequalities in the ways described by the HRC but also provides a window onto the classed and socially exclusive spaces that are part of the relations between different Palestinian actors themselves. While the largely non-permanent population is saving up to go elsewhere, the space is branded and reconstructed to internalize the logic of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with an eye to the demands of local politicians and funders like many European governments.

Hebron’s old city is a heterotopia and differs from the ‘new city’ because of the IDF control of the area (and HRC governance) and the way this has effected its demography and security. The difference of the old city from other spaces is also represented on a global scale, as HRC and other NGOs use its occupied status and its many conflicts as a way to get funding to improve the situation.
Chapter Two: Tourist Guides and the Tourist Gaze

*Shades of dark tourism in Hebron’s old city*

Introduction

In this chapter I will explore Hebron’s old city as a tourist attraction from the point of view of the tourist guide and the tourist gaze. I should point out that chapter three will also deal with tourism but in a different form of prolonged stays while volunteering. These kinds of tourism are interrelated and share some of the same activities, ideas and people. The analytical lens separating the two is that this chapter focuses on the guiding and understanding of the tourist gaze mainly from the perspective of Palestinian workers in the tourism industry. The chapter on volunteerism and activism that follows bellow will focus on ‘outsider’ perspectives of Hebron and tourist perspectives on ‘the situation’. I should also mention here that Hebronites themselves do not separate short-term from long-term tourists but use the same word to describe them. Tourist guides do offer their services to both groups but to facilitate an understanding of the differences in perspective I have decided to create two separate chapters.

As heterotopia the old city is represented by several possible orders or representations of space and I aim to present tourism as one of them. This order is imagined as well as real, more importantly it is the language, which representatives of the old city speak with the flow of international tourists, and thus one of the ways in which the old city comes to be known by a global community outside it. To understand the kinds of tourism activities made available in the old city I will use the concepts of the tourist gaze and dark tourism, both part of the performative qualities of authenticity and the commodification of the old city of Hebron.
Dark Tourism and the tourist gaze

Hebron attracts two main categories of tourists. There is religious tourism centered on the old town and the holy burial site of Abraham, sacred to the three monotheistic religions. There is also a political, ‘dark’ tourism (Foyley and Lennon 1996) attracted by the violence brought on by occupation in Hebron’s old city, known as one of the hotspots for the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is this second type of tourism, its production, commodification and consumption that will be the focus of this chapter.

An international flow of people, capital and knowledge centers on Hebron because of its political ‘situation’ and has become an important part of life. At the same time, Hebron has begun a process of partial change responding to those flows. Anthropological studies of tourism have, following concepts such as Urry’s “tourist gaze” (1990), looked at processes where the tourist both structures and is structured by the tourist attraction. Guided tours, tourism offices, maps and guidebooks are all mediators between the tourist and in this case Hebron’s old city as the attraction.

In the old town tourist guides mainly present the old city as an authentic Palestinian space of suffering and submission to Israeli dominance and military and settler presence. The old city contains excellent opportunities for pointing out the violent history of conflict, as the military past and present remains visible on doors (broken up welding that once kept metal ports shut), walls (bullet holes), guard towers (and soldiers on the rooftops) and metal grid roofs (above your head, protecting from objects thrown from above). As commodified space, it is sold to tourists in a dual mode, as a current and historical site for conflict and as a home to a population living the memories of a victimized people. The old town of Hebron is thus displayed as a kind of dystopia of statelessness, filled with violence, domination and ‘bare survival’ 

24 According to a study by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), conducted in 2009,
While tourism has been on the rise as a subject in the social sciences since traveling became available to a broader public, the phenomena of “dark tourism” has been given more and more attention by media and academic institutions only in the last decades or so. The term was coined by Foyley and Lennon (1996) and now has come to represent a growing field within tourism studies, having out-competed and partly annexed other similar terms such as “dark spot-” or “macabre” tourism. Dark tourism is considered a link between the ideas of mortality and tourism (Sharpley and Stone’s thanatological framework (2008)), and has enjoyed wide academic acceptance.

Although attention has recently been turned to dark tourism, it should in no way be considered a completely modern phenomena but can be compared to earlier traveling to places of death and pain, such as certain pilgrimages, visits to graveyards, battlefields or tombs and army- or war museums. In a recent special issue introducing “New perspectives on dark tourism” (International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research Vol. 7 No. 3 2013) Stone further argues that the study of dark tourism is not simply a fascination with death or the macabre, but a multi-disciplinary academic lens through which to scrutinize fundamental interrelationships of the contemporary commodification of death with the cultural condition of society. In the same volume, Biran and Hyde (2013) point out that places for dark tourism or ‘dark places’ make it possible to “contemplate life and one’s mortality through gazing upon the significant other dead” (see also Stone 2011b, 2012). This consumption of ‘dark places’ is valued for its contrast with everyday experience and relate to ideas about work/leisure, movement/confinement, return/home, gazing/performing, landscapes/signs of authenticity, taste/distinction, life/death, hospitality/hostility, host/guest and so on. Urry (1995) writes that;

“Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through day-dreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such

77 percent of the Palestinians in Hebron's Old City in H2 live below the UN poverty line.
anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, newspapers, TV, magazines, records and videos which construct that gaze. Such practices provide the signs in terms of which the holiday experiences are understood, so that what is then seen is interpreted in terms of these pre-given categories.” (p132)

This thesis will address Hebron as a dark space by looking at spatial aspects of dark tourism relating to authenticity and victimhood (Cohen 2011) involved in multiple meaning-making processes (Biran et al. 2011, Kang et al. 2011). The old city as a tourism attraction is connected to an international ’outside’ (mainly global north) with ideals of liberal justice and right to self-determination. The flow of people to Hebron carries with it a strong pro-Palestinian sentiment taken into consideration by the old city’s tourism industry. Gazing is a group activity and most tourists I met did travel together (as partners, families, friends and so on) while others met by taking the same tour. The concept of gazing has been criticized in the past for bringing a passive, visual lens but the concept has borrowed ideas from the performative turn in tourism studies. Urry himself revised his old writing acknowledging that “Working under the tourist gaze is increasingly theatrical and service spaces involve workers as ‘cast members’ wearing costumes and trained to enact scripts and roles that fit in with theatrically themed environments” (Larsen & Urry 2011:1123).

The tourism industry

Tourism defined as “traveling to and staying in places outside the usual environment for no more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes”25 is one of the world’s largest industries. In 2011 an estimated 1 trillion USD were accounted to international tourism receipts while in 2012 international tourist arrivals

25 Definition by the World Tourism Organization.
reached the milestone 1 billion tourists globally for the first time in history in.\(^\text{26}\) In the West Bank as many as 4.6 million people are said to have visited the area in 2010, 2.2 million of those being foreign tourists or volunteers according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics\(^\text{27}\). Most tourism is centered on Bethlehem and Jericho, which are easy to access on day-trips from Jerusalem and the largest group of visitors (34%) was European Union citizens. Arab tourism is virtually non-existent as the Israeli occupation demands entrance through Israel making it hard or impossible for most Arab passport holders, and even illegal in the case of the Lebanese. The main access point is the Ben-Gurion airport in Tel-Aviv that offers cheap flights to and from many European and Russian cities. Palestinians wanting to visit home from abroad also access occupied territories from Jordan (to the West Bank) or Egypt (to the Gaza strip).

The dark, alternative tourism taking place in Hebron is part of a global trend of tourists looking for new environments outside resorts and fancy hotels. The dark tourism in Hebron is related to similar phenomena such as slum tourism that is spreading all over the world, from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and townships of South Africa to Hutong trips in China.\(^\text{28}\) Difference in the form of occupation has become a desirable consumer good for a growing global 'outside’ from a Hebronite perspective. For Hebron difference further consists of poor living conditions, political and religious armed conflict and the stateless status of Palestine under Israeli rule.

For the tourist, a visit to Hebron is valued as a way of understanding the living conditions of conflict and as a way to support or show solidarity with locals. While a tourist in her early twenties took a breather leaned against a stone wall she told me that: “Being in Israel you really have no idea about this. It is really terrible here for


\(^{27}\) www.pcbs.ps

\(^{28}\) In Beijing, hutongs are alleys formed by lines of traditional courtyard residences. Many neighbourhoods were formed by joining one line to another to form a hutong, and then joining one hutong to another. The word hutong is also used to refer to such neighbourhoods. Since the mid-20th century, the number of Beijing hutongs has dropped dramatically and have been designated as protected areas in an attempt to preserve this aspect of Chinese cultural history.
the Palestinians and I think it is important for everyone to come here to see the other side. I wish there was some way to help.” The idea of being present and helping out was widespread among many foreigners in Hebron and I will come back to this later on.

Tourism to Hebron mainly comes in the form of one-day or half-day tours and many of the tourists buy package deals from offices in Jerusalem, Bethlehem or sometimes online. There are tourists that come on their own as well, but also in those cases overnight stays are rare. This is reflected in that Hebron only has one hotel and no functioning hostels, while the two downtown guesthouses mainly survive from hosting volunteers on longer stays (I was one of them).

In Hebron tourism’s greatest interest are Palestinian conditions in the old city and is focused around two conveniently located tourist hubs/stores. Most business is redistributed from these points as local tourist guides come here to find more work while guides from other parts of Palestine come there to sit their groups down for a chat, a meal or coffee and tea. Some Israeli tours (critical of the occupation) also pass through here and are generally well received by the storeowners. When I asked guides about how many were active in total in the old city in total I received answers ranging from 30 to 60 guides, described as coming on a regular basis, although summer is reportedly busier. The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities issues certificates for tourist guides in Bethlehem and Jerusalem and there seems to be no or very few certified guides from Hebron itself. Local guides do exist but seek out the tourists that arrive outside the official tour industry or sometimes offer assistance to guides from outside Hebron to help them get around. A young certified guide defended her claims to her tourist group when I and Hares asked if it ‘belonged’ to her. She pointed out that if something was to happen during the tour she and her company could be held responsible and would have an incentive to help, questioning the loyalty of non-certified guides to their tourist groups.

The tourist guides charge a fee (between 10 and 40 USD depending on the person(s)
and the size of the group) for showing the tourists around but usually also bring their tours to certain shops or old city residents with whom they have an understanding. Guides take a percentage of the profit if tourists want to buy souvenirs or eat a meal inside a Palestinian home or at a local restaurant. The percentage seems to vary widely but local shopkeepers and workshops express frustration with the procedure and mention a 'cut' between 10 and 50 percent of sales. Visits during tours might also include seeing the closed Shuhada Street, the local kufiya factory, one of the glass or ceramics workshops or one of the local organizations. Most of these would act as partners, sharing profits from the tourists while the NGOs usually received people for free to promote their work. In this way commodification of place and the availability of services for purchase and consumable goods all interrelate and share profits from tourism.

Figure 8: Kufiyas inside a shop in the old city
Figure 9: Seats inside the shop of Women of Hebron (picture by informant)

The symbol for Palestinian nationalism, the kufiya checkered headscarf, is the most available item in Hebron and Palestine (and parts of Israel). The last factory for kufiyas still active is located in Hebron under the ownership of the Hirbawi family29. However, the owners and the shopkeepers loyal to the factory complain about the growing range of Chinese importable goods and are more than happy to point out the difference in quality. Tourist shops in the old city focus on some main categories of merchandise such as embroidery, ceramics, headscarves, dresses, carpets, shawls, and jewelry. Some of the products were imported (almost exclusively from China) while

29 http://thekufiyehproject.org/palestine.html
others were made by local workshops or domestic labor and some had started to take on shapes and functions responding to imagined tourist wants and needs. Embroidery, for example, was not limited to dresses but was also sown onto mobile phone covers and camera bags while other goods had more complex blends of tradition and fashion. One shop owner had met a Scandinavian designer in Hebron and had received instructions on how to make bags to match northern European fashion. He proudly announced that tourists loved his bags because they combined European taste with Hebronite production and material, in this case camel skin.

**Taking a tour of the old city**

I met Hares, a young aspiring tourism worker on my very first day in Hebron. His main occupation was helping out in two local tourism establishments, guiding shorter tours on his own and improving his English by hanging out with internationals. With broad shoulders and a beard Hares took up a lot of space walking the streets and enjoyed making tourists guess his age. He was especially pleased if they guessed he was older than I. We came to be good friends and I spent countless hours discussing his future business plans and dreams about ’getting out’.

Together with two others I took Hares tour of the old city on that first day and found it confirmed most of the recent history I had read up on before my arrival. The short historical background started from the Hebron massacre on the 25th of February in 1994 when a settler from nearby Kiryat Arba killed 29 Palestinians and injured about a hundred more during Friday prayers in the mosque. He was later beaten to death by the enraged crowd. This event took place during the ”peace talks” known as the Oslo process and finally made it impossible for Israelis and Palestinians to share the same roads, leading to the separation of the two by the barriers, checkpoints and watchtowers that remain today.

Hares explained on our tour: ”There used to live a lot of Palestinians here, this was
the center of the city but the settlers made it impossible to stay.” During this part of the tour, we moved from the open square in front of the Beit Romano settlement into the streets of the market [suq] in the old city. Beit Romano is protected by several guard towers on roofs of nearby buildings, a stone wall about 4 meters high with a metal fence 3 meters high on top. In one corner of the square a cylindrical guard tower stands to the side of the closed entrance, broad enough to let a tank pass through.

Walking into the market street, above your head there is a protective layer of cloth and tarpaulins, later exchanged for a horizontal metal fence. "You see what they [the settlers] are trying to do to us,” Hares continued, "when people are walking here, the settlers throw things at us and the soldiers do nothing.” The protective metal layers above the first floor are filled with proof; stones, boulders, bottles, trash and more. "The wine bottles they throw on Ramadan, they know its ‘haram’ [a sin] to have alcohol at that time so they pour it on the people going to the mosque.”

The visual presentation of occupation is striking. During the tour Hares and his colleagues point out watchtowers everywhere, hidden behind rooftop corners and blending into the background to all but the trained eye. While the Palestinian houses of the old city are being restored and kept in the Mamluk-Ottoman style architecture, the Israeli settlements have renovated modern facades that shoot up several stories higher than the original houses. The effect is that the settlements tower over the other buildings, creating a highly visible spatial divide. In Palestinian buildings the first
floor is reserved for shops, the second and sometimes third house families and the above levels and flat rooftops are left empty to allow Israeli soldiers to move on them. The new buildings disturb this pattern, as do the military watchtowers.

The historical narrative moved on to address the Shuhada Street, the former principal commercial thoroughfare and vegetable market that was enclosed by Israeli Defense Forces in 1994. What used to be the center of economic activity and transportation of goods in Hebron was turned into a ghost town and is now accessible only through checkpoints not allowing any means of transportation for Palestinians. Shops and homes on the street and others close to the Israeli settlement were welded shut by the IDF as they were considered security threats. Hares went on to explain that this had led to the collapse of the economy of the old city and was another reason why residents moved away.

As I mentioned above, my first day in Hebron was in a way exemplary for the tour. The continuous explosions from tear gas grenades and rubber bullets fired were heard from the nearby Bab Al-Zawiye. The streets that had been deserted by residents fearing military patrol harassment. All helped to create the feeling of occupied desolation. We finished the tour on the rooftop of a house, split in the middle between a Palestinian and an Israeli family. From the roof, Hares pointed out more guards patrolling the rooftops, the sharp bullets that had (purposely) pierced the family’s water tanks on the roof and explained that 2 young children in the household had died
a couple of years ago when a Molotov cocktail was thrown into their part of the
house. As we left, we bought a DVD telling the family’s story, something offered in
several other homes in the old city.

After the tour, we all went with Hares to a rooftop café and met a group of soldiers
while passing through the old city once more. Hares grabbed my arm and lost his
cool, suddenly crouching behind me instead of walking in his usual broad and bold
style in front of the group. His smile turned nervous as I walked him past the soldiers
and he later explained that you were not allowed to be outside without your ID and
that it could lead to months in prison. Even with an ID, the soldiers were expected to
from time to time arrest someone for stone throwing that happened to be in the wrong
place at the wrong time. Proving someone guilty was not seen as a major obstacle.
Hares’ actions had been provoked by the presence of armed soldiers walking in the
old city but was also part of what I later come to realize was a common
‘performative’ feature of the guided tours.

The tour had consisted of several main elements. First, the historical narrative from
the -94 massacre to today. Second, settler and soldier violence and harassment and
third, personal narratives of the tragedy and injustice of the situation at the family
home and for Hares himself. All of these are part of a conscious performance of a
subordinate position that guides use as part of a standardized tour. That is, they are in
a vulnerable position in the old city but it is not always visible, so a guide will take
the opportunity to seek one out in order to make it visible.

**Tourist guides**

For the guides, the old city offers a window for the tourist gaze into the Palestinian-
Israeli conflict and Israeli dominance. While housing units have been partly restored,
signs of occupation are still plenty, such as trash on top of the metal grid, spray paint
and traces of welding on the metal doors (fig. 14) and the concrete/metal fence
blockages separating Arabs and Israelis (fig 16).

As the historical and personal narratives are selected to illuminate the 'real situation', relations between Palestinian socioeconomic groups are left out of the picture. For the tourist gaze it remains unclear what kind of people decide to remain in the space, and what their economic situation is like after the closure of the thoroughfare Shuhada Street. For the entirety of the tours, the only relationship discussed is between the ‘us’ and ‘them’ of Palestine-Israel, which turn the old city into a living history museum of the suffering of the Palestinian people. Guides make sure to point out the power relations in play: surrendering passports to checkpoints by the mosque, being denied entrance to occupied areas or arguing with checkpoint guards over treatment of locals, such as the restriction of movement around the mosque area, forcing Palestinians to walk an extra 500m around the block to pass from the market to the eastern residential old city. The tourists are made aware of the value of their passports and skin color, as guides point
out that it allows them access to more of Palestinian territory than Palestinians themselves.

Sitting in one of the tourist hubs sipping coffee and smoking 'Imperials', the British mandate cigarette brand, was a favorite habit of mine, the shop is superbly located close by the mosque and offers seating for (almost) anyone who drops by. I spent countless hours drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes at Issa’s table, with Issa himself playing with his cell phone or telling semi-inappropriate jokes, usually of a sexual nature, whispered in a low voice to avoid elders overhearing. His store is a family business located at an invisible border, when you pass the checkpoint at the end of the market street to reach the Abraham mosque, turn right down the street and you end up at a junction. On one side is the area of entrance to the Jewish part of the mosque. In the middle of the street there is a checkpoint consisting of only a booth guarded by two soldiers. Right next to it is a Jewish café, tourist information and celebration hall for rent. Outside it no Palestinians are allowed and only Israeli cars and buses can pass. On the other side of the street is Issa’s shop, sitting at his table he and his guests watch the soldiers at the checkpoint while the soldiers glance back. Alim described the place as a "tourist friendly checkpoint.” Issa explained to us that "Even though I, as a Palestinian can’t walk past this store it is impossible for outsiders to know, you can’t see a border but it is there. If any Palestinian tries to go further than my shop they will be stopped.” As Alim questioned him further about the phenomena of the border, Issa put out his cigarette and explained that "actually, for you, this area is not allowed, this is area C. Officially only residents of these houses [the remainders of Palestinian Shuhada street, about 10 residential buildings] are supposed to be here.” However, "If you are a guide going with a tourist you are all right.” At that point Alim smiled sarcastically at me and noted that he would finally have some use for me.

Issa himself had just started a family of his own, a man in his twenties he was comfortably self-assured. He had developed an American accent from watching TV-shows and didn’t bother to hassle tourists but gave off a calm and confident vibe. Business had increased for Issa since the 2nd intifada and he expanded over the last
couple of years from being a touristic shop with an excellent location into a company employing somewhere between 10 and 20 guides regularly. Several human rights organizations cooperate with his business including Israeli tours and guides.\textsuperscript{30} I had already started to learn about the principles of guiding from my friend Hares by following him and going along on his tours. Hanging out at Issa’s place, usually in the company of Alim or Hares, the theatrical aspect of guiding began to strike me and I reevaluated some of the tours I had been on. The Palestinian guides had different methods but all were careful to emphasize their subordinate position in the occupied zone. It was sitting here that I saw the guides getting their ID confiscated and arguing with checkpoint guards.

The subordinate positionality included at the same time as it excluded the tourist guides themselves because immediately after tours were finished, they stopped referring to a unified Palestinian people. Instead, if I asked about old city residents guides would calmly distance themselves from them and make much the same comments as other ‘new city’ residents, such as the conservative and backwards nature of people there, possible criminal backgrounds or how they were hard to deal with. In the story about the situation, Hares and his colleagues refer to a common ‘us’, pointing out the collective suffering of the Palestinian people as opposed to an Israeli ‘them’. However, the inclusive language is only temporal and the old city becomes conceptualized as something to pass through rather than dwell in. Hares confines his custom to two shops in the old city and explained to me during a walk through the local shopping street that: "I know a lot of people here, almost everyone says hello to me, but I don’t want to know them too well. If you have tourists walking with you, it is important that you don’t stop too many times to talk here and talk there. You have to move fast and not be too friendly with everyone.” This reflects another interesting relation, that of guides as another group of visitors to the old city. Only one of the tourist guides I met lived inside the old city but had already purchased land on the outskirts and was constructing a new house there.

\textsuperscript{30} For those interested, a tour is available online at \url{http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/media/94776} (retrieved on 24-03-2014).
To satisfy the tourists, guides were taught to point out the intensity of conflict in Hebron’s old city, selling it as a first-hand experience of the ‘real situation’, the most authentic of occupied spaces. Tourists were told and told me that they appreciated that it was important to ”see by themselves” and of course, spread the knowledge of what they had experienced. One group of young French tourists were already starting to plan how to retell the story at home, commenting on each other’s pictures requesting they got those they had “missed” but that were too important not to have. While cameras filled with photos allowed tourists to keep their visual gaze when back home, it was the meetings with locals that tourists would retell in most detail when I asked them to summarize the tour they had taken after it was over. The personal narratives and the presence of children during the telling of these affected many. One older woman that had come on a Christian tour commented that; “I will never forget those eyes. How can they do this to children?” The question was directed toward the checkpoint on the other side of the street. The power dynamics were strictly Palestine-Israel, and confirmed the expectations of the tourists. These expectations were evident in the conversations I had with tourist before as well as (and more so) after tours.

The main theme of guided tours in Hebron poses something of a dilemma for tourist guides and their standardized political message. At the same time as guides and locals involved in touring resent Israeli occupation, their income is dependent on being able to present the old city as a center of conflict because of the occupation. I do not wish to say that tourist guides would not prefer to end occupation but that the Israeli presence has created new ways (and destroyed many others) of making a living. As dark tourisms continue to spread around the globe and attract more consumers, the future of Hebronite tourism under occupation is an increasingly viable career path.

My young friend Hares had acquired a few contacts in Jerusalem and Bethlehem that called him personally to arrange tours but he also tagged along with guides from elsewhere that needed help and took a small cut from their profits. The main idea, however, was to build up his contact net. After a day’s work and some rest the nighttime was spent at home or at a café. Hares met regularly with several groups of internationals at the rooftop cafés of the city and I happily came along. While the
daytime activities focused on trying to get work the nighttime hangouts allowed Hares imagination to sour. By this I mean that Hares valued conversations about the “outside”, and also had plans of his own to one day ‘get out’ and build a future somewhere else. He thus enquired about life in the home countries of his international friends, asking questions about sex and sexualities, habits of eating and drinking, relations to family and friends, working conditions and salaries. Hares was one of many (I was approached several times at cafés about the same subject) to ask how much a marriage with a woman in my country costs and if it might be available for him, with his “good looks, personality and charm” as Hares once put it. Learning that unemployment is a problem ‘outside’ Palestine troubled him at the start but he soon built his confidence up again, saying “I will start something of my own, doesn’t matter, restaurant, shop, everyone will come there to see me and I will be a rich man. Everyone will like me, you all like me.” During my stay in Palestine, I wrote letters of invitation for tourist visas, googled immigration laws, buy a wife websites and more. Most people I met of the ‘new generation’ (between 15 and 30 years old) had plans to ‘get out’ at one point and the flow of internationals helped in solidifying this bond to a better future on the ‘outside’. Hares told me several times that he preferred internationals to locals and certainly looked for their company. These kinds of relationships also might have accelerated his need to ‘get out.’ In the end, like many others, Hares had identified moving to another country as the most desirable solution to improve his quality of life. Through his groups of international friends he kept a strong relationship with the ‘outside’. The expression usually signified the global north, and sometimes China. This was made even clearer when Hares gladly pointed out the countries where he had friends and with whom he was sure to keep in touch through Facebook (he included me at this point).

What became clear to me was that Hares interest in tourism was twofold. It was an opportunity to support himself and his family and it was a source of hope that he could one day ‘get out’ of Hebron and Palestine. This was a valuable feature of the old city. It is a small part of a bigger city bringing lots of people from around the world, some for hours others for years. It is a globalized space with a flow of people, money and meaning. For Hares and others, the old city is as much a local neighborhood as an opening to an ‘outside’ and frequented for the relations to
outsiders it makes possible.

The tourist experience

As a group of American tourists had just left after an introduction at his store, Issa sat me down and explained: ”They come to visit Israel for a couple of weeks. They know about the conflict so they come to see the situation here, they go to Bethlehem first and then here on a one day trip.” The attraction for the tourists is knowledge of what is probably one of the world’s most famous conflicts. The problem is: “…they need to see for themselves, with their own eyes. Nobody really knows our situation.” Here, Issa was referring to the necessity of tourist sight for the tourist site. Seeing something few people have seen (known) means that vision is valuable just like any rare commodified object. Tourists gaze at the place of suffering and occupation, and create images from their preconceived notions created from learning about Palestine in newspaper articles, school, university, guidebooks and so on. The most popular guidebook was one from the “Alternative Tourism Group” and had a specific chapter about occupation and subordination.31

After finishing another tour, Hares took me aside as I lit a cigarette. That day the tour had four other northern European participants and Hares remarked that: “you know I don’t understand them. They were in Tel-Aviv three days, drinking, party, then Jerusalem drinking yesterday and now they say they are sick (hung over) and have to leave. It is not fair, they are here to see our situation just for one day.” These situations were not uncommon according to Hares and said something about the attentiveness of tourists and Hares ‘expectations’ that they should take the situation seriously. In fact, most tourists I spoke to were university students or graduates and many of them had studied social sciences of one sort or the other, a pattern that also reemerged amongst volunteers. It is difficult to report in length on my chats and

31 http://www.atg.ps/
interviews with tourists for two main reasons, one being the often tight time schedules, another the total silence that often descended post-tour. After tours I found that it was considerably harder to have small talk and many tourists told me they had a very hard time processing their experience. Actually, the most frequent comments by tourists I have scribbled down in my notepad are simply, “The situation here is so bad” and “I don’t know what to say”. Guides encouraged tourists “To tell the truth” about the Palestinian situation at home and engaged in comparison with the tourists’ home countries. This often involved a dualistic contrast between occupied Palestine’s dystopian characteristics and guides’ romanticized notions of the utopian outsiders tourists came from, feelings of safety, home, and a ‘better future’. In this way guides made the time after the tour into one of contemplation and consideration of the relative aspects of all kinds of ’normal’ life elsewhere when compared to Palestine.

**Dark space**

The old city as a space for dark tourism employs a political logic pitched at an audience that values liberal rights and expect to find unified nation states. The tourist guides create a representation of the space and its inhabitants as resigned, degraded and powerless (Lefebvre 1991). This space and the spatial practices guides stand for creates a space of submission, focusing on Israeli-Palestinian relations and Palestinian otherness rooted in statelessness and/or occupation. The old city is pictured as the purest and most authentic representation of the political situation and serves as a living museum of occupation. Guides take visitors to Hebron’s old city but are also visitors themselves, providing a perspective on things that is a temporary performance during the tour. Entrance into the guided space of the subordinated requires money, the right passport and religion for the tourist and additional connections, certificates and language skills for the guides. For both sides these are resources only available to some. While the order of space is defined as one of Israeli dominance, guides also offer insights into relations between regions of Palestine, old-city and new-city Hebronite relations, and question the basis upon which other places and cities like Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv are built and maintained.
Chapter Three: Volunteers, Activists and Capital

*Outsiders on the inside*

**Introduction**

During my fieldwork in Hebron I came into contact with a myriad of organizations and networks active in Hebron’s old city. Most of them worked with “regulating the conflict” as Alim put it. That is, they work as a controlling force, watching the behavior of Israeli soldiers and settlers towards Palestinians. However, some NGOs offer further services perceived as lacking in current local conditions, such as English education after school hours or IT/vocational training. Apart from these organizations working to fill a void in the local space and governance there are also groups of activists joining protests and instigating clashes between Israeli soldiers and local political groups. Rather than regulate they aim to reinvigorate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

For these organizations and their members the old city is valued as a place of work for its perceived lack of certain freedoms and its tendency towards violence, as an authentically unjust place. During their extended stays of 2 weeks to 6 months, the volunteers from the global north that these organizations attract work towards ‘bettering’ the space, and themselves in the process. Even though most organizations value a bottom-up approach, communication with local Palestinians is limited and most activities are based on the internal projects of groups of volunteers themselves. Some volunteer informants expressed a frustration with locals being dissatisfied with their work and felt unappreciated while others admitted the lack of understanding of what locals want and questioned the approach Euro-American activists joining protests where they outnumbered the Palestinians. The NGOs formulate their missions in the language of human rights, directing their information to a global rights-based community of people ‘back home’. While the HRC has a political agenda that remains clear in its mission, most volunteer organizations work from ‘neutral’,
bureaucratic positions such as Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)\textsuperscript{32}:

11. The presence and activities of the TIPH personnel will be in accordance with Annex I, Article VII and other relevant provisions of the Interim Agreement and the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron.

The choice of language in this paragraph and its reference to official diplomatic documents reflect the desired position of TIPH as simply upholding agreements between Israel and the PA, careful not to ‘pick a side’. Another, faith based organization, the Christian Peacemaker Team (CPT) writes that\textsuperscript{33}:

Christian Peacemaker Teams is committed to work and relationships that:

- Honor and reflect the presence of faith and spirituality
- Strengthen grassroots initiatives
- Transform structures of domination and oppression
- Embody creative non-violence and liberating love

CPT communicates a different set of values and bases its ‘neutrality’ in faith as a common ground for peace. Some of the shared values of the organizations active in Hebron are to work against oppression and domination (occupation that is) using a non-violence approach, a preference to apply a bottom-up decision making process, basically listening to “a local/the locals”, and working towards what “they” want to accomplish or improve but also listening to donors. Furthermore, the use of some kind of flat organization is common, where there is little hierarchy and volunteers get to discuss and have their say in matters regarding what the organizations does and should do. Some organizations, like the International Solidarity Movement, even have an absolute consensus model of decision-making, where the team is not allowed to act

\textsuperscript{32} \url{http://www.tiph.org/en/About_TIPH/Mandate_and_Agreements (28-04-2014)}
\textsuperscript{33} \url{http://www.cpt.org/about/mission (28-04-2014)}
on something unless the whole group agrees. Finally, the organizations have one or several ways to create information and spread it to a global audience (for more specific examples, see Appendix One).

The structure of Hebron’s old town space is perceived as binary, divided between Israelis and Palestinians. The volunteers are trying to create possibilities for social activities and movement in the city (and region) and mostly watch over IDF soldiers, or Palestinians risking to meet them, focusing their attention on Israeli intrusion in what they consider to be Palestinian space. What separates the old city from the rest of Hebron is its reputation as a hotspot for violent conflict in desperate and authentic need of help. Activists on the other hand are attracted by the authenticity and violence of Hebron as well but work to engage with these elements of its old city rather than try to regulate them.

**Volunteering and volunteerism**

NGOs in Hebron mostly work to try to balance power relations as they understand them in the old city. Palestinians are imagined as a group collectively suffering from ‘the situation’ in the old town. Most volunteers were white and relatively affluent but had come to the old city for many different reasons and stayed for yet others.

Joining an organization in Hebron is not difficult but it does take some time and effort. Like workplaces, NGOs preferred previous experience of voluntary work and/or peace efforts, especially as Hebron was considered one of the most demanding placements because of the regular clashes. However, not all volunteers I met had been active in NGOs before and their backgrounds varied widely, from former CEOs to flunked out college students. The process of joining an NGO usually starts with an email after having been told about the work they do by someone beforehand. Some Palestinian employees expressed concerns about this and how hard it was to spread the word in any other way than mouth to mouth even though the Internet existed.
Some volunteers were obliged to lecture about the situation in Hebron once they came back home, in turn expressing annoyance with having to travel large distances to do so. I myself applied to join several NGOs before going and was finally accepted through a personal contact from Sweden. Most organizations operate openly and readily answer email or phone calls but some are more careful and ask the applicant to create an anonymous email account from where to write the organization’s contact person. That person then provides a phone number to call once having entered the country. This is meant to throw off any suspicions of political work when one enters Israel and avoids internet and computer searches that can identify one as a volunteer.

Entering Israel from most European, South- and North American countries grants you a three-month tourist visa upon arrival but volunteer work, activism or studies on Palestinians are not allowed and any known involvement with Palestine or its political organizations will deny you entrance. This was a problem discussed among volunteers, especially political activists as friends and former team mates were detained at the Ben-Gurion airport and sent on the next flight back to where they came from. Some changed their names and succeeded in tricking border police while others waited a few years and made it in. such experiences helped build relationships with Palestinians as volunteers expressed their frustrations and compared stories with Palestinians about where and when they were last held by police or prevented from going somewhere.

Coming to Hebron, volunteers have been given information about the old city and the nature of their placement by their respective NGOs. The brochure-like material that comes by mail or email focuses on Israeli human rights violations and ways of repressing Palestinian society. As for Hebron itself, the material sent out provides numbers of soldiers and settlers and basic maps. Some volunteers were also recommended the alternative tourism guide “Palestine and Palestinians”. Upon arrival, an introductory course is given by the recipient NGO or in a group with people from different organizations. The course presents short historical and political backgrounds, the work of the specific organization, what to expect and how to react, the mission of the volunteers and discussions on concepts such as the white savior

and/or messiah complex; namely being aware of the colonial past, wanting to ‘modernize’ and attitudes of superiority and paternalism towards the ‘helpless’ Palestinians.

These introductions are diverse but mainly directed at three different audiences: the humanitarian volunteers, the political activists, and the religious missionaries. Plenty of organizations exist in these categories and some span all of them. Using pictures, history, politics and statistics organizations picture Hebron’s old city as an authentic conflict zone to the volunteers and activists. Later during their stay the same people continue gathering the same kind of material they were introduced to, such as producing reports on human rights violations, articles including pictures of settler and soldier harassment, the firing of teargas at protests. In a way, these volunteers and activists provide much of the same material as the guided tours of the old city and regularly interact with tourist guides.

Volunteers usually work in teams, living, eating and spending most of the time together. Teams take order from team leaders and more experienced personnel already in place although the length of that experience can vary from 3 months to 30 years. Some organizations have Palestinian employees to facilitate their work but some do without. The inability to speak Arabic is widespread among volunteers who thus have a hard time understanding locals who do not speak English. During coffees and lunches a popular topic was the general confusion over what Hebronites actually think about volunteer activities. Incidents including kids throwing stones at volunteers on the way home from school, volunteers being cursed at because of Islamic religious violations such as women not wearing the customary hijab close to the mosque, and old city residents asking for monetary compensation instead of the NGO projects made the teams of volunteers question if people knew their mission and why they were there, and if residents “understand that if we are not there they will not be able to do what they are doing now, like going to the mosque”, as one Nordic volunteer put it.
Regulating conflict

Responding to complaints about settler and soldier harassments from old city residents as well as the international attention to Israeli human rights violations many NGOs are involved in activities linked to regulating Israeli soldier behavior (as settlers are mostly invisible). In fact, I found that most day-to-day activity that concerned the relations between Palestinians and soldiers. Starting in the early morning volunteers would pace around the city on semi-planned routes where they expected most contact between the two groups. During meetings every two weeks or so major NGOs would come together to discuss where to focus their attention until the next get-together. New routes were planned for teams to patrol if new conflict areas could be identified, as was the case with a residential building during my stay where an ownership issue was being settled in Israeli court between settlers and Palestinians.35 Easily recognizable, clad in vests, most of them khaki colored, the volunteers go on their daily walks trying to see and be seen in the places where Palestinians and Israeli soldiers are expected to have most contact.

Volunteer activity monitoring soldiers adapted to the daily and weekly patterns of Palestinians as teams followed young children to school and back and reacted quickly if clashes erupted by trying to monitor soldier movements and checkpoint activities to make sure no minors were arrested or assaulted. During Fridays, the way to the mosque before prayers was heavily monitored by volunteer teams and Israeli soldiers alike. Sunday was also a busy day because of the settler tours, the only day Israelis were allowed to enter the Palestinian streets of the old city, which usually brought between 10 and 30 people with 5 to 10 heavily armed soldiers as guards. The band of volunteers stalking the Israeli tourists and soldiers on those days, sometimes outnumbering the soldiers was ridiculed by the Hebronites themselves.

The most resource strong NGOs, such as TIPH, drove cars and received comments about this from other volunteers and activists. Sitting in a car, protected from rain and

35 After a final court decision, Israeli settlers moved into the "House of Contention" on April 13, 2014.
removed from the ‘reality’ of the situation made TIPH-members less “authentic” in the eyes of more ‘down to earth’ volunteers. A group of activists explained that if you were in Hebron you should display your solidarity with Palestinians and experience their conditions and struggles. In their main office, lacking proper heating and offering little hot water, the activists differentiated themselves from volunteers by pointing out they did not complain about the conditions. Because they viewed themselves as closer to the living conditions of old city residents’ activists felt deeper rooted in the context, willing to walk long distances in bad shoes and risk conflicts with soldiers. TIPH and its volunteers, however, were branded by other internationals as the most bureaucratized organization because of their mission statement and luxury services representing lots of financial backing “only available for those who were not actually against occupation” according to a young British activist acquaintance. In this way, TIPH came to serve as a good example for others against which to judge the amount and value of their own solidarity and efforts to help.

During coffee house conversations, volunteers chatted about their most noteworthy recent experiences. These had a tendency to focus on relations with local residents rather than the soldiers that their work was focused on. On many occasions, volunteers, especially younger women, were targets of teasing and interest from Palestinian boys and men. Stone throwing was also something the volunteers were subjected to and one of them complained to me about locals not understanding the importance of their work. A female volunteer in her 30’s, said she had repeatedly felt targeted by Palestinian impoliteness and wondered if locals appreciated her work. Her narrative gave me a better insight into a volunteer’s perspective on the old city, as primarily a space that deprived Palestinian residents and business owners of their freedom. Responding to this lack of freedom, volunteers arrive to increase the possibility to move and live daily life, such as going to school, going shopping and praying without risking harassment, violence, detention or imprisonment. Doing this, volunteers themselves risk conflicts with soldiers as well as ending up in the line of fire and thus feel they deserve the cooperation and appreciation of locals.

However, volunteers also retell experiences of children begging them for money or
grabbing at their cameras, yelling and teasing or throwing rocks, and cursing them as ‘kuffar’ (meaning unbelievers or infidels (singular كافر, plural كافّار)). Having recently been told she will burn in hell by a man entering the mosque for Friday prayer the volunteer I was chatting with expressed her frustration with locals. She was told that her presence close to the mosque as an unveiled woman was not wanted and that she should go away. After moving a couple of meters she had stopped again and was once again cursed by the man. She had stood her ground and continued explaining to the man that if they (the volunteers) were not there, going to the mosque might be impossible. While residents did not press the religious aspect of the old city during chats and interviews with me, this reasoning shows the perspective of the volunteer quite well. Volunteers were only interested in responding to the presence of Israel and its oppression that gave their roles meaning and authenticity. If residents protested against volunteer presence their voices were not heard because volunteers were convinced that their mediating position was necessary to avoid soldier abuse of Palestinians. Those Palestinians who had other perspectives on what could make the space better for them were told they did not understand ‘the situation’.

Every couple of weeks volunteers would get some days off and leave for holidays in other Palestinian cities or to relax at the Dead Sea. Hares, my tourist guide friend, made remarks about this behavior and was disappointed with volunteers leaving as soon as they got the chance. If they were true friends of Hebron and the struggle there (and Hares), they should have stayed according to him.

Activism and capital

During a dinner with a group of political activists at one of the city’s rooftop cafés, the group around the table started to talk about a recent protest in the south of the West Bank where the majority of the activists had been the past week. Some had short video clips of the protest showing a small group of 30 people or so standing, faces
covered with kufiyas\textsuperscript{36}, some with cameras others with stones in their hand at firing
distance from a military convoy. Conversations were held between leaders of the
protest and the military commanders before the event escalated into stone throwing
and tear gas firing. The activists discussed how hard it was to follow the
organization’s demand for total consensus before acting while being fired at or
standing in a cloud of teargas. During one part of the protest, some of them had been
trapped in an alley by Israeli soldiers and as teargas started building up around them
they had abandoned their rules and escaped one by one. The activists talked about the
episode in the alley for a couple of minutes and two of them proudly stated that they
had been burned pretty badly by the grenades fired at them and concluded that they
would probably leave scars for the rest of their lives. A further discussion began about
other battle wounds and techniques for resisting tear gas. During this time, cell phones
were being passed around the table with videos of other protestors doing ‘unexpected’
things, one showed protestors picking up a tear gas grenade and throwing it into a
military jeep, forcing the soldiers to escape from the vehicle, another showed a bomb
squad blowing up a suspect backpack that had been left at a Jerusalem bus stop. The
bag had been left there by a political activist and contained spray cans of different
colors that made a rainbow-like pattern on the wall behind the bus stop when they
exploded. These kinds of narratives were popular among activists who competed with
each other over who got most injured or pulled the most dangerous prank on Israeli
soldiers.

For these activists, the political project of coming to Hebron had many dimensions.
While gladly discussing anarchy, state formations and resistance tactics the
conversation described above, and others like them, show the importance of
inscribing resistance on the body as social capital in activist circles and beyond.
Activist were vague on any political changes they worked for, going back to the
rhetoric of bottom-up decision-making and explained that their main activity was to
join protests around Palestine, for the Palestinian cause. This was further concretized

\textsuperscript{36} Kufiya or Keffiyeh (كوفية) literally means "from the city of Kufa" and is the most common name for
the popular Middle Eastern checkered headdress famously worn by Yasser Arafat after which it
became a symbol for Palestinian nationalism. In the 1980s it became a fashion accessory in the US as
well as parts of Europe and east Asia.
as acts of solidarity and being “where the action is”. When I arrived at the head office of one activist network a couple of days later it was almost empty and I sat down with the current organizer, a twenty-something American man with his laptop in his lap. He admitted to me that: “To be honest I don’t know what we are doing. We are supposed to do what Palestinians do or want us to do”, I asked about the recent protest and he continued: “I don’t think this is what we are supposed to do, we are the majority of people at the protests. No Palestinians are there.” He went on to talk about the general directions of the organization of that day and what might have to change, but stated that because leadership changed so often it was very hard to take things in new directions. When I asked about the bottom-up decisions of what to do, a volunteer from another organization that had come along to show me the location of the place cut in, saying that the local contact had been fighting too much with other people in Hebron and the organization had been suffering because of his reputation. Now, the activists still resided in the same property as before but seemingly had no local anchor. The organizer complained about this saying it was hard for them to speak to the Hebronite population, partly because many were not interested in the resistance movements and further conflicts with Israel but also because no volunteers spoke Arabic well enough to hold a conversation.

During our conversation, a few other activists drifted in and out of the living room of the freezing apartment checking their Facebooks and emails. Most activists and volunteers, including me, changed their names on Facebook or closed their accounts and opened new ones with fake names to avoid unnecessary attention to their passports in future border controls. Constant contact with home is of high value and volunteers and activists complained in unison about slow Internet speeds. Through social media and official websites, the activist networks displayed three main categories of information; general news from the area, reports from protests joined and experiences of violence against or detention of Palestinians and/or members of the group. Again, a general sympathy for the oppressed Palestinian non-state and people was mixed with in-depth descriptions of resistance tactics (protests) and the acts of getting oneself in trouble. Fighting for the ‘Palestinian cause’, activists make their own bodies proof of the political inequality of resistance and domination. Hebron’s old city presents a good opportunity for activists and volunteers to do their
work in a place considered to contain the ‘real’ Israel-Palestine conflict.

Investigating some of the models of self in social theory, British sociologist Beverley Skeggs (2004) looks at different ways people perform and aspire to middle-class values, self-making and personhood in the UK. She suggests that looking at middle-class self-making exemplifies ways of differentiating between classes as well as the production of one dominant selfhood, moral and ethics. By acquiring parts of working-class culture, taste can be expressed and turned into symbolic and/or exchange value in the future. By further exploring certain activities outside of one’s own class and choosing to access certain fields of knowledge (including the reflexive one of one’s self) the privileged can accumulate value. What is hidden are the barriers of entry to access other people and mobilize the resources to do so, as Skeggs put it: “individuality is an unequal resource” (2004:81) connected to realizing the self through choices not available to everyone.

In the case of Hebron the relations between the privileged and those hosting their visits are both local to Hebron and transnational. The privileged are from two major groups; visitors from the global north and ‘new city’ Hebron. Those hosting the visitors are residents in the old city. These relations are not classic class-relations but do involve privileged groups capitalizing off the less privileged, groups able to move around staying for shorter periods of time to access the space of groups not able to move. In this way, ideas of solidarity and helping are connected to unequal material and cultural relations that enable ‘outsiders’ to use the old city and its population as a resource to accumulate capital. In chapter three I explained how ‘New city’ Hebronites do this by acting as the mediators of the old city, offering their services for tourists to see and understand the old city and ‘the situation’ as well as selling symbolic merchandise and souvenirs. Volunteers pick up parts of the “culture” of the old city and have the ability to use this cultural capital in future situations as symbolic or exchange value ‘at home’ by, for example, adding a volunteer mission to one’s CV.
Failed space and capital for self-making

Volunteers and activists work in the old city of Hebron in different ways but value the same things. The old town is perceived as a space that makes it impossible to create a life for its inhabitants because of Israeli occupation. Trying to help in the struggle for more freedom from the domination of Israel, volunteers aim to regulate the relationship between soldiers and Palestinians while activists want to join the uprising against Israel. In both cases, these ‘visitors’ are working for what they have identified as a Palestinian cause but also as a way to improve and make their selves in the process. NGOs and activist network reach out to an audience with numbers, stories and political messages representing the space as one in desperate need of help. The audience is a global northern group of people with the ability to come, help and then return home to normalcy again with a new experience in the pocket.

As Skeggs (2004) explains, it is those who have the resources to move around that gain capital in their relations with those who are fixed in space but who act as a resource. That is, while helping the immobile Palestinians in place, volunteers and activists can gather symbols (bruises from a plastic bullet, pictures, kufiyas, stories and more) that they can then bring back home where they acquire a higher value and help in the process of gaining future resources such as work, research grants and so on. My thesis is an example of this relation and will be part of my future applications and possibly valued for the same reasons mentioned above. However, I hope it can contribute to a discussion of ways to work with and understand the unequal opportunities present in spaces where volunteering and ‘helping out’ are active concepts and activities, and also broaden the spectrum of the power relations taken into account by those who want to ‘help’. I will address this again in my conclusion.

Helping in the center of conflict that Hebron has come to represent, ‘visitors’ are able to accumulate cultural capital from the place and its people. At the same time, old city residents are identified as worthy of help because they lack the same possibilities as those visiting.
Chapter Four: Residents and Residency

Emplacing a political demography in Hebron’s old city

Introduction

My previous chapters have dealt with some of the main actors and agents involved in the production, consumption and representation of Hebron’s old city. The institutional background and heritage perspective of the HRC and the tourism and volunteerism in the old town shape and are shaped by a flow of people and resources unique to the old city. In this chapter, however, I present those who inhabit the space and are part of what make these activities possible, namely the residents. Government officials, NGO workers, tourist guides, activists and others come to the old city in search of opportunities but what about the people living in the old city permanently? Most organizations and people discussed in earlier chapters are visitors, Hebronites and internationals alike. What does the old city represent for the (semi-)permanent residents of the area and what does the space enable or disable them to do and claim?

Military presence, Surveillance and spatial dimensions of occupation

As I mentioned in the introduction, Hebron is comprised of A, B and C areas. The Hebron protocol defines the borders in between them and the old city (or H2) includes all B and C areas (under partial or full Israeli control). Thus, I would like to begin here with a basic description of the housing available and the relationship Palestinian domestic space has with Israeli soldiers in the old town.

The ground floor of many old city housing units, certainly most of those in the market street, are reserved for business activities. Facing the street, workshops, dairy shops,
bakeries, supermarkets and tourist shops open their metal doors. Inside the houses, through the much smaller domestic doors, residents live on the first floor where there is just enough space renovated for a nuclear family to dwell. The second floor and the rooftops of the market street and the western part of the old city (west of the Abraham mosque) are generally reserved for IDF soldier movement and guard towers. This means that at any time might be watched.

Lying in my bed trying to sleep I often could hear the buzzing from the radios of the soldiers on top of the roof of my guest house. A couple of weeks later, during a snowball fight on the roof between me and the children of my host family, I saw the two guard towers placed between our roof and our settler neighbors. One of them was almost directly on top of my room and the other about 30 meters away. From street level, they are somewhat hard to spot, although tourist guides are happy to help. At all times, soldiers walk the roofs of the old city while others watch from the bigger, armored guard towers surrounding the valley where Hebron lies. A helicopter drone circles area C giving off a vague humming sound. To get from the west to the east end of the old city, one has to pass as many as 5 checkpoints although ‘only’ one of them is a full stop checkpoint with revolving doors controlled by two soldiers behind armored walls (fig. 19 and 20 below) which leads to the Muslim entrance of the Abraham mosque. Soldiers are part of life in the old city and residents meet them every day, some even greeting them as they pass by.
Soldiers are heavily armed and numerous in Hebron as well as in the West Bank at large. The Israeli Defense forces have some 175 000 active personnel, most of whom are placed in and around occupied territories. Israel has mandatory military service for all citizens and permanent residents aged 18, requiring men to do 36 months and women about half that. It is estimated that only about half of those aged 18 actually do this service, some refusing, others being exempt, while some are seen as unfit (such as non-Druze Arab citizens). This means that many soldiers, maybe even most soldiers, were younger than I (25 at the time), which made me feel nervous about their stability under pressure, holding an automatic rifle. For the soldiers themselves, Hebron is considered one of the worst placements because of its history of violence and protests and according to one checkpoint-guard I spoke with in Russian to avoid being overheard, there is also something of a racial hierarchy within the military. Hares nodded in agreement when I asked him about it. “Yes, the soldiers say so”, “here they put Christians and blacks, Eritrean.”

Entering or exiting the old city to Hebron’s city center to its west was doable most of the time but with varying sense of security. When clashes erupted, it was usually on Bab Al-Zawiye square and sometime on the connecting streets to its east. The market street leading up to the bus station was commonly affected, stones and tear gas making it difficult to move through. As a ‘tourist’, however, I did not need to worry much about soldier presence on the street per se as I was not in danger of arrest (although activists searching for a fight sometimes did get detained). After clashes, I could therefore walk the streets unhindered unlike Palestinians who stayed indoors in
fear of arrest if found wandering around. Soldiers mostly stayed in their positions or moved on rooftops to overlook the situation. Only seldom did they patrol the Palestinian streets and if so usually after clashes or during Sunday settler tours. Not only the soldiers were armed, however, Israeli settlers were allowed to carry weapons and caused my Palestinian host family among others to complain that they might become the victims of their settler neighbor’s deadly anger at any moment.

During my first three days in Hebron, clashes kept erupting throughout the afternoons and nights. This pattern was tied to the school schedules, as young boys went to throw rocks after classes. Talking about manhood and bravery, Alim, my volunteer co-worker, mentioned that “the young boys compete, the one who gets the closest to the soldier is the bravest. In the school they play football and then they come here [to Bab Al-Zawiye]”, to continue their competition. After the clashes settled down again there was a protest staged at the square next to the Tel Rumeida checkpoint that had been the focus point of the last few days of violence. Palestinian shop owners from the street came together to oppose the Palestinian “troublemakers” who made it impossible for them to conduct their business and threatened their families’ livelihood. The upper floors of the buildings closest to the Tel Rumeida checkpoint have never been finished; their concrete skeletons are testimony to the ongoing conflict. When I told him the next day, Alim seemed surprised and commented that “This is a new thing. A couple of years ago it would have been impossible to be against resistance. Now people just want an end to this so they can do their business.” Certainly, while some encouraged the stone throwers most people talked of them as “stupid boys”. During a conversation with two old city shop owners, they agreed that the troublemakers were from bad families and had nothing better to do, implying their families did not do enough to keep them at home. Their businesses were, of course, also affected by the clashes as they closed shop at the start of frequent explosions from teargas grenades, afraid of soldier harassment if they were to enter the streets.

Residents in the eastern Rajabi quarters of the old city also spoke about the economic consequences of the soldier presence and checkpoints. By blocking roads soldiers made sure that delivering goods into the old city from outside was harder and more
expensive. As car traffic was denied to Palestinians (the road going through the neighborhood was only allowed for settlers going to nearby Kiryat Arba), local shop owners had to pay an extra fee for delivery by donkey cart or another form of transport. Therefore, old city supermarkets were said to be more expensive than those just outside, and customers chose the cheaper option. There were still two functioning supermarkets left in that part of the old city, one surviving because of a basement pool business that attracted some local kids, although other informants mentioned how inappropriate it was to leave ones children in such an unsupervised place.

The surveillance of young is double, as their activities are monitored both by soldiers and grown-ups. To control one’s children and their behavior is important for the reputation of the family. Boys defined as trouble makers were avoided by other residents and the shop owners in the old city and were scolded by elders when walking the streets, especially if trying to make a quick buck from a tourist. Young girls were more rare on the streets and were mainly kept inside to help their mothers with household duties. The one girl that did roam the streets frequently without male companionship was described by shop owners as “bad”, “crazy”, “dirty” and comments were made about her parents being drug addicts and thus lacking the ability to control her. I write more about this social deviousness later.

Living, moving and working in the old city is thoroughly complicated by IDF military personnel. Monitoring, checkpoints, violence, threats of violence, and clashes with soldiers were all variables in the equation of how to plan one’s day. Those who did make it outside were also watched by Palestinians and deviant behavior was reprimanded by spreading rumors about the family, a common shame tactic was to accuse someone of drug use.

**Newcomers**

As I explained in chapter one, old city residents are mainly ‘newcomers’ (a term some
residents use to describe their new neighbors) and only 22% of the households currently reside in the same house as before 1997. This pattern of residency has been brought on by the housing scheme initiated by the HRC offering economic incentives such as free accommodation, health insurance and water supply in a bid to increase Palestinian demographic density in the old city. Residents were also attracted by the political rhetoric of resistance, discussed later in this chapter. By 1995, approximately 9500 Palestinians had left the area and over 75 percent of the commercial activities had closed down, leaving only about 400 residents behind. Restoring some 1000 housing units, the HRC has contributed to increasing the population to 6000 people. The area consists of residential properties intended to host extended families of 20 or more people with shared kitchens and bathrooms and with bedrooms surrounding an inner courtyard. These units have now been renovated only partially, however, to be used as single family apartments (fig. 22), leaving many rooms walled up or left open and unattended (fig. 21). On the ground floor, shops have been renovated and some economic activity reestablished (~160 shops) while vocational training is offered by the Red Cross, the Spanish government and others to old city inhabitants.
During interviews, my coworker Alim and I usually asked about neighbor relations. Having heard from ‘new city’ Hebronites about a ‘lack of social cohesion’ in the old city, residence there was seen as something of a necessary evil for those not able to live outside it. We were intrigued to know more. In one of the very first interviews, Momo had invited us into his guestroom and started explaining that it was sometimes hard to get to know new people as trust usually came from knowing everyone’s social background. He knew his close neighbors and had himself been living in the old city for several decades. A row of houses close by had recently been renovated, however, and Momo pointed in their direction as he expressed his discomfort with people coming in; “I know many people here but not everyone, a lot of them are newcomers and you never know who are good people.” Much like ‘new city’ Hebronites he mentioned that some of his new neighbors were probably drug dealers, saying that he could tell because some people would “go out for a short time and then come back with a lot of money.”

In a casual office chat a senior employee at an international NGO commented on the demands of old city residents. At the time, the NGO in question was giving out small business grants but had at one time during the 2nd intifada given a couple of goats and the demand for domestic animals had increased when people heard of this. The increase was attributed to rural-urban migrants, the NGO employee explained that; “They do not know another life. They don’t understand that they cannot keep animals in the city.” At one spot close to the Abraham mosque and a checkpoint along the road leading to Kiryat Arba, what had been a room in a house had been remade into small stable for goats and chicken. Alim was the one to notice and went to examine the metal fence that had been installed, which turned out to be a stolen road-block fence from an Israeli checkpoint. The same day we had a chat with the man offering locals transport of goods on a donkey-trailer. After seeing he was carrying a pile of firewood for sale to residents as an alternative to electrical heaters, Alim commented that he had never seen such a thing before in the city, attributing such a practice to country-side habits.

After examining the HRC housing program, the question arose of who chose to move
to the old city. If most of these people were newcomers, did they have anything in common? As it turned out, Alim came to me with a theory later echoed by many others. As a ‘new city’ resident, he suggested that the old city was “a place where social outcasts come.” Upon a visit in a nearby village, a middle-aged woman, Faridah, made similar comments in an interview. She claimed that the old city hosted all those in conflict with their families in the countryside. Faridah herself had lived and worked in the old city for a couple of years but had moved back to her village. She continued, saying that only people who had somehow been in trouble moved to the old city, some were suspected of being informants for the Israelis, others had been kicked out by their families or forced to sell their property because of poverty or settler harassment.

On another occasion, Ahmad, a young tourism worker, told me of his landlord, a man who decided to take a second wife and had ended up in trouble as the two women could not stand each other and refused to live in the same house. As the landlord already had 8 children with the first wife and 3 with the second, he could not afford to buy new property or expand the family house. He thus moved with his second wife to the old city, the only rent-free place around. One family that invited me in for tea, showed me a hospital bed they had at home and the eldest son said they had come because of the inability to pay hospital bills for their sick parents.

Some, like Momo above, claimed that escaping Palestinian law enforcement was yet another reason to settle in the old city as PA police was not allowed to enter. During a conversation over a morning cigarette, a young shop assistant in the old city (resident of the new city) shared his suspicions with me, saying that; “In the old city is a lot of bad people, you have to be careful. Also for us it’s dangerous, Palestinian spies live here so they can be protected by the Israelis.” The shop owner joined in and commented that; “Everything here is hard for us. Since we have no police here there are deals made with the thieves. Some shops pay them money, a couple of dollars every day so they don’t steal.”
These narratives are some among many that centered on unfortunate life choices and failed family relations as the reason for moving to the old city. The HRC contributes to the feeling of distrust in the old city by not communicating their plans for renovations and the reasons behind them. In addition, NGOs recent changes in their support-structure - moving from humanitarian- to development aid - pits residents against each other as they compete for micro-grants or -loans, vocational trainings and ‘new city’ job opportunities. The social capital necessary to access these opportunities is however very difficult to attain if your social position is attached to the old city.

Residency, Occupation and the importance of Property Ownership

As I have just explained, old city residents are mainly ‘newcomers’. The main reason for this is considered to be the free accommodation offered by the HRC, which is to attract social and economic outcasts. Both ‘new city’ and ‘old city’ residents spoke of the lack of social cohesion and predictability of neighbor relations. One of the reasons for this was the rules concerning ownership in the old city housing program.

Ownership of the housing units in the old town remains in the hands of the old owners, making current residents renters on renewable 5-year contracts with no or few possibilities of ever actually owning the place they inhabit. ‘New city’ Hebronites expressed concerns about this fact and their reasoning reflects the importance of owning one’s property and the social, economic and status benefits this enables. Ownership is important social capital in Hebron. When asked questions about their living situation in the old city, residents often respond that their wish is to find and buy property elsewhere and build a house for the family.

Home ownership and the possibility to host your sons’ future families (the groom’s parents are expected to pay the bride’s family in gold and a place for the couple to start a family in) is highly valued in the marriage market. Marriages in turn are the most important social events and present an opportunity for families to publicly
display their wealth and size. Marriages were described by my young friend and tourist guide Hares as “probably the most expensive thing in life” and explained that extended families collected huge sums of money as an economic unit to launch weddings for the eldest sons of nuclear families. After the first son is done with, Hares noted; “you can get a bit cheaper”. He then told a story about another friend’s marriage proposal as follows and remarked that he might be reluctant to get engaged with a Palestinian girl himself;

“He wanted to marry a Palestinian girl that he saw once on the street. He told his parents and they went to sit down with her family. They ask about money, apartment, if he has a good family.”

My coworker Alim told similar stories, and when I asked about his house he explained that;

“We live with my uncles, and on the street level one of them has a store. This is the most common situation here. My grandfather built one apartment for each of his sons and they bought new land and built houses with one floor for each of their sons.”

Spatial belonging and expansion is an important part of social differentiation. Property ownership is the basis for social recognition as Hebronite social life primarily revolves around weddings and a good marriage is dependent on the property (and the reputation of the family owning it) the future bride will live in. During a conversation on salaries and saving money Hares expressed more concerns:

“The most expensive thing in all your life is your wedding. The bride you have to give gold, apartment, the dress. And my family is big, if I want a small wedding, I have to invite 2000 people. Maybe it will cost me 20 000 dollars.”
As I mentioned earlier, Palestinians have been leaving the old city for quite some time now, for social, economic and safety reasons. Alim told a story about his grandfather who had been a successful business man in the old city but bought property outside it and moved his family there. The problem for families expanding in capital and size was that it was difficult to add floors to old city buildings, because of their structure but also because the roads were not built to allow cars. Alim’s grandfather had been one of the first men in Hebron to buy a car and soon there was a paved road between the new family property and the old city.

In a city where property ownership is important for social status it thus become evident that answering “I live in the old city” when someone inquires about you is not a desirable thing. Instead, residency in the old city is seen as transitional in the struggle to attain property of one’s own. In this way the old city breaks the norm of property ownership and Hebronite social fabric. For example, safety and security, as extended families tend to dominate certain areas (which are still known by family names) and assume some responsibility for what goes on within their territory. Alim told me;

“People do not use the police a lot, they have just recently begun to go to the police for murder trials. Before, everything was settled between the families.”

In this way, the old city deviates from the Hebronite norm of socially homogenous spaces and property ownership and thus the social responsibility and security that is expected to come along with it. In other neighborhoods recognition of wrongdoing led to social consequences but in the old city deviant behavior was expected. Because ownership is limited, residents are not expected to care about the state of things in the place as it is not really theirs. This creates uncertainty about what kind of responsibility can be expected from residents if something were to happen. The space is thus seen as doubly unsafe, because of soldier and settler armed presence and unreliable old city resident behavior.
A deviant population

Spatial belonging is constantly in play in Hebron because of the way people are expected to present themselves. Whenever two people meet that do not know each other’s social positions, there are three questions asked; what is your family name, what is your father’s name and where do you live? By connecting the dots, one will be able “to determine whether you are somebody or nobody” as Alim once concluded when I asked him yet again (on my host family’s request) for his family name and neighborhood. My hosts wanted to make sure that I did not hang out with ‘strangers’, here defined as people whose families do not have a reputation for good behavior.

When Hebronites talk of social difference between ‘old’ and ’new’ city residents history is often interwoven with arguments of behavior and family structure. Most of the issues come down to the area’s lack of social cohesion and unclear family affiliation. Because restored housing units only allow single nuclear families, people living there have made a choice of not staying close to their extended families, a choice that Hebronites interpret as a lack of family cohesion and trust. A person not worthy of his own family’s trust cannot be trusted as a stranger either.

Residents of the old city are expected to fall outside the normal family structure, and thus the only known social and economic safety net. They are further excluded from many services of the new city, such as banks, micro-credit agencies, business men, PA offices and many more who identify old city Hebronites as untrustworthy and incapable of functioning properly within the family business context of the city and region. At a local microfinance institution I asked about the rules for taking a loan and why so few of these loans had been given to old city residents. The regional manager, a woman in her 30’s from Ramallah,\(^{37}\) answered some of my questions and told me about the most important criteria for getting approved. First, the applicant has to write a business plan, explaining the nature of the business, its location, supposed clientele

\(^{37}\) Ramallah is the effective capital (as East Jerusalem is not accessible) of the Palestinian Authorities and is located on the West Bank north of Jerusalem.
and what kind of profits can be expected. If this business plan seems reasonable, a field officer is sent out to meet and inspect the applicants. The field officer will look at the business as it is (if it is already established) or its future location, the current properties and material possessions of the applicant family and ask the neighbors about the character and trustworthiness of the family. The regional manager explained that this was how things were usually looked at by all financial institutions.

For good or bad, the process explained above excludes most old city residents because of their lack of property ownership (financial backup if they fail to repay their loans), the location of their home (because residents are believed to be criminals or in feud with their extended families, thus not being able to access money through family channels), and the strained relations between neighbors.

When I enquired about what makes a successful businessman, shop owners would emphasize the relationship to customers and business partners. The customer base of shops would vary widely as I spoke to owners of very different establishments, some servicing only tourists and other exclusively Hebronites, and keeping customers loyal was only relevant to some. How to establish yourself as a prosperous business man, however, was mainly talked of in terms of credibility and trustworthiness, as well as ‘connections’. While it was possible to gain these characteristics by way of ‘hard’ and ‘smart’ work most people had a certain amount from the start, determined by their family and neighborhood belonging. A supermarket owner commented on his success by saying that; “if you have a good family people will know and they will trust you. They will trust that you have good prices and good things in your store because you have a good reputation.” Also, “uncles, cousins, brothers all come to buy from your shop. And if you ask me for anything, to repair a car or buy a computer, I will send you to my cousin.” By having a family presence and a good reputation business was accessible but having connections is also important.

Some families have gained monopoly on certain products through channels like the chambers of commerce. Alim gave the example of a diaper brand that was only
allowed to be imported and sold by one supermarket chain. For old city residents, it is
difficult to attain these characteristics of the ‘good business man’. Being from the old
city automatically brings to mind the untrustworthy nature and suspected deviant
nature of the person in question. Renting a place of business, buying stock and so on
is very hard for the suspect population of the old city.

Resistance, D’am and Sumud

D’am [دعم] (noun) - support or backing
Sumud [صمود] (noun) - steadfastness, resistance, durability or immovability

Since the six-day war in 1967 ‘sumud’ has been an important part of the Palestinian
vocabulary of resistance. The concept has to do with resisting Israeli expansion by
way of staying on one’s land and building institutions that undermine the occupation
of Palestinian territories. Sumud is symbolized by the olive tree or mother figure and
has come to be associated with non-violent forms of civil disobedience and legal
struggles. Since the first intifada (1987-1993), organized resistance has been
expressed through refusal to cooperate with Israel and has been a topic for poetry and
literature of high-profile writers such as Edward Said (1986). The current leadership
of the Palestinian Authorities, Fatah, has taken steps away from this stance in recent
years, exploring ways to cooperate with the Israeli state. Political rallies however, like
the one at the ceremony for receiving the World Habitat award38 I attended as an HRC
volunteer, still point out the importance of sumud when it comes to the old city of
Hebron refusing settler control.

In keeping with this PA political vocabulary, residents express the fact that they are
part of a Palestinian front and feel the right to be valued because of their resistance.

38http://www.worldhabitatawards.org/winners-and-finalists/project-details.cfm?lang
=00&TheProjectID=9E96D36D-15C5-F4C0-99F947770C4774F4 (retrieved on 09-05-2014)
For the residents, the space supposedly offers economic security paid for by sacrificing personal security by living under occupation. During interviews in the old city where I and my co-worker Alim presented us as HRC volunteers to residents, conversations quickly turned to the performance of organizations active in the old city. Informants tried to figure out whether we could help with further renovations of their houses and those whose houses had already been renovated asked for further patchwork on roofs or better equipped kitchens. Alim commented that “they act as if HRC is an interior design firm”, but was also angry about the fact that many residents could show us leaking roofs and cracked walls just a few years after renovations had been done. During one of our first interviews Imad, a 30-year old construction worker and father of five, complained that the family had moved into a very troubled area of the old city but had stopped receiving the support [d’am] they deserved and had been promised. During the next few weeks of interviews, it became clear that old city residents had recently experienced withdrawal of several kinds of support they had depended on since the start of the 2nd intifada in 2000. At that time, IDF forbade Palestinians to enter or leave the old city, and humanitarian relief was brought by several organizations through the blockades. But by the time of my field study the Red Cross had (as the last active organization) stopped all food parcels in December 2013 and instead offered vocational trainings and other “job-creation programs. Other NGOs, including the HRC, were also turning their attention away from emergency relief and humanitarian aid programs to development agendas, though development is not yet part of the local set of concepts.

The support was defined by the Red Cross on their website as well as during my interviews at their head office in Hebron as humanitarian relief. Residents on the other hand had other interpretations. The old city was a part of a political demography and a political rhetoric of resistance and Palestinianess. Knowing they are talked of in terms of valued political actions residents in the eastern Salaimeh quarters expressed concerns about suffering an invisibility they did not deserve because they had made the ‘sacrifice’ of moving to the old city. This sacrifice consists of living in an occupied zone, being confined by Israeli soldiers and experiencing violence or the threat of violence to a much greater extent than the rest of Hebron. Resisting occupation by inhabiting the occupied space, residents felt entitled to something for
their service.

The phrase “they do not see us” was repeatedly aimed at NGOs and governments whose resources from the outside were no longer available. One older resident talked about how the Red Cross had distributed their food packages with the help of a local supermarket as a delivery point and showed me her card (fig. 23 below) but also added “Now we do not receive anything, they stopped it all. We used to know the woman working there but now they have moved away and we never see anyone.” In the beginning of the 2000s, offices of local and international NGOs had their offices in or close to the old city. The old woman resident was commenting on the fact that after the second intifada organizations started to move to the new, popular area around ein Zara Street where you now find the UN, Red Cross and many others.

**Figure 23: Red Cross distribution card**  **Figure 24: Snack in old city school from WFP**

**Insides and Outsides, Movement and Confinement**

My previous chapters have dealt with groups of people moving in, out and through the old city of Hebron but this chapter has shifted attention to the inhabitants of the space frequented by those other groups. The residents of the old city report no contact with volunteers or activists, and do not so much as mention contact with them. Most of them are equally indifferent to tourism with the exception of a few household that have women making handicrafts for the tourist market, run guesthouses, or receive groups of tourists for meals or other visits. As I have mentioned earlier, almost none
of the shop owners in the old city live there, neither do the tourist guides or the workers at NGOs or the HRC. Tourists might sleep there for a night, some volunteers a couple of months, but they are not confined to the space, they have passports and resources that allow them to move around, even within Israel. The connection between residents and organizations from residents’ point of view seems to be the expectation that they ought to receive some “reward” for their sacrifice of confining their lives to an occupied zone. While Hebronites working in the tourism industry or NGOs aspire to connect to the global outside internationals represent, residents of the old city aspire to an affluent lifestyle in the ‘new city’ of Hebron.

**Residents and resistance**

Talking about ‘the situation’ in the old city of Hebron, resistance and occupation are often used to describe the limited freedom and prolonged suffering of Palestinians under Israeli rule. What I have arrived at in this chapter is that these are highly contested and sometimes contradictory relations between ideas of place on different scales. Israeli occupation is a definite factor in the everyday life of the old city but who lives this life is also determined by political, economic and social factors internal to the Palestinians. Struggling to cope with military presence and waves of newcomers, old city residents are left frustrated by their exclusion from Hebron at large. At the same time, residents seem to have no or very little opportunity to take part in the commodification of their own living situation and place of home.

The ‘newcomers’ face occupation by Israel but their feeling of enclosure and confinement also stem from the devaluation of old town residency by other Palestinians. By ways of shaming, institutional discrimination and other collective representations of deviance presented above, residents are differentiated from ‘normal’ Hebronites and only become valuable in certain Palestinian nationalist discourses of resistance. Confined to the old city, residents try to claim support for their ‘sumud’ but have ended up in an opportunity structure that benefits the flows of
international and local groups of people with the ability and resources to move through the old city, accumulate different kinds of capital and then ‘get out’. They also create alternative representations of space that alienate those left behind. The opportunity to use the old city as springboard back into normalcy is severely limited by the demonization of the place. Most who work outside the old city are ‘unqualified’ labor in the construction-driven economy of Hebron. As salaries are low and jobs few, especially if it is known you are living in the old city, most of the residents remain at a level, which reproduces the representations of space as poor and degraded. The few that make it out are replaced by newcomers who repeat the same pattern of economic and social stigma.
Conclusions

On the Capital of Resistance

In the introduction of this thesis I explained my aim to explore the ways in which power and governance, international funding and ideas, Hebronite social norms and aspirations, hopes and fantasies all come together in the life of the old city. I set out to do this by engaging with a discussion amongst anthropologists on resistance studies because Palestine has become a field virtually synonymous with resistance in recent decades. To aid me in unpacking the complexity of Hebronite space I used the concept of ‘heterotopia’, which I will return to in this conclusion.

In my first chapter I introduced the HRC and its governance capacities, staff and work. The organization, for which I worked as a volunteer, controls who can live, and in what conditions, in the old city. My second chapter focused on dark tourism and the ways in which the occupation of the old city was commodified, sold and gazed at. Guides and tourists that came together in the old city also created images about each other and some Hebronites got the chance to ‘connect’ to the ‘outside’. Volunteers and activists were the focus of attention in my third chapter, which examined the ways in which these groups represented the old city and understood their roles in relation to occupation, resistance and ‘locals’. The final and fourth chapter of this thesis looked at the residents of the old city and their visibility and invisibility in the representations of their place of home. Residents are involved in both local Hebronite and global processes of capital accumulation and struggle to gain something from their position as emplaced and stigmatized people in the occupied old town.

Throughout the thesis I have used resistance and occupation as a diagnostics of power rather than as an expression of power itself, in order to avoid the dual logic of domination and subordination (Abu-Lughod 1990, Ortner 1995). I have asked what the forms of representations of resistance and occupation in Hebron indicate about the forms of power they are up against and the actors and agents that come together in or compete over defining the meaning of Hebron’s old city. To unpack the complexities
of this space, I have used Foucault’s ’heterotopia’ mixed with an understanding of occupied space as lived, and not necessarily responding or aligned to notions of power. Actions of everyday life are always negotiating between categories and improvising, but never fully incorporating power (Lefebvre 1991, de Certeau 1984). This is also why representations of space cannot be assumed to represent power or the powerful but might instead conceal power relations (Lefebvre 1991).

I argue that Hebron is represented by several groups of NGOs, tourist guides, and volunteers as a dystopian space. Its dystopian character is understood by international ‘outsiders’ as being a direct effect of Israeli occupation, and by Hebronite ‘outsiders’ as a space with a deviant population, the consequence of the PA politics and internal displacement that followed the Israeli occupation and the splitting of the city into zones A, B and C. It is the first representation of the old city, which fails to represent the divide between interests in the Palestinian population, and instead imagines an undifferentiated Palestinian whole that suffers from the same oppression, that is used by ‘new city’ Hebronites to exploit the resources the old city offers. Tourists, volunteers, guides and their representations of space (Lefebvre 1991) have led to an understanding of old city residents’ lives largely in relation to Palestinian resistance/subordination and Israeli occupation/domination. This one-sided understanding is reflected in NGOs’ and activists’ data collection and activities, as well as in academic writing and the dark tourism perspective.

While these representations of space aimed at an international ‘outside’ valorize Palestinian resistance and express solidarity with it there are other representations of space that contradict or at least complement this perspective. The old city of Hebron is, as I have argued throughout this thesis, a heterotopic space, and to understand the process of emplacement under the occupation and the social distinctions the old city signifies to Palestinians we must also take into account the way Palestinians define themselves in relation to each other. The experience of occupation is related to economic and social processes and a political demography where Hebronites demonize old city residents, who, in turn, are secluded from ‘new city’ Hebron as well as most of the international flow of resources that comes into the old city in the
form of ‘visitors’, funding, and so on.

As I explained at length in chapter four, residents of the old city are not only limited in their activities, choices and aspirations by the Israeli presence but also by exclusions that originate in Hebronite society outside the old town itself. In many respects, these are processes based on class position rather than occupied/occupier. The form this class exploitation takes is not only the exploitation of labor power in the workplace but also involves other spatial relations and “culture”.

David Harvey argues that the class concept can no longer be based solely on labor but should include ‘secondary forms of exploitation’. In “Rebel Cities” (2014), he claims that exploitation is not confined to workplaces but also includes a system of urbanization where property owners extract rent. This means that not only the workplace but also the place one lives can be considered a mode of exploitation, not of labor power but of the need of a place to call home. I want to add here that apartments and houses are far from the only spaces that draw resources from its user.

In the case of Hebron, I claim that we can identify yet another (an Other) secondary form of exploitation in the use and representation of the old city by tourist guides, tourists, volunteers, and activists. The commodification of the old city by ‘outsiders’ (Hebronites, other Palestinians and internationals) using residents’ life conditions, “culture”, and in the end, confinement, as part of the accumulation of capital is the basis of this exploitation.

Harvey himself (1989) writes that due to the time-space compression of the recent decades and the rise of ‘post-Fordist’ global capitalism people have become more sensitized to what different places actually or appear to contain. This kind of distinction has led to increased competition between places to present themselves as attractive to potential investors, employers, tourists and so on, to promote themselves, to sell themselves as service- and skill-rich places (Urry 1995). Harvey notes the paradox: ‘the less important the spatial barriers, the greater the sensitivity of capital to the variations of place within space, and the greater the incentive for places to be differentiated in ways attractive to capital’ (1989:295–6). In Hebron, this mainly attracts capital in the form of tourists, NGOs, volunteers, and funders in a world
where moving across large distances is an option available to a growing amount of people. Hebronites themselves visit the old city not to meet the residents but to take advantage of the resources it has attracted from abroad as a space of resistance.

The demography of the old city is socially, spatially and politically separated from a supposed normalcy surrounding it. In the political economy of this modern heterotopia of deviance, Hebron’s old city is a space “in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the average or norm, are placed” (Foucault 1978: 139) but who are also part of ”the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes” (ibid: 140). A lot of old city residents work in the ‘new city’, mainly as unqualified laborers with uncertain work hours and are thus very much involved in the exploitation of labor power. The population of the old town has, however, adjusted to another economic process by exploiting their place of home for its (partly staged and performed) cultural character. Following Harvey’s suggestion, I argue that the “machinery of production” into which the residents do not fit is that of one of property development, ownership and rent, something that has broad social and economic consequences for them.

While my thesis is not a class analysis per se, I used Skeggs (2004) ideas surrounding capital accumulation by the middle class in the UK to analyze accumulation by privileged groups in Hebron. In the old city there are groups of people, moving in, through, and out of the old city that gather what they find valuable about the space and its “culture”. Images, souvenirs, experiences, traces on the body linked to ideas about helping and resisting and acquired by ‘visitors’ mainly from the global north to be turned into symbolic and/or exchange value in the future back home or elsewhere. In contrast, Hebron residents are confined to the old city, unable to move because of economic and social hardship and the physical barriers of occupation. In ways I have described in chapters three, four and five, residents and their ‘situation’ are used as a resource by the privileged in projects of self-making while residents are left frustrated by their inability to claim most of the resources attracted by their place of home.

Drawing on the discussion above, I would claim that we have to view exploitation as
layered, involving material as well as imagined relations that exist between several interrelated spaces and populations. I chose to diagnose it as a Foucauldian ‘heterotopia’. Using this concept enables an understanding of how populations relate to place and are in a process of emplacement. This process involves different kinds of social, economic, political and cultural differentiations that aim to separate the demography of heterotopia from its outsides.

In the case of Hebron, the old city has taken on an economic character in several distinct but interrelated ways. To conceptualize the creation and commodification of the old town by people and organizations on ‘the outside’, I used Lefebvre’s ‘Representations of Space’ (1991) because it clearly states (unlike Foucault’s orders of space) that space does not always reveal power but might function to conceal it. In the guided tour of the old city, elements of the built environment (“Spatial practices” in Lefebvre, “Space” in Foucault) were made part of the representation of space to satisfy the tourist gaze (Urry 1994, 1995).

However, the built environment was only interpreted according to the representation of space active at that time, excluding such things as the architectural heritage which is one of the most important features of the old city and one of the reasons why it has received international funding. This is one example of how the categories of Lefebvre’s theories are co-dependent and cannot be separated. While Foucault was focused on his trialectic of space - knowledge - power, Lefebvre has received a lot of attention for his focus on Spaces of representation, the experience of space including symbols and fantasies around that space and resistance to dominant practices (discourse) resulting in different forms of individual and collective transgression. In the case of heterotopic space it is even more obvious as people use (or disregard) available representations of space depending on the situation, their mood, their aspirations and so on. The case of Hares was interesting. He identified the old city as a good career choice and came to appreciate it for the flow of international people and their ideas and perspectives. Hares differentiated himself from old city residents and ‘their mentality’ but his relationship to ‘the outside’ and his dream of ‘getting out’

39 See also de Certeau (1984)
would look very different if the old city did not look as it does. His fascination with the outside was material as well as imagined. He hoped for a better quality of life for himself and his family, the freedom to express sexuality, enjoy modern entertainment (cinemas, clubs etc.), and to move around freely with a new passport.

In order to understand the everyday predicaments and functions of occupation and resistance, we would do well to apply theoretical approaches that express the complexity and multiplicity of social and economic relations created by these phenomena. If earlier research on Palestine has romanticized resistance in the occupied territories and pictured Palestinians, refugees, or the occupied as an imagined ‘whole’, future research might look at processes of emigration, internal differentiation, and changing political rhetoric, as well as the ongoing capitalization and commodification of the concepts of occupation and resistance and their identification with places and populations in Palestine. Future research must take into consideration processes of injustice and social and economic exclusion and exploitation that are internal to the Palestinian population. I have shown in this thesis that these relations are highly significant for the impact of occupation on people’s daily life, aspirations and imaginations, and it is these relations that make Hebron the unique place that it is.
References

Abu-Lughod, Lila.


Anderson, Benedict R.

Appadurai, Arjun.

Bartling, Hugh.

Biran, Avital & Hyde, Kenneth F.

Biran, A., Poria, Y. & Oren, G.

Bornstein, Avram.


Cenzatti, Marco.

Certeau, Michel de.

Cohen, E.H.

Dehaene, Michiel & De Cauter, Lieven.

Elyachar, Julia.

Erdreich & Rapoport.
2008. The attractions of accountancy: Living an ordinary life during the second Palestinian intifada.
Ethnography, vol. 9, issue 3, p351–376.


Low, Setha M. 

Low, Setha M. & Lawrence-Zuñiga, Denise. 

Soya, Edward W. 

Stone, P.R.. 

Urry, John. 

Weizman, Eyal. 


Wick, Livia. 
Appendix One

Missions and Objectives of organizations active in Hebron

The following information was gathered from the websites of the respective organizations on March 23, 2014. To access the websites click the links available bellow:

Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) is a civilian observer mission stationed in the city of Hebron. The mission was called for by the Israeli and the Palestinian authorities in 1997, to support them in their efforts to improve the situation in Hebron.

The mission works with a mandate which states that the TIPH is established to promote by their presence a feeling of security to the Palestinians of Hebron and to help to promote stability in the city. TIPH monitors the situation in Hebron and reports on breaches of the agreements on Hebron between the Israeli and the Palestinian side, as well as international humanitarian law and international recognized human rights standards.

Hebron's old city is a recognized UNESCO world heritage site, and UNESCO is supporting reconstruction mainly through the HRC.

The Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) partners with nonviolent movements around the world, seeks to embody an inclusive, ecumenical and diverse community of God's love. We (CPT) believe we can transform war and occupation, our own lives, and the wider Christian world through: the nonviolent power of God's truth; partnership with local peacemakers; bold action.

CPT places teams at the invitation of local peacemaking communities that are confronting situations of lethal conflict. These teams seek to follow God's Spirit as it works through local peacemakers who risk injury and death by waging nonviolent
direct action to confront systems of violence and oppression.

**B'tselem** is an Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories and was established in February 1989 by a group of prominent academics, attorneys, journalists, and Knesset members. It endeavors to document and educate the Israeli public and policymakers about human rights violations in the Occupied Territories, combat the phenomenon of denial prevalent among the Israeli public, and help create a human rights culture in Israel.

As an Israeli human rights organization, B’Tselem acts primarily to change Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories and ensure that its government, which rules the Occupied Territories, protects the human rights of residents there and complies with its obligations under international law.

**United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East** (UNRWA) offer services encompass education, health care, relief and social services, camp infrastructure and improvement, microfinance and emergency assistance, including in times of armed conflict. The organization was established by United Nations General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 to carry out direct relief and works programmes for Palestine refugees. When the Agency began operations in 1950, it was responding to the needs of about 750,000 Palestine refugees. Today, some 5 million Palestine refugees are eligible for UNRWA services.

The **Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations’ Network** (PNGO) is a coordination body for the NGO sector in Palestine with the purpose of strengthening the Palestinian civil society and contributing to the establishment of the Palestinian state based on the principles of democracy, social justice, rule of law, tolerance, and respect of human rights through networking, building-up the capacity of NGOs, developing information management center and mainstreaming of society concerns into public policies, plans and programs.
the World Food Program's (WFP) mission in the West Bank and Gaza is to provide food assistance to vulnerable people and to work with local Palestinian authorities to strengthen safety nets and build the capacity of local institutions to anticipate and prepare for emergencies.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), established in 1863, works worldwide to provide humanitarian help for people affected by conflict and armed violence and to promote the laws that protect victims of war. An independent and neutral organization, its mandate stems essentially from the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Based in Geneva, Switzerland, it employs some 12,000 people in 80 countries; it is financed mainly by voluntary donations from governments and from national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies.

The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is a Palestinian-led movement committed to resisting the long-entrenched and systematic oppression and dispossession of the Palestinian population, using non-violent, direct-action methods and principles. Founded in August 2001, ISM aims to support and strengthen the Palestinian popular resistance by being immediately alongside Palestinians in olive groves, on school runs, at demonstrations, within villages being attacked, by houses being demolished or where Palestinians are subject to consistent harassment or attacks from soldiers and settlers as well as numerous other situations.

Breaking the silence is an organization of veteran combatants who have served in the Israeli military since the start of the Second Intifada and have taken it upon themselves to expose the Israeli public to the reality of everyday life in the Occupied Territories. We endeavor to stimulate public debate about the price paid for a reality in which young soldiers face a civilian population on a daily basis, and are engaged in the control of that population’s everyday life.